

SILVER STUDIES

*The Journal of
the Silver Society*

NUMBER 31

2014

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The Journal of the Silver Society

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2014

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NUMBER 31 – 2014

Silver Studies The Journal of the Silver Society is published by the Silver Society which is a Company limited by guarantee registered in England no 7582798 and incorporating registered charity no 1143159

Registered office:
c/o Wilkins Kennedy
Bridge House
London Bridge
London
SE12 9QR

ISSN 1743-2677

Issues 1-15 of this journal were titled *The Silver Society Journal*.
ISSN 0960-8745

Editor: Lucy Morton
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Designed and produced by:
Weblinks Advertising Ltd.
www.weblinksadvertising.co.uk

The Silver Society
PO Box 1972,
Andover
SP10 9GJ

www.thesilversociety.org

Front cover:

Detail of the Gilbert Collection clock, Augsburg and Friedberg, seventeenth-century and later, ebony and silver, parcel-gilt

(© The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; museum number Loan:Gilbert.66-2008)

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THE SILVER SOCIETY

2014

THE SILVER SOCIETY was founded in 1958 to advance the study of silver of all periods, places and forms; it seeks to widen the appreciation and knowledge of work in silver and related metals including plated wares, gold and platinum. It also aims to keep its members in touch with research into the subject and to foster the enjoyment of objects made in silver in the company of like-minded people. The membership includes collectors, authors, dealers, museum staff, auctioneers, researchers and working craftsmen: anyone with an interest in the subject.

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JOURNAL SUBSCRIPTION. It is possible to subscribe to Silver Studies without being a member of the Silver Society. An annual subscription costs £18 or £16 if paid by standing order; back copies may be ordered via the Society's website.

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The weights given are in troy ounces unless otherwise stated. There are 20 pennyweight (dwt) to the troy ounce (oz).

1 troy oz = 31.103 g

100g = 3.2 troy oz (approx)

Monetary values

Those referred to in this journal usually refer to the period prior to the date when the United Kingdom converted to decimal currency: 15 February 1971.

12d pennies = 1 shilling

20s shillings = £1 (pound)

£1 1s = 1 guinea

Dates

Dates are written in the following styles:

Calendar year prior to 1752 : 1 January – 24 March
1563/4

Assay year prior to 1975: 1563-64

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

All items illustrated are silver unless otherwise stated.

Errata

Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society, 2013, number 29

The following information was missing from

John Perkins, **Goldsmiths from Lancashire and York parish registers**, p 6

George Luty

George Lutey, who was fined 5s at the search of the Northern Province by the London Goldsmiths' Company in 1635 [GHS, 259-66 quoted by C E Challis, Northern History,

vol XXXI, 1995, pp 131-136], was baptised on 17 July 1583 (Luty) and was buried on 6 September 1644 (Lewtey). He is listed in Pickford as George Lacy but in the list of freemen at George Luty. The letters 'c' and 't' in manuscript can be similar at this period so it is possible that his name was Lucy.

Roger Bargement

Freeman goldsmith in 1615, was buried in 1617.

Communion spoons in the City of London

PAUL HOLMES

Nearly every church is provided with a spoon, used either as a strainer or to remove flies or crumbs from the consecrated wine. The decoration and detail vary according to the date, but the great majority are of the ordinary domestic type ...

stated Edwin Freshfield in *Communion Plate in the Churches of the City of London*¹. Although he was discussing City churches in the post-Reformation period, spoons for use at the altar have a long history in the English church. Charles Oman² suggested much the same:

Spoons for removing impurities from the communion wine made their appearance in the reign of James I.

This essay attempts to discover whether the Anglican communion spoon, as seen in examples from City churches, may be explained in terms of simple practical usage, as Freshfield and Oman propose, or whether there might be other historical or ceremonial origins.

Daniel Rock³ described a medieval chalice spoon as a

little spoon with a very small bowl, for measuring and letting fall into the wine, the few drops of water to be mingled with it at the holy sacrifice.

None of these medieval spoons appear to survive and we must deduce that this practice was discontinued at the time of the introduction of 'communion of both kinds' in conjunction with the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549. Written in English, under the direction of Thomas Cranmer, the latter replaced Roman Catholic missals and may be regarded as the 'handbook' for the new liturgy, in English, of the Reformation. The period which followed must have been one of bewildering changes for congregations including new services, in the vernacular rather than Latin, and the removal of all the didactic images previously deemed essential to worship. Eamon Duffy suggested that this new regime, established under Edward VI,

bulldozed away centuries of devotional elaboration⁴

as City churches hurried to sell much of their now redundant plate before the Commission of Enquiries, established in 1552, confiscated it.

The revised Prayer Book of 1552 continued the changes begun in



Fig 1 Communion cup, London, 1575, maker's mark of John North and William Nicholls
(The Rector and Parish Church Council, St Michael's church, Wembworthy)

1 Edwin Freshfield, *Communion Plate of the Churches in the City of London*, Middlesex, 1894, p xxxi.

2 Charles Oman, *English Church Plate, 597-1830*, Oxford, 1957, pp 252-253.

3 Daniel Rock, *The Church of our Fathers*, London, 1905, vol 1, p 126.

4 Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, Yale, 2009, p 3.



Fig 2 Baluster top spoon, silver-gilt, circa 1631, from St Katherine Cree
(The Guild Vicar and Churchwardens, St Katherine Cree)



Fig 3 Slip top spoon, parcel-gilt, London, probably 1639-40, maker's mark of Jeremy Johnson, from All Hallows by the Tower
(The Rev Bertrand Oliver, Vicar of All Hallows by the Tower)



Fig 4 Seal top spoon, silver-gilt, London, 1639-40, maker's mark of Richard Crosse, from St Mary Magdalene Milk Street
(The GCC of St Lawrence Jewry)



Fig 5 Seal top spoon, London, 1639-40, maker's mark of Richard Crosse [Fig 4], detail of the marks
(The GCC of St Lawrence Jewry)

1548: the drawing down of the altar from the east wall to wherever the main service of the church took place so it

Shall stand in the body of the church.

The thick wafer formerly used for the host was substituted with

The beste and purest wheate breade, that conveniently may be gotten.⁵

It was as if the communion service was no longer a 'mystery' that was too holy to be seen by ordinary folk; it was now celebrated in their midst where all could see. The eucharist comprised almost every-day elements, village baked bread and Muscadell or Muscadine wine, which all could share in full. Completing this process was a plain, beaker-shaped communion cup which replaced the chalice used in the mass, from which all would drink [Fig 1]. These changes were not received with universal acclaim, as the Sampford Courtenay rebellion revealed⁶. Although reformed ideas were strongly adhered to in London, where Protestants outnumbered Catholics⁷, the Reformation separated people from their religious past and throughout most of Elizabeth's reign conservative repudiation of the Elizabethan settlement was stronger and more vocal than previously, resulting in an 'unconverted England'⁸. For much of Elizabeth's reign attendance at communion was irregular as were services and it was not until the latter years of her reign that churches and their furnishings began to be restored. Oman attributes many of the improvements to Lancelot Andrewes⁹, who became vicar of St Giles's Cripplegate in 1588, and who preached stoutly for the reformed nature of the English church. By moving away from the attitudes of the previous generation Andrewes encouraged churches to renew their communion plate and it is possible to attribute to him the idea of sets of communion plate.

It is no coincidence, therefore, that the earliest communion spoons date from the early years of the seventeenth century, rather than from Elizabeth's reign, and St Katherine's Cree has one of the earliest examples [Fig 2]. St Katherine's communion plate comprises a 'set' in that it has two cups of 1626-27 and two flagons of 1630-31 and a spoon. The baluster top spoon is unmarked apart from an inscription pricked on the back of the bowl, "St Katharine Creechurch 1631", the date indicating that it completed the set. It is not an English spoon but may perhaps originate from Dordrecht. The unusually long handle, the small bowl and the stem off-set to the bowl, are reminiscent of Scottish masking spoons or later mote spoons.¹⁰ During 1618/19 an important Reformed Assembly took place in Dordrecht which was an attempt to settle disputes concerning Arminianism. James I sent delegates to the assembly, one of whom may have been from the parish of St Katherine's Cree and possibly have brought back a spoon for use in his church.

All Hallows Barking, or All Hallows by the Tower, as it is now known, is another City church that renewed its communion plate with a set made between 1627 and 1633; it too has an early spoon to complete the group. Fig 3 shows the spoon to be a slip-top by Jeremy Johnson, probably dated 1639-40, although the date mark at the top of the stem is very indistinct. The All Hallows' spoon and the St Katherine's spoon are both unpierced and, although that would not have prevented them from being used to remove crumbs of bread or the dregs of wine from the chalice, it is conceivable that they might have been used in 'mixing the chalice', ie. water and wine, the long stem suiting both functions. The psalmist says

For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup and the wine is red: it is full mixed, and he poureth out of the same.¹¹

Bishop Andrewes, created Bishop of Winchester by James I, gave a significant lead in the high church

doctrine of the eucharist using

in his own chapel the mixed chalice, incense and altar lights.¹²

This was rather unexpected in a bishop who preached so vigorously for the reformed church.

At the same time that communion spoons were making their appearance flagons began to be used at communion. Increases in the size of congregations attending communion in the early 1600s meant that communion services sometimes now included two cups as they needed re-filling rather more often than before. St Giles's Cripplegate was singled out for praise for having 2,000 communicants in 1638, all of whom knelt at the rail¹³, so a pair of flagons standing on a credence table nearby made this refilling more immediate. As early as 1597 Archbishop Whitgift's articles for the Shoreham Deanery had inquired after

two comely pots of silver or pewter to fetch wine to serve the Lord's table, reserved and kept clean to that use only, being no tavern pots.¹⁴

As cleanliness was not a widespread trait at this period and, if laziness also meant that unconsecrated communion wine occasionally remained in the flagons, the chances of debris collecting in a flagon must have been considerably increased, hence the need for the spoon, especially when services were infrequent. Several other spoons, all of domestic pattern, made their appearance in the 1630s, including one from St Mary Magdalene, Milk Street, its provenance handsomely inscribed on the seal top [Figs 4 and 5]. The assay and inscription dates are both 1639, suggesting that the spoon was purchased by a parishioner or the parish council, not only to complete the communion service but for the specific purpose suggested above, now that increasing amounts of wine were being consumed. The churchwardens' accounts for St Alban's Wood Street¹⁵ record that twelve and a half gallons of wine was consumed in the year 1638-39.

5 Brian Cummings (ed), *The Book of Common Prayer*, Oxford, 2011, p 727.

6 The Prayer Book Rebellion took place in 1549 which proved to be a difficult year for rural communities, with an increasing variety of new taxes and the substitution of radically new forms of worship for the familiar Latin mass. Such communities have always found change difficult and the English

communion service first celebrated at Whitsun was a step too far for the parishioners of Sampford Courtenay in Devon. The following day they forced their priest to return to the Catholic mass. When a local farmer tried to reason with the villagers they were so inflamed that they hacked him to death on the steps of the church house. By early July this unrest had produced an army of Devon and Cornish vil-

lagers who besieged the city of Exeter. Eventually Lord Russell crushed the rebellion but rebel losses were estimated at around 4,000.

7 Eamon Duffy, op cit, see note 4, p 9.

8 Eamon Duffy, *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition*, London, 2012, p 230.

9 Charles Oman, op cit, see note 2, p 145.

10 Paul Holmes, 'Strainer or Masking - a Dilemma', *The Finial*, vols 23/05 and 23/06, pp 8 and 9.

11 Psalm 75, v 9.

12 F L Cross (ed), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford, 1957, p 50.

13 William Hutton, *The English Church, 1625-1714*, London, 1903, p 61.

14 W H Frere and W M Kennedy, *Visitation Articles & Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, London, 1910, p 286.

15 Churchwarden's accounts for St Alban's Wood Street 1637-75, MS 7673/2, London Metropolitan Archive (LMA).



Fig 6 Seal top spoon, silver-gilt, London, 1671-72, maker's mark of Jeremy Johnson, from St Mary Abchurch
(The Archdeacon of London)



Fig 7 Seal top spoon, London, 1671-72, maker's mark of Jeremy Johnson [Fig 6], detail of the inscription on the seal top
(The Archdeacon of London)

The following decade saw the country enveloped in increasingly acrimonious arguments about the nature of Anglican services, the role of the bishops and the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Brian Cummings suggests that

The twenty years of Civil War and the Commonwealth represent the last tragic scene of the English Reformation.¹⁶

The disputes centred round issues such as the elaborate ceremonies of worship, including the rituals of kneeling and crossing, the use of silver chalices and carved wooden kneelers, the position of the communion table and the use of the Prayer Book. These were all banned by Parliament in 1645, the year that Archbishop Laud was executed. Mr Herrick's squire at Dean Prior¹⁷ lamented these events which were:

to suppress the Prayer Book, and the decent ceremonies of the Church of England, and to substitute the long extempore prayings and preachings from those vulgar ignoramuses who were everywhere being pushed into the incumbencies in place of the lawful occupants, this was an outrage.

The restoration of a revised Prayer Book in 1662 was seen by many as a symbolic event as important as the restoration of the monarchy: it was something which people knew well and felt at ease with. Anglican priests and bishops were re-appointed to their churches and dioceses.

In London, first the Plague of 1665 decimated the populations of parishes, and then the Great Fire of 1666 destroyed or severely damaged eighty-seven of its churches. The cumulative effect of these events was to have a profound impact on the nature and organisation of worship and the St Mary Abchurch's spoon gives several clues to



Fig 8 Seal top spoon, London, 1671-72, maker's mark of Jeremy Johnson [Fig 6], detail of the inscription on the stem
(The Archdeacon of London)

this [Figs 6, 7 and 8]. The spoon, by Jeremy Johnson and dated 1671-72, is inscribed on the seal top, "St M Ab Ch 1690", so it must have been a later gift than the date that it was made, presumably having previously been in use as a piece of domestic plate. The donor is recorded on the benefactions board on the west wall of the church

1690 Mr Abraham Walwin, a gilt spoon [Fig 9]

The stem is also inscribed with the initials AW and DD, indicating that it was his gift to the church [Fig 8]. The Walwins seem to have been an important local family in both parishes and Abraham was probably the Abraham who died in 1697 whose will recorded his deeply held Christian beliefs:

God be praised, in good health of body and of perfect mind, memory and understanding, but knowing the uncertainty of the transitory life and being willing to settle my affairs so make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following. First and principally I commit my Soul into the hands of Almighty God my most merciful Creator declaring my faith...¹⁶

St Mary Abchurch was destroyed in the Great Fire along with nearby St Lawrence Poultny but only St Mary's was rebuilt, the parish united with that of St Lawrence's, and it was completed in 1686. Such an act of faith after the Civil War, the Interregnum, the Plague and the Fire, was considerable. Two silver flagons of 1679-80, two large silver-gilt patens of 1684-85, and two silver-gilt cups and matching patens of 1686-87 were all presented to the church to mark the happy re-dedication of the rebuilding in that year, and its union with St Lawrence's. The spoon, the last piece to be presented, completed the service. But was there more to this than the presentation of fine silver? This large set of communion plate was all given by parishioners and it was specifically for the celebration of the Eucharist, after the manner of Bishops Andrewes and Laud who had wished to see the communion service conducted in a seemly manner where ritual was important. The new Wren churches all had flat east walls or very shallow chancels which allowed maximum visibility and audibility. This respected the wish that

the table be placed as convenient for the minister & people, unlike previous altars at the end of long, narrow medieval chancels ... railed altars at the East end, altarwise, chancels cleared of chairs and chests and tables shortened, mats around the rails.¹⁷

The rituals associated with the pouring of the wine from the flagons, the breaking of the bread onto the much larger patens and the blessing of these elements were all

1678 Mr THOMAS BREARCLIFF	£1 0 0
Mrs SUSAN KELSEY	£1 0 0
Mr PEMMELS 2 Silver Chalice	
1684 DITTO	£40 0 0
Mr DAWS	£2 0 0
Mr POYNTER	£4 0 0
Mrs POYNTER	£2 0 0
1686 Mr POYNTER a piece of Communion Plate	
2 Gilt Chalices	
a Gilt Basin	
Mr GRESSHAM a Gilt Cup and cover	
1687 Mrs CATHARINE GRESSHAM a Gilt Cup and cover	
1690 Mr ABRAHAM WALWIN a Gilt Spoon	
1692 Mr WATSON a Brass Basin and Trencher	

Fig 9 Benefactions board, St Mary Abchurch
(The Archdeacon of London)

now clearly visible to the congregation who, having presented the new plate, wished to see these things done decently. Of course ritual and routine are in themselves comforting, provided they are adhered to, and the spoon seems to have become an element of the whole which enabled this process to be achieved. It is not surprising that all this should have been important after the different crises that Londoners had suffered over the preceding few years.

That a spoon was becoming an essential part of a decorous ritual, and of a complete set of communion plate, may be seen in several other examples at St Michael's Queenhythe, St Martin's Ludgate Hill and St Benet Finck. The churchwardens' accounts for St Benet Finck²⁰ for 1685, show Mr Daniell Ackston's discharge of 25 May, 1686

Imprimus - Two Silver Cupps with Covers, weighing 53oz 1/2dwt, two silver fflagons 93oz 1dwt and a silver spoon, gilt 1oz 17dwt and a case, for the communion table

and on the second page

paid for a silver gilt spoon and case for it, 18-6.

16 Brian Cummings, op cit, see note 5, p xiii.

17 Rose Macaulay, *They Were Defeated*, London, 1960, p 436.

18 Will proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1694-1700, Walwin, Abraham, junr 1696.

19 Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, Oxford, 2007, p 329.

20 Churchwardens' Accounts for St Bennet Fink, Broad Street, MS 1303, vol I, 1610-1699, LMA.



Fig 10 Lace back trefid spoon, 1684-85, maker's mark of William Mathew, from St Benet Finck
(Daniel Bexfield Antiques)



Fig 11 Lace back trefid spoon [Fig 10]
(Daniel Bexfield Antiques)



Fig 12 Trefid spoon, maker's mark of John Smith, from St Michael's Queenhythe
(The Churchwardens of St James's, Garlickhythe)



Fig 13 Trefid spoon, maker's mark of John Smith [Fig 12], detail of engraving
(The churchwardens of St James's, Garlickhythe)

21 Timothy Kent, *The Finial*, vol 18/04, March/April 2008, p 8.

22 Charles Oman, op cit, see note 2, pp 229-234.

23 Paul Holmes, 'Ritualistic Spoons', *The Finial*, vol 19/04, pp 9-11.



Fig 14 Trefid spoon, silver-gilt, circa 1670, maker's mark of John King, from St Martin's Ludgate
(The Priest in Charge and Wardens of St Mary within Ludgate)



Fig 15 Trefid spoon, circa 1670 [Fig 14], detail of maker's mark of John King
(The Priest in Charge and Wardens of St Mary within Ludgate)



Fig 16 Trefid spoon, circa 1670, maker's mark of John King [Fig 14], detail of inscription
(The Priest in Charge and Wardens of St Mary within Ludgate)

Tim Kent²¹, in his research on this fine example of a lace-back trefid spoon [Figs 10 and 11] suggests that

there can be little doubt that Mr Ackston, wishing to get his strainer spoon, visited a local retail goldsmith, selected an ordinary lace-back trefid of the period, ordered it to be pierced, gilded, pricked with the initials St B.F. and cased, being quoted 18/6 for the entire operation.

Such a record of a single spoon is unusual but it suggests that the practical need for such a 'strainer' spoon had become more common. It seems likely to have been linked again with a communion set comprising two of everything, greater quantities of wine and bread being consumed at communion and the need for a decent means of removing crumbs that happened to fall into the cup during the administration of the sacrament. The spoon, being pierced in only one half of the bowl, seems better designed for this purpose, as a 'skimmer', than the plain spoons of the 1630s. It suggests an increasing concern with ritual, harking back to the Laudian traditions of the 1630s, and the inscription 'St B F' may have been there to remind church members that it was in fact a spoon for use at the altar and, as Whitgift said of the Shoreham flagons,

reserved and kept clean to that use only.

Two further spoons with similar inscriptions are those from St Michael's Queenhythe [Figs 12 and 13] and St Martin's Ludgate [Figs 14 - 16]. The first is a trefid by John Smith, a major spoon maker of the period, and has piercing, of twelve holes in a lozenge shape in the centre

of the bowl. It would seem to commemorate the rebuilding of St Michael's in 1677 after the Great Fire. The second spoon is a plain trefid by John King, with thirty six holes distributed all over the bowl, the spoon acting as both skimmer and strainer [Figs 14 and 15]. St Martin's has two cups and covers and two flagons, dated to record an earlier restoration of the church in 1623, so the spoon completes the communion set whilst marking the 1684 re-dedication of the church after the Fire. The church's full name is engraved on its stem, 'possessory' being one of Oman's categories of inscriptions found on church plate²² [Fig 16].

St Benet Finck, St Martin's Ludgate Hill and St Michael's Queenhythe all have strainer communion spoons with variations in the piercing of their bowls. It seems as if a warden or incumbent of each church interpreted the need for a spoon, to remove unwanted particles from the wine, in different ways. They all have round holes but these appear either all over the bowl, or in the centre or along one half of the bowl. These variations continue to be a feature of these spoons to the extent that some were pierced on the top half of the bowl and some on the bottom half. Whether or not this implies a right or left-handed use, such spoons must have been used for skimming the surface of the wine, where the lighter crumbs of bread floated on the surface of the wine. The wide handle of a trefid spoon allowed a firm grip for such a process, when the need not to spill consecrated wine was regarded as an essential part of the ritual.²³

The spoon at St Andrew's by the Wardrobe is also a trefid, which Freshfield seems to have thought significant



Fig 17 Trefid spoon, probably 1694-95, maker's mark of Thomas Issod, from St Andrew's by the Wardrobe
(Priest in Charge and Parish Church Council of St Andrew's by the Wardrobe)



Fig 18 Trefid spoon, probably 1694-95, maker's mark of Thomas Issod [Fig 17], detail of inscription
(Priest in Charge and Parish Church Council of St Andrew's by the Wardrobe)

in that he recorded the fact, perhaps because the elongated bowl shape seemed a good design for a strainer and skimmer [Fig 17]. It is the inscription, however, which is the significant feature here

Christus pascha nostrum immolatus est pro nobis

which translates as 'Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us' which is the opening anthem or sentence of Easter Day from the *Book of Common Prayer*. The reference to Christ as the lamb sacrificed at the Jewish feast of the Passover, by which the Jews were delivered from slavery in Egypt is clear. As the Lamb of God, Christ's sacrifice delivered Christians from the slavery of sin and the Eucharist commemorates this sacrifice, a memorial instituted by Jesus at the Last Supper. With the sacrifice made, the bread then represents new life for the communicant and is referred to in the remainder of the Easter sentence:

therefore let us keep the feast; not with the old leaven, nor with the leaven of malice and wickedness: but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth²⁴.

Once blessed this 'new life' was regarded with awe, none was to be lost but all consumed; any remaining crumbs were symbolically gathered up with the spoon for consumption by the priest.

This is clearly no ordinary spoon for everyday domestic chores but presented for use at the holiest moments of the Eucharistic feast, that the ritual might be performed decently and reverently. Across the back of the stem is engraved [Fig 18]

Anno Dom 1694 The gift of W. Hill, Clerk of St Anne, Blackfryers.

Freshfield commented, at the end of his entry,²⁵ that nearly all of the St Andrew's plate had belonged to St Anne's Blackfriars, which was combined with the parish of St Andrew's after the Great Fire when the church was not rebuilt. The St Anne's plate was retained and formed part of that belonging to the rebuilt St Andrew's. The spoon was presented by the clerk of St Anne's to commemorate this union and the consecration of the rebuilt church in February 1692 but was there more in his mind in this gift? The plague of 1665 was the worst outbreak of plague in England since the Black Death of 1348 and London lost probably over 100,000 of its population but the Great Fire had followed closely on its heels: a cleansing fire that burnt away diseased old life. As the spoon was donated to mark the rebuilding the church by the clerk of St Anne's Blackfriars, is there an oblique reference to the plague here as well? The new church might well have been viewed as symbolic of new life after these two traumatic events, was St Anne's the sacrifice that gave St Andrew's new life? The date letter is very rubbed

and may be for 1692-93 or for 1694-95 but it corresponds with the date of the gift.

In 1683 most country churches would still have had their communion table placed lengthways at the entrance to the chancel and no communion rail; Protestant London continued with this practice. It was the king's desire to remember the church of his youth which re-established the patterns of service of his church and which saw the Chapel Royal setting the example for the rebuilt London churches. The Great Fire and the rebuilding of so many City churches was an unexpected opportunity to insist on the return to a railed altar set upon one or two steps, flat against the east end [Fig 19]; St Giles's Cripplegate and All Hallow's Barking were early leaders in this reform.

These reforms continued beyond the period of the Glorious Revolution of 1688/9, with the initiative coming from the parishes rather than the bishops. St Giles's Cripplegate had been a rich metropolitan church since the reign of Charles I, as well as the church of Launcelot Andrewes in 1588. Here the rector now officiated within a sanctuary, ie. a railed altar, covered with a "fine linen cloth", cornered with a cross for laying over the sacrament, as a catholic 'corporal' cloth ie. a showcase for high ceremonial. It is no surprise then that St Giles's should have a full communion service of cups, patens, flagon and spoons, all inscribed to commemorate their gift by two parishioners after the Great Fire. What is unusual about this set is that it includes two spoons, both of Hanoverian pattern, by Benjamin West, of 1736-37 [Fig 20]. One has a plain bowl and the other is beautifully pierced all over in the manner of a mote spoon. The latter is more worn and its piercing must have suited its function as a strainer better, while the other one was kept dry for gathering up the crumbs after the administration. The church [Fig 21] was not destroyed in the Great Fire but the chancel had been

destroyed in the bad old times which followed the Reformation, and a public house was erected on its site... and though the tavern was pulled down, the site was not restored to the church, so the altar stands in a mere recess at the east end of the nave.²⁶

So, although the church is Gothic in form, the communion service would have been as audible and visible as in Wren churches with their flat east ends.

All Hallow's the Great also had a large communion set: two tankards, two cups and covers, two footed patens, two plate patens, two alms dishes as well as two Hanoverian pattern spoons. Both of the spoons are pierced in the highly decorative manner of mote spoons commented on by Freshfield, as if they were designed to



Fig 19 The church of St Martin's Ludgate, the east wall
(The Priest in Charge and Wardens of St Mary within Ludgate)



Fig 20 Pair of Hanoverian pattern spoons, silver-gilt, London, 1736-37, maker's mark of Benjamin West
(The Rector and Churchwardens of St Giles's, Cripplegate)



Fig 21 St Giles's, Cripplegate, the east end recess
(The Rector and Churchwardens of St Giles's, Cripplegate)

24 1 Corinthians 5, vv7 and 8.

25 Edwin Freshfield, *op cit*, see note 1, p 14.

26 C W Pearce, *Old London City Churches*, London, p.31.



Fig 22 Pierced Hanoverian pattern spoon, London, 1719-20, maker's mark illegible, from *All Hallows the Great* (The Clerk to the Corporation, the French Hospital)

be seen as well as to be practical [Fig 22]. The church was demolished in 1894 and half the communion plate went to St James's Garlickhythe and half to the French Hospital, *La Providence*, in Rochester.²⁷

Although at this distance it is impossible to be certain about the rituals at individual City churches, the practical design of the pierced strainer spoons cannot be gainsaid. That belonging to St Alban's Wood Street, with its unusually deep and circular bowl, is undoubtedly the sort of spoon that liquid is poured through rather than for skimming the surface [Fig 23]. Even the applied rim of the bowl implies that it might have rested on the side of the cup whilst the straining was done by the numerous rounded holes rather than foliate piercing, surely more effective where more straining was needed. Some church records show a considerable quantity of wine being purchased: those of St Christopher's Stocks show large quantities even in the Interregnum:

Paid for 23 gallons of Muscadine for the sacraments £9-4-00, for 4 gallons & a pint of sacke for the Vestry £1-13-00²⁸.

It seems as if these restored churches were determined to celebrate their rebuilding in decent style and the ring at the end of the handle of the St Alban's spoon suggests that it was in frequent use [Fig 24]²⁹. It is one of only four such spoons of this design in London churches. Oman³⁰ said of them

Strainer spoons sometimes broke away from the ordinary secular types. An example, which was made as part of the 1687-8 service of plate at Chelsea Hospital, has a round perforated bowl and a tubular handle resembling those of punch-ladles. This type of design did not really catch on.

It can hardly be said to be a design of great beauty when compared to that of the mote spoon so perhaps at this stage ritual triumphed over practicality?

The story of communion spoons in the City does not end in 1719 but even this limited survey of seventeenth-cen-

tury spoons suggests that the development of these originally domestic spoons deserves further scrutiny. Plain seal-top spoons of the first half of the seventeenth century were well suited to removing pieces of sediment or cork from a cup, now that wine was once again offered to the laity, or to mixing water with wine, where churches adhered to the older Catholic traditions. The longer handle and larger bowl of some of these spoons facilitated this use although some spillage of wine might have occurred. Piercing the bowls of these spoons in the second half of the seventeenth century would have eased this tendency but also suggests that more particles needed straining from the wine, or that more wine was being consumed. The part-piercing of the bowl marks a different function: from straining a whole cupful, to skimming along the surface of the wine. This might well have coincided with the use of bread rather than wafers as the preferred sacrament, with crumbs floating at the top of the cup; wine and bread quantities were already increased by the 1630s. At the time of the Restoration trefid spoons were replacing seal-tops in a domestic setting which would have been commensurate with its introduction in church use. The wider stem made it easier to hold as a skimmer than the narrower hexagonal stem of the seal-top which would have been clumsy. The appearance of the mote spoon pattern of strainer holes also mirrored domestic fashion. This type of spoon would have been more clearly visible at a time when there was a greater concern for decent ritual in divine service. The limited introduction of the lemon strainer type of spoon at the turn of the century, may perhaps indicate those churches whose wine consumption was considerable, which were more likely to need to strain wine poured from a flagon into a communion cup. The pairs of spoons, one pierced and the other plain, making an appearance in the new century, suggest the latter was used to gather up crumbs from the table. This steady development followed the evolution of the domestic spoon itself, well-suited to the changing practical function of strainer spoons as well as the increased concern with ritual.

The inscriptions on all these spoons confirm their ownership, indicate their historical origin, commemorate the lives of donors and those of parishioners and the service

of churchwardens and occasionally make a statement of belief. After the Reformation an inscription on communion plate would have put a donor's name before the congregation as it took communion, as well as placing their name on the altar as near to Christ's presence as possible. Perhaps, more significantly, the inscriptions gave thanks to God for the deliverance of the church, as well as recording the joy of seeing a church rise from the ashes.

This sample of eleven spoons out of the forty-three recorded seems very small but it is sufficiently representative to reflect Freshfield's and Oman's statements on communion spoons that

nearly every church is provided with a spoon

was certainly true of the City churches, although perhaps not until the end of the eighteenth century. Also that

the great majority are of the ordinary domestic type

is clearly true but does ignore the fact that their evolution moved hand in hand with evolving ritual, whilst the statement that

decoration and detail vary according to the date

is surely a simplification too far. Oman's comment that

spoons for removing impurities from the communion wine made their appearance in the reign of James I

although true, is a statement that hides a larger historical canvas.

Understandably both these historians concentrated on the fine communion plate held by City churches and the humble communion spoon, although in widespread use, found itself relegated to 'other altar plate'. It clearly has its own story to tell, is part of the challenging history of the Reformation and is an important precursor to the specialised communion spoons made in the nineteenth century by firms such as Barnards.

Acknowledgements

I am much indebted to Dr Peter Pay, formerly of the University of Plymouth, who acted as my 'supervisor' in advising much background historical reading and continuously read and re-read the drafts. David Beasley, Librarian at Goldsmith's Hall, advised on the final preparation of this article whilst the clergy, parish church councils and officers of the churches gave me access to their treasuries to view and photograph their commun-



Fig 23 Strainer spoon, silver-gilt, 1690-91, maker's mark RH, from St Alban's Wood Street, conjoined, detail of bowl
(The Museum of London).



Fig 24 Strainer spoon, 1690-91, maker's mark RH [Fig 23], detail of ring end handle
(The Museum of London)

ion spoons and to use them to illustrate this article. Individual acknowledgements appear beneath the photographs. I am also much indebted to Cathy and Derrick Chivers and Daniel Bexfield for their initial encouragement in this field.

Paul Holmes was introduced to the Silver Society and the Silver Spoon Club by Tim Taylor over twenty years ago and he has collected bright-cut silver and mainly flatware. A chance article in *The Finial* enquiring about the origins of communion spoons led to his present interest. After a career in teaching Paul retired to Devon where he has discovered a communion spoon in his local church. Visits to churches and cathedrals with the Silver Society and Myrtle Ellis' Silver Study Group led to his research into the City of London churches where he was surprised to find such a varied group of communion spoons.

27 Tessa Murdoch, 'Silver at the French Hospital', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 25, 2009, pp 70-71.

28 *Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St Christopher le Stocks, 1575-1662*, transcribed by Edwin Freshfield sen, p 113, City of London Library.

29 Paul Holmes, 'Lemon Strainers as Communion Spoons', *The Finial*, vol 22/04, pp 3-5.

30 Charles Oman, op cit, see note 2, p 253, pl 93a.

Appendix 1

Strainer spoons mentioned in this article as listed by Edwin Freshfield,
Communion plate of the churches in the City of London, Middlesex, 1894

1. St Katharine Creechurch, p 54: A silver-gilt spoon inscribed with the weight and 'S Katherin Creechurch 1631'. There are no marks on it. Wt 3oz 16dwt + The spoon is one of the earliest in the City.(note)
2. All Hallows, Barking, p 1: A silver-gilt spoon, with maker's mark, I.I. probably 1640 (Appendix, p 103) ... the end of it, probably a seal, has been cut off (note) Wt - 11dwt.
3. St Mary Magdalene, Milk Street, p 56: A silver-gilt seal head spoon with the date mark for 1639, and maker's mark R.C., with three pellets above and a mullet below. On the seal head is inscribed "M.M.M.1639." L 8¹/₂. + The spoon is one of the earliest in the City.(note)
4. St Mary Abchurch with St Lawrence Pounteney, p 67: A silver-gilt seal head spoon with the date mark for 1670, and a maker's mark I.I. with a pellet between the letters and a mullet below on a plain shield, and inscribed "Deo et Sacris D.D.A.W."
5. St Ben't Fink, p 93: a silver-gilt spoon, with the date mark for 1684 and a maker's mark, W.M., under a pellet, or (?) crown in a plain shield, and inscribed "S.B.F."
6. St Michael, Queenhythe, p 50 - A silver spoon with the date mark for 1682 and inscribed "S.M.Q.H". Wt 1oz 15dwt. 'S. Michael was pulled down under the Union of Benefices Act twenty years ago.' (note)
7. St Martin's Ludgate, p 65: A silver spoon for use as a strainer. Wt 1oz 4dwt.
8. St Andrew by the Wardrobe, with St Anne's Blackfriars, p 14: a silver gilt spoon with maker's mark 'Lu' crowned, inscribed "Christus pascha nostrum immolatus est pro nobis. The gift of W. Hill, clerk of St Anne Black fryers". + The spoon has a handle known as the "pied de biche" shape.'(note)
9. St Giles's Cripplegate, pp 41 and 42: A silver spoon with the date mark for 1816. Also a spoon as part of a set of plate, 2 flagons, 2 cups, 3 patens and a spoon with the date mark for 1737 and a maker's mark IS, and inscribed, 'Godfrey Harrison and John Smith inhabitants of the parish of St Giles, Cripplegate in all humility dedicated this to God's service 1672. New wrought 1737'. Wt 2oz, and L 8" Wt 2¹/₄'.
10. All Hallows the Great, p 3: Two silver-gilt spoons with the date mark for 1719, inscribed "All Hallows the Great 1719." + The spoons of this church are perforated with a very pretty pattern instead of the plain punched holes'.(note)
11. St Alban's Wood Street, p 10: A silver spoon with a maker's mark R.H., in linked letters crowned. Wt 1oz 7dwt + The spoon is a circular strainer, very like the modern teapot strainer, with a short tubular handle with a ring at the end of it.'(note)

Appendix 2

Confirmation of existence and whereabouts of strainer spoons, based on Edwin Freshfield,
Communion plate of the churches in the City of London

All Hallows Barking, two spoons seen: (i) slip-top, 1639 by Jeremy Johnson (ii) pierced Hanoverian, 1717 by John Holland.

All Hallows the Great, one spoon seen at the French Hospital: pierced Hanoverian, 1719.

All Hallows Lombard Street, one spoon seen at St Edmund the King: a half-pierced Hanoverian, 1765 by Samuel Shelley.

St Alban's Wood Street, one spoon seen at the Museum of London: a pierced lemon-strainer type, circa 1690, maker's mark RH conjoined.

St Andrew's Undershaft, not seen but spoon's existence confirmed: a plain trefid, 1685 by John Smith.

St Andrew's by the Wardrobe with St Anne's Blackfriars, one spoon seen: a plain trefid, 1694 by Thomas Issod.

St Augustine's with St Faith's under St Paul's, one spoon seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum: a sugar-sifter, 1777.

St Bride's Fleet Street, four spoons seen: (i) a plain trefid,

NC, 1683 (ii) Two plain dog-nose servers, 1701 by Seth Lofthouse (iii) a pierced Old English server, 1796 by Richard Crossley.

St Dunstan's in the East, one spoon seen at All Hallows by the Tower: a pierced Hanoverian, 1717 by John Holland.

St Dunstan's in the West, two spoons seen: (i) a baluster seal-top, 1675 by Steven Venables (ii) a baluster seal-top, 1679 by Robert Smithier.

St Edmund the King and Martyr with St Nicholas Acons, three spoons seen: (i) a plain trefid, 1684 by John Smith (ii) a half-pierced Hanoverian marrow spoon, 1771 by Samuel Green (iii) a half-pierced Hanoverian, 1765 by Samuel Shelley.

St Giles's Cripplegate, a pair of spoons seen: one pierced and one plain Hanoverian, 1736 by Benjamin West. St Helen's Bishopsgate with St Martin's Outwich, two spoon's existence confirmed: (i) FS, 1732 (ii) a plain trefid, 1685 by John Smith.

St James's Garlickhithe with St Michael's Queenhithe, two spoons seen: (i) a pierced trefid, 1682 by John Smith (ii) a mote spoon, circa 1722.

St Katherine Cree with St James's Dukes Place, one spoon seen: a plain baluster-end, 1631

St Lawrence Jewry, with St Mary Magdalene, Milk Street, two spoons seen: (i) a baluster seal-top, 1638 by Richard Crosse (ii) a pierced dog-nose, 1697.

St Magnus with St Margaret's New Fish Street and St Michael's Crooked Lane, two spoons seen: (i) a half-pierced Hanoverian, 1730 by William Petley (ii) a plain dog-nose, circa 1710 by Steven Venables jun.

St Margaret's Lothbury with St Bartholomew by the Royal Exchange and St Christopher Le Stocks, three spoons seen: (i) a pierced Hanoverian, 1742 by William Soame (ii) a pierced Old English, 1818 by William Eley and William Fearn (iii) a pierced dog-nose, 1706 by John Ladyman.

St Margaret Pattens, one spoon's existence confirmed: a Hanoverian strainer.

St Martin's Ludgate, one spoon seen: a pierced trefid, circa 1675 by John King.

St Mary Abchurch, with St Lawrence Pounteney, one spoon seen: a baluster seal-top, 1671 by Jeremy Johnson. St Mary at Hill, one spoon's existence confirmed: a seal-top, 1684 by John Smith.

St Mary Woolnoth, one spoon seen at St Edmund the King: a plain trefid, 1684 by John Smith.

St Michael's Bassishaw, one spoon seen at St Lawrence Jewry: a pierced dog-nose, 1697.

St Peter le Poor with St Ben't Fink, one spoon seen, now in private ownership: a half-pierced trefid, 1684 by William Mathew.

St Sepulchre's, two spoon's existence confirmed: (i) a sugar-sifter (ii) an Exeter spoon, circa 1710.

St Stephen's Coleman Street, one spoon seen at St Margaret's Lothbury: a pierced dog-nose, 1706 by John Ladyman.

St Swithin's with St Mary's Bolhaw, one spoon's existence confirmed: a part-pierced seal-top, 1631 by Daniel Carey.

St Vedast's with St Michael le Querne, two spoons seen, one at the Museum of London (i) a plain dog-nose, 1708 (ii) a small pierced dog-nose, circa 1710.

When Christ became an astronomer: the contrasting histories of two seventeenth-century Augsburg shrines

HEIKE ZECH

1 Christoph Emmendorf and Christof Tepesch (eds), *Wunderwelt. Der Pommersche Kunstschränk*,

exhibition catalogue, Maximilianmuseum Augsburg, Berlin, 2014.

Lavish silver-mounted architectural wooden structures, such as that encasing a clock in the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection [Figs 1 and 2], were a particular specialty of Augsburg masters, who created them as shrines and cabinets of curiosity or art. These structures, iconic products of the South German Free Imperial city of early modern times, were highly esteemed by Europe's Baroque princes as well as by later collectors.

The recent exhibition, *Wunderwelt. Der Pommersche Kunstschränk*, which focussed on the Pomeranian *kunstschränk* or 'art cabinet' in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin [Fig 3] is testimony to this ongoing fascination.¹ Commissioned by Duke Philip II of Pomerania and Stettin (1573-1618) and delivered in 1615, the Pomeranian *kunstschränk* was filled with Augsburg-made curiosities, such as works of art and scientific instruments.² Even though its contents, which included many masterpieces in silver, are still in the collections of the Kunstgewerbemuseum, the cabinet itself was destroyed in 1945.³ The pride of its makers in their achievement can be sensed in a miniature by Anton Mozart [Fig 4], made for the *kunstschränk*, that depicts a fictional delivery procession in Stettin in which all the makers who contributed to this marvel appear.⁴ The exhibition catalogue, which included new material, broadened existing scholarship on the cabinet and provided new information about the makers, patrons and techniques used to construct these splendid pieces.

Large cabinets, such as the now-lost Pomeranian one, were extraordinary and rare commissions and as such tend to be documented. By contrast, the majority of cabinets created jointly by Augsburg cabinet-makers and silversmiths between the late-sixteenth- and mid-eighteenth centuries are on a smaller, less ambitious scale, and often lack any documentation. Like the piece discussed in this article, they also tend to have been subject to later interventions and restorations that profoundly changed their appearance and meaning. In the case of the Gilbert clock, only fragments of the original silver figures survive which allow a partial reconstruction of the original sculptural silver decoration. As works of art, created by a multitude of masters specialising in different materials, the attribution of such cabinets to a particular maker or workshop remains elusive, when the vital research ingredients of archive material and marks are absent. The Gilbert clock is such a case and can, therefore,

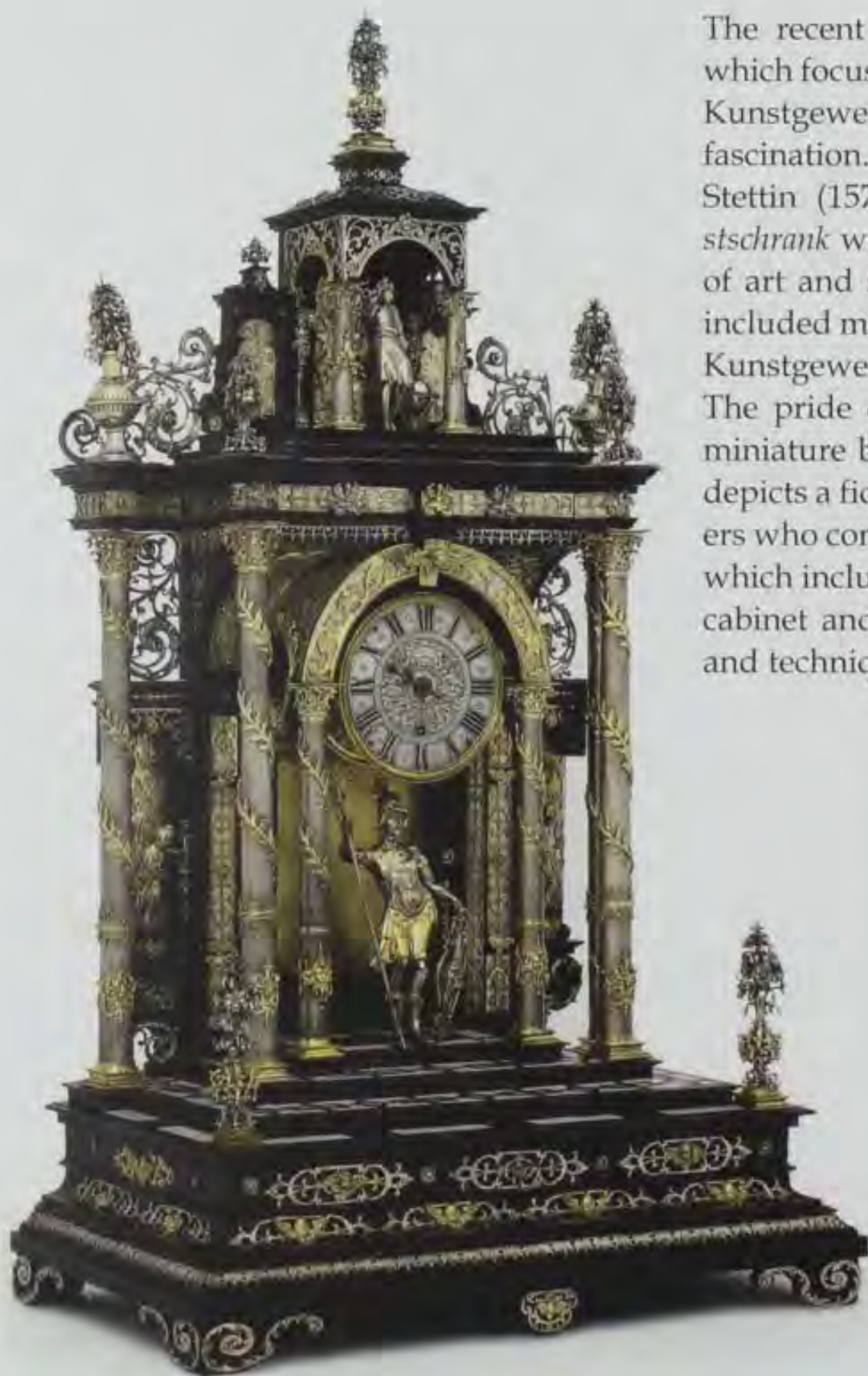


Fig 1 The Gilbert clock, Augsburg and Friedberg, seventeenth-century and later, ebony and silver, parcel-gilt

(© The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; museum number Loan:Gilbert.66-2008)

serve as a footnote to recent research into seventeenth-century Augsburg cabinets and clocks. The dark wooden structure of the clock, decorated with applied silver elements, is nearly identical to a shrine in Prague bearing the marks of Abraham II Lotter [Figs 5 and 6] which has been continuously preserved in the Loreto church since the mid-seventeenth century. The comparison of the two objects in this article highlights how the appearance and function of a work of art can be entirely altered during the long period of its lifetime, not only because of changing markets and tastes, but also as a consequence of shifting world views across historical periods.⁵

The Gilbert clock (H 30¹/₄ in (76.5cm) W 17 in (43.2cm) D 10 in (24.5cm); (museum object number Loan:Gilbert.66-2008) is a marriage of a shrine case and a table clock, both of them masterpieces in their own right. The ebonised shrine, set with a front drawer and applied silver ornament is certainly the work of Augsburg craftsmen and is stylistically comparable to cabinets produced during the first half of the seventeenth century.⁶ A late-seventeenth-century silver-gilt and rock crystal table clock [Fig 10] bears the signature 'Kreitt Maÿr' on its enamelled and engraved silver dial. The Kreitmays were a dynasty of clockmakers based in Friedberg, the famous centre of clock making just a couple of miles east of Augsburg, and thus conveniently close



Fig 3 The Pomeranian kunstschränk, Augsburg, completed 1615, formerly in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, destroyed in 1945; photograph circa 1900

(©bpk, Kunstgewerbemuseum, SMB, Berlin)



Fig 4 Anton Mozart, The delivery of the Pomeranian cabinet, circa 1615

(©bpk, Kunstgewerbemuseum, SMB, Berlin, Satoria Linke)

2 A model was created in summer 1611 and work on the actual commission followed immediately afterwards. A table of adjustable height was completed in 1616. Barbara Mundt, 'Der Pommersche Kunstschränk', *ibid.*, pp 21-31, in particular p 22; based upon her earlier publication: Barbara Mundt, *Der Pommersche Kunstschränk des Augsburger Unternehmers Philipp Hainhofer für den gelehrten Herzog Philipp II. von Pommern*, Munich, 2009.

3 Among the other famous cabinets is the so-called

stipo tedesco, 1619-1625, now in the Museo degli Argenti, Florence, created for Archduke Leopold V, and one made for the Gustavus Adolphus II of Sweden (1594-1632) now in the collections of the Universitets Konstsamlingar, Uppsala, *op cit*, see note 1, pp 16, 19, 28.

4 *Ibid.*, p 29.

5 The cooperation between different trades in Augsburg makes the existence of two nearly identical pieces by no means unusual. A number of closely related works, attributed to,

or with marks associated with, Matthias Walbaum's workshop are known, *ibid.*, pp 416-419, cat no 81 with further references.

6 *Ibid.*, pp 438-443, cat nos 91-92; see also the respective holdings of the Kunstkammer in Dresden: Anne Veltrup, 'Kunstkammerschränke als Spiegel der fürstlichen Ordnung', Dirk Syndram and Martina Minning (eds), *Die kurfürstliche Kunstkammer in Dresden. Geschichte einer Sammlung*, Dresden, 2012, pp 223-235, in particular, figs 4 and 8.

Fig 2 The Gilbert clock, back view [Fig 1]

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



Fig 5 Shrine, Augsburg, circa 1613-1616, maker's mark of Abraham II Lotter, wood, silver, parcel-gilt, in the Loreto church, Prague

(© The Loreto, Provincie kapucínů v ČR)

Fig 6 The Prague shrine [Fig 5], back view

(© The Loreto, Provincie kapucínů v ČR)





Fig 7 The Prague shrine [Fig 5], detail of the marks of Abraham II Lotter above the side door of nativity scene

(© The Loreto, Provincie kapucini v ČR)



Fig 8 The Gilbert clock, front view

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



Fig 9 The Gilbert clock, from Heinrich Frauenberger's N. R. Fränkels Uhrensammlung, 1913

to both the Imperial city of Augsburg and the court of the Electors of Bavaria. The clock is probably the work of Elias I Kreitmayer (1639-1697).⁷

The fact that the Gilbert clock, as it is now, has been cited in a range of studies on different aspects of the decorative arts shows how it is a work created in defiance of the confines of the guild structures typical of early modern craftsmanship.⁸ The Augsburg production processes at the time could be said to foreshadow the serial production of later centuries. In 1988 Timothy Schroder first pointed out that the case "was probably made in the early 1600s as a house altar", and that it closely resembles a shrine in the Loreto church in Prague, even though he only had a photograph of a detail of the shrine with which to compare the clock.⁹ His perceptive observation inspired me to write this article. A careful comparison with the near-identical shrine preserved in Prague, helps us considerably in understanding the extent of the transformation of the Gilbert piece. It also gives an indication of its appearance before it was turned into a clock, an alteration that must pre-date 1890, when it was first described.¹⁰

The Gilbert clock

The provenance of the Gilbert clock, acquired from a private collector in Milwaukee in 1988, is only known in part¹¹ and, unsurprisingly, no information on the separate lives of the objects prior to their marriage has come to light so far. In 1890 the clock was described by Carl Marfels, one of the leading clock scholars of the day. His article was reprinted, with a photograph [Fig 9] of the piece in 1913, after the clock had entered the collection of Nathan Ruben Fränkel (1848-1909) in Frankfurt am Main. It was in this publication that the 'Collection Seckel' in Berlin was given as the provenance and, while this collection appears to have been unpublished, more is known about Fränkel and his extensive collection of clocks, gold and silver. A watch-maker by trade¹², his address was given as the second floor of 38 Ziel, a prestigious commercial street, in the Frankfurt directory of 1877.¹³ After Fränkel's death in 1909 his children gave the majority of the collection (although not, apparently, the future Gilbert clock¹⁴) to the then Kunstgewerbe Museum in Düsseldorf. They also commissioned the museum's Director Heinrich Frauenberger to compile a catalogue of the horological collection. The Fränkel Collection, however, remained at the Kunstgewerbe Museum for only a couple of years: in 1916 it fell victim to theft and 439 items, including the pieces from Fränkel's collection, most of them watches, disappeared.¹⁵

Frauenberger's lavish album, celebrating the Fränkel Collection, lists 372 pieces, some of them reproduced in colour plates, an extraordinary luxury at the time. It also includes a biographical sketch, written by Fränkel's children, which depicts a Jewish watch-maker, born near Würzburg, who single-handedly built a watch empire based in Frankfurt am Main, with branches in Paris and Switzerland. Fränkel's interest in 'rare old clocks' and watches had been nurtured by Carl Marfels himself:

durch ihn [Carl Marfels] wurde sein hochentwickelter Kunstsinn auf das Sammeln seltener alter Uhren gelenkt; aber auch seine verwandschaftlichen und freundschaftlichen

Beziehungen zu den bedeutenden Antiquitätenhändlern von Frankfurt a. Main und München waren geeignet, sein Interesse an alten Uhren und sein Verständnis für altertümliche Gegenstände zu wecken.¹⁶

[He [Carl Marfels] drew the attention of his keen interest in art to rare old clocks and watches; and his family and business ties with important antique dealers in Frankfurt a. Main and Munich helped to fuel his interest in historic clocks and watches and his connoisseurship in antique objects]

His family and professional networks enabled him to build a fantastic collection, but he was compelled to collect because of his commitment to seek out and pursue 'beautiful' objects:

Kein Weg war ihm zu weit und kein Opfer zu gross, wenn ihm die Gelegenheit geboten wurde, etwas Schönes für seine Sammlung zu erwerben.¹⁷

The means and the passion, the key traits of a true collector, are universal and this description of Fränkel could apply equally to the collecting habits of Arthur and Rosalinde Gilbert who would own his clock nearly a century later. Fränkel and Arthur Gilbert also had something else in common: they shared their interest in collecting with their spouses and both also lent pieces from their collections to museums and for exhibition.

They also differ in that Fränkel, the watch-maker, drew on his historical collection for inspiration for his own creations, while Gilbert earned his wealth in property development.¹⁸

Since the image was first published the clock has undergone further structural changes, such as the position of the columns and the arrangement of the silver flowers. Most noticeably two, apparently original, columns not on the piece in the earliest picture are now back in place. A mirror, itself a later addition, behind the figure in the central arch has been removed.¹⁹ In its present incarnation the piece is a table clock with a statuette of a classical warrior [Fig 14] below and the possibly unique feature of parcel-gilt silver figure of a man looking through a telescope [Fig 17] in the baldachin above. I will discuss this particular figure in more detail later on.

Carl Marfels described the clock in 1890 as

eine Standuhr allerersten Ranges, die es vollauf rechtfertigt, wenn wir sie den Lesern dieses Blattes in Wort und Bild anschaulich zu machen suchen. Das betreffende Stück, dem 17. Jahrhundert entstammend, ist, wie aus der Abbildung zu ersehen, eine Tischuhr, deren Gehäuse sich als eine Goldschmiedearbeit kunstvollster Ausführung erweist, neben welcher das Uhrwerk selbst [...] weit zurücktritt [...]²⁰

7 Friedberg as centre of clock production has been well studied and it has an impressive museum celebrating the town's century-long tradition. I would like to thank Dr Alice Arnhold-Becker, Director of the Museum im Schloss, Friedberg, for kindly suggesting comparisons for the clock in the Gilbert shrine. Elias Kreitmayer created several similar clocks although none with a comparable precious rock-crystal decoration. The clock may have an additional signature on its base, currently hidden, which would confirm this attribution. See also Adelheid Riolini-Unger, *Die Friedberger Uhren*, exhibition catalogue, Friedberg, 1993, in particular pp 98-99, cat nos 85-87; pp 170-171 (biography).

8 Carl Marfels, 'Eine kunstvolle alte Standuhr', *Deutsche Uhrmacherzeitung*, vol 10, 15 May 1890, Berlin; republished in: Heinrich

Frauenberger (ed), *N. R. Fränkels Uhrensammlung*, Düsseldorf, 1913, cat no 273, pl 42; Regina Löwe, *Die Augsburger Goldschmiedewerkstatt des Matthias Walbaum*, Munich, 1975, cat no 96A; Timothy Schroder, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver*, Los Angeles, 1988, pp 24-26, fig 7.

9 Timothy Schroder, op cit, see note 8, p 26.

10 Carl Marfels, op cit, see note 8.

11 The history of the ownership of the clock is part of an on-going research project for the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection. The research may also clarify the significance of an illegible stamp in red ink on the base of the front drawer, possibly a customs seal.

12 His watch-making business appears to have been registered as Fränkel & Co

in 1870, while the Frauenberger publication gives 1874 as the year of the foundation of Fränkel's own company.

Frauenberger (ed), op cit, see note 8, p VII. The family business appears to have continued beyond Fränkel's death with subsequent trade-marks registered as late as 1971. See <http://www.mikrolisk.de/show.php?site=280&suchwort=Ruben> (retrieved August 2014). Fränkel is also included in the following publication which could not be consulted in preparation of this article: Jürgen Abeler, *Meister der Uhrmacherkunst. Über 14000 Uhrmacher aus dem deutschen Sprachgebiet mit Lebens- und Wirkungsdaten und dem Verzeichnis ihrer Werke*, Wuppertal, 1977.

13 See <http://www.adressbuecher.net/entry/show/2484151> (accessed August 2014).

14 The 1913 catalogue speaks of 'die teilweise Überlassung der ganzen Sammlung' (partial gift of the whole collection) which leaves room for some speculation. Heinrich Frauenberger, op cit, see note 8, p VIII.

15 The museum has since become part of the Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast in Düsseldorf. Richard Stettiner, *Einbruchsdiebstahl im Kunstgewerbe-Museum zu Düsseldorf*, Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 20 August 1916. I am very grateful to Dr Barbara Til, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, for providing me with a copy of this illustrated list of stolen items and for sharing further information on the background of the gift.

16 Heinrich Freudenberger (ed), op cit, see note 8, p VII.

17 'No journey was too far, no sacrifice too big, if it

afforded the opportunity to acquire something beautiful for his collection', ibid, p VIII.

18 Ibid, p VIII.

19 When Regina Löwe described the piece for her 1975 monograph on the Augsburg goldsmith Matthias Walbaum it was already in its current form. Regina Löwe, op cit, see note 8, p 103.

20 'a table clock of the utmost quality that justifies presenting it to the readers of this publication in word and image. The piece in question, originating from the seventeenth century is, as can be seen in the picture, a table clock with a carcass that is shown to be goldsmith's work of extremely artful construction, in contrast to which the clockwork itself [...] is insignificant'. Marfels in Heinrich Frauenberger, op cit, see note 8, p 40.



Fig 10 The Gilbert clock [Fig 1], detail of the clock dial signed by Kreitt Maÿr, Friedberg, late seventeenth-century

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



Fig 11 The Gilbert clock [Fig 1], detail of the table clock, cabochons around drum of clock, hardly visible in the current set-up

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



Fig 12 The Gilbert clock [Fig 1], detail of angel with the instruments of the Passion on the left side of the clock

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

In fact, the clock [Figs 10 and 11] is a parcel-gilt circular table clock turned on its side and fitted into the existing niche of the earlier shrine. The side, only partly visible in this context, is set with cabochon-shaped pieces of rock-crystal. The casing which now surrounds the clock is a wooden structure adorned with intricate silver mounts, finials, columns and figures. It takes the form of a façade with a central semi-circular arch, flanked by two pairs of silver columns, which in turn is surmounted by a small tripartite triumphal arch. The central arch is prominent because of its dimensions and the use of silver Corinthian columns in front of the wooden pilasters. Three steps inlaid with ebony and ivory marquetry lead up to the central niche and give the overall structure the feel of a miniature stage, a small *theatrum mundi*. The whole piece rests on an ebonised wooden base with a drawer lined with red silk.²¹ Only the columns appear to be made entirely of silver but they are hollow, made from silver sheets, rolled and soldered, and are enriched with silver-gilt bases, capitals and spiralling leaves running up and down the length of each column. All the wooden, ebonised surfaces are enriched with silver or parcel-gilt silver mounts and silver cherubim. While most of the silver ornament comprises typical Augsburg strapwork, the gilded silver decoration applied to the central arch is an elegant example of the auricular style. The sophisticated overall organisation of the piece is reminiscent of contemporary church facades and architectural altarpieces, for which the most important source of inspiration is arguably the ancient Roman triumphal arch which persisted as a motif in architecture and related arts. As Lorenz Seelig has observed elsewhere, cabinet-makers in Augsburg were fully aware of architectural traditions, innovations and proportions: they had studied the relevant literature, such as *Vitruvius Teutsch*, of 1548.²²

The various arches and niches of the façade lend themselves to the display of miniature sculpture and indeed, two original small silver figures of angels are still in situ in the lateral niches of the main façade. One of them [Fig 12] still holds a hammer and nails, instruments of the Passion of Christ, while the other has lost his instruments. These two figures are the only original silver sculptures left unaltered on the object, and they hint at the original, sacred, function of the work. The central niche meanwhile is occupied by a figure in Roman military dress with lance and shield [Fig 14], a type of figure more likely to be found on wall or long-case clocks dating from the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries [Figs 15 and 16].²³

The central niche is an exception to the overall decoration of the object; the interior of the space is not covered with intricate silver mounts but instead is clad in a rather crudely-made silver-gilt or gilt-metal foil. The early photograph [Fig 9] shows a mirror in this position, either covering or in place of the foil. This space, filled by the clock and the outsized, classical, figure, is an odd, empty, undesigned section of the piece, in stark contrast to the carefully balanced distribution of ornament on the remainder of it. This area as well as the figure of the man with a telescope, next to a globe, under the baldachin, requires further exploration and explanation. Analysis of the figure is a challenge to connoisseurship: while his face, dimensions and parts of the gilding 'feel right', his crudely made tunic, with its outsized belt, simply does not. As I will argue below, the tunic was attached to the figure at a later date, and covers



Fig 13 Prague shrine [Fig 5], detail of fragmented angel

(© The Loreto, Provincie kapucínů v ČR)



Fig 14 The Gilbert clock [Fig 1], detail of warrior figure

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

Fig 15 The Drayton House clock, detail of warrior figure

(by kind permission of the Trustees of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)



21 The drawer of the shrine in Prague is also lined with red silk but no scientific comparative analysis has yet been made; hence it is unclear whether the lining is original.

22 Lorenz Seelig, 'Einführung', Reinhold Baumstark and Lorenz Seelig (eds), *Silber und Gold. Augsburger Goldschmiedekunst für die Höfe Europa*, exhibition catalogue, Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, 1994, p 20.

23 Thomas Tompion's Drayton House clock, circa 1695, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, museum no M.22-1947, is such an example: Tom Robinson, 'An examination of the case of two Tompion year equation clocks', *Antiquarian Horology*, Summer 1994, pp 342-349, in particular p 342, fig 1. For Dutch examples of such figures see: Peter Heuer and Klaus Maurice, *European Pendulum Clocks. Decorative Instruments of Measuring Time*, Atglen, PA, 1988, pp 238-239, cat nos 479-483,

in part 483. Another clock by Tompion, crowned with a figure of Minerva, is part of the collections at Colonial Williamsburg: Graham Hood, 'Time for the Royals. Tompion's clock', *Colonial Williamsburg Journal*, Summer 2004, online <http://www.history.org/Foundation/journal/Summer04/clock.cfm>.

Fig 16 The Drayton House clock, London, circa 1694, by Thomas Tompion

(by kind permission of the Trustees of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, museum no M 22-1947)



only the front of the body. The globe, too, is a later addition. Thankfully, the shrine in Prague offers additional evidence that can aid the interpretation of the figure in its current appearance.

The shrine at the Loreto church in Prague

The Prague shrine, originally made for private devotion, was given to the Loreto church before 1640 and has remained there, virtually unchanged, ever since.²⁴ It is part of an extraordinary collection of religious silver, most of it produced either in Augsburg, Vienna or Prague between 1600 and 1800. Among the highlights of the treasury are a magnificent diamond-set Augsburg monstrance [Fig 21] and a smaller, but equally masterly, pearl-set monstrance [Fig 22].

The silver groups on the Augsburg shrine in Prague bear the marks [Fig 7] of the Augsburg goldsmith Abraham II Lotter (circa 1580-1626, master around 1613) and an Augsburg hallmark documented between 1612 and 1616, thus allowing us to date the silver parts of the shrine to between 1613 and 1616.²⁵ The shrine was first discussed by Theodor Müller, who focussed particularly on its iconography,²⁶ and a detail of it was subsequently used as an example of Lotter's work in Helmut Seling's *Augsburger Goldschmiede*.²⁷

The wooden carcass and applied silver decoration of the Prague shrine display minor differences to the Gilbert clock in their construction. The overall dimensions (h 35 in (89cm), w 17 in (43cm), d 9³/₄ in (24.5cm) are virtually identical; the shrine rests on ball feet which, in addition to the figural finial, explain the difference in height. On the Prague shrine the front columns are connected to the main body by wooden miniature architraves set at an angle [Fig 23], rather than at ninety degrees as on the Gilbert piece. As on the Gilbert piece different parts of the shrine, such as the central arch, are gilded but the areas of gilding on both

pieces mirror each other: what is gilt on the Prague shrine is plain silver on the Gilbert clock and vice versa. The most obvious and most significant difference is, however, the iconographic programme. The Prague Loreto shrine shows three subjects from the life of Christ as miniature silver sculptures: on the base a parcel-gilt nativity scene in silver, a Pietà in the minuscule aedicule and, above this, the figure of Christ as a triumphant *Salvator Mundi*.

While the exact date of the donation of the shrine to the Loreto monastery is uncertain, two silver armorials allow the identification of the donors and thereby place the donation firmly in the first half of the century:

SCFBVS [Seyfried Christoph Freiherr Breuner
Herr von Staaz]

MFBBEFVSGHVM – Margarete Freiin Breuner
Edle Frau von Staaz Geborene Herrin von
Mollart)²⁸

These patrons, Seyfried Christoph von Breuner (1593-1651) and his second wife, Margarete, née von Mollart, were related to the patron of the Loreto shrine itself, Baroness Benigna Catharina von Lobkowitz (1594-1653). Her family were fierce supporters of the Catholic church in Bohemia before and during the Thirty-Years' War. The context of religious conflict, the Counter Reformation and decrees of the Council of Trent in particular, are crucial to understanding the Loreto church itself. Founded in 1626 it became a centre of Catholic worship, missionary work and, thanks to a miraculous figure of the Virgin Mary in Prague, a centre of pilgrimage.

The Prague shrine's iconographic scheme and vertical arrangement, with its three elements representing three stages of the Life of Christ, are typical of the period, and can be seen on other Augsburg shrines of the period.²⁹ Christ's birth is represented with a Nativity scene [Fig 24],

24 Theodor Müller, 'Ein Augsburger Silberaltärchen in Prag', *Opuscula in honorem C. Hermmarck*, 27.12.1966. Nationalmuseum Stockholm, 1966, pp 159-66.

25 The piece is marked on the front of the step, the back of the manger and

above the door on the right side of the structure with both the Augsburg town mark and Abraham II Lotter's mark. The hallmarks are hardly legible; in Seling they are marked as 'v' for 'verschlagen', closest to no 0210 (1612-1616), the maker's mark no 1278. Helmut Seling, *Die*

Augsburger Gold- und Silberschmiede. 1529-1868. Meister. Marken. Werke. Munich, 2007, p 41 (hallmark) and p 216 (Lotter).

26 Ibid.

27 Helmut Seling, op cit, see note 25, vol 2, fig 53.

28 Theodor Müller, op cit, see note 24, p 162.

29 A particularly magnificent example is a shrine of circa 1630 with a height of 66¹/₂ in (169 cm), now in the Maximilianmuseum, Augsburg, inv no 4859. The central relief of this shrine is the Crucifixion,

with the Resurrection above and a niche for a relic underneath. See Christoph Emmendorffer and Christof Tepesch (eds), op cit, see note 1, pp 404-407, cat no 76 with further references.



Fig 17 The Gilbert clock [Fig 1], detail of man with telescope
(© The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London)



Fig 18 Prague shrine [Fig 5], detail of the figure of Christ as Saviour
(© The Loreto, Provincie kapucínů v ČR)



Fig 19 Raphael Custos (publisher), monogrammist H.I.B., Triumphus Iesu Christi Redemptoris, print, Augsburg, second quarter of seventeenth century
(Herzog Anton-Ulrich-Bibliothek, Brunswick, inv no Graph Res C:214)



Fig 20: The Gilbert clock [Fig 5], detail of solder points to the back of the figure with a telescope
(© The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London)



Fig 21: Monstrance, diamond-set, the treasury of the Loreto shrine, Prague
(© The Loreto, Provincie kapucínů v ČR)



Fig 22 Monstrance, pearl-set, the treasury of the Loreto shrine, Prague
(© The Loreto, Provincie kapucínů v ČR)



Fig 23 The Prague shrine [Fig 5], detail of construction
(© The Loreto, Provincie kapucínů v ČR)



Fig 24 The Prague shrine [Fig 5], detail of Nativity
(© The Loreto, Provincie kapucínů v ČR)



Fig 25 Silver Nativity, Augsburg, circa 1610-1613, maker's mark of Abraham II Lotter, formerly in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich

(© Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, inv no 30/207)



Fig 26 The Prague shrine [Fig 5], detail of figures of nativity scene

(© The Loreto, Provincie kapucínů v ČR)



Fig 27 The Prague shrine [Fig 5], detail of the Pietà

(© The Loreto, Provincie kapucínů v ČR)

his Passion by the Pietà group [Fig 27] while the Resurrection is symbolised by the figure of Christ as Saviour [Fig 18]. This type of tripartite composition along a vertical axis has a long tradition in Christian art. An Augsburg design for an altarpiece, circa 1530, in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, also depicts the triumphant Christ at the top of the altar, with scenes of the Crucifixion and an empty niche on two separate registers below.³⁰ Equally, contemporary monumental altarpieces display a comparable vertical division, albeit frequently in a more unified overall design. One example is Philipp Dirr's high altar (1623-25) [Fig 30] for Freising Cathedral which was made to accommodate the painting by Peter Paul Rubens, *The Woman of the Apocalypse* (now in Munich, Alte Pinakothek) of 1624. The altarpiece is designed in such a way that beneath the painting there is a sculptural tabernacle for the Host. Willibald Sauerländer argued that the painting is a prime example of post-Tridentine Catholic propaganda, an observation which can be extended to include the form of the altar more generally. For Sauerländer, Rubens

created the triumphant symbol of the Victory of the Catholic League over the Protestants at the battle of the White Mountain four years earlier, which put a bloody end to religious freedom in Bohemia.³¹

Catholic propaganda was not limited to monumental works such as altarpieces, or to the context of public worship. The sculptural nativity scene on the shrine in Prague is particularly interesting in this regard. Three-dimensional staged representations of the Adoration or Nativity of Christ became increasingly popular throughout Catholic areas of central Europe, and particularly in the Alpine regions of Bavaria and Bohemia. The Jesuits, for example, installed a crib in their Prague college in 1562.³² Gockerell explains the Jesuits' aims in her recent volume on nativity cribs:

Gerade dieser Orden hatte die pädagogischen Möglichkeiten der Krippe genauso erkannt wie diejenigen des religiösen Schauspiels und nutzte alle Wirkungen der realistischen, theatralischen und daher besonders einprägsamen Darstellung zur religiösen Unterweisung der Gläubigen.³³

30 The design is based upon an etching by Daniel Hopfer, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, mus no Hz2998. Illustrated in *Welt im Umbruch Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Barock*, vol II, Rathaus, exhibition catalogue, Stadt Augsburg, Augsburg, 1980, cat no 599.

31 Willibald Sauerländer, *The Catholic Rubens, Saints and Martyrs*, Los Angeles, 2014, p 31. This publication is a translation by David Dollenmayer of the

German original: Willibald Sauerländer, *Der katholische Rubens. Heilige und Märtyrer*, Munich, 2011.

32 The tradition of sculptural representation of the Nativity as a fixed element in sacred space goes back much further. During the late Gothic period, nativity scenes were influenced by the visions of Saint Brigitta, leading to the more codified mode of depiction familiar today. Nativity altarpieces are among the first three-dimensional rep-

resentations of the subject, and include the Brixen altarpiece by Hans Klocker, circa 1485. The earliest miniature nativity scenes in South Germany were created in the late sixteenth century and from the early seventeenth century onwards became a means of education by way of visual reconstruction for the Jesuit order. See Nina Gockerell, *Krippen im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum*, Munich, 2005, pp 21-25.



Fig 28 Kilian Lucas (after Michelangelo), *Pietà*, print, Augsburg, 1604
(Herzog Anton-Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick, inv no LKilian-AB3.17)



Fig 29 Antonio Salamanca, *Pietà*, print, 1547, inscribed: 'MICHAELANGELVS . BONAROTVS . FLORENT . DIVI . PETRI . INVATICANO . EXVNO . / LAPIDE . MATREM . AC . FILIVM . DIVINE . FECIT'
(Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, inv no D50128)



Fig 30 Philipp Dirr, main altar of Freising Cathedral, 1623-1625; created for Peter Paul Rubens's *The Woman of the Apocalypse* (the original now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich)

On the Prague shrine the choice of the Nativity, as a subject for private devotion, has to be seen in this context and its significance, as an example of the Catholic sympathies of its patron, are intensified by the use of silver for the sculpture. Nonetheless, the Prague silver Nativity is not a unique piece: a very similar version [Fig 25] was acquired by the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich in 1914. This can be dated to between circa 1610 and 1613, based upon hallmarks and maker's marks documented prior to its disappearance.³⁴ While the *dramatis personae* and their arrangement are identical, the stage is wider and is symmetrical in its arrangement. Sadly the group was stolen while on loan to the World Exhibition in Toronto in 1967, but measurements taken prior to its disappearance confirm that it would be too large for the Gilbert clock and was, therefore, probably part of a third shrine.

The *Pietà*'s overall composition is inspired by Michelangelo's *Pietà* of 1498-99, which in turn drew upon German *Andachtsbilder* of the late Gothic period. Several Augsburg prints from the early seventeenth century show comparable *Pietà* groups, sometimes labelled as depictions of Michelangelo's masterpiece [Figs 28 and 29]. The figure of Christ on the top of the shrine also recalls Counter-Reformation prints [Fig 19] produced in Augsburg in the first and second decades of the century.

All in all the iconography of the Prague shrine exhibits iconography typical of a Catholic shrine intended for private devotion, and echoes, in miniature and in precious material, the iconography found in other media and on another scale elsewhere. That this iconographical template also applied originally, in some shape and form, to the Gilbert clock, is evident from a comparison of the angels on the sides of the Gilbert clock with those of the Prague shrine,

33 'This order in particular had recognised the pedagogic value of the Nativity as much as that of religious drama and used their effect as a realistic and dramatic and, therefore, particularly memorable means of religious education.' Ibid, p 24.

34 Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, inv no 30/207. Helmut Seling, 1980, op cit, see note 27, fig 53. According to the entry in the Archiv für Augsburger Goldschmiedekunst at the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (BNM) in Munich, the marks are the

following: Helmut Seling, 1980, vol III, town mark 38; vol III, p 148, maker's mark 1278A. The 2007 edition of Seling's work on Augsburg marks also lists the objects and indicates the hallmark as no 180, documented between 1610 and 1612. Helmut Seling, 2007, op cit, see note 25, p 216. Given that Abraham II Lotter is thought to have become a Master only in the following year, this might indicate a later use of the hall mark. I am hugely grateful to Dr Annette Schommers of the BNM, for her help in obtaining information from the archive.



Fig 31 Electrotype of the allegory of Astronomy on the Pomeranian kunstschränk; the original (destroyed in 1945), Augsburg, circa 1611, maker's mark of David Altenstetter

(© KMA Maximiliansmuseum, Augsburg, inv no 4828)

35 Heinrich Frauenberger (ed), op cit, see note 8, p 40.

36 Carl Marfels, op cit, see note 8, p 40.

37 The original applied silver elements do not survive, but electrotype copies are still part of the collections of the Maximilianmuseum, Augsburg, inv nos 4827 to 4831. The allegory of Astronomy bears David Altenstetter's mark, Christoph Emmendörffer and Christof Tepesch (eds), op cit, see note 1, pp 260-261, cat no 37.

38 A sketch of an allegory of Astronomy associated with the cabinet also survives and shows a reduced number of attributes, *ibid*, pp 25-259, cat no 36.

39 The first illustrated version of this iconic publica-

tion appeared in 1603, and includes only an allegory of Astrologia. A revised volume appeared in 1608, when the Pomeranian cabinet would have been under construction. Its content is comparable to the 1624-1625 edition which shows Astronomia as young woman with an astrolabe and a "tavola ove siano diverse figure astro-nomiche [a map with various stellar configurations]". Cesare Ripa, *La Novissima Iconologia*, Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, p 55.

40 Several eighteenth-century allegories of Astronomy are narrative scenes such as an overdoor painting at the Heidecksburg Residenz, Rudolstadt, Germany. Galileo became key subject of a cycle of the *Tribuna di Galileo* at the La Specola Museum in Florence, completed in 1841.

despite the fact that the Prague figures have lost their attributes and wings, with one exception, and only stubs remain where their wings were once fixed to their bodies.

The metamorphosis of the Gilbert shrine to a clock: mode and meaning

Having established the relationship between the Gilbert piece and the iconography and meaning of the Loreto Nativity, the nature of the metamorphosis of the shrine-clock after the seventeenth century is most obvious when going through the changes one at a time. The vertical arrangement is preserved but the meaning of every tier of iconography has been transformed by physical alterations. Instead of a single religious scene, the central arch now holds the Friedberg clock and the figure of a warrior which is oversized for this context and almost certainly appropriated from a late seventeenth-century long-case clock. The figure's shield and pike are probably even later additions. The incongruous appearance of this warrior in the context of a devotional shrine did not trouble Carl Marfels. In his 1890 description, he interpreted the figure as the God of War, a figure that might refer to the violent time of war during which the clock was made: that is, the Thirty Years' War:

Auf der untersten [...] Plattform erhebt sich der von Säulen getragene Bogen des Baues, unter welchem in getriebener Arbeit ein Kriegsgott steht, vielleicht als Anklang an die kriegerische Zeit, in welcher diese Uhr verfertigt wurde.³⁵

Even though seventeenth-century poets such as Andreas Gryphius (1616-1664) did indeed refer to the period in which they lived as a particularly violent one, it is significant that Marfels linked his interpretation of the figure to his perception of the period as a whole: a modern judgment made within a framework of modern historiographical values. This particular alteration to the iconography of the Gilbert shrine is one of a series of changes that were not prompted purely by changes in aesthetic taste, but instead point to the perspective of those who 'remade' it and their perception of the seventeenth century. The same prejudices influenced the decision to add a clock: it represents another facet of the achievements of the seventeenth century that were most revered in the nineteenth century, that is as an age of a scientific revolution.

As the published evidence shows, the man with a telescope was already part of the clock by 1890. Carl Marfels described him as a symbol of Astronomy: depicted as a scholar holding a spyglass in his right hand and a pair of compasses in his left:

In dem oberen Aufbau, welcher, wie aus der Abbildung ersichtlich, gleichfalls auf schön ornamentierten Pilastern ruht, ist eine weitere Statue angebracht: das Symbol der Astronomie, in Gestalt eines Gelehrten, in der Rechten ein Fernrohr, in der Linken einen Zirkel, neben sich die Erdkugel.³⁶

Marfels's description is at odds with the early modern convention whereby allegories of the liberal arts were more commonly depicted as female figures with attributes. The allegory of Astronomy was no

exception as the Pomeranian *kunstschränk* shows: its decoration included a cycle of silver allegories of the arts designed by Johann Matthias Kager (1575-1634)³⁷, including Astronomy [Fig 31] as a young woman, surrounded by the tools of her trade:³⁸ she holds a stick-like instrument which might be a telescope. In contrast the allegorical figure of Astronomia in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*³⁹ of 1624-25 does not have a telescope as an attribute which is not surprising considering that it was a very recent technological innovation when the Pomeranian cycle and Ripa's book appeared. The telescope itself was invented and patented in 1608-9 by Hans Lipperhey (1570-1619) whose invention spread rapidly across Europe. Within a year several new, improved versions had been developed and telescopes were made by some of the most important inventors and scientists of the age: Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), Johannes Hevelius (1611-1687) and Johannes Kepler (1575-1630). Thanks to this invention the view of the universe, and the position of the earth within it, was to undergo a fundamental change just a couple of decades later.

One of the earliest representations of a telescope in monumental form is the figure of a man holding a telescope [Fig 32] on the ceiling fresco, *The Triumph of Alexander the Great*, of 1639, by Angelo Michele Colonna and Agostino Mitelli at the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. Such representations are otherwise rare until the nineteenth century and even then they were scarce.⁴⁰ Virtually without exception, these depictions of telescopes appear in a narrative context or in portraits; they do not appear in allegories. This makes it likely that the figure on the shrine was dressed up in comparatively recent times as part of a campaign to reinvent the shrine as a clock, effectively turning it into a temple of science rather than a shrine to the Christian faith.

The Friedberg clock is part of this transformation, but the figure of the man with a telescope is more significant in this respect. On closer inspection it becomes apparent that the figure at its core is in fact cast, probably from the same mould as the figure of Christ still on the shrine in Prague, and certainly after the same model. The resurrected Christ of the Gilbert piece was, however, dressed and stripped of his banner. His finger was broken off to remove any hint of a *Sol Invictus* gesture, (even though this would presumably have been quite fitting as an allusion to the scientific discovery of the heliocentric system). Finally, a telescope was placed in his hand and a globe fixed to the shrine at his feet. The result is that this is still a triumphant figure, but the triumph he represents is the triumph of science following the elimination of religion (quite literally, in this case). The seventeenth-century man with a telescope that the modern restorers might have had in mind is Johannes Kepler, the court astrologer and astronomer, who lived in Prague around



Fig 32 Detail of man with telescope on the ceiling fresco *The Triumph of Alexander the Great*, Angelo Michele Colonna and Agostino Mitelli, 1639, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
(© Photo Museale Fiorentino, Florence, image no 628561)

the time that the Loreto Church was founded and the two shrines were made. Kepler and Galileo corresponded about their improved telescopes and the discoveries that both were able to make thanks to its invention.

While religious conflict raged around him, the very conflicts that would eventually prompt the commission of Rubens's altarpiece in Freising, Kepler proved that the planets moved on elliptical orbits and he tried, and sometimes failed, to solve the riddles sent to him from Florence, by Galileo. Both used methodologies that can be considered scientific in a modern sense. Nowadays Kepler is considered to be the father of modern astronomy, but in 1619 his works were placed on the Vatican Index of prohibited books. From our perspective he is as distant from the superstition of religion as the Gilbert clock is from the shrine in Prague. Kepler himself was a deeply devout, protestant Christian, and was at one time a student of theology. His biography exemplifies the changing view of the world at the time, which oscillated between modern science, religious struggle and superstition. Kepler's own mother had to stand trial in Prague accused of witchcraft while Kepler himself had to move to avoid religious persecution.

The fourth centenary of both Galileo's and Kepler's births in the second half of the nineteenth century (1864 and 1875 respectively) prompted international celebrations of their achievements. Galileo became the key subject of a series of rooms called the 'Tribuna di Galileo' at



Fig 33 Aristodemo Costoli, figure of Galileo in the Tribuna di Galileo, La Specola Museum, Florence, opened 1841
(© Museo La Specola, Florence)

the La Specola Museum in Florence, which were opened in 1841 and included Luigi Sabatelli's (1772-1850) *Galileo presenting the telescope to the Senate of Venice*.⁴¹ The focal point of the galleries at the museum, which has its origins in the eighteenth century, is a larger than life figure of Galileo [Fig 33] by Aristodemo Costoli (1803-1871) which, incidentally, shows the scientist standing against a plinth on which rest a telescope and a globe. The parallels to the man holding a telescope on the Gilbert clock are evident.⁴²

During this period a host of publications on these men of science appeared;⁴³ among them was Franz Dvoršk's *Neues über J. Kepler*, a short pamphlet published in Prague in 1880 which recounts the life of Kepler for a general audience. Dvoršk described Kepler's time in Prague as the happiest of his life where his scientific mind discovered the secrets of the skies.

In der Metropole Böhmens entdeckte sein forschendes Auge die Geheimnisse des Himmels, in Böhmen lächelte dem grossen Astronomen auch das irdische Glück.⁴⁴

Religion does not feature in this volume, and Kepler's work as an astrologer was brushed aside as only his attempts to meet his employers' expectations. To Dvoršk, Kepler was one of the men who elevated the human spirit to the skies, (rather than up to God's heaven, even though the German word 'Himmel' applies to both), and 'lit up the world through their genius':

Zu den Männern, die den menschlichen Geist zum Himmel emporgehoben und mit ihrem Genius die Welt erleuchtet haben, gehört Kepler.⁴⁵

Given this, a clock surmounted by the figure of Galileo

or Kepler must have been considered a highly desirable piece at the time and the enthusiastic report by Carl Marfels shows this was indeed the case. A seventeenth-century shrine, as demonstrated by the number which still survive, would hardly have been a novelty but the earliest figure of an astronomer, even an allegory of an astronomer, would represent an extraordinary find. The general tendency during the nineteenth century, to celebrate the seventeenth century as period of war and discovery, makes it likely that the transformation of the Gilbert shrine happened shortly before it was first published. Not much is known about the Seckel Collection in Berlin, which Marfels cited in 1890 as the provenance of the piece. It was apparently a collection of decorative arts which also included silver and majolica. In any event, it seems clear that the Gilbert clock was created in its current form to appeal specifically to the tastes of a nineteenth-century collector, proud of the technological innovations of his era, and more interested in science and technology than religion. The back of the Gilbert clock [Fig 2] is boarded up and shows repairs and additional supports that are not present on the Prague shrine. They suggest that the Gilbert piece had suffered significant damage and, as a result, was in such poor condition that its restoration was inevitable. Its reinvention in this particular fashion is testimony to the dynamics of the time and the preferences of collectors in the late nineteenth century.

The replacement of the triumphant Christ with a scientist or, in other words, the outright rejection of religion in favour of science as a subject in the arts, is a concept which Kepler and his contemporaries, in spite of all their differences when it came to religion, would not have understood. This makes the Gilbert clock all the more fascinating as an example of the transformations of complex works of art over time. The shrine at the Loreto in Prague remains, a virtually unaltered masterpiece, which speaks of the continued preservation of objects in treasuries that have survived intact through the centuries. Many questions, however, remain unanswered. Who first commissioned the Gilbert shrine? How does it relate to the shrine in Prague and the silver nativity scene formerly in the collection of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum? What exactly were the silver figures cast in Augsburg and how many versions originally existed? When was the shrine now in the Loreto church in Prague donated to the sanctuary? Did Carl Marfels advise nineteenth-century dealers as well as collectors and what might his role have been in the transformation of the clock? The Gilbert piece highlights the role of a nineteenth-century networks of dealers, specialists and restorers in responding to, and promoting, certain perceptions of historic style and periods by improving existing pieces and generating new masterpieces using the bones of existing pieces. Augsburg cabinets lend them-

selves to such reinterpretation by virtue of their nature as hybrid pieces created by many hands.

This article is based on a lecture given to the Silver Society, *An Imperial Gift and other Treasures. South German Gold and Silver in the Gilbert Collection (1600-1800)*, on 27 January 2014.

Acknowledgements

Many people across Europe were instrumental in conducting the research presented here. First of all I would like to extend my gratitude to Mgr Markéta Baštová, curator at the Loreto church in Prague and her colleagues, as well as the brothers of the Capuchin monastery in Prague for their generous access and support as part of this research. I had the opportunity visit Prague in June 2013 as V&A/SKD Arnhold exchange fellow in Dresden. The observations which lead to this article were first made when researching the provenance of the Gilbert clock as part of this project. I am very grateful to Henry Arnhold for supporting this research through the Dresden fellowship and would like to thank all colleagues in Dresden for their generous support.

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41 Alessandro Gambuti, *La Tribuna di Galileo*, Florence, 1990.

42 Aristodemo Costoli also created another figure of Galileo holding a telescope, installed outside the Uffizi. See Federico Tognoni, 'Galileo nel

terzo centenario della nascita. Eroè italico e santo laico', *Galilaiana*, Florence, 2004, pp 211-231.

43 Others could be cited on both authors and across genres, including Mathilde Raven, *Galileo Galilei. Ein geschichtlicher*

Roman, s 1, 1860. [no copy of this volume could be consulted when preparing this article]

44 Franz Dvoršk, *Neues über J. Kepler mit 21 Beilagen*, Prague, 1880, p 5.

45 Ibid, p 2.

Thomas and Joseph Willmore and James Alston, John Yapp and John Woodward: silversmiths of Birmingham

BRIAN MAY, RICHARD PHILLIPS AND CRAIG O'DONNELL

Eric Delieb described Joseph Willmore as a superlative silversmith and the Willmore family firm as one of the five leading silversmiths in Birmingham during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This article sets out to describe how the founder of the firm Thomas Willmore, a buckle maker, button maker and later a silversmith, ran his firm for over thirty years from about 1770 until 1804. The silversmith Joseph Willmore then took over the firm and went on to form a partnership with John Yapp and John Woodward circa 1832. When Joseph Willmore retired in 1845 Yapp and Woodward took over the firm but Woodward died shortly afterwards in 1847 and Yapp continued alone until circa 1856 when the firm ceased trading.

The genealogy of the Willmore family is complicated and has been discussed in detail by Eric Delieb¹ and Rosemary Ransome Wallis². Peter Cameron³ has also presented an excellent summary of the Willmore family

history. In this article we hope to clarify and expand the story and to establish that Joseph Willmore, the silversmith who succeeded Thomas Willmore, was his son and not his grandson as has been thought until recently. Confusion about the Willmore genealogy has arisen because at the time that the silversmith Joseph Willmore was active, there were at least two other Joseph Willmores in Birmingham neither of whom was involved in the trade. Through the family genealogy, trade directories and other records, we have traced the history of the Willmore family in both Birmingham and London and will also look in detail at James Alston, partner to Thomas Willmore, as well as John Yapp and John Woodward, partners to Joseph Willmore.

Genealogy of the Willmore family

Key members of the Willmore family are shown on the family tree [Fig 1] although nothing is known about Thomas Willmore, the earliest member of the family concerned. His son Thomas Willmore, the founder of the firm and the initial focus, appeared in the directory to Birmingham, published in 1770 by Sketchley and Adams, as a buckle maker at 9 Colemore Row.⁴ We have determined that he was buried at St Philip's church, Birmingham on 10 November 1817 and that, at the time of his death, he was living in Newhall Street.⁵ His age in the burial record is given as seventy six which means that his birth date would have been circa 1741. On 30 July

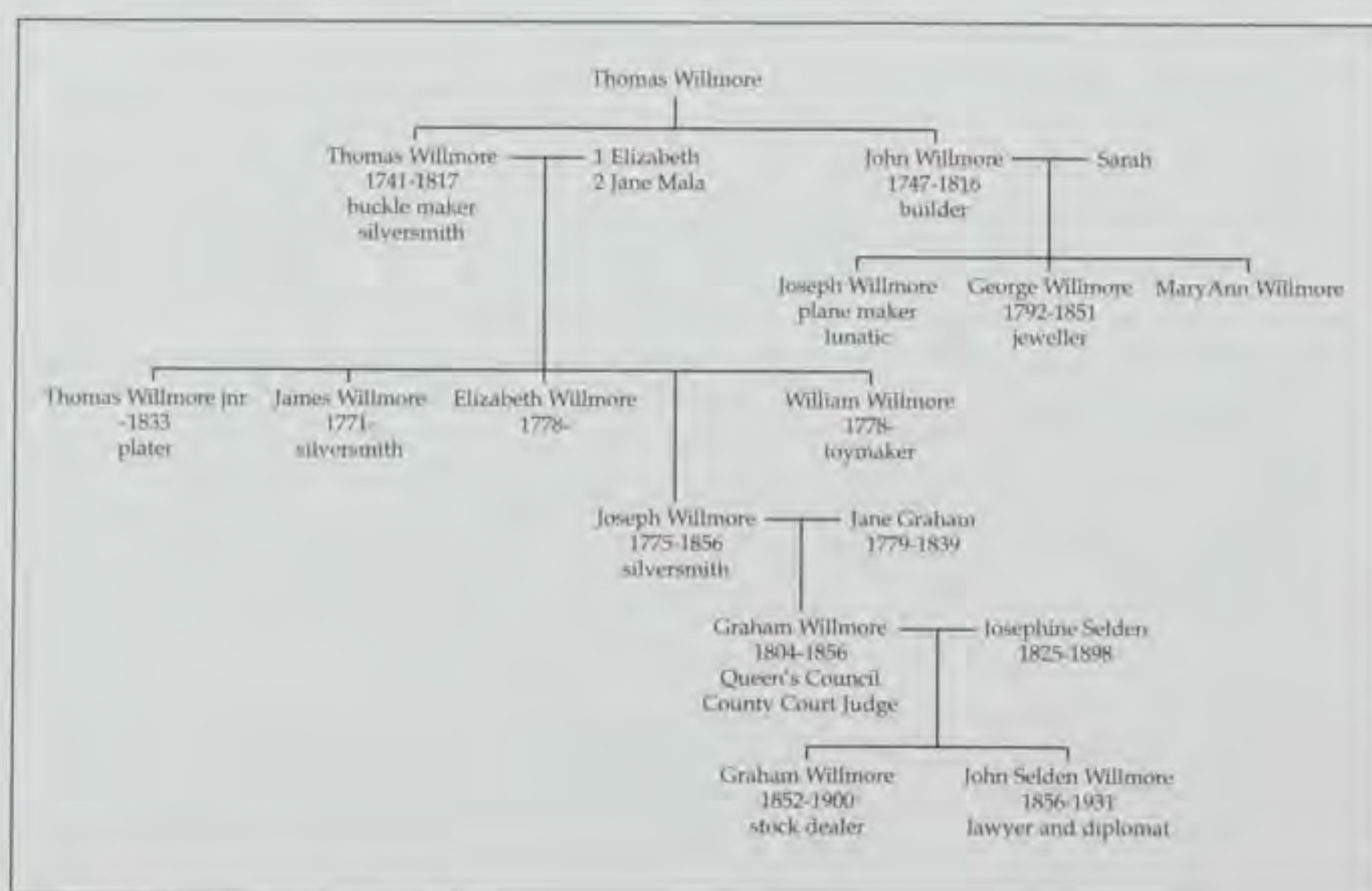


Fig 1 The Willmore family tree

1765 a buckle maker, Daniel Smith, had taken on a Thomas Willmore as an apprentice.⁵ If this apprentice was the Thomas concerned, and he was actually seventy six when he died, then he was twenty four years old when he began his apprenticeship.

Thomas Willmore's will was proved on 1 March 1818 and established that he left behind Jane, his second wife (née Male),⁷ and five children: Elizabeth, Thomas, James, Joseph and William, together with property and funds;⁸ his children were the beneficiaries of his will.⁹ At the time the will was written in 1814, Thomas owned leasehold properties in Great Charles Street, Bull Street, Bread Street (now Cornwall Street) and New Market Street.¹⁰ It is his son Joseph who is the silversmith of particular interest to this article.

Several records reveal that Joseph Willmore was born in Birmingham circa 1775 and it is probably his baptism that was recorded on 7 January 1775 at St Philip's church, Birmingham;¹¹ the parents were given as Thomas and Elizabeth, his first wife. The other children who are of relevance to this article and who were also baptised at St Philip's were: James on 16 July 1771, Elizabeth on 3 May 1773 and William on 3 March 1778. The date of Thomas's baptism is not known.

Eric Delieb concluded that John Willmore, a builder, was the brother of Thomas Willmore the buckle maker [Fig 1].¹² We have located a record for the baptism of a

John Willmore on 21 April 1747 at St Martin's church, Birmingham with a father named Thomas. Some background information on the builder John Willmore (died 1816) is important at this stage. He was responsible for the construction of Court 15 in Inge Street, Birmingham which is now of architectural and heritage significance.¹³ John Willmore died in 1816¹⁴ and he and his wife Sarah had two sons, Joseph and George, and four daughters including one named Mary Ann. Joseph went on to be a plane maker in Inge Street until 1825 but had been declared a lunatic by 1826 and did not appear in any further directories; he has caused much confusion to researchers but is not of interest as far as this article is concerned. His brother George was a jeweller, first located in Inge Street and later in Exeter Row. A vinaigrette has recently been incorrectly attributed to George Willmore¹⁵ but he did not enter a mark at the Birmingham Assay Office.

The partnerships of Thomas Willmore buckle maker

It would seem that Thomas Willmore was a canny businessman who, during his career, formed three long-term partnerships. The first was with James Alston and lasted from circa 1770 until 1803 and his other two partnerships have not been described in the literature to date. The first of these was with Harry Hunt and endured for over ten years from circa 1785 to 1798 and the other was with his sons, James and Joseph, and ran from circa 1789 until 1804 and it is this latter partnership that is of particular importance to this story.

1 Eric Delieb, *Silver Boxes*, London, 1986 and *Silver Boxes*, Woodbridge, 2002.

2 Rosemary Ransome-Wallis, *Matthew Boulton and the Toymakers: Silver from the Birmingham Assay Office*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1982.

3 Peter Cameron, 'The first 'castle tops. A short examination of some Birmingham topographical souvenirs and their makers 1825-38', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 12, Autumn 2000, pp 65-80.

4 S Timmins, *The Streets and inhabitants of Birmingham in 1770*, Birmingham, 1886.

5 *Birmingham, England, Burials 1813-1864* on www.ancestry.co.uk

6 UK Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures 1710-1811 on www.ancestry.co.uk

7 It is clear that Jane was Thomas's second wife as a stepson James Male was mentioned in the will. Thomas married Jane Male at Aston St Peter and St Paul, Birmingham on 30 May 1789, see *Birmingham, England, Marriages and Banns, 1754-1937* on www.ancestry.co.uk. Based on the baptismal records of the children his first wife was probably named Elizabeth but no further details of her have been found.

8 National Archive, Probate 11/1604/430.

9 National Archive, Registers of Legacy Duty; Succession Duty and Estate Duty; Entry for Thomas Willmore 1818, ref IR 26/766 ff164-5: the executors were William Smith, a banker, and Willmore's sons Thomas, Joseph and William. Property and estates went to James; a large sum of £15,368 0s 5d to the widow of William Willmore (presumably when he died) and then to James Willmore in the Assay Office, Canon Street; £2,000 to his daughter Elizabeth and £1,000 to each son, with the residue going to his grandchildren. There was no provision for his second wife Jane.

10 It should be noted that Bread Street, now Cornwall Street, ran parallel to Great

Charles Street from Livery Street to Newhall Street crossing Church Street, with New Market Street joining Bread Street to Great Charles Street.

11 UK census records 1841 and 1851; marriage record of 1801 and burial record of 1856.

12 Eric Delieb, *op cit*, see note 1, 1986.

13 In 1789 John Willmore took out a lease of property at Hurst Street from Sir Thomas Gooch and this led to the construction early in the 1800s of what became known as Courts 14 and 15, Inge Street. Court 15 Inge Street is the last surviving courtyard of back-to-back houses in Birmingham. John was listed in directo-

ries at Inge Street in 1811 and then in 1815 as a carpenter and joiner.

14 Documents at National Archives: ref C13/2606/7, description M1825 W14 Willmore versus Willmore, 1826.

15 *Antiques Trade Gazette*, 13 December 2008, reported that a vinaigrette depicting the east terrace of Windsor Castle and marked by George Willmore, Birmingham, 1849, was auctioned for £2,800. The item was probably made by Gervase Wheeler as George was only ever recorded as a jeweller; we have not located any hallmarked silver pieces by George Willmore.



Fig 2 Punches for the partnership of Thomas Willmore and James Alston

(Courtesy of Birmingham Assay Office)

Thomas Willmore and James Alston

James Alston was a button and buckle maker with, it would seem, a grounding in chemistry, who was born circa 1744¹⁶ in North Berwick in Scotland.¹⁷ According to Delieb, as a boy Alston worked under the industrialist Samuel Garbett who, together with the chemist Dr John Roebuck, established a laboratory in 1750 for the assay and refining of gold and silver and the manufacture of oil of vitriol¹⁸ at the Birmingham Works, Steelhouse Lane. Whether or not Alston worked there as a youth or perhaps at another of the Garbett/Roebuck ventures such as the Carron ironworks in Scotland is unclear.

Willmore and Alston entered marks in the Birmingham Assay Office Maker's Register A at some time between 31 August 1773, the date the Office began, and 1801: entries in this register were not dated until 1801. The entry reads

Willmore & Alston No [number not shown]
Colemore Row Birm

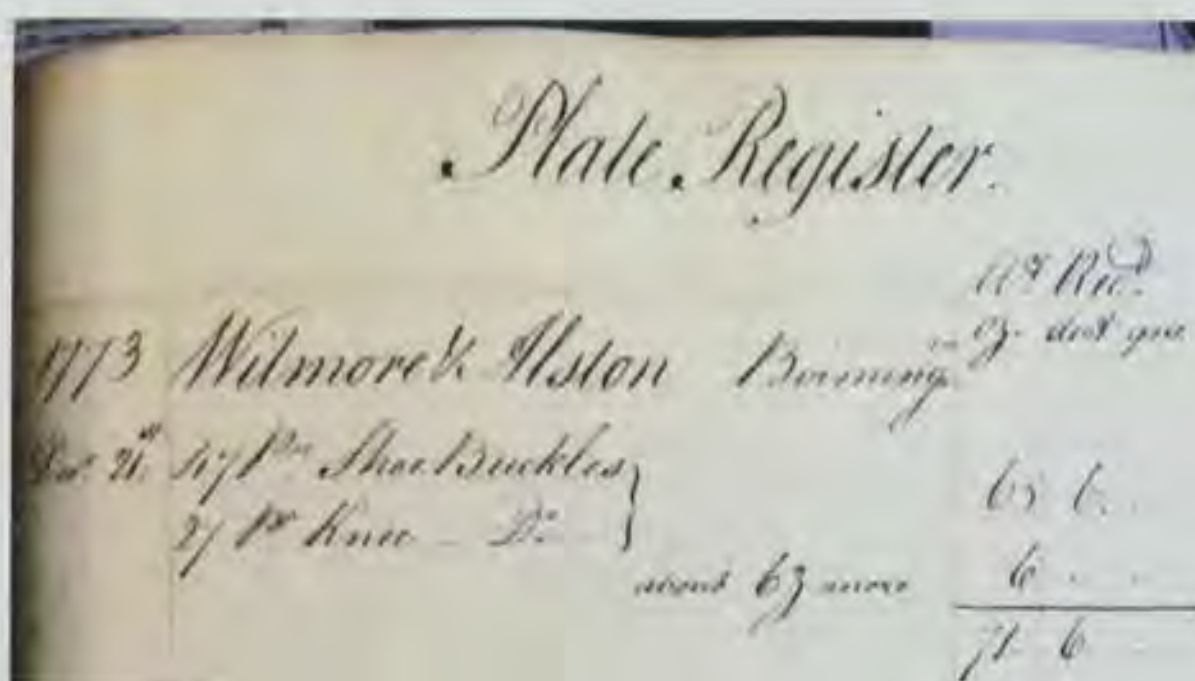


Fig 3 First entry for Willmore (Wilmore) & Alston in the Birmingham Assay Office Plate Register, 21 December 1773, for forty seven pairs of shoe buckles and twenty seven pairs of knee buckles

(Courtesy of Birmingham Assay Office)

and is followed by a cluster of marks with the initials TW and T.W, for Thomas Willmore, in rectangular punches some with cut corners.

The permanent register of the punches made by silver-smiths was kept on thin strips of gilding metal at the Birmingham Assay Office. The marks of Willmore and Alston on the first gilt strip are TW and T.W. [Fig 2] but there is also a WA mark, not seen in the Maker's Register A.

One or more of these marks was submitted on 21 December 1773. The Plate Register lists makers, the date and the items submitted to the Assay Office for testing; the records commence on 31 August 1773. The first entry for "Wilmore & Alston" appears on 21 December 1773, a few months after the office opened, and the items submitted were forty seven pairs of shoe buckles and twenty seven pairs of knee buckles [Fig 3]. At that time Alston was a founding member of the "Guardians of the Standard of Wrought Plate in Birmingham:" the Guardians of the Birmingham Assay Office.¹⁹ (Samuel Garbett was also a founding member and it was perhaps his influence that led to the appointment of Alston). In any event, it was an astute move on the part of Thomas Willmore to form a partnership with the respected James Alston. In 1789, when he was forty seven, Thomas Willmore would also be made a Guardian.

Willmore and Alston were prolific makers of buckles [Fig 4]. Between July 1774 and July 1775, they were responsible for 14,645 oz (455,510g) of silver (all buckles), over a quarter of the total weight of silver, some 56,291 oz (1,750,845g) sent to the Birmingham Assay Office and this was repeated in the following year. It may be that that Samuel Pemberton²⁰ was manufacturing buckles for Willmore and Alston. Together with Alston, Pemberton was an inaugural member of the Guardians of the Birmingham Assay Office and, while he was having silver tested and assayed the day the Birmingham Assay Office opened, he did not register any items until 23 May 1775.

Thomas Willmore, presumably with Alston, was listed at 29 Colemore Row from 1770-76, and then at 49 Newhall Street in 1777. By 1781²¹ Willmore and Alston were located at Bread Street; this address is shown in directories as "Bread Street Newhall (St)" the latter referred to the fact that there were two Bread Streets in Birmingham at that time; the one of significance here ran off Newhall Street. Willmore and Alston were also located at Newmarket Street, off Bread Street, from about 1784-88. In 1785

Willmore (sic) and Alston and Co

were listed at Bread Street and Newmarket Street and were described as silver, plated and pinchbeck buckle makers and button makers.²²

Alston seems to have worked independently. He entered his own mark IA, as a button maker in Charles Street, on 11 March 1777: this date is based on an entry in the Plate Register. He was listed also as a button maker at 22 Church Street and a buckle maker at 15 Great Charles Street. Alston had probably been involved in the Birmingham Works under Garbett who was recorded as bankrupt in 1782 but managed to recover and Alston failed in his attempt to take over the business. Alston's patents (nos 1511, 1624) of 1785 and 1787, for plating buttons and other items with silver or gold or other metals, may have been undertaken at the Birmingham Works.

In the same way Willmore would also seem to have worked independently and

Thos Willmore Bucklemaker Birmingham

recorded a mark of TW in a plain rectangle on 14 June 1785 (this date is based on an entry in the Plate Register). Registration of this mark by Willmore is puzzling since it is similar to that entered earlier in conjunction with Alston.

The Willmore and Alston partnership ceased in 1803 when Alston, together with James Armitage, took control of the a metal refining business at Steelhouse Lane, Birmingham following the death of Samuel Garbett.

Thomas Willmore and Harry Hunt

In 1781 Thomas Willmore was also recorded as "Wilmore, Thos." a plater in Suffolk Street and by 1785 he was in partnership with Harry Hunt, also in Suffolk Street. Hunt was a merchant and button and thimble maker and from 1790-95, a member of the Birmingham Commerce Committee along with Thomas Willmore and James Alston; Samuel Garbett was Chairman. On 3 September 1785 Willmore and Hunt were listed as taking on Thomas Lillington as an apprentice.



Fig 4 Shoe buckle, silver and steel prongs, Birmingham, circa 1780-81, maker's mark of Thomas Willmore and James Alston (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

On 26 October 1786 the premises of Thomas Willmore and Harry Hunt in Suffolk Street are recorded as having been broken into and robbed²³ of

plated buckles, silvered rings etc.

The partnership ended in 1798.

Thomas Willmore and his sons James and Joseph

Circa 1789 Thomas Willmore entered into a series of partnerships with his sons James and Joseph. They first traded as Thomas Willmore and Son; this was probably a partnership between Thomas and his eldest son James: the first mention of Thomas Willmore and Son was in the Plate Register on 25 August 1789. Joseph joined the business some years later and the first mention of Thomas Willmore and Sons was in the Plate Register for 6 July 1796.

16 James Alston died in 1827 aged eighty three, at Winson Hill (near Birmingham): his obituary appeared in *Berrows Worcester Journal*; Death Index Worcestershire County Council on line. Alston's will was proved on 26 January 1828 (National Archives: Will, Chemist and Refiner of

Birmingham PROB 11/1735/370).

17 Delieb, op cit; see note 1, 1986

18 Adam Matthew Publications online: Industrial Revolution: A documentary history series one: *The Boulton and Watt Archives and the Matthew*

Boulton Papers Birmingham Central Library.

19 Jennifer Tann, *Birmingham Assay Office 1773-1993*, Birmingham, 1993.

20 Brian May, Richard Phillips, Mandy Pemberton and Craig O'Donnell 'New light on Samuel Pemberton

I and his descendants: Birmingham toy makers, jewellers and silversmiths', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 29, 2013.

21 Pearson and Rollason, *Directory of Birmingham (and the Black Country)*, 1781.

22 Charles Pye, *A new directory for the town of Birmingham etc*, Birmingham, 1785, UK and US Directories 1680-1830 on www.ancestry.co.uk.

23 *Northampton Mercury*, Saturday 28 October 1786 in the British Newspaper Archives.

Notice is hereby given, that the Partnership lately subsisting betwixt Thomas Willmore, James Willmore, and Joseph Willmore, of Birmingham, in the County of Warwick, trading under the Firm of Thomas Willmore and Sons, as Silversmiths, is this Day dissolved by mutual Consent. The Trade in future will be carried on by Joseph Willmore, on his own Account. Witness the Hands of the Parties this 31st Day of December 1804,

Tho. Willmore.
James Willmore.
Joseph Willmore.

Fig 5 Notice of the dissolution of the partnership between Thomas Willmore and his sons James and Joseph

In the 1792 Directory²⁴ "Wilmore Thomas and Son" of Bread Street and Newhall Street were described as "Silver, Plated & Pinchbeck, Buckle-makers". At the same time Thomas remained in partnership with James Alston and Harry Hunt and was also listed in the *The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce, and Manufacture of 1792* as

Wilmore and Hunt, Plated-buckle-makers,
Suffolk-street

and

Wilmore, Alston, and Co. Button-makers, Bread
Street.

Importantly a notice²⁵ in the *London Gazette* [Fig 5] stated that the partnership between Thomas, James and Joseph Willmore of Birmingham, trading as Thomas Willmore and Sons, silversmiths was dissolved on 31 December 1804. The notice further stated

The Trade in future would be carried on by Joseph Willmore, on his own Account.

It is clear from the above that the silversmith Joseph Willmore was the son of Thomas whose business he took over in 1804.

In spite of the dissolution of the partnership in 1804, the firm of Thomas Willmore and Sons continued to be listed in trade directories until about 1811; this may have been out of respect for Thomas and because his name was well known to customers. Thomas Willmore and Sons are shown as silversmiths in Bread Street with Joseph Willmore also listed as a silversmith in Bread Street in 1811.²⁶ By 1815 the company was no longer listed but Joseph was listed as Joseph Willmore, gold and silversmith, patent snuffer manufacturer etc in Bread Street.²⁷

The role Thomas Willmore played in the firm after 1804



Fig 6 Nutmeg grater, silver and steel, Birmingham, 1800-1, maker's mark of Thomas Willmore and James Alston
(Courtesy M Ford Creech Antiques and Fine Arts)

is unclear but by this time all of his partnerships had been dissolved. He was listed as a patent nail maker in Bread Street in 1811 but was never listed after this date. In 1808 his son Joseph, together with the plater John Tonkin, patented a new and easy procedure for the manufacture of nails and it may be that Joseph was encouraged in this venture by his uncle John Willmore, the carpenter in Inge Street.

In 1808 Joseph Willmore, now thirty three years of age, followed in his father's footsteps and was appointed a Guardian of the Birmingham Assay Office; Thomas Pemberton was a second appointment for that year.

When Thomas Willmore formed the partnership with his sons the emphasis shifted to manufacturing articles other than buckles and buttons. It is noteworthy that this situation where the younger generation was keen to diversify and expand may also be seen with Matthew Boulton, whose father was a buckle maker, and with Thomas Pemberton when he took over from his father Samuel Pemberton in 1803. A survey of auctions and museum pieces on line shows that between 1790 and 1804 Thomas Willmore's firm manufactured silver nutmeg graters [Fig 6], vinaigrettes, caddy spoons and to a lesser extent other silver boxes, as well as rarer items such as silver pocket corkscrews [Figs 7 and 8]. All of these articles bear the maker's mark TW for Thomas Willmore but nothing bears this mark after 1805.

Thomas Willmore's sons: Thomas junior and William

Thomas Willmore's other sons Thomas junior and William [Fig 1] were not partners in the firm. Thomas junior joined John Dallaway at his business in New Street as a wire worker and drawer around 1799 and when this partnership ceased in 1801 he continued in business in New Street and Oldford Mills until his death in 1833.²⁸ His trade card from Bisset's *Magnificent Guide or Grand Copper Plate Directory for the Town of Birmingham* of 1808 survives [Fig 9].²⁹

From about 1800 to 1804 William Willmore was a japanner and toy-maker in Newmarket Street, working in partnership with the button maker John Moule; he was then in partnership with Thomas Dalton as factors in Birmingham until 1811. A trade directory of 1811 describes William and his brother James as hat makers in Colemore Row. Ten years earlier in 1801 their father had been listed as a japanner in Birmingham together with a hatter, William Pritchard from Shropshire; they registered a patent for an article to be used with hats, caps, helmets etc. It is possible that this article was a japanned hat storage box. By 1815 only William was listed as a hat manufacturer, this time in Bull Street. William may have later worked with his brother Thomas junior since he was an executor of Thomas's will when he died in 1833. James was at the Birmingham Assay Office in Cannon Street in 1818 although his role there is not known.

Joseph Willmore's marriage

During the period of his partnership with his father, Joseph, then aged twenty five, married Jane Graham aged twenty two at St Mary Somerset church, Upper Thames Road, London on 7 May 1801.³⁰ They had only one recorded child, Graham, who was baptised on 26 April 1804 at St Philip's church, Birmingham. There can be no doubt that Jane was the wife of Joseph Willmore, as the record of her death confirms this, describing Willmore as a silversmith.

Delieb³¹ claimed that the silversmith Joseph Willmore married his cousin Mary Ann who then died in childbirth; but he understandably confused the lives of three Joseph Willmores living in Birmingham at the same time. We have managed to untangle this very complicated situation.³²

24 Peter Barfoot and John Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce, and Manufacture*, vol 2, London, 1792.

25 www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/15768/pages/25/page.pdf

26 W Holden, *Annual London and Country Directory*, vol 2, Birmingham, 1811.

27 Robert Wrighton, *Triennial Directory of Birmingham*, Birmingham, 1815

28 National Archives: Wills and Probate, 22 July 1833, PROB 11/1819/322.

29 J Bissett, *Magnificent Guide or Grand Copper Plate Directory for the Town of Birmingham*, Birmingham, 1808.

30 *London, England, Marriages and Banns 1754-1921*.

31 Eric Delieb, 1986, op cit, see note 1.

32 At the time of the silversmith Joseph Willmore, there was also a Joseph Willmore, a plane maker in Inge Street, who was declared a lunatic by 1826; these men were cousins. A third Joseph Willmore (1809-75) first appeared in Birmingham trade directories in about 1835 and was a glass bead, button and toy manufacturer in Brearley Street and Summer Lane which crosses Brearley Street. Born in 1809 in King's Norton, Worcester, he married Mary (Ann) who was born circa 1811 with whom he had two sons and two daughters (UK 1841 census) and then secondly, Susannah Pointon in 1852. Mary Ann died in 1848 (Key Hill cemetery records on www.jgrg.org). In 1849, while at 308 Summer Lane Birmingham, he sold the greater proportion of his stock including about 10 tons of beads

(*Birmingham Gazette*, 5 March 1849). In the UK 1851 census he is shown as a gun barrel maker and by the time of the 1871 census he was listed as a retired glass bead merchant. He died in 1875 at Henwick Villa in Aston near Birmingham and was buried in Key Hill cemetery. His parents are unknown and his relationship with the silversmith is not known. This Joseph Willmore, was born in King's Norton but died in Birmingham while Joseph Willmore the silversmith was born in Birmingham but died in King's Norton. Delieb states that Joseph Willmore, the plane maker, married Sussana(h) but this in fact was Joseph Willmore, the bead maker and gun barrel maker. Finally, it was Joseph Willmore, the bead maker, who married a Mary (Ann) and not Joseph Willmore, the silversmith, as stated by Delieb.



Fig 7 Pocket corkscrew, silver, steel and decorated ivory, Birmingham, 1797-98, maker's mark of Thomas Willmore & Sons (Private collection)



Fig 8 A full set of hallmarks on the bottom of the sheath of the corkscrew [Fig 7], with the duty mark struck twice (Private Collection)



Fig 9 Trade card of Thomas Willmore junior, 1808

Three Joseph Willmores

As well as Joseph Willmore, the silversmith in Bread Street, there was his cousin Joseph Willmore, the plane maker mentioned above and a third Joseph Willmore, was a glass bead manufacturer and later a gun barrel maker who died in 1875; whether he was related to Joseph Willmore the silversmith is not known.

It should be emphasised that the silversmith Joseph Willmore was the son, not the grandson, of Thomas Willmore and that he took over the firm from his father in 1804; not when his father died in 1817. Delieb stated that there was a Joseph Willmore I, a silversmith, engineer and inventor who was the uncle of the silversmith Joseph Willmore II born in 1790 but this has been found to be incorrect. Joseph Willmore, the silversmith, was born about 1775 as outlined above and while he had a nephew Joseph, he did not have an uncle Joseph.

Joseph Willmore's registered marks

Joseph Willmore took control of the firm from his father on 31 December 1804. A few weeks later on 9 January 1805, his mark was registered in the Maker's Register A at the Birmingham Assay Office. The entry read

Jos Willmore silversmith Bread Street Birm

and his mark was JW in a serrated rectangular punch. The earliest mention of Joseph Willmore in the Plate Register was on 9 January 1805, the day he registered his mark; the items submitted on this day presumably carried this J W mark although we have not as yet located any examples of such articles.

Twenty six years later, on 4 July 1832, Joseph Willmore entered a series of further marks at the Birmingham Assay Office: the initials JW or J.W in plain or serrated-edge oval punches. A third Willmore to register marks at the Birmingham Assay Office was Charles Willmore, a buckle maker in Caroline Street, who submitted only thirteen items, all buckles, in 1796. He may have been a cousin to Joseph.³³

Unrecorded marks of Joseph Willmore

During the period from 1805-32 the accepted marks of Joseph Willmore were very similar to those entered on 4 July 1832 but there is no record of these marks at the Birmingham Assay Office which emphasizes the fact that the Maker's Register A is incomplete. (It is worth noting that Jackson³⁴ assigned the J.W mark in an oval punch with a straight edge to Joseph Willmore, with examples of snuffboxes and a vinaigrette all dating from 1806-23). Joseph Willmore also entered a similar J.W mark in an oval punch with a straight edge on 21 February 1805 at Goldsmiths' Hall, London.

Examples of items with these unrecorded marks can be readily located [Figs 10-14]. Claims for items hallmarked for Joseph Willmore but dating from before 1805 cannot be substantiated.

33 In 1777 Richard Willmore, a buckle maker, was listed in Bread Street, with Thomas Willmore, buckle maker, in Newhall Street. A Charles Willmore was baptised at St Martin's church in 1766; his father was called Richard who may have been a brother of Thomas Willmore the buckle maker.

34 Charles Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and Their Marks*, London, 1964, p 409. Examples with the J.W mark located at the Birmingham Assay Office are a snuffbox (1806-7), a snuffbox (1818-19) and a

vinaigrette (1823-24).

35 Andrew Pritchard, *English patents: being a register of all those granted for inventions in the Arts, Manufactures, Chemistry, Agriculture*, London, 1847.

36 George Mappin, W Foulsham Co Ltd, *EPNS Electroplated Nickel Silver, Old Sheffield Plate and Close Plate Makers' Marks from 1784*, 1999. Joseph Willmore registered a mark at the Sheffield Assay Office in 1807 with the word "PATENT" above a crown with "WILLMORES & WILKES" below.



Fig 10 Articulated fish vinaigrette, Birmingham, 1817-18, maker's mark of Joseph Willmore
(Courtesy of Peter Cameron Antique Silver)



Fig 11 Snuffbox, Birmingham, 1820-21, maker's mark of Joseph Willmore
(Courtesy of Mary Cooke Antiques)



Fig 12 Corkscrew, silver, steel and mother-of-pearl, Birmingham, circa 1820, maker's mark JW in a serrated punch
(Courtesy of Jose Barella)



Fig 13 Wine label, Birmingham, 1823-24, maker's mark of Joseph Willmore
(Victoria and Albert Museum, London)



Fig 14 Miniature teapot, Birmingham, 1829-30, maker's mark of Joseph Willmore
(Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Patent snuffer maker

From about 1805 to 1830 Joseph Willmore's workshop in Bread Street was described in Birmingham directories as that of a silversmith, goldsmith, and patent snuffer maker. The firm clearly prided itself in the manufacture of the candle snuffers used to cut off the burnt wicks of candles without necessarily extinguishing the flame. Willmore appears to be unique, being the only silversmith in Birmingham directories who was also listed as a snuffer maker. After entering into a partnership with Yapp and Woodward in 1832, however, he no longer listed his firm as snuffer makers.

The snuffers made by Joseph Willmore were of a form patented by the gunsmith John Wilkes of Sheffield

on 10 July 1801 and described as

a method for making a self-acting cylindrical spring snuffers upon a new construction which cut off, confine, and extinguish the snuff in one motion.³⁵

Following the Plate Assay Act of 1784, makers of Sheffield plate in Sheffield and within a radius of 100 miles, which would include Birmingham, were required to strike their plate with a name and mark. In 1807 Joseph Willmore registered a mark for Willmores and Wilkes at the Sheffield Assay Office³⁶ although Willmore manufactured the snuffers in Birmingham. They were probably made of steel, close-plated steel or Sheffield plate, with a scissor and spring action depository and three legs. An early nineteenth-century example of a Willmores and Wilkes snuffer



Fig 15 Early nineteenth-century candle snuffer, Sheffield plate, with the mark of Willmores & Wilkes: cylindrical box, pointed finial on the end, loop handles and three feet.
(Victoria and Albert Museum, London)



Fig 16 Candle snuffer, Birmingham 1828-29, maker's mark of Joseph Willmore
(Private collection)



Fig 17 Hallmarks from the snuffer, Birmingham 1828-29, maker's mark of Joseph Willmore [Fig 16]

made of Sheffield plate is shown in Fig 15; a silver snuffer to a different design was made by Joseph Willmore and a further example, fully hallmarked for Birmingham, 1828-29 is shown [Figs 16 and 17].

Joseph Willmore's partnership with John Yapp and John Woodward

In 1832 Joseph Willmore entered JW marks at the Birmingham Assay Office but, soon afterwards, he went into partnership with two younger men: John Yapp aged forty one and John Woodward who was thirty two. The company's name was listed in directories either as Joseph Willmore and Co, Willmore, Yapp and Woodward or Willmore, Yapp and Co. The firm remained in Bread Street where there was a warehouse and shops.³⁷ The firm also had premises at 11 Thavies Inn, Holborn in London.

On 5 August 1834, Willmore, Yapp and Woodward entered two marks at the Birmingham Assay Office (JW in a plain oval and also a serrated oval punch) and another on 16 August 1836 (J.W in a serrated oval). Articles continued to be marked with the initials of Joseph Willmore until 1845 when he retired.

There is no published information on Yapp and Woodward and we carried out some research into their families; Yapp family members are shown in Fig 18. John Yapp, the silversmith, was baptised on 26 October 1791 at St Martin's church, Birmingham.³⁸ He was the son of John Yapp and Elizabeth Fairfield who had married on 3 July 1787 at St Philip's church, Birmingham.³⁹ A year before his marriage John Yapp senior was recorded in the game-keeper's register⁴⁰ and he was living in Cherry Street, Birmingham. When he died on 14 April 1802 aged forty four he was described as a milkman of Birmingham;⁴¹ he was buried at St Martin's church and left his wife an estate of £600. There were three surviving children of whom two are of note: John born in 1791 and Mary Ann in 1798.

John Yapp does not appear in Birmingham trade directories prior to his partnership with Joseph Willmore and may have already been employed by Willmore. He did not marry and in the 1841 census was recorded as a silversmith living with his sister Mary Ann Yapp in Camden Street where he remained until his firm ceased trading circa 1856.

37 Birmingham Electoral Register, Midlands Historical Data.

Milkman of Birmingham, Warwickshire: The National Archives IR 26/354/817, July 20, 1803.

38 England, Select Births and Christenings 1538-1975 on www.ancestry.co.uk

42 Birmingham, England, Baptisms, 1813-1912 on www.ancestry.co.uk

39 Birmingham, England, Marriages and Banns, 1754-1937.

43 www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/20458/pages/1027/page.pdf

40 Warwickshire, England, Occupational and Quarter Session Records 1662-1866.

44 Birmingham Gazette, 1 February 1847.

41 Abstract of administration of John Yapp,

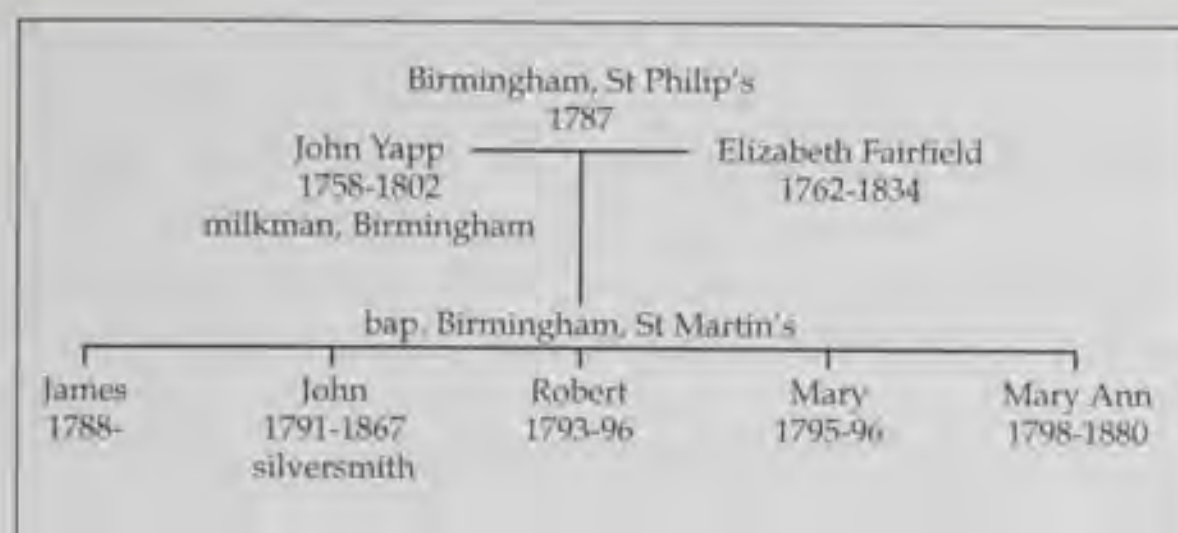


Fig 18 Family tree of John Yapp

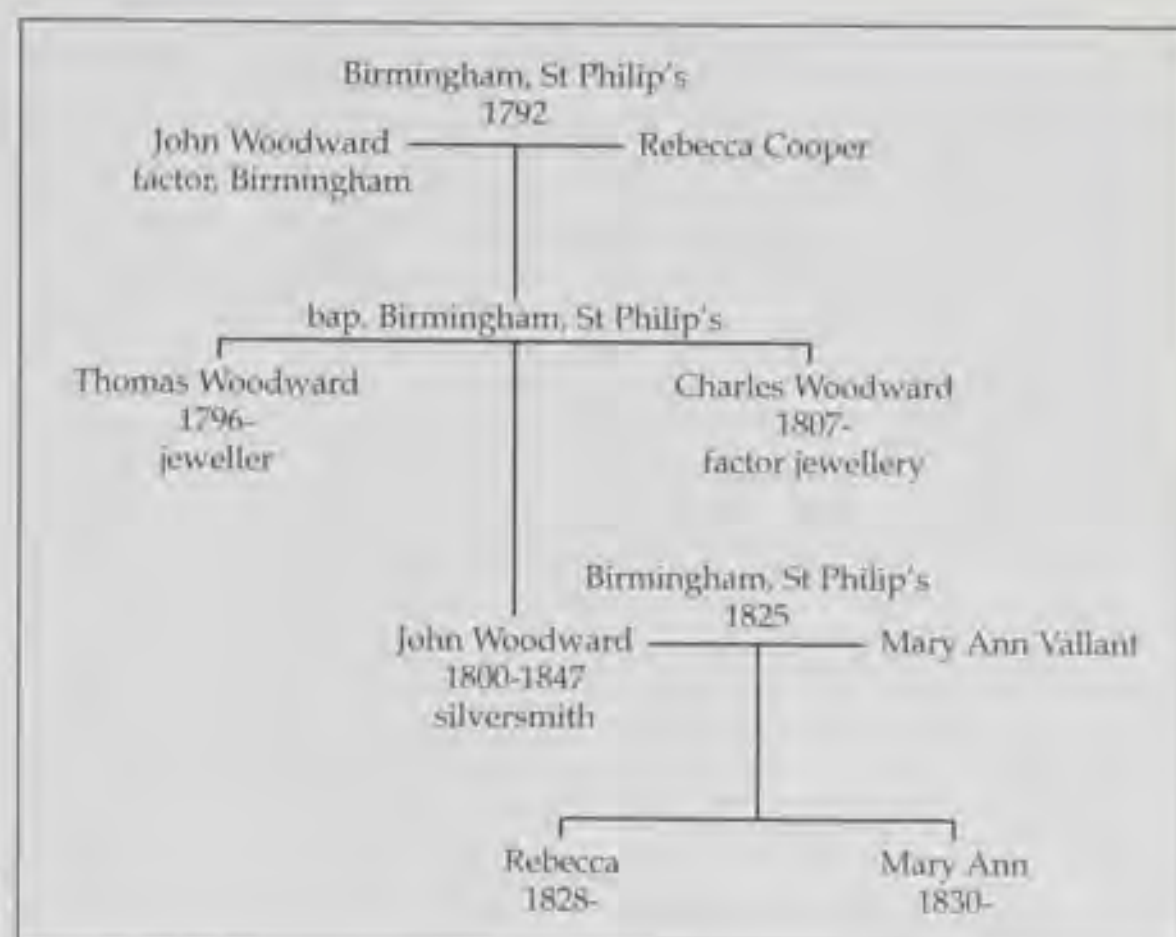


Fig 19 Family tree of John Woodward

Relevant members of the Woodward family are shown in Fig 19. While there were several infants named John Woodward baptised in Birmingham at this period it seems likely that the one of interest to this article was baptised on 28 January 1800 at St Philip's church, Birmingham; his parents were John and Rebecca. The couple had two other sons: Thomas, a jeweller who entered his mark at the Birmingham Assay Office in 1830, and Charles, a jewellery factor.

In 1825 John Woodward married Mary Ann Vallant at St Philip's church and they had two daughters: Rebecca born in 1828, and Mary Ann born in 1830, both of whom were baptised at St Philip's.⁴² The baptism records show that John Woodward was a silversmith living in Russell Row, in Edgbaston although Birmingham directories do not list him as a silversmith before he joined Joseph Willmore. A John Woodward was however, listed in directories as a "factor", firstly in Newhall Street in 1815, and later Legge Street until about 1830. This is probably Woodward's father. John Woodward the silversmith was possibly working with his father prior to joining Willmore.

Eight years after joining Willmore Woodward was shown in the 1841 census as a "gold and silver manufacturer" living in Lower Camden Street with his wife Mary Ann and two daughters.

The partnership of Willmore, Yapp and Woodward was terminated⁴³ on 17 February 1845 [Fig 20]; Willmore retired and the remaining two partners carried on the business at 13 Bread Street, which was presumably always the address of the Willmore premises in Bread Street, and at 11 Thavies Inn, London.

On 14 May 1845 Yapp and Woodward entered their own mark of Y&W at the Birmingham Assay Office and items

marked in this way can be readily located including some particularly fine boxes. In the same year Yapp, aged fifty four, was appointed a Guardian of the Birmingham Assay Office, thereby joining his retired partner Joseph Willmore.

The Yapp and Woodward partnership did not last long as Woodward died, aged forty seven on 24 January 1847, at his home in Monument Road, Edgbaston.⁴⁴ His will, proved on 1 March 1848, describes him as a silversmith of Bread Street and late of Edgbaston. His heirs were his wife and two daughters (with no names given). After his partner's death Yapp continued to use the name Yapp and Woodward until at least 1850. A short-term partnership between Yapp and John Richard Chinn, as jewellers and silversmiths at 13 Bread Street and 11 Thavies Inn, under the colourful name of Yapp and Chinn, was dissolved on 25 December 1854. Circa 1855 the firm became John Yapp and Co. Yapp never entered his own marks and silver articles were marked with the joint Y&W until the company ceased trading.

NOTICE is hereby given, that the Partnership lately subsisting between us the undersigned, Joseph Willmore, John Yapp, and John Woodward, carrying on business as Silversmiths, under the style or firm of Willmore, Yapp, and Woodward, and Willmore, Woodward, and Yapp, in Bread-street, Birmingham, and Thavies-inn, London, was and stands dissolved, by mutual consent, as from the 31st day of December last. All debts owing by or to the said partnership will be paid and received by the said John Yapp and John Woodward, by whom the said business will in future be carried on: As witness our hands this 17th day of February 1845.

Joseph Willmore.
John Yapp.
John Woodward.

Fig 20 Notice of the termination of the partnership between Willmore, Yapp and Woodward



Fig 21 Card case, Birmingham, 1836-37, maker's mark of Willmore, Yapp and Woodward
(Private collection)



Fig 22 Table snuffbox, Birmingham, 1850-51, maker's mark of Yapp and Woodward
(Courtesy of Antique Silver Company)

By 1857 Yapp was in financial difficulties, probably bankrupt, and on 13 May 1857 two of his creditors: the silversmith John Thomason and a jeweller Thomas Aston, both of Birmingham, were assigned to pursue the assets of Yapp for their own benefit and for that of the other creditors.⁴⁵ John Yapp and Co was listed at 11 Thavies Inn until 1856⁴⁶ and at 13 Bread Street until 1855 where they were described as

silversmiths, fancy pencil case and snuff box mfrs.

In 1858 John Yapp was appointed acting Warden at the Assay Office in Little Canon Street and then Warden of the Assay Office in 1861; by this time he was living with his widowed sister Mary Ann in Allesley, north west of Coventry and he died there in 1867 aged seventy five.⁴⁷

Silver by Willmore, Yapp and Woodward

From 1805 to 1832 the workshop at Bread Street under Joseph Willmore and then Willmore, Yapp and Woodward from 1832 to 1845, and finally under Yapp and Woodward, manufactured outstanding boxes notably snuffboxes, card cases (in the late 1830s), vinaigrettes and nutmeg graters [Figs 21 and 22].

According to research by Peter Cameron⁴⁸ from 1825 to 1838 the company was the most prolific producer in Birmingham of silver with topographical views such as vinaigrettes, caddy spoons and snuffboxes. He noted that 'castle-top' snuffboxes were first made in 1832/33 by the firm, which was the time at which Yapp and Woodward joined the partnership. After Woodward's death Yapp continued to make high quality products and, in particular, fine snuffboxes and castle-top card cases.

Delieb⁴⁹ noted that one of the most remarkable Birmingham-made boxes was by Yapp and Woodward and is dated 1850-51. This is a box with a silver base and a cast and chased cover, depicting a scene of Lucius Junius Brutus condemning his sons to death, made in platinum from the first ingot produced by Percival Norton Johnson in 1850. The box which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum can be viewed online. The Willmore firm made many other small silver items as well as boxes and the variety of these fancy articles increased when Yapp and Woodward joined the company and indeed, Kenneth Crisp Jones⁵⁰ described the firm as possibly the most diverse Birmingham manufacturer of the period. It was known for its caddy spoons, wine labels, tapersticks, decorated inkwells, mugs, silver miniatures and pocket corkscrews and later knives, pencil cases, pen holders and thimbles. As noted by Crisp Jones Joseph Willmore was particularly adept at interpreting the naturalistic style of foliate and flower designs and applying this style from the 1820s to 1840s to, for example, inkstands and tapersticks.

The Willmore family in London

The founder of the firm Thomas Willmore entered his mark TW in a rectangular punch at Goldsmiths' Hall, London on 23 March 1790 as a plate worker of Birmingham (no examples of London silver marked in this way have been located to date).⁵¹ In the same year he and his partner, Harry Hunt, were recorded as household and

45 www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/22003/pages/1790/page.pdf

46 *London Post Office Directory*, 1856.

47 England & Wales, Free BMD Death Index, 1837-1915.

48 Peter Cameron, op cit, see note 3.

49 Eric Delieb, 2002, op cit, see note 1.

50 Kenneth Crisp Jones (ed), *The Silversmiths of Birmingham and their Marks 1750-1980*, London, 1981.

51 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837: Their Marks And Lives*, London, 1976, p 717, no 3458.

52 Roger Wakefield, *Wakefield's Merchant and Tradesman's General Directory for London; Westminster, borough of Southwark and twenty-two miles circular from St Paul's*, London, 1790, in UK and US Directories 1680-1830 on www.ancestry.co.uk

53 *Holden's Triennial Directory*, 1805-7, vol 2.

54 Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 51, p 136, no 1859.

hardware wholesalers at 5 Staple's Inn Buildings, Holborn.⁵² Willmore also established⁵³ a "wholesale Birmingham warehouse" at 18 Thavies Inn, about 250 metres from Staple's Inn Buildings but there is no further mention of this.

On 21 February 1805 Joseph Willmore entered a J.W mark in a plain oval punch at Goldsmiths' Hall,⁵⁴ with the address of 14 Bouverie Street, off Fleet Street. In *Holden's Triennial Directory* for 1805-7, Willmore and Sons, now listed under Joseph Willmore, were listed at this address as "silversmiths and japanners" and as "Willmores and Wilkes patent-snuffer makers".

The address of 14 Bouverie Street was the house of a Mr Paradise and on 28 February 1806, Joseph insured his utensils and stock in trade located at this house with the Royal Exchange Assurance Co for £500.⁵⁵ There was a good reason for this insurance, a few days earlier on Sunday 16 February 1806 "an alarming fire" broke out in Joseph Willmore's casting shops in Bread Street, Birmingham which destroyed part of the building, together with stoves, patterns and stock in trade; the insurance policy had not been renewed.⁵⁶

By 1811 Joseph was also listed⁵⁷ as a manufacturer of silver snuffers etc at 136 Salisbury Square off Fleet Street, a very short distance west of Bouverie Street. He retained this address until 1818 and on 6 March 1823 he moved from 14 Bouverie Street to 11 Thavies Inn, Holborn, a short distance northwards. A J Huntington, a goldsmith, was appointed as his assignee (agent) at Thavies Inn.⁵⁸

Thavies Inn and Birmingham silversmiths

Other Birmingham silversmiths were also listed at Thavies Inn [Fig 23] around this time and the history of the premises is outlined in the footnote.⁵⁹ The Birmingham silversmith Thomas Pemberton was located at 6 Thavies Inn from circa 1815-26. Coincidentally in 1845 the year in which when Joseph Willmore retired, his former apprentice George Unite⁶⁰ was listed at 16 Thavies Inn⁶¹ together with George Groom, a wholesale jeweller and Unite's agent, who was living at this address. Unite remained at this address until at least 1856.⁶² By 1838 the Birmingham silver plater James Allport also had premises at 4 Thavies Inn until at least 1846 at which time his agent was Henry Adkins, a silversmith, also at this address.⁶³ In the 1841 census Joseph Willmore, now sixty five and recently widowed, was lodging with a surveyor, artist and jeweller at 18 Thavies Inn while the silversmith Thomas Gordon was in his premises at 11 Thavies Inn; he was presumably the London agent of the firm at the time.

It is apparent that the Birmingham silversmiths who were listed at Thavies Inn ran wholesale businesses from this address and that they were represented by an agent, generally another silversmith, who took orders and sold wares on their behalf. The premises of Joseph Willmore at 11 Thavies Inn were described in a directory of 1832 as "Birmingham and Sheffield Warehouses etc". Circa 1807 Willmore had registered his mark at the Sheffield Assay Office as 'WILLMORE' followed by a triangle within a rectangle with rounded corners.⁶⁴



Fig 23 T H Shepherd, Thavies Inn, watercolour, 1838 (Courtesy of the British Museum: copyright Trustees of the British Museum)

55 John Culme, *The Directory of Gold and Silversmiths, Jewellers and Allied Traders 1838-1914*, Woodbridge, 1987, vol 1, p 502.

56 *Northampton Mercury*, Northamptonshire, Saturday 22 February 1806, British Newspaper Archives.

57 W Holden, *Holden's Annual London and Country Directory, London Directory of Professions and Trade*, London, 1811.

58 *The Law Advertiser*, London, 1824, vol 2.

59 The name of Thavies Inn arose because the site was once owned by John Thavie and apparently used to provide lodgings for law students. Thavie died in 1348 and in 1422 the site became a permanent Inn of Chancery, a preparatory school for law students prior to their entering an Inn of Court, but it was dissolved in 1769, sold and replaced around 1774. In the early nineteenth century the building was a place where lawyers, wholesale jewellers and other merchants could live and have their offices and showrooms but this building was destroyed in the Second World War. It was located on the corner of New Fetter Lane and Andrews Street, Holborn. (David Parker, 'Dickens, the

Inns of Court and the Inns of Chancery', *The Literary London Journal*, vol 8, no 1, 2010; Edward Griffith, *Cases of Supposed Exemption from Poor Rates: Claimed on the ground of extra-parochiality with a preliminary Sketch of the ancient history of the parish of St Andrew Holborn*, London, 1831.

60 In 1810 Joseph Willmore took George Unite as an apprentice at the age of twelve. Unite was baptised at St Philip's church, Birmingham in 1798. *The UK Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures from 1710-1811* on www.ancestry.co.uk, no longer contains the Birmingham records for 1810 and the National Archives confirm that records for this year have been destroyed, presumably at some time since 1986. The record for Unite cannot, therefore, be found.

61 *Post Office Directory of London*, 1843; *Post Office Directory of London and Birmingham with Warwickshire*, 1845.

62 *Post Office Directory of London*, 1856.

63 *The proceedings of the Old Bailey 1674-1913*, 14 December 1846 and online.

64 George Mappin, op cit, see note 36.



Fig 24 Mug, London 1852-53, maker's mark of Yapp and Woodward (Courtesy Heritage Auctions)

To date we have not located any silver items by Joseph Willmore that are hallmarked for London even though he registered his mark in 1805 at Goldsmiths' Hall and again much later on 14 March 1840. It would seem that Willmore only sold goods in London that were marked in Birmingham or which were overstruck with a London maker's mark.

Following the retirement of Willmore in 1845, his partners Yapp and Woodward continued at the same London address and they registered⁶⁵ their mark of JY over JW at Goldsmiths' Hall London on 17 June 1846 as plate-workers. Items marked in this way appear to be rare but we have located a silver mug marked for Yapp and Woodward, London, 1852-53 [Fig 24]. Culme noted two London marked silver christening mugs of 1853-54 and 1854-55 bearing the maker's mark of the London silversmith George John Richards over-struck by that of John Yapp and John Woodward.⁶⁶ By this time Woodward was dead and Yapp was probably in a partnership with John Chinn as mentioned above. No connection between Yapp and Chinn and Richards can be found. Perhaps Yapp and Chinn were unable to produce the christening mugs in a timely way and simply over marked the supplier's pieces. This then raises the question as to whether the silver mug marked by Yapp was indeed made by another maker.

The deaths of Joseph Willmore and his family

Jane, wife of the silversmith Joseph Willmore, died in

1839 aged sixty two; she was buried on 5 April at St Mary Somerset,⁶⁷ London the church at which the couple had married. In the 1851 census Joseph, who had been retired for six years, was described as a farmer, with two laborers and a servant, living at Withwood Cottage on the Alcester turnpike road seven miles from Birmingham, in the parish of King's Norton, Worcestershire. He died from "disease of the heart" aged eighty two on 14 June 1856 and was described on his death certificate as a "landed proprietor".⁶⁸ His freehold estate of forty one acres and a house at Withwood Heath were auctioned at the Union Inn, Union Street Birmingham, on 15 September 1856 by order of the trustees.⁶⁹ A cottage residence, coach house, stables, barn, cow houses, sheds, orchard, garden and fourteen pieces of land in a high state of cultivation containing choice fruit trees, and an excellent fish pond were offered for sale.

We have not been able to locate the will of Joseph Willmore who was buried at St Nicholas's church, King's Norton on 21 June.⁷⁰ He was not buried in Key Hill Cemetery as stated by Delieb⁷¹ who was confused by the burial there of Joseph Willmore, the gun maker, in 1875.⁷²

Graham Willmore, the only recorded child of Joseph and Jane Willmore was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge and became a barrister and Queen's Council in London.⁷³ In the *Post Office London Directory* of 1843, just before Joseph's retirement, Willmore, Yapp and Woodward were listed as goldsmiths at 11 Thavies Inn and a quarter of a mile to the north east Graham Willmore was located at 3 Plowden Buildings, Temple, London.

Graham Willmore, by this time a County Court judge, died two months before his father on 26 June 1856 aged fifty five and was buried in Neuilly outside Paris where the family had gone on holiday for the benefit of his health. He had married an American, Josephine Selden, who was half his age.⁷⁴ The marriage certificate describes Joseph Willmore as a gentleman (he had retired by this time) while Joseph Selden the father of the bride was a retired United States Lieutenant Colonel.

At the time of his death, Joseph Willmore had six grandchildren including two grandsons one of whom, also named Graham, was to become a member of the London Stock Exchange⁷⁵ while the other, John Selden Willmore, born just three months before his father's death, had a brilliant career at the Bar and served as a diplomat.

Summary

The business started, circa 1770, by Thomas Willmore and James Alston, moved from the production of buckles and buttons to other silver items such as nutmeg

graters, vinaigrettes and snuffboxes in the 1790s, at a time when Thomas formed a partnership with his sons James and Joseph. Joseph then took over the business in 1804 and went on to produce a vast range of silver items with unrecorded marks until 1832. Soon after entering his marks in Birmingham in this year, and at an age approaching sixty and with his only son now a barrister in London, Joseph took on as partners, John Yapp and John Woodward. Willmore retired in 1845 with Woodward and Yapp continuing the business until the death of Woodward two years later. Yapp, who did not marry, then ran the firm alone until 1857 when financial problems resulted in the end of the business. The firm had a workshop at 13 Bread Street in Birmingham from circa 1781 to 1856 and a warehouse at 11 Thavies Inn, Holborn from 1823 to circa 1856 where they appeared to have sold only wares hallmarked in Birmingham.

Acknowledgements

We are appreciative of the efforts of the historian Simon Fowler, who located London trade directory listings and information on the Willmore family from the National Archives. Thanks also to Mary Cooke Antiques, London for information on early Joseph Willmore marks.

Brian May is a retired molecular biologist (University of Adelaide) and is interested in early Birmingham silversmiths and their corkscrews. Richard Phillips is a retired technical officer (meteorology) in Adelaide and a passionate silver collector and student of silver. Craig O'Donnell is the silver specialist, valuer and curator at the Birmingham Assay Office.

65 John Culme, *op cit*, note 55, p 217, no 10581.

66 John Culme, *ibid*, p 502.

67 *London, England, Deaths and Burials 1813-1980* on www.ancestry.co.uk

68 *London Morning Chronicle*, 19 June 1856; *Birmingham Gazette*, 23 June 1856, both on www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk

69 *Birmingham Gazette*, 8 September 1856 and *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 15 September 1856, both on www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk

70 *Birmingham, England, Burials 1813-1864* on www.ancestry.co.uk

71 Eric Delieb, 1986, *op cit*, note 1.

72 Key Hill cemetery records from the Jewellery Research Group on www.jgrg.org

73 *Cambridge University Alumni 1262-1900*

74 *London, England, Marriages and Banns 1754-1921*.

75 Census 1881.

A portrait of Robert Garrard II (1793-1881)

HELEN CLIFFORD

Ever since beginning my research on the goldsmiths John Parker and Edward Wakelin in the 1980s I have been searching for portraits connected with members of the firm which became known as Garrard, when Robert Garrard I (1753-1818) took sole control of the company in 1802. The portrait with which Elaine Barr begins her biography of George Wickes, founder of the firm, is inscribed on the back

Portrait of Master George Wickes at ye Kings Arms, property of Robert Garrard, Gold and Silversmith, 31 Panton Street, Haymarket.¹

This is now in a private collection. Mrs Barr was to go on to discover a portrait of John Parker who, with Wickes's erstwhile partner Edward Wakelin, ran the firm between 1761 and 1776.² Frances Cotes's portraits of John and his wife Mary are both dated 1766. Their son, Thomas Netherton, whose portrait, along with that of his wife Sarah, was painted by Sir Martin Archer Shee, never ran the business.³ The only other portrait connected with an owner of the firm, known to exist up to the end of the nineteenth century, is a miniature enamel portrait, on gold, of Sebastian Garrard (1798-1807), and of his wife Harriet, by John Simpson (1782-1847) which belongs to Garrard, now based back in Albemarle Street, London.⁴ Simpson trained the painter George Garrard (1760-1826), who does not appear to have been related to the goldsmithing Garrards. Sebastian Garrard joined his brothers Robert junior and James under the title R J & S Garrard between 1818 and 1835, continuing, after James's retirement as a partner, until Sebastian's own death in 1870.

It seems strange that such a prominent business, which included artists such as Sir Joshua Reynolds amongst its customers, has failed to leave us any other portraits of the owners, leaving rather an obvious gap in all the histories of the company. In 1991 research into the firm, for an exhibition at Garrard, and in 1993, for Charlotte Gere and John Culme's celebration of the firm having been Crown jewellers for 150 years, as well as for a more recent proposed major exhibition, failed to turn up any new leads. Research carried out for the book *The History of the Grocers' Company through its Collection of Silver and Glass*, published by Holberton in December 2014, has however revealed an unexpected find. Robert Garrard I became apprenticed not via the Goldsmiths' Company, but the Grocers' Company in 1773, becoming free in 1780 and rising rapidly to become Master in 1792. Robert's son, Robert Garrard II (1793-1881), followed in his father's footsteps. He became a freeman of the company by patrimony in 1816; was appointed to the Court in 1843 and as Master in 1853. It should not, therefore, surprise us that the Grocers'

1 Elaine Barr, *George Wickes 1698-1761 Royal Goldsmith*, London, 1980, p ii.

2 Elaine Barr, 'John Parker - a portrait by Frances Cotes', *Burlington Magazine*, vol CXXI, June 1979, pp 375-6.

3 Helen Clifford, *Silver in London The Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760-1776*, New Haven and London, p 206.

4 Charlotte Gere and John Culme, *Garrard The Crown Jewellers for 150 years 1843-1993*, London, 1993, p 18.

Company possesses an outstanding collection of Garrard plate. What it also owns, perhaps more priceless than the plate, is a photographic portrait of Robert Garrard II. Thanks to Pauline Sidell, the archivist at the Grocers' Company, who responded to my enquiry about whether the Grocers had any more information about Garrards as Grocers, this photograph has emerged. The company appears to have been interested in early photography, and commissioned photographs of their Masters, which were bound into handsome leather-bound, first brass-, then silver- (bearing the mark for R & S Garrard) mounted albums. The printed illuminated manuscript-style frontispiece and individual frames for the portraits all bear the initials T J and J S for T J & J Smith who in 1839, only a few months after Charles Dickens wrote *Oliver Twist*, formed a partnership in London to manufacture a range of fine diaries, almanacs, quill pens and special metallic paper. The firm is known today as Dataday. The album is printed with the word 'patent' which relates to a patent taken out by T J & J Smith in 1865.

The first album is dated on the spine in gold, 1828-1886, recording not the years of the photographs but the year in which each Master was appointed. The first photograph to appear in the album is of John Benjamin Heath (1790-1879), who was Master in 1828/9. Daguerreotypes were only commercially introduced in 1839, a date generally agreed to mark the birth of modern photography. Heath certainly looks older than thirty nine, his age when he was Master, possibly by at least twenty years. Robert Garrard II's portrait is the twelfth to appear in the book, with two blank pages in between. In 1853 he was aged sixty, and the confident, slightly plump, standing figure, leaning on a fashionable, turned ebony chair (a studio prop), looks older. Perhaps the photographs were taken at the time the album was purchased, which at its earliest has to be 1865, when Robert Garrard II was seventy two. This perhaps explains why there are only twelve of the thirty-five Masters (representing the years between 1828-53) in the photograph album which were those who could be retrospectively assembled?

Whatever the case, the signed photograph of Robert Garrard II makes an exciting addition to known portraits of goldsmiths. One wonders how many other London livery companies have such albums, to put the Grocers' Company example in wider context.

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Fig 1 Robert Garrard II (1793-1881), daguerreotype, circa 1865, 3¹/₄ x 2 in (9 x 5 cm)
(© Grocers' Company and Richard Valenica)

Gold boxes as diplomatic gifts: archival resources in Dresden

MAUREEN CASSIDY-GEIGER

1 The *Présents du Roi* is held by the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Mémoires et documents, France, 2037-2098) but is also available on microfilm at the libraries of the Wallace Collection and Metropolitan Museum of Art. Scholars know and use this document but it has yet to be fully analysed and researched. See Corinne Thépaut, 'An Archive about French Royal Presents', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, vol XV, no 1, Fall-Winter 2007-2008, pp 4-18.

2 Many unfamiliar sources for historians of diplomatic gifts were presented in conjunction with the exhibition *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts, ca. 1710-63* held at the Bard Graduate Center, New York in 2007. See Maureen Cassidy-Geiger (ed), *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts, ca. 1710-63*, London and New Haven, 2007; Maureen Cassidy-Geiger (ed), *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, vol XV, no 1, Fall-Winter 2007-2008; Maureen Cassidy-Geiger (ed), 'Gift Giving in Eighteenth-Century European Courts', *The Society for Court Studies*, vol 14, 2 December 2009. See as well Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, 'Luxury Markets and Marketing Luxuries: The Leipzig Fair and the Dresden Merceries under Augustus the Strong' in Mark Häberlein and Christoph Jeggle (eds), *Materielle Grundlagen der Diplomatie. Schenken, Sammeln und Verhondeln in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Konstanz, 2015 [forthcoming].

3 No such account for the expenditures of Augustus II or Augustus III is

known. For the queen's privy purse, from her marriage in 1719 until 1753, see Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (hence forward SHStA) Dresden, 10026, Geheimes Kabinett (hence forward Geh Kab), Loc 364/1 (1719) – 365/4 (1753); I am currently analysing the queen's privy purse for evidence of her purchases of porcelain. The musicologist Johannes Agustsson was the first to publish from the prince's privy purse accounts in *Giovanni Alberto Ristori at the Court of Naples 1738-1740*, Claudio Bacciagaluppi et al, Pergolesiani Pergolesi Studies 8, 2012, pp 53-100.

4 SHStA Dresden, Geh Kab 10026, Loc 3338/4, Journaux (Vienna 1740, 1758, 1760); Loc 3288/30, Reise der Prinzen Friedrich Christian Xaver und Karl betr 1745 and Oberhofmarschallamt 10006, T, III, Reisen. See as well Katrin Keller (ed) '„Mein Herr befindet sich gottlob wohl“: Sächsische Prinzen auf Reisen', Deutsch-Französische Kulturbibliothek, vol 3, Leipzig, 1994.

5 For background, see Judith Matzke, *Gesandtschaftswesen und diplomatischer Dienst Sachsen 1694-1764*, Leipzig, 2011.

6 Unfortunately the dense narratives found from 1728 onward wane by the time of the weddings in 1747. The published calendar has been scanned and is available on CD-Rom at various libraries under the heading *Königl Polnischer und Churfürstl Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Calender* and was published under variant titles into the twentieth century.

From a lecture delivered at the conference Going for Gold: Craftsmanship and Collecting Gold Boxes held at the Wallace Collection and the Victoria and Albert Museum from 26 to 28 November 2010

The eighteenth-century was the age of diplomacy and the age of the snuff box [Figs 1 and 2] but few boxes survive so archival material is usually the primary resource for examining this elite phenomenon. Record keeping varied from court to court, with the French *Présents du Roi* [Presents of the King] setting an enviable gold standard.¹

Although no such compilation survives for the court of Saxony there are, nevertheless, important resources in the holdings of the Saxon State Archive in Dresden that warrant a broader awareness.² The privy purse accounts of Queen Maria Josepha (1699-1757) and of her son, Crown Prince Friedrich Christian (1722-63), for example, are largely untapped; the prince's expenditure on his tour of Italy in 1738-40 forms the Appendix to this article.³ Several members of the Saxon royal family journeyed abroad in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries and the documentation for these tours, and their gifts, is largely unstudied.⁴ The voluminous diplomatic correspondence surviving in Dresden also offers ample evidence of gift giving as well as the trade in precious commodities.⁵ The Dresden court calendar, published from 1728 onwards, is also a valuable source for information about the use of snuff boxes as royal gifts and tournament prizes.⁶ Finally, the *Audienzen* [state audience] files in the vast archive of the *Oberhofmarschallamt* [High Court Marshall] offer comprehensive details of state visits with their distinctive protocols, such as the Turkish embassies to Poland and the French embassies to Saxony, with information about receptions and the presentation of gifts.⁷

Prince Friedrich Christian began receiving a small personal allowance in 1731, thanks to his chamberlain, Count Wackerbarth-Salmour, who solicited from the king

l'argent du jeu, tirages, et autres petites discretions, et menus plaisirs [money for gambling, draughts and other little indiscretions and pleasures]

to be administered by the boy's valet, Sebastian Wilczynski.⁸ The official *Comptes de la Chatouille* only began in April 1734, following the election of his father as King of Poland, which elevated Friedrich Christian to the position of Crown Prince. This entitled him to the revenues of Oberlausnitz [Upper Lusatia] to augment the continuing pocket money from the king. Wilczynski remained in charge

of his spending until the prince attained the age of twenty one in September 1743.

The earliest *Comptes de la Chatouille* record small tips, "gratifications" and "discretions" to couriers, clergymen, artists, musicians, courtiers and members of his staff. Payments for luxury goods began in 1737, for instance on 7 March 1737

Vor 1. Goldene Tabattiere von einen Engelländer aus Berlin à 120 Thrl. [...] 43.1.18 (Ducaten)
[For 1. Gold snuff box from an Englishman in Berlin for 120 thalers]

or on 16 March

An Abel Simon vor 1. Goldene Tabattiere laut deßen Quittung à 150 Thrl. [...] 54.1.12 [Ducaten].
[To Abel Simon for 1. gold snuff box according to his invoice for 150 thalers]⁹

Perhaps on account of his sister's impending marriage to the King of Naples in May 1738, or the prince's forthcoming journey to Italy to seek a cure on Ischia, a dealer named Latour was paid 554 thalers [201 ducats] for three snuff boxes and other galantries in late March and the Prussian merchant Johann Ernst Gotzkowsky supplied three snuff boxes and other items for 473 thalers [172 ducats] in early April of the same year.¹⁰ The prince was a diarist from the age of twelve but there is nothing in his daily reports, penned in French, the court language, about the recipients of these items.¹¹ He did, however, write about receiving two hardstone snuff boxes from his family on 5 March 1738

Jour de Saint Frideric Abbé et par consenquent jour du Nom de S.M. le Roi, et en meme le mien [...] Ma Soeur Amalie envoya ici mon frère Charles avec un compliment de felicitation et un present de Sa part qui consiste en une Tabattiere de Cristal de Roche enchase d'or [...] La Reine me fit present d'un Tabattiere de toute sorte de mineraux mis ensemble et d'une tres jolie Bague d'un sapphire brulé. [The saint's day of St Frederic Abbé and consequently the name day of His Majesty the King and in the same way mine [...]] My sister Amalie sent my brother Charles here with felicitations and a present from her which was a rock crystal snuff box mounted with gold [...] The Queen made me a gift

7 Essentially a chronological listing of audiences in the Saxon/Polish realm, I have posted excerpts from the Turkish and French embassies on wellesley.academia.edu/MaureenCassidyGeiger

8 SHStA, 10076: 7/55, *Rechnungen der Hof- und Staatsbehörden, Einnahme und Ausgabe über Seiner*

Königlichen Hoheit des Kurprinzen zu Sachsen Sehatullengelder.

9 Ibid.

10 For more on Gotzkowsky, see Nina Simone Schepkowski, Johann Ernst Gotzkowsky, *Kunstagent und Gemäldesammler im friderizianischen Berlin*, Berlin, 2009.

11 I am currently preparing the diaries of the prince's two-year tour of Italy in 1738-40 for publication with special attention to the content of the diaries and his privy purse expenditures before and after his odyssey abroad. See www.



Fig 1 Un Mercier / Ein Galanterie Händler, hand-coloured engraving, published by Martin Engelbrecht, Augsburg

(Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. nr. B 1884, 2, pl 27)



Fig 2 Une Merciere / Eine Galanterie Händlerin, hand-coloured engraving, published by Martin Engelbrecht, Augsburg

(Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. nr. B 1884, 2, pl 28)

of a snuff box of all kinds of minerals put together and a very pretty ring with a burnt sapphire].¹²

The prince's diary of his two-year tour of Italy (May 1738 to September 1740) records numerous outgoing and incoming gifts of snuff boxes¹³ and Count Wackerbarth's official court journal indicates similar gifts.¹⁴ The snuff boxes and galantries presented by the prince to his hosts abroad were mostly sent to Italy from Dresden in an effort to showcase Saxon manufactures; consequently, they were often of polished Saxon hardstones or Meissen porcelain with gilt mounts. Only when a shipment of gifts was delayed or if there was an otherwise urgent need were such luxury goods acquired locally, in which case they were billed to the king.¹⁵ There are, therefore, only three snuff boxes clearly highlighted in the prince's expenditures abroad. A bejewelled gold box costing 340 thalers was given to Major von Bülow, the officer responsible for routing and staging the journey. Two lesser boxes were presented to special visitors to Ischia on the prince's birthday

Dem Duca di Noja eine goldene Tabatiere mit Brillanten, und Rubinen garniert, und graviert 360 [thalers]

[To the Duca di Noja a gold snuff box with brilliants, and set with rubies engraved]

Der Sängerin Thesi eine goldene Tabatiere gemuschelt und Glantz geschlieffen 160 [thalers].

[To the singer Thesi a gold snuff box polished to a shin]

Giovanni Carafa, Duca di Noja (1715-68), was a scientist, best remembered today for initiating the landmark thirty five part map of Naples published in 1775 and features regularly in the prince's Neapolitan journal. The singer Vittoria Tesi [Thesi is a misspelling] performed for the prince with the Italian tenor Angelo Maria Amorevoli and the Dresden musician Christian Friedrich Horn, both of whom left empty handed. According to the prince's diary three Dresden snuff boxes were, however, handed out as prizes to winners at his birthday shooting competition.¹⁶

Otherwise, the privy purse accounts for Italy indicate mostly modest expenses such as charitable donations to priests, nuns, converts, missionaries, orphans, the sick and the poor, routine tips, inexpensive relics and lesson books. Beyond the snuff boxes, the occasional extraordinary expenses include a gold chain and timepiece for the Roman publisher Mainardi for a guidebook dedicated to the prince, a gold watch for the courier from Naples en route to Warsaw with news of Queen Maria Amalia's recovery from an illness, a gold watch with an English chain for Nicola Porpora in Naples, later *Kapellmeister* [Choir master] in Dresden, who sent the prince a portfolio of his compositions, a souvenir ivory crucifix with a mosaic base, travel expenses for the painter Stefano Torelli to travel to Dresden, donations to the Polish and German churches in Rome, antique intaglios, sheet music, altar hangings, artworks by Pierre Subleyras in Rome and Antonio Joli in Venice and

12 Op cit, see note 8

13 The prince wrote in an often unaccented and phonetic schoolboy French and his inconsistencies have been retained. The following excerpts derive from SHStA Dresden, Geh Kab, Loc 355/03, Journal du voyage de son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Prince Royale de Pologne etc. Electoral de Saxe etc. écrit de sa propre main, Tome I, depuis son départ de Dresde, jusqu'à son départ de Rome and Loc 355/04, Journal du voyage de son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Prince Royal du Pologne etc. Electoral de Saxe etc. écrit de sa propre main, Tome II, 26 July 1738: "Je donnai à La Tesi une montre d'or garnie a repetition ordinaire garnie de Diamants et de Rubis et a Amorevoli une tabatiere d'or avec une peinture en miniature au dedans". [I gave La Tesi a gold watch set with diamonds and rubies and to

Amorevoli a gold snuff box with a miniature painting inside].

23 September 1738: "Mr. le Grand maitre donna a ce dernier 50. Ducats d'or de ma part pour ses peines, et je donnai une tabatiere d'or en memoire de moy au Commandant et une autre a Mr. le Colonel Du PetitBois en echange des differens presents qu'il m'a fait pendant mon sejour à Ischia. Mr. le Grand Maitre donna [Dr Lussi] outre cela une tabatiere de ~~piere d'agate mais~~ cailloux et un roleau de 50. Ducats au Neveu de Bonocuore, et autant au Chanoine de la maison." [Monsieur the Grand Master gave to the last [Dr Lussi] 50 gold ducats on my behalf for his troubles and I gave a gold snuff box in memory of myself to the Commandant and another to Mr Colonel du Petit Bois in exchange for different presents that he had given to me during my stay in Ischia. Monsieur the Grand Master gave,

besides this, an agate snuff box and a roll of 50 ducats to the nephew of Bonocuore and as much to Chanoine of the house].

6 November 1738: "Je me rendis ensuite au Coté du Roi ou je pris Congé du Duc de Sora à qui je donna une tabatiere d'une tres belle pierre avec une bague d'un brillant en present et de meme du Don Giuseppe Miranda au quel je donna un tabatiere d'or garnie de pierreries en present."

[I took myself afterwards to the side of the King where I paid my respects to the Duc de Sora to whom I gave a snuff box of a very pretty stone and a ring with a brilliant as a present and the same to Don Giuseppe Miranda to whom I gave a gold snuff box decorated with hardstones as a present].

13 November 1738: "Don Lellio Caraffa prit conge de moy et je lui donnai une tabatiere d'or garnie de brillants, et de rubis en memoire de moy."

[Don Lellio Caraffa paid his respects to me and I gave him a gold snuff box decorated with diamonds and rubies in memory of myself].

14 November 1738: Au retour du Theatre je fis present au C. Bolognini, au Marquis Torregiani, et au Marquis D. Pepo Papacoda a chacun d'une bague de brillant, à Chacun des exempts d'une montre d'or garnie de brillants et de rubis et a D. Marino d'une tabatiere d'or outre la montre comme aux autres hormis au Cte. Marazani qui a reçu une montre d'or a repetition." [On returning from the theatre I made a gift to C Bolognini, to the Marquis Torregiani, and to the Marquis D Pepo Papacoda, to each one I gave a diamond ring, and to each of the others a gold watch decorated with diamonds and rubies and to D Marino a gold snuff box besides the watch the same as those of the others, apart from Count Marazani who

received a repeating gold watch].

4 April 1739: "Comme il me la porta de la part de Son Emce. le Cardinal Camerlengo je lui donnai pour ses peines une tabatiere d'une pierre de Saxe enchassée en or, de meme qu'au Pretre Don Saverio Brunetti qui l'accompagnait mais c'en étoit une de meilleur prix que l'autre." [As he had brought it to me on behalf of His Eminence the Cardinal Camerlengo, I gave him for his troubles a Saxon hardstone snuff box mounted in gold, and the same to the priest Don Saverio Brunetti who accompanied him but this was of a better price than the other].

8 April 1739: "Je donnai une tabatiere de Porcellaine a Don Orazio Et les deutes de la Confraternite della Trinita de Pellegrini vinrent me porter le livre pour m'inscrire ce que je fis faire par sentiment de Mr. le Grand Maitre par le R.P.

Confesseur." [I gave a porcelain snuff box to Don Orazio and his deputies of the confraternity of the Trinita de Pellegrini who came to bring me the book for me to write in and which I did out of sentiment for Monsieur the Grand Master by the R P Confessor].

23 April 1739 : "Je dinai a Villa Paulucci a Albano ou je trouvai le Marq. Balbariano frere de Msgr. qui me resut. Il ne put pas diner a ma table attendu son incommodité aux jambes. Je lui fis present d'une tabatiere d'or." [I dined at Villa Paulucci at Albano where I found the Marquis Balbariano, brother of the Monseigneur who. He could not dine at my table owing to the infirmity of his legs. I gave him a gold snuff box].

14 The following derive from SHStA Dresden, Geh Kab, 10026, Loc768/2, vol I, Ihrer Hoheit des Königl:Chur-Printzens, Herrn Friedrichs Reise nach Neapolis und von da nach denen Bädern zu Ischia betr. Ao.1738; Loc768/3, vol II, Acta Ihrer Hoheit ... Rück-Reise von Neapolis nach Rom betr. Ao.1739; Loc 768/4, vol III, Ihrer Hoheit ... Aufenthalt zu Rom betr. Ao.1739. 6 July 1738: "Le Secrétaire d'Etat pour les affaires Ecclesiastiques Branconi m'envoya par un Page un billet signé de Sa main, portant, que le Roy m'avoit nommé un d'entre les 72 Chevaliers de l'Ordre de St. Janvier: Je fis present au Page d'une tabatiere d'or." [Branconi the Secretary of State for Religious Affairs sent me a page with a note signed in his hand, signifying that the King had nominated me as one of the seventy-two knights of the Order of St Janvier: I made a gift to the page of a gold snuff box].

14 November 1738: "Le premier fut regalé d'une tabatiere en échange des livrets d'Opera qu'il en avoit reçus; S.A.Rle. distribua aussi des presens aux deux Chambellans, et au Majordome, qui avoient été destinez à la servir. Les presens consistent en des bagues de brillants. Les exempts des Gardes eurent de belles montres, et les Cavallarizzi di Campo, et

le Greffier de la maison des tabattieres d'or." [The first was regaled with a snuff box in exchange for the tickets for the opera that he had received. His Royal Highness also distributed presents to the two chamberlains and to the majordomo, who had served him. The presents consisted of two diamond rings. The others of the guards had fine watches and the cavalry and the Greffier of the house had gold snuff boxes].

9 December 1738 : "Elle reçut ce jour là un beau present du Cardl. Acquaviva consistant en deux Reliquaires d'or, et Elle fit donner au Valet de Chambre de S. Emce., qui en avoit été le porteur, une tabatiere de Caillou garnie d'or." [He received that day a fine present from the Cardinal. This consisted of two gold reliquaries and he gave to the valet du chambre of his Eminence who had brought them, a hardstone snuff box mounted in gold].

25 December 1738 : "L'Ambassadeur de France avoit le matin envoyé son Page chez moi pour que je voulusse m'acquitter de son compliment aupres du Prince, qui ayant fait donner au nouveau *Mastro de Cerimonie* du Pape une tabatiere d'or au sujet de la Rose Benite, ce Prelat vint en remercier S.A.Rle." [The French Ambassador had in the morning sent his page to my house as I wished to send my compliments to the Prince who, having given to the new 'Master of Ceremonies' of the Pope a gold snuff box on the subject of the blessed rose, the prelate came to thank His Royal Highness].

22 January 1738 : "L'ecuyer de S.Emce. reçut une tabatiere de cailloux montée en or." [The equerry of His Eminence received a hardstone snuff box mounted with gold].

25 February 1739 : "Comme c'étoit le jour de Naissance de Dn. Francesco Albani deuxième fils de la maison S.A.Rle. l'ayant diner avec Elle, lui fit present d'une tabatiere de porcelaine montée en or." [As it was the birthday of Don Francesco Albani, second son of the house, His Royal Highness having dinner with him, gave him a

porcelain snuff box mounted with gold].

7 March 1739 : "Madame la Marquise Grimaldi S'étant appercût que S.A.Rle. souhaittoit avoir une idee de la belle maison de plaisance du Cardl. Alexandre, que le meme a fait batir a Neptune, envoya a Monseignr le Prince Rl. un tableau, qui representoit ce jardin magnifique, en échange de quoi S.A.Rle. fit present a la dite Dame d'une tabatiere de porcelaine montée en or." [Madame the Marquise Grimaldi having perceived that His Royal Highness wished to have an idea of the beautiful villa that Cardinal Alexandre himself had built at Nettuno, sent to Monseigneur the Prince Royal a painting, representing a magnificent garden, in exchange for which His Royal Highness made a gift to the said lady of a porcelain snuff box mounted with gold].

17 March 1739: "Le Cardl. St. Clement la remercia en Sortant de l'Eglise de l'attention faite a la memoire de Son Oncle, et S.A.Rle. alla en suite voir la fabrique de mosaïque. Monse. Olivieri Chanoine de St. Pierre, qui accompagnoit par tout S.A.Rle. lui fit present d'un tabatiere / de la même composition, dont en Se Sert pour le mosaïque / proprement montée en or et S.A.Rle. temoigna beaucoup de plaisir de voir cette manufacture." [Cardinal St Clement thanked him on leaving the church, for the attention paid to the memory of his uncle, and his Royal Highness, afterwards went to see the mosaic factory. Monsieur Olivieri Chanoine de St Pierre who accompanied His Royal Highness everywhere made him a gift of a snuff box of the same material as is used for the mosaics but mounted in gold and His Royal Highness showed much pleasure to see its manufacture].

4 April 1739 : "L'ouvrage en est parfaitement beau, Monseigneur le Prince Royal fit present a Dn. Giovanni Francesco Albani Son neveu, qui lui presenta la dite Relique, d'une tabatiere d'or, ornée d'une belle Agate Orientale, et donna une tabatiere de Caillou garnée d'or a l'Abbé Xaverio, qui en avoit été le porteur." [The workman-

ship is perfectly fine, Monseigneur the Crown Prince made a gift to Don Giovanni Francesco Albani his nephew, who gave him the said relic, of a gold snuff box decorated with a fine piece of oriental agate, and gave a snuff box of gold-mounted hardstone to Abbot Xaverio, who had brought it to him].

7 April 1739 : "Etant de retour au logis le Duc de Caserta, et Son Epouse et la famille Colonna se trouverent dans l'AntiChambre. Le Cardl. St. Clement survint, et S.A.Rle. voyant que S. Emce. avoit une tabatiere fort Simple, lui fit la galanterie, de lui en donner une d'or a double fond qui lui fit grand plaisir."

[Having returned to the lodgings of the Duke of Caserta and his wife and family, Colonna found in the ante-room the Cardinal St Clement arrive and His Royal Highness, seeing that His Eminence only had a very plain snuff box, was extremely gallant and gave him one in gold which gave him much pleasure]. 8 April 1739 : "S.A.Rle. fit present ce Soir là a Dn. Orazio Albani d'une Tabatiere de Porcelaine garnie d'or." [His Royal Highness made a gift that evening to Don Orazio Albani of a porcelain snuff box mounted in gold].

25 April 1739 : "Monseigneur le Pce. Royal fit donner au Chanoine une Tabatiere d'or, et douze Ducats a partager entre l'ouvrier, et les Valets de Chambre du Cardl." [Monsieur the Crown Prince gave to Chanoine a gold snuff box and twelve ducats to share between the workers and the *valets de chambre* of the cardinal].

4 January 1740 : "D. Francesco Albani prenant congé de S.A.Rle. pour s'en retourner a Rome. Elle lui fit present d'une belle tabatiere d'or, et l'accompagna d'une lettre au Cardinal Camerlingue pour remercier S.E. de son attention." [Don Francesco Albani, paying his respects to His Royal Highness, before returning to Rome, was given a fine gold snuff box and an accompanying letter to Cardinal Camerlingue thanking His Excellency for his attention].

14 March 1740 : "Elle assista au Sermon, et de

retour au logis Elle expedia le dit courier, en lui faisant present d'une Tabatiere d'or." [He assisted in the sermon and, on his return to his lodgings, sent for the said courier and presented him with a gold snuff box].

15 Op cit, see note 2, Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, 2015.

16 "Nous tirames a 3 heures et 1/2: à l'oiseau et Mr. le Grand Maître tira pour le Cte. de Brühl le quel l'en avoit prié avant Son depart. Nous l'abbatimes et voice qui gagna les prix. Pour le Corps une Tabatiere de Porcelaine de Saxe fort finement travaillée, peinte, et d'orée Mr. le Commandant d'Ischia. Pour L'Aile Droite une tabatiere de jaspe de Saxe Mr. le Cte. de Brühl. Pour le aile Gauche un etui d'or Mr. le Commandant d'Ischia. Pour la Tete six tasse à Chocolate de Porcelaine de Saxe. Le meme. Pour la Queue un Arquebuse rayé. Le meme. Pour la Griffes Droite un etui à cure dont d'ambre Mr. le Cte de Bolognini. Pour la Griffes Gauche une tabatiere de la meme matiere. Mr. le Grand Maître [...]" [We shot at 3 hours and a half at the bird and Mr the Grand Master shot for the Count Brühl which he had asked for before he left. We shot and this is those who won the prizes. For the body a Saxon porcelain snuff box, of fine work, painted and gilded, Monsieur the Commandant of Ischia. For the right wing a Saxon jasper snuff box Monsieur the Count Brühl. For the left wing a gold etui, Monsieur the Commandant of Ischia. For the head, six Saxon porcelain chocolate cups. The same. For the tail an arquebuse. The same. For the right paw an amber etui. Monsieur the Count de Bolognini. For the left paw a snuff box of the same material. Monsieur the Grand Master]

1741	Transport	7.	9.	1741	Transport	7.	9.
May 10	Transport	5021	9	May 10	Transport	5629	12
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		137	12	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		70	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		52	-	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		10	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		22	-	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		20	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		55	-	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		16	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		55	-	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		16	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		247	12	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		16	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		58	-	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		25	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		42	12	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		170	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		42	12	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		155	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		660	-	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		45	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		63	0	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		20	12
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		510	6	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		11	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		181	12	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		23	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		58	12	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		26	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		105	-	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		44	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		178	18	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		110	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		110	-	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		32	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		190	-	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		110	6
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		560	12	Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		45	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein				Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		35	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein				Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		17	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein				Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein		17	-
Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein				Ein goldener Ring mit einem Stein			

Fig 3 Two pages from the Privy Purse Register of Crown Prince Friedrich Christian, May 1741

(Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10076: 7/55, Rechnungen der Hof- und Staatsbehörden. Einnahme und Ausgabe über Seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Kurprinzen zu Sachs (en Schatullengelder, Bd. 1 (unpaginated))

a few large gratuities.¹⁷ Evidently gaming, billiards, bowling and shooting were daily pastimes with the attendant losses a leitmotif: "In Billard verlohren"; "verlohren in pharo"; "In Troisept verlohren"; "In reversion verlohren"; "Bey dem Pistolen Schießen verlohren"; "in Biribi verlohren"; "In Spiel verlohren"; "Auf der Redoute in Spiel verlohren." In Vienna, on the homeward journey, he lost regularly to his grandmother, dowager Empress Wilhelmine Amalie.

Following his return from Italy, the prince began to attend the Leipzig fairs and, according to the privy purse accounts, he quickly adopted the family model of lavish spending on precious gifts for his parents and siblings, select courtiers, members of staff and their families.¹⁸ In 1741, for example, he bought nearly a dozen snuff boxes, some made in Paris, at the spring fair; he particularly favoured the dealers Latour, Lautier and Le Clere [Fig 3]. According to his diary, the royal family travelled from Dresden to Hubertusburg via Meissen on 20 April and made the three-hour journey to Leipzig on the 22 April for a week long stay. After the usual formal welcomes and introductions, the prince began scouring the

stalls, generously providing pocket money to his staff. On 2 May he wrote in his diary:

La Reine ma tres chere Mere ayant reçu si gracieusement la tabatiere de Lapis garnie de brillans que j'eus l'honneur de lui presenter pour marque de mon respect filial [...] je me rendis après le diner chez madame la Princesse de Weissenfels et lui presentois pour foire une tabatiere à Coffret. [The Queen my very dear Mother, having so graciously received the lapis lazuli snuff box decorated with brilliants which I had the honour of presenting her with as a mark of my filial respect [...] after dinner I took myself to the house of Madame, the Princess Weissenfels and gave her a casket-shaped snuff box]. Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 12527 Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian, no 261.

According to the privy purse accounts, the lapis lazuli snuff box for the Queen was purchased from Latour for 660 thalers and the Paris snuff box presented to the Princess Weissenfels, which came from the same dealer,

cost 247 thalers. Count Wackerbarth received a gold snuff box bought from Lautier costing around 300 thalers and the same dealer supplied a hardstone snuff box to Princess Albani, his hostess in Rome, for 181 thalers. As may be seen, the privy purse accounts and the various diaries, need to be used hand-in-hand, to best exploit the treasures they contain.

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Maureen has also embarked on a comprehensive study of the inventories of the Royal Court Pantries in Dresden, Warsaw and Hubertusburg and is completing a book about the Philip Johnson Glass House.

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17 Subleyras painted the prince's portrait and two copies: the original for the king and the copies for Count Brühl and for the Polish church. By contrast there are no payments to Rosalba Carriera in the accounts, who also provided a portrait of the prince in Venice.

18 The *Hof-Calendar* regularly listed

the dates of the foremost annual fairs and markets in Europe, naming Aachen, Amsterdam, Augsburg, Berlin, Braunschweig, Bremen, Breslau, Krakow, Gdansk, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Kiel, Königsberg, Leipzig, Lindau, Linz, Magdeburg, Naumburg, Nuremberg, Prague, Rostock, Stettin, Venice, Warsaw and Vienna.

Appendix

Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10076: 7/55, Rechnungen der Hof- und Staatsbehörden, Einnahme und Ausgabe über Seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Kurprinzen zu Sachsen Schatullengelder, Bd. 1 [unpaginated], 13 May 1738 – 10 September 1740 [Saxon main state archive Dresden, 10076: 7/55, accounts of the court- and state authorities, income and expenditure of His Royal Highness, the Heir of the Elector's privy purse]

Inaccuracies and misspellings in the original have been retained. Abbreviations in the text include: *Duc* = ducat; *rt* = (Reichs) thaler; *g* (l) = groschen; *d* = denare (pfennige)

Crown Prince Friedrich Christian, travelling incognito as the Comte de Lusace, left Dresden on 13 May 1738; he went through present-day Germany, the Czech Republic, Austria, Slovenia and Italy, for medical treatment on the island of Ischia, followed by a year in Rome and six months in Venice before a state visit to Vienna on the homeward journey. The essential itinerary, for comparison with the privy purse accounts, is as follows:

13 May 1738: Dresden (Pillnitz) to Lovosice, CZ

14 May to Prague

16 May to Nesbiky

17 May to Tabor

18 May to Nova Bystrice

19 May to Pulkau, AUT

20 May to St Poelten

21 May to Turnitz

22 May to Mariazell

23 May to Bruck

24 May to Graz

25 May to Maribor, SLO

26 May to Celje

27 May to Ljubljana

28 May to Vipava

29 May to Palmanova, IT

31 May to Perdenone

1 June to Treviso

2 June to Padua and Venice

4 June to Rovigo

5 June to Ferrara

6 June to Faenza

7 June to Rimini

8 June to Pesaro

9 June to Loreto

10 June to Tolentino

11 June to Seravalle

12 June to Spoleto

13 June to Terni

14 June to Civita Castellana

15 June to Monterotondo

16 June to Zagarola

17 June to Velletri

18 June to Priverno

19 June to Gaeta

22 June to Naples

12 July – 23 September Ischia

23 September – 15 November Portici and Naples

18 November 1738 – 14 October 1739, Rome, with outings to Nettuno, Frascati and Tivoli

16 October to Montefiascone

17 October to Radicofani

18 October to Siena

20 October to San Romano

21 October to Livorno

23 October to Pisa

26 October to Florence

13 November to Fiorenzuola

14 November to Bologna

21 November to Modena

25 November to Parma

28 November to Piacenza

29 November to Lodi

30 November – 11 December Milan

12 December to Cavernago

13 December to Brescia

14 December to Desenzano

15 December to Mantua

17 December to Verona

19 December to Vicenza

21 December 1739 – 11 June 1740, Venice

22 June – 31 August 1740, Vienna

7 September 1740, Dresden

The vast majority of the prince's expenditure was on gambling: both cards and billiard. There are repeated entries referring to his losses at a variety of card games as well as billiards: *in Spiel verlohren*, *verlohren in Spiel* or *uf den Billard verlohren*. He also made numerous charitable donations to different religious orders as well as to the poor. There are also many entries which refer to either gratifications or discretions made to those who rendered him some kind of personal service such as couriers. Where an entry is of particular interest ie. when he purchased a snuff box or similar object the entry has been translated and appears in square brackets after the entry.

Einnahme: [Income]			Thlr.	g	d	6.	Karten-Geld	1.	8.	-
<u>May</u>							Vor vier geistliche Persohnen, welche mit memorialen einkommen seynd	11.		
13.	Discretion in Pilnitz dem Bettmeister 6. Ducat	16.	12.	-			11. Ducat	30.	6.	-
14.	In Lobsitz denen Capuccinern 3. Ducat	8.	6.	-				11.	-	-
	Vor die Arme Unterwegs bis nach Prag 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-		7.	Denen Nonnen bey S. Januario 4. Ducat	11.	-	-
16.	Denen Capuccinern in Prag 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-				Latus, 1807.	16.	-
	Denen Barmhertzigern Brüdern 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-						
	Gratification zu Prag denen Geistlichen in der Thom-Kirche 30. Ducat	82.	12.	-		<u>Julius</u>	An Transport [Brought forward]	Thlr.	g.	d.
18.	In Neuhausen in der Karte verlohren 10 Ducat	27.	12.	-				1807.	16.	-
	Vor die Arme Unterwegs von Prag bis Mariazell	20.	-	-		d. 8.	Einen Capuccinern 1. Ducat	2.	18.	-
	In Pulckau denen Augustinern 3. Ducat	8.	6.	-			Dem H. Cerrini vor ein Spanisches Rohr und Silberne Quaste, welche Ihro Königl. Hoheit der Königin von Neapel zum Geburtstag geschencket haben	35.	12.	-
23.	In Maria Zell ein Tutzend Rosen-Krätze von Agath	12.	-	-			[To Mr Cerrini for a cane and silver tassel, which His Royal Highness gave as a present to the Queen of Naples for her birthday]			
	[In Maria Zell a dozen agate rosaries]					9.	Denen Augustinern Baarfüßer 1. Ducat	2.	18.	-
	Ein Tutzend Rosen-Krätze von schwarzen Eben-Holtz	12.	-	-			Einen gewissen armen Cavallier 10 Ducat	27.	12.	-
	[A dozen rosaries of black ebony]						Donna Maria di Sangro	2.	-	-
	Fünff Stück Crucifix von Perl-Mutter à 4 fl.	13.	8.	-		11.	Vor unterschiedene Arme, welche mit Memorialen einkommen seynd	10.	8.	-
	[Five pieces crucifix of Mother of pearl @ 4 fl(orins)]						Denen Capuccinern die Ihro Königl. Hoheit Geistliche Sachen praesentiret haben 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-
	Zwey Stück Crucifix von schwarzten Holtz	2.	-	-			Denen Nonnen bey S. Clara 6. Ducat	16.	12.	-
	[Two pieces crucifix of black wood]						Einen Geistlichen Don Nicola Major	2.	18.	-
	Vier Crucifix etwas kleiner ein Stück à 16. g.	2.	16.	-			In Troisept verlohren	12.	-	-
	[Four crucifix a little smaller a piece at 16 g]						Karten=Geld	2.	-	-
	Einen goldenen Pfennig	5.	8.	-		15.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-
	[A gold penny]						Einen Missionario Antonio d' Annei	4.	12.	-
	Einen Rosen-Crantz von Jaspis	26.	16.	-			Guiseppe de Angelis von Loreto	4.	12.	-
	[A jasper rosary]						In Troisept verlohren	9.	8.	-
	Zu Seewisen verlohren in pharo 6. Ducat	16.	12.	-			Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-
	Zu Bruck verlohren in pharo 4. Ducat	11.	-	-		19.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-
	Latus, 1355.	18.				20.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-
<u>May</u>	An Transport [Brought forward]	Thlr.	g.	d.		21.	Denen H. Geistlichen ordinis Sancti Domini von der Insel Procita 4. pisto:	20.	-	-
d. 23.	Von Grätz bis Marburg denen Armen ausgetheilet 4. Ducat	11.	-	-		22.	Denen Capuccinern von Ischia	5.	-	-
25.	Zu Wildon verlohren in pharo 6. Ducat	16.	12.	-			Einen Venetianischen Capitain Dimelli	6.	16.	-
26.	Zu Marburg einen Franciscaner 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-		23.	Discretion einen Geistlichen vor praesentirtes bouquet	2.	18.	-
	Zu Feistritz verlohren in pharo 12. Ducat	33.	-	-		25.	Vor eine goldene Tabatiere mit brillanten und rubinen besetzt, welche der Major Pühlau [Bülau] zum praesent bekommen	340.	-	-
<u>Junius</u>	In Conegliano verlohren in pharo 20. Ducat	55.	-	-			[For a gold snuff box set with brilliants and rubies, which Major Pühlau received as a present]			
d. 2.	Zu Venedig auf den großen Canal verlohren in pharo 30. Ducat	82.	12.	-			Discretion dem Unter Officier von der Wache, der Ihro Königl. Hoheit ein Ey, in welchen eine Festung ist, praesentiret hat	10.	-	-
3.	In Padua vor zwey Officiers außer diensten 12. Ducat	33.	-	-		26.	Einen Grigischen Geistlichen	2.	-	-
	Zu Rovigo einen Capucciner 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-			Latus, 2337.	8.		
12.	In Foligno verlohren in pharo 20. Ducat	55.	-	-		<u>Julius:</u>	An Transport	Thlr.	g.	d.
13.	In Terni verlohren in pharo 16. Ducat	44.	-	-				2337.	8.	-
19.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-		d. 28.	Denen Geistlichen aus Ischia ordinis Sancti Augustini vor geistliche praesente	25.	-	-
20.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-			Denen Bauers=Leuten die getantz haben und den Mann der die Hautbois geblaßen	3.	-	-
21.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-		29.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-
29.	Einen Geistlichen Giuseppe Omina	2.	-	-		31.	Einen Officier Baron Stein	5.	12.	-
	In Spital Sant Gennaleno 10 Ducat	27.	12.	-						
	Einen Mann der Ihro Königl. Hoheit die antiquitaeten expliciret	1.	8.	-		<u>August.</u>	Einen Einsiedler	1.	-	-
	[To a man who explained the antiquities to His Royal Highness]					d. 4.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-
<u>Julius</u>							In Troisept verlohren	3.	8.	-
d. 2.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-		5.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-
3.	Einen armen Geistlichen	2.	18.	-		6.	Denen Geistlichen Luca Barbarica	17.	-	-
	Einen arme Officier von Jerusalem, welcher Ihro Königl. Hoheit ein Crucifix praesentiret hat. 3. Ducat	8.	6.	-		7.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-
	[To a poor officer of Jerusalem, who presented His Royal Highness with a crucifix 3 ducats]					8.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-
4.	Einen Geistlichen Guiseppe Denti	2.	18.	-			Vor 11. Geistliche und Weltliche Persohnen, so mit memorialen einkommen	19.	6.	-
	Don Mathaeo Sindoni della Città di Palermo					14.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-
	Allmosen	2.	-	-			Vor 14. Geistliche, und Weltliche Persohnen, so mit memorialen einkommen	13.	-	-
	Einen Eremiten	2.	18.	-		16.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-
	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-						
5.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-						

17.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-	6.	Denen Capuccinern 20 Ducaten	55.	-	-
18.	Karten=Geld	1.	8.	-		In Spiel verlohren	13.	18.	-
	Den 19. 20. 21. 24. 29. Karten=Geld	6.	16.	-		Denen Nonnen Capuccinerinnen 15. Ducat	41.	6.	-
26.	Vor 4. Persohnen, so mit memorialen eingekommen sind	10.	-	-	7.	In Spiel verlohren	11.	-	-
						Eine goldene Uhr nebst einer Kette, so der Buch-Führer, und Buch-Drucker Mainardi vor ein an Ihro Königl. Hoheit, dediciertes Buch bekommen	85.	6.	-
<u>Septembr.</u>	In Biribi verlohren	3.	8.	-		[A gold watch and a chain, which the guide book, and book printer Mainardi received for a book dedicated to His Royal Highness]			
d. 1.	In Biribi verlohren	2.	-	-	8.	In Spiel verlohren 5. Ducat	13.	18.	-
2.	Einen armen Schieffmann, der mit memoriale eingekommen ist 4. Ducat	11.	-	-		In die Lotterie Einlage	20.	15.	-
6.	Dem Duca di Noja eine goldene Tabatiere mit Brillanten, und Rubinen garniert, und graviert	360.	-	-	12.	In Spiel verlohren	5.	12.	-
	[To the Duca di Noja a gold snuff box with brilliants, set with rubies, and engraved]				15.	In Spiel verlohren	5.	12.	-
	Der Sängerin Thesi eine goldene Tabatiere gemuschelt und Glantz geschlieffen	160.	-	-	16.	In Spiel verlohren	1.	12.	-
	[To the singer (female) Thesi a gold snuff box polished to a shine]				18.	Denen Capuccinerinnen della Concettione	16.	12.	-
		Latus, 2989.	20.		19.	Einen Franciscaner vor praesentirte Bilder Verlohren in Spiel	4.	-	-
<u>Septembr.</u>	An Transport	Thlr. 2989.	g. 20.	d. -	20.	In Spiel verlohren	1.	8.	-
	Gnaden Discretion dem jungen Wilczynski vor überreichte Geographische Beschreibung von der Insul Ischia 6. Ducat	16.	12.	-	24.	In Spiel verlohren	19.	22.	-
	In Biribi verlohren	2.	16.	-	25.	In Spiel verlohren	13.	12.	-
	Vor unterschiedene Arme	2.	-	-	26.	In Spiel verlohren	22.	-	-
d. 9.	Denen Armen	1.	-	-	28.	In Spiel verlohren	32.	18.	-
20.	Einen Geistlichen Ordinis S. Francisci	1.	8.	-	31.	Zum Neuen Jahre Gnaden Discretion dem Secretaire de la Touche	30.	-	-
22.	Vor 32. unterschiedene Arme, die mit memorialen eingekommen sind	40.	-	-		Dem Leib-Schütz Becholdt	30.	-	-
27.	Einen armen Geistlichen	1.	8.	-		Dem jungen Wilczynski	16.	12.	-
	Von den 2. Septbr. bis den 30. Sept. Karten-Geld	32.	-	-		Dem H. Pater Breinl vor die zu Neuhaus Rückständige Bezahlung der Kost des jungen Caroli Arenzen in dem Seminario	50.	14.	-
	Eine garnitour Camisoll Köpffe von Topasen emaillet vor Ihro Königl. Hoheit Selbsten	44.	-	-		Summa:	4950.	7.	-
	[A garniture of topaz camisole buttons enamelled for His Royal Highness himself]				1739.	H.	Romanische	Scudi	Paul.
<u>Octobr.</u>					<u>Januarius</u>				Pajoc
d. 2.	Einen Armen Mann	1.	8.	-	d. 1.	In Spiel verlohren	2.	7.	-
	In Reversino verlohren	3.	16.	-	5.	In Spiel verlohren	4.	9.	-
3.	Einen armen Mann	1.	16.	-	6.	In Spiel verlohren	1.	6.	-
	Denen Capuccinern in Portici 5. Ducat	13.	18.	-	8.	In Spiel verlohren	21.	3.	-
4.	Denen Reformaten 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-	13.	Denen Franciscanern	4.	-	-
6.	In Reversino verlohren	3.	16.	-		In Spiel verlohren	5.	3.	-
8.	Denen Franciscanern 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-	14.	In Spiel verlohren	1.	8.	-
	Einen Convertiten 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-	15.	In Spiel verlohren	13.	2.	-
11.	Einen armen Mann 1. Ducat	2.	18.	-	16.	In Spiel verlohren	2.	-	-
14.	In Reversino verlohren	2.	8.	-	21.	In Spiel verlohren	11.	-	-
17.	Bey dem Pistolen Schießen verlohren	6.	16.	-	22.	In Spiel verlohren	1.	-	-
18.	Bey dem Pistolen Schießen verlohren	4.	-	-	23.	In Spiel verlohren	6.	-	-
30.	In Troisept verlohren	1.	8.	-	24.	In Spiel verlohren	6.	6.	-
	Vor unterschiedene Ordens geistliche an dem H. P. Breinl gegeben 16. Ducat	44.	-	-	26.	In Spiel verlohren	4.	7.	-
<u>Novembr.</u>	Karten=Geld von den 1 bis den 31 Octobr.	34.	16.	-	27.	In Spiel verlohren	12.	5.	-
	In Portici verlohren in Biribi von dem 25. Sept. bis den 1. Novembr. inclusive 394. Du:	1083.	12.	-	28.	In der Lotterie eingelegt	15.	-	-
d. 8.	In Troisept verlohren	2.	8.	-	29.	In Spiel verlohren	8.	6.	-
9.	In Troisept verlohren	1.	8.	-	<u>Februarius</u>	Denen Franciscanern a Ripa grande	10.	-	-
12.	Einen armen Mann	1.	8.	-	d. 1.	In Oratorio S. Francisci Xaverii	20.	-	-
		Latus, 4355.	12.	-		Der Madame Farinaci zur Reisse 20. Ducat	40.	-	-
<u>Novembr.</u>	An Transport	Thlr. 4355.	g. 12.	d. -		Einer Convertitin 5. Ducat	10.	-	-
	In Neapoli in Profess-Haus 4. Ducat	11.	-	-		Dem armen blinden Kayßen 3. Ducat	6.	-	-
<u>Decembr.</u>	Denen Kloster-Jungfrauen 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-	2.	In Spiel verlohren	1.	9.	-
	Karten-Geldt von den 1. bis den 14. Novembr.	17.	8.	-	4.	In Spiel verlohren	7.	3.	-
d. 3.	In Spiel verlohren	13.	-	-	6.	In Spiel verlohren	11.	2.	-
5.	Einen Officier, der eine Officiers Frau aus Sachsen aus der Türckischen Slaverey los gekauft 20. Duc:	55.	-	-	11.	In Spiel verlohren	6.	-	-
					12.	In Spiel verlohren	13.	7.	-
						Vor eine goldene Uhr dem Courier von Neapolis der nach Warschau ist geschickt worden 26. Du:	52.	-	-
						[For a gold watch to the courier from Naples who was sent to Warsaw]			
					14.	In Spiel verlohren	2.	-	-
						Eine goldene Uhr dem H. Pater Breinl	52.	-	-
						[A gold watch for Father Breinl]			
						Nebst einer goldenen Kette darzu 12 Ducat	24.	-	-
						[And a gold chain to go with it]			
					16.	In Spiel verlohren	2.	5.	-

17.	In Spiel verlohren	10.	6.	-	In der Kirche alla Minerva	2.	-	-		
18.	In Spiel verlohren	2.	4.	-	13.	In die Lotterie eingelegt	20.	8.	5.	
		Latus, 393.	8.	-		In der Kirche alla Minerva	4.	-	-	
<u>Februarius</u>	An Transport	Scudi	Paul	Pajoc	14.	In der Kirche alla Minerva	2.	-	5.	
		393.	8.	-		In der Kirche di S. Andrea delle Fratte	2.	-	5.	
d. 20.	In Spiel verlohren	3.	2.	-		In Spiel verlohren	6.	9.	-	
22.	In Spiel verlohren	6.	2.	-	15.	In Spiel verlohren	-	6.	-	
23.	In Spiel verlohren	-	6.	-		In der Kirche alla Minerva	2.	-	-	
24.	Denen Patribus alla Madonna de miraculi	4.	-	-	16.	Denen Capuccinern	20.	-	-	
	Einem Officier Carle la Boume, Die Frau Convertit.	6.	-	-		Vor einen Gefangenen	4.	-	-	
	Vor zwey arme Familien	6.	-	-		In Spiel verlohren	1.	1.	-	
	In Conservatorio S. Maria del Refugio	4.	-	-	18.	In Spiel verlohren	7.	-	-	
	Dem Conte Ventivoglio	6.	-	-			Latus, 932.	-	5.	
	In Spiel verlohren	6.	2.	-	<u>Aprilis</u>	An Transport	Scudi	Paul.	Pajoc	
25.	Vor die arme Kinder	4.	-	-			932.	-	5.	
	In Spiel verlohren	-	8.	-	d. 19.	In Spiel verlohren	1.	1.	-	
26.	In Spiel verlohren	7.	3.	-	20.	In Biribi verlohren	20.	-	-	
27.	In Spiel verlohren	3.	2.	-	21.	Im Spiel verlohren	1.	8.	-	
28.	In Spiel verlohren	8.	5.	-		In Nettuno zum Kirchen-Bau	20.	-	-	
	Eine goldene Uhr nebst Engl. Kette so an dem				24.	In Spiel verlohren	2.	4.	-	
					27.	In Spiel verlohren	-	9.	-	
<u>Martius</u>					28.	In Spiel verlohren	-	9.	-	
	Capell-Meister Porpora nach Neapoli geschickt	70.	-	-	29.	Einem getauften Juden Filippo Moselli	6.	-	-	
	[A gold watch and chain which was sent to the director of music Porpora to Naples]					In Spiel verlohren	1.	7.	-	
d. 1.	In Spiel verlohren	-	2.	-	<u>Maj.</u>					
3.	In Spiel verlohren	4.	5.	-	2.	Einen Lieutenant Lomaria, 3. Duc; armen	6.	-	-	
5.	In Spiel verlohren	3.	5.	-	8.	In Birybes verlohren 85. Duc. à 2. Sc.	170.	-	-	
	Gratification dem jungen Wilczynski vor				10.	Im Spiel verlohren	6.	3.	-	
	praesentirtes Buch	10.	-	-		Einen Peregrino von Adel, 5. Duc. à 2. Sc.	10.	-	-	
6.	In die Lotterie eingelegt	15.	-	-	12.	Im Spiel verlohren	3.	6.	-	
7.	In Spiel verlohren	7.	2.	-	13.	Dergleichen	4.	5.	-	
8.	In Spiel verlohren	9.	7.	-		In der Kirchen St. Francisco Romana	2.	-	-	
9.	Einer Armen Frau	1.	-	-	16.	An Allmosen zu Zeiten des Jubelei, dem Herrn				
	In Spiel verlohren	8.	7.	-		R. P. Breinl bezahlt, vor unterschiedene Per-				
10.	In Spiel verlohren	1.	1.	-		sonen, so mit Memorials eingekommen	53.	-	-	
13.	In der Kirchen S. Carlino 2. pistolen	7.	1.	-	18.	Allmosen Profess. Hauße, an 10 Duc:	20.	-	-	
15.	Denen Patribus ord: S. Francisci all'ara Ciele	20.	-	-	19.	Dergleichen denen Franciscanern	2.	-	-	
	In Spiel verlohren	3.	5.	-		Im Spiel verlohren	5.	4.	-	
16.	In Spiel verlohren	3.	5.	-	22.	Dergleichen	3.	6.	-	
17.	In Spiel verlohren	1.	7.	-	25.	Vor eine Statue des Heil. Johannis Nepomeceni	4.	-	-	
18.	In Spiel verlohren	1.	3.	-		Vor einen armen Sünder	2.	-	-	
19.	Eine goldene repetier-Uhr mit Engl. Kette				26.	Im Spiel verlohren	6.	4.	-	
	und zwey Petschafftendern H. Grafen				28.	Dergleichen	6.	5.	-	
	Salmour 74. Duc	148.	-	-			Summa:	1284.	1.	5.
		Latus, 758.	3.	-						
<u>Martius</u>	An Transport	Scudi	Paul.	Pajoc						
d. 19.	In Spiel verlohren	2.	-	-						
20.	In Spiel verlohren	-	6.	-						
23.	Vor eine arme Familia	2.	-	-						
24.	In Spiel verlohren	7.	1.	-						
25.	Vor zwey arme Familien	5.	-	-						
28.	Einen gewissen Abbe Reiß-Geld	10.	-	-						
30.	In Spiel verlohren	10.	1.	5.						
31.	In Spiel verlohren	3.	1.	-						
<u>Aprilis</u>										
d. 1.	In Spiel verlohren	5.	6.	-						
2.	In Spiel verlohren	1.	4.	-						
	Drey Armen von Adel	6.	1.	-						
5.	In Spiel verlohren	3.	7.	-						
6.	Einer Armen Contessa 4. Ducat	8.	-	-						
	Einem Capucciner	2.	-	5.						
8.	In Spiel verlohren	3.	5.	-						
9.	In Spiel verlohren	7.	-	-						
	Vor die Armen in Chiesa Nuova	2.	-	-						
10.	In der Kirchen S. Hieronymo	2.	-	-						
	In der Kirche alla Minerva	2.	-	-						
11.	In der Kirche di S. Maria alla Scala	2.	-	-						
	In der Kirche alla Minerva	4.	-	-						
	In Spiel verlohren	3.	2.	-						
12.	In Spiel verlohren	8.	7.	-						

Diese betragen 642. sp. Duc: und 15. baj: Müntze, diese aber zu rthln: resolviret, macht: 1765 rthl: 17 1/5 g. NB. den sp. Duc. zu 2 rthlr. 18 g. gerechnet. [These amount to 642.sp.Duc: and 15 bavarian coins, but these changed to Reichsthaler, makes: 1765 rthl: 17 1/5 g. NB. the sp. Duc. Counted for 2 rthlr. 18 g]

NB. J'ai signe ce compte a Rome ce 30.e May 1739.

Recapitulatio. rthlr g d
Der Ausgabe.

[Of the expenditure]

Besage Rechnung, vom 23. April. bis 31. Dec: 1738. 4950. 7. -
[Said invoice, of 23 April to 31 Dec: 1738.]

Laut Dergln vom 1. Jan: bis 28. Maj. 1739. An
[As per the same of 1 Jan: to 28 May 1739, To]

1284. Scudi 15. baj. oder 1765. 17. 3.
[1284. Scudi 15. bavarian or]

Sa: 6716. - 3.

Diese nun von der Einnahme derer 19627 r. 19 g. abgezogen, verbleiben Bestand, oder Vorrath: 12911. rthl. 18 g. 9 d. Rom den 30. May 1739.
[This now deducted from the income of 19627 r. 19 g., remain in stock or reserve: 12911. rthl. 18 g. 9 d. Rome 30. May 1739]

Sebastian Wilczynski
Berechnung
[Calculation]

Ilro Königl. Hoheit des Chur-Printzens zu Sachßen Chatoullen-Gelder.
Pro Mensibus, Junij, July, Augusti et Septembris, anno 1739.
 [Moneys in the privy purse of His Royal Highness the Heir to the Elector]

1739.	Einnahme	Thlr.	g.	d.
	[Income]			
	Laut der den 28. May 1739 an S. Excellenz des H. Geh. Cabin: Ministri und Obristhoffmeisters Grafen von Wackerbarth übergebenen Rechnung sind in Cassa verblieben	12911.	18.	9.
	[Remained in the till according to the calculation handed to His Excellency Privy Cabinet Minister Count von Wackerbarth on 28 May 1739]			
	Ferner			
	[Furthermore]			
8. Junij	in Spanischen Pistolets von H. Accis-Rath Klinckicht erhalten	3000.	-	-
	[Received in Spanish pistols from Excise Counsellor Klinckicht]			
24. Sept.	Dergleichen in Pistolets von demselben erhalten	2000.	-	-
	[Ditto in pistols from the same]			
	Summa:	17911.	18 g.	9 d.

1739.	Romanischen	Scudi.	Paul.	Baj.
<u>Junius</u>	Ausgabe			
	Expenditure			
	Ilro Königl. Hoheit des Chur-Printzens zu Sachßen Chatoullen-Gelder.			
	[Money in the privy purse of His Royal Highness the Heir to the Elector]			
d. 1.	Einen Neapolitanischen Officier Joseph Ferrar Vor ein Bild Sacra Familia auf Kupffer gemahlt	8.	-	-
	[For a picture Sacra Familia painted on copper]			
2.	Verlohren in Spiel	1.	8.	-
5.	Einer Arme die mit Memorial eingekommen	4.	-	-
	Einlage in die Lotterie	18.	5.	5.
	Verlohren in Spiel	3.	-	-
7.	Verlohren in Spiel	9.	-	-
8.	Vor zwey Persohnen die mit Memorial eingekommen	7.	-	-
	Verlohren in Spiel	3.	-	-
10.	Verlohren in Spiel	1.	5.	-
11.	Verlohren in Spiel	9.	-	-
12.	Verlohren in Spiel	1.	5.	-
14.	A S. Lorenzo in Lucina der Congregation S. Joannis Nepomuceni	100.	-	-
	Verlohren in Spiel	3.	3.	-
15.	Vor unterschiedene Arme die mit Memorials eingekommen seynd	14.	-	-
	Allmosen einen Carmeliter	4.	-	-
	Verlohren in Spiel	4.	-	-
16.	Verlohren in Spiel	1.	-	-
18.	Verlohren in Spiel	1.	1.	-
19.	Vor einen Armen Sünder	2.	-	-
20.	Einen Armen Mann mit memorial	4.	-	-
	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	-	-
22.	Einer Armen von Adel	4.	-	-
	Latus,	207.	6.	5.

1739.	Transpt.	Scudi.	Paul.	Paja.
<u>Junius</u>		207.	6.	5.
d. 23.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	-	-
24.	Verlohren in Spiel	6.	-	-

<u>Julius</u>			
d. 1.	Vor ein Crucifix von Helffenbein das Postement von Mosaico L. Bel. No. 1.	60.	-
	[For a crucifix of ivory the base of mosaic as per receipt no. 1]		
5.	Verlohren in Spiel	1.	5.
6.	Verlohren in Spiel	1.	8.
7.	Verlohren in Spiel	4.	3.
	Einen Mahler Stefano Torelli zur Reise nach Drefsden 10. Dopien	35.	5.
	[A painter Stefano Torelli for the journey to Dresden] 10. Dopien		

8.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	4.	-
9.	Allmosen einen armen Mann	6.	-	-
10.	Verlohren in Spiel	4.	2.	-
11.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	4.	-
	Vor 2. Persohnen die mit memorials gekommen	4.	-	-
12.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	4.	-
13.	Einlage in die Lotterie	8.	-	-
	Einen armen Pohlen	2.	-	-
	Einen Geistlichen Ordinis S. Noiberti	4.	-	-
14.	Einlage in die Lotterie	17.	-	-
	Verlohren in Spiel	5.	4.	-
15.	Dem H. Major Bühlau vor einen Stein in Goldt gefaßt worauf der Hercules gestochen	30.	7.	5.
	[To Major Bühlau for a stone mounted in gold engraved with Hercules]			
16.	Verlohren in Spiel	1.	2.	-
17.	Verlohren in Spiel	5.	4.	-
	Einen Armen Deutschen	2.	-	-
18.	Einer armen Wittib von Adel	4.	-	-
	Verlohren in Spiel	5.	7.	-
19.	Verlohren in Spiel	10.	6.	-
20.	Verlohren in Spiel	1.	2.	-
	Latus,	437.	4.	-

1739.	Transpt.	Scudi.	Paul.	Paja.
<u>Julius</u>		437.	4.	-
d. 22.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	1.	-
23.	Verlohren in Spiel	4.	1.	-
24.	Zu der Kirche S. Anna 1. pistol	3.	5.	5.
25.	Einen Russischen Officier Major Deloy 4 pistol.	14.	2.	-
26.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	7.	-
	Vor die Capuciner	16.	-	-
	Einer armen Waise	2.	-	-
28.	Einen Armen Medico	2.	-	-
	Vor ein Armes Mägdgen in ins Kloster gehen will	7.	1.	-
	Dem H. Major Bühlau vor unterschiedliche Antique Intagli laut beyliegenden Zettel à Littera A	114.	8.	-
	[To Major Bühlau for various antique intaglios as per attached note à Littera A]			
30.	Gnaden Discretion dem Chatoullen Rechnungs Führer 12. Ducat	24.	-	-
	[Graceful discretion to the accountant of the privy Purse]			
31.	Verlohren in Spiel	4.	-	-
	Vor ein goldenen Ring mit grünen Stein [indistinct] 6. pistol	21.	3.	-
	[For a gold ring with a green stone]			
Specifi-	[Vor Ringe mit antique Köpffe 12. pistol	42.	6.	-
	[[For rings with antique heads 12 pistols]			
cation	[Vor 4. antique Steine	30.	-	-
	[[For 4. antique stones]			

1739.	Transpt.	Scudi.	Paul.	Paja.
<u>August.</u>		757.	3.	-
d. 1.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	-	-
2.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	-	-
3.	Verlohren in Spiel	4.	5.	-
4.	Verlohren in Spiel	4.	4.	-
5.	Verlohren in Spiel	5.	-	-
9.	Einen Capuciner Missionario nach China	3.	5.	5.
	Verlohren in Spiel	5.	6.	-
10.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	4.	-
	Latus,	757.	3.	-

1739.	Transpt.	Scudi.	Paul.	Paja.
<u>August.</u>		757.	3.	-
d. 12.	Verlohren in Spiel	1.	5.	-
13.	Verlohren in Spiel	3.	6.	-
15.	Verlohren in Spiel	3.	-	-
	Einen Armen	2.	-	-
16.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	1.	-
18.	Verlohren in Spiel	3.	6.	-
22.	Einem Officier Antonio Steinsdorff	7.	1.	-
	Einen Cavalier Stivard 2. pistol	7.	1.	-

22.	Einer armen Frau	2.	1.	-
23.	Verlohren in Spiel	-	9.	-
26.	Einlage in die Lotterie	10.	5.	-
24. 26.	Verlohren in Spiel	5.	-	5.
27.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	2.	-
29.	Des Hoff-Tisch-Meisters Grund-Mann seiner Schwester die Catholisch geworden Einen Geistlichen vor überbrachte Devotialia di S. Martino alla Guardia Svizzera 2. pistol	7.	1.	-
	Verlohren in Spiel	3.	8.	-
30.	Verlohren in Spiel	-	6.	-
	Denen Augustinern à Jesu e Maria 1. pist.	3.	5.	5.
31.	Gratification dem Neapolitanischen Courier Giovanino 6. Pistol d'Espagne bezahlt an			

<u>Septembr.</u> Mons: de la Touche		21.	30.	-
d. 1.	Verlohren in Spiel	3.	-	-
6.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	7.	-
Latus,		907.	6.	-

<u>1739.</u>		Scudi.	Paul.	Paja.
<u>Septembr.</u>		Transpt.	907.	6.
d. 7.	Einen Officier Don Felice Candamno Cavalliere dell' ordine di S. Giacomo	40.	-	-
	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	1.	-
	Vor zwey Intaglien in dem ersten I ^{er} Ercole di Farnese di Flavio, und in dem anderen Testa di Socrate, laut beyliegenden Zettel	24.	-	-
	[For two intaglios in the first I ^{er} Ercole di Farnese di Flavio, and in the other Testa di Socrate, as per attached chit]			
	Dem Giovanni Battista Nolli Praenumeratio auff Kupffer-Stiche laut beyliegenden Zettel No. 3.	50.	-	-
	[Giovanni Battista Nolli Praenumeratio for copper engraving prints as per attached chit no. 3]			
8.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	4.	-
	Gratification denen Domestiquen laut beyliegender Specification bezahlt an H. Accis-Rath Klinckicht sub No. 4.	717.	2.	2 ¹ / ₂
	Vor 22. große und kleine Futral mit rothen Leder überzogen zum Reliquien	3.	-	-
	[For 22 large and small cases covered in red leather for relics]			
9.	Verlohren in Spiel	1.	5.	-
	Gratification dem jungen Wilczynski an Ihre Königl. Hoheit Geburtstag vor überreichte Description von Rome	10.	-	-
	[Gratification to the young Wilczynski on His Royal Highness's birthday for a description of Rome Presented]			
10.	Verlohren in Spiel	4.	6.	-
11.	Allmosen in Profess-Haus	20.	-	-
	Figure d' Osiris gravee en Cornaline de maniere Egyptienne Leandre gravee en Cornaline retouché par Flavius	19.	4.	-
12.	Einen Armen Priester	2.	-	-
13.	Einer Armen Wittib Elena di Vincenzo	2.	-	-
14.	Verlohren in Spiel	3.	-	-
15.	Verlohren in Spiel	6.	6.	-
Latus,		1815.	4.	2 ¹ / ₂

<u>1739.</u>		Scudi.	Paul.	Paja.
<u>Septembr.</u>		Transpt.	1815.	4.
d. 16.	Dem H. Pater Capellan Martelli	3.	5.	5.
17.	Verlohren in Spiel	3.	9.	-
	Praesent an Mons: Zigelli eine Crönungs Metaille von 25. Ducaten	50.	-	-
	[Presented to Mons: Zigelli a coronation medal of 25 ducats]			
	Des Mons: Zigelli Bedienten vor überbrachte Reliquien	4.	1.	-
	[To the servants of Mons: Zigelli for relics Brought]			
19.	Verlohren in Spiel	5.	1.	-
20.	Verlohren in Spiel	1.	2.	-
21.	Verlohren in Spiel	2.	7.	-

23.	Verlohren in Spiel	9.	-	-
	Vor 3. Futral zu Galanterie Sachen	1.	3.	-
	[For 3 cases for galanteries ie. toys]			
28.	An die Patres della Polioriera	4.	1.	-
29.	Dem Cammerdiener von Principe Vaini vor zwey reliquien eines mit silber, das andere in Goldt gefaßt bezahlt, sub No. 5.	28.	-	-
	[Paid to the valet of Principe Vaini for two relics one mounted in silver, the other in gold, sub no.5]			
30.	Einlage in die Lotterie	10.	5.	-
	In Spiel verlohren	3.	-	-
	An Mahler Subleyras vor ein Bildt welches die Hl. Magdalena zu Füßen Jesu Christi vorstellet 300 Scudi. Vor das Portrait Sr. Königl. Hoheit 100 Scudi. Vor ein kleines Mutter-Gottes-Bildt 50. Scudi: Ferner vor eine Copie des Portraits Sr. Königl. Hoheit 60. Scudi laut beyliegenden Zetteln bezahlt	510.	-	-
	[Paid to the painter Subleyras for a picture which shows the Holy Magdalen at the feet of Jesus Christ 300 Scudi. For the portrait of His Royal Highness 100 Scudi. For a small Madonna 50 Scudi. Further for a copy of the portrait of His Royal Highness 60 Scudi as per attached chit]			
Summa:		2443.	7.	7 ¹ / ₂
oder:		3529 r	22 g	-

NB. L' original des trois portraits a envoyé au Roy
La copie a [...] donnée au C. de Brühl
Diese von vorstehender Einnahme derer 17911 rthlr: 18 g, 9 d abgezogen:
laßen zum Vorrathe, oder Bestande: 14381 rthlr: 20 g, 9 d
Rome d. 30. Septembr. 1739. Sebastian Wilczynski

Berechnung
Ihre Königl. Hoheit des Chur=Printzens zu Sachsen Chatoullen-Gelder
Pro Mensibus Octobris, Novembris, et Decembris anno 1739.

<u>1739.</u>	Thlr.	g	d
Laut der den 30 Sept. 1739. an Sr. Excellenz den Herrn Geheimbden Cabin-Ministr. und Obrist Hofmeisters Grafen von Wackerbarth übergebenen Rechnung, sind in Cassa verblieben			
	14381.	20.	9.
Sa. per se.			
<u>1739.</u>	Romanischen	Scudi	Paul.
<u>Octobr.</u>	Ausgabe		Paj.
	Ihre Königl. Hoheit des Chur Printzens zu Sachsen Chatoullen-Gelder.		
d. 4.	Vor zwey Perspectif und zwey vergrößerte Gläser	21.	5.
	[For two perspective and two magnifying glasses]		
5.	Vor ein Bild auf Kupffer gemahlet Jesus Maria und Joseph	10.	-
	[For a picture painted on copper Jesus Mary and Joseph]		
	In Tivoli einen Capucciner	2.	-
10.	Einen spanischen Abbate 2. Zecchini	4.	1.
	Dem Giuseppe Angeloni 5. Spanisch. Dopien	17.	7.
11.	Allmosen in Profess-Haus zu Rome	20.	-
	Einer Armen Weisen	2.	-
13.	Vor unterschiedliche Arme die mit Memorials seyndt eingekommen	27.	-
15.	In Caprarola einer Weisen, so mit Memorial eingekommen	2.	-
23.	In Livourne denen Gefangenen Einen Obristen Baron von Cederentz Vor zwey Persohnen, so mit Memorials seyndt eingekommen	3.	-
24.	In Pisa einer Armen Wittib	2.	-
25.	Vor sechs Persohnen so mit Memorials seyndt eingekommen	8.	-
27.	In Spiel verlohren	2.	4.

<u>Novembr.</u> Zu Florentz in Spiel verlohren 58. Zec:	118.	9.	-
d. 6. In Spiel verlohren	-	6.	-
Den H. P. Breinl vor unterschiedliche Bücher bezahlt	6.	4.	-
[Paid Father Breinl for various books]			
Latus,	253.	7.	-

<u>1739.</u>	Scudi.	Paul	Baj:
<u>Novembr.</u>	Tpt	253.	7.
Vor ein Bildt die Flucht in Egypten mit Seyte gestückt 50. Zech	102.	5.	-
[For a picture of the flight into Egypt embroidered with silk 50. Zech]			
Gratification den Bedienten aus dem Collegio S. Giovannini vor gebrachtes Bildt S. Fran: Xaver. 2. Zecch	4.	1.	-
[Gratification to the servants from the Collegio S. Giovannini for bringing a picture of S. Fran: Xaver 2. Zecch].			
Denen Franciscanern 5. Zecch	10.	2.	5.
Denen Conservatrice 3. Zecch	6.	1.	5.
Vor einen Armen 1. Zecch	2.	-	5.
d. 11. Discretion dem Bedienten vor ü[ber]brachte Confecturen di S. Maria di Pazzi	2.	-	-
Vor ein Mutter-Gottes Bildt auf Kupffer gemahlt 10. Zecch	20.	5.	-
[For a Madonna painted on copper 4. Zecch]			
Denen Capuccinern 4. Zecch	8.	2.	-
13. Zu Fiorenzola einem Capellan	2.	-	-
21. Dem Grafen Gozzadini 10. Duc:	20.	-	-
Verlohren in Spiel 7. Zecch	14.	7.	-
22. Verlohren in Spiel zu Modena 9. Zecch	18.	9.	-
27. Dem alten Ristori in Parma 10. Zecch	20.	5.	-

<u>Decemb.</u>			
d. 4. Verlohren in Spiel 6. 1/2 Zecch	13.	3.	5
5. Verlohren in Spiel 5. 1/2 Zecch	11.	2.	5 1/2
9. Verlohren in Spiel	15.	-	-
Einer Capuccinerin	4.	-	-
11. Verlohren in Spiel	14.	-	-
12. In Profess-Haus zu Meylandt 14. Sp. pistol	49.	7.	-
13. 14. u. 15. Karten Geldt in Brescia und Mantua	3.	-	-
Latus,	595.	8.	5 1/2

<u>1739.</u>	Scudi.	Paul	Baj.
	Trpt	595	8.
20. In Padua Karten-Geldt	1.	-	-
28. Einem Compositori vor gebrachtes Musicalices Operen-Buch 10. Spanisch Pistol.	35.	5.	-
31. Vor zwey Arme Weiber Convertiten	10.	-	-
In Spiel verlohren	2.	-	-
Summa	644.	3.	5 3/4
oder: 930 r 66. xr oder 17 g6 d.			

Diese von vorstehender Einnahme derer 14381 r.
20. g 9 d. abgezogen lassen zum Vorrath,
oder Bestande: 13451 r 3 g. 3 d
Sig. Venedig, den 31. Dec: 1739,
Sebastian Wilczynski

Berechnung
Ihro Königl. Hoheit des Chur-Printzens zu Sachsen Chatoullen-Geldern.
Pro Mensibus, Januarii, Februarii, Martii, usque ad 17. Aprilis. anno 1740.

<u>1740.</u>	Einnahme	Thlr.	g	d
	Laut der den 31. Dec: 1739 an Se Excel. den H. Geh. Cabinets-Ministre und Obrist-Hoffmeister Grafen von Wackerbarth übergebenen Rechnung sind in Cassa verblieben	13541. 3.		3.

April Ferner
So von H. Accis-Rath Klinckicht wegen Galanterien von 20 April u.c. erhalten
[Further/received from Councillor of Excise Klinckicht re galantries (i.e. toys)
eodem Noch von demselben, so der H. Hoff-Cassier Thiele in Dreyßden in Abschlag der Chur-

Printzlichen Chatoullen Geldern, bezahlt	3000.	-	-
Summa.	17005. 3.		3.

Le 1. Fev

1740 La Touche est resté [...] a la caisse de S.A.R. de Zechini 481. voyez son obligation sub L. A.A.

Le 13.

April NB. Le [...] des accises Kinkigt [...] a la Caisse de S.A.R. selon La Nova sub L. A. et ces deux documens sont entre les mains de M. Wilcinski 6640 Thlr

<u>1740.</u>	Chatoullen Ausgaben.	Thlr.	g.	d.
<u>Januarius</u> [January]				
d. 3.	Gratification dem Mons: Wilkonski 20. Ducat:	55.	-	-
	Dem Secretaire la Touche zum Neuen Jahre	30.	-	-
	Dem Leib-Schütz Bechold 6. Dopien	30.	-	-
	Dem jungen Wilczynski 6. Ducat	16.	12.	-
10.	In Spiel verlohren	2.	18.	-
19.	Gratification dem Sig. Tunini 10. Zecch:	28.	18.	-
20.	In Spiel verlohren	25.	20.	-
24.	In Spiel verlohren	2.	21.	-
29.	In Spiel verlohren	4.	20.	-

<u>Febr.</u>	Einer Sächsischen Convertitin 6. Zecch	17.	6.	-
	Einen Irländischen Missionario Ord. S. Franc:	5.	18.	-
2.	In der Pfarr Kirche a S. Pantaleon 5. Zecch	14.	9.	-
	In Spiel verlohren	3.	6.	-
6.	Einen Copisten vor übergebene Partitur von der Opera a S. Giovanni Crisostomo 10. Dop:	50.	-	-
7.	Einen gewissen Armen 2. Zecch	5.	18.	-
9.	In Spiel verlohren	5.	8.	-
	Gratification dem Ingenieur vor praesentirte Plan von Venedig. 15. Zecch	43.	3.	-
	[Gratification to the engineer for plan of Venice presented]			
11.	Einer Armen Persohn 2. Zecch	5.	18.	-
12.	Einen Armen Mann 2. Zecch	5.	18.	-
	Gratification dem Römischen Courier 10. Du:	27.	12.	-
13.	In Spiel verlohren	12.	9.	-
14.	Gratification dem Capell-Meister vor presentirte Partitur von der Cantata bey dem Ambassadeur von beyden Sicilien. 10. Dop:	50.	-	-
	[Gratification to the director of music for musical score presented of the cantata at the Ambassador of the Two Sicilies]			
	Latus,	442.	18.	-

<u>1740.</u>		Thlr.	g.	d.
<u>Febr.</u>	An Transport	442.	18.	-
d. 16.	In Spiel verlohren	5.	18.	-
17.	Dem Abbate Robaccini vor ein Crucifix von Helffen-Bein 100 Römische Scudi, und Gratification 5. Zecch lauth beyliegenden Zettel	151.	21.	-
	[To the Abbate Robaccini for an ivory crucifix 100 Roman scudi and gratification (ie. small gift) 5. Zecch]			
18.	In Spiel verlohren	2.	16.	-
20.	Vor die Carmeliter 5. Zecch	14.	9.	-
21.	Gratification dem Pr[ince]pe Castilione 30 Zecch	86.	6.	-
	Gratification der Sängerin Tennerin 20 Zecch	57.	12.	-
22.	In Spiel verlohren	2.	15.	-
23.	Auf der Redoute in Spiel verlohren 100. Sp: Ducat	275.	-	-
26.	In Spiel verlohren	2.	16.	-
28.	In Spiel verlohren	4.	-	-
	Discretion dem Bedienten von S. Lorenzo			
<u>Martius</u> [March]	vor gebrachtes Zucker-Werck 1. Zecch	2.	21.	-
d. 3.	In Spiel verlohren	6.	-	-

[illegible]

1740.		rthl.	g.	d.	8.	An die Kayserin Amalia verlohren 5. Ducat	13.	18.	-
Julius	Transpt	3074.	19.	6.		Am Regierenden Hoff verlohren 10. Ducat	27.	12.	-
	In Spiel verlohren an die Gräfin Sinzen-					Dem H. Chevalier Forester vor ein Kleid			
	dorff und Venezianische Bottschaffterin 9 1/2					nebst zugehöriger reicher Veste	107.	14.	3.
	Ducat	26.	3.	-	9.	Einer Freyh die ins Kloster eintritt 12. Ducat	33.	-	-
7.	An die Printzeßin Emanuel v. Lichtenstein ver-				10.	Einlage in die Bilder Lotterie 100 Ducat	275.	-	-
	lohren in Spiel 4. Ducat	11.	-	-		An die Gräfin Cobenzl verlohren 7. Ducat	19.	6.	-
	Denen Carmelitern aus Pohlen 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-		Einer armen Wittwe von Raabstein 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-
	Karten-Geld in Gesellschaft 1. Ducat	2.	18.	-	15.	Auf den Billard verlohren	1.	8.	-
	Einen Armen Mann	1.	8.	-		Denen drey Grenadiers die in Preussischen			
9.	An die Gräfin von Sinzendorff verspielt 2 1/2					Diensten gestanden haben aus Neapel gebür-			
	Du:	6.	21.	-		tig 3. Ducat	8.	6.	-
	Allmosen einen Geistlichen Gregorio Tun-				17.	An die Gräfin von Sinzendorff verlohren 5 1/2			
	ca aus Neapel	2.	18.	-		Ducat	15.	3.	-
10.	An die Venezianische Bottschaffterin verspie-					Allmoisen denen P. P. Dominicanern 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-
	let 2 1/2 D:	6.	21.	-		Auf dem Billard verlohren	3.	18.	-
	Allmosen in der Stadt denen Franciscanern					Vor ein Buch in Folio Englichts eingebunden			
	2. D: denen Augustinern 2. D. den Capucinern					Origines Juris Pontificius 10 f	6.	16.	-
	2. D: Vor der Stadt denen Carmelitern in				18.	An die Venezianische Bottschaffterin verlohren			
	der Leopolds-Stadt 2. Du: denen Augustinern					11. Ducat	30.	6.	-
	von der Land-Straße 2. Du: denen Carme-						Latus,	4144.	9.
	litern auf der Leine[?]-Grube 2. Ducat. denen								9.
	Paulanern auf der Wieden 2. Ducat. denen								
	Capuccinern von S. Ulrich 2. Ducat. In die								
	Armen Büchse 4. Ducat. zusammen 20. Ducat	55.	-	-	1740.		rthl.	g.	d.
	Vor zwey Persohnen, so mit Memorials				Augustus [August]	Transpt	4144.	9.	9.
	Eingekommen jeden 1. Ducat macht 2. Ducat	5.	12.	-		An die Ertz-Hertzogin Magdalena verlohren 4.			
	Vor zwey Arme von Adel à 2 D: 4. Ducat	11.	-	-		Du:	11.	-	-
12.	In Spiel verlohren an die Groß-Hertzo-				19.	An die Printzeßin Stringula[?] verlohren 9 1/2			
	gin von Toscana 7. Ducat	19.	6.	-		Du:	26.	3.	-
13.	Denen Augustinern Baarfüßern in der				20.	Auf dem Billard verlohren	2.	20.	-
	Latus,	3228.	18.	6.		Dem H. Arnhold Kayserl. Bibliothecario			
						Schreiber vor überreichte Schriefft 10. Ducat	27.	12.	-
						An die Kayserin Amalia verlohren 4. Ducat	11.	-	-
					22.	An die Fürstin von Lichtenstein verlohren 5 1/2			
						D:	15.	3.	-
						Auf dem Billard verlohren	2.	12.	-
					23.	Gratification dem Courier der aus Rome			
						nach Wien gekommen 20. Ducat	55.	-	-
					24.	An die Gräfin Fröhlich verlohren 5 1/2 Ducat	15.	3.	-
						Einlage bey den bürgerlichen Schieiben			
						schießen	6.	16.	-
						Dem Sig. Abbate Ferrari 25. Ducat	68.	18.	-
					25.	An die Gräfin von Tirheim verlohren 6. Du.	16.	12.	-
						Allmosen den P. P. Serviten vor praesentir-			
						te Brodgen 6. Ducat	16.	12.	-
						Allmosen denen Paulanern vor praesen-			
						tirte Wachß-Kertzen 4. Ducat	11.	-	-
					26.	Auf dem Billard verlohren	2.	22.	-
						An die Fürstin von Auersperg verlohren 3. Du.	8.	6.	-
					27.	Auf den Billard verlohren	2.	7.	-
						An dem H. P. Breinl bezahlt lauth bey-			
						liegenden Zettel wegen den jungen Göetzl.	100.	-	-
						Denen zwey Schützen, so vor Ihro Königl.			
						Hoheit geschossen haben 20. Ducat	55.	-	-
					28.	Allmosen im Profess-Hauß 20. Ducat	55.	-	-
						Latus	4653.	11.	9.
					1740.		rthl.	g.	d.
					Augustus [August]	Transp	4653.	11.	9.
					d. 28.	Dem H. P. Breinl vor zwey gewisse			
					Septembr:	Persohnen 8. Ducat	22.	-	-
					1.	2. 3. 4. 5. Karten-Geld	6.	16.	-
					5.	Allmosen ins Profess-Hauß 10. Ducat	27.	12.	-
						Allmosen denen Capuccinern 6. Ducat	16.	12.	-
						Verlohren in Spiel	4.	3.	-
						In Frating denen Franciscanern 1. Ducat	2.	18.	-
1740.		rthl.	g.	d.					
Augustus	Transpt	3534.	3.	6.					
	An Päbstl. Nuntio verlohren 6. Ducat	16.	12.	-					
	Gnaden Discretion der Wittwe des Laques								
	so Todt gestochen ist worden 10. Ducat.	27.	12.	-					
3.	Auf den Billard verlohren	1.	8.	-					
	An die Freyh von Fürstenberg verlohren 3. Du.	8.	6.	-					
4.	Auf den Billard verlohren	2.	12.	-					
5.	Auf den Billard verlohren	1.	17.	-					

A glimpse of the apprentice William Hogarth engraving his master's shop-bill: the sign of the Angel

TESSA MURDOCH

The Yale Center for British Art has a set of drawings by the artist John Thomas Smith (1766-1833) illustrating twenty scenes from the life of William Hogarth; these are on paper and watermarked 1817. They were purchased at H P Standly's sale in 1825 by Frederick Pye. They are in a folder with the inked title "DRAWINGS to ILLUSTRATE the life of HOGARTH by J. T. SMITH".¹

John Thomas Smith was apprenticed to the sculptor Joseph Nollekens and learned a good deal about the leading eighteenth-century painters and sculptors from his master which he recorded in his classic, *Nollekens and his Times*, first published in 1828.

The set of twenty drawings is the visual equivalent of Smith's anecdotes of the artist William Hogarth, to which he devoted seven pages of his publication.

In 1713 William Hogarth was apprenticed to Ellis Gamble a retailing goldsmith with premises at the sign of the Golden Angel in Cranbourn Street, Leicester Fields; here he specialized in engraving silver. A native of Plymouth in Devon, Ellis Gamble established himself in London and although he never registered a maker's mark at Goldsmiths' Hall, he joined the livery of the Merchant Taylors' Company in London.

The first scene in Smith's series of drawings shows *Hogarth carrying his Master's sick child round Leicester Fields*; Hogarth is shown in front of Leicester House on the north side of the square, later the home of Frederick and Augusta, Prince and Princess of Wales, but during Hogarth's apprenticeship still the property of the Earl of



Fig 1 J T Smith, *Hogarth engraving his Master's shop-bill: the sign of the Angel*, pen and sepia wash, circa 1820-30
(The Yale Center for British Art no. B.1975-3.790)



Fig 2 *Trade Card of Ellis Gamble, engraved by William Hogarth, 1723-1733*
(The British Museum no. 1875.0508.1409)

Leicester. Smith's account of Hogarth opens thus

I have several times heard Mr. Nollekens observe that he frequently had seen Hogarth, when a young man, saunter round Leicester-fields, with his master's sickly child hanging its head over his shoulder'.²

The second scene shows *Hogarth engraving his Master's shop-bill: the sign of the Angel* [Fig 1].³ A copy of Ellis Gamble's trade card, engraved by Hogarth, is preserved in the British Museum [Fig 2]. In the scene a preparatory

1 Yale Center for British Art (YCBA) B.1975.3.789-808.

2 J T Smith, *Nollekens and His Times*,

London, 1920, vol II, p 270.

3 Karen Junod, *Writing the lives of painters, biography and*

artistic identity in Britain 1760-1810, Oxford, 2011, pp 127 and 129, fig 7, CT21 J85 2011 (YCBA).

4 In 1718, Hogarth engraved a trade card for Richard Hand, "The Oldest Original Chelsey Bunn Baker" (there is a reprint in the Yale Centre for British Art. B.1974.9).

5 British Museum, Heal Collection 100.74.

6 Lawrence Gowing, *Hogarth*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1971, no 5, p 14. Desmond Shawe Taylor (ed), *The First Georgians: Art and Monarchy, 1714-1760*, London, 2014, p 145, no 77.

7 Charles Oman, 'English Engravers on Plate, III, Joseph Sympson and William Hogarth', *Apollo*, LXV, July 1957, no 389, pp 286-89.

8 For Sala's account of Hogarth see David Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times*, British Museum, 1997-8, p 26-27, fig 9, as Anonymous, *Mr. Gamble's Apprentice*, first published in Cornhill Gallery, 1860, I, p 264 then as frontispiece to George Augustus Sala, *William Hogarth: Painter, Engraver and Philosopher*, London, 1866.

9 No 3 *The Gentleman's Garden* shows Hogarth "being out of his time" drawing "his companion's figure on the door of a certain place, to the great admiration of all his friends". No 4 shows *Hogarth declaring his love to Miss Thornhill*. No 5 shows *Hogarth "after his wife had put on a new night shift", tying up her things to send to Sir James Thornhill "with a letter in which he told" his father-in-law that*

"He took his daughter without a smock to her a...e". No 6 *Hogarth has made breakfast and sends up a cup to his wife; at the same time ordering the little dog to be admitted to her mistress's bedchamber*. No 7 *Hogarth is shown drinking the first glass of wine with his wife, their dogs keeping respectful distances*. No 8 *Sir James Thornhill's boy enters his master's painting room to deliver the bundle and a letter in the presence of Lady Thornhill*. No 9 *The Smock Exposed*; no 10 *The Reconciliation* reflects *Hogarth's developing relationship with his parents-in-law*; no 11 *Hogarth drawing Sarah Malcolm*; no 12 *Hogarth painting in Vauxhall Gardens in the presence of Jonathan Tyers*. No 13 *Hogarth painting his picture of Capt. Coram for the Foundling Hospital*. No 14 *Hogarth solicits his Patron Bishop Hoadly to look over his M.S. of 'Analysis of Beauty'*. No 15 *Hogarth making up a portrait of H. Fielding, for a Bookseller, from the features of Garrick who borrowed one of the author's wigs for that particular purpose there being no genuine portrait of him*. No 16 *Hogarth painting 'The Lady's last stake' in the presence of Lord Charlemont*. No 17 *Hogarth sitting to Roubiliac for his bust*. No 18 *Hogarth at Old Slaughter's hobbing with Highmore the painter*.

10 See Joseph Sympson's trade card, British Museum, Heal Collection.

11 The images for scenes 1-20 are available on line from the website of the Yale Center for British Art.

drawing for the card, in reverse, featuring a large angel, is pinned to the wall above the workbench on the right. The young Hogarth is seated with his back to the viewer, underneath a window, the light from which is filtered by a screen which is fixed at an angle above Hogarth's head providing the even light essential for engraving.⁴ The shelves to the left are laden with silver vessels awaiting the engraved armorials which would serve as marks of ownership for both security and status. Hogarth had completed his apprenticeship with Gamble by April 1720 when he engraved a trade card recording that he had established his own engraver's workshop situated near that of his master in Cranbourn Alley.⁵

Ellis Gamble later worked in partnership with the celebrated goldsmith Paul de Lamerie, from 1723 to 1728, but did Gamble still send silver to Hogarth for engraving? Much has been written about Hogarth as an engraver of silver and silver engraved by him may have included a tankard belonging to the Clare Market Actors' Club, who met in the vicinity of Lincoln's Inn Fields, circa 1724 [Fig 3]. The tankard is not known to survive although an impression from the engraving was exhibited in 1971 and again in 2014. In it allegorical figures of Painting and Sculpture frame a scene of Laban and his sheep, an appropriate subject as Clare Market specialized in the sale of meat.⁶ The engraved representation of Sir Robert Walpole's seal of office on the salver made by Paul de Lamerie in 1728-29 from Walpole's recycled silver seal as Chancellor of the Exchequer, has long been attributed to Hogarth.⁷ Smith's imaginative drawing of the young Hogarth at work inspired a later image of Ellis Gamble's famous apprentice which illustrates an account of him by G A Sala.⁸

It was common practice for engravers who worked on silver to also work on copper plates for printing and book illustration and they trained on the cheaper metal. Simon Gribelin's scrapbooks at the British Museum, and in Horace Walpole's library at Strawberry Hill, include prints after paintings by Le Brun, Raphael and Rubens; book illustrations as well as pulls from silver that he had engraved,



Fig 3 Impression from an engraving on a tankard belonging to the Clare Market Artists' Club, attributed to William Hogarth, circa 1724

(Royal Collection Trust 812336 © H M Queen Elizabeth II 2015)

such as the *Descent from the Cross* after Annibale Caracci. The latter was reproduced by Gribelin on the silver altar dish supplied by the Huguenot goldsmith Isaac Liger in 1706 for the private chapel of George Booth, 2nd Earl of Warrington at Dunham Massey, Cheshire.⁹ Joseph Simpson is also known from his trade card, bills and signed work, to have engraved on both copper and silver.¹⁰

Although drawn a hundred years after Hogarth's apprenticeship, Smith's illustration provides much fascinating information on the equipment required, and the range of stock on which the young apprentice applied his skill. Smith's imaginative illustrations show how Hogarth progressed from a mere engraver to an artist of national stature during his life-time. Smith was quick to point out that even in his youth Hogarth possessed both talent and wit which were discernible in the engraved ornaments and coats of arms which he engraved for his master Ellis Gamble.

The consecutive scenes tell Hogarth's life story with local detail and humour, almost mimicking Hogarth's own modern moral subjects.¹¹ The penultimate scene shows Hogarth, having been followed by the artist James Barry and a friend, caught purposely backing a boy to fight in order to catch his fearful countenance. Smith recalls his father, Nathaniel Smith, asking Barry if he had ever set eyes on Hogarth. Barry described the one occasion when he was walking with Joe Nollekens through Cranbourne Alley, when he exclaimed:

There, there's Hogarth'. 'What!' said I, 'that little man in the sky-blue coat?' Off I ran, and though I

lost sight of him only for a moment or two, when I turned the corner into Castle-street, he was patting one of two quarrelling boys on the back and looking steadfastly at the expression in the coward's face, cried 'D-n him! If I would take it of him; at him again!'

The final scene titled *The Eleventh Hour* shows a few friends anxiously waiting for Hogarth to breathe his last, one consoling himself with snuff, another studying his pocket watch.

This article results from a month's curatorial scholarship at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, in November 2014.

Tessa Murdoch has worked at the Victoria and Albert Museum for twenty-four years: as Curator in the Furniture Department from 1990 and since 2002 as Deputy Keeper in the Department of Sculpture, Metalwork, Ceramics and Glass where she is now head of Metalwork and concentrates on seventeenth- and eighteenth- century silver. She was lead Curator for the V&A's Sacred Silver and Stained Glass Galleries (2005) and the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Galleries (2009). She led an exhibition exchange project with the Moscow Kremlin Museum: The Golden Age of the English Court from Henry VIII to Charles I which opened in Moscow in October 2012 and returned to the Victoria and Albert Museum in March 2013 as Treasures of the Royal Courts: Tudors, Stuarts and the Russian Tsars. She is currently researching recusant material culture in Britain from 1530 to 1830. She was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1988 and is liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company.

A portrait of a Chester goldsmith:

Richard Richardson IV (1755-1822)

CATHLYN DAVIDSON

I recently inherited from a third cousin an oil portrait of the Chester goldsmith, Richard Richardson IV, my great great grandfather; he was the fourth generation of the Richardson family to become a goldsmith. The first generation, the brothers John and Samuel, were apprenticed in London and registered their marks there in the late seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century the next three generations all registered their marks and worked in Chester. Four of these craftsmen were named Richard and two were named William. The portrait I inherited is of the fourth Richard, known in the literature as Richard Richardson IV.



Unknown artist, Richard Richardson IV, oil on board, circa 1810

There are few portraits of eighteenth-century goldsmiths so I thought it was useful to highlight this one which has only just come to light; I did not know it existed and it has never been published. It is painted on board in oils by an unknown provincial painter circa 1810 and measures 11 by 9 in (28 by 23 cm). The style of dress is of the last decades of the eighteenth century and is consistent with what an older man would wear up until about 1820.

Richard Richardson IV was born on 27 June 1755 in Chester. His parents were Richard II and Anne Richardson; he was the eldest son of their four surviving children. His mother died in 1764 when he was only nine leaving their father with four young children to care for; Richard IV and his siblings were subsequently put in the care of their aunt, Eleanor Farrington.

Richard Richardson II worked from 1732 up until his death in September 1769. He was a Warden and Assay Master of the Chester Goldsmiths' Company as well as a Sheriff,

Alderman, Mayor and a member of the Chester city council.

On the death of Richard II the family goldsmiths' business was taken over by his cousin Richard III, the son of William Richardson I, who returned from London, where he had been a broker of some standing. He had already become a freeman of Chester in 1747, being listed as a chandler. On his return from London the Chester Goldsmiths' Company admitted him by patrimony as the son of a goldsmith.

Some time after his father's death in 1769 Richard IV began working at a very young age within the family firm under his cousins: Richard Richardson III and William Richardson II. He became free on 29 September 1779 and was admitted to the Chester Goldsmiths' Company on 23 October 1779.

On 24 January 1785 Richard IV was appointed Assay Master of Chester Assay Office but resigned on 19 March 1791 when George Walker I, an ex-apprentice of his father, took over his duties. After he had stepped down from this office he was elected one of the Wardens of the Chester Goldsmiths' Company and he continued as a Warden until 1794. He had become a Chester city councilman in 1780, Sheriff in 1784-85 and an Alderman in 1798.

Silver and gold marked by Richard IV is marked with one of his six registered maker's marks and dates from 1778-87/9. The Chester Plate Duty Book, which commenced in 1784, records the last piece of plate entered by him on 20 December 1790. He then seems to have retired and closed his workshop and business in Eastgate Row.

Richard IV benefitted from a generous inheritance left to him by his father: besides the substantial goldsmith's business at Eastgate Row, he inherited extensive lead

and silver mining interests in north Wales and Scotland. He and his second brother Ralph, who later managed the mining interests of the family, used their money to extend mortgages to Cheshire families who wished to raise finance on their estates.

In 1790 he purchased from the Earl of Cholmondeley the manor of Capenhurst and an estate of 10,000 acres. Capenhurst Hall was an old timbered house which he demolished; he then built a substantial new house nearby. This remained in the hands of his descendants until 1947 when the land was compulsorily purchased for the building of the Capenhurst atomic power research station.

Richard IV married late, when he was in his early fifties, Anne Bower of Chesterfield who died shortly afterwards. He then married her sister Dorothea in September 1810 with whom he had five children: Richard, born in 1811, who became a Church of England minister and inherited the estate, Ralph, born in 1812, who became a doctor and invested in a large sheep station in New Zealand, Charles, born in 1814, who became a civil engineer under Brunel and went on to design the Severn railway tunnel, Thomas, born in 1817, who graduated from Cambridge to become a lawyer and Hellena born in 1818.

Richardson died on 22 February 1822 aged sixty five at his estate in Capenhurst and was buried at Shotwick church nearby.

Cathlyn Davidson has been researching her forebears' activities as silversmiths, in both London and Chester and extending over the period 1660 to 1800, for many years. A recent article John & Samuel Richardson: Seventeenth century goldsmiths, their marks and work appeared in Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society, no 26, 2010, pp 5-16 which includes a family tree tracing the eight Richardson goldsmiths.

Carl Eduard Firnhaber: South Australia's first gold and silversmith

ROBERT REASON

The German silversmith Carl Eduard Firnhaber (Charles Edward) (1805–1880) holds a significant place in South Australia as its first continental émigré gold and silversmith.

Firnhaber arrived in Adelaide aboard the *Heloise* on 17 March 1847 just eleven years after colonial settlement of South Australia had commenced. He was accompanied by his wife Elisabeth Sophie (née Stückenschmidt 1811–1860) and two children.¹ The *Heloise* transported 204 emigrants from Bremen in northern Germany who were described by the *South Australian Register* as being

of a very superior class, comprising farmers, miners, and artisans, with their wives and children, and many respectable unmarried females.²

The Firnhabers' passage to Adelaide was assisted.

In his early forties, Firnhaber was highly trained, having completed the German system of apprenticeship followed by several years as a journeyman; he later achieved the status of Master. Born in 1805 in the small town of Hildesheim, in Lower Saxony,³ he was apprenticed in Bremen to Johan Friedrich Jutte senior (circa 1774–1840) from 1819 until 1824.⁴ A far larger and wealthier city than his home town, Bremen was located on the River Weser and was of commercial and industrial significance. In 1842, Firnhaber was listed as a goldbeater and he was elected Master on 19 July 1844.

In South Australia Firnhaber quickly established a home and workshop in North Adelaide at Kermode Street, with buildings abutting Union Street.⁵ This leased building comprised a stone-built house of eight rooms, plus an outdoor well.⁶ He received his naturalisation certificate on 30 December 1848 and had taken his oath by 29 March 1849.⁷ For a short time in early 1852 he tried his hand in the Victorian goldfields;⁸ then in 1856 he established a business premises in Hindley Street, Adelaide which continued until 1874.⁹

The longevity of Firnhaber's career suggests he was an able businessman but he was never wealthy. Surviving material indicates that he supplied a broad range of items ranging from relatively inexpensive medallions to large presentation cups and ecclesiastical wares. He also repaired silver, jewellery and watches. Firnhaber's sophisticated output reflects the international silver styles of the nineteenth century, including naturalism that



Fig 1 Mug, silver, parcel-gilt, Adelaide, 1847, retailer's mark of John Pace, engraved with a presentation inscription

(Private collection, Adelaide)



Fig 2 Detail of marks on Masonic cup [Fig 5]