



# THE SILVER SOCIETY

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## SILVER STUDIES

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# THE SILVER SOCIETY

## 2015

**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 in 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.

**Silver Studies** is the Journal of the Silver Society and is recognised as the most valuable specialist publication for the study of silver. It is published annually and contains articles on many aspects of silver, both antique and contemporary; authors include leading authorities, academics and museum experts as well as individual researchers. Research into silver is very varied and articles give insight into design history, social and economic change as well as family history and a wide range of related areas. The Editor, Lucy Morton, welcomes research from authors on all aspects of silver and may be contacted at [editor@thesilversociety.org](mailto:editor@thesilversociety.org)

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# Notes

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## Weights

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

1 troy oz = 31.103g

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 adopted a decimal currency: 15 February 1971.

12 pennies (d) = 1 shilling (5p)

20 shillings (s) = 1 pound (100p)

£1 1s = 1 guinea (105p)

## Dates

Dates are written in the following styles:

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

Assay year prior to 1975: 1565-64

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 are silver unless otherwise stated.

# Joseph Wilson, factor: the unknown plater and silversmith

GORDON CROSSKEY

Joseph Wilson (1723-1796), factor, snuff maker, manufacturer of steel saws, plated ware and silver, somehow slipped through the net when Frederick Bradbury published his famous work, the *History of Old Sheffield Plate*, in 1912. Access to archives now in the public domain has greatly improved since that date but Wilson's extensive collection of ledgers as well as correspondence relating to his production of plated wares still remains in the private possession of Wilsons & Co (Sharrow) Ltd at the snuff mill he set up in 1763.<sup>1</sup> Bradbury was obviously unaware of the existence of this archive. He failed, therefore, to give an account of Wilson's extraordinary contribution to the plated trade which, although it lasted just under four years, established the export of plated ware to Ireland and America.

Wilson's ledgers show that his production of Sheffield plate rivalled that of both Henry Tudor & Co in Sheffield and Boulton & Fothergill at Soho, Birmingham. In 1773 Wilson was appointed as one of the original Guardians of the Sheffield Assay Office but, for reasons that remain unclear, his output of wrought plate was very small but it will be discussed in full. This article concentrates on Wilson's production of plated ware, large consignments of which were sent to America, all of which were recorded in extraordinary detail. Other extensive stock including examples of his silver production, again recorded in great detail, was shipped to goldsmiths, silversmiths and hardware merchants in Ireland. The home trade was largely confined to London.

To gain a perspective on Wilson's sudden emergence on the Sheffield scene in 1771, as a substantial manufacturer of plated ware, some brief early history is necessary. Wilson was born in 1723 the son of Thomas Wilson, a prosperous and successful shearsmith who owned freehold properties in Sheffield and leased five cutlers' wheels from the estates of the Duke of Norfolk.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Wilson shared the same apprentice master as Thomas Boulsover, the inventor of Sheffield plate, and was made free of the Cutlers' Company in 1727, the year after Boulsover.<sup>3</sup> On his death circa 1743, apart from legacies of £200 to each of his four daughters, Thomas Wilson left the remainder of his estate to be divided equally between his two sons: Joseph and his elder brother John.<sup>4</sup>



Fig 1 Wilson's snuff mill at Sharrow, Sheffield (taken in 1990).

1 In the winter of 1989 I was permitted to fully research this archive and I am most grateful to Wilsons & Co for their permission to do so.

2 The largest of these was the Wicker wheel, which Thomas Wilson leased from the Norfolk estates for £8 10s per year. An average cutler's wheel was leased for £1 or less per annum.

3 Thomas Wilson (1686 – c 1743) was made free of the Cutlers' Company relatively late in his career. He was appointed Master Cutler in 1731. His apprenticeship with the Sheffield cutler, Joseph Fletcher, predated that of Boulsover.

4 Sheffield Archives, MD 5740-1. Thomas Wilson's will is dated 24 December 1737.



While John was apprenticed to the cutlery trade and rose to become Master Cutler in 1757, there are no indentures relating to Joseph. It is, nevertheless, highly likely that he had some kind of informal apprenticeship with one of the large Sheffield firms of factors like the Roebucks or Broadbents. By 1745 he was already described in certain legal documents as a factor despite being only twenty-two.<sup>5</sup> 1745 was also the year in which Joseph and his brother John converted the huge Wicker wheel on the River Don into two tilt mills for drawing steel; Joseph's earliest surviving ledger dates from 1746.



*Fig 2 The upper grinding chamber at Wilson's snuff mill.*

In 1753 Joseph Wilson formed a partnership, with two relatives and a fourth member, to act as factors dealing "in all manner of goods and wares", each partner advancing £3,000 towards the enterprise, the company title being Wilson, Greaves & Woodhead.<sup>6</sup> Their dealings rapidly became international;<sup>7</sup> they exported Sheffield cutlery and hardware. Their imports would have included snuff and tobacco: commodities that undoubtedly spurred Joseph into setting up his own snuff mill in 1763. This he achieved by converting the Sharrow wheel, one of his cutlers' wheels, into a snuff mill [Fig 1] by installing a vertical axel tree to drive the pestle and mortar mechanisms necessary for grinding tobacco into snuff [Fig 2]. To market his snuff he employed a number of travellers and divided their operating areas into what he called "rounds", such as

the "Yorkshire Round" or "Lancashire Round". By the mid-1760s, in addition to snuff, his travellers were selling items of Sheffield plate, particularly that manufactured by Thomas Law,<sup>8</sup> to provincial shopkeepers. Fortunately the sale of plated ware was unaffected by the 1758 Plate Act, which introduced a dealers' licence for the sale of articles made of silver or gold, so any shopkeeper was potentially free to sell plated goods.<sup>9</sup>

In 1769, with his entrepreneurial spirit unabated, Wilson converted another of his cutlers' wheels into a rolling mill for making steel saws. These ranged in size from small hand saws to enormous double handled 7 foot (2.10m) long pit saws; when destined for the London market these items were generally shipped by sea from Hull. Wilson was by now involved in four business enterprises: the Wicker tilt mill for drawing steel, the partnership of Wilson, Greaves & Woodhead as factors, the snuff mill at Sharrow, and now the rolling mill for saw making. Along with his travellers, Wilson was himself involved in undertaking some of the snuff rounds; visiting not only provincial shopkeepers but establishing commercial contacts in London, Bath, Scotland and Ireland. Living in Sheffield he was, of course, intimately aware of the enormous expansion that had taken place in the plated trade during the 1760s and must have seen the products of this industry for sale in shops almost everywhere. He and his travellers were themselves after all, selling limited quantities of plated wares on their snuff rounds.

By 1770 there were nine major Sheffield manufacturers of domestic plated wares.<sup>10</sup> The industry was still relatively new but it was certainly highly successful and expanding. Taking all these factors together it was clearly an industry with which Wilson felt impelled to

<sup>5</sup> Sheffield Archives, AMC S 377, p 196 is an example. This document, dated 10 March 1745, is the lease on a plot of land at Sharrow Field, belonging to the Norfolk estates, granted to Wilson's mother Ann (née Greaves), but which was then to be made over to "Joseph Wilson, Factor".

<sup>6</sup> Sheffield Archives MD 5238. Wilson's partners were his cousin George Greaves and George Woodhead, nephew of Wilson's mother. Nothing is known of the fourth member, William Vollimous.

<sup>7</sup> In particular they had a large trade with Amsterdam, Hamburg, Altona and Lisbon; they lost £88 worth of stock in the famous 1755 Lisbon earthquake.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Law (1717-1775) was one of the most important silver cutlers and early manufacturers of plated ware in Sheffield. He was elected Master Cutler in 1754 and acted as apprentice master to several of the most prominent people involved in the plated trade including: John Winter, Samuel Roberts, Matthew Fenton and Richard Creswick.

<sup>9</sup> The Plate Act was amended in 1759 (32 Geo II c24), whereby a 40s licence was required for the sale of silver articles weighing over 5 dwt (7.75g), but plated wares were evidently exempted.

<sup>10</sup> These comprised the companies of Joseph Hancock, Henry Tudor, Thomas Law, John Hoyland, Richard Morton, John Winter, Samuel Roberts, Fenton & Creswick, and Ashforth & Ellis. In addition of course was that of Boulton & Fothergill at Soho, near Birmingham.

become involved: he was prosperous and undoubtedly had the capital necessary for setting up plating workshops. This indeed proved to be the case and by mid-1771 he had recruited three skilled journeymen from John Hoyland & Co and had started production. One ledger entry records:

1771 June 19 Messrs Hoyland & Co pr Rolg 12 lbs Mettal  
[cost not recorded]

Hoyland & Co had constructed their water powered rolling mill on the River Sheaf in 1766;<sup>11</sup> two years after Joseph Hancock had built his on the River Don.<sup>12</sup> A further early ledger entry relating to Wilson's burgeoning plated manufacture records:

1771 Aug 6	Rt A Cox	London Cr
Fine Silver	100 oz @ 6/4	31-13-4
Sterling	20 oz @ 5/9	5-15-0
	Cardg	2-8
		<hr/>
		£37-11-0

The London refiner Robert Albion Cox was at this time the principal supplier of silver (and gold) to the plated trade in both Sheffield and Birmingham and continued to supply Wilson until the latter's bankruptcy in 1775. The reference to "Fine Silver", along with archival evidence from other sources, confirms the fact that much Sheffield plate was made using pure silver and not necessarily sterling.

Throughout the remainder of 1771 and into 1772 Wilson continued to recruit more skilled platers from rival companies; these included Abraham Whitehead from Morton & Co, John Tym from Hancock & Co, and the London trained brazier Peter Rogers, who had just completed a three year contract with Boulton & Fothergill at Soho. One other addition was James Vickers who by the late 1770s had set up his own manufacture of articles in white metal, later known as Britannia metal. With each new recruit, Wilson had to

11 John Hoyland and his partners, William Middleton and John Younge, all Quakers, had commenced the manufacture of plated ware around 1764. They constructed their rolling mill in 1765. In 1773 Hoyland set up two refineries at the rolling mill site; employing Albion Cox (brother of the London refiner, Robert Albion Cox) as refiner. The refinery never managed to compete with that of John Read and closed in 1780 but the rolling mill continued until 1874.

12 Joseph Hancock (1711-1791), Master Cutler in 1763, was the first person to adapt the use of plated metal to the manufacture of domestic articles such as saucepans, candlesticks, cheese toasters etc as opposed to cutlery handles, snuff boxes and toys. In 1763 he started the construction of two rolling mills on the River Don, one for glazing cutlery and the other for rolling plated metal.

13 Wilson's senior workmen included:

Roger Almond, Thomas Eagles and Thomas Roe from Hoyland & Co.  
Leonard Egglington and Peter Rogers from Soho.  
Abraham Whitehead from Morton & Co.  
John Tym from Hancock & Co.  
John Holt, Thomas Peacock, Thomas Rowley, Thomas Satterfitt,  
John Satterthwaite and James Vickers, origins unknown.

pay off their debts to their former employers, for instance £8 8s for Roger Almond, brazier from Hoyland & Co, £20 for John Tym from Hancock & Co, £10 for Peter Rogers from Soho. For journeymen, their employers were virtually the only source of credit and the loans would have had to be paid back out of their wages. By late 1772 Wilson had engaged over eleven men skilled in plated manufacture each of whom was in charge of a workshop.<sup>13</sup> Although initially production was relatively small, by even December 1771, it was up and running as the following accounts with two London retailers demonstrate:

**Dr Mr Robt Gosling No 160 Fen Church Street**

1771	June 7	To 158 Goods	4. 0. 6
	Decr 2	To 270 plated	35. 5. 0
1772	Jany 30	To 196 plated	15. 1. 4
	Febv 8	To 197 plated	7. 7. 2
	Aprl 27	To 226 plated	19.11. 0
	Octr 15	To 253 plated	10.11. 0
1773	Aprl 19	To 272 plated	11. 7. 6

**Dr Jno Parke No 29 Ludgate Hill**

1771	Decr 9	To 274 plated	47.14. 0
	30	To 192 plated	4. 0. 0
1772	March 23	To 213 plated	15. 0. 6
	Do	To 214 plated	96.15. 0
	Jany 27	To 195 omitted plated	42.11. 0
	Mar 12	To 205 Do plated	28.19. 0
	Mar 30	To 217 plated	20.13. 6
	Aprl 2	To 218 Polliht Snuffers	4.17. 6
	20	To 225 plated	11.18. 6
	May 14	To 230 plated	4.16. 9
	25	To 232 part Knfs	6. 6. 3
	June 16	To 241 plated	15.12. 0
	July 20	To 244 Knfs	9. 1. 0
	27	To 245 plated	3. 4. 6

£321.15. 6

1772 witnessed a huge increase in Wilson's production of plated ware. By mid-year he had established a sizable trade with Ireland; the detailed invoice for the Dublin dealer John Binns is particularly revealing. The patterns, i.e. actual samples, had been supplied to Binns by John Scholefield, one of Wilson's principal travellers.

**Mr Jno Binns Dr Dammas Street, Dublin**

1772 May 21	Patrons of Mr Scholefield	
1 Waiter	6 Ins	0. 16. 0
1 Do	7 Ins Chast Border	1. 2. 0
1 Do	8 Ins pearced Do	1. 8. 0
1 Do	9 Ins Chast Do	1. 16. 0
2 Do	10 Ins pearced Do @ 42/-	4. 4. 0
1 Duple 3 Gill	Coffepot Chast	2. 16. 0
1 pr Bead & Ribon	Canks Corenn	2. 6. 0
1 pr Bead & Sprig	Do	2. 8. 0
1 pr Reeding Sticks		1. 14. 0
1 Crewitt frame		1. 10. 0
1 pr Ovil salts with Glasses		0. 16. 0



1 pr Round Do	Do	0. 14.0
1 Dish Cross without lamp		2. 0.0
1 Gill Beaker		0. 9.0
1 Tumbler		0. 7.0
		<hr/>
Disct 15 pr Ct & 6 mos		£24. 6.6
left with Do on J Wilson's Acct		
1 Twisted Tea Kitchen Single		8. 10.0
1 Chast Tureen		12.12.0
		<hr/>
		£21. 2.0

This invoice demonstrates several things: firstly, the variety of plated items already being produced at this early period by Wilson, and secondly, that it included extremely expensive pieces like the “Chast Tureen” costing 12 guineas. This was in a price league of its own: nothing being produced by other Sheffield plated manufacturers, or at Soho, approached this price for a single item. The tureen was probably made by Peter Rogers, as the detailed inventory of the plated manufactory drawn up in December 1772, under a section headed In “Peter Rogers Shop”, includes:

Mettle for Tureens	5½ lbs @ 24/-	6.12.0
Mettle for large Waiters	5 lbs 6 oz @ 24/-	6. 9.0

[The weight is probably quoted in avoirdupois]

Rogers, the ex-Soho London trained brazier, was obviously the man assigned to making such pieces. At 24s per pound (466g), the metal for these tureens and large waiters was expensive. It is worth comparing the cost with that quoted by John Hodges in a letter to Boulton in which he stated that the prime cost of plated metal for candlesticks at Soho was about 6s per pound Troy (373g).<sup>14</sup> Hodges also stated that the standard strength of plating was 15dwt (23.25g) of silver per pound (466g) of copper. Metal for candlesticks was of course single plated. If the metal were double plated, as was necessary for tureens and waiters, the cost would have been around 12s per pound (466g). A cost of 24s per pound (466g), as quoted above in Wilson's inventory, would indicate double plated metal with twice the strength of that of the Soho candlesticks, i.e. around 30dwt (46.5g) of silver on each side; this was a strength reserved only for the most expensive and prestigious articles. The invoice for Binns also confirms the standard commercial practice of allowing a 15% discount within the trade and six months credit.

14 Matthew Boulton Papers [MBP] 313 item 46, John Hodges to Boulton 22 February 1786. Hodges (d 1808) had served his apprenticeship at Soho and by the mid-1780s had risen to become Superintendent of the plated department. [This is the former reference number for the Boulton Papers, but the number under the new system can be found as they are cross-referenced.]

15 These items of japanned wares were probably supplied to Wilson by the Sheffield firm of Fenton, Henfrey & Co who manufactured this type of article for a few years in the early 1770s. The partners were Francis Fenton, cousin of Matthew Fenton (partner in the large plating firm of Fenton, Creswick & Co), and Benjamin Henfrey who later moved to Dublin where he registered a silver mark in 1784.

The Dublin ironmonger, Michael Walsh, became a valued customer as the following two invoices show:

**Mr Michael Walsh Iron-monger in Georges Street, Dublin**

1772 Decr 26	Dr	
		£ s d
To 2 large Cups wth Covers	£6 10s	13. 0. 0
1 Pair Gilt Goblets	42/-	2. 2. 0
1 Pair 10 In Waiters Chased	84/-	4. 4. 0
1 Pair 8 In Do	56/-	2.16. 0
No1 1 Large Cruet frame Compleat		2. 8. 6
3 1 Do Do Do		2. 8. 6
5 1 Do Do Do		2. 8. 6
2 pr Candks Step & Bead Gothic @ 48/-		4.16. 0
2 pr do Corn wth festoon & Rose foot @ 48/-		4.16. 0
		<hr/>
		£38.19. 6
Mr Walsh Dr for Japan'd Ware	Viz	
		£ s d
1 Japan Tea Tray ovil @ 23/-		1. 3. 6
1 Do Do Octagon @ 21/-		1. 1. 0
1 Do round Waiter for handing Tea		3. 6
		<hr/>
		£2. 7. 6 <sup>15</sup>

Dr	Mr Micl Walsh	Georges Street, Dublin	
1771	Jan'y 22	To 76	Goods 18. 4. 8
	June 5	To 150	Do 1.16. 0
1772	July 18	To 97	Do Plated 6. 5. 6
	Decr 16	To 123	Do Plated 140.13. 6
	29	To 120	Do Plated 51. 5. 0
	26	To 122	Do Plated
			patrons left 38.19. 6
		To Do	Japand Ware 2. 7. 6
1773	Feby	To 123	Do 58. 5. 0
	March 2	To 129	Do Plated 36. 8. 6
	30	To 135	Plated 10. 6. 0
		To Bill returned	100. 0. 0
		To Inkstand	2. 5. 0
			<hr/>
			£466.16. 2

As an ironmonger Walsh had probably been stocking Wilson's saws from January 1771 but added plated ware from mid-1772. The “2 large Cups wth Covers” costing £6 10s each were also very expensive items and required the services of a highly skilled brazier.

The valuation of the detailed inventory of tools and stock compiled on 24 December 1772 amounted to £1,156 9s: the contents of over twelve workshops are listed. Under the heading, “In Gilding Shop”, apart from all the usual equipment necessary for mercurial gilding, one entry reads: “4 pr Copper Candks for gilding” which implies that by this time Wilson was producing some expensive candlesticks in gilded copper. In the “Stamp Shop” two large stamps costing over £55 were in place, together with two rolls; the following year these rolls were supplemented by two further large rolls costing 17 guineas. This clearly suggests that from at least late 1772 Wilson was rolling





By early 1772 Wilson had probably decided that the manufacture of plated wares, snuff, and, to a lesser extent saws, was to be his primary activity as he sold his interest in the Wicker tilt mill in February of that year.<sup>18</sup> By late March 1772 his other principal traveller, Henry Dewdney, was leaving patterns of plated wares with London retailers including goldsmiths and silversmiths and by early April he had already sold “Thos. Whipham No 61 Fleet Street” an order for plated wares worth £25 9s 1d and made a small order to “Hemmings & Chawner, New Bond St. London”: Thomas Hemming being the Royal goldsmith. Whether as a perquisite or by demand, Wilson was allowing such notable goldsmiths a 20% discount. Dewdney was also selling successfully in provincial towns, for instance to the Bath retailer William Evill who, within a few months, had built up an account of around £200.

By mid-1772 the development of Wilson’s plated manufacture was expanding at an extraordinary pace. His meeting with the American, Edmund Quincy Jr shortly after this period was, however, to sow the seeds of his ultimate commercial destruction. Quincy was from a prominent Boston family; his father was a successful merchant and Justice of the Peace. It is not known how or when the two men met but by September Quincy was staying with Wilson in Sheffield. He had come over to England to find venture capitalists willing to join him in developing mining

operations in the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island, mining for iron ore and copper. With hindsight, it does indeed seem a reckless move for Wilson to have invested in such a venture, but in September he did this, paying Quincy £2,070 for six shares in the mining operation.

The whole of the Wilson/Quincy affair is too long and convoluted to be recounted in this article (it is fully covered in *Old Sheffield Plate: a History of the 18th Century Plated Trade*)<sup>19</sup> but some aspects of it do need to be mentioned. In February 1773 Quincy petitioned Parliament to be allowed to set up tilt hammers and slitting mills for steel production in New England. Such a petition was, of course, bound to fail as it infringed what is sometimes referred to as the ‘mercantilist principle’, the nub of which was that the purpose of the colonies was to provide raw materials for Britain and to buy British manufactured goods.<sup>20</sup> The importation of American pig-iron was normal commercial practice but the inclusion of ready-made American steel, tilted and slit into usable bars would have encroached on English manufactures. It took just one counter petition, that from the “Manufacturers and dealers in Iron and Steel of the City of Bristol”, to block Quincy’s efforts.<sup>21</sup> Wilson would no doubt have imported all the American steel he could get but, as this option was no longer feasible, he and Quincy devised an alternative commercial strategy which was that Wilson would export his plated ware, saws and general hardware to Edmund Quincy and his brother Henry in America and, with the money raised from the sale of such goods, the Quincys would return commodities available there to Wilson in England. A letter from Henry Quincy (in Boston) to Wilson lists some fifty-seven different commodities that could be sent over to Britain; this long list included rum, sugar, rice, tobacco, whale oil, whale bone, cotton wool etc and a comprehensive selection of logwood for cabinet makers.

The result of this new strategy was that during the first half of 1773, whilst still supplying the Irish and home markets, Wilson’s workforce began amassing a huge stock of plated wares ready to be shipped to America. This was a period of course when important developments were afoot that affected the whole of the plated trade. At the end of May Parliament passed the act that allowed Sheffield and Birmingham to set up assay offices.<sup>22</sup> Wilson was present and was indeed a signatory to the inaugural meeting of the Sheffield Guardians on 5 July 1773.<sup>23</sup> One consequence of the new act was the total prohibition of marks used on plated ware. Like all others in the trade, Wilson used marks on his early plated wares although surviving examples are exceedingly rare.<sup>24</sup> The best example is a

18 The sale was advertised in the *Sheffield Public Advertiser* in February 1772.

19 Gordon Crosskey, *Old Sheffield Plate; a History of the 18th Century Plated Trade*, Sheffield, 1st and 2nd eds (2011 and 2013).

20 House of Commons Journal, 1 February 1773. The Iron Bill of 1749 had prohibited the erection of tilt hammers, slitting mills and rolling mills in America.

21 House of Commons Journal, 23 February 1773.

22 13 Geo III c52

23 Despite his bankruptcy in 1775 and subsequent move to London towards the end of his life, Wilson remained a Guardian of the Sheffield Assay Office until his death in 1796.

24 Although the act prohibiting the use of marks on plated ware did not legally come into force until May 1773, the plated trade had in fact abandoned the use of marks much earlier in the year in view of the impending parliamentary battle. Only Wilson’s production of plated wares from late 1771 and 1772 was, therefore, likely to have been marked.



Fig 4 Coffee pot, plated, circa 1772, by Joseph Wilson.

(Courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)



Fig 5 Detail of marks on base of coffee pot.

(Courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)

magnificently chased coffee pot now in the collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation [Fig 4].

This coffee pot is stamped on the underside of the base with the four marks shown [Fig 5]: IW (for Joseph Wilson), a crown, an Irish harp, and a fourth mark of indeterminate shape.<sup>25</sup> The choice of an Irish harp, although rather hard to make out in this photograph, was obviously intended to simulate the Dublin silver hallmark. Two further items are illustrated below; a straight-sided lidded tankard [Fig 6 and Fig 7] and a



Fig 6 Covered tankard, plated, circa 1772, by Joseph Wilson.



Fig 7 Detail of marks on side of tankard.

<sup>25</sup> In his *History of Old Sheffield Plate* (1912) Bradbury wrongly ascribes these marks to John Winter & Co. Winter is not known to have ever used a pre-1773 mark on his plated wares which were confined entirely to candlesticks. He did mark his early silver candlesticks as he had registered a mark at Goldsmiths' Hall and had an exclusive contract to supply the London silversmith John Carter. Winter's Sheffield silver mark was I•W & Co (with a pellet) whereas Wilson's was simply IW.





Fig 8 Two handled cup, plated, circa 1772, by Joseph Wilson.

(Courtesy of Dr David Needham)



Fig 9 Detail of marks on side of cup.

(Courtesy of Dr David Needham)

two handled cup [Fig 8 and Fig 9]. As can be seen, the marks on the cup include a fifth mark in the form of a fleur-de-lys. Dr David Needham has made a tentative suggestion that, as much of Wilson's plated ware was destined for Ireland, this mark may have been included to simulate the silver mark for the town of Limerick. The first enormous cargo of plated wares, saws and hardware was shipped from Liverpool early in July; it was consigned to the Baltimore shipping agents Ashburne, Place & Co. The value was £1,310 1s 0½d which, together with the expenses of packaging, carriage and insurance of £65 10s 10d, gave a total cost of £1,375 11s 10½d. One of the typical handwritten invoices, in this instance for the contents of case numbers 41 and 42, is illustrated [Fig 10]; it includes six tea urns. "No. 65" was described as "1 Vause Duple plated neatly Chast 250/-": yet another very expensive example of plated stock. The contents of two further large packing cases, one being a hogshead, are quoted below; for ease of reading they are transcribed.

1 Box No 28 pack'd in said Hhd containing

No 1	2 pr Gilt Candks Correntn pillr & Caps & Vause foot	@ 100/-	10. 0. 0
2	2 pr plated Do plain pilr Midas foot Head & Drapry Gilt	@ 60/-	6. 0. 0
3	1 pr Do Shell Corner Gothic Pilr	@ 48/-	2. 8. 0
4	4 pr Do Bead & Ribin Correntn	@ 48/-	9.12. 0
5	6 pr Do Bead & Ribin Chast head	@ 48/-	14. 8. 0
6	2 pr Do Bead & Sprigg Correntn	@ 48/-	4.16. 0
7	1 pr Bead & Sprigg Common Dorrick	@ 46/-	2. 6. 0
8	3 pr Step & Shell Correntn	@ 48/-	7. 4. 0
9	2 pr Lorrl Leaf & Rose Gothic	@ 48/-	4.16. 0
10	1 pr Vause Gothi	@ 48/-	2. 8. 0
11	1 pr Leaf Angle Correntn No 1 Capital	@ 48/-	2. 0. 0
12	2 pr flower de luce Gothic	@ 48/-	4.16. 0

*Brought over 1120.18.10½*

100 <sup>th</sup>	Black Aug <sup>r</sup> ½ In. d 5 <sup>th</sup>	2. 0. 5. 0
100 <sup>th</sup>	Do ½ In. d 6 <sup>th</sup>	0. 6. 3
100 <sup>th</sup>	Do ¾ In. d 7 <sup>th</sup>	0. 7. 0
100 <sup>th</sup>	Do 1 In. d 8 <sup>th</sup>	0. 8. 9
2 ½ doz	Cast Steel Sightho AS d 10 <sup>th</sup>	1. 5. 0
12 doz	Common d 12 <sup>th</sup>	11. 4. 0
2 doz	Do d 5 <sup>th</sup>	0. 16. 0

*Saws & Buckles for 3 doz from d value  
such are charged with the saws*

*Contained in 11 Cases No 41 & 42*

60.	1 plain Sea Kettle in Egg fashion d 140/-	7. 0. 0
61.	1 Egg fashion neatly Chast	200/- 10. 10. 0
62.	1 Do Twisted Chasing	170/- 8. 10. 0
63.	1 plain Duple Bitter	140/- 7. 0. 0
64.	1 Egg fashion Chast	170/- 8. 10. 0
65.	1 Vause Duple plated neatly Chast 250/-	12. 10. 0
66.	7 doz plated Buckles d 18/-	6. 6. 0
67.	19 doz plated Knives d 8/-	0. 12. 8
68.	4 dish Crofies without Lamps d 38/-	7. 12. 0
69.	6 Small Gills	2. 14. 0
70.	2 doz plain Round Saws	1. 6. 0
71.	2 Straight Spikes	2. 0. 0
72.	1 Single plated Chast Crofipost d 50/-	2. 10. 0
73.	2 doz Twisted d 50/-	2. 10. 0
74.	1 Do plain d 110/-	2. 0. 0

*1 plain Kettle in Egg fashion d 140/- 7. 0. 0*  
*2 dish Crofies without Lamps d 38/- 7. 12. 0*

Fig 10 Invoice for cases number 41 and 42 shipped to Baltimore.

(Courtesy of Wilsons & Co (Sharrow))

1 Box No 36 & Contained in a Case with No 37

No13	2 pr Bead & Lorrl Gothic Candks	@ 48/-	4.16. 0
14	1 pr Shell Corner Corentn do	@ 48/-	2. 8. 0
15	2 pr Leaf Angle Gothic do	@ 48/-	4.16. 0
16	2 pr Common Dorrick	@ 46/-	4.12. 0
17	2 pr Shell Corner Tea Candks	@ 24/-	2. 8. 0
18	1 pr Card Candks plain	@ 28/-	1. 8. 0
19	1 pr Reeding Do	@ 36/-	1.16. 0
20	3 Dish Crosses with lamps large	@ 42/-	6. 6. 0
21	1 Coffepott Single 3 Gill Turkey Spout	@ 35/-	1.15. 0
22	1 Quart Do Comn plain single	@ 40/-	2. 0. 0
23	4 Cream Pales Compleat No 2	@ 16/-	3. 4. 0
24	6 pr Ovil salts No 1	@ 16/-	4.16. 0

The contents of box 28 are of interest as they included two pairs of copper-gilt candlesticks costing £5 a pair and two pairs of plated sticks described as “Midas foot Head & Drapry Gilt” which clearly indicates that they were parcel-gilt. Eighteenth-century plated items with parcel-gilt decoration are extraordinarily rare.<sup>26</sup> Wilson’s use of the word “Gothic” would certainly have implied a cluster column style of candlestick, and item “No 12” is noteworthy as it is decorated with a rare “flower de luce”, i e fleur-de-lys, motif. Amongst the small candlesticks itemised in box 36 are examples described as being for “Tea, Card” and “Reeding”.

Following on the heels of the shipment to Baltimore a second huge consignment of plated wares was dispatched on 6 August 1773 from the port of Hull in the ship *Speedwell* under the command of Captain William Sanderson. This consignment was destined for Boston and was accompanied by Joseph Wilson’s eldest son George, then aged about nineteen. The plated wares were packed in twenty boxes, four hogsheads and two casks and included:

141 pairs of candlesticks	72 tankards	63 pairs of salts
52 coffee pots	10 tea kitchens	

In addition a wide variety of other articles such as goblets, inkstands, bottle trays, butter boats, waiters, and dish crosses was also sent. The value was £1,344 1s 6½d, with packaging, carriage and insurance of £44 19s 6d, giving a final cost of £1,390 1s 0½d. It should be noted that teapots, tea caddies, and dish rings were not included. Wilson never made teapots or caddies, although by October 1773 he was producing plated dish rings and silver examples in the following year. The productivity of Wilson’s plated workshops seems remarkable as, despite having sent two large shipments to America in the previous two months, a substantial order was despatched to the Irish goldsmith Jonas Bull in September.

**Mr Jonas Bull Dr Goldsmith near the Quay, Waterford to Care of Messrs Orange & Flitcroft Merchts near the Old Dock in Liverpool**

1773 Sept 28

1 Inkstand Compleat	@ 45/-	4.10. 0
4 pr Candks Bead & Ribin Corentn	@ 44/-	8.16. 0
4 pr Do Lyon foot twisted Pils & Cap	@ 50/-	10. 0. 0
4 pr Do Alter patron	@ 63/-	12.12. 0
2 pr Do Staggs Head Chast pillar	@ 53/-	5. 6. 0
2 pr Large Chamber Candks	@ 52/-	5. 4. 0
4 pr middle size Do	@ 45/-	9. 0. 0
2 pr small do do	@ 38/-	3.16. 0
4 pr Reeding Sticks	@ 28/-	5.12. 0
4 pr Brackitt Sticks	@ 26/-	5. 4. 0
4 Milk Pales	@ 16/-	3. 4. 0
1 Tea Kitchen, plain	@ 160/-	8. 0. 0
3 plain Qt Vause Coffepotts	@ 54/-	8. 2. 0
4 Bellied pints	@ 20/-	4. 0. 0
2 plain 2 Handled Cups	@ 20/-	2. 0. 0
2 Chast do do	@ 23/-	2. 6. 0
2 pr Chast Goblitss	@ 46/-	4.12. 0
2 Half pint Butterbotes	@ 32/-	1.12. 0
4 pr Candks Bead & Ribin Corentn	@ 44/-	8.16. 0
4 pr Do Lyon foot twisted Pils & Cap	@ 50/-	10. 0. 0
4 pr Do Alter patron	@ 63/-	12.12. 0
2 pr Do Staggs Head Chast pillar	@ 53/-	5. 6. 0
2 pr Large Chamber Candks	@ 52/-	5. 4. 0
4 pr middle size Do	@ 45/-	9. 0. 0
2 pr small do do	@ 38/-	3.16. 0
4 pr Reeding Sticks	@ 28/-	5.12. 0
4 pr Brackitt Sticks	@ 26/-	5. 4. 0
4 Milk Pales	@ 16/-	3. 4. 0
1 Tea Kitchen, plain	@ 160/-	8. 0. 0
3 plain Qt Vause Coffepotts	@ 54/-	8. 2. 0
4 Bellied pints	@ 20/-	4. 0. 0
2 plain 2 Handled Cups	@ 20/-	2. 0. 0
2 Chast do do	@ 23/-	2. 6. 0
2 pr Chast Goblitss	@ 46/-	4.12. 0
2 Half pint Butterbotes	@ 32/-	1.12. 0
4 pr Bottle Trays	@ 23/-	4.12. 0
2 Setts Casters Compleat	@ 52/-	5. 4. 0
2 Swagd Wire Bread Basketts	@ 60/-	6. 0. 0
6 Musterd Tankards Compt	@ 12/-	3.12. 0
2 pr each Ovil Salts No 1&5	@ 16/-	3. 4. 0
2 pr each round do 1&5	@ 14/-	2.16. 0
2 Waiters 12 Inches	@ 60/-	6. 0. 0
3 Dish Crosses without Lamps	@ 40/-	6. 0. 0
1 Do do with Lamp	@ 44/-	2. 4. 0
1 Snuffer Pan	@ 18/-	18. 0
	Box	5. 0

£144.11. 0

<sup>26</sup> This of course does not include the numerous examples of salt cellars and goblets etc with gilded interiors.



Jonas Bull would have selected this consignment himself, probably on the basis of patterns, i.e. actual examples, shown to him by Wilson's traveller John Scholefield: this period predates printed pattern books.<sup>27</sup> Of particular interest are the eight pairs of "Alter patron" candlesticks, i.e. altar candlesticks, costing 63s a pair.

Wilson continued to supply the home and Irish markets with plated goods throughout the remainder of 1773; his outlets in Ireland had expanded to include retailers in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Belfast, and Drogheda. He was present at the very first meeting of the Plated Trade Association held on the 6 October 1773, the only such meeting he was ever to attend.<sup>28</sup> Unlike Matthew Boulton, or indeed his fellow Sheffield manufacturers of plated wares, it is very unlikely that Wilson ever considered taking on the serious production of wrought plate. His total silver production only comprised four pairs of candlesticks, a sugar basket, four wine labels, two bread baskets and three dish rings. The first items to appear were two pairs of silver candlesticks hallmarked on the 8 November 1773. He almost certainly produced them at the request of the Dublin retailer and silversmith, William Moore, who was to become an important client. The candlesticks are included on an invoice made out to Moore, dated 16 November, for an order valued at over £70, where they are described as:

2 Pr Silver Candks Meduca twisted pillar & Caps Weight 44oz 8pwt	@ 5/8	14.15.7
Fashion 31/6 per pair		3. 3.0

These candlesticks, weighing just over 11 oz (342g) each before filling, were obviously stamped using the same dies as those used for the equivalent plated examples.

Perhaps because his son George was still legally speaking a minor, Wilson trustingly gave Quincy power of attorney for all his business dealings in America. The latter sailed back to Boston in October and shortly afterwards Wilson made the disturbing discovery that the shares, for which he had paid Quincy £2,070, were already mortgaged to a third party,<sup>29</sup> the result of which was that Wilson had no legal claim on them. Meanwhile, in Boston, young George had made the acquaintance of a Yorkshire ex-patriot<sup>30</sup> who strongly advised him to remove all of Wilson's goods from the premises of Henry Quincy which had been rented for the purposes of storage. This precipitated a serious legal dispute with Edmund Quincy who had arrived back in Boston. Remarkably, George managed to extricate his father's entire stock and leave it with the Boston shipping agents, Herman & Andrew Brimmer & Co, before sailing back to London on 7 January 1774.

In December 1773 Wilson appointed Michael Wilkins Griffith, jeweller, of Angel Court, Snow Hill, London, to act as his agent: he had evidently decided to concentrate on sales within the London, provincial and Irish markets. Nevertheless, in around March 1774, to see what could be salvaged from the Quincy debacle, Wilson himself sailed to America, visiting both Baltimore and the Quincys in Boston where he recovered a mere £225 worth of goods. In a letter to Wilson, dated 20 January 1774 and received before he embarked for America, Brimmer & Co had written:

We shall do all in our power to dispose of the Goods, but the most of them are very unsaleable.

Whilst in America, despite his disreputable treatment by Quincy, and the ever worsening political situation within the colonies, Wilson perversely got Griffith to send yet another, modest, consignment of plated goods out to him. The following entry for Griffith survives in one of Wilson's ledgers:

1774 July 21	By 185 Goods to Mr Wilson in America	270.10. 8
--------------	---	-----------

Griffith's costs are recorded on a separate surviving sheet. Under the title "Account of Expenses for Mr Joseph Wilson" the following charges, dated 15 July 1774, are itemised:

Cleaning & doing up Large quantity of goods Severall times	0.1.8
paper nails cord string & doing up Wrapping & packing large Quantities goods for America	1.8.0
paid cartage	0.3.6
paid at custom house shipping & Waterman	0.7.0
2 Bills of Ladeing	0.1.0
Care trouble & Comission @c	8.8.0

During January 1774 Wilson had written to his son George, thinking he was still in America; the letter describes Quincy's fraudulent behaviour but amongst other issues mentions that Wilson had obtained exclusive rights to a patent metal which he thought

27 The first appearance of printed pattern books for plated ware dates to around 1778; up until then the use of the word 'pattern' referred to actual examples or, sometimes, as in Boulton's case, to drawings.

28 In late 1773 all the principal Sheffield manufacturers of plated wares formed a trade association which was, in effect, a cartel to fix minimum prices and a maximum length of credit. The Minute Book survives (Sheffield Archives MD 2086) and every company present at meetings signed the book. Wilson's sole signature is that for the inaugural meeting held on 6 October 1773.

29 This was one of the Eyre family of Hassop Hall, Derbyshire, one member of whom was agent for the Norfolk estates in and around Sheffield.

30 This was William Knutton, who had emigrated from Yorkshire to set up a soap manufactory in Boston.

would prove a profitable enterprise. His description to George reads:

We have a Meatal much like Gold a Pattent is obtained I have Engde they are to sell none but to me we shall send some Sticks of it to you I hope to sell a great Many Sticks Best Couler I eaver saw na Even it Beats Pinchback . . .

Wilson's ledgers record that he made quite a number of such candlesticks which appear to have been stamped rather than cast and were mostly sold to the London firm of hardware merchants, Brasbridge & Slade of Fleet Street.<sup>31</sup>

Whilst Wilson was in America his travellers had expanded their sales in Ireland and had added shops in Dundalk, Kilkenny, Londonderry, Newry, and Wexford to their list of retailers of plated wares. Further supplies were also sent to Griffith in London. In addition, a few silver items were produced; these comprised two pairs of candlesticks, a sugar basket and four wine labels, one of which is illustrated below [Fig 11 and Fig 12].

Despite the expansion of both the home and Irish trade in plated wares Wilson returned from America to a worsening financial situation. Apart from the loss of over £2,000 through Quincy's fraud, he now had about a further £2,000 of stock tied up in America with an ever diminishing hope of retrieving the value. In response to the growing rebellion, Parliament introduced a series of punitive measures. The Customs House in Boston, for example, was closed at the end of March 1774 and by November 1775 all trade with America was prohibited. Throughout the remainder of 1774 and into early 1775 Wilson nevertheless continued his production of snuff despite running up an alarming debt to James Gildart, his Liverpool supplier of tobacco. The manufacture of plated wares concentrated ever more on the Irish market. The



Fig 11 Wine label, Sheffield, 1774, by Joseph Wilson.  
(Courtesy of the Wine Label Circle)



Fig 12 Detail of marks on wine label, struck on 4 June 1774.  
(Courtesy of the Wine Label Circle)



Fig 13 Dish ring, Sheffield, 1774, by Joseph Wilson.  
(Courtesy of Museums Sheffield)



Fig 14 Detail of marks on rim of dish ring.  
(Courtesy of Museums Sheffield)

remaining few silver items were produced during this period: in October three silver dish rings [Figs 13 and 14] were made, almost certainly at the request of his Dublin client William Moore. Remarkably, the archives of the Sheffield Assay Office contain the original docket, dated 24 October 1774, requesting that the three dish rings be hallmarked [Fig 15]. The docket is signed by George Pulfrey, Wilson's chief clerk. The dish rings were assayed that same day and on the 16 November were listed on an invoice for goods sent to "Mr Wm Moore Dr Caple Street".

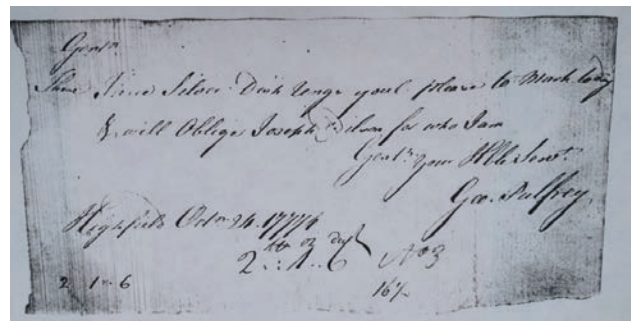


Fig 15 Docket signed by George Pulfrey, chief clerk to Joseph Wilson, 1774, requesting the hallmarking of three dish rings.  
(Courtesy of Sheffield Assay Office)

31 Brasbridge & Slade, Hardwaremen, 98 Fleet Street. Sketchley's 1774 Directory of London merchants.



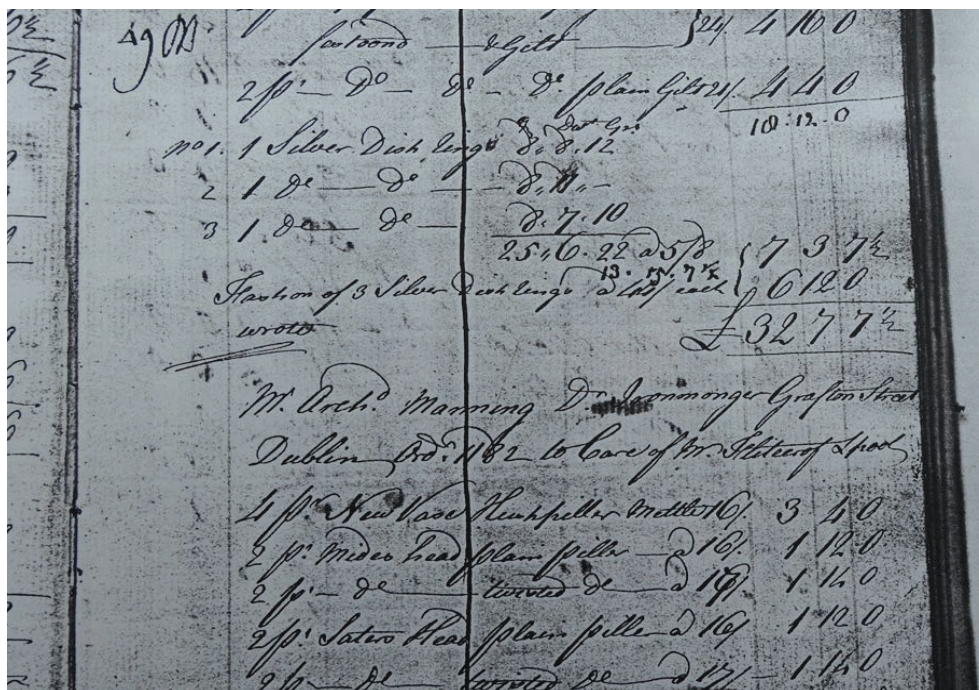


Fig 16 Invoice to William Moore of Dublin from Joseph Wilson including £18 12s worth of plated items.

(Courtesy of Wilsons & Co (Sharrow))

the Sheffield attorney, Kenyon Parker, to handle the affair, part of which necessitated his travelling to Ireland to make an inventory of Wilson's large stock of plated wares held there on credit. Parker visited nine towns and recorded stock held by forty six retailers, twenty four of them in Dublin.<sup>35</sup> Parker recorded that the total money owing to Wilson which he considered as "good debt",

As can be seen [Fig 16], the cost of fashioning for each silver dish ring was 44s which was almost equivalent to the 45s that Wilson charged the Dublin dealer Thomas Craig for small plated dish rings, or "Rims", as they were sometimes described in the ledgers. One ledger entry for 27 October 1773, of an invoice to Wilson's Dublin agent Edward Griffiths, provides details of more expensive plated dish rings supplied:

1 Large Dish Rim Festoon Chast & Cutt out with Chast foot	3. 0. 0
55/- if not Cutt	
1 Smaller Dish Rim Do & Do	2. 15. 0
50/- if not Cutt	

Wilson's final silver production was a pair of bread baskets hallmarked in January 1775. So far only two of his silver items have ever come to light: the wine label seen above, which is one of a pair that was auctioned by Phillip's (now Bonham's) in July 2000,<sup>32</sup> and the dish ring, which was discovered by a descendant of Joseph Wilson<sup>33</sup> and presented to Sheffield Museum in 1953. As regards plated wares, only those marked items illustrated above have been discovered. No doubt many more have survived but, in the absence of marks, cannot be positively identified.

In early 1775, the silver bread baskets mentioned above and a few items of plated wares were the last items that Wilson's manufactory produced. The debts, to which Wilson had returned from America, became unmanageable and by April he was bankrupt. He had to assign all of his manufacturing activities to a group of family members who, between them, raised around £800 for his immediate support.<sup>34</sup> They engaged

amounted to £1,162 1s 3d. The "bad debt" came to £348 3s. The complete inventory of the plated workshops, taken at the time of Wilson's bankruptcy, survives and reveals that £955 was held in stamps, presses, tools generally and unfinished articles, plus around £844

32 The hammer price was £700.

33 This was a member of the Harland family. Joseph Wilson's great granddaughter, Louisa Ellen Wilson, married the Rev A A Harland in 1865.

34 This group included: Thomas Holy, Thomas Newbould and Thomas Watson, who all contributed £100 apiece, and Thomas Leader £119. Newbould and Watson were Wilson's brothers-in-laws, Holy his nephew and Leader was Newbould's son-in-law; these relationships demonstrate the close connections between many of the plating firms in Sheffield. Holy and Newbould were partners as factors and button manufacturers, Watson was in partnership with Fenton, Creswick & Co, one of the large plating firms, and Leader of course was the partner of Henry Tudor.

35 The Dublin dealers to whom Wilson had sold plated ware (that was still on credit) included:

Thomas Atkinson	Crampton Court
John Binns	Dammas Street
Ambrose Boxwell	James Street
Michael Cormick	Parliament Street
Edward Griffiths	Bedford Row
James Hewitt	Christ Church Yard
Thomas Miller	Crampton Court
William Moore	Crampton Court
Richard Pearson	James Street
John Sall	Caple Street
Michael Walsh	George Street

Dealers in other towns included:

Alexander Armstrong	Belfast
John Brown	"
William Hilditch	"
Thomas McCabe	"
James Murray	"
John Elliott	Cork
Tomothy Hughes	"
George Evans	Drogheda
James McCann	Dundalk
William McCabe	Newry
Jonas Bull	Waterford
King & Tegart	"
James Morris	Wexford

worth of plated items stored in the warehouse at Sharrow. It was June before Griffith, his London agent, returned £317 worth of unsold stock.

The largest creditor was the Liverpool merchant, James Gildart, to whom Wilson owed £1,930 for tobacco. In addition, he owed £940 to the Sheffield factors, Broomhead & Co, £630 to his brother-in-law George Greaves, three £500 mortgages, two of them to family members,<sup>36</sup> and £320 to the London refiner Robert Albion Cox for silver. A long and detailed list of debtors and creditors survives which shows that Wilson's own debts amounted to around £8,000 and good debts owing to Wilson stood at £3,090, but offset by £3,550 worth of bad debt, largely due to the American debacle.<sup>37</sup> The result of Wilson's bankruptcy was that his assignees decided to close both the plated and saw making manufactories but to retain the snuff business which was to be managed by Wilson's second son, Joseph Jr.

## EPILOGUE

It was a sad end to the career of a man with such entrepreneurial spirit. His employees in the plated works left to find other jobs, some still owing him money: one of his senior clerks, William Ridgell, absconded to New York still owing him £10. John Tym, Thomas Peacock and James Eagles (son of Thomas Eagles) went on to work for Roberts, Cadman & Co. Wilson's assignees granted him an annual income of £100, which he regularly complained of as being inadequate. Although Wilson was discharged from bankruptcy in 1778 he was never allowed any involvement in the running of the snuff mill which, by this time, was a profitable enterprise and is, indeed, still in production today.

To occupy his time, Wilson tried his hand at farming out at Bamford, just over the border in Derbyshire but, as might be expected, this proved totally unsuitable to

someone of his nature. In 1789 he proposed revisiting America to see what might be recovered of the money owing to him, as he explained in a long letter to the Rev Alexander Mather, the Wesleyan minister in Sheffield until 1788 before he moved to Wakefield. Wilson's letter began:

As I have a desire to pay my just Debts I consider'd I would go to America to see what could be got of the about two Thousand Pounds worth of Goods I left there about fourteen Years ago;

Mather wrote back strongly dissuading Wilson from undertaking such a voyage, largely because of his age: he was now nearly sixty seven. His son Joe and the family, however, adamantly refused permission for such a venture, probably because they would have had to finance a voyage that had so little chance of success.

Wilson moved to London for the last few years of his life where he dreamed of setting up a snuff mill with £200 of borrowed money. He died in 1796, needless to say without realising this fantasy, and was buried in St George's church, Southwark.

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36 One to his mother-in-law, "Mother Greaves", and one to his own wife "Ann Wilson Senr".

37 This document lists sixty two firms or individuals as Wilson's creditors and eighty two as those in debt to Wilson. It does not include the Irish trade as that was separately recorded by Kenyon Parker.



# A French drawing for a candlestick at the Yale Center for British Art

PAUL MICIO

The Yale Center for British Art in New Haven, Connecticut, conserves more than 20,000 drawings and watercolours from the Tudor period to the present. Established in 1966 by Paul Mellon and opened to the public in 1977, the purpose of the collection, as its name implies, is to encourage the study of British art and culture. An anonymous drawing for a candlestick in the collection,<sup>1</sup> acquired by Mellon as part of a group of thirteen rococo drawings in 1975, has to date been catalogued as English mid-eighteenth century, but it is here attributed to a French workshop or *ornemaniste* [Fig 1].

The candlestick has a curvilinear supporting base and neo-classical central shaft and falls into the late transitional period of about 1770.



Fig 1 Design for a candlestick, circle of Jacques Roëttiers or Jacques-Nicolas Roëttiers, circa 1770, pen, black ink and watercolour.

(Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1975.2.65)



Fig 2 Candlestick, Paris, 1734-35, by Thomas Germain.

(Sotheby's New York)

The sources for the design of the base can, however, be traced back to Paris and far earlier in the first half of the eighteenth century. Almost all French candlesticks have bases that sit flat so what is unusual about this drawing is that the base is raised up on scrolled feet. The most famous example of this type of base, and doubtless the most exquisitely wrought, is the model created by Thomas Germain that he used for various commissions, such as the solid gold girandoles for Louis XV<sup>2</sup> (destroyed) or the silver candlesticks from the mid-1730s that were delivered, a generation later, to the Portuguese crown by his son, François-Thomas Germain, as part of the imposing service for the King José I [Fig 2].

When we find other extant examples of this raised scroll base they are almost always from the jurisdiction of

1 My thanks to Tessa Murdoch for bringing this drawing to my attention.

2 Commissioned in 1739, delivered in 1748, and melted down in 1793, these girandoles are known from several drawings and engravings.



Fig 3 Pair of candlesticks, Revel, 1788, by Matthieu Franc.  
(Aguttes, Paris)



Fig 5 Design for a monstrance intended for the royal chapel at Versailles, circa 1768, Roëttiers atelier. (?)  
(Paris, École national supérieure des Beaux-Arts)

3 Louis Ferdinand de France (1729-65), eldest son of Louis XV and Marie Leszczyńska, father of Louis XVI.

4 Jacques Roëttiers (1707-84), received *maître orfèvre* in 1733, *orfèvre du Roi* in 1737, ennobled in 1772, member of the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture in 1773 (as medal engraver), retired in 1774.

5 Jacques-Nicolas Roëttiers, or Roëttiers de la Tour (1736-88), received *maître orfèvre* in 1765, retired in 1786.



Fig 4 Candlestick, gilt bronze, Paris, 1729, designed by Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier.  
(Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon; photo: Catarina Gomes Ferreira)

Toulouse, a region whose silversmiths revered very robust and highly-worked curvilinear forms. Such raised scrolled bases are notably prevalent in the work of the Samson dynasty: Louis (II) Samson, in the 1760s and 1770s; Barthélemy Samson in the 1770s; and Louis (III) Samson, in the 1780s. An example of this type of raised base, similar to the drawing, can be seen on a pair of candlesticks of 1788 by Matthieu Franc, a student of Barthélemy Samson, from the city of Revel, also in the jurisdiction of Toulouse [Fig 3].

The source of the *putti*, who sit perched upon the bulbous shoulders of the shaft of the candlestick in the drawing, also have their origins in Paris during the first half of the century. The gilt bronze candlesticks designed by Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, executed on the occasion of the birth of the Dauphin<sup>3</sup> in 1729, display the same type of infants whose lower extremities meld into the sides of stem, as in the example conserved at the Gulbenkian Museum [Fig 4].

In the Yale drawing, the *putti* also have similarities to the work of the famous *orfèvres*, Roëttiers, *père*<sup>4</sup> et *fil*<sup>5</sup>. A drawing attributed to their *atelier*, from about 1768, relates to the monstrance intended for the royal chapel at Versailles (never completed<sup>6</sup>) and on this sheet we see *putti* with thick mops of hair similar to the cherubim in the Yale drawing [Fig 5].<sup>7</sup>

As to the neo-classical design of the central part of the

6 For the complete history of the fraudulent use of funds from the Crown for this commission, misappropriated by Jacques-Nicolas Roëttiers, see Yves Carlier, 'Sculpture et orfèvrerie à Paris au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : Jacques et Jacques-Nicolas Roëttiers', *Revue de l'Art*, 1994-3, no 105, pp 61-69.

7 My thanks to Michèle Bimbenet-Privat for suggesting this drawing.





Fig 6 Candlestick, Paris, 1771-72, by Jacques-Nicolas Roëttiers.  
(© Christie's Images Limited 2014)

shaft in the Yale drawing, we again find close similarities to the work of Jacques-Nicolas Roëttiers, as evinced in the candlesticks made for the Orloff service, 1771-72 [Fig 6].

The object in the Yale sheet is depicted without any *bobèche*, which is usual for French drawings of candlesticks. The paper measures approximately 12 in (31 cm) high and the candlestick fills almost the entire height of the sheet. Such preparatory drawings were made to actual scale and, as such, the size of the candlestick in the drawing conforms to the average size of eighteenth-century French candlesticks. The side of the candle cup is decorated with a fleur-de-lys, one of the emblems of the French monarchy. Roëttiers *père* was *orfèvre du Roi* and Roëttiers *fils* also worked for the Crown. Even though this drawing might conceivably be associated with their atelier it would, however, be imprudent to suggest that it relates to any royal commission, especially as the fleur-de-lys and the heraldic device on the base of the candlestick are purely decorative: the stylized crown above the device (visible under magnification) is that of a count<sup>8</sup> and finally, because the central cartouche was intentionally left blank.

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<sup>8</sup> My thanks to Philippe Palasi for this information.

# Business succession in Gutter Lane

BRUCE JONES

Examination of the history of a business can show the varying pace of development, and the different routes to management of successive silversmiths, which were sometimes conventional and sometimes highly unusual. A combination of the conventional and unusual is revealed by the careers of the silversmiths who followed Sandylands Drinkwater<sup>1</sup> at the premises in Gutter Lane, close to Goldsmiths' Hall in London. Drinkwater retired in 1761 upon becoming Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company; he thereafter lived in St Albans, Hertfordshire where he died in 1776.

The business in Gutter Lane was first taken over by Richard Binley who had been apprenticed to Drinkwater<sup>2</sup> in 1731/2. He moved into Drinkwater's premises in 1760/61: it was not an unusual route for a former apprentice to follow their master in this way. Binley in fact moved only five doors up Gutter Lane,<sup>3</sup> from number 11, where he had been the taxpayer since 1745, to number 16.

Richard Binley died only four years later,<sup>4</sup> in 1764, and his widow Margaret took over the premises: a widow taking over her husband's business was again a frequent occurrence. Margaret Binley continued as a taxpayer in Gutter Lane until 1779/80. She appears in the Garrard Ledgers as a supplier of buttons, buckles and bottle labels between 1767 and 1770 and rattles with her mark have also been noted;<sup>5</sup> all items recorded bear Drinkwater's mark.

## The varied experiences of Susanna Barker

Margaret Binley was in turn succeeded as taxpayer in these premises by "Wo [Widow] Barker"; this was Susanna Barker and her route to 16 Gutter Lane was very different. She was born Susan Neale, the daughter of Hugh and Ester Neale.<sup>6</sup> Unlike the Binleys, she came from a family associated with the trade: her mother Ester was born Gilpin, her uncle was the goldsmith Thomas Gilpin and she was the great-niece of the goldsmith John Gilpin. The family originated from Hockliffe, Bedfordshire.

There are records of Susanna having two brothers and a sister.<sup>7</sup> No record of her own birth has been found but a marriage allegation<sup>8</sup> states that she was twenty four in 1745/6. She married into the trade and the marriage allegation, dated 25 February 1745/6, states:

Appeared personally James Barker of the parish of St Clement Danes in the County of Middlesex Batchelor aged twenty four years and alleged that he intends to marry with Susan Neale, Spinster of the same parish aged twenty four years ..... and prayed a Licence to solemnize the said marriage in the parish Church of St Clement Danes aforesaid or in the Cathedral Church of St Pauls.

A marriage bond, for the sum of £200, of the same date, described James Barker as a "Goldsmith". Two days later, on 27 February 1745/6, the couple were married at St Paul's Cathedral.<sup>9</sup> Susanna's husband James Barker had been apprenticed, on 17 June 1735, to Thomas Gilpin, for the substantial sum of £52 10s.<sup>10</sup> This was very much a marriage made within a close-knit community.

Bed Arch: Bedfordshire County Archives

LMA: London Metropolitan Archives

NPC: National Probate Archive

TNA: National Archives, Kew

WA: City of Westminster Archives

1 Sandylands Drinkwater, 'Progress of a Smallworker', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, 2012, no 28. Drinkwater died in 1776 not as mistranscribed in that article in 1765.

2 Goldsmiths' Company Apprentice Book 6, p 156; Richard Binley apprenticed 13 January 1731/2 for seven years, consideration £20, free 6 December 1739.

3 LMA, Land tax assessments for the Ward of Farringdon Within, Gutter Lane Precinct, the source for location details noted here and later in this article.

4 LMA, St John Zachary Parish Registers, City of London MS 6769. Richard Binley was buried 12 May 1764.

5 Helen Clifford, *Silver in London, the Parker & Wakelin Partnership 1760-1776*, New York, 2004. Margaret Binley is also noted as stringing pearls for the Parker & Wakelin business. For an example of a rattle see sale, Christie's, New York, 9 January 1991, lot 40.

6 WA, Hugh Neale and Ester Gilpin married 26 May 1716, St Paul's, Covent Garden, Westminster. Family details from Bed Arch, parish registers of Hockliffe and TNA, PROB 11/656/415, 15 February 1733/4, will of John Gilpin Citizen and Goldsmith who in his will left £100 "To my niece Easter Neale".

7 WA, Ester, christened 2 December 1717, St Paul's, Covent Garden and John Williams O'Neale, born 13 March 1720/1, christened 31 March 1721, St Martin-in-the-Fields; Bed Arch, John Neal, christened 30 June 1725, Hockliffe, Bedford. No record has been found of the christening of Susan Neale; if she was correctly stated to be twenty four years old in February 1745/6, she may have been born in late 1721/2 or possibly be the unregistered twin sister of John Williams.

8 LMA, Marriage Bonds & Allegations, St Clement Danes, Westminster. Marriage Allegation DL/A/004/MS10091/086; Marriage Bond DL/A/D/024/MS10091E/059, both 25 February 1745/6.

9 Records of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral; they were married 27 February 1745/6.

10 TNA, Board of Stamps: Apprenticeship Books, series IR 1, piece 14, p 37, James, son of John Barker, Cit[izen] and Joyner apprenticed to Thomas Gilpin of St Clement Danes, Goldsmith for seven years, 17 June 1735, duty payment date 18 June 1735.



Although James Barker had been apprenticed to Thomas Gilpin, ten years later, in February 1745/6, he became free of the Joiners' Company by patrimony.<sup>11</sup> 1746 was a year of activity for him: he was married in the same month that he became free. Two months later, on 17 April 1746, he entered a mark as a largeworker at Goldsmiths' Hall<sup>12</sup> and on 5 June 1746 he took on his only known apprentice John Law<sup>13</sup>.

James Barker was recorded at "the corner of Buckingham street, Strand" when he registered his mark, close to the premises of his former master. He continued working in this area, appearing in the Westminster Poll Book<sup>14</sup> in 1749. He was recorded in 1750 in Carey Street, in an insurance policy,<sup>15</sup> which covered household goods with an insured value of £200, and in 1758 in Searle Street.<sup>16</sup> Very little silver with his mark is extant and he may have worked largely as a supplier to other silversmiths.

11 Guildhall Library, Joiners' Company Register of Freedom Admissions CLC/L/JA/C/003/MS08051/004 free by patrimony 4 February 1745/6; James Barker and his father John Barker, here stated to be deceased, are the only ones with the name Barker appearing in this Register. Also LMA, freedom papers ELJL/691/97 free by patrimony 4 February 1745/6.

12 Goldsmiths' Company Registers, see Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837, their marks and lives*, London, 1990, no 1131.

13 TNA, Board of Stamps, Apprenticeship Books, Series IR 1, piece 17, p 217, payment date 6 August 1746: apprenticeship of John, the son of Edward Law of Oxon to James Barker.

14 WA, G F Osborn, *Westminster Poll Book 1749*, f 324.42.

15 LMA, Sun Insurance MS11936, vol 92, p 273, James Barker's house on the north side of Carey Street and his household goods insured for £200.

16 Robert Barlow Gardiner, *Admission Registers of St Paul's School 1748-1866*, 1884, Harvard University Library on line: "March 23 1758. Thomas Barker aged 10, son of James Barker, goldsmith of Searle Street".

17 WA, Parish Registers of St Martin-in-the-Fields and St Clement Danes.

18 WA, James Barker buried 18 August 1762, Parish Records of St Clement Danes, Westminster, microfilm 11. He died intestate, TNA PROB 6/139 p 14. This should be distinguished from the death of her eldest son James who died in 1773, also intestate with administration granted to "Susanna Barker, Widow the Relict of the decd" PROB 6/149 p 141, April 1773.

19 LMA, Christ's Hospital Petitions CLC/210/F/003/MS12818A/038 (microfilm) p 114.

20 The word after "Nine years" appears to be "tupwards"; it may mean nine years old at next birthday. The other dependant child was Thomas, aged fourteen at the time of his father's death.

21 LMA, Christ's Hospital Admissions 1756-1771 CLC/210/F/003/MS12818/010 (microfilm), p 203. Note that the date of his christening in the document stated here as 11 October, rather than 15 November 1756, due to the curate of St Clement Danes incorrectly reading across to the adjacent page of the parish register.

22 LMA: COL/CHD/FR/02/0606 Heneage Robinson was free by patrimony of the Musicians' Company 5 December 1738.

23 Broughton by Fenny Stratford parish register, Thomas Gilpin married Ann Montgomery 23 April 1747; this was not Thomas Gilpin the goldsmith.

Barker and his wife had three children: James born on 28 February 1746/7, almost exactly a year after their marriage, and Thomas born on 19 May 1748. Both were christened at St Martin-in-the-Fields. A third son, Robert, was christened at St Clement Danes on 17 November 1756. In all three cases the parents were given as James and Susanna Barker: it would appear that Susan called herself Susanna after her marriage.<sup>17</sup>

In 1762 James Barker died<sup>18</sup> and was buried on 18 August 1762. His death is referred to in the records of Christ's Hospital, a school founded by Edward VI in 1552 for the education of poor children, a role that still continued in the eighteenth century. Documents indicate that the family suffered hard times after his death for, on 7 March 1765, Susanna Barker petitioned<sup>19</sup> the Governors of Christ's Hospital in the following terms:

The Humble Petition of Susanna Barker of the Parish of St Clement Danes in the County of Middlesex, Widow ..... That the petitioner's Husband died near four years ago leaving her in poor circumstances with two children to provide for Therefore ..... [she requested the] admission of one of her children into Christ's Hospital, named Robert Barker of the Age of Nine Years upwards<sup>20</sup> there to be Educated and brought up among other poor Children.

The petition was supported by the minister and churchwardens of St Clement Danes. It mentions that she had two other children for whom she had to provide. At the time of her husband's death, the eldest son James was fifteen; Thomas, who had entered St Paul's School in 1758, was fourteen and the youngest child, Robert, was five and certainly may be regarded as a child.

Susanna Barker was successful in her petition, for the Christ's Hospital Admissions Book<sup>21</sup> records:

Robert Barker son of James Barker Cit[izen] & Joiner decd baptised 11 Oct 1756 Admitted from St Clement Danes Middlesex March 7 1765 Clothed 10 Oct 1766 [signed] Mr Heneage Robinson.<sup>22</sup>

Robert remained at Christ's Hospital until he was fourteen, the Admissions Book then states:

1771 Feb 25 Robert Barker on this day discharged from the Hospital for ever by Susanna Barker the Mother living at Broughton in Buckinghamshire and Robert Underwood Citizen and Fishmonger by trade a watchmaker living in Noble Street Cheapside with whom he is to serve seven years.

The curious feature of this entry is that Susanna Barker was living at Broughton in Buckinghamshire. There are two possible locations in Buckinghamshire: Broughton by Fenny Stratford in the north of the county, where there were Gilpins living,<sup>23</sup> and Bierton with Broughton, just east of Aylesbury. Both are adjacent to Bedfordshire from where the Gilpin family, her mother's family, originated. In whichever Broughton she was residing, it certainly suggests that she was not at that time engaged in the silversmith's trade.

## The Barkers in Gutter Lane

When he was discharged from Christ's Hospital, aged fourteen, Robert Barker was the typical age at which to commence an apprenticeship. His master Robert Underwood, a member of the Fishmongers' Company, was a watchmaker with premises at 2 Noble Street, off Foster Lane.<sup>24</sup> As consideration for taking on his apprentice Robert Underwood received £15, of which £5 was paid by Christ's Hospital, suggesting that Susanna Barker was still in somewhat straitened circumstances.

Robert Barker did not, however, remain with Robert Underwood for long for, on 5 June 1771, he was turned over to Margaret Binley, the widow of Richard Binley who had died in 1764, at 16 Gutter Lane. The apprenticeship was for the standard seven years, with the consideration on the same terms of

£15 whereas £5 is of the charity of Christ's Hospital.

In his apprentice indenture<sup>25</sup> he was described as

Robert Barker, son of James Barker, late of Carey Street in the County of Middlesex, Silversmith Deceased.

The circumstances under which Robert was turned over to Margaret Binley are not known but what is clear is that a link was now established between the Barkers and the premises once occupied by Sandylands Drinkwater.

Robert remained with Margaret Binley at 16 Gutter Lane for the full term of his apprenticeship and became free of the Goldsmiths' Company on 9 July 1778. Fourteen days before that, on 25 June 1778, his mother Susanna registered her mark at Goldsmiths' Hall, as the widow of a goldsmith.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, at about this time she took over responsibility for the payment of taxes at 16 Gutter Lane: the Land Tax assessments show that Margaret Binley paid tax on the premises until 1778/79 and was succeeded in 1779/80 by "Wo [Widow] Barker".

Given that in the 1760s Susanna Barker had been in reduced circumstance and that, in 1771, she was living at Broughton in Buckinghamshire, and that she did not



Fig 1 Wine label, London, circa 1780, by Susanna Barker.



Fig 2 A pair of buttons, London, circa 1780, by Susanna Barker. (Steppes Hill Farm Antiques)



Fig 3 Bougie box, London, 1786, by Susanna Barker. (Woolley & Wallis)

register a mark until the time her son became free, it is likely that she was not a trained silversmith but manager of the business in which Robert executed the work. Whoever was responsible for the work, the Barkers were still held in regard by Susanna's uncle the

goldsmith Thomas Gilpin, who in his will<sup>27</sup> dated 27 June 1778 left money to

Robert Barker, the youngest son of my Niece Susanna late the Wife and now the Widow of James Barker deceased.

Work bearing Susanna Barker's mark continued in the tradition of that which had previously emanated from this workshop in Gutter Lane. There are many wine labels made in a light, neo-classical vein and notable particularly for pierced borders [Fig 1] and some very well engraved buttons [Fig 2]. Her mark is also seen on articles such as sugar tongs and small pieces of hollow-ware<sup>28</sup> including nutmeg graters, mustard pots, snuff boxes and bougie boxes [Fig 3], indicating an expansion of the range offered.

Susanna Barker remained at the premises at 16 Gutter Lane until 1787/88 when she moved diagonally across the street to 29 Gutter Lane, on the corner of Cary

24 LMA, *Kent's Directory* for 1771 (MF4, London Directories Group 1 – 96917/4).

25 LMA, COL/CHD/FR/02/1065 and Goldsmiths' Company Apprentice Register 9 p198. He was free of the Goldsmiths' Company 9 July 1778.

26 Goldsmiths' Company Registers, Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 12, no 2479.

27 TNA, will of Thomas Gilpin, PROB 1062/207, date: 1780.

28 Sale, Christie's 28 May 2002, lot 90 (mustard pot); sale, Woolley & Wallis, 30 October 2007, lot 343 (bougie box) and 25 April 2012, lot 596, (nutmeg grater) are examples.



Lane, where she registered marks<sup>29</sup> in August 1789. She was here until 1793 when she died intestate.<sup>30</sup> Administration was granted in November 1793 to Robert Barker her

actual and lawful son and [by then] only child.

Robert Barker had taken on his only known apprentice, Joseph Biggs,<sup>31</sup> in 1789 but did not register a mark of his own<sup>32</sup> until 20 November 1793, after his mother's death. The tax at these premises was paid for the two years 1794/95 and 1795/96 after his mother's death by "Jno [John] Barker"; this may be a mis-transcription for Robert or it may be a Barker relative. During these two years a few items bearing the mark of Robert Barker are known but no items bearing his mark have been noted after 1795 and thereafter he fades from view. There is no record of his only known apprentice Joseph Biggs, who became free in 1797, being turned over to another master. So Robert Barker may have continued working, perhaps for his successors at these premises.

### Later Occupants: the Hydes and the Reilys

The premises were then successively occupied by further goldsmiths, the Hydes and the Reilys,

29 Goldsmiths' Company Registers, Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 12, no 2480.

30 TNA: PROB 6/169 p 230 November 1793. Her eldest son James had died in 1773.

31 Goldsmiths' Company Apprentice Register 9/195, Joseph Biggs who became free 3 May 1797.

32 Goldsmiths' Company Registers, 23 November 1793, Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 12, no 2274.

33 Brian Beet, 'Thomas Hyde and his Successors', *The Silver Society Journal*, 1998, no 10, pp 16-19.

34 LMA, parish records of St Vedast Foster Lane, James Hyde born 29 January 1748, son of Thomas and Anna Maria Hyde.

35 Guildhall Library, London: Fishmongers' Company records, Register of Freedom Admissions and Apprenticeship Bindings CLC/L/FE/C/010, MS 05576/04.

36 Goldsmiths' Company Registers, Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 12, nos 1380 and 1407.

37 LMA, parish registers St Alban, Wood Street, Mary Ann Grove married James Hyde at St Alban, Wood Street, 18 April 1778. She may have been the Mary Ann Grove born 19 September 1760 and baptised at St Alban, Wood Street on 12 October 1760, which would make her seventeen years old when married.

38 *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 9 November 1799 - 12 November 1799; issue 6537 and in several other newspapers.

39 Sale, Bonhams Knightsbridge, 20 July 2004, part of lot 611; sale, Woolley & Wallis, 22 January 2013, lot 1175.

40 LMA: Parish records of Christ Church, Spitalfields: "James Hyde St Vedast Foster 53 years", buried 17 November 1799.

41 *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, November 9, 1799 - November 12, 1799; issue 6537 and same in other newspapers.

42 LMA, parish records of St Vedast Foster Lane.

43 Goldsmiths' Company Registers and as stated in Grimwade, op cit, see note 12. Mark entered 28 November 1799. LMA, Freedom Admission Papers show John Reily was the son of Richard Reily, glazier, apprenticed to James Hyde, 7 December 1786, free by service of the Fishmongers' Company, 13 February 1794.

44 LMA, St Michael, Queenhithe, Marriage Bonds and Allegations dated 12 February 1801. Parish Registers of Holy Trinity the Less: married on 15 February 1801 John Samuel Reily of St Michael, Queenhithe bachelor and Mary Ann Hyde of St Vedast, Foster Lane widow. Parish registers of St Michael, Queenhithe, John Samuel Reily born 5 December 1772, christened on 1 January 1773. When they married he was twenty nine and his bride maybe forty one; see note 37.

consummately analysed by Brian Beet in an earlier Journal.<sup>33</sup> The Barkers were succeeded by James Hyde who became the taxpayer at 29 Gutter Lane in 1796/97. Hyde was the son of the goldsmith Thomas Hyde<sup>34</sup> and had been made free by patrimony<sup>35</sup> of the Fishmongers' Company on 9 February 1770. He registered marks at Goldsmiths' Hall in 1777 from 10 Gutter Lane and in 1778 from 38 Gutter Lane.<sup>36</sup> He married Mary Ann Grove<sup>37</sup> on 18 April 1778 and he was already sufficiently prominent for the event to be recorded in the press.<sup>38</sup> He continued at 38 Gutter Lane until 1795/96 but due to rebuilding work he had to move to 29 Gutter Lane.

Although Hyde took over premises which had previously been occupied by successors to the business started by Sandylands Drinkwater, his was an established, separate business but one that had considerable similarities to that of the previous occupants of the premises. Hyde's mark appears mainly on smallwares and on items such as wine labels and nutmeg graters and occasionally on slightly larger items, such as a teapot stand or a spirit flask.<sup>39</sup> The range of extant items does not, however, suggest a major manufacturing operation although he was recorded as taking on five apprentices during his working life, more than the Binleys or the Barkers ever did. He died<sup>40</sup> in November 1799, and was buried on 17 November 1799. His death was due to

the cramp in his stomach, occasioned by having a severe complaint in his bowels, and having caught cold on the water on Lord-Mayor's Day ..... he has left a large young family.<sup>41</sup>

Indeed it would appear that there were as many as nine surviving children who ranged in age from eighteen down to a one year old, with five children under ten years old.<sup>42</sup> His widow Mary Hyde wasted little time in entering a mark<sup>43</sup> at Goldsmiths' Hall, less than a fortnight after her husband's death; this was in conjunction with John Reily, who had been apprenticed to her late husband in 1786. The address was given as 6 Cary Lane which was on the corner with Gutter Lane and looks as if it was a renaming or expansion of 29 Gutter Lane, not different premises: the Land Tax Registers indicate no change of premises from that occupied by her late husband.

Mary Hyde and her younger business partner John Reily were married<sup>44</sup> fifteen months later in February 1801. He was twenty seven and she was probably about forty one. Subsequent marks were entered at this address by John Reily alone. The first was on 20 February 1801, five days after his marriage to Mary Hyde; he also took over from his new wife responsibility for the payment of the Land Tax.



Fig 4 Nutmeg grater, London, 1812, by John Reily.  
(Bonhams)

Under John Reily the business started to expand. A court case<sup>45</sup> of February 1802 revealed that, at that time, he employed Henry Hawkins who had been apprenticed to James Hyde in 1795 and had become free of the Fishmongers' Company in 1802. Another apprentice was Nathaniel Phillips; William Key who was working for him as a journeyman may be the same William Key who had registered a mark as a smallworker in the Barbican on 1 December 1783. Between 1801 and 1826 Reily took on four other apprentices as well as his two sons John and Charles were also apprenticed to him;<sup>46</sup> it was Charles who ultimately took over the business.

It is clear that John Reily had the necessary assistance to operate a small manufacturing operation. The emphasis was still on smallwares, particularly good quality nutmeg graters [Fig 4], snuff boxes and vinaigrettes; also wine labels. In addition the firm was associated with the distinctive Dogget's badges<sup>47</sup> associated with the Fishmongers' Company to which the Hydes and the Reilys belonged.

John Reily continued at the premises until his death<sup>48</sup> on 8 May 1826 when Mary Reily, widowed for the second time, entered, on 31 May 1826, a joint mark<sup>49</sup> with their son Charles. Two and a half years later, on 1 January 1829, Charles Reily entered a mark at the same address in partnership with George Storer, who had been an apprentice of his own father John Reily.

Under the partnership of Charles Reily and George Storer, the business expanded considerably. In the twenty two years of their partnership they took on eleven, maybe twelve, apprentices. The firm also had the assistance of journeymen at certain times, in addition to apprentices. Another court case<sup>50</sup> revealed that one Thomas Hudson had been employed in 1830 although he had been let go as the firm was then "slack of business"; he was indicted for removing four silver shells in an unfinished state. The unfinished state of the silver shells and George Storer's statement that "[I] superintend the manufactory" clearly indicates that the partners were running a manufacturing operation; it also might suggest that Charles Reily's role was to provide the sales and entrepreneurial aspects.

The increased scale of business is reflected in the number of apprentices they are known to have employed, taking on an average of one every 2.4 years. Indeed, this is the greatest frequency of any of the occupants of 16 Gutter Lane or 29 Gutter Lane/6 Cary Lane over the one hundred and twenty years reviewed in this article, as shown in the table below [Fig 5].

The table shows the number of apprentices taken on by each goldsmith during their working lives. The final

45 The Proceedings of the Old Bailey [www.oldbaileyonline.org](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org), William Key, theft, 17 February 1802, ref t18020217-8. Mention is made of William Key's earlier premises in the Barbican and he states "of late years my mental faculties have been much impaired". The William Key who registered a mark in 1783 gave an address in the Barbican.

46 St Vedast, Foster Lane parish registers, John Reily born 18 June 1802, Charles Reily, born 1803, christened 6 July 1803, both sons of John Samuel and Mary Ann Reily.

47 As note 33.

48 Guildhall Library, Fishmongers' Company MS05578/02, death of John Reily, 8 May 1826. LMA, St Vedast Foster Lane, parish records, buried 15 May 1826. Goldsmiths' Company Registers, Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 12

49 Goldsmiths' Company Registers, Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 12.

50 The Proceedings of the Old Bailey [www.oldbaileyonline.org](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org), 17 February 1831, ref no t18310217-73 where George Storer states "I am in partnership with Mr Reily, and superintend the manufactory".

APPRENTICES EMPLOYED		Years in business	No of apprentices	Years/ apprentices
Sandylands Drinkwater	1731-1760	29	7	4.1
Richard Binley	1737-1764	27	3	9.0
Margaret Binley	1764-1779	15	2	7.5
Susanna/Robert Barker	1779/1793	14	1	14.0
James Hyde	1777-1799	22	5	4.4
John Reily	1801-1826	25	7	3.6
Chas Reily & George Storer	1827-1852	26	11	2.4

Fig 5 Table showing the apprentices employed by the business.





Fig 6 Vinaigrette, parcel-gilt, London, 1855, by Charles Reily and George Storer.  
(Bonhams)

column shows the average number of years between taking on a new apprentice. This may be an indicator of the scale of the activity and, if so, on this basis it would indicate that the successful business of Sandyland Drinkwater was followed by increasingly smaller operations, particularly during the time of the Binleys and the Barkers, before the expansion of activity under John Reily and, increasingly, under Charles Reily.

Charles Reily and George Storer may have experienced "slack of business" in 1830 but it appears to have been a temporary setback, for the firm took on an increased number of apprentices, and the business continued until 1852. The mark of this partnership is, as with the business of John Reily, found on small items such as vinaigrettes [Fig 6], boxes and wine labels, which are often of particularly fine quality.

Their mark is also found, from the 1840s onwards, on an increasingly ambitious variety of hollow-wares although it is possible that some of these



Fig 7 Sugar vase and cover, London, 1843, by Charles Reily and George Storer.  
(Bonhams)



Fig 8 Wine cooler, London, 1850, by Charles Reily and George Storer.  
(The Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

larger items may have been bought in to add to those manufactured in-house. The style of these larger items reflect the

fashions of the time and range from naturalism, classical copies and gothic revival through to traditional bulbous Victorian. Examples of such hollow-wares are a sugar vase [Fig 7], a wine cooler [Fig 8], and a ewer [Fig 9]; ewers and claret jugs with their mark appear frequently. In this connection, Alastair Dickenson notes<sup>51</sup>

The highly accomplished makers Charles Reily and George Storer were amongst the first to make silver mounted glass claret jugs which date from the 1830's. These are amongst the finest examples to be found with superb quality glass matched by equally impressive silver or silver-gilt mounts.

### The end of the business

At the beginning of April 1852 the *London Gazette* carried a notice<sup>52</sup> stating that on 31 March 1852

the Partnership between the undersigned, Charles Reily and George Storer, in the trade or business of Manufacturing



Fig 9 Ewer, London, 1840, by Charles Reily and George Storer.  
(The Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

51 On the website [www.alastairdickenson.co.uk](http://www.alastairdickenson.co.uk) July 2015.

52 *London Gazette*, Friday 2 April 1852, issue 21306, p 970.

Silversmiths, carried on at No. 6, Cary-lane, Goldsmiths' Hall, London, under the firm of Reily and Storer, was this day dissolved by mutual consent.

Charles Reily was forty eight<sup>53</sup> and George Storer fifty five and they may have had enough of the trade or made sufficient money to retire. They vacated their Cary Lane premises and were replaced there by other occupants not in the silver trade.<sup>54</sup> This marked the end of a line of businesses in Gutter Lane stretching back over 120 years.

Charles Reily may have had other occupations apart from silversmithing. In the 1861 census, when he was living in Ticehurst, Sussex, he was described as a "proprietor of various funds". What these funds were is not presently known but he may have been a director of the St Austell Consols Copper and Tin Mine.<sup>55</sup> Ten years later the 1871 census records that he was living in his retirement home: the Priory, Nevill Park, Speldhurst, Kent; he was described as having "no occupation" although he is recorded as playing a part in various social activities of the community. He remained at his residence until his death<sup>56</sup> on 2 May 1893 at the grand age of eighty nine.

Revised probate<sup>57</sup> of January 1894 shows that Charles Reily's estate amounted to a substantial £183,750 1s 7d. How much of this wealth was derived from his silversmithing and related activities, and how much from his financial entrepreneurial activities, is not known. The sum was certainly significantly more than the personal estate of £1,323 15s left by his former partner George Storer.<sup>58</sup> He too was long lived: he was ninety one when he died.<sup>59</sup> Maybe the atmosphere around Goldsmiths' Hall was clement but more likely their longevity was the result of healthy retirement in the country.

### Acknowledgements:

My thanks to David Beasley for advice and assistance and to Eleni Bide and Sophia Tobin at the Goldsmiths' Company Library; to Peter Cameron for suggestions and inspiration and to the staff of the Guildhall Library, London, and the London Metropolitan Archives, for their ready response to requests.

*Bruce Jones, formerly engaged in investment research in the City of London, now has time for the equally engaging activity of silver research and is Co-Editor of the Wine Label Circle Journal.*

### APPENDIX: Apprentices of James Hyde, Robert and Margaret Binley, Robert Barker, John Reily and Charles Reily and George Storer

These details are from LMA (London Metropolitan Archive), Freedom of the City Admission Papers and Register of Duty Paid for Apprentices;

www.ancestry.com; the Guildhall Library, London; the Fishmongers' Company records, Apprentices Presentment Books CLC/L/FE/C/021, MS21508; Register of Freedom Admissions and Apprenticeship Bindings CLC/L/FE/C/010, MS 05576/04; Alphabetical lists of members CLC/L/FE/C/008, MS05578 and from the Goldsmiths' Company records. The details are listed here as many do not appear in Grimwade, particularly those associated with the Fishmongers' Company.

### Apprentices of James Hyde:

**George Grove**, son of Richard Grove, clockmaker, apprenticed 10 December 1779, no consideration money given. Free of the Fishmongers' Company 8 February 1787.

**Charles Cure Higgins**, son of William Higgins deceased, 1 August 1780, no consideration money given.

**John [Samuel] Reily**, son of Richard Reily, glazier, 7 December 1786, consideration £26 5s. Free of the Fishmongers' Company 13 February 1794. Marks: Grimwade<sup>60</sup> nos 1627-8 and 2033.

**John Robert Brown**, son of Norman Brown, baker, 6 March 1788, consideration £31 10s. Free of the Fishmongers' Company 16 April 1795.

**Henry Hawkins**, son of Samuel Hawkins of the Prerogative Office (Doctors Commons), 16 April 1795, consideration £8, the gift of Edmund Arnold Esq deceased, paid by the Rev Edmund Gibson, the Treasurer of the Parish of Saint Bennett, Pauls Wharf. Free of the Fishmongers' Company 20 May 1802.

### Apprentices of Richard Binley:

**James Burn**, son of Robert Burn, deceased, 9 March 1747, consideration £5.

53 LMA, St Vedast parish records, Charles Reily, born 6 July 1803; www.ancestry.com England & Wales, Non-Conformist and Non-Parochial Registers, 1567-1970 Piece 4208 St James Clerkenwell Cotess of Huntingdon 1815-1824, George Storer born 9 February 1797.

54 LMA, Land Tax assessments for the Ward of Farringdon Within, CLC/525/ MS11316/442 which shows in that 1852 the premises at 6 Cary Lane were occupied by Kay & Richardson, Manchester warehousemen as recorded in the Post Office Directory 1853 (LMA, MF87, vol 268), where Roberts & Williamson, warehousemen were also recorded at that address.

55 *London Daily News*, 22 November 1852, reported a share issue of the St Austell Consols Copper and Tin Mine. Among the directors was Charles Reily of Streatham Common. He may have moved there after leaving Cary Lane although both the census for 1841 and that for 1851 show him as residing in Islington, so this may well be a different Charles Reily.

56 NPC, death of Charles Reily, 2 May 1893.

57 NPC, London Registry 1893 shows a revised January 1894 estate of £183,750 1s 7d.

58 NPC, Oxford Registry, 27 March 1888, personal estate of George Storer £1323 15 0d

59 NPC, death of George Storer 19 February 1888.

60 Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 12.

**Matthew Marten**, 2 October 1754, consideration £15.

**Joshua Jackson**, son of Joseph Jackson, apothecary, 5 May 1762. Turned over to Samuel Meriton 7 June 1764 "by consent of Margaret the Wido[w] ... of the Master decd". Consideration not stated. Free of the Goldsmiths' Company 7 June 1769. Marks Grimwade nos 1427 and 1436.

### **Apprentices of Margaret Binley:**

**Robert Barker**, son of James Barker, deceased, goldsmith, 5 June 1771 (turned over from Robert Underwood to whom he was initially apprenticed February 1771), consideration £15. Free of the Goldsmiths' Company 9 July 1778. Mark Grimwade no 2274.

**Benjamin Hyatt**, son of Anthony Hyatt, 5 June 1765, consideration £12.

### **Apprentices of Susanna Barker:** None.

### **Apprentices of Robert Barker:**

**Joseph Biggs**, son of Thomas Biggs, gentleman, 6 May 1789, consideration £20. Free by service of the Goldsmiths' Company 3 May 1797. Mark Grimwade no 1166.

### **Apprentices of John Samuel Reily:**

**Nathaniel Phillips**, no record found but mentioned in an Old Bailey trial on 17 February 1802 as an apprentice of John Reily.

**Daniel Hockly**, son of Thomas Hockley, oilman, 25 March 1801, consideration £30. Free of the Fishmongers' Company 7 April 1808. Marks Grimwade nos 470 and 473.

**George Pearson**, son of John Pearson, a mathematical instrument maker in Islington, 6 December 1804, consideration faithful service. Free of the Fishmongers' Company 13 February 1812. Mark Grimwade no 871.

**Henry Todd**, son of Henry Todd, victualler, 29 May 1810, consideration £15 15s

**George Storer**, son of Robert Storer of Islington, watchmaker, 16 May 1811, consideration £21. Free of the Fishmongers' Company 1 August 1818. (Note: corrected in Grimwade appendix; incorrectly transcribed as Slover in [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) freedom records). Mark Grimwade no 413.

**John Reily**, apprenticed to his father John Samuel Reily, goldsmith, 1 August 1816. Free (by patrimony) of the Fishmongers' Company 31 October 1823.

**Charles Reily**, apprenticed to his father John Samuel Reily, Goldsmith, 29 September 1817. Free (by patrimony) of Fishmongers' Company 26 October 1824. Grimwade nos 413 and 2066.

### **Apprentices of Charles Reily/George Storer:**

**George John Richards**, son of William Richards, Assay Master Goldsmiths' Hall, apprenticed to Charles Reily, 16 February 1832, consideration £40. Possibly free by patrimony 6 February 1839, mark Grimwade no 887. A silversmith of this name is noted by Culme<sup>61</sup> (p 386) in 1845-50 in Seckford Street at Richards & Brown.

**Job Clark**, son of Job Clark, carpenter, apprenticed to George Storer, 4 June 1833, consideration being faithful service.

**James Ford**, son of Robert Ford, street packer deceased, apprenticed to Charles Reily 25 March 1836, consideration £50. Free of the Fishmongers' Company 13 March 1851.

**Alfred Ivory**, son of George Ivory, silversmith, apprenticed to Charles Reily 13 June 1839, consideration faithful service. Free of the Fishmongers' Company 15 April 1847. In 1861 succeeded Elizabeth Ivory who had in turn succeeded George Ivory (Culme p 252).

**Robert Charles White**, son of – White [forename not stated], deceased, apprenticed to George Storer 18 June 1839, consideration faithful service.

**Lewis Daniel Gibaud**, son of Lewis Gibaud of 17 Fountain Place, silver chaser, apprenticed to George Storer 12 March 1840, consideration faithful service. Free of the Fishmongers' Company 15 April 1847, with declaration that on 13 June 1839 he was apprenticed to Charles Reily.

**Thomas Atkin Green**, son of Thomas Green, silversmith, apprenticed to Charles Reily 28 May 1840, consideration faithful service.

**William Charnock**, son of James Charnock, silversmith, apprenticed to George Storer 28 May 1840, consideration faithful service.

**Frederick William Storer** of 8 Meadow Street, Stoke Newington, son of Frederick William Storer, stationer, apprenticed to George Storer 9 March 1844, consideration faithful service.

**Thomas Charnock**, son of James Charnock, silversmith, apprenticed to George Storer 12 September 1844, consideration faithful service.

**George Hyde Reily**, son of Charles Reily, silver plate manufacturer, apprenticed to his father Charles Reily 23 September 1845, consideration natural affection.

**George Alfred Stokes**, may have been apprenticed to Charles Reily but no record found.

<sup>61</sup> John Culme, *The Directory of Gold and Silversmiths, Jewellers and Allied Trades 1838-1914: from the London Assay Office Registers*, Woodbridge, 1987.



# A lemon tree for the Prime Minister's table?

## Two drawings in Dresden for a silver centrepiece for Heinrich, Count von Brühl

MAUREEN CASSIDY-GEIGER

A visit to the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden in 2014, to look at a group of designs for Meissen porcelain centrepieces circa 1750-55, by chance yielded the two sheets now published here [Figs 1 and 2]. They sequentially follow the Meissen designs in the departmental inventory and were fortuitously included among the others I had requested.<sup>1</sup> Unmarked and unlabelled, the catalogue record for them is brief:

vor 1742 / von Graf Brühl.

Count Brühl was the porcelain-loving Prime Minister of Augustus III of Saxony who, following the model of his predecessor, Count Sulkowski, commissioned a representational dessert service in Meissen porcelain, known today as the *Schwanenservice* or Swan Service, which dates from 1736-42.<sup>2</sup> The inventory taken at Brühl's death in 1763 indicates that he owned at least seven Meissen porcelain services. Johanna Lessmann was the first to identify elements of the so-called *Allerlei* service, produced between 1742 and 1746. Her work was furthered in 2004 by Thomas Miltschus in his unpublished MA thesis, *Das 'Brühlsche Allerlei', Ein Tafelservice der Königlichen Porzellanmanufaktur Meissen der 1740er Jahre* (University of Leipzig).<sup>3</sup> A large portion



Fig 1 Drawing for a surtout, pencil and watercolour.  
(Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, inv. no C-6660)



Fig 2 Drawing for a surtout, pencil and watercolour.  
(Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, inv. no C-6661)



Fig 3 Tureens and other elements from the *Allerlei* service, Meissen porcelain, 1742-46.

(Courtesy of Sotheby's, New York)

1 The Meissen designs, inventoried as C-6644 – C-6659, are largely unknown; some correspond to the large Meissen fountain and related elements in the V&A which have recently been researched and restored for exhibition in the new European galleries. I brought these drawings to the attention of Reino Liefke, who will include them in the published results of his study.

2 For general background, see Ulrich Pietsch (ed), *Schwanenservice / Meissener Porzellan für Heinrich Graf von Brühl*, Dresden, 2000.

3 Johanna Lessmann, 'Das 'Brühlsche Allerlei' – Ein Service für Heinrich Graf von Brühl, *Schwanen Service*' (note 2), pp 106-123 and 203-209.

Mr Miltschus is preparing his work for publication.

4 Christina Prescott-Walker kindly provided information and images of the part-service offered in 2014.

5 Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, 'The Hof-Conditoire in Dresden: Traditions and Innovations in Sugar and Porcelain', Ulrich Pietsch and Claudia Banz (eds), *Triumph of the Blue Swords: Meissen Porcelain for Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie 1710-1815*, Dresden/Leipzig, 2010, pp 120-131; Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, 'Innovations and the Ceremonial Table in Saxony, 1719-1747', Peter-Michael Hahn / Ulrich Schütte (eds): *Zeichen und Raum. Ausstattungen und höfisches Zeremoniell in den deutschen Schlössern der Frühen Neuzeit*, Munich/Berlin, 2006, pp 135-162; Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts, ca 1710-63*, New Haven and London, 2007.

6 Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, 'Ein neues silbern Französisches Tafel Service: Linking the Penthievre-Orléans service to Dresden', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 22, 2007, pp 123-152.

7 Ellenor Alcorn kindly directed me to a visually relevant comparison in Alain Gruber, *Silverware*, New York, 1982, p 189, cat no 268.

of the *Allerlei* service came on to the market in 1997 at Sotheby's and the auction house offered another part of the service in New York in November 2014 [Fig 3].<sup>4</sup>

While the Swan Service included an imposing *surtout*, known only through photographs, and a few surviving elements, the only evidence of a centrepiece for the *Allerlei* service is in the 1763 inventory:

Eine grose Plat de Menage mit einem Blumen Busche.

A third porcelain service owned by the Prime Minister had Asian style decoration and the inventory indicates that its centrepiece featured a lemon basket; there was also a smaller stand with cruets for oil and vinegar and containers for mustard and sugar. Each of these Meissen services had single and double salt cellars, some mimicking shells, a conceit likely to have been adopted from the knowledge of precedents in silver.

Given the Brühl provenance for these two renderings and the suggested date of "vor 1742", it is possible they represent designs for a silver centrepiece for a longed-for silver service or even for the *Allerlei* service. Before 1742 Meissen porcelain was deemed too precious for dining and was used chiefly for representational purposes and diplomatic gifts.<sup>5</sup> It is therefore possible that the Swan Service was deployed in its entirety as a grand centrepiece while the Count and his guests used silver for the savory courses and lesser porcelains or faience for the dessert. While the Swan Service was in production the Count made enquiries in Paris about the availability of a high-style silver service for his dining table. This brought to Dresden descriptions, designs and, potentially, the Thomas Germain tureens later owned by the Penthievre-Orléans family, which may have influenced the appearance of the *Allerlei* service.<sup>6</sup> The *Allerlei* service incorporated two- and three-dimensional edible elements and flowers in its decoration, a conceit that would have married well with the silver *surtout* represented in the drawings. Although the drawings were grouped with the Meissen porcelain designs, the appearance and colouring of the various elements and the gilded interiors of the salt cellar suggest the ensemble was intended to be fabricated in silver, not porcelain.<sup>7</sup> Whether the citrus tree, bearing flowers and fruit, would have been alive or trompe-l'oeil is not clear. The colourful Mannerist elements, that is, the tiny owl and mouse, a spider in its web, a salamander, a snail, various insects, and the weeds and vines, could help identify the origins of the drawings. The crown atop the blank armorial suggests the designer had a royal customer in mind.

Maureen Cassidy-Geiger is an internationally recognized curator, scholar and educator with special expertise in European decorative arts and the court of Dresden. She is currently planning an exhibition, with Dirk Syndram and the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, on the Italian tour of Friedrich Christian (1722-63), Crown Prince of Saxony/Poland, in 1738-40, in conjunction with the publication of his travel diaries in 2017 (for transcriptions of the diaries and background, see [comtedelusace.wordpress.com](http://comtedelusace.wordpress.com)). Her most recent publication, however, is a history of the 50-acre modernist compound in New Canaan, Connecticut known by the name of its iconic centerpiece, the Glass House (1948-49): The Philip Johnson Glass House: An Architect in the Garden (Skira/Rizzoli, 2016). [wellesley.academia.edu/maureencassidygeiger](http://wellesley.academia.edu/maureencassidygeiger)



# Lewis Cuny and Henry Hebert, goldsmiths

1663 to 1733 to 1764

JUDY JOWETT

There is little doubt that Lewis (Louis) Cuny, a Huguenot goldsmith, came from France, possibly from the north-eastern region: records show members of a Cuny family of goldsmiths residing in Nettancourt in Champagne in the 1690s. The children of this family, some of whom later moved to Metz, bear similar baptismal names to those of Lewis Cuny's family as is recorded by Wolfgang Scheffler;<sup>1</sup> in each case they are designated as French. Champagne, with Dieppe at its centre, was an area which had historically attracted the goldsmithing fraternity.

Lewis Cuny probably came to London in the 1690s as his name appears, together with those of other important French craftsmen, in the denization list of 8 May 1697.<sup>2</sup> He was listed in the Parish Rate records for St Martin-in-the-Fields in 1696 as "Lewis Coney" and as resident in Panton Street, a "good open street, inhabited by tradesmen",<sup>3</sup> so it is safe to assume that he had arrived in London quite some time before his denization.<sup>4</sup> He married Elizabeth (maiden name unknown) and their first child, Catherine (Katherine), for whom there is no baptismal record, was followed by a further nine children, of whom only Catherine, Samuel, James and Esther survived into adulthood.<sup>5</sup>

Aged around thirty on his arrival in London, Cuny was probably a skilled craftsman. Goldsmiths' Company

records show that he appeared before the Wardens in 1695/6 when he confessed to selling sub-standard gold and silverware for which he was fined 9s 6d.<sup>6</sup> Of course it is also possible that he was working for French compatriots prior to the date of his denization. Reading between the lines it would seem that he was intent on settling in England from the start, unlike many Huguenots who had initially fled to England in the hope, based on a promise made by an unreliable French government, that the situation on the Continent would improve and that they would be able to return to their native country in due course. It soon became apparent that a safe return to France would not be possible.<sup>7</sup>

Cuny was active within the Huguenot community in London and in 1695 stood as godfather and sponsor to Louis, son of André de Raveleu from the Languedoc; he also stood as witness to the marriages of Louis Pearson, "Metteur en oeuvre et joellier by the sign of the Cok", and Daniel Chausse in 1705 and 1706 respectively.<sup>8</sup> In 1709, he was also witness to the naturalisation of Ezekias Le Ber, a friend and neighbour in Panton Street.<sup>9</sup>

On 1 December 1703 Cuny was made free of the Goldsmiths' Company by redemption at the 'Order' of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, thereby becoming a citizen of London; he registered his first

BL: British Library, the Burney Collection of Early Newspapers  
GL: Guildhall Library, City of London  
HP: Huguenot Publications  
GC: Goldsmiths' Company  
LMA: London Metropolitan Archives  
TNA: The National Archives  
WAC: Westminster Archive Centre

<sup>1</sup> Wolfgang Scheffler, Daren Werke Zeichen, Verlag Bruno Hessling, *Berliner Goldschmiede*, Berlin, 1968, p 47, no 232 lists: Jacob Cuny, son of a refugee goldsmith Samuel Cuny and N Thiriort, married Esther Cuny, daughter of Jacob Cuny and Magdalene Collivaux (French). Their children were: Samuel (born Nettancourt, 9 June 1695) whose father/godfather was Samuel Cuny, merchant; Marguerite (born 11 November 1698); p 69, no 356 Samuel Cuny (born Nettancourt, Champagne, 1 September 1707) son of the goldsmith Daniel Cuny and Susan Thiriort, married Anne de Marsal of Metz (d 21 October 1729, aged 47 yrs) on 1 July 1707. Their children were born between 1709 and 1712 and

included Jean (born 21 October 1729; no 372) Daniel Cuny (born Nettancourt, Champagne 1683) brother of Samuel (see no 356) and son of Daniel Cuny and Susanne Thiriort, m Anne Simmonet (died 11 November 1713, aged 39 yrs) of Nettancourt on 21 August 1708, their children were born between 1711 and 1713, p 7, a later Cuny family based in Metz; p 165, no 759, Isaac Cuny (born 23 August 1723); p 153, no 836, Paul Cuny master silversmith (born 11 April 1723) son of Pierre [Cuny] and Marie Anne Dumée (born in Metz) married Anne, daughter of Philippe Sarre of Berlin, on 5 May 1755.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis Cuny's denization was not ratified by an Act of Naturalisation. Other well known goldsmiths included with him on the denization list were John Chartier, Peter Dufour, John Chenevie[sic], John Lestourgeon and his two sons John and David, John James Girod and his family. John Le Sage was designated 15 April 1693 (p 230). Cuny probably married Elizabeth in England otherwise her name, and

that of their first child, Catherine (Katherine), would have appeared with his on the denization list (HP, 1911, vol 18, p 247). An early record gives a Louys Cuny, whose parents were Jean Cuny and Marguerite Bruneseaux, born 18 July 1693 and baptised in Meurthe-et-Moselle, Lorraine, France (Pedigree Resource File. [familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.2/9HJK-21C](http://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.2/9HJK-21C)).

<sup>3</sup> [www.british-history.ac.uk](http://www.british-history.ac.uk): St Martin-in-the-Fields/Panton Street and Oxenden Street.

<sup>4</sup> WAC, St Martin-in-the-Fields Poor Rate, Suffolk Street Ward & Out Book, M/F 1664, f1227, p 11

<sup>5</sup> There is no record of Elizabeth's surname nor of her marriage to Lewis. It may have taken place in the early to mid 1690s when Catherine, their first child was born. (Catherine's child-bearing years came to an end circa 1735, making her about 40, i.e. born circa 1695). The other children were Samuel, baptised 25 September 1696, James, baptised 1702 and Esther

baptised, 19 September 1711. For all the other children's details see [www.familyhistory.online](http://www.familyhistory.online)

<sup>6</sup> GC, Court Book, 1688-1708, vol. 10 f 125R. Entry date 29 February 1695/6.

<sup>7</sup> HP, 1928, vol 31, p xiii (Introduction), Castle Street Register. Hungerford Castle Market chapel merged with Castle Street chapel and was then incorporated into St Martin-in-the-Fields' parish.

<sup>8</sup> HP, vol 19, p 51, the Tabernacle, Glasshouse Street, 10 March 1695 Louis Cuny/Louys Cuny; Hungerford Castle Street Chapel; vol 31, p 44, 2 October 1705 Louis Pearson of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Suffolk Street married Elizabeth Millet; West Street church/Eglises Petit Charenton, vol 32, p 39, 21 December 1706 Daniel Chausse married Louise Millet.

<sup>9</sup> HP, Denizations and Naturalisations 1603-1700, vol 18, p 313: Ezechial[sic] Le Ber and his wife Anne.



mark at this time.<sup>10</sup> He again appeared in front of the Wardens at Goldsmiths' Hall on 28 April 1708 for selling sub-standard pieces and on this occasion was fined 6s 6d.<sup>11</sup> The following October he was, however, elected a liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company and on this occasion his name was spelt "Caney".<sup>12</sup> On 7 April 1708 he took on his first apprentices: John Hugues Le Sage and James Ray, the latter was turned over to him.<sup>13</sup> On 14 November 1710 his eldest son Samuel was apprenticed to him; he was later turned over to Daniel Shawe a lorimer (bit and spur maker). A few days later Samuel Gribelin was also apprenticed to him.<sup>14</sup> Cuny was to take on two further apprentices: Edward Sheffield in 1713 and Isaac Basire who was turned over to him in 1717.<sup>15</sup> Once an apprenticeship had terminated it was quite common for the apprentice to move on, as John Le Sage did in 1718. Cuny registered a possible second sterling mark circa 1720.<sup>16</sup>

By 1711 business was sufficiently prosperous for Cuny, "a Goldsmith" of Pantan Street, to insure his goods through a "ffrench" policy with the Sun insurance company. His close neighbour, Hezekiah[sic] Le Ber, a periwigmaker, whose naturalisation had been witnessed by him and who was later to witness his will, insured his "Goods" at about the same date.<sup>17</sup>

At some time between 1714 and 1716 Cuny, his family and apprentices, moved across Hedge Lane (later Whitcomb Street) to the Three Crowns, the first house on the south side of Spur Street.<sup>18</sup> Still in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, this was a stone's throw from the more sophisticated and diverse area of Leicester Fields (now Leicester Square) and the location

provided him with shop space and accommodation for his apprentices and children who were teenagers by this time. He became an elder of the French church of the Savoy at about this time (see note 31).

During these years, apart from what must have been a hectic business life, Cuny was active in the community: in 1710 the "Three Crowns, Pantan Street" was used as the address from which tickets could be obtained for Mr Berger's sale of gold and silver work<sup>19</sup> and for a sale of

fine brocaded Silk, furbelow'd Scarves and Aprons, after the newest Fashion ... with diverse things too tedious to infer, at 2s 6d. per Ticket.<sup>20</sup>

#### Other sales included

silver fruit dishes, finely polished, a silver Bohea-tea pot, lamp & stand, salvers, tankards, canisters, porringers, silver snuff-boxes, gold rings and salts ... sold by lots.

There is no indication that any of these items were from Cuny's stock but it would have been an easy and economical means of selling his own wares and certainly, when people visited his shop to acquire tickets, there would have been the temptation to make a purchase.<sup>21</sup> This seems to have been a short-lived exercise which was not repeated.

The ensuing years show "Cuny Lewis, Goldsmith" in an alphabetical list of those insured in 1714 by the Sun-Fire Office, London<sup>22</sup> and advertising that he had "stopt" a piece of a silver candlestick so that anyone bringing the other piece, proving it was their own, could collect it by "paying the Charges".<sup>23</sup> In the *Freeholder's Journal* of April 1722 "Cuny, Lewis" was

10 GC: Court Book 1688-1708, vol 10, f 266R. October 1703 Lewis Cuny was presented by "Order of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen" and "admitted into the freedom of this City by Redemption in the Compy of Goldsmiths paying to the Chamberlain for the City's use 46s 8d". Cuny's "Certificate of Denization dated 15 May 1697" signed by a Notary Public was read out. After two friends had nominated Cuny and he had paid the £10 fee, he was "admitted into the freedom of the Company by Redemption pursuant to the ... Order". GC, Largeworkers' Book, 15 April 1697-25 May 1739, A, no 1 GC, Freemen by Servitude & Patrimony, vol 1 1694-1741: "Lewis Cuny was this day made free of ye said Company by redemption December 1 1703", first mark 1 December 1703 "Lewis Cuny in Pantan Street".

11 Ibid, Court Book 1688-1708, vol 10, p 337.

12 Ibid, Court Book 1688-1708. At the time names were spelt phonetically (with frequent mistranscription of records) resulting in several versions of Cuny: Caney, Cogny, Coney, Coney, De Cuney, Qnay. Sometimes referred to as Louys [de] Cuny there are records for a large family with surname "Louys" but no connection has been found between the two families.

13 John Hugues Le Sage was apprenticed 7 April 1708 (GC, Apprentice Book 4, 1690-1708, p 121; Judy Jowett, 'The Le Sage family of Goldsmiths circa 1695 to 1812', *Silver Studies The Journal of the Silver Society*, no 28, pp 153-172). James Ray was also apprenticed 7 April 1708 (GC, Apprentice Book 5, 1708-1722, p 3); he was the son of Ramon Ray of Westminster. "Jacob/Joseph" Ray goldsmith insolvent 1725" (Sir Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths, 1200-1800*, Cambridge, 1972, p 230). No further record of Ray has been found.

14 Samuel Gribelin, son of Simon Gribelin (engraver) and Anne (Mettayer) (born 1691, died 1733 Le Patente church Soho), apprenticed 13 November 1710. Father and son, perhaps originating from Blois, were important engravers and worked with Paul de Lamerie and others. Samuel supplied engravings for Alexander Pope, (GC, Apprentice Book 4, 1690-1708, p 21 and LMA, UK Registers of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures 1710-1811). Samuel Cuny was apprenticed 14 November 1710 (GC, Freemen by Servitude & Patrimony Book, vol 1, 1694-1741, p 21) and became free 19 June 1718 (GC, Freedom Book 1, p 93); Goldsmiths Hall records him as "free by service" on 12 November 1724 (GC: Freedom by Servitude & Patrimony Book, vol 1, 1694-1741, p 42). Edward

Sheffield, son of Edward Sheffield citizen and blacksmith, 22 May 1713. No further record of Sheffield has been found.

15 Isaac Basire was turned over to Cuny 26 April 1717 (GC, Apprentice Book 5, p 77). Isaac, son of James Basire of St James Westminster Gentleman, was originally apprenticed to Samuel David Jollason of St James Westminster, "Ingraver" on 17 November 1710 (LMA, UK Registers of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures 1710-1811 and GC, Apprentice Book 1, p 77R). Isaac Basire, engraver and widower residing in Islington at his death in 1770, left a substantial estate: to his son James £100 in 4% Consols, his gold watch, a pair of silver sauceboats and his books, to his daughter Mary (wife of David Caddell of Gold Street, gentleman) £200 in 4% Consols, a silver coffee pot, silver waiter, silver pint mug and pictures, to his son John Basire £200 in 4% Consols, "all my presses and the appurtenances that belong to the printing Business" and furniture, to his daughter Ann £100 in 3% Consols. To Sarah Gibbons (née Basire but now Ashby) bookcases, to his granddaughter Harriet Gibbons £100 in 4% Consols, a pair of silver salts and a silver pepper box, to his grandson Edward Gibbons £20 and four of the best tablepoons, to William Gibbons a small bureau(?), to his friend Benjamin £20, to Sarah Morris £20 and "all the

furniture of her room, all wearing apparel, silver ring, a ½ pint silver mug, 2 best silver spoons" if she looks after him until his death (TNA: PROB 11/958/11).

16 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837 Their Marks & Lives*, London, 1990, sterling mark no 3715, in unregistered section.

17 LMA, MS11936, vol 1, p 137, SI769 (French policies): Cuny, Lewis; MS11936, vol 6, SI706: Hezekiah Le Ber

18 WAC, St Martin in the Fields, Suffolk Street Ward, Poor Rate, M/F 1564, item 3, f446, p 108, listed under Leicester Fields in the rate books and now a continuation of Pantan Street.

19 BL, *Tatler*, issue 198, 13-15 July 1710.

20 Ibid, *Post Boy*, issue 2383, 19-22 August 1710.

21 Ibid, *Tatler*, issue 217, 26-29 August 1710; *Tatler*, issue 220, 2-5 September 1710; *Tatler*, issue 222, 7-9 September 1710.

22 Ibid, *British Mercury*, issue 451, 17-24 February 1714.

23 Ibid, *Post Man & the Historical Account*, issue 15120, 14-17 September 1717.

listed under "Goldsmiths"<sup>24</sup> and in a *Daily Courant* of 1724 he placed an advertisement regarding a stolen silver fork which he had stopped on suspicion of it having been stolen, as an attempt had been made to erase the engraved arms: the person who had brought it to him had stated that he was not the owner but employed by the owner.<sup>25</sup> A reward of one guinea was offered by "Mr Cuny" to the person to reveal the rightful owner. Later reports cite "Cuny, Lewis, Spur-street Leicester fields" as goldsmith, a person "who Poll'd for Sir John Eyles or Sir John Thompson or some other of that List"<sup>26</sup> and also "Cuny, Lewis" under Goldsmiths, a

Member of Several Companies that Polled for Edward Bellamy, Esq to be Sheriff for the City of London and County of Middlesex ....<sup>27</sup>

From the above it may be seen that his activities were not confined only to his craft but to the wider community both in the City and the West End of London.

Catherine, the couple's eldest daughter, married John Atwood some time prior to 1725 which is when the names of their children start to appear in the records of St James's church, Westminster.<sup>28</sup> No entry has been found for the marriage but it may have been Catherine's second marriage or even a Fleet marriage which would not have met with family approval.<sup>29</sup> Atwood was a limner (illustrator) and, as there are no rate records for them for St James's, they were either lodgers, rather than being responsible for rates, or living in Panton Street with Lewis and Elizabeth Cuny. Reading between the lines Lewis may well not have approved of this marriage as will be seen later.

Esther Cuny, Lewis and Elizabeth's youngest child, married Henry Hebert on 13 August 1727 at St James's

church, Piccadilly; at which time Lewis Cuny and his wife were still living in Spur Street.<sup>30</sup> The records for Henry Hebert are not clear and there are various possibilities for his background as will be seen later but, if he was not already working with Cuny at the time of his marriage to Esther, he must have shortly afterwards joined the business in which he later became a partner. Nearly seven years elapsed between the couple's marriage and 1733 when the partnership commenced: sufficient time for an informal apprenticeship.

There is no doubt that the Panton Street shop and workshop were flourishing when the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 14 December 1733 announced the death of

Mr De Cuney silversmith in Spur Street, Leicester Fields.

Cuny died at home aged nearly seventy one:

a Man truly beloved for his strict Honour and Justice in his Trade, regretted by all that knew him, and more especially by the Poor of the French church in the Savoy of whom he has been an Elder upwards of twenty Years.<sup>31</sup>

There are a pair of Britannia standard communion cups and a pair of patens at the French Hospital, *La Providence*, in Rochester, Kent, which formed part of the plate of the Savoy church. These have date letter for 1717 and bear Lewis Cuny's maker's mark; the engraved scratch weights are "26=18" and "24=12". They are two of a set of six cups: two with Cuny's mark and four with the mark of Samuel Margas. Who actually made the cups is uncertain and all six may have been made by Margas, with two acquired and marked by Lewis, perhaps as a gift to the church when he became an elder.<sup>32</sup>

Cuny was buried at St John's church, Hampstead (see Schedule 1). After his death a document, purporting to

24 Ibid, *Freeholder's Journal*, issue XVII, 27 April 1722.

25 Ibid, *Daily Courant*, 6 February 1724.

26 Ibid, *Daily Journal*, issue 2121, 31[sic] October 1727.

27 Ibid, *Daily Post*, issue 1394, 6 March 1734.

28 There is a record of Catherine Cuny marrying Jean le Clerc at Spring Gardens chapel on 21 August 1716 (*HP*, vol 26, Savoy & Spring Gardens et des Grecs, 1684-1900, p 153). If Catherine had been born in the mid-1690s this would make her around eighteen at the time of this first marriage but it is possible that the marriage did not last. No record appears for the marriage of Catherine (Cuny/le Clerc or variations) to John Atwood at St James's, Westminster (Piccadilly) or elsewhere in London around 1720-25 (Catherine would have been about thirty). Their children were recorded at St James's, Westminster: John (buried 1727) Thomas Francis (baptised 1726) Catherine (baptised/buried 1728) Rachel (baptised/buried 1731) John (baptised 1732) Corb Ossley James (baptised 1735) (WAC,

M/F21, 3rd Register Book St James in the Liberty of Westminster for Births & Baptisms, from 1 June 1723). Catherine would have been towards the end of her child-bearing years by the time Corb Ossley was born.

29 Until 1753 Fleet, or clandestine marriages, were common: all that was required was an exchange of vows between a man and woman in front of witnesses. A marriage of this kind could lead to the easy acquisition of a woman's property, bigamy, seduction and "marriage as a result of a frolic". Disreputable 'clergymen' set up business, particularly near the Fleet prison thereby giving the ceremony its name. Despite accusations of curbing citizens' freedom, Lord Hardwicke's Clandestine Marriage Act of 1754 required minors to have their parents' consent, banns were to be read in the weeks prior to a marriage ceremony which could only take place in a designated church. (S O'Connell, *London 1753*, exhibition catalogue, London, 2003, pp 166-167; Lisa Picard, *Dr Johnson's London*, London, 2000 pp 68-70). The name Atwood suggests John was not a Huguenot which would have made it necessary for the couple

to find one of the few chapels, St James's being one, prepared to solemnise such marriages or maybe that theirs was a 'Fleet' marriage.

30 familyhistory.online (IGI): M/F 1068162, item 3. Esther Cuny married Henry Hebert by licence at St James's, Westminster on 27 August 1727.

31 BL, *Country Journal or the Craftsman*, 22 December 1733, issue 390. "Saturday last dy'd at his House the Corner of Leicester fields in the 71st Year of his Age Mr Cuny, Goldsmith, a Man truly beloved for his strict Honour and Justice in his Trade, regretted by all that knew him, and more especially by the Poor of the French Church in the Savoy, of whom he has been an Elder upwards of twenty Years". Also *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol III, no 14, 1733, p 663.

32 "A set of eight cups dating from 1631 with an unidentified mark of 'IT' was made for the Walloon church (established 1548) situated in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral. They take the form of absolutely standard wine cups which had emerged at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. ... no less than six almost identical copies [of 8 cups (1631) for the Walloon church,

Canterbury Cathedral] were made nearly 170 years later in 1717 by two well-known Huguenot goldsmiths of the new Emigration. Two of these by Louis Cuny were for the conformist French Church of the Savoy, and four by Jacob Margas for the church at Threadneedle Street. ... Could it be that the six based on the wine cup form were actually the work of only one of these goldsmiths, either Margas or Cuny, who marked two with his own maker's mark and then sold the rest to the other goldsmith, as a wholesaler might have done, who then gave them his own maker's mark. There would have been nothing unusual about doing this - it would have been very much in accordance with trade practice of the time" (James Lomax, 'Huguenot Goldsmiths in England', P C Finnery (ed), *Seeing Beyond the Word - Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, Michigan, 1999, pp 93-94). Tessa Murdoch in her article 'Silver at the French Hospital', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 25, 2009, p 70, gives the original scratch weights for the two Britannia Standard communion cups and patens, dated 1717, with Cuny's maker's mark, supplied to the Savoy Church as '26=18' and '24=12'.

be his "will" and dated 17 June 1725, was found. It had been drawn up by him and written in his own hand, in French and witnessed by his friends, Ezekias Le Ber and John Chartier. It stated

and as I can dispose of my whole Estate in favour of whomsoever I think fitt I declare that I dispose thereof in favour of my wife above named [Elizabeth] to the end that she may enjoy the same without Interruption with her own during her life after which it shall belong to my children.<sup>33</sup>

As can be seen the sole beneficiary was Lewis's wife, Elizabeth, but the document obviously uses a layman's wording and its true intent would engage and divide the family and result in litigation that was to last for over six years.

At this period there was a countrywide common law custom in respect of the disposal of personal property and real estate at the time of a person's death: this was that a deceased's estate should be divided into three moieties. One third should go to the widow, another third to the surviving children of a marriage and the final third should to be left at the testator's wish. A widow was additionally entitled to the "Paraphernalia and the furniture of her Widow's Chamber"<sup>34</sup> and any past loans to family members were meant to be repaid into the deceased estate at this time. The Administration of Estates Act of 1725<sup>35</sup> was intended to revoke this system but, in the case of the "Custom of the City of London", the Act did not take effect until much later. It is possible that Cuny, as a freeman and participant in City life, knew of the Act and drew up his will accordingly, realising that neither of his sons, Samuel and James, nor his son-in-law, John Atwood, wanted, or were capable of, taking on his business which would be safe in his wife's hands. He may even have set out to find a successor: Henry Hebert.

Shortly before Cuny's death, as mentioned above, he and his son-in-law Henry Hebert, husband of his daughter Esther, formed a partnership; its term was to run for seven years or until the time of his death. He accepted Hebert's bond of £300, which represented half the value of his stock in trade (£600) at the time of the formation of the partnership, and they would carry on the trade at the shop in the Panton Street house or at

some other mutually agreeable premises. The profits were to be taken annually and divided equally and, should anything happen to her husband, Elizabeth Cuny was to receive his portion of trade profits for the remainder of the term. In addition Hebert was to pay to Cuny at the end of the term "August 1737", or his estate in the event of his death, the balance of £300 plus 4% interest. The partnership was dependent on Hebert's craftsmanship, trustworthiness and honesty. There is, however, an anomaly for, if the seven year partnership were to finish in 1737, it should have commenced in 1730 not 1733 as is the case. There is no indication that Henry Hebert paid the additional £300 on Cuny's death which, had he done so, would have effectively given him the entire stock and, presumably, the business as Elizabeth was ageing. Elizabeth may well not have been aware of, or have understood, that part of the partnership terms, but Hebert carried on the business after Cuny's death and Elizabeth became less involved with it as old age advanced.

The following schedules, some of which were compiled well after Cuny's death, give Cuny's personal finances including debts and items which Elizabeth, with Henry Hebert's agreement, had disposed of after Cuny's death. There is an inventory listing the stock that was still unsold which included rings, thimbles, buttons and a small number of household pieces such as tea kettles, coffee pots, saucepans, spoons etc. Also listed are items marked by both Cuny and Hebert which have come to light recently, either at auction or through online research.

In all probability Cuny's more substantial pieces were sold by Hebert and Elizabeth Cuny at the time the later lists were drawn up; so it may be that the items identified through research (Schedule 4) give the best indication of Cuny's output during his lifetime. The schedules tell us that he dealt with the aristocracy and high society of the day, including Lord Byron, Lord Effingham Howard, Arthur Onslow and Lady Lavenham as well as craftsmen such as John Le Sage, "Mr Archambo" together with some refiners.

### **Cuny v Cuny, Cuny v Cuny, Cuny v Hebert and Attwood[sic] v Cuny: claims and counter-claims**

The validity of Lewis Cuny's will was not queried at the time probate was granted. The original text does not include a date and could have been written any time; it is the translation from the French that is dated 1725. Shortly after probate had been granted on 10 January 1733/34, James Cuny and Catherine Atwood (née Cuny), two of his children, made a "Complaint" to the Six Clerks' Office, Chancery Division (the Court). They complained that Lewis Cuny had left a considerable

33 TNA, PROB 11/663/35. Will of Lewis Cuny.

34 [www.british-history.ac.uk](http://www.british-history.ac.uk): 'A widow's dower and freebench': The Widow's Chamber consisted of the hall, principal chamber, and the cellar in the marital home, together with the use of the oven, the stable, privy and yard so long as she remained unmarried.

35 [www.british-history.ac.uk](http://www.british-history.ac.uk): 'Testamentary disposition of personality within the City': An [Administration of Estates] Act was passed in the eleventh year of George I's reign [1725] enabling citizens 'to dispose effectually of all their personal estate by will ... thus is the old common law now utterly abolished throughout all the kingdom of England, and a man may devise the whole of his chattels as freely as he formerly could his third part of moiety'. See also [www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo5/15-16/23](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo5/15-16/23): part IV, Distribution of Residuary Estates.



estate amounting to £2,000<sup>36</sup> and that it had been his intention that they should benefit as was the “Custom of the City of London”. They went on to state that Elizabeth, the named benefactor, had the whole estate under her control and was disposing of valuable property which would reduce their inheritance. In addition they wanted to examine the accounts as they feared she was wasting and embezzling the estate.

Elizabeth argued that, at the time of his death her husband was considerably in debt and that, as a ‘foreigner’, he was entitled to dispose of his estate as he wished, that he died intestate and that the document dated 17 June 1725 was a Deed of Settlement/Deed of Gift set up at their marriage, not a will and therefore exempt from such restrictive law. Since one of the witnesses to the will, John Le Sage, would have been a child at the time of the marriage (which possibly took place in the early 1690s) this claim would seem to be erroneous. It was not easy to deny the fact that Cuny had been granted denization, that he was a citizen of the City of London by virtue of being a freeman of the Goldsmiths’ Company, that he had voted as a citizen in City elections and that he had integrated successfully into English life. It may be that, anticipating future family disputes, he had hoped by stating his wishes in French, that he would be regarded as a ‘foreigner’ and as such, would be able to dispose of his property as he wished or, of course, it is very possible that he was aware of the new act. It seems strange that Elizabeth did not at this stage bring forward the two witnesses to the document as, being Lewis’s good friends of many years standing, they would almost certainly have known its background and, therefore, his real intentions. As sole beneficiary Elizabeth threatened to dispose of the estate, at the time of her death, to Samuel (Cuny), Henry Hebbert[sic] and his wife, Esther (née Cuny), thereby excluding James and Catherine since they had already received large sums of money from their father before his death. They counter-claimed that he was a “Citizen of London” and that any past payments they had received were “pocket money” which he had not expected should be repaid. The Court ruled that an inventory of Cuny’s household goods and stock in trade at the time of his death should be submitted; this revealed an estate valued at £1,164<sup>37</sup> without taking any debts into account. The inventory appears below in Schedules 1 and 2 of Household Goods and Stock; it was drawn up by two of the will’s witnesses. There was also

a Bond owing from the debtor Henry Hebbert[sic] for the sum of £300 with interest at 4% paying in Aug. 1737 which when received is to be included in Lewis Cuny’s estate and so divided.

Judging from the household inventory the Cunys did not have a lavish lifestyle. The goldsmiths John Chartier

and John Le Sage and a jeweller, John Oliver, were among the five appraisers [see Schedule 1].<sup>38</sup>

Elizabeth Cuny returned to the Court later in the year claiming her right to her husband’s estate; on this occasion she cited James Cuny, Samuel Cuny, John Atwood and his wife, Catherine. They responded that the will, written in French by Cuny himself, had been mistranslated by the Notary Public, that Cuny was a “Citizen of London” and a liveryman of the Goldsmiths’ Company and, therefore, that he was not entitled to dispose of his estate as if he had been a foreigner. They claimed that the “Custom of the City of London” applied; they also claimed that the wording

she may enjoy the same without Interruption *with her own* [my italics] during her life

denoted only her own one-third share which was due to her as a citizen’s widow but not the whole estate.<sup>39</sup> They went on to state that a further stipulation of this “Custom”, ie that the deceased’s estate should be reimbursed with any loans made by him over past years, did not apply to them as these had been “gifts” which were not required to be repaid. It was pointed out however, that non-repayment would be unfair on “the other children”: perhaps the Cuny grandchildren. It transpired these were large sums which Lewis had reputedly said were

as much or more than his personal Estate would hold.

They again insisted that Elizabeth should only receive the normal widow’s entitlement and her personal possessions, ie

the Paraphernalia and the furniture of her Widow’s Chamber.<sup>40</sup>

The Court again requested detailed records.

The litigation does not appear to have disturbed any existing business relationship for, once probate had been granted, Elizabeth Cuny and Henry Hebert “Goldsmith” took out a Sun insurance policy on 14 January 1733-34 on their

36 £2,000 was a significant amount and would today be around £170,000.

Although this may not seem a huge sum such a figure would have had considerably more purchasing power in the eighteenth century than today.

37 Today approximately £100,000.

38 TNA, C 11/2709/7, Cuny v Cuny, 1734. (TNA record mistranscribed ‘Curry v Curry’). Debts were in the region of £350 – see Schedule 1. The deed gives the wording of the will in French and with the translation. From the inventory it can be seen that the contents of the house, including the plate, were modest.

39 Ibid, 1 January 1734-1 December 1734.

40 Ibid. Signed by James Cuny and John Atwood. Ibid. 12/734/12; 1 January 1736-1 December 1736, Cuny v Herbert. The several payments from Lewis to the claimants were stated to be in the region of £105 and £146. A further record C 12/2195/12 (no date) relating to this matter is missing.

Household Goods & Utensils in Trade and manufactured and wrought plate in a Brick house ... in the Possession of the said Elizabeth Cuny not exceeding five hundred pounds<sup>41</sup>

and Elizabeth continued to be responsible for rates on the premises in Spur Street.

Two years after Cuny's death, a court report of a robbery described a thief waiting

on the Corner of Hedge-lane, at the Goldsmith's Mr Cuny's ...

indicating that the premises were still a well-known landmark in the area.<sup>42</sup>

Samuel, Lewis and Elizabeth Cuny's first son, died in London in 1736. His will, stating he was a peruke maker (perhaps working with Ezekias Le Ber), despite his having been admitted to the Goldsmiths' Company, was proved on 7 January of that year. John Le Sage was the executor and Ezekias Le Ber a witness. His estate included property in Boston, New England; Esther Hebert was the sole beneficiary.<sup>43</sup> Their other son James (Cuny), "Lieutenant of Fort Marlborough, Sumatra, East Indies" died in 1736/7; his will was proved in London on 14 February. It named his executor as "my good friend" Charles Barbut; he left his estate to his sister Catherine Atwood.<sup>44</sup> It is interesting that Samuel left his property to Esther whereas James left his to Catherine. Following these two deaths the remaining parties in the dispute were John and Catherine Atwood, Henry and Esther Hebert and Elizabeth.

A further "Complaint" was lodged in 1737 by Elizabeth in regard to Hebert's claim that he was entitled to profits through a "partnership" with her husband. Hebert stated that the partnership had commenced on 2 August 1733 (see above), that Cuny had accepted a bond from him of £300, being a moiety of the value of the stock in trade valued at £600 as set out in "the Deed", and that he, Henry Hebert, should receive the profits from this moiety. No deed was produced in court and Hebert stated that James Cuny and John

Atwood had both received sums of money and that, in consideration of this and the partnership, he was now claiming his share of profits.<sup>45</sup>

Affirmation that the relationship between Elizabeth and Henry Hebert continued may be found in the fact that on 20 December 1738 they took out a further Sun insurance policy as "Goldsmiths" on

Household Goods and Utensils in Trade (£200) ... on the south side of Spur Street

and £300

on their wrought and Manufactured Plate in Trade

half the 1733 value.<sup>46</sup> It is not known who was working with Hebert at this time but he must have taken on an assistant, perhaps as an apprentice, Thomas Morrell, who, according to an advertisement in the *London Daily Post* of 26 May 1739, had been discharged by mutual agreement. It also stated

I, Henry Hebert, Goldsmith, think fit to forewarn any one from trusting the said Thomas Morrell in my Name.<sup>47</sup>

During the period up until January 1739 several requests were made by the Court for both the plaintiffs and the defendants to clarify the situation: to declare whether/what loans/gifts had been made by Lewis Cuny prior to his death, including those received by Hester (Esther) Hebert and Samuel Cuny and to give reasons why proper accounts had not been kept by Elizabeth. On 31 January 1739 "An Answer and Examination" of Elizabeth and Hebert, concerning the original complaints, took place which involved John and Catherine Atwood; the latter was by this time also executrix of James Cuny's will. Elizabeth confirmed that, since the original proceedings, James Cuny, John and Catherine Atwood, and Henry Hebert had sold part of the separate and joint stock in trade of Lewis Cuny. She provided two schedules of items drawn up by Hebert which to the best of her knowledge and belief were complete [Schedule 3]. When asked about the low silver/gold price used she admitted that some of the stock was old and that it was difficult to give an accurate price for it after such a long time but that, where some of it was under-valued, other pieces might be over-valued. The Atwoods stated the values did not reflect the cost of manufacture or equipment. Elizabeth replied she had not kept accounts due to her great age and infirmity but account books (no date or period covered is given) were produced for the Court and were sworn on oath to be a true record of transactions made by Hebert with her consent. Elizabeth admitted that the family had made use of all household goods etc except for her husband's clothes which were "old and of little value." The Court directed that a trust should be formed, the trustees to be appointed by the

41 LMA, MS 11936, vol 39, SI 62791.

42 BL, *General Evening Post*, 1 November 1735, issue 327.

43 TNA, PROB 11/681/15. Will of Samuel Cuny.

44 Ibid, PROB 11/691/138. Will of James Cuny. This could be Barbut, a silversmith of New Street, near St Martin's Lane (1720) listed in Heal (op cit, see note 13, p 100). Judy Jowett (*The Warring Carriers*, London, 2005, p 85) lists Barbut, goldsmith, New Street, as a specialist spoon and fork maker. After giving a gold ring and a quantity of silk to all who attended his funeral, James left two garnet rings to Charles Barbut; to Mrs Bagley womens' clothing, \$50 Spanish and household goods; to his doctor wearing apparel, to Capt John Williams his two elks; to his

slave, Esau, his freedom on payment of \$30 Spanish; his slave boy Mabool was to be sold at "publick sale" noting that he "stands on the Military Roll by the Honourable Company's Grant"; his slave Flora and his property was to be sold by "publick outcry".

45 Ibid. C 12/1535/13, 1 January 1737-1 December 1737, Cuny v Hebert. Hebert's partnership with Cuny. There is a discrepancy concerning the term of the partnership. If it started in 1733, a seven year period would not finish in 1737 but 1740.

46 LMA, MS11936, vol 50, p 600, SI 79087.

47 BL, *London Daily Post & General Advertiser*, 26 May 1739, issue 1428; *Daily Post*, 28 May 1739, issue 6151.

Court if the family could not agree, and that Elizabeth should receive the interest from the trust during her lifetime and that on her death the monies were to be split between the remaining family members.<sup>48</sup> She requested that the Court would accept that the property in her widow's chamber was hers, as a right. Until this time she must have received income from an undisclosed source but the trust, if it were set up, would have secured her financially until her death.

It is clear that by the time of this last hearing Elizabeth was coming to the end of her life and by 1740 she was no longer paying the rates on the Spur Street premises; nor were they being paid by Hebert.<sup>49</sup> Her burial, on 13 January 1741, appears in the Churchwardens' Accounts of St Martin-in-the-Fields as "Elizabeth Qnay W[idow]."<sup>50</sup> The trust was presumably wound up and distributed amongst the remaining family: Esther Hebert and her sister Catherine Atwood.

### Henry Hebert (fl 1727 – 1764) and the Hebert family

Henry Hebert's origins have not been found but there are several possibilities.<sup>51</sup> There was a significant Huguenot family of this name (including two Henry Heberts who had no surviving issue at their deaths in 1667 and 1674), which was originally from Dieppe, resident in Wandsworth (south-west London) from about 1650.<sup>52</sup> It is probable that Henry, perhaps a distant relation of this branch of the family, or maybe through connections with part of the Cuny family who had remained in France, came to London as a young man. It would have been a simple matter for Hebert to be taken into Cuny's family and then into the business with him. No records have been found for this part of his life so this is only surmise. What is recorded is his marriage to Esther Cuny in 1727 when they were perhaps around nineteen. Their children did not follow in their father's footsteps.

Shortly after Cuny's death in 1733-34, Hebert entered his first mark at Goldsmiths' Hall as a largeworker; his

address was given as Three Crowns, the corner of Hedge Lane, Leicester Fields (the same premises as Cuny). His mark was H•H within a rectangle. On 24 December 1735 Hebert registered another mark as a largeworker which was similar to his previous one but now surmounted by three small crowns denoting his address. The crowns do not indicate that he had been appointed Subordinate Goldsmith to the King although he did hold this position from 1736-1740.<sup>53</sup> Further marks have been recorded: sometimes struck three times. In 1736-37 he used H•H within a rectangle, from 1739-40 H•H in a rectangle surmounted by a crown, by this date denoting his position as Subordinate Goldsmith to the King (on these occasions the entry gives his address as Leicester Fields) and in 1746-7 H•H within a rectangle giving his later Golden Hart, Dean Street, Soho address.<sup>54</sup>

There is a record of a Henry Herbert[sic] entering the Clockmakers' Company in 1734<sup>55</sup> but it does not confirm that this was the goldsmith. If, shortly after Cuny's death, Hebert and Elizabeth decided it would be advantageous for him to enter the Clockmakers' Company in order to strengthen the business this may be an explanation for such a step. There are tenuous links to the Clockmaker's Company as John Chartier, a friend of Cuny and witness to his will, had his own will witnessed by, amongst others, Anthony Hebert of St Giles's parish, a clockmaker (d 1752), or his son, also Anthony Hebert, a watchmaker (d 1767), both of whom were free of the Clockmakers' Company. It is evident that craftsmanship, friendship and possibly faith were closely intertwined.

Like many goldsmiths of his day Hebert undertook diverse activities to sustain a livelihood. In May 1736, for example, he was an appraiser of bonds and mortgages relating to the estate of Charles Hammond deceased<sup>56</sup> and witness to an inventory of plate belonging to Benjamin, Earl Fitzwalter, at Schomberg House, Pall Mall in 1739.<sup>57</sup> Included in the inventory

48 TNA, C 128/1, 1 January 1740-1 December 1740. Attwood v Cuny. This reference contains four documents requesting information but the main item has the schedule attached.

49 WAC, M/F1584, item 1, f 508, p 14. Last entry for Widow Cuny in St Martin-in-the-Fields Poor Rates (Leicester fields). TNA, M/F 0918603, item 2: There is also Elizabeth Conay of Acton Road, W[idow] buried September 1742 at St Anne's, Soho. Since Cuny's estate had been dealt with prior to her death no will was required.

50 Ibid, M/F1684, f 102, January 1741. St Martin-in-the-Fields Churchwardens Accounts. Cost 14s 3d.

51 Also: Habert, Heibert, Herbert, Hibbard, Hibbert, Hibert, Hubbert, Hybert. Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 16, p 542. Grimwade gives Sir

Charles Clay's suggestion that Hebert originated from the Alenon and Leq Mans districts of France, Amsterdam or The Hague. Important seventeenth-century goldsmiths in Dieppe can be found online. Biographies of silver makers - theislandwiki. Alternatively GL, Barber Surgeons' Apprentice Binding Books, M/F 5266/1-6, item 3, p 243: Henricus Herbert, son of \*\*\*\*\*, Buckingham, County Bucks, soap boiler[?], apprenticed to Henrico \*\*\*\*\* Anno Sept 1719 and Ibid, M/F 5265/1-6, item 4, p 170, Henricus Herbert who finished his apprenticeship with Petri Turpin\*, Butcher, admitted ... 7 February 1726.

52 This large and prosperous family from Dieppe, mostly worked in the City of London and had strong links with the Threadneedle Street French church and Spitalfields but no connection has

been found to the goldsmith, despite the fact there was a Katherine and a Henry in this family. These Hebert records are held at Battersea Library, 265 Lavender Hill, London SW11 1JB. WAC, HP, 1899, vol 13, p 34. WAC has a complete set of HP. Spellings for this family also vary: Hebert, Heibert, Hybert, Hubbert, Herbert. Dieppe's records were destroyed during the Second World War but there is currently a Hebert Institute in the city.

53 Major-General H D W Sitwell, *The Subordinate Goldsmiths: Jewel House & The Royal Goldsmiths*, London, 1962, p 155.

54 GC, Largeworkers Book, 15 April 1697-25 May 1739, A no 1, 18 January 1733-4. Marks shown in Sir C J Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their marks*, London, 1921, pp 187-189 and 192-198

55 GL: *Brittens Old Clocks & Watches*: Henry Hebert, 1734, CC; B. Loomes, *Early Clockmakers of Great Britain*, B, BA, 6 December 1714. Henry Herbert, son of William Herbert, citizen and clockmaker of London was admitted and sworn a free clockmaker. William Hebert, bankrupt shortly after this date. Ibid, Clockmakers Company, Freeman 1712-1723, MS 2717, item 1, p 12. Henry Herbert, already a freeman of the Clockmakers' Company, would not have had any need to re-enter the Company in 1734.

56 Inventory of Charles Hammond, 1936. [www.hungerfordvirtualmuseum.co.uk/inventory](http://www.hungerfordvirtualmuseum.co.uk/inventory)

57 Beth Carver-Wees, *English Irish & Scottish Silver at the Sterling & Francine Clark Art Institute*, New York, 1997, p 153.



were two pieces attributed to Hebert: two ladles for tureens valued at £9 19s 6d on 6 October 1739 and a silver standish weighing 50 oz (1,555g) valued at £8 8s on 11 December 1739. An important oval decafoil salver of 1738-39 engraved with the Great Seal of Queen Caroline, wife of George II, supplied to Arthur Onslow, the Queen's Chancellor, is struck with Henry Hebert's maker's mark.<sup>58</sup> These names appear in the schedules below.

Newspapers of November 1743 recount that Esther (Hesther Herbert) was assaulted in the street and robbed of her "Pocket"

together with a French Psalm-Book, two hankerchiefs, a fan, etc

later found on the thief.<sup>59</sup> It is thought that she died in 1743 when she would have been about thirty two.

Where widower Hebert moved to after Elizabeth and Esther's deaths is unrecorded until 1746 when he was paying Poor Rates for the premises known as the Golden Hart, St Anne's Court, Dean Street, St Anne's parish, Soho. It would have been usual for him to have publicised his move or a dispersal of the considerable quantity of stock but no notice has been found. In

58 Ladles/Standish, Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 16, *Biographical Directory Adenda*, p 752. Decafoil salver see [www.artscouncil.org.uk/media](http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media), no 11 (Kingston-upon-Thames Corporation).

59 BL, *Daily Gazetteer*, 29 November 1743. Also Proceedings of the Old Bailey online: t17431207-2 David Todd.

60 Henry "Hibbard" had moved to St Anne's Court South, Dean Street by March 1746 (WAC, St Anne's Poor Rates M/F2, item 5, vol 178a, p 52). Mrs Sanviack was a widow, her previous husband, William, was buried in March 1743, she was paying rates in 1747 on the last house in St Anne's Court, Dean Street indicating that, as a householder, she was financially secure and a good prospective marriage partner (WAC, M/F 41, item 14, p 53 St Anne's, Soho parish). On 21 October 1766, shortly after Hebert's death, as Mrs Elizabeth Hebert, she married for a third time Andrew Fogelberg, the Scandinavian silversmith. For an example of his work see lot 203 (with note, sale, Christie's, London, 25 November 2008). Her death is not

recorded but this must have taken place before 14 April 1792 when Andrew Fogelberg married Susannah Walker at St Anne's, Soho. He died in 1815 and Susannah died 1817-18, aged seventy five, both were buried at St Anne's. For further details of Fogelberg see John Culme, *Nineteenth-Century Silver*, London, 1977, pp 63-64.

61 Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 16, p 752.

62 Victoria & Albert Museum Archive of Art & Design, Garrard Ledgers, George Wickes & John Netherton (1747-1760), Workmen's Ledgers, M/F VAM4 3. It can be seen by looking at the business ledgers of George Wickes & Netherton/Parker & Wakelin and comparing them to the figures produced to the Court, that Cuny and Hebert, although successful, were only modest traders in comparison with suppliers to the leading goldsmiths of the day.

Dean Street he met widow Elizabeth Sanviack, already a resident of St Anne's Court, Dean Street, whom he married on 28 July 1751.<sup>60</sup>

Hebert is listed in the 1747 Poll Book<sup>61</sup> but his name has not been found in any trade directories. Although he entered fifth and sixth marks in 1748 when his address was given as Golden Hart, Dean Street, few of his pieces traced to date appear to have been made after this date. It may be that he carried on working anonymously as an outworker, supplying the numerous larger goldsmiths in the area, or that he was supported by the distribution of the trust fund and possibly his new wife's wealth, which meant that he did not need to rely so much on his craft. A search of Parker & Wakelin ledgers (including those of George Wickes and John Netherton at the Victoria and Albert Museum) do not show that they had any direct dealings with him.<sup>62</sup> It has been thought that he was for a time treasurer to George Wickes and Netherton but again no verification of this has been found. Once the influence of the Cuny family faded it is difficult to know how successful his working life actually was.

Hebert died in 1764; his will dated 1762 and witnessed by Thomas Atwood, perhaps John's brother, was proved on 27 August of that year and described him as a "Silversmith". The will is short: other than desiring his wife (without any endearment), Elizabeth [Sanviack],

to be very frugal in ordering my burial

he left

all and every such Goods and Effects as may be found after my Death

to her. To his sister, Elizabeth, living in Suffolk and married to Thomas Parker, he left one shilling.

On 21 October 1766, shortly after Hebert's death, Mrs Elizabeth Hebert married Andrew Fogelberg, the Scandinavian silversmith. Her death is not recorded but this must have taken place before 14 April 1792 when he married again (see note 60).

TNA: C 11/2709/7 [1733]

## Value

£40 18 0

£29 12 0

£37 6 0

£47 11 0

'Stock in ye Shop in partnership'

3 silver 'tables', 2 snuffer dishes, hand candlestick, 6 coffee pots, dish ring with lamp, punch bowl, crewet frame, 3 casters, 2 handles, pot carved frame, 2 tops, 8 salts, 3 casters, 2 sauce boats, sugar box & cover, sponge box, wash ball box, 8 pepper boxes, 2 small waiters, 3 punch ladles, 3 milk ewers, 7 sauce pans, 3 tea spoon boats, half-pint can, milk pail, 2 round tea kettles with lamp & stand, waiter, 2 'ditto only one waiter', some coat & waistcoat buttons, 6 spoons, 3 marrow spoons, 26 buckles, 3 pair clasps, 2 pair snuffers, ink stand complete, 2 tea kettles one with lamp & stand, another with lamp & dish, a parcel of sterling silver

1,926 oz 15dwt

1,926oz 15dwt 0gm

963oz 7dwt ½gm

2,305oz 10dwt 0gm

3,268oz 17dwt ½gm

Total value of Stock @ 5/6 per oz £898 18 6

Parcel of gold rings

5½oz

2. 15 @ 3.10 per oz pd ( 9 12 6 )  
( )

£94 9 6

22oz 19dwt 12gm @ 3.15 per oz ( 84 17 0 )

Moulds, working tools, & fixing up of the shops being in partnership together with weights & scales, counter, shop grates, show glasses, sign, iron etc.

30: 10: 0

Half 15: 5: 0

£15 5 0

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£1,164 0 0

'All the within mentioned household goods, plate, etc. appraised & valued to the sum of £1,164'

[current value: £1 @ £86 = £100,100.00]

Appraisers: Paul Mowbray. John Wood

Goldsmiths: John Chartier, John Le Sage

Jeweller: John Oliver



*Schedule 1 continued*

Cash at his death	£48	13	6	<u>Bad Debts</u>			
Debtors not paid				Lord Effingham Howard		7	0
Earl of Leicester, Mr Hammond,				Mr Frederick (Count Nostik)	3	2	6
Mr Dufour, Mrs. Nicholls, Peter Hemet,				Mr Roneau	3	2	2
Capt Mayram, Capt Hornet				Colonel Tinselton		15	0
Appraisers paid	3	3	3	Mr Lafelle	6	4	6
Doctor	2	2	0	Madame de Roxton	35	4	0
Charges in appraising the goods					12	15	6
Nurse		10	6		2	5	0
Funeral	1	0	0		4	6	0
Ground at Hampstead	2	2	0	Damaged document	20	6	0
Proving Will	2	14	10	Names not decipherable	9	2	9
¾ year's rent to his death	30	0	0		44	12	10
Coach to Doctors' Commons & back		3	6		16	2	0
Mr 'Browd' - silversmith		13	6		2	8	0
Mr Ford - undertaker	13	13	0		12	7	9
Mr Chartier on Mr Cuny's Note					10	9	0
13 July + Int.	52	10	9		4	5	0
Mr Fisher - joiner	3	0	0		7	3	6
To the French church for a ¼		9	0		6	6	3
Mr Lawrence - apothecary	2	6	0		4	5	0
Mr 'Borgnin' - engraver	3	9	0				
Mr Wagner - hatter	4	4	0				
Mr Archambo - watchmaker		2	6				
Mr 'Bonage' - barber		6	0				
Miss Mary 'Griblin' - on ball of							
arrot [arrowroot?]	8	2	6				
Mr Pugh - silversmith	2	3	5				
Mr James Smith - refiner		7	6				
Mr Vignon - for a wig	6	6	0				
Mr La Roche	4	8	0				
	£147	16	3				
<u>'4th Schedule'</u>							
Debts not yet paid							
Sir Rich Lowerby[?] - Rem of £60	30	0	0				
Lord Byron	13	14	6				
Mrs. Nicholls		6	0				
Lord Perivale		12	6				
Mr La Roche	9	2	0				
Mr Vignon	12	12	0	£66	8	6	
By 5 shares in Chelsea Water Works							
@ £11 per share	55	0	0				
Mr Domario Marario – security when							
he pledged a clock	5	0	0				
There is also a Bond owing from the debtor							
Henry Hebbert[sic] for the sum of £300 with							
interest at 4% paying in Aug. 1737 which when							
received is to be included in Lewis Cuny's estate							
and so divided.							

## SCHEDULE 2

TNA: C 11/2709/7 [1734]

### Schedule of partnership stock sold – December 1733

#### Persons names and the different pieces of Plate with Remarks of that not finished\*

Date	Item		Price per oz		Silver			Money		
			s	d	oz	dwt	gm	£	s	d
	Governor Worsley - tea kettle & lamp		7	11	62	10	0	24	14	9½
	Brigadier Barrets - tea kettle, lamp & dish but was only broken and not finished, the King's tax was paid a great while after, several charges	at abt	7	9	83	0	0	31	2	6
	Colonel Hawley - marrow spoon	at abt	9	0	1	9	0		11	0
31 Jan	Governor Worsley - snuffer pan	at abt	7	9	10	6	0	4	0	0
2 Feb	Mrs Hudfield - milk ewer	at abt	7	4	4	0	0	2	0	0
6	Mrs Hudfield - Coffee pot	at abt	7	4	28	17	0	10	2	6
25	Mr Smith - snuffer pan	at abt	6	9	9	16	0	3	6	6
5 Mar.	Mr Small - milk ewer	at abt	10	0	5	7	0	3	0	0
9	John Earl of ***** - caster	at abt	9	4	38	10	0	17	18	0
1734										
4 Apr	Mr Dutour - sauce pan	at abt	7	3	3	13	0	1	7	0
22 May	Governor Worsley - milk ewer	at abt	9	6	3	19	0	1	10	0
29 Jun	Governor Worsley - marrow spoon	at abt	9	0	1	4	0	1	1	0
8 Aug	Mr Oliver - 8 spoons	at abt	6	0	12	9	0	4	3	9
	Mr 'Monara' – tea kettle, lamp & dish but was only begun – the duty on the King's tax		8	7	99	7	0	40	2	6
16 Sept	Mr Watson - sauce boat	at abt	7	9	16	2	0	6	6	0
15 Nov	Arthur Onslow Esq - small coffee pot		7	10	11	19	0	4	13	6
3 Dec	Mr Pocklington - a 'table'	at abt	7	3	29	0	0	10	10	0
<b>Total:</b>					<b>421</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0½</b>

\*NB These schedules compiled for the Court sometime after Lewis Cuny's death

The Second Schedule values stock at 5s 6d per oz, much of it was old stock so it is not possible to know a price per oz, i e some was more valuable, some less valuable.

'The Schedule to which the Answer refers containing an account of which goods were sold since the Inventory taken after Mr. Cuny's death' [see Schedule above].

Date	Item	Gold			Silver			Money		
		oz	dwt	gm	oz	dwt	gm	£	s	d
[1733]										
22 Dec	Spoon				1	11	0		11	0
24 Dec	Gold ring	4	0						18	0
27	2 Tea canisters				17	0	0	5	19	0
28	Pair buckles				1	19	0		14	0
29	Pair buckles				1	1	0½		8	0
	Thimble					3	0		1	0
	Gold cane head	12	12					4	0	0
31	2 Tea spoons					16	0½		6	0
[1734]										
1 Jan	2 Tea spoons					14	0		5	0
	2 Salts				4	1	0½	1	11	6

	Date	Item	Gold			Silver			Money		
			oz	dwt	gm	oz	dwt	gm	£	s	d
[1734]											
2 Jan		8 Breast buttons					12	0		5	6
		Pair buttons					6	0		2	6
		Pair buckles				1	13	0		12	0
		Pair buttons					2	0		4	0
4		6 spoons				3	10	0	1	13	0
5		2 Table spoons				4	0	0	1	6	0
		Salt				2	12	0		19	0
8		Thimble					3	0		1	6
10		Tea spoon					5	0		2	0
		Spoon				1	7	0		5	6
		Thimble					1	0½		1	0
15		Stock buckle					10	0		4	6
		Girdle buckle					6	0		3	6
		37 buttons				3	10	0		1	11
16		Snuff box				3	10	0	2	10	0
17		Pair gold earrings		18						5	0
		Watch chain					13	0		6	0
18		2 Thimbles					3	0		2	6
		Gold ring		5	2				1	4	0
21		Thimble					2	0½		1	3
		2 Tea spoons					17	0		6	6
		Spoon					17	0		6	6
		Belt buckle				1	13	0		14	6
22		Pair buckles					13	0		6	0
		Tea spoon					6	0		2	6
24		Watch chain					9	0		5	0
25		Tortoiseshell snuff box								12	3
26		2ndhand snuff box				2	10	0		5	0
		Stock buckle					9	0		4	6
		Thimble					2	0½		1	4
28		Tea spoon					5	0		2	6
		Pair buttons					2	0½		1	4
		Spoon, knife, fork in case				5	3	0	2	2	6
29		Pair buttons					5	0		2	6
31		Pair buttons					2	0½		1	4
1 Feb		Thimble					1	0½		1	0
2		Pint mug				11	8	0	3	10	0
4		Thimble					2	0½		1	2
7		Thimble					1	0½		1	0
		Tea tong, 6 tea spoons, strainer in case				4	6	0	1	16	0
		Pair buckles					15	0		7	0
8		Gold ring		3	21					18	0
9		Gold ring		3	12					16	6
		Pair clasps					11	0		5	6
11		Pair buttons					2	0½		1	4
12		Watch chain					13	0		6	6
14		Tea spoon					8	0		3	0
16		Table & 6 Tea spoons				3	6	0	1	2	6
		Tea spoo					8	0		3	0
20		Thimble					2	0		1	2
21		Pair buckles				1	11	0		11	4



Date [1734]	Item	Gold			Silver			Money		
		oz	dwt	gm	oz	dwt	gm	£	s	d
22 Feb	Snuffer				4	4	0	1	9	6
23	Pair of buttons					2	0½		1	3
25	Snuffer				3	15	0	1	9	6
27	Pepper box				2	11	0		15	3
	2ndhand snuff box				2	10	0		16	6
	Pair buckles				2	2	0		14	0
2 Mar	4 Tea spoons				1	15	0		12	6
5	Pair buckles				1	14	0		8	6
	Punch ladle				1	14	0½		15	6
	Waiter				10	11	0½	3	10	0
7 Mar	2 Tea spoons					16	0		6	0
	Pair gold earrings					1	5		7	0
	Thimble					4	0		2	3
	2ndhand snuff box				3	2	0		15	0
15	2 Tumblers				4	19	0	1	9	9
	2 Pair buckles				2	13	0	1	0	0
	Pair buckles					12	0		5	6
	Spoon				1	19	0		13	3
19	Stock clasp					10	0		5	0
	Pair buckles									
	Stock buckle				1	6	0		10	0
	Pair studs									
20	To change a gold ring	18							10	6
22	Pepper box				2	5	0	1	0	0
26 Mar	2 Tea spoons					11	0½		4	6
29	Pair buckles				1	15	0		13	0
1 Apr	Soup spoon				8	15	0	3	0	0
2	3 Thimbles					8	0½		4	2
3	Gold ring	12	0½						11	0
4	Tea spoon					7	0		2	9
5	Thimble					4	0		2	6
6	Pieces of chain					11	0		3	4
	2 Tea spoons					12	0		4	8
8	Pair salts				4	0	0	1	10	0
10	2ndhand snuff box				1	13	0		10	6
11	Thimble					3	0		2	0
	2 Tea spoons					11	0½		4	6
13	2 Tea spoons					11	0½		4	6
18	Pair of crystal buttons								4	6
20	Pair buckles					15	0		6	0
22	2 Tale spoons				2	10	0		13	8
	2 Tea spoons					15	0		5	6
23	6 Tea spoons				2	15	0	1	2	0
	Tea spoon case								2	0
	3 Spoons				7	2	0	2	8	6
24	2 Tea spoons					8	0		3	6
	2 Table spoons				3	17	0	1	6	0
	Tea spoon					7	0½		2	6
	2 Tea spoons					15	0		5	6
	Tea spoon					4	0		1	9
25	Tea spoon					6	0		2	6

Date [1734]	Item	Gold			Silver			Money		
		oz	dwt	gm	oz	dwt	gm	£	s	d
26 Apr	3 Tea spoons					13	0		5	6
	6 Tea spoons				2	18	0	1	3	0
27	2 Tea spoons					14	0		5	3
29	Gold ring		3	9					15	6
	Punch cup				2	1	0		16	3
	Agate snuff box								15	0
30	2 Tea spoons					14	0		5	3
	Half pint mug				7	14	0	2	13	0
1 May	Pair buckles					9	0		4	0
	6 Knives, 4 ready mounted							4	10	0
2	2 Pair buttons								1	6
	2 Pair buckles				2	13	0	1	0	0
6	'Corell'					2	0		19	0
	Marrow spoon				1	15	0		12	6
11	Pint mug				11	13	0	3	10	0
16	Thimble					4	0		2	0
22	Thimble					2	0½		1	3
	2 Pepper Casters				7	17	0	2	5	9
24	Stock buckle					7	0		3	6
28	Thimble					3	0½		1	8
	'Sallett' dish				9	2	0	2	19	0
1 June	Gold ring		4	0					18	0
4	Marrow spoon				2	5	0		16	4
6	2 2ndhand forks				3	18	0	1	3	6
7	58 Buttons				6	2	0	2	13	0
8	Thimble					3	0		2	0
12	Spoon				1	15	0		12	0
	Pair buckles				2	3	0		14	6
	Pair spurs				3	12	0	1	12	0
17	Gold ring					4	6		19	0
20	Gold ring					4	12	1	0	0
22	Tea spoon					5	0		2	0
25	2 Salt spoons					10	0		3	6
26	Thimble					4	0		2	0
	Spoon				1	11	0½		11	6
27	2 Tea spoons					13	0½		5	6
29	Thimble					3	0		1	6
1 July	Thimble					3	0		1	6
2	Milk pot				2	10	0	1	4	0
8	Gold ring		4	0					10	6
10	Pair buckles				1	17	0		12	6
12	Orange strainer				3	3	0	1	11	6
	Pair studs					3	0		1	6
16	Stock buckle					10	0		5	0
17	Stock buckle					8	0		4	0
	Gold ring		3	12					16	0
18	2 Tea canisters				16	10	0	6	19	0
	Tea tongs					19	0		18	3
24	Pannikin				5	2	0½	1	15	0
	Gold ring		4	0					18	0
	Girdle buckle					10	0		4	0

<i>Date</i> [1734]	<i>Item</i>	<i>Gold</i>			<i>Silver</i>			<i>Money</i>		
		oz	dwt	gm	oz	dwt	gm	£	s	d
29 July	Thimble					2	0		1	0
8 Aug	Gold ring	2	0						10	0
10	Small mug				5	10	0	2	0	0
12	Tea spoon					5	0		2	0
23	Gold ring	4	0						18	0
29	Tea kettle & lamp				93	10	0	29	12	0
12 Sept	Thimble					3	0		1	6
17	Tea spoon					7	0		2	9
20	Gold ring	2	21						13	6
24	Pair salts					5	6	1	16	6
1 Oct	Gold ring	2	10						18	0
2	Pair 2ndhand spurs				3	13	0½	1	5	0
9	Pair studs					2	0		1	3
	Thimble					3	0		1	6
11	Pair 2ndhand salts				4	10	0	1	0	0
	2ndhand pepper box				2	15	0		16	6
	Punch ladle & cup				3	6	0	1	10	0
15	Pair buttons					3	0		1	6
17	Gold ring	3	21						17	6
	Girdle buckle					8	0		3	3
21	Pair studs					2	0½		1	3
	4 Pair crystal buttons								8	0
26	Tea spoon					4	0		1	10
30	Pair clasps					10	0		3	0
	Old tea kettle & lamp				95	5	0	26	3	9
9 Nov	Thimble					3	0		1	6
12	3 small casters				8	15	0	3	3	0
	Mustard spoon					5	0		2	0
19	Spring for a purse					14	0		7	0
	Nutmeg grater				1	0	0		9	0
26	Thimble					3	0		1	6
	Mother of pearl snuff box								6	0
7 Dec	Pair studs					3	0		1	6
10	Pair buttons					2	0½		1	4
14	Thimble					1	0½		1	0
16	Clasp					12	0½		5	6
27	Pair buttons					2	0½		1	3
	2 Pair crystal buttons								4	0
	Waiter				16	0	0	6	0	0
	Stone ring								10	0
	Child's spoon					19	0½		6	9



# SCHEDULE 3

TNA: C 128/1 [1740]

**The first Schedule of separate Stock in Trade of Mr. Lewis Cuny deceased which has been sold by the Defendant [Elizabeth Cuny] since putting in the Bill by James Cuny [1734]**

*\*NB This schedule compiled sometime after Lewis Cuny's death*

Date [1734]	Item	Gold			Silver			Money		
		oz	dwt	gm	oz	dwt	gm	£	s	d
Jan 1	3 Spoons					13	0		5	0
6	2ndhand punch ladle				1	16	0		13	0
	Gold ring	3	12						15	6
	Tea Spoon					5	0		2	0
	Thimble					2	0		1	3
	Thimble					3	0			
Feb 4	Gold ring	3	12						15	6
7	Thimble					3	0		1	9
8	Gold ring	3	18						17	9
10	2 Spoons				3	0	0	1	1	0
	Gold ring	3	20						15	6
11	Pair buckles				13	0			5	6
12	Seal				5	0			3	0
20	Gold ring	3	16						16	6
21	Spoon					17	0½		3	6
	Cup & cover				45	6	0	15	2	6
	'Corell'								10	0
Mar 18	Gold ring	4	3						18	6
1735										
Mar 25	Gold ring	3	18						17	0
29	12 Common buttons				1	19	0		13	0
	Tankard				31	10	0	10	18	0
31	Stock buckle					7	0		3	0
April 1	Thimble					2	0½		1	2
4	2ndhand mother of pearl snuff box								6	6
	Pair studs					2	0½		1	3
5	Gold ring	4	3						18	6
9	Stock buckle					7	0		3	6
	Porringer & spoon				9	7	0½	2	19	0
10	Tooth pick case				1	13	0		10	6
	Girdle buckle					5	0		3	0
14	Pair studs					2	0½		1	3
21	Thimble					2	0½		1	4
24	Stock buckle					7	0½		3	6
May 3	Punch ladle				1	9	0		14	6
	Gold ring	3	21						16	6
9	Stone ring								10	0
	3 Spoons					4	10		1	10
11	Pair buckles				1	18	0			13
20	Pair buckles						8			4
	Spoon				1	15	0		12	0
	Stock buckle					6	0½		3	6
24	Pepper box				1	15	0		12	6
30	Spoon				1	9	0		10	6
June 6	Gold ring	3	4						14	6

Date [1735]	Item	Gold			Silver			Money		
		oz	dwt	gm	oz	dwt	gm	£	s	d
13 June	Old salt				1	15	0		10	6
18	Sam ) Watch chain					12	0	(2	12	6
	Cuny ) Snuff box				2	4	0	(1	1	0
26	Gold ring	3	12						16	0
July 8	Gold ring	2	0						10	0
	Tea strainer					5	0		2	6
17	Thimble					2	0		1	2
18	Pair buckles					11	0		5	6
	Stock buckle					8	0		4	6
	Gold ring	2	6						9	0
30	7 Buttons					15	0		6	0
	Pair buckles					10	0		4	6
	Thimble					3	0		1	6
Aug 6	Stock buckle					7	0½		3	6
Sept 19	Breast button					2	0		1	0
22	Tea strainer					4	0		2	6
27	Thimble					3	0		2	0
	2 Salts covered				24	15	0	8	13	0
29	Pair candlesticks - Dr Oxley				26	3	0	9	3	0
30	'Corell'								7	6
Oct 2	Gold ring	2	5						10	0
4	Tea strainer					6	0		2	6
17	'Corell'							1	1	0
20	Pair buckles					14	0		5	6
23	Gold ring	2	6						10	0
	Coffee pot				15	4	0	4	11	3
24	Coffee pot				13	0	0	4	4	0
25	Stock buckle					6	0		3	6
Nov 5	10 Buttons				1	0	0		9	0
7	3 Thimbles					9	0		4	6
11	Spoon					18	2		6	6
	Orange strainer				1	16	0		10	0
Dec 1	Pair salts				7	11	0	2	18	0
22	Spoon				1	10	0		10	6
	Parcel of gold per Assay @ £3.12.3d. per oz				2	19	8	10	4	0
24	Parcel of silver per Assay @ 4s. 8½d. per oz				22	4	0	5	5	0
26	Coffee pot				28	10	0	8	1	6
27	Pair earrings		15						3	6
1735										
Feb 4	2 Gold chains	1	8	14				5	14	0
16	25 Coat buttons					4	10	1	14	0
Mar 6	4 Coat buttons					13	0		5	0
11	Half pint 'mugg'				8	0	0	2	7	6
1736										
Mar 25	Knife handle				1	15	0		13	0
	Milk Maid				14	0	0	4	4	0
27	Stone ring								14	0
May 4	Salver				19	15	0	5	8	0
12	Pair buckles					16	0½		7	0
June 3	Castor				8	10	0	2	9	6
July 12	9 Gold rings @ £3. 18s.0d. per oz		17	0				3	6	0

Date	Item	Gold			Silver			Money		
		oz	dwt	gm	oz	dwt	gm	£	s	d
[1736]										
Sept 12	Pair sauce boats				43	13	0	17	4	0
Oct 22	'Corell'								18	0
	Cup				17	16	0	5	11	0
Nov 17	'Corell'								19	0
25	Thimble					3	0		2	0
Dec 24	Orange strainer				3	0	0	1	1	0
Feb 12	28 Buttons				2	18	0	1	4	0
15	Gold ring		2	0					9	0
	Gold ring		2	0					9	6
1739										
Mar 26	Gold ring		3	14					16	0
	Pair earrings				1	0	0		6	0
	Snuff box				1	10	0		14	0
	Orange strainer				3	3	0	1	3	0
	Milk Pail				2	16	0	1	4	6
	'Spunge' smelling box					15	0		6	4
June 13	9 Buttons					1	2		8	0
	Corell[sic]								13	0
28	Tooth pick case				1	14	0		10	6
30	Tea spoon					6	0½		2	6
	Thimble					4	0		2	3
July 2	Bodkin					6	0		2	8
9	Tea spoon					4	0½		2	0
	Tea spoon boat				3	0	0	1	4	0
19	Chamber pot @ £5.6s.0d. per oz				31	4	0	8	11	6
	22 Gold rings @ £3.18s.0d. per oz	2	10	12				9	17	0
Aug 8	Thimble					2	0½		1	6
	Spoon					18	0		7	0
	Sugar dish & cover				9	7	0	3	5	0
Lost	To Mr. Barbut - a pennykin 'vouer' spoon				5	16	0	2	0	0
	To Dr Oxley - Fork & handle				2	14	0	1	0	9
	To Mr Lesage - Coffee pot				33	4	0	9	19	6
	To Mr Rolls - 6 table spoons				14	6	0½	4	14	9
	To Mr. Renaud - a Crane				1	10	0		12	0
	Cup					16	3	5	0	0
16	Gold ring		2	12					12	6
18	To Mrs. Perry - a Spoon					18	0		6	9
20	To Mrs. 'Yatman' - pieces of chains					10	0		3	0
	To the Speaker - Milk pot				12	10	0	5	0	0
22	To Mrs. 'Tipine' - pair of Earrings			16					4	8
	Half pint Mugg				8	19	0	2	13	9
	To Lady Compton - Sauce pan				13	8	0	4	0	0
	Pepper box				3	16	0	1	3	0
Sept 28	Orange strainer				2	8	0½	1	0	0
	Orange strainer				2	3	0		13	0
29	Spoon				4	0	0	1	9	0
	Pair wax candlesticks				7	14	0	3	0	0
	Small pair buckles					10	0		4	3
Oct 29	Tea kettle & lamp, broken to pieces – not having paid the King's taxes & being old fashioned 5:6 per oz				118	12	0	32	12	9



Date	Item	Gold			Silver			Money		
		oz	dwt	gm	oz	dwt	gm	£	s	d
[1739] Jan 27 1738	Pair of candlesticks				24	19	0	9	9	0
April 1	Smelling bottle				1	10	0	12		0
3	Spoon				2	5	0	15		0
4	Gold ring					3	0	14		0
	Punch ladle				1	4	0	12		0
15	Pape boat				2	3	0	13		0
18	'Etwee'							1	5	0
May 23	Small salver				4	17	0	1	9	0
29	Gold ring					3	0	13		6
	17 Buttons				2	0	0½	16		0
June 2	Pair buckles					10	0	4		6
5	Gold ring					3	6	14		6
10	Tea pot				10	16	0	3	10	0
14	Tea spoon					5	0	2		0
19	Gold ring			2				10		6
	Spoon					2	5	15		0
Sept 11	'Cheving' bason				26	17	0	14	1	0
	Spunge box				9	17	0			
	Wash ball box				6	10	0			
	Tooth pick case				4	4	0	10		6
13	'Corell'							15		0
19	Gold ring			4				19		0
1738										
Sept 26	Tobacco stopper					10	0	7		6
30	2 Clasps					8	2	4		0
Oct 5	Spoon				2	3	0	14		6
16	Punch ladle				2	10	0	1	1	0
18	Drain cup				2	11	0	18		0
Nov 7	Pepper box				2	5	0	18		0
8	To Mr Leber - Knife handle					3	0½	1		6
16	2 Nutmeg graters				1	5	0	13		6
18	Spoon				2	10	0	16		6
	2 Thimbles					7	0	4		0
20	Gold ring			2				10		0
23	Thimble					3	0	1		6
	'Sheel'					1	0½	1		0
	Seal					10	0	4		6
24	3 Pair buttons					9	0	4		6
	2 Thimbles					6	0	3		0
25	Seal					6	0	3		6
	Gold ring			2				13		0
27	Gold ring			3				14		0
	To the Speaker - a Seal					8	0	2		6
30	Gold ring			3				17		0
	To Mr. Richards - a Seal					6	0	4		0
	To Lord Byron - 2 Spoons/2 forks				8	16	0	2	19	8
	To Doctor Oxley - Pair snuffers				3	11	0	1	6	6
Dec 1	Black & gold ring			3				15		0
	Corell							10		0

Date	Item	Gold			Silver			Money		
		oz	dwt	gm	oz	dwt	gm	£	s	d
1739										
June 28	22 Buttons				3	19	0	1	11	0
	12 Buttons				1	9	0		12	6
July 4	2 Buttons					10	0		3	6
7	Gold ring					4	8		19	0
Aug 2	Pair crystal buttons								3	6
10	Spoon boat				2	19	0	1	5	0
18	Gold ring					2	12		12	6
27	Sauce pan				3	10	0	1	6	0
Sept 24	Seal					10	0		2	10
Oct 8	Thimble					3	0		1	6

**The second Schedule to which the Answer annex doth refer containing an Account of Goods in Partnership sold since the putting in the Examinant's [EC/HH] Answer to the Amendments Bill of James Cuny & others\***

	Gold			Silver			Money		
	oz	dwt	gm	oz	dwt	gm	£	s	d
To Mr Smith, Refiner - Gold 'etwee' @ £3.12.0. per oz	2	3					7	5	0
To Mr Holliday - Kettle & lamp				52	10	0	18	13	0
To Lady Ravenhill - Wash ball box				6	13	0	3	0	0
To Mrs Busley - Marrow spoon				1	10	0		12	6
To Mr Watson - Tea spoon boat					2	9	1	3	0
To Mr Richard - Punch ladle				2	13	0	1	3	0
To Arthur Onslow Esq - Sugar dish & cover				13	12	0	5	9	0
To Mr Renaud - Kettle & lamp				82	10	0	27	16	0
To a Stranger - Punch ladle				1	16	0		17	0
To Mr Chartier - 2 Small waiters				14	0	0	5	0	0
To Mr Renaud - Snuffer				2	5	0	1	0	0
To Mr Nevil - Ink stand				32	8	0	15	0	0
To Mr Nevil - Cruet frame & tops				24	8	0	10	0	0
To Mr Lesage - Sauce boat				15	3	0	5	16	0
To Miss Rowland - Sauce pan				5	13	0	2	2	0
To Mr Cliffe - 3 [or 5] Castors				38	10	0	16	7	0[?]
To Mr Cliffe - Scollop waiter				21	3	0	8	9	0
To a Stranger - Coffee pot				20	0	0	8	0	0
To Mr Soames - Coffee pot				18	0	0	6	4	0
To Mr Fisher - Sauce pan				2	9	0	1	1	0
To Mrs Wright - Sauce pan				2	8	0	1	0	0
To Mr Cliffe - Hand candlestick				9	2	0	3	12	0
To a Stranger - Half pint 'mugg'				6	3	0	2	4	0

\*NB This schedule drawn up several years after Lewis Cuny's death

## SCHEDULE 4

GH 1951 (181\*)

### Objects with the maker's marks of Lewis Cuny and Henry Hebert

[Objects traced in 2015]

*C = maker's mark of Lewis Cuny*

*H = maker's mark of Henry Hebert*

Unless otherwise stated all pieces appeared in auctions in London.

My thanks to Bonhams and Sotheby's for the use of their auction records.

<i>Date</i>		<i>Object</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Item no</i>
1697	C	Salt	Gerald Taylor (GT) (See cards at Goldsmiths' Hall)	'Upholder' GH 1951 (181*)
1702	C	Two-handled cup and cover, fluted h: 24.1cm (9½ in)	British Museum – Peter Wilding Bequest	No 1969,0705.2
1703	C	Chamber stick	GT	Folder
1704	C	Sugar bowl 30 oz (933g) h: 5.5cm (2½ in)	Bonhams	5 10 2011 lot 418
1704	C	Toilet box and cover on four feet, engraved cypher in baroque cartouche 77 oz (2,395g) l: 10¾ in (26.3cm)	Alan and Simone Hartman Collection, Boston Museum of Fine Art. Christopher Hartop, <i>The Huguenot Legacy</i> , London, 1996	No 107, pp 405-7
c1705	C	Silver-gilt gorget, engraved coat-of-arms and crest 5 oz 10 dwt (182gr) l: 5¾ in (14.5cm)	Christie's New York	21 10 2003 lot 427
1706	C	Rat-tail table spoon, with rigged tail and rounded end	Charles J Jackson, <i>English Goldsmiths &amp; their Marks</i> , London, 1921	p 161
1706	C	Teapot on stand, engraved arms h: 5½ in (13.2cm)	British Museum – Peter Wilding Bequest.	No 1969,0705.14
1707	C	Cup 3 oz 1 dwt (94gr) h: 2½ in (6.3cm)	Vanessa Brett, <i>Sotheby's Directory Silver 1600-1940</i> , London, 1986	pp 162-163
1709	C	Pair oblong tea caddies, engraved arms and initials. Overstriking maker's mark of Pierre Platel h: 4½ in (11.7cm)	Christie's	26 6 1974 lot 17
1709	C	Snuffer stand with snuffers by Paul de Lamerie, 1719, engraved cypher 10 oz 6 dwt (311g)	Christie's	25 6 1980 lot 54
1710	C	Lampstand maker's mark struck 4 times only together with tea kettle by Humphrey Payne, 1714 91 oz 18 dwt 285gr Total h: 4½ in (38.5cm)	Sotheby's	9 2 1989 lot 113
c1710	C	Fluted dish	GT	Folder
1711	C	Four candlesticks	GT	Folder
1711	C	Coffee pot	GT	AM 1711 F.30
1711	C	Two casters	GT	AM F.38
1711-	C	Hot water or milk jug and cover	Timothy Schroder,	Ashmolean Mus nos



Date	Object	Source	Item no
1712	12 oz 14 dwt (396g) h: 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ in (17.4cm)	<i>British &amp; Continental Gold &amp; Silver in the Ashmolean</i> , Oxford, 2009	WA1946 38 1 WA1946.38.2
1712	C Octagonal caster 8 oz 18 dwt (254g)	GT Christie's	4 2 1904 lot 19
1713	C Caster	Christies New York	24 10 2002 lot 374
1714	C Brandy pan, later engraved crest and motto 7 oz (217g) l: 7 in (17.5cm)	Christie's	18.2.2003 lot 180
1715	C Coffee pot, tapering form with canted corners, engraved with initials 23 oz 10 dwt (730g) gross h: 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in (24.7cm)	Christie's New York	28 4 1992 lot 254
1715	C Caster 18 oz (560g) h: 9 in (23cm)	Bonhams	9 2 2011 lot 352
c 1715-1720	C Pair of casters, with date letter for 1699-1700 and maker's mark of Pierre Harache but both these overstruck by Lewis Cuny's mark probably of 1697-8 or 1703-4, royal arms 24 oz 12 dwt (765g each) h: 24.5cm (9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in)	Timothy Schroder, <i>British &amp; Continental Gold &amp; Silver in the Ashmolean</i> , Oxford, 2009	Mus nos WA1946.38.1 WA1946.38.2
1716	C Four dishes engraved 'WON. AT. YORKE. An°. Do°. 1716' with crest and later inscription 86 oz (2,674g) d: 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in (23.2cm)	Christie's	5 7 1972 lot 85
1717-18C	Communion cup and Paten, part of a set made for the Huguenot Savoye church, Scratch weights 26 oz 18 dwt (836g) and 24 oz 12 dwt (750g)	P C Finney (ed), <i>Seeing Beyond the Word – Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition</i> , Michigan, 1999. James Lomax, <i>Huguenot Goldsmiths in England</i> . Tessa Murdoch, 'Silver at the French Hospital, Murdoch' <i>The Silver Society Journal</i> , no 25, 2009	pp 93-94       p 70
1720	C Taperstick h: 4 in (10cm)	Bonhams	5 12 2012 Part lot 333
1720	C Pair candlesticks engraved initials 21 oz 10 dwt (668g) h: 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in (16.2cm)	Sotheby's	11 11 1993 lot 466
1720	C Engraved possibly for George Warrender, 1st Bt of Lochend, East Lothian, MP for Edinburgh 16 oz (507g) d: 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in (19.2cm)	Christie's	5 3 1991 lot 161
c1720	C Bowl, London, fluted, engraved arms, marked 16 oz (507g) d: 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in, (19.2cm)	Christie's	5 3 1997 lot 161
1720	C Caster	GT	Folder
1720	C Tazza, engraved crest and ducal coronet for Herbert, 2nd Duke of Powis 16 oz (507g) d: 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in (18.5cm)	Christie's	1 12 2005 lot 458
	C Waiter, engraved with crest and coronet for Thomas Herbert 8th Earl of Pembroke, 12 oz (373g) d: 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in (8.5cm)	Christie's Glasgow	9 6 1994 lot 377

Date	Object	Source	Item no
1721	C Tea kettle	Windsor Castle	
1722	C Dessert dish	GT	Folder
1722	C Taperstick, octagonal, h: 3¼ in (10cm)	Christie's	3 3 1976 lot 139
1724	C Pair of sauceboats 41 oz 8 dwt (1,287g) l: 9½ in (24.1cm)	Vanessa Brett, <i>Sotheby's Directory – Silver 1600-1940</i> , London, 1986	pp 162-163
1725	C Cream jug 2 oz (62g) h: 2½ in (7.3cm)	Bonhams	5 7 2006 lot 168
1725	C Milk jug	Sotheby's	14 12 1959 lot 75
1728- 1929	C Three salts, parcel-gilt 7 oz (218.4g) h: 2¼ in (5.3cm)	Victoria & Albert Museum	Mus nos M13B-1916 M13A-1918 M13B-1918
1728	C Coffee pot 31 oz 4 dwt (970g) h: 9.4 in (24cm)	Tennants	20 3 2015 lot 342
1729	C Salt	GT	Folder
1729- 1930	C Pair circular salts, one marked Louis Cuny, the other Anne Tanqueray 15 oz (466g) 3½ in (9cm)	Christie's, South Kensington	Sale 9051, lot 165 £881 (see printout)
1729	C Three salts	Christie's	16 6 1965 lot 15
1732	C Salver, circular, engraved crest 41 oz (1,275g) d: 11½ in (29.5cm)	Christie's	23 11 1977 lot 167
1732	C Four circular salts, two with Cuny's mark, two H Hebert's mark struck three times r 19 oz 15 dwt h: 2 in (5cm)	Christie's	13 7 1994 lot 104
1733- 1734	C Square waiter H r	Charles J Jackson, <i>English Goldsmiths &amp; their Marks</i> , 2nd ed, V&A	Jackson p 187
1733	C Square salver, crest of Bradshaw 24 oz 19 dwt (776g) w: 9 in (23cm)	Christie's	25.11.14 lot 497
1733	C Pair of waiters, arms of Nevile or Neville impaling possibly Boyd 21 oz (663g) w: 6¼ in (16cm)	Sotheby's	29 11 2005 lot 160
1733	H Coffee pot, plain tapering cylindrical h: (9½ in) 23.9cm	Christie's	21 5 1969 lot 194
1734	H Two handled cup and cover, engraved inscription and arms of Townsend impaling Fawnes and Cole 71 oz 6 dwt (2,217g) h: 12 in (30.5cm)	Sotheby's	20 7 1974 lot 185
1735- 1736	H Tea-caddy, repoussé and chased, maker's mark HH r with three crowns	Charles J Jackson, <i>English Goldsmiths &amp; their Marks</i> , 2nd ed S J Phillips	p 188
c 1735	C Cream jug 4 oz 4 dwt (131g) h: 3½ (9.8cm)		
1736	H Caster, silver-gilt, royal arms and initials GR 12 oz 16 dwt (399g) h: 6¼ in (17cm)	Christie's	1 12 2015 lot 666
1736	H Paten	Royal Collection, <a href="http://www.royalcollection.org.uk">www.royalcollection.org.uk</a>	RC1N 31760

<i>Date</i>		<i>Object</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Item no</i>
1736- 1737	H r	Two-handled cup; Bread platter: Kensington Palace Chapel	Charles J Jackson, <i>English Goldsmiths &amp; their Marks</i> , London, 1921	p 189
1738	H r	Soup tureen and cover, engraved with royal arms 151 oz 2 dwt (4,700g) d: 11½ in (29.2cm)	Sotheby's	9 6 1994 lot 301
1738	H r	Salver engraved with counterseal of Queen Caroline presented by Rt Hon Arthur Onslow, Chancellor & Keeper of the Great Seal to Kingston-upon-Thames Corporation l: 16 in (40.6cm)	Exhibition of Corporation Plate, Goldsmiths Hall 1952	Item 129 Plate XXXV
1738	H	A set of salad dishes, crest of Benjamin Mildmay, Earl Fitzwalter 66 oz (2,053g) d: 9 in (22.8cm)	Sotheby's New York	26 10 2005 lot 47
1739	H	Pair of soup tureens, royal arms, supplied to Benjamin Mildmay, Earl Fitzwalter	Alan and Simone Hartman Collection, Boston Museum of Fine Art. Christopher Hartop, <i>The Huguenot Legacy</i> , London, 1996. The Campbell Collection, Winterthur Museum, K. Buhler, <i>The Campbell Collection</i> Sotheby's	No 11, pp 110-5  No 4 6 11 1980 lot 86
1739	H	Pair candlesticks 44 oz 10 dwt (1,384g) h: 8¾ in (22.2cm)		
1740	H	Coffee pot, maker's mark, struck three times, fluted, tapering, cylindrical 20 oz (620g) gross; h: 8 in (20cm)	Christie's	5 3 1997 lot 126
1741	H	Soup tureen and cover, engraved with arms of Frewen 113 oz 6 dwt (3,524g); w: 15¼ in (38.7cm)	Sotheby's	20 4 1972 lot 5
1746- 1747	H	Pair vase-shaped tea caddies	Charles J Jackson, <i>English Goldsmiths &amp; their Marks</i> , London, 1921	p 198
1757	H	Butter shell 4 oz 8 dwt (136g) w: 11.30cm	Private Collection	



# The Silver Society Prize for Silversmithing 2015

The Silver Society Prize, awarded to the best young silversmith to exhibit at 'Inspired' held during British Silver Week in May 2015 at the Goldsmiths' Centre, was given to Jen Ricketts for her outstanding pierced work.

Jen gained a First Class Honours degree from De Montfort University before going on to a residency at Bishopsland. Her work is distinguished by the technique of hand piercing with the finest saw blades. At present her work concentrates on making functional pieces which feature highly intricate city skylines or quirky silhouettes of park scenes or the countryside. Each piece is individually detailed and can include personal references and images of a memorable place. Jen commences with a detailed drawing of the design from which she creates a template prior to the labour intensive task of cutting out the detail of the design.

Apart from the Silver Society Prize Jen has been awarded a Precious Metal Bursary Award from the Goldsmiths' Company, the Malcolm Appleby Award for artistic excellence and has completed the commission of a pierced tea light holder for the Assay Master of the Sheffield Assay Office to present to the Queen in 2015.



Fig 2 London skyline bottle holder by Jen Ricketts.



Fig 1 London skyline tea light holder by Jen Ricketts.

# ‘A peep at the spoils of ambition’

## Napoleon’s plate in the Royal Collection

KATHRYN JONES

The three greatest goldsmiths associated with Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821): Henri Auguste (1759-1816), Martin-Guillaume Biennais (1764-1843) and Jean-Baptiste-Claude Odiot (1763-1850), are all well represented in the Royal Collection and, shortly after the year marking the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, the following represents a survey of these works and the distinctive style of the French imperial court in the early years of the nineteenth century. It might be suspected that the greatest collector of the works of these goldsmiths would be George IV (1762-1830) who, as Prince Regent and later King, was obsessed not only with the political manoeuvrings of his great enemy Bonaparte but also with his attempts at recreating the style of imperial Rome in his palaces in Paris. The Prince Regent's personal fascination with the Emperor meant that in 1811 he stated that he and his court would “quite eclipse Napoleon”.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor, however, continued to exert a fascination over the British for well over a century after his defeat at Waterloo and many of George IV's successors continued to collect works associated with his court until the early twentieth century. Napoleon's lustre was not easy to eclipse.

On 13 July 1815 Napoleon wrote to the Prince Regent calling him

the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies

and threw himself, like Themosticles, on the mercy of his foe.<sup>2</sup> This was the last attempt of the French Emperor to save himself. Defeated at Waterloo little less than a month earlier, Bonaparte had returned to Paris to re-group but had abdicated in favour of his son within a few days. He then attempted to escape to the north coast of France, probably aiming to reach the United States, and from there to build up his power base once more. Faced with the British naval blockade of the French ports, and pursued by Prussian forces, Napoleon was forced to surrender to an English naval officer, Captain Maitland, of HMS *Bellerophon*. The debate among the British about what was to happen to their defeated enemy lasted a fortnight while the ship remained anchored just outside Plymouth. In the event, Napoleon was sent into exile on St Helena and died there only six years later. Prints of the former enemy dressed as a humble gardener on the remote island were widely circulated in Britain [Fig 1].

Meanwhile the Prince Regent was amassing a large collection of works of art associated with the defeated French Emperor. The first to arrive at Carlton House was the *burnous* or cloak taken from



Fig 1 The Exile, hand-coloured etching, Robert Cribb & Sons, 1820.  
(RCIN 61777 Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen)

RCIN: Royal Collection inventory number

1 Thomas Moore, *Memoirs*, London, 1853-6, vol viii, p 97, 24 October 1811.

2 Letter of surrender from Napoleon to the Prince Regent (RCIN 452438.d).



Fig 2 Burnous, French, felt, silk, silk brocade, silver thread, braid, tinsel, 1797-1805.

(RCIN 61156 Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen)



Fig 3 The Table of the Great Commanders of Antiquity, Sèvres porcelain, gilt bronze, internal wooden structure, 1806-12.

(RCIN 2634 Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen)

3 Carlton House inventory, July 1816, no 2676; North Corridor inventory, no 1208.

4 RCIN 61171, 61154 and 2634.

5 RCIN 29931.

6 Although the desk closely resembles others made for Napoleon by Jacob Frères there are some differences in the structure of the end supports which have raised certain doubts about the provenance.

7 RCIN 31647.

8 RCIN 68600.

Napoleon's own carriage as it left the battlefield at Waterloo [Fig 2]. Captured by a Prussian officer, Major Eugen von Keller, the cloak was presented to his commander Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher who, in turn, presented it to the Prince Regent as a token of the alliance between Prussia and Britain, accompanied by the dramatic tale of its capture.<sup>3</sup> Major von Keller claimed that he had caught Napoleon's retreating carriage as it passed through the small village of Genappe, a little distance south of the battlefield of Waterloo. As he arrested the coach he stated that he had seen a shadowy figure fleeing the scene, his cloak falling to the ground as he escaped. Keller recorded that this figure was the French Emperor himself running off into the night, his *burnous* discarded in his flight. This tale was later discredited but there is little doubt as to the authenticity of the cloak or the captured carriage. The carriage was sold by von Keller to the showman William Bullock who placed it on show in the Egyptian Museum on Piccadilly, together with its contents and two of the horses. The show was an enormous success, pulling in 10,000 visitors a day and prompting caricatures by the artists Thomas Rowlandson and George Cruikshank. The latter called his work "A peep at the spoils of ambition".

Further tokens of Napoleon's defeat thereafter flowed into Carlton House: a sword worn by Napoleon as First Consul, a gun used by Bonaparte when in exile on Elba and, most favoured by the Prince himself, the '*table des Grands Capitaines*' (the Table of the Great Commanders of Antiquity) [Fig 3].<sup>4</sup> An extraordinary technical feat, the table was made almost entirely of Sèvres porcelain and painted with the heads of twelve classical military leaders, resembling cameos, surrounding the profile of Alexander the Great. It is no coincidence that the head of Alexander is that of Napoleon himself. The table, a gift from a grateful Louis XVIII on his restoration to the French throne, became one of the Prince Regent's most treasured possessions, appearing in all official portraits of him, after its arrival in the Royal Collection.

The Prince Regent's celebratory collecting did not only focus on gifts. He also sent out agents to purchase works that had formerly belonged to the defeated Emperor: among them a writing desk by Jacob Frères,<sup>5</sup> purchased in 1820 by the Prince's agent in France, François Benois, who was also his pastry chef. Although there is some doubt as to the provenance of the desk it was certainly acquired by Benois in the belief that it came from Napoleon's collections.<sup>6</sup> A bust of John, 1st Duke of Marlborough, commissioned from the sculptor Pierre-Charles Bridan (1766-1836)<sup>7</sup> and formerly in the *Galerie des Consuls* in the Louvre was also purchased, as was a vast block of marble which had been intended for a great sculptural scheme at the planned palace or 'imperial city', which was meant to rival the Kremlin, in the Paris area of Chaillot, for the use of Napoleon's infant son, the King of Rome. The marble was converted by the sculptor Richard Westmacott (1775-1856) into the Waterloo vase,<sup>8</sup> carved with the scene of Bonaparte's defeat, which now stands in the grounds of Buckingham Palace. The Prince also acquired a large number of works on paper, prints and watercolours detailing the history of the battle, by artists such as Jean-Baptiste Isabey, Denis Dighton, S Wharton and Thomas Rowlandson.





Fig 4 Arthur, Duke of Wellington, oil on canvas, Sir Thomas Lawrence, 1814.

(RCIN 405147 Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen)

Among the new commissions sent out by the Prince was an order to the porcelain manufactory of Chamberlain & Co of Worcester, for a breakfast service, including a set of twelve plates decorated with scenes of the landscape around Waterloo, after the prints by Wharton.<sup>9</sup> A great triumphal memorial in the form of an enormous pyramid, the height of St Paul's Cathedral, was planned to stand on the site of the modern-day Royal Mews in Buckingham Palace Road, although the plan never came to fruition.<sup>10</sup> Most significantly, the Prince expanded an existing commission given to the great portraitist Sir Thomas

Lawrence (1769-1830) to complete a cycle of full and half-length portraits of the military and political heroes involved in the battle itself and in the establishment of peace in Europe thereafter [Fig 4]. The twenty eight portraits included, not only the leaders on the battlefield, but also the statesmen responsible for negotiating the new boundaries of Europe.<sup>11</sup> As Lawrence travelled around Europe capturing the likenesses of these figures, it rapidly became clear that the Prince's residence of Carlton House would be far too small to house this great run of paintings, and the scheme to enclose a medieval courtyard in the heart of Windsor Castle in order to create a gallery was born. The subsequently named Waterloo Chamber became the focus for the works by Lawrence and it was also to become the home of the anniversary celebrations of the Waterloo victory, when each year, the Duke of Wellington would present the monarch with a banner, embroidered with the year of its presentation, in lieu of rent for his residence: Stratfield Saye in Hampshire.

As for silver, the Prince Regent was much more restrained in his acquisitions. Silver taken from the French was clearly available on the market after the battle of Waterloo: for example a silver-gilt handled knife by Biennais, presented to Queen Mary in 1936, was one of a set said to have been taken from Napoleon's carriage.<sup>12</sup> The knife came with a letter from Maud Gurney of Earlham Hall, Norwich, noting that it was one from a set of twelve:

taken out of Napoleon's carriage at Waterloo after his flight. The whole set were sold to my great-grandfather, Sir Thomas Cullum, just after Waterloo, and they are now owned by my uncle, Gen Milner Gibson Cullum, who gave me this one. My uncle also has a part of his silver-gilt writing set.

Other items were circulating on the market almost as soon as the smoke of battle had cleared. George IV, however, simply purchased two groups of silver. The first was a pair of ornamental bowls, modelled with butterfly handles [Fig 5]. These are marked by Jean-



Fig 5 Pair of bowls on stands, silver-gilt, Paris, 1798, by Jean-Baptiste-Claude Odier, and London, 1816-17, by Paul Storr.

(RCIN 51069 Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen)

9 RCIN 10884.1-8 – only eight of the set survive.

10 The scheme was drawn up by George Blaquiere, Matthew C Wyatt and Phillip W Wyatt, dated 5 November 1815 and a watercolour design for the pyramid is retained in the Royal Collection (RCIN 918932).

11 The portrait of Wellington was part of the group commissioned in 1814 in the belief that Napoleon had been defeated. The cycle was vastly expanded in 1815 after Waterloo. For more on this commission and the development of the Waterloo Chamber at Windsor Castle, see Desmond Shawe-Taylor, 'The Waterloo Chamber before the Battle of Waterloo', *Placing Faces*, the portrait and the English country house in the long eighteenth century, G Perry, K Retford and J Vibert (eds), Manchester, 2013.

12 RCIN 48460.



Fig 6 Oval case for a nécessaire, mahogany and brass, by Martin-Guillaume Biennais, circa 1810.

(RCIN 61160 Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen)

Baptiste-Claude Odier and bear the Paris guarantee mark for the period 1798-1809; they were purchased on behalf of the Prince in November 1815, together with a stand in the form of an infant faun supporting a wreath of forget-me-not flowers. When they arrived in the Prince's collections they must have been dispatched almost immediately to the workshops of Paul Storr where a second stand was created to match the French one and all the pieces were gilded.<sup>13</sup> These bowls appear to have come from the Emperor's own collections where they were described by Odier as being modelled on the breast of Venus, although the more likely candidate is thought to be Napoleon's notorious sister, Pauline Borghese (1780-1825), who often used the butterfly as her personal symbol. The bowls do not sit happily in their wreaths and the model for the stand by Odier is in fact a reworking of a stand created for a *veilleuse* (spirit lamp).<sup>14</sup> Odier may have simply been using the stand expeditiously in order to sell the bowls although the design appears again on egg cups by the firm.

Odier, one of the dynasty of goldsmiths, saw huge success under the First Empire in Paris. Jean-Baptiste's grandfather had registered his first mark as a goldsmith

in 1720 and was succeeded by his son Jean-Claude in 1754. It was Jean-Baptiste, however, who became the most celebrated member of the family. At the 1802 Exposition de l'Industrie held in Paris Odier was awarded a prize for his work and furthermore, when the Emperor's goldsmith, Henri Auguste fell into bankruptcy, Odier was well placed to take over his position at court and indeed to acquire various models and designs from Auguste's workshops when the latter departed for England in 1809.

The other group of silver and related items belonging to the Prince Regent was acquired, once again through the office of François Benois, in Paris in 1819 where he purchased an entire *nécessaire* (travelling case) and an empty case for a second one for £95.<sup>15</sup> The oval case [Fig 6] is engraved with the Napoleonic N and his personal emblem of bees, and the number 3, suggesting it was one of a series of such boxes. It also carries the mark of Martin Guillaume Biennais, the *tabletier* who owned the premises on the rue St Honoré known as 'Au Singe Violet' (the sign of the Violet Monkey). Biennais originally trained as a turner, buying the premises of a modest *tabletier* in April 1788. The *tabletiers* of France worked in much the same way as toy-men in Britain, retailing small items for the dressing table, gold, horn and tortoiseshell boxes, crucifixes and games. *Tabletters* were able to bridge the strict regulations imposed on other trades by working in many different materials and Biennais termed himself an *ébéniste* or cabinet maker as well as a *tabletter*. In 1791, after the sweeping away of the so-called Chapelier laws which regulated the trades, Biennais increasingly worked with silver and by the early nineteenth century he termed himself an *orfèvre*. According to his obituary in the *Moniteur universel*<sup>16</sup> Biennais had come to the attention of Napoleon on Bonaparte's return from his Egyptian campaigns, owning no other wealth than his own glory. Biennais was one of the few willing to take a gamble on Napoleon's future and began supplying him with *nécessaires de voyage*. As a reward, Biennais was given the commission to supply the imperial crown and other regalia for the coronations in Paris and Milan in 1804.

Thereafter Biennais became goldsmith to the Emperor and retained his pre-eminence in supplying the imperial court with *nécessaires*. Such boxes were traditionally packed with cunningly arranged objects for all the necessities of travel and in the Emperor's case, for military campaigns. Napoleon is known to have owned numerous such boxes for dental, medical, drawing and surveying, writing, grooming, dressing and eating equipment, numbered for use and ready packed so that he could depart from his residence at only twenty minutes' notice.<sup>17</sup> Rowlandson depicted

13 Royal Archives GEO/26428 and TNA LC11/22 6 September 1816.

14 Illustrated in Henri Bouilhets, *L'orfèvrerie française aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, Paris, 1909, vol 2, p 123.

15 Royal Archives WCA 25377 and WCA 25366.

16 Quoted in Anne Dion-Tenenbaum, 'Martin-Guillaume Biennais, une carrière exceptionnelle', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no 340, 2005, pp 47-55.

17 See Julia E Poole, 'A Napoleonic Silver-Gilt Service by Martin-Guillaume Biennais', *Burlington Magazine*, vol 119, June 1977, pp 388-396.



such an empty case in his caricature of Napoleon's captured carriage [Fig 7]. The caricature pokes fun at the English tourists flocking to the museum to gawp at their conquered enemy's possessions, scrambling over the carriage in their enthusiasm. A couple of ladies to the right examine the Emperor's chamber pot, while on the left a stand has been placed to display the French silver. In the foreground lies Napoleon's saddle and next to it an insert from a *nécessaire*, its compartments denuded of its contents.

The Prince Regent purchased such a *nécessaire* at the same time as the empty case. It may have been one by Biennais that no longer survives in the Royal Collection, or it may be a surviving example, fitted with equipment for travelling.<sup>18</sup> The latter example is not obviously connected with Napoleon although Benois may have purchased it with the empty case believing both were associated with the Emperor. The fitted example is in fact largely the work of Blaquièrre, who also ran a *tabletier's* establishment on the rue Saint-Honoré, and called on the services of many of the same workers as Biennais for the individual elements supplied in his *nécessaires*. It is possible that Blaquièrre came to Benois' notice through his connection with the Sèvres factory, as Benois was involved in purchasing quantities of French porcelain for the Prince Regent at this time. Blaquièrre first registered a goldsmith's mark in 1803/4 and established himself on rue Saint-Honoré as a jeweller and *garnisseur*. From May 1811 he worked for the Sèvres porcelain manufactory, supplying handles and mounts for cups and other small items. For a few years, around 1820, when 'jewelled' porcelain wares became fashionable, he was responsible for the technique of inserting hardstones and glass cameos

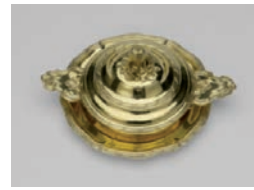


Fig 8 *Écuelle*, cover and stand, silver-gilt, by Simon Bourguet and François Joubert, Paris, 1762-3.  
(RCIN 48397 Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen)

into porcelain. In common with every *tabletier* of the period, Blaquièrre's *nécessaires* were collaborative objects and one of his most frequent associates was Marc Jacquart who supplied most of the silver elements. In an advertisement of about 1828 in the *Bazar Parisien* Blaquièrre described himself as supplying the glass, porcelain and stone additions as well as furnishing the *nécessaires* themselves but he never listed himself as a goldsmith, despite his registration with the guild. Whether or not the Prince Regent purchased the work in the belief that it had belonged to Napoleon, he was clearly impressed with the work of the French *tabletiers* and a second *nécessaire* by Biennais was presented to his secretary Sir Benjamin Bloomfield in 1819.<sup>19</sup>

Given George IV's later insistence that he had personally been involved in Waterloo, and his almost obsessive rivalry in trying to outdo the Emperor's neo-imperial style and collecting habits, it is surprising that he did not go further in acquiring any silver from Napoleon's collections. It fell to his relations to gather further items of plate associated with Bonaparte. Perhaps the most significant of these was an *écuelle*, with its cover and stand [Fig 8] which were acquired by William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester (1776-1834), the King's cousin. These pieces were engraved with the Napoleonic N; the Emperor's name and the date of the Battle of Waterloo have been added to each piece. The *écuelle* is the work of Simon Bourguet (c1705-1773) and the stand was supplied by François Joubert (mark entered 1749). Perhaps surprisingly these works date to 1762/3 and show a design and decorative vocabulary unrelated to the style of silver usually associated with the court of Napoleon. Unlike the pared-down neo-classicism and neo-imperial style of the architects and designers Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Leonard Fontaine, which pervaded the French court in the early nineteenth century, the *écuelle* is entirely traditional. Percier and



Fig 7 Exhibition at Bullock's Museum of Bonaparte's Carriage taken at Waterloo, Thomas Rowlandson, 1816, etching with hand colouring.

(RCIN 810955 Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen)

18 RCIN 50880.

19 RCIN 50467.



Fontaine's designs gave homogeneity to the imperial residences which are lacking in this piece. Was it simply captured from the French baggage train and opportunely marked as the personal property of Napoleon for re-sale? Or could the work in fact have been a historic item from Bonaparte's collection kept for some sentimental reason? The former seems by far the most likely and the Duke of Gloucester must surely have been deceived in acquiring these pieces. The *écuelle* probably passed into the Royal Collection in 1834 after the Duke's death as it does not appear in the inventory of the plate pantry undertaken for William IV in 1832 but it is recorded at Windsor by 1854.<sup>20</sup>

This work is important to the story of royal collecting of Napoleonica not because of its authenticity but because it represents the transition to later collectors who collected works of art associated with Bonaparte to be venerated like sacred touch relics of the medieval period. The French Emperor appears to have exerted an influence over the Royal Family for at least a century after his death. In 1855, Queen Victoria visited Paris and paid a visit to the tomb of Napoleon in the company of Napoleon III. In a remarkable statement in her journal the Queen wrote of her emotions at the visit:

Into this the Emperor led me & there I stood on the arm of Napoleon IIIrd, before the coffin of his Uncle, our bitterest foe! I, the granddaughter of that King, who hated Napoleon most & who most vigorously opposed him, & this very nephew, bearing his name, now my nearest & dearest ally!!<sup>21</sup>

Victoria was also responsible for the acquisition of the paintings by Paul Delaroche, *Napoleon crossing the Alps*



Fig 9 Travelling writing set, silver-gilt unmarked, French, circa 1810, with later leather box.

(RCIN 48388 Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen)



Fig 10 Napoleon Room, Marlborough House, Grove & Boulton, 1912, platinum print.

(RCIN 2102002 Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen)

and *Napoleon in exile on St Helen*: in the latter Napoleon stands pensively among the rocks brooding over the past.<sup>22</sup> Among the gifts presented to Queen Victoria in 1897 to mark her Diamond Jubilee was a silver-gilt travelling writing set apparently also taken from the infamous carriage at Waterloo [Fig 9]. The set is entirely unmarked and the case in which it was presented is clearly a replacement: the Napoleonic Ns and bees being an addition. The only clue to the set's authorship is an ink signature underneath the wooden tray which reads "Joseph". Despite a plaque insistently stating its provenance, the travelling set must remain a question mark in the pantheon of Napoleonica in the Royal Collection as its design is apparently unrelated to other works belonging to the Emperor and its authorship unattributed.

The later collectors of Napoleonic silver, Edward VII and Queen Mary, bought the works of art for their provenance rather than as a direct triumph over a defeated enemy. Edward VII seems in particular to have held an admiration for the French leader; he created a Napoleon room at his residence in Marlborough House [Fig 10]. No inventory of this room exists but

20 1854 inventory of Queen Victoria's plate, drawn up by Garrard & Co, p 23.

21 Queen Victoria's journal, 24 August 1855.

22 RCINs 404874 and 404876.



Fig 11 Teapot and tea caddy, silver-gilt and ebony, Paris, circa 1809-15, by Martin-Guillaume Biennais.  
(RCIN 48395 and 48396 Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen)

photographs taken shortly after Edward VII's death, reveal a shrine to the French Emperor. The room is packed with paintings, prints, miniatures, statuettes, busts and other images of Napoleon, within a setting of Empire furniture and silk-lined walls bearing wreaths in the style of Percier and Fontaine. The contents of this room were almost entirely dispersed and few, if any, of these tributes to the Emperor remain in the Royal Collection. There are, however, one or two survivals: among his collections were a teapot and caddy by Biennais [Fig 11]. The two pieces must have come from one of Bonaparte's *nécessaires*: the caddy fitting snugly

inside the teapot and is suited for preparing one cup of tea. This teapot shows the sort of design closely related to the French court of Napoleon as it carries a pair of winged genii, holding aloft a Roman shield engraved with the N monogram. The spout of the teapot terminates in a swan's head. Biennais is known to have worked directly to the designs Percier and Fontaine although he also published a set of

designs from his workshops which he claimed were his own work.

It fell to Queen Mary to collect the largest quantity of silver associated with Napoleon, most of which she acquired at auction at Sotheby's in 1934. Among her acquisitions were a group of objects marked with an SN monogram for Stéphanie Napoleon [Fig 12]. This denomination is significant. Stéphanie was in fact a member of the Beauharnais family, and cousin through marriage to Josephine, Bonaparte's first wife. In the first years of the nineteenth century she was adopted by Napoleon as a daughter and instantly became yet another pawn in his political manoeuvring. Following the Peace of Pressburg, which effectively swept away the Holy Roman Empire in 1805, Napoleon set about courting the princes of Germany to create the Confederation of the Rhine. In 1806 Stéphanie was married to the future Grand Duke of Baden, Karl Friedrich. The Baden Princes were well connected throughout Europe and Karl Friedrich was brother-in-law to the rulers of Bavaria, Russia and Sweden. Napoleon settled the enormous dowry of 1½ million francs on his adopted daughter and awarded her a trousseau worth a further 500,000 francs. The trousseau encompassed a toilet service of silver and gold by Biennais, which remains in Karlsruhe,<sup>23</sup> and a travelling service and a tea service which passed down to her grand-daughter, Mary, Duchess of Hamilton and thereby formed part of the 1934 sale.<sup>24</sup> Napoleon clearly had these pieces engraved SN to remind his daughter of her loyalties to her adopted family. The travelling service, still in its Biennais case, lost some of its contents in the nineteenth century and they were replaced by pieces by Brownett and Rose in 1860/1. It



Fig 12 Ewer, silver-gilt and ebony, Paris, 1798-1809, by Henri Auguste.  
(RCIN 48456 Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen)

<sup>23</sup> Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, inv no 77/56.1-45.

<sup>24</sup> RCIN 43936.

retains, however, the ingenuity of Biennais in not only arranging the contents of the *nécessaire* in a practical way to avoid disturbance during travel but also in an attractively symmetrical manner. Biennais traditionally arranged the contents of his *nécessaires* around an oval basin, fitted with small leather-lined trays with the small toilet articles of mother-of-pearl, cut steel and silver gilt in the upper layer to draw the eye.

Queen Mary also purchased Stephanie Beauharnais's tea wares: a tea-urn, teapot, milk and cream jugs, sugar basin, a larger dish or tazza, and a pair of toast racks which were all marked by Henri Auguste and a pair of forks which are marked by the flatware specialist Pierre-Benois Lorillon. It was Henri Auguste who dominated the French court as goldsmith to Napoleon in the first decade of the nineteenth century. He was the son of the celebrated Robert-Joseph Auguste who had supplied plate to both Louis XV and Louis XVI, as well as George III as Elector of Hanover, Catherine the Great of Russia and many of the aristocrats of Portugal. Henri continued to work on the success of his father, managing the transition from King to Republic apparently without demurral. He employed some of the greatest Parisian designers of the day in his workshops; in particular the sculptor Jean-Guillaume Moitte (1746-1810) who produced more than 1,000 drawings for Auguste. Moitte's designs embodied the restrained elegance of the neo-classical, often suggesting unadorned surfaces rather than chased or cast decorative features on his works. The tea service created for Stéphanie Beauharnais shows a clear understanding of Roman antiquities. Moitte had studied for several years in Rome and seen first-hand the newly-excavated objects from Pompeii and the tomb of the Scipios and this is apparent in his helmet-shaped jugs closely based on Roman examples.

Henri Auguste's success did not translate to his business affairs and in 1806 he was declared bankrupt and given eight years to pay off his creditors. In 1809 he was arrested attempting to flee to England with the remains of his stock; he eventually left France (without the stock) passing through London and then retired to Haiti. On his departure many of the models, tools and designs of his workshop were purchased by Odier and the vacuum created by his absence was filled by Odier

and Biennais. In a period where designs for the imperial court were restricted to a limited style: the same motifs appearing over and over again, it is difficult to attribute with certainty one design to a particular goldsmith, but the drawings by Moitte and Auguste must surely have influenced Odier in the years following Auguste's departure. This is noticeable in the base of the tazza which forms part of Stéphanie's tea service, the plain polished surface of the cylindrical pedestal is interrupted only by a putto playing a tibia (double-pipes).

The remainder of the tea service ended up in the collection in Monaco. At the 1934 sale the items of Napoleonic silver in the Hamilton collection appear to have been divided up rather indiscriminately and a portion of the service made for Stéphanie Beauharnais formed part of a lot which also included a basin, small jug, six plates, a spirit burner, a beaker and apparently an inkstand (no longer in the Royal Collection).<sup>25</sup> This group appears to be the remains of yet another *nécessaire* belonging to Napoleon. With the exception of the beaker, which is marked by Biennais, these pieces are marked by Marie-Joseph Gabriel Genu, who was Biennais's greatest collaborator. Queen Mary deliberately acquired these works for the Royal Collection with the intention that they should be displayed in Windsor Castle. They are distinct from the group of Stéphanie's possessions as they bear no cipher and have little cast decoration thereby enabling them to be packed efficiently into a *nécessaire*. Given the involvement of Genu the works must have been produced before 1810 as he died in that year. This would suggest that they were in Stéphanie's collections at Baden earlier than the date of the Battle of Waterloo but nevertheless may have belonged to Napoleon himself.

Is there any conclusion to be drawn from this disparate group of objects: many only loosely associated with Napoleon himself or rather optimistically given an imperial provenance by their collectors? Perhaps the only theme which draws these items together is their link (imagined or otherwise) with an extraordinarily charismatic leader who continues to exert such a strong influence. Like the tourists flocking to Napoleon's carriage in Rowlandson's caricature, just a peep at his possessions seems to have been enough to send the viewer into raptures of delight.

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<sup>25</sup> Beaker RCIN 48392, basin RCIN 48387, jug RCIN 48391, plate RCIN 48462 and burner RCIN 48483.



# The Sparke cup

ALISON COOPER

Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery has recently made a significant acquisition of seventeenth-century silver into its collections. The Sparke cup is not only a fine example of Restoration silver but has particularly strong links with Plymouth, given that it was originally purchased by the city as a gift for John Sparke, its MP at the time [Fig 1].

The piece is a silver-gilt, two handled cup and cover which is accompanied by a salver on foot. Both pieces were made by Thomas Jenkins and hallmarked for London, 1672-73. The body and cover of the cup and the rim of the salver are chased and embossed with stylised scrolling foliage and both bear the arms of the city of Plymouth and Sparke. The cup and its stand weigh together 77 oz (2,395g).

Happily, archives exist that tell us precisely when the cup was purchased by the city: it appears in the city's Receivers' Book of 1680:

£37 10s paid for a large silver salver Cawdle Cupp and cover, embost and thick washed with gold weighing 75 ounces, given to John Spark one of the burgesses in Parliament for this Borough, in token of the Respect and Gratitude of this Towne for his faithful and diligent service.

John Sparke (1636-80) must have been highly regarded in the city for it to wish to make such a presentation to him and it may be that the city decided to purchase the cup to celebrate his second election to Parliament in 1679. Clearly intended for display as a state cup, Sparke sadly did not have long to enjoy it, as he died in 1680.

The Sparke family had a long and distinguished history as merchants in the city and Sparke's great-grandfather was "John Sparke the younger" who wrote a journal of John Hawkins's voyage to America (1564-65); it contains the earliest known descriptions of potatoes and tobacco. His grandfather, John Sparke (1574-1640), was engaged in public life, leasing Plymouth's Sutton Pool (the main harbour) as a major business venture to the benefit of the city. His father apparently avoided involvement in the Civil War, but at the Restoration he helped to disband the Commonwealth forces, and as "the principal person of the place" was nominated to



Fig 1 The Sparke cup and salver on foot, silver-gilt, London, 1672, by Thomas Jenkins, engraved with the arms of the Plymouth and of Sparke. (Courtesy of Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery)

the Corporation of Plymouth by the Commissioners, although he was allowed to resign after a few months,

his continuance therein being inconvenient for his Majesty's service.

Sparke inherited considerable property in the town, including the former Carmelite priory, valued at £1,000 per annum. He was described as "very loyal" when he was first elected in 1677. Re-elected in 1679, he was again classed as "vile" by Shaftesbury; but he voted for exclusion. He married into a local family, the Carews of Antony House, Cornwall, when he married Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Alexander Carew. His son also sat in Parliament for the Cornish borough of Newport from 1701-7.

Sparke's role in Plymouth after the Restoration would also have contributed to the esteem in which he was

held by the city. Having been on the side of the Parliamentarians during the Civil War, the people of Plymouth had to make amends when Charles II was restored to the throne and the city made a presentation of a silver-gilt fountain, by Peter Oehr I, to Charles II in 1660, which is still part of the Royal Collection today. (It was obviously no stranger to the purchase and presentation of large pieces of display silver during this period.)

Sparke showed alignment with the crown via his patronage of the Charles church in Plymouth: he presented the church with a chalice and paten bearing his coat of arms and made in 1660. From contentious origins, the church was established to try and break with royal control, thereby allowing Puritans greater freedom of worship. The church symbolised royal support after the Restoration; it was after all named for and after Charles I. The chalice (on long term loan to Plymouth Museum) provides a fitting pairing with the newly acquired Sparke cup and salver representing as they do the civic duty and the spiritual life of the Sparke family in the city.

After Sparke's death the cup probably came into the Molesworth family a generation later.

The pedigree for the Sparke family after the seventeenth century has not been published but the will of William Sparke of the Friary, Plymouth (d 1714), presumably John's son, made John Molesworth of Pencarrow, Cornwall, his principal legatee. William Sparke was a wealthy man who left bequests of nearly £10,000 to various individuals but most of his estate, including his "plate, jewels, household goods and other goods and chattels" were left to his godson John Molesworth (1668-1723). The latter succeeded his father as third baronet in 1716 and thereafter the cup descended through twelve generations of the family until its sale by Sir Arscott Molesworth-St Aubyn, 15th baronet, in 1994. The Sparke and Molesworth families were connected through the marriage of the first baronet, Hender Molesworth (d 1689), to John Sparke's cousin, Mary. Hender Molesworth had an adventurous and enterprising career which culminated when he was made Governor of Jamaica. William Sparke's will states that he was childless and was

the last of his name and family in that place [Plymouth].

At the time his will was drawn up he was living at Pencarrow, home of the Molesworth family.

### Thomas Jenkins and Joseph Wilcockes

Thomas Jenkins (circa 1647-1707), whose mark appears on the cup and salver, was a very significant goldsmith-banker of the Restoration period with links to Cornwall: his father, Thomas Jenken (sic), was a



Fig 2 The Sparke cup, detail of the arms of Plymouth.  
(Courtesy of Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery)

yeoman of Madren in Cornwall. Jenkins was apprenticed to John Seale, a freeman of the Butcher's Company, in May 1661. Rate books for St Clement Danes show that he occupied premises in Essex Street, London, from 1682 to 1707.

Recent research has been successful in identifying Jenkins' earliest registered mark on numerous wares from 1668. He appears to have produced a wide variety of plate ranging from simple, domestic wares to impressive display pieces. Examples of his finest work include the Kyrle tankard from Balliol College, Oxford which is marked for 1669-70 and has an unusual hedgehog thumbpiece, and a pair of 1671-72 tankards at Dunham Massey.

After purchasing the cup the city of Plymouth then employed the services of a local silversmith: Joseph Wilcockes (baptised 1649-1710) to execute the engraving. He was paid

10s for engraving the several Arms of this Borough and of the said Mr Sparke on the said plate.

Wilcockes was one of a growing number of silversmiths working in Plymouth after the Restoration. The growing prosperity of this period saw wealth increase and the demand for luxury items grow. The concen-



Fig 3 The Sparke cup, detail of the arms of Sparke for John Sparke (1636-80).  
(Courtesy of Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery)

tration of silver and goldsmiths in the South West by the turn of the century was such that in 1700, when demand saw new assay offices open outside London, one of them was in Exeter.

The arms on the Sparke pieces are unusual because they are pricked or pounced [Fig 2 and Fig 3]. Pricked decoration of this type is comparatively unusual as most arms would have been engraved. Pricked armorials can be found on some on the English royal plate in the Kremlin: a livery pot of 1606-7 and the Warwick cup of 1617-18. It was, however, more commonly found in the South West and other items in Plymouth's collections demonstrate this; there are several pieces of church plate with pricked inscriptions. Unusually the pricking on the Sparke pieces shows the tinctures, indicating that Wilcockes was skilled at this technique.

Plymouth silversmiths were to be found in Dock (modern day Devonport) selling silver to the growing numbers of naval personnel; they were also located in and around the central streets of the Guildhall which is where Wilcockes was based. In 1679 he paid £50 to the Mayor and Commonalty of Plymouth for the lease of his premises, a shop and tenement, on the south side of the Guildhall. He would have been

close to other silversmiths such as Peter Rowe and John Murch.

Wilcockes, like many other silversmiths, was active in civic life. He became Constable for Looe Street Ward in 1675-7, Overseer of the Poor for St Andrew's parish in 1680, a Juror in 1688 and Surveyor of the Highways in 1692. His son, Richard, also became a goldsmith.

The acquisition of the Sparke cup and salver were made possible thanks to grants from the Art Fund, V&A Purchase Grant Fund and the Friends of Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery. It is now on display in Plymouth Museum & Art Gallery.

My thanks to Timothy Schroder.

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# Patrick Brewe: an Elizabethan goldsmith with theatrical connections

PIERS PERCIVAL

Patrick Brewe (Brue) (circa 1547- circa 1612) is a little known Tudor goldsmith but, as some unusual circumstances and rare correspondence connected with him have surfaced,<sup>1</sup> it now seems appropriate to present a short story of his life and to raise his profile amongst his peers. As part of his business was spoon-making, it also serves as an opportunity to discuss the tentative attribution of a mark to him.

## An apprentice in London

In the year 1562, amid the maelstrom of noise and crowds that would have thronged the London streets around Cheapside, one might have seen a boy named Patrick Brewe, perhaps with the odd shilling in his pocket given to him by his family [Fig 1]. His age at this time would have been about fifteen. Drawn by the auriferous quality of the paving stones upon which he now trod, he had come all the way from the Isle of Man to the capital. He might have set his heart on the glitter of gold and jewellery in the shop windows and, as luck would have it, in March 1562 he was accepted as an apprentice to "Gilbert of the Black Boy", Thomas Gilbert.<sup>2</sup> Gilbert had become a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1553 and worked at the Black Boy in Cheap. Six months later Patrick Brewe moved two doors along to work under Nicholas Bartholomew. Could this have been because of unseemly happenings at the Black Boy, maybe feuding in a second marriage? Whatever the reason, the young Brewe would soon discover the more violent side of London life as, on 30 December 1562, Thomas Gilbert was found dead in John Street; he had been slain by his wife's son.<sup>3</sup>

In September 1562 Brewe was presented as an apprentice of Nicholas Bartholomew (Bartlemewe), the specialist spoon-maker,<sup>4</sup> with premises at the sign of the Woolsack. The following August he was "sett on" (made available to help) Mrs Smythe, next door at the White Cock.<sup>5</sup> Mrs Smythe had been married to Robert Hartoppe, a prosperous businessman and a Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1541, 1542 and 1550, who had died in 1555. His widow Joan had then married Robert Smythe, a grocer. She was one of only two females listed in 1558, as approved traders, amongst the goldsmiths of Cheapside.<sup>6</sup> Patrick Brewe would



Fig 1 Silver shilling, Elizabeth I, 2nd issue 1560/61, showing a fine profile of the young queen; her bodice beaded with pearls.

(Image courtesy AMR Coins Ltd)

have gained greater experience from working at both shops and the Court Book entry tells us that he lived with the Smythes.<sup>5</sup>

For goldsmiths,<sup>6</sup> as for all residents of London, the fear of disease and plague was enormous. The year

GCCB: Goldsmiths' Company Court Book

1 W W Gill, *Manxmen in Shakespeare's London*, a third Manx scrapbook by W W Gill, 1963, <http://www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/fulltext/scrap3/ch02.htm>

2 GCCB K, p180.

3 J G Nichols (editor), *The Diary of Henry Machin*, London, 1848, p 298.

4 GCCB K, p 199, 4 September 1562.

5 GCCB K, p 234. The full entry reads: Mr wardens by the consent of Nichas Bartlemewe did sett on Patrick Brewe the apprentice of the said Nichas Barte unto the wife of Robert Smyth grocer for that she occupueth the trade of a goldsmith to dwell and bue duringe the rest of his terms yet to come by his indenture. And the said Nichas promiset to make free the said apprentice at the expiration of his terms.

6 Ibid, p 464 gives a list of: "goldsmiths nowe in Chepe" for 1558. The dwellings that they leased are given on p 462 which has the list in the same order but it is for 1566. Consecutively can be found Thomas Gilbert (Black Boy, leased to Antony Bate in 1566), Mrs Smyth (White Cock, Thomas Hartop in 1566) and Nichas Barthue @ Woolsack. See also T F Reddaway, 'Elizabethan London-Goldsmiths' Row in Cheapside 1558-1645', *Guildhall Miscellany*, vol II, no 5, October 1963.

beginning July 1563 was particularly devastating with the loss of a fifth of the population, over 20,000 deaths, in the City and surrounding parishes being attributed to plague;<sup>7</sup> and a will made a few days before a burial is often the posthumous sign of this dreaded disease. Robert Smythe's will was written hurriedly on 2 January 1565/6 and it was read out before him and witnessed on the 3 January; probate was granted just seven days later.<sup>8</sup> Smythe left £10 to Patricke Brewe

at thende of his terme of apprenticilde which he hath nowe to serve.

A month later, on her death, Joan bequeathed 40s "to Patrick Brewe my servant".<sup>9</sup> The running of the White Cock was then taken over by her second son, Thomas Hartoppe, who had been rapidly translated from the Haberdashers' Company to the Goldsmiths'.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Steven Porter, *Lord Have Mercy Upon Us London's Plague Years*, Stroud, 2005, p. 52.

<sup>8</sup> National Archives: PROB 11/48, ff262-3.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, f360.

<sup>10</sup> GCCB K, p 305: on 21 February 1565/6 upon a "fyne a dozen gylte spones of ij oz a poone". Thomas was sworn to the Company by redemption on 5 July 1566, the spoons then being valued at £7-18-4 (GCCB K p 315).

<sup>11</sup> GCCB L, p 58, when "Patrick Brue late the apprentice of Nichas Bartlemewe and afterward sett onto Mr Hartoppe" for his oath paid 3s.

<sup>12</sup> James Sewell, City Archivist, personal communication 1998, intimated that there were sixteenth-century orders of the Court of Aldermen or Common Council, which for freedom of the City required a minimum age of twenty four, although by the seventeenth century the age of twenty one had established itself as standard for freedom. Aldermen were guardians of law, trade and working practices within the City. Livery companies

tended to follow their orders but with a rapidly expanding population some of their controls were loosened or lost.

<sup>13</sup> A W Moore (editor), *Manx Note Book*, Douglas, 1886, vol II, ch 3; compare also (Irish) McBrehon, the judge's son.

<sup>14</sup> Bridge House Papers, doc 74, Manx Museum, J, 2, p185.

<sup>15</sup> Patrick Brewe is said to have been nephew of Daniel Gill, see W Young, *The History of Dulwich College*, 1889, vol II, p 256, and William was Daniel's father.

<sup>16</sup> W W Greg (editor), *Henslowe Papers being documents supplementary to Henslowe's Diary*, London 1907, p 14, Muniment 37, MUN 2. In 1565/6 William Gill was "of the parish of St Giles without Cripplegate, gardener".

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, MUN 9.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, MUN 12: "5 messuages east side of Golding Lane, a 6th on west side of Whitecross Street, for 41 years for £13-6-8 in hand and a rent of £12".

Brewe married in 1571 and he would not have expected to marry before he had become a freeman and for this he would have been at least twenty one. At this time it was extremely rare for children to be signed as apprentices before the age of fourteen (fifteen to seventeen was more usual) and an apprenticeship lasted at least seven years although in Brewe's case it was nearly nine as he was eventually admitted to the freedom on 16 February 1570/1.<sup>11</sup> It may have been that he was waiting until he attained the age of twenty four, possibly in conformity with a court order of the Aldermen of the time.<sup>12</sup> In estimating his birth date it seems that he was born between the years 1546 and 1548 and February 1546/7 is a distinct possibility.

## Background

Brew is a Manx name and the family certainly lived on the Isle of Man from the early fifteenth century: McBrew is a Celtic contraction of McVriew meaning judge's son.<sup>13</sup> A possible line of descent for Patrick Brewe is from Patrick McBrew of Jurby, of the House of Keys in 1502.<sup>14</sup> By 1515 records show a number of McBrews in the parishes of Jurby, Andreas and Lonan and their patriarch is said to have been Muldonny McVriw (Donald McBrew) fl 1406-17 (Acts of Tynwald)

one of the eldest and worthiest of all the land of Man.

Brewe was also related to the Gills and other Manx families (see Appendix A). With good investment foresight William Gill, quite possibly his maternal grandfather,<sup>15</sup> bought up London real estate between Whitecross Street and Golding (Golden) Lane [Fig 2] for £100 on 29 January 1565/6.<sup>16</sup> In 1575 he bequeathed (probate 5 November 1576) his dwelling and four of the tenements to his wife and son Daniel; a second share went to his grandson Daniel the younger.<sup>17</sup> In July 1584 Daniel Gill the elder, a yeoman of the Isle of Man, leased his share of the property to Patrick Brewe (his nephew), goldsmith, for forty-one years.<sup>18</sup> It may have been the Gills who encouraged the young Patrick

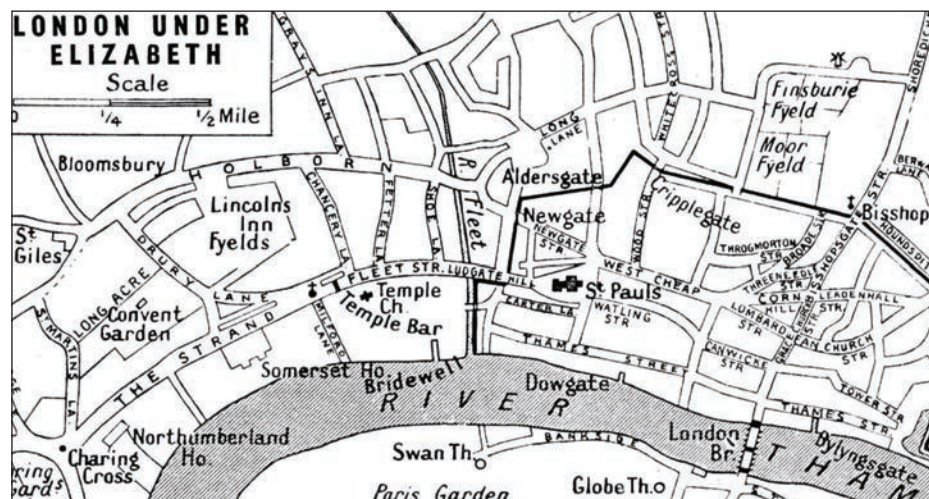


Fig 2 Map of the City of London, indicating the relative positions of Cheap (West Cheap), Lombard Street and Whitecross Street. Golding Lane was west of and parallel to Whitecross Street: these roads being in "Cripplegate without" that is, north of the city wall. The Fortune playhouse was built north of their intersection with the eastern extension of Long Lane.

(Courtesy Probert Encyclopaedia map archives)





Fig 3 Crest of Edward Stanley, from a contemporary manuscript circa 1561.

(Courtesy The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford MS-Rawl-B-39, p 9)

Brewe to seek his fortune in London, possibly accompanying William Gill when he travelled to the city.

There is a further intriguing link and that is with Edward Stanley, the Lord of Mann and 3rd Earl of Derby, whose crest of an eagle and child [Fig 3] was said to relate to an ancestor who had found a child in an eagle's nest. Brewe was later known to be dwelling at the sign of the Eagle and Child and it is tempting to think that there might have been some association with the Earl of Derby;<sup>19</sup> his choice of sign would have been a reminder of his link with the island.

### The house of Brewe

Patrick Brewe established himself in well-to-do Lombard Street at the sign of the Eagle and Child. He worshipped at the fashionable church of St Mary Woolnoth and served as Warden there in 1588 and 1589; in 1582 he was assessed at £6 for subsidy in that parish.<sup>20</sup> He married Margaret Battell, spinster of the city of London, on 12 May 1571 at St Botolph's, Aldgate; they had no children. Their house in Lombard Street was, however, large enough for servants and they had at least one other family living with them. The registers of St Mary Woolnoth record the burials on 19 September 1597 of

Claire Hammerton, widow, of Mr Brewes house  
and on 16 August 1603 of

Judith Blanke a childe out of the house of Mr Brew goldsmith

And, less than a month later, on 6 September 1603 that of

Anne wife of Stephen Blanck out of Mr Brewe his house<sup>21</sup>

The use of the title of Mr (or Mrs) rather than a Christian name in those days tended to indicate respect

among the community and a person of some standing. Anne (née) Hammerton had married Stephen Blanck in 1599 who had been apprenticed to Brewe from 1590-98; there is no record of him taking an apprentice of his own and, after gaining his freedom, he may well have continued to work as assistant or journeyman under Brewe.

It is also probable that Patrick Brewe took in John and Anne Lovejoy when they came to London. The siblings had been born to Joanna (née Temple) and William Lovejoy of Little Marlow, Buckinghamshire, and were christened on 18 January 1565/6 and 2 February 1570/1 respectively. John Lovejoy was apprenticed to Brewe in 1582, married Cecilia Bromall on 22 September 1591 and was buried at St Mary Woolnoth on 2 August 1612. His sister Anne, aged only sixteen, married George Samwell, a public notary, on 2 October 1587 (only a month after his first wife had died). The marriage license, granted on 28 September 1587, states

George Samwell of City of London, and Anne Lovejoy alias Brew, spinster, of St Mary Woolnoth, dau of William Lovejoy, of Marlow co. Bucks, yeoman, gen. lie.

suggesting that Anne had become a ward or adopted daughter of Brewe and had been living at his house.

### Brewe the goldsmith

Patrick became a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company in February 1570/1 and soon after this celebrated his marriage to Margaret Battell. It seems they may have been joined by some of his family from the Isle of Man and this might illustrate the means by which a boy could stay on in London. In August 1571 during a search for substandard wares, a "Thomas Brue" was found hiding in the shop.<sup>22</sup> No fine was levied, possibly

19 Edward Stanley had been brought up under the protection of Henry VIII and in 1530 had married Dorothy Howard, half sister to Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk. He was a Privy Councillor during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth and was Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire and later of Cheshire. He died at Lathom in 1572. By his will (Lanc RO ref DDF986) he had no property of his own in London.

20 London Subsidy Roll: Langbourn Ward from R G Lang (editor), *Two Tudor Subsidy Rolls for the City of London*, London, 1993, pp 259-269. The surviving roll for 1582 gives a rare insight into the relative wealth of the 5,900 residents which was being taxed. For the parish of St Mary Woolnoth, excluding the top seven residents who were assessed at upwards of £50, all strangers and those at less than £3, forty one householders were listed with an average assessed wealth of just over £7. Actual wealth may have been very much more as the editor noted a degree of laxity and considerable undervaluation. Thomas Hartop of St "ffoster's" for example, was assessed at £50 yet by his will (PROB 17/64 f344) written the same month, was worth over £500 (assessors were appointed by 28 August, their certificates completed by 20 September; the will was dated 13 September). The editor also noted a steady decline in numbers assessed during the second half of the century despite a rising population.

21 J MS Brooke and A W C Hallen, *Transcripts of the registers of the united parishes of St Mary Woolnoth and St Mary Haw 1538-1760*, London, 1886.

22 GCCB L, p 79. No further church records or other records are to be found concerning this Thomas or any other Brewe. Note also that the Manx name Brew should not be confused with Brewer or Brewster, different names that do occasionally crop up among City records



because of the boy's youth, or because Brewe himself had only just started in business on his own. Brewe was soon trading in items of both hollow-ware and flatware. In March 1572/3 he had a silver-gilt salt seized as part of a random search for substandard goods, it was listed as:

Y<sup>e</sup> horses Xoz Vldwt a gylte salte of Prick Brues w<sup>e</sup> Xoz+3/8oz.<sup>23</sup>

In Elizabethan times a salt was a status symbol and, next to cups and spoons, was probably the most common item of tableware marketed by goldsmiths. Salts varied in weight from 2oz (62.2g) upwards according to the requirements of the customer. The one in question weighed 10 oz 7½ dwt (333g) so it was



Fig 4 Salt, silver-gilt, London, 1569-70, maker's mark a bird.  
(Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Vintners)

of a fair size, perhaps 7¾ in (19.68cm) high. It may have been drum-shaped like the Mostyn salts, although somewhat larger, or square like the Vintner's salt [Fig 4], which weighs 35 oz 3 dwt (1,093g), but smaller. It would have, in all likelihood, been heavily chased and gilded and rested on three or four feet (the "horses"). Assay showed that only the "horses" were substandard being 10 oz 6 dwt (320.4g) as opposed to the sterling standard of 11 oz 2 dwt (345.25g). "Horses" was a generic term used by at this period for the cast animal masks which could be applied as feet.

In August 1574 Patrick was again caught with an unbound servant: William Cawdell (Cawdwell). On this occasion he was fined and a year later Cawdell was presented as his first apprentice.<sup>25</sup> Goldsmiths were not allowed to take on apprentices during the first three years after their freedom and then only one at a time, although they were permitted to take on two if they were a liveryman.<sup>26</sup>

A string of apprentices followed Cawdell, with John Lovejoy in 1582, John Round 1589–1598, Stephen Blanke 1590–1598, Daniel Carey 1598–1604 or Richard Mather 1599–1605. The importance of these apprentices is that Cawdell, Lovejoy, Round, Carey and Mather are all known to have been in the spoon-making business as shown by the surviving examples of their work and by the occasions on which their spoons were broken as substandard. This in itself suggests that Brewe had a large output of spoons from his workshop. Cawdell and Carey went on to become the most prolific specialist spoon-makers of their respective ages. The most likely mark to have been used by Brewe is discussed in Appendix B, it was probably a mullet over an annulet or pellet: one of the more common marks to be found on Elizabethan spoons and the only one with an exact fit for his working period.

The Goldsmiths' Company Court Book M for the period July 1579–June 1592 is missing but at some time during this period Brewe became a liveryman, most probably in 1590, as this was when he started having

23 Ibid, p 141. Page 141 is headed "XVI Marche (16 March 1572/3) Golde and Sylver taken in a serche". It has a long list in two columns of items below standard taken from forty four goldsmiths. A line is then drawn and below this is another list of the "horses" of items, mostly salts between 9 oz (280g) and 23 oz (715.4g), taken from sixteen goldsmiths including Brewe.

24 V&A. See Philippa Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, London, 1990, p 452, no 83 (7 oz 7 dwt 1563/4), p 453, no 85 (5 oz 6 dwt 1566/7) and p 454, no 86 (2 oz 10d wt 1577/8).

25 GCCB L, p 207, Brewe was fined "a french crown for Wm Cawdwell with him unbound"; p 239 "for the presentment of Willm Cawdell his apprentice".

26 GCCB K, p 233: the 1563 order for taking an apprentice stipulated that none could be signed for the first three years after freedom, then no more than one at a time, or two if the master was within the livery, or three if he was on the Court of Assistants, or six if he was an Alderman.



*Fig 5 Lion sejant affronté spoon, parcel-gilt, London, 1583-84, maker's mark a mullet and annulet.*  
(Courtesy of Bonhams)

two apprentices. He does not appear in the Court Books for serious misdemeanors, nor unlike his apprentices, for the mis-working of spoons. A certain standing within the company was shown in 1594 when he was nominated as an arbitrator concerning a dispute between two goldsmiths:<sup>27</sup> in 1597 he was required to mediate between Luke Smyth (a close neighbour) who was quarreling with his apprentice.<sup>28</sup> Brewe, by now about fifty, was given the honour of being asked in 1596, as well as in 1599, 1600 and 1601, to be a juror at

the Trial of the Pyx in the Star Chamber before "the Lords of the Most Honourable Privy Council".<sup>29</sup> He had risen through the Court of Assistants and was made Touchwarden for the year commencing 18 July 1600.

Apart from clearly being a spoon-maker [Fig 5] Brewe appears also to have been a jeweller as is suggested by an episode commencing in September 1601 when a certain debt was questioned. He replied that he

hath commodities which he cannot so sodenly convert into money and

promised to Mr Wardens to deliver a sufficient pawne.

<sup>27</sup> GCCB N, p 48.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p 119.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, pp 80 and 156; O, pp113 and 180.

<sup>30</sup> GCCB O, pp199, 203.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, pp 215, 240, 255, 257 and 261.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p 388; Mather was made free of the company in April 1606 (p 441).

<sup>33</sup> Op cit, see note 16, MUN 20 "with bond in £250 attached".

A week later he brought in

diverse sortt of jewells and pearles

for appraisal. A joint valuation deemed them to be worth £183.<sup>30</sup> The saga concerning his arrears continued with deferments for the next year and it appears finally to have been sorted out after a private meeting between himself, the clerk and Mr Noxton on 25 August 1602.<sup>31</sup>

By 1605 age was beginning to take its toll and, in March that year, his last apprentice Richard Mather was turned over to Hugh Dale.<sup>32</sup> Trading probably continued, particularly if Stephen Blanke (working for Brewe in 1603) was still able to help in the workshop.

### Theatrical connections and the end

One of Brewe's acquaintances was Edward Alleyn [Fig 6], the foremost actor of his day, who founded Dulwich College; Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare may also have been friends. On 22 December 1599, as his friendship with Alleyn grew, Brewe assigned his lease of land from Daniel Gill the elder to Edward Alleyn.<sup>33</sup> And here in 1600, on the north edge of the City [Fig 2], Alleyn in conjunction with his father-in-law Philip Henslowe, built the Fortune theatre. This was according to one testimony

the fairest Playhouse in Towne

and was built on three stories at a cost of £520 and with a similar design to that of the rival Globe in



*Fig 6 Edward Alleyn (detail) oil on canvas, circa 1626, artist unknown.*  
(DPG443, by kind permission of the Trustees of Dulwich Picture Gallery)

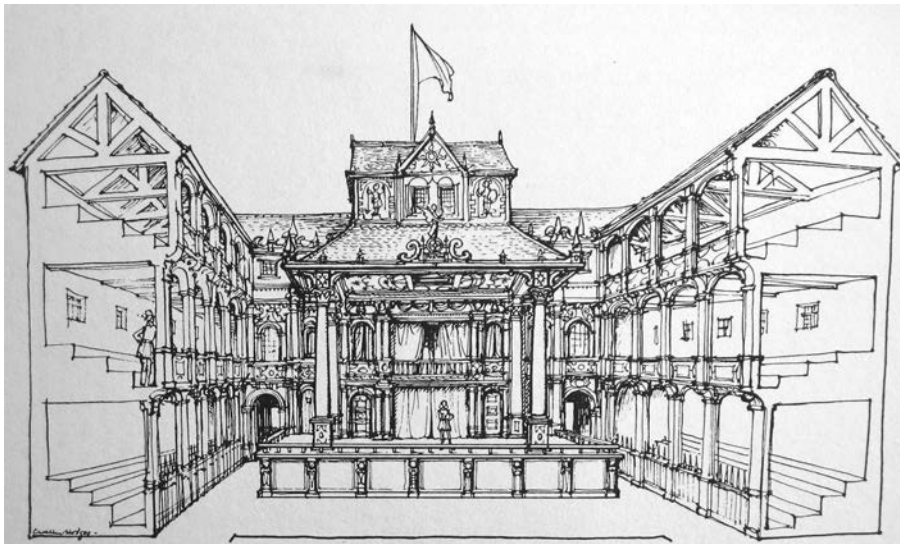


Fig 7 W C Hodges, Sketch of the Fortune Playhouse circa 1600.

(Courtesy the Folger Shakespeare Library)

Southwark<sup>34</sup> although it was square not round. From Henslowe's diary it seems that Brewe's home was sometimes a place for meetings that concerned theatrical transactions:<sup>35</sup>

F94<sup>v</sup> 20: 'lent vnto hary chettell by the companye at the eagell & the chilled in pt of payment of a Boocke called the Rissyng of carnoll wolsey the some of x<sup>s</sup> 6 novembr 1601.

F95<sup>v</sup> 5: 'pd at the apoyntment of the companye vnto him at the eagell & chylld for holberds the 21 of desembr 1601 the some of xviii<sup>s</sup>.

Henslowe was manager at both the Rose, by this time in a state of disrepair, and Fortune playhouses. His diary is full of receipts from theatrical affairs as well as loans of books, ready money, etc to various associates including Ben Jonson, Samuel Rowley and Henry Chettle. The place where the transaction took place is rarely mentioned so the above entries are somewhat unique. The first concerns a book for Henry Chettle who was writing or editing a two-part play about Cardinal Wolsey; the other was about hiring some stage props. These are only scraps of evidence but they do point to the possibility that Brewe's house may have been a meeting place for the literati of the day. An added reason would have been its central location of Lombard Street, as both Henslowe and Alleyn lived south of the river: Alleyn on Bankside and Henslowe opposite the Clink. Their activities for the new theatre seasons in 1601 and 1602 included revivals of the ever popular *Jew of Malta* by Christopher Marlowe, and many plays by lesser known authors including *The Massacre of France*, *The Blind Beggar* (Thomas Strowde), Chettle's *Cardinal Wolsey* and *Six Yeomen of the West*.

In 1608 Alleyn was seeking to buy up the other half of the Gills' estate. He persuaded (or commissioned) his friend Brewe to return to the Isle of Man and negotiate on his behalf with the four daughters of Daniel Gill the

younger (Brewe's cousin), who were now co-heiresses. Some of the letters relating to this are shown in Appendix A. Settlement was finally sealed on 30 May 1610 whereby Alleyn paid £340 to the daughters.<sup>36</sup> He had previously paid £240 for Brewe's lease of his portion, £100 for Mr Garrett's lease and he now became landlord of all the property on the east side of Golding Lane and the west side of Whitecross Street.<sup>37</sup>

This property included the Fortune theatre [Fig 7] and many tenements and would later become part of the endowment for his 'College of God's Gift in Dulwich'.

Brewe lived to a good age but no records of his death can be found in either London or Douglas. His wife Margaret's burial is recorded on 22 January 1612/13 as

Mrs Brewe wife of Patrick Brewe<sup>38</sup>

the description "wife" not widow is used suggesting that the whereabouts of Patrick were not known to the registrar concerned. George Samwell, the notary who had married Brewe's adopted daughter, clearly knew of his death and immediately laid claim to administration of their estates and this was granted on 25 January 1612/13: just three days later.<sup>39</sup>

## Conclusions

Patrick Brewe, the only known Manx goldsmith from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, led an interesting life with theatrical and literary connections: the Fortune playhouse was built on land he had leased from his uncle. He had a profitable business that included jewellery making and quality spoon-making.

34 Op cit, see note 1. Peter Streete was employed as architect for both the Globe and the Fortune playhouses.

35 W W Greg (editor), *Henslowe's Diary*, 1904, pp 150 and 152.

36 Finsbury 1610 DCA: Muniments, series 1, group 38; W W Greg, op cit, see note 16, p 17, Muniment no 38.

37 Op cit, see note 16, MUN 23, 36. In 1601 John Garrett clothworker had assigned a twenty one year lease of the Gills' land on expiration of the forty one year lease to Patrick Brewe; he had assigned a reversion of this to Edward Alleyn for £100 on 1 May 1610.

38 Op cit, see note 21.

39 London Metropolitan Archives, Commissary Court of the Bishop of London: DL/C/B/1/MS9168/16, p 162.



A number of his apprentices went on to become significant specialist spoon-makers. The maker's mark a mullet over an annulet may be attributed to him. Finally, as an aside, the inflation of land value on the edge of the city in the years between 1565/6 and 1610 appears to have risen by over 500%!

## Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to David Beasley for his help in offering facilities at the library of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths and to Dr David Mitchell for his help in interpreting Goldsmiths Company Court Book L, p 141 (note 23).

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## Appendix A

The following excerpts are taken from surviving correspondence found among the papers of Edward Alleyn.<sup>40</sup> They provide confirmation of Brewe's address, the spelling of his name, as well as some immediacy to the reader, and also show the difficulty in those days of discussing intimate affairs over a long distance.

William Crowe, Rector of Kirke Bryde to Patricke Brewe, January 1592/3:

To my good cossene Patricke Brewe goldsmith dwelling in Lombard St at the sygne off the Eagle and Child .... having intelligence off your prosperite ....

the letter goes on with concern and craving for a regard to "the poor orphans" (four daughters) of the recently deceased Daniel Gill the younger who was first cousin to Patrick Brewe.

William Norris, Vicar General of the Isle of Man to Edward Alleyn, 1 June 1608:

Wee are credably enformed that you hould certen lands whereof one halfe is due to our children and the halfe of the rent is due unto us during the lyfe of my wyffe .... wee desire yow to paye our halfe rent into the hands of our Cozin Mr Patricke Brewe whom we have auctorized to receave and to giue acquittance for the same ....

Norris had married the widow of Daniel Gill the younger.

Patricke Brewe to Edward Alleyn, Douglas, Isle of Man, 8 December 1608:

I dyd sende to youe bye my wyffe those wrytinges I promysed youe: I pray youe kepe them saffe. It is reported youe or Mr Garrett have payde the rent of Gylles lande. Lett me knowe from youe by this bearer howe the matter standes. It is also reported

that Garrett hath offredd £300 for the lande. The younge women are willing to sell nowe that there mother is deade ...

Patrick Brewe to Edward Alleyn, Douglas, Isle of Man, 6 April 1609:

I have written to youe in December laste but whether my letter cam to youre handes or no I am uncertayne. This is to certefye youe that dawghters of Gill deseased cannot agree upon the sayle as yet .... I woulde have sente to youe the wrytinges whiche I dyd promys .... but can not meete with a trystye messenger also sum other thinges whiche I dare nott put to writtinge .... your verye lovinge frende Patricke Brewe.

Patrick Brewe to Edward Alleyn, Douglas, Isle of Man, 3 August 1609:

The rent is dwe for this laste yeere, prainge youe to paye unto the bearer hereof John More and you shall receyve an aquytance from my Cozin Norrys for it. .... and my wyffe will tell youe other thinges which I spare from writinge.

Finally, from Alleyn's pocket book:<sup>41</sup>

What the Fortune cost me:

First for the lease to Brew £240  
Then for building the playhouse £520  
For other private buildings of mine own £120  
Gills land and houses in Whitecross Street and Goulding Lane, June 1610 £340  
John Garrett's lease in reversion £100  
So in all it cost me £1320

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<sup>40</sup> *The Alleyn Papers*: printed for the Shakespeare Society, London, 1851, pp 17 and 35-38.

<sup>41</sup> E Malone, 'Historical Account of the English Stage', in *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare*, 1821, vol III, p 54.

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## Appendix B

When considering a possible mark for Patrick Brewe, it is well known that research attempting to match a pre-1697 maker's mark with a goldsmith's name is fraught with difficulty.<sup>42</sup> The following is a tentative attribution. There are two lines of enquiry: the first is the consideration of a mark and the possible goldsmiths who potentially could have used it, the second is the possible marks available for a given goldsmith.

During the period in question the mark of a mullet over an annulet must be a frontrunner for consideration for Brewe because of the frequency with which it occurs.

The following table has been compiled which shows some fifty extant spoons with this mark, including some variants. Research has been directed towards goldsmiths who not only made spoons, which would probably include most of the Goldsmiths' Company, but also those who were responsible for making large numbers of spoons. The mark is by far the most common mark found on spoons during the 1580s, suggesting that it was used by the most prolific spoon-maker in London at that time. This mark has only been found on spoons and has not to date been found on other pieces of silver. It must, therefore, follow that

spoons made up a large percentage of the goldsmith's output.

Patrick Brewe is the main contender as his period of known activity, 1571-1605, exactly matches the occurrence of extant spoons with this mark, 1572-1603 (see Table A). A spoon marked for 1610-11 (spoon 50) lies slightly beyond this period but it does still fall within his lifetime.<sup>43</sup> The gap between 1573 and 1578 can be explained by the possibility that spoons made up a lower proportion of his output during this period.

Another goldsmith known to be a spoon-maker because of a number of spoons seized from him by the Goldsmiths' Company, who was also active during this period, was Robert Rase. He seems to have been a craftsman of lesser stature and was later in need of charitable support.<sup>44</sup> He was apprenticed to the spoon-maker Francis Jackson in 1561 and made free on 6 November 1570. He took on three apprentices: Thomas Redman in 1575, who was turned over from Francis Jackson who had died, Thomas Lawrence in 1578 and Richard Cotton from 1590 to 1597. He appears thereafter to have fallen on hard times with a probable curtailment of trading: between 1599 and 1606 he was suitor to no less than four different charities.<sup>45</sup>

As a spoon-maker Simon Herryng could be another contender. He was apprenticed to John Bartholomew in 1562, turned over to Francis Jackson in 1566 and made free in 1569. His one apprentice Thomas Clement stayed with him for three years (1572-1575). He



Fig 8 Detail from seal top spoon [spoon 28], London, 1586-87, maker's mark a mullet over an annulet.  
(Courtesy Sheffield Museums)

submitted many sub-standard spoons to the Hall and although he lived until 1616, he cannot be a serious candidate for this mark.

There do not seem to be any other goldsmiths with unassigned marks, who clearly had a heavy involvement in spoon-making, and were active from the 1580s and still working by 1603. There is no documentary evidence that Brewe made



Fig 9 Detail of marks on spoon 12 (Fig 5), showing mullet and annulet.  
(Author's photograph)

spoons but it is quite clear that that he must have done so from the subsequent output of his apprentices. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to ascribe one of the better-known marks of the day to him.<sup>46</sup>

Turning to a second line of enquiry, it is necessary to look at which other marks might pertain to Brewe. Tim Kent has suggested a crescent enclosing a mullet<sup>47</sup> which appears in a similarly shaped punch but it is found on spoons dating from 1551 to 1588 which is before Brewe was apprenticed and it is generally accepted as being the mark of Nicholas Bartholomew (free 1545, died circa 1593). A crescent enclosing a pierced mullet in a circular punch is a different mark found on spoons but it does not appear before 1589 and should not be considered as Brewe was at his most prolific between 1571 and 1588.<sup>48</sup> The escallop mark which is found frequently during the 1570s and 1580s does not occur after 1590 and may be readily attributed to James Poole (free 1569, died circa 1591).<sup>49</sup> No other marks have been found which occur with any frequency on spoons between 1571 and 1588.

One other piece of interest is the context of London spoon-making. William Cawdell, Brewe's first apprentice, would have been made free circa 1583 and he presented his first apprentice in 1586. He later took over the workshop at the Woolsack from Nicholas Bartholomew and established himself as a specialist spoon-maker with a huge output of spoons (his mark is now accepted as a crescent enclosing W). It would

42 Philippa Glanville *Silver in England*, London, 1987, pp 147-150; John Culme 'The 'goose in a dotted circle', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 14, 2002, p 97.

43 In 1608 Patrick Brewe moved back to Douglas leaving his wife behind in Lombard Street. In 1610 she may well have had a journeyman such as Stephen Blanke (known to be of the house of Brewe in 1603) still working for her.

44 Op cit, see note 20. In 1582 his wealth was assessed at £3.

45 GCCB N, p 160; GCCB O pp 61, 140 and 459.

46 Timothy Kent, *London Silver Spoonmakers 1500-1697*, London, 1981, p 17.

47 Timothy Kent, 'The Tichborne Celebrities', *The Silver Society Journal*, 1997; no 9, p 561: "almost certainly used the mark crescent-enclosing-mullet".

48 Other goldsmiths from the Woolsack group who might be considered for this mark include Thomas Benbowe, apprenticed to Nicholas Bartholomew, January 1578/9, free circa 1587. For the history of the Woolsack workshop and further consideration of the crescent enclosing mullet, see Piers Percival, 'The Elizabethan London Specialist Spoonmakers', *The Finial*, 2004; no 14/06, p 18.

49 James Poole was apprenticed to Francis Jackson, had four apprentices of his own and had dozens of substandard spoons broken between 1570 and 1579. His date of death can be estimated from the fact that his widow was granted an increase in her pension of 10d a week from June 1593 (GCCB N p 18). The 'escallop' attribution is as clear as any initial for it is the emblem of St James, his patron saint, as well as being the emblem of the town of Poole, whose name is derived from its harbour being a shallow inlet of water resembling a scallop shell (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

seem that Brewe's peak of output came before Candell's and it so happens that this decade, 1579-1588, coincides with the most frequently found mark on spoons: the mullet over an annulet.<sup>50</sup>

In summary there is strong circumstantial evidence that the mullet over an annulet or pellet mark should be attributed to Patrick Brewe. Reasons for this are:

- (i) the recorded dates of the mark, 1572-1610, match those of Brewe's trading period;
- (ii) the frequency of the mark during the decade 1579-1588 coincides with the period when Brewe was probably at the height of his activity;
- (iii) no other unassigned device marks appear on spoons with any frequency during the period before 1590 when Brewe was active;
- (iv) the choice of a mullet might have been drawn from the mark of Brewe's master Nicholas Bartholomew.

As might be expected the mark has variations: the outline of the punch varies but it often has straight sides; the mullet on occasions points with its downward stroke to the annulet [Fig 8] or the annulet appears between two downward strokes [Fig 9]. The

annulet sometimes appears as a pellet although this may be because the annulet has become smudged in the act of stamping [Figs 10 and 11]. In the past the mark has variously been described as a star as a pendant and a mullet and ring under (see note vii), a mullet over pellet, a mullet and annulet, a mullet and possibly a star with two pellets (the pellets may have derived from two sides of a worn annulet). One interesting variant is the mark [Fig 12] from spoon 49 [Fig 13]. The spoons are invariably of good quality with fine finials [Figs 5, 11, 12],



Fig 11 Hexagonal seal top spoon, London, 1572-73 [spoon 1] showing marks on the stem.  
(Author's photograph)



Fig 10 Hexagonal seal top spoon, London, 1572-73 [spoon 1] showing marks on the stem.  
(Author's photograph)



Fig 12 Seal top spoon, London, 1584-85, maker's mark a mullet over an annulet, decorated baluster [spoon 24].  
(Courtesy the Colin & Susan Tictum Charitable Trust)



Fig 13 Apostle spoon, St Bartholomew, London, 1603-4, maker's mark a mullet and ring under [spoon 49].  
(Courtesy of Bonhams)

examples of which are in important collections. How<sup>51</sup> recorded two examples of which the large acorn knob (spoon 22) is of particular interest.

*Piers Percival, a member of the Society for some twenty years, has a particular interest in the lives of goldsmiths in Tudor London and any rebus that may be pertinent to their marks. Research within the City has led to several fresh assignments. Now retired, as an ophthalmic surgeon his previous clinical research into the design of lens implants brought international respect and a number of honours worldwide.*

Fig 14 Detail of marks: this variant has a larger 'ring' than the more usual annulet and shaped sides to the outline of the punch.  
(Courtesy of Bonhams)



<sup>50</sup> This mark has been found to occur with three times the frequency of any others during this decade. The author has knowledge of sixty six device marks that do not incorporate any initials, on spoons assayed between May 1579 and May 1589: thirty six with the mullet over an annulet/pellet, twelve with the escallop of James Poole, seven with the crescent enclosing a mullet for Nicholas Bartholomew, and eleven others including the fleur-de-lys, orb and cross and chancleer marks.

<sup>51</sup> G E P and J P How, *English and Scottish Silver Spoons Medieval to Late Stuart and Pre-Elizabethan Hall-Marks on English Plate*, London, 1952 and 1953, vol I, p 159, vol II, p 140.



The table shows fifty examples of spoons that probably came from the Brewe workshop. It should be accepted that not all marks have been viewed by the author. In this article 'over' refers to the annulet/pellet being near or joining the downward stroke of the mullet [Figs 8 and 10]; 'and' refers to the annulet being between two downward strokes [Fig 9]. In the description, 'fluted' and 'decorated' refer only to the vasiform part, if present, of a baluster seal top.

	Year assayed	Description of finial	Maker's mark	Provenance and comments
1	1572-73	Hexagonal seal top	Mullet over a pellet	Bourdon-Smith, 1997, <i>Fig 10</i>
2	1578-79	Apostle St John	Mullet over a pellet/annulet	Bourdon-Smith loan exhibition 1981; How 2, p 140 <sup>51</sup> (Blackham Collection) Close inspection of How reveals an annulet rather than a pellet.
3	1579-80	Baluster seal top pricked IM	Mullet over annulet	Laurence's 15.10.09 lot 1596
4	1579-80	Fluted seal top pricked AA RM	Mullet and pellet	Sotheby's Olympia, 24.7.02, lot 361
5	1580-81	Lion sejant affronté	Mullet and annulet	William Brown, Leicester 4.12.91 lot 4; mark as described in the catalogue
6	1580-81	Seal top engraved WG	Mullet over annulet	Sotheby's, 23.7.81, lot 212; mark as described in the catalogue
7	1580-81	Stump top	Mullet and annulet	Pickford p100 <sup>1</sup>
8	1580-81	Slip top	Mullet and annulet	Christie's, 20.9.78, lot 88 (Biggs Collection)
9	1581-82	Baluster seal top	Mullet and annulet	GMR Smith collection
10	1582-83	Seal top, CSB on bowl	Mullet over annulet	Bonhams, 3.11.10, lot 44; Bonhams 25.11.04, lot 179
11	1582-83	Decorated baluster seal top	Star with 2 pellets	Burlington 1901 <sup>2</sup> (Stanyforth Collection) <sup>3</sup> ; mark unconfirmed <sup>4</sup>
12	1583-84	Lion sejant affronté	Mullet and annulet	Bonhams, 23.11.11, lot 60; Bonhams, 19.11.08, lot 104, <i>Fig 5,9</i>
13	1584-85	The Master	Mullet and annulet	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, stamped 'Breadalbane'
14	1584-85	Apostle St Peter	Mullet and annulet	Christie's, 20.9.78, lot 87 (Biggs Collection), stamped 'Breadalbane'
15	1584-85	St James the greater	Mullet and annulet	Christie's, 20.9.78, lot 87 (Biggs Collection), stamped 'Breadalbane'
16	1584-85	Maidenhead	Mullet and annulet	Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery
17	1584-85	Seal top pricked ER	Mullet over pellet (worn)	Company of Armourers & Brasiers, mark noted by Ellis <sup>5</sup> , Jackson <sup>6</sup>
18	1584-85	Baluster seal top	Mullet and pellet	Company Armourers & Brasiers
19	1584-85	Hexagonal seal top	Mullet and annulet	Lawrences, 18.1.11, lot 671; Sotheby's, 30.5.35, lot 19 (Ellis Collection)
20	1584-85	Baluster seal top pricked MG	Mullet, pellet below	Christie's, 7.3.79, lot 104, mark as described in the catalogue
21	1584-85	Baluster seal top, gilded	Mullet and pellet	Bourdon-Smith, 2000/03: finial said to be W Country, added later
22	1585-86	Large acorn knob	Mullet and annulet	How 1, p 159, plate 5 <sup>51</sup>
23	1585-86	Small seal top, spoon	Mullet over annulet	Woolley & Wallis, 30.4.08, lot 632, spoon silver gilt
24	1585-86	Decorated baluster pricked IIDY	Mullet and annulet	C Ticktum Collection; Sotheby's Billingshurst, 1.5.96, lot 1621; Christies 13.7.94, lot 60, <i>Fig 11</i>
25	1585-86	Maidenhead	Mullet and annulet	Phillips, 27.6.80, lot 68
26	1585-86	Seal top pricked with initials	Mullet and annulet	Sotheby's, 1.7.54, lot 74 (Walter), mark as described in the catalogue
27	1585-86	Lion sejant	Star with 2 pellets	Burlington, 1901, (Stanyforth Collection) <sup>3</sup> mark unconfirmed <sup>4</sup>
28	1586-87	Fluted baluster seal top	Mullet over annulet	Sheffield Museums (Hinchliffe Collection), <i>Fig 8</i>
29	1586-87	Fluted seal top with initials	Mullet over annulet	Jackson <sup>7</sup> (Stanyforth Collection), punch outline and finial different from no 28

	Year assayed	Description of finial	Maker's mark	Provenance and comments
30	1586-87	The Master	Mullet and annulet	Phillips, 27.6.80, lot 185, mark as described in the catalogue
31	1586-87	St Matthias	Mullet and annulet	Phillips, 29.5.81, lot 156, mark as described in the catalogue
32	1586-87	Slip top, spoon 15.9cm	Mullet and annulet	Phillips, 6.11.98, lot 226
33	1586-87	Slip top, spoon 15.5cm	Mullet and annulet	Woolley & Wallis, 29.4.03, lot 168, a smaller spoon than no 32
34	1587-88	St Andrew	Mullet over annulet	Manchester City Art Galleries
35	1587-88	Pt gilt seal top pricked BFB	Mullet	Sotheby's, 16.12.98, lot 295, the lower part of mark obscured
36	1587-88	Small spoon, hexagonal seal top	Star as a pendant	Burlington 1901 (Stanyforth Collection), probably a mullet over annulet as no 29
37	1588-89	St Peter	Mullet over annulet	Phillips, 23.2.01, lot 211, mark as described in the catalogue
38	1588-89	Slip top	Mullet and annulet	Lawrences, 10.10.11, lot 160
39	1588-89	Hexagonal seal top	Mullet and annulet	Bourdon-Smith catalogue, 2004, p 6
40	c.1590	Fluted baluster seal top	Mullet over annulet	Victoria & Albert Museum, no date letter apparant
41	1595-96	Seal top	Mullet over annulet	Sotheby's, 9.2.84, lot 220, mark as described in the catalogue
42	1596-97	Seal top	Mullet over annulet	Cripps <sup>8</sup> , p 427 (Stanyforth Collection)
43	1596-97	Maidenhead	Mullet and annulet	Jackson <sup>9</sup> , (Christie's)
44	1597-98	Decorated baluster seal top	Mullet over annulet	Sotheby's, 29.11.05, lot 134 (Poor)
45	1598-99	Seal top	Mullet over annulet	Phillips, 6.9.91, lot 22, mark as described in the catalogue
46	1599-00	Fluted, seal top pricked MK NI	Mullet over annulet	Sotheby's, 15.6.78, lot 57; Phillips of Knowle, 19.9.01, lot 276
47	1599-00	Decorated baluster seal top	Mullet over annulet	Sheffield Museums, (Hinchliffe Collection)
48	1602-03	Decorated baluster seal top	Mullet and annulet	Bonhams, 19.11.08, lot 65 (Britton Smith Collection)
49	1603-04	St Bartholomew	Mullet and ring under	Bonhams, 22.6.11, lot 286 (Medvei); Bourdon-Smith loan exhibition 1981, <i>Fig 12,13</i>
50	1610-11	St Matthias	Mullet and annulet	William Brown, Leicester, 4.12.91, lot 7, mark as described in the catalogue

Burlington: *Illustrated Catalogue of Silversmith's Work of European Origin*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1901

Chaffers: W Chaffers, *Hall Marks on Gold Silver Plate*, London, 1905

Jackson: Sir Charles Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their marks*, London, 1921

1 Ian Pickford, *Jackson's Silver & Gold Marks*, 1989, p 100: this fresh entry has an adjacent photograph of the mark.

2 Burlington, case E, no 30.

3 The Stanyforth collection of early spoons was formulated by Rev T Stanyforth (d.1887) and passed on to his son E W Stanyforth (d 1939). E W lent thirty six of his spoons for the Burlington 1901 exhibition including spoons in case E, nos 30 and 31 (maker's mark 'star with 2 pellets') and 34 and 35 (maker's mark 'star as a pendant'). In the above table these spoons appear as 11, 27, 29 and 36 respectively.

4 Sir Charles Jackson when writing his first edition of *English Goldsmiths and their marks* in 1905 had access to the Stanyforth collection but only included five of the earliest Stanyforth spoons. For his 1921 edition he supplemented his London chronological list with facsimiles of over 600 fresh maker's marks. This included a further twenty from the Stanyforth collection including no 34 from Burlington case E (spoon 29 in the above table). He did not mention the other three exhibited at Burlington and one must presume that he did not regard the 'star with 2 pellets' and 'star as a pendant' as fresh marks and that being already represented there was no need to rectify previous inaccuracies in description.

5 Hubert Ellis, *A short description of the ancient silver plate belonging to the Worshipful Company of Armourers and Brasiers*, London 1892, p 22.

6 Jackson, p 105, has two spoons from the Armourers': his facsimile shows a mullet over pellet.

7 Jackson, p 105, this spoon from the Stanyforth collection was also recorded in Burlington for 1586-87 as lent by E W Stanyforth, maker's mark 'a star as a pendant'; Chaffers, p 120 records a Stanyforth seal top 1586-87 (almost certainly the same spoon) maker's mark 'mullet and ring under'. Judging from Jackson's facsimile, both these descriptions infer a mullet over an annulet.

8 WJ Cripps *Old English Plate*, London, 1967 an unabridged edition of the 1926 edition, p 427; Chaffers, p 121 records a Stanyforth seal top also 1596-97 maker's mark 'a mullet'.

9 Jackson, p 107.

# John Cuthbert:

## a portrait of a late seventeenth-century Dublin goldsmith

JESSICA CUNNINGHAM

When undertaking research relating to individual goldsmiths operating in seventeenth-century Ireland, expectations for detailed documentary evidence and extant silver need to be kept realistically low. From time to time, however, exceptions emerge and it is apparent from a range of sources: guild, municipal and parish records, that some goldsmiths loomed larger than the majority of their contemporaries. One of these conspicuous individuals was John Cuthbert (Senior) (fl circa 1670-1705). An episode from 1698 neatly encapsulates the flavour of his character and supplies an appropriate starting point for this case study of a late-seventeenth century Dublin goldsmith. On 3 May of that year the Dublin Company of Goldsmiths declared its intention to support its Master Warden John Clifton on the issue of its seizure of 3 oz 3 dwt (98g) of gold from Cuthbert and its decision to prosecute him. The declaration continued:

... we doe alsoe hereby require and desiar the sd master [John Clifton] for to be are [sic] harmeless W[illia]m Pridham late Servt of Mr John Cuthbert who was Cummitted to Newgate for pretence of Stealing the aforsd gould and yt ye sd master doe take such proper methods as he shall think fit for vindicating his honour and credit of ye Charter wch by like misdemeanour of Mr Cuthbert is like to Cum to disgrace.<sup>1</sup>

One explanation for this irregular and ambiguous episode is that Cuthbert, one of the most prominent goldsmiths in the Company in the 1680s and 1690s, who employed Pridham as his journeyman in 1696 and 1697, wrongfully accused his employee of stealing gold that was only in Cuthbert's temporary custody. With the journeyman committed and imprisoned in Dublin's Newgate jail, and the stolen gold presumed to be gone, Cuthbert could then profit from the event. The true course of events must have emerged and Cuthbert's "misdemeanour" was exposed, culminating in the Company's decision to seize the gold and prosecute him, thereby freeing the wronged Pridham,

"vindicating" the honour of the Master Warden and upholding the "credit" of the Company's charter. The outcome of this event for the scoundrel was not as onerous as might be presumed: following Cuthbert's plea to have the gold returned to him, the Company assented on the provision that he pay a fine of £5 and that the gold be delivered to Pridham "to Work in Rings". The last detail on the matter noted that Cuthbert did not pay the fine and the council ordered that the Master Warden refer the matter to the Attorney General "for Advice, Honr &c of the Corpn".<sup>2</sup> Astonishingly, despite the exposure of his dishonesty and his refusal to pay his fine, Cuthbert continued in good standing with the Company. Within twelve months, he was listed among half a dozen of his peers who were to act as auditors for the Assay Master's returned accounts, inexplicably reflecting his maintained seniority and respect amongst his colleagues.<sup>3</sup>

Numerous questions emerge from this episode relating both specifically to John Cuthbert and to the operations of the Dublin Company of Goldsmiths which had been incorporated in 1637.<sup>4</sup> Who was John Cuthbert? How successful was he? What other craftsmen were employed by him? How did an apparently scheming and opportunistic goldsmith like him succeed in late-seventeenth century Dublin? To what extent did the Company of Goldsmiths regulate the behaviour of its master goldsmiths? What role did it play in policing the treatment and status of journeymen? Cuthbert, a craftsman working within the jurisdiction of the Company, for whom a disproportionate body of documentary evidence has survived and much of which was generated due to his characteristic rule-breaking, offers an intriguing glimpse into the operational layers within the goldsmiths' craft in this period. Both typical and atypical of Dublin's goldsmiths, he fully participated in the activities of the Company although his ambitions were often at odds with the greater organisation to which he subscribed. It is this tension that makes him an intriguing case study and, simultaneously, facilitates a unique examination of Dublin's goldsmiths' workshops, the Company of Goldsmiths and its operational sophistication in the post-Restoration period.

### Civic and guild freedom

John Cuthbert received his freedom of the city of Dublin on payment of a fine in midsummer

1 The Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, Minute Books 1686-1731, (MS 1), 3 May 1698, f 71r.

2 The Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, Enrolment Book and Registration Book Index 1680-1780, (MS 94), 1 July 1698.

3 Op cit, see note 1, 2 February 1698/99, f 79.

4 The Dublin goldsmiths' guild was incorporated by royal charter in 1637. From that date the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin undertook the assay of all silver and gold in Ireland and managed the operations of the Dublin guild of goldsmiths.



1670.<sup>5</sup> Receiving his civic freedom in this way indicates the likelihood that he was a recent immigrant to Dublin, probably from England, and was most certainly a Protestant.<sup>6</sup> In general, those whose freedom was achieved through service, birth or marriage were natives of the city, if not recent migrants from different regions of Ireland, who served their training in the capital city as apprentices, while those craftsmen whose freedom was awarded by fine, 'special grace', Act of Parliament or because of their identity as a French Protestant, were, by and large, recent arrivals to Dublin.<sup>7</sup> John Cuthbert followed dozens of other foreign craftsmen, many of whom were qualified goldsmiths, who were encouraged to settle in the Irish capital following Dublin City Corporation's decision in June 1651 to extend the franchise to English, Protestant 'manufacture men'.<sup>8</sup> This proactive strategy was certainly conducive to the creation and development of the Company of Goldsmiths: over the course of the seventeenth century 301 goldsmiths were admitted as master goldsmiths to the city, with a discernible peak in numbers during the 1650s, as Fig 1 illustrates.<sup>9</sup>

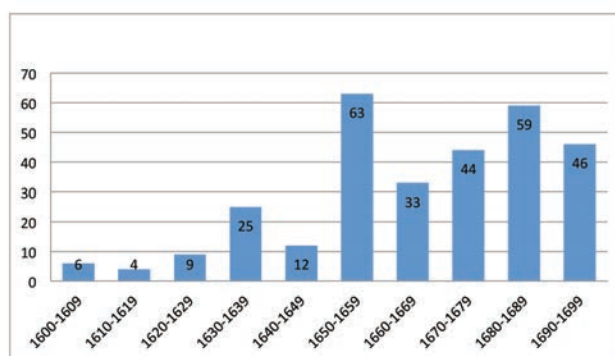


Fig 1 Numbers of goldsmiths admitted to Dublin city per decade, circa 1600-1700.

Although the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, as it then was, did not experience another spike in its membership to the degree witnessed in the 1650s, a steady flow of new members was evident following the Restoration. The trend reflected the city's undisputed dominance in the country's production of plate. Immigrant craftsmen contributed significantly to this pre-eminence: for example, of the sixty-three new master goldsmiths who

entered the guild in the 1650s, it was documented that only three received their freedom by service, while forty-seven had theirs bestowed by fine or special grace. These migrant craftsmen successfully integrated themselves into the guild's operations with many, like Cuthbert, rising to positions of prominence as wardens or as Master Warden, over the course of their careers. At the same time it is also evident that he, like his contemporaries, retained connections with England. In February 1688/9, when he was Master Warden of the Company, Cuthbert nominated John Dickson to act as his deputy while he went to England "about my necessarie occasions"

Fig 2 John Cuthbert's nomination of John Dickinson to act as his deputy while he was away in England. 1688.

(Courtesy of the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, Minute Book, 1688)

Whereas John Cuthbert present Master warden of the Goldsmiths — company in Dublin doe intend (by Gods permission) shortly to transporte England about my necessarie occasions And therefore doe hereby (by the consent of the subscribers) nominate appointe make make John Dickson an abisient Deputy & formerly Master warden of the said company my deputie in my stead to act doe & rouse to be done all acts & things concerning & that shall concern the said Company & good government thereof during my absence, as fully, freely & by des if from offionally present he doe or to cause to be done by his deputy or deputies my hand this 16<sup>th</sup> day of febr; 1688:

W<sup>th</sup>: Brayton  
 W<sup>th</sup>: C. Lighton  
 John Cuthbert  
 John Cope  
 Mrs Kelly  
 Gregory

5 Dublin City Library and Archive: Ancient Freemen of Dublin ([www.dublinheritage.ie/freemen/index.pp](http://www.dublinheritage.ie/freemen/index.pp)) This database is derived from original records held by Dublin City Archives, including Dublin City Assembly Rolls; the Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1468-1512; Dublin City Freedom Registers, 1595-1774; and Freedom Beseeches, which were collated and transcribed by Gertrude Thrift in 1919.

6 Cuthbert married his second wife Penelope Creighton, daughter of John Creighton of County Fermanagh, grandson of the Earl of Dumfries, in 1703. My thanks to Thomas Sinsteden for this information.

7 On the subject of Dublin civic freedom in this period: John J Webb, *The Guilds of Dublin*, Dublin, 1929, pp 23, 158-60; Mary Clark, 'Foreigners and freedom: the Huguenot refuge in Dublin city, 1660-1700', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, vol 27, no 3, 2000, pp 382-91; Jacqueline Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists*, Oxford, 1997, pp 29-36.

8 JT Gilbert (ed) *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, (19 vols), London, 1889-1944), vol IV, p 4.

9 Data compiled from the

following sources: Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, Enrolment of Apprentices, Freemen and Journeymen, 1637-1702 (MS 95); Dublin City Library and Archive: Ancient Freemen of Dublin ([www.dublinheritage.ie/freemen/index.php](http://www.dublinheritage.ie/freemen/index.php)); JT Gilbert, op cit, see note 7; Charles Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks*, London, 1921; G F Mitchell, *Goldsmiths admitted freemen, city of Dublin, 1468-1800*; *Principal goldsmiths of Dublin 1627-1800 abstracted from the records of the Corporation of goldsmiths or Guild of all saints*, Dublin, undated publication [circa 1955-1960].

10 The combined total of master goldsmiths operating within Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Galway, Belfast, Kilkenny, Clonmel and other provincial centres over the course of the seventeenth century, meanwhile, was eighty. The pre-eminence of Dublin in this period is widely acknowledged: C.J. Jackson, pp 559-676; Douglas Bennett, *Collecting Irish silver, 1637-1900*, (London, 1984), pp 123-58; Tony Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*, (Dublin, 1995).

11 The details relating to the freedom of the remaining ten goldsmiths was unrecorded.

12 Op cit, see note 1, 16 February 1688, f 19r.

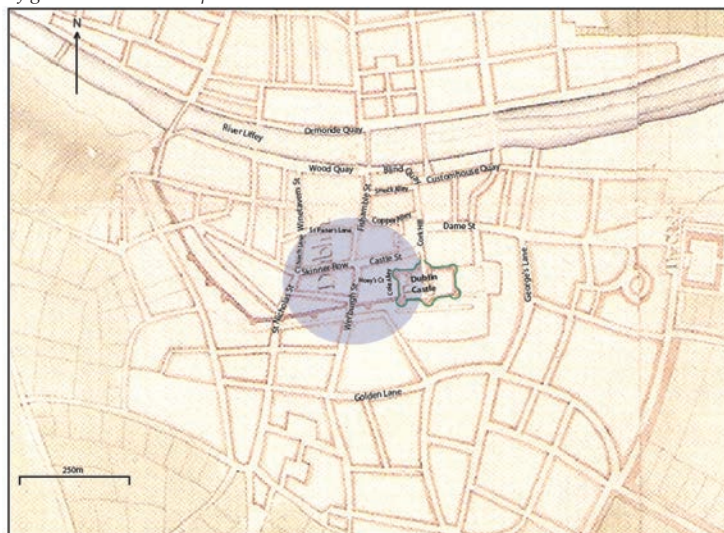
[Fig 2].<sup>12</sup> Similarly Benjamin Burton, during his tenure as Master Warden (1695-6), also departed to England and named the Huguenot goldsmith Abraham Voisin as his temporary deputy.<sup>13</sup> Cuthbert's probable English origins may have ensured that he retained professional and familial connections there. In any event, it was not unusual for members of the company to travel: in 1675 another Dublin Huguenot goldsmith Isaac John (or Jean) travelled to England and drew up his will before his departure.<sup>14</sup> In 1677 the Company noted that John Farmer had four years arrears for payment of his quarterly fee on account of the fact that he was "in England 2 years & more".<sup>15</sup> Later, in 1692, the margins of the annual ledgers indicate that twelve members of the Company also went to England, illustrating the relative ease with which goldsmiths migrated between the two countries.<sup>16</sup>

The Company noted that John Cuthbert paid his fine for his freedom on 8 October 1670 "in plate", specifically with a 52 oz (1,618g) silver tankard, before being sworn in.<sup>17</sup> He was thereafter a "free brother" and entitled to operate as a goldsmith in the city. Even though the Company records detail, in the last decades of the seventeenth century, that membership fines were paid more often than not in money, ranging from as little as ten shillings to as much as £10, there are several references to receipts of pieces of plate for freedom fines. This was in line with the Company's rules which stipulated in November 1667 (and reiterated in 1686) that:

noe person be admitted a ffreeman of the Corporacion for a ffine in monie but what ffine he soe payeth shall be in a peece of Plate, for the Use of the Corporacion.<sup>18</sup>

It would seem, from records of other goldsmiths who received their freedom by fine, that these amounts

Fig 3 Detail of Dublin city from Thomas Philips, *An exact survey of the city of Dublin, anno 1685, compiled by the author to illustrate the locations of goldsmiths' workshops*.



were not fixed, and were calculated on a case by case basis: in 1668 it was noted that Andrew Ram gave a silver sugar to purchase his freedom and two years later, in 1670, Ferdinand Mathews paid for his with "a silver mustard pott and spoons".<sup>19</sup> The weights of these items were usually not detailed although James Thompson, a "fforeigner" who received his freedom of the city in 1690, was required to pay the Company £2 6s in May 1694, along with a cup weighing 4 oz (124.4g).<sup>20</sup>

### Cuthbert's workshop

John Cuthbert's workshop was located on Skinner Row, within the city walls.<sup>21</sup> It is also possible that at a later date, in the 1690s, he had the lease of premises on nearby Winetavern Street [Fig 3]. The cess records of the parish of St John the Evangelist list a "Mr Cuthbert" on Winetavern Street who paid 2s 6d towards a collection for the parish poor in 1693-4 and the following year a "John Cutbard" on the same street paid 3s 6d for a similar parish tax.<sup>22</sup> Skinner Row, the present day site of Christchurch Place, was a hub for Dublin's goldsmiths, strategically located in close proximity to Dublin Castle. Here Cuthbert was in good company: the city's leading goldsmiths in the 1690s, who included Thomas Bolton, John Segar, William Drayton, David King and John Phillips, were all located on Skinner Row which, along with Castle Street, Dame Street, Hoey's Court, Cole Alley, Copper Alley, Fishamble Street and Winetavern Street, formed the nexus of goldsmithing activity in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dublin. Around the corner from Skinner Row, on Werburgh Street, the Dublin Company of Goldsmiths instituted their new hall in 1709, where they remained until 1812, underlining the commercial significance of these close-knit neighbouring streets which had become an established centre for workshops, retail and the operations of the Company.

The Dublin Company of Goldsmiths, like its London counterpart, regulated the training of apprentice goldsmiths, stipulating that each trainee was to serve a seven year apprenticeship

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, f 56v

<sup>14</sup> Prerogative Will Book 1664-84 (MS PRCT/1/1), f 297v, (National Archives of Ireland).

<sup>15</sup> Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, Enrolment of Apprentices, Freemen and Journeymen, 1637-1702 (MS 95), f. 27r.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, f 47v.

<sup>17</sup> Op cit, see note 13, ff 19r, 88r.

<sup>18</sup> Op cit, see note 1, 8 November 1667, f 2r.

<sup>19</sup> Op cit, see note 13, f 88r.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, f 80r.

<sup>21</sup> Douglas Bennett, op cit, see note 10, London, 1984, p 142.

<sup>22</sup> St John the Evangelist parish, Dublin, Vestry Minutes and Cess Books, (MS P 328/5/1), Cess for the Parish Poor 1693-4 and 1694-5, Representative Church Body Library, Dublin (RCBL).

<sup>23</sup> Charles Jackson, op cit, see note 9, p 573; op cit, see note 1, ff 2-4.



under a recognised master.<sup>23</sup> In the period circa 1675-1700 John Cuthbert enrolled a total of ten apprentices:<sup>24</sup> this was well above the average at a time when most Dublin masters enrolled one, two or perhaps three trainees over the course of their careers. Collation of the apprentice records of the Company of Goldsmiths for the period 1650-1700 highlights the full extent of Cuthbert's exceptional standing as an employer: out of the 222 master goldsmiths operating within the company in the period, ninety took on apprentices. Of these ninety, the majority: sixty two, employed one or two apprentices, while just nine goldsmiths employed three boys. It was highly unusual, therefore, for a master goldsmith to enrol more than these numbers. The scope and resources to accommodate this number of apprentices over a twenty-five year period is an indication that Cuthbert ran a large and flourishing workshop and suggests that he enjoyed a prestigious reputation as a master.<sup>25</sup> As each boy was contracted for an average of seven years' training, the duration of each indenture frequently overlapped so that at any one stage there may have been up to three apprentices living and working on the workshop premises which also accommodated Cuthbert and his family and in all likelihood his journeymen as well. Apprentices were not just local boys: Dublin was the centre of the goldsmiths' craft in Ireland and it is evident that the city's goldsmiths attracted apprentices from around the country. The diverse origins and parents of Cuthbert's apprentices, information that can be gleaned from the enrolment contracts drawn up by the Company between each trainee and his master, reveal no explicit social or geographical bias on his part, underlining the probability of his own non-Irish origins. Local indentures included the Dublin orphan George Montgomery (1681), who was closely followed the next year by David King, the son of the Dublin gentleman James King. Another Dubliner, Conway Mace, followed in 1686. Joseph Walker, whose father was a weaver in the city, was enrolled in 1683 and, over a decade later, Cuthbert's own son, John Cuthbert junior in 1694. The details and background of two other apprentices, Henry Bond (circa 1675) and Alexander Mackay (circa 1678), are not as yet known. More is known of the

apprentices drawn from more distant regions: Joseph Teate, enrolled in 1678, was from Kilkenny, while Alexander Sinclair (1687) was the son of a Belfast merchant. Finally, Charles Crompton, the son of a Wexford gentleman, was apprenticed to Cuthbert in 1694. This spread of geographical backgrounds was not out of the ordinary. Of the 215 trainees apprenticed in the seventeenth century the origins of 131 were recorded and of these, seventy one were from counties outside of Dublin, with eighteen originating from outside Ireland and mainly from England and Wales.

For the most part it would seem that Cuthbert conducted himself honourably as a master to his apprentices. Of his ten trainees, nine proceeded to attain their freedom of the Company during a period in which there was a substantial rate of attrition: out of the 215 apprentices recorded in the period circa 1600-1700, slightly more than half, or 52%, did not proceed to attain the freedom of the Company. It is evident that at least the majority of Cuthbert's apprentices received the correct training during their time in his workshop. Just one of his apprentices, Charles Crompton, failed to complete his apprenticeship and did not pursue his career as a goldsmith. In May 1696 Crompton lodged a complaint with the Company against his master: stating that although his father had paid Cuthbert £35 for his seven year indenture and he had served one and half years thus far "his said Master refuses to enteraine him or return him the sd money".<sup>26</sup> Nothing further was noted on the matter although it was not unusual for the Company to intervene in disputes between masters and their apprentices in an effort to reach a resolution. In 1695 the Company received a petition from one James Brenan who had served David Swan for two and a half years. The apprentice claimed that he had paid his master £10 for clothes but even so, he had not been taught his trade:

on the Contrary that he used him most barbarously not allowing him any tollerable Cloathes or food.

It was ordered that Brenan be released from the bond and Swan was to repay him the £10 and give him a new suit, stockings, two new cravats, a new hat and a pair of shoes in compensation.<sup>27</sup>

As well as taking on numerous apprentices Cuthbert employed journeymen on an annual basis, offering further evidence that he presided over an industrious workshop. These craftsmen were drawn from the large reserve of recently qualified apprentices, goldsmiths excluded from Dublin city's franchise (chiefly non-conforming Protestants and Roman Catholics), and migrant craftsmen. For those apprentice goldsmiths who did complete their training, in transitioning from graduating from their master's workshop to setting up their own workshops (if they had the means to do so),

<sup>24</sup> Cuthbert's apprentices and the approximate years in which they were bound to him were: Henry Bond (circa 1675); Joseph Teate (1678); Alexander Mackey (circa 1678); George Montgomery (1681); David King (1682); Joseph Walker (1683); Conway Mace (1686); Alexander Sinclair (1687); John Cuthbert (Junior) (1692); Charles Crompton (1694).

<sup>25</sup> Alison FitzGerald notes that the fourteen apprentices engaged by Robert Calderwood in the period 1727-64 was exceptional, especially when it is considered that approximately 90% of Dublin masters in the eighteenth century enrolled no more than three apprentices during their careers. Alison FitzGerald 'Cosmopolitan commerce: the Dublin goldsmith Robert Calderwood', *Apollo*, vol CLXII, 523, 2005, p 47.

<sup>26</sup> Op cit, see note 1, 1 May 1696, f 57r.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 9 May 1695, f 53r.



the possibility of remaining for a while with their masters, in the capacity of journeymen, was an option. This was the case with Cuthbert and his apprentice David King (fl1690-1730). King completed his training in 1688 or 1689 and was entered by Cuthbert as his “jourman” at 2s 6d per quarter for the year 1690-1.<sup>28</sup> The bulk of Cuthbert’s employees were, however, craftsmen working on the fringes of the Company and recognised either as “quarter brothers” or journeymen. As seen with the scenario relating to the wronged “servant” William Pridham, regulations and Company responsibilities needed to be articulated in order to address this significant stratum of the craft. The status of journeymen in workshops, like quarter brothers, was a matter which occupied a significant portion of the rule-making and fine-issuing of the livery companies in this period. In post-Restoration Dublin, as in London, tradesmen and craftsmen, who were excluded from the franchise for qualification and confessional reasons, could practice their trade as quarter brothers by paying quarterage, although they did not enjoy the full benefits and privileges of full members.<sup>29</sup> Journeymen, meanwhile, operated on a less independent basis, usually finding short-term work within the workshops of established masters. Data from 1661 onwards shows that the total number of quarter brothers and journeymen operating in the city in the final four decades of the century, at 242, far exceeded the quantities of free brothers who were working at the same time. Disregarding the small numbers of journeymen who made the transition from apprenticeship to freedom, the bulk of these craftsmen were, by definition, outsiders of an established system and, though they contributed in no small part to the workshops of several master goldsmiths, their presence was a matter that required regulation. In 1667 the Company articulated its initial opposition to journeymen stipulating that any brother found employing one was to be fined 10s.<sup>30</sup> By 1686, however, the employment practice amongst master goldsmiths had evolved, prompting the alteration of this regulation with an addendum which provided a degree of flexibility to journeymen that was in line with that already afforded to quarter brothers:

excepting sum pson or psons to be Employed as already do or hereafter shall comply with the said date hereof to pay sum quarterage as the said Corporation shall thinke fitt.<sup>31</sup>

The Dublin Company of Goldsmiths’ annual lists of free brothers, quarter brothers, “fforeigners” and journeymen detail the names and fines for each goldsmith and, in the period circa 1670-1700, also provide ad hoc the names of master goldsmiths who were paying the fines for individual journeymen, many of whom were probably immigrants.<sup>32</sup> This unique feature, discontinued by 1700, probably due to the

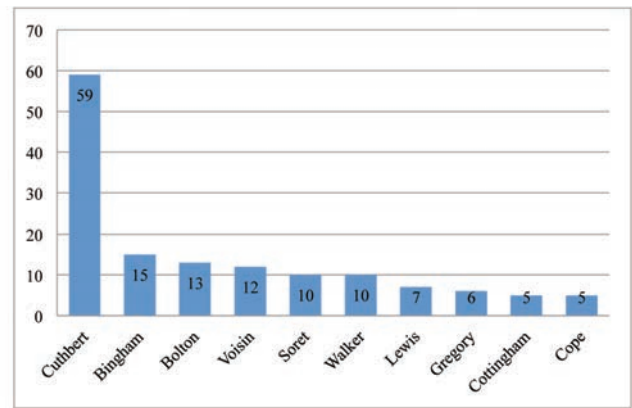


Fig 4 Numbers of journeymen employed by Dublin master goldsmiths, circa 1670-98.

increased volumes of journeymen and quarter brothers making it more laborious to keep these records, presents a rare opportunity to view the operational layers that were in existence in the Company during this period. Among the names of numerous goldsmiths who were identified for their ‘sponsorship’ of these craftsmen, the regular references to John Cuthbert are notable. In 1672 it was noted that the journeymen Lewis Ffaran and Thomas Brookes had their fines paid “by Mr Cuthbert”. The following year lists Andrew Cleghorne, alongside the note “entered by Mr Cuthbert”, and James Kirkwood also “by Mr Cuthbert”.<sup>33</sup> In 1679 and 1680 Cuthbert had three journeymen listed; this had increased in 1689 to five journeymen whose quarterage was paid by him. The regularity of Cuthbert’s continued employment of these journeymen is conveyed in the years 1682-7 when the ledgers grouped these craftsmen together in the category of “Mr Cuthbert’s men”.<sup>34</sup> By this stage Cuthbert had, as a matter of course, between two and five journeymen listed as working for him annually and, judging from the reoccurrence of other masters’ names alongside those of journeymen in these annual lists, this was not unusual practice, although collation of the numbers of journeymen employed by him and

28 Op cit, see note 1, 2 February 1690, f 20v.

29 Jacqueline Hill, *From patriots to unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish Protestant patriotism, 1660-1840*, Oxford, 1997, p 31.

30 Op cit, see note 1, 8 November 1667, f 2v.

31 Ibid, 2 February 1686, f 38r.

32 According to Hanspeter Lanz there are no extant lists of foreign journeymen for any European city, a statement that has apparently overlooked this thirty-year window within the Dublin Goldsmiths’ Company (Hanspeter Lanz, ‘Training and workshop practice in Zurich in the seventeenth century’, David Mitchell (ed) *Goldsmiths, silversmiths and bankers: innovation and the transfer of skill, 1550 to 1750*, London, 1995, pp 32-42).

33 Op cit, see note 13, MS 95, 1672-3.

34 Ibid, 1672-96.

35 Data taken from: Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, Enrolment of Apprentices, Freemen and Journeymen, 1637-1702 (MS 95), 1670-98.

his colleagues, for the period 1670-98, reveals his disproportionate pre-eminence in his employment of at least fifty-nine journeymen over the three decades, as Fig 4 shows.<sup>35</sup>

As mentioned above these journeymen were often immigrants: Cuthbert entered a nameless “Dutchman” in 1692 and 1693 and a “ffrenchman” in 1694 and many of the surnames of the other journeymen suggest English or continental origins. It is plausible that these nomadic craftsmen were in a position to undercut the established ‘natives’ financially which, in turn, made their ‘cheap labour’ attractive to busy master goldsmiths like Cuthbert. Some of these men were retained by him for several years. Over the course of three decades Cuthbert continued to enter and pay for successive journeymen, thereby undermining the assumption that journeymen were mobile men, temporarily lodging with their masters and free of dependents. Cuthbert entered Thomas Oven annually from 1678 until 1696 and this long-standing employee was clearly well-established in the city. The parish of St John the Evangelist, which records the baptisms of four of his and his wife Judith’s children in the period 1680-96, as well as the baptism of their son William, detailed their residence at “Fleec Alley” which was located just off Fishamble Street.<sup>36</sup> While it is likely that many of “Mr Cuthbert’s men” did lodge with their master it is also probable that a proportion of these men, like Oven and John Melkerkearne (Cuthbert’s journeyman from 1682-8), settled independently in the city. Their continued employment by masters within the Company may have been the reason that prompted a change in the Company’s policy towards their legitimacy; thereby facilitating the longer term role of journeyman in the manufacture of plate in Dublin. In 1696 Oven’s quarterage was, as usual, paid by Cuthbert but alongside his name it was subsequently detailed: “left Mr Cuthbert to work for himself”.<sup>37</sup> During the

following decade Oven’s name reoccurs without the sponsorship of any master goldsmith but he never became a freeman of the city or of the Company and there is no record of his maker’s mark; the same can be said of the majority of journeymen and quarter brothers (75%).

### Cuthbert and his on-going ‘misdemeanours’

The quarterage fines for each journeyman-goldsmith levied on masters, in addition to salaries, were no doubt onerous to support, even for a goldsmith who was as productive as John Cuthbert. The temptation to avoid declaring all of his employees to the Company must have been, at times, difficult to resist. A note in the margin of the quarterage lists in one instance details:

Mr Cuthbert entered these 3 apprentices on the 3rd of Apr 1684 ... the Company should impose for his neglect of inrolling them sooner.<sup>38</sup>

A decade later he was fined 20 shillings in April 1694 for “Employing 2 Journeymen without Masters Leave” and was reprimanded again in November of that year when it was stated that he:

employed a ffrenchman for a Month before he acquainted the Master & Wardens ... It is therefore ordered that the sd Mr Cuthbert doe shew cause at the next meeting of this company why the ffine he is liable unto for such offence not be layd upon him.<sup>39</sup>

It is reasonable to conjecture that there were probably other occasions when Cuthbert was employing many other journeymen who went undeclared and undetected, reinforcing the profile of this vibrant and diverse workshop.

During the 1680s Cuthbert rose through the Company’s ranks, serving three consecutive years as a warden from 1681 to 1684 and in 1688 he was elected Master Warden. His election to this elevated position in the Company underlines the esteem with which he was regarded by his fellow goldsmiths. His tenure corresponded with the Williamite wars (1688-91), during which time the Company entrusted him with its collection of plate, reflecting the heightened state of anxiety in the capital city during this fractious period. On 30 November 1691 he returned the collection and the minutes noted:

This day Mr John Cuthbert one of the ffree Brothers of this Corporacion of Goldsmiths of the City of Dublin Delivered to the now M[aste]r, Mr Adam Sorret in the presence of the Company of the sd Corporacion, one Silver Cup & Cover, one single Cover, one porringer, two Salts, one Silver Penner & two Small Silver Skeals [scales] being Plate lodged by the Sd Corporacion some tyme before the laite troubles in this lands.<sup>40</sup>

Following this deposit a portion of the plate together with a “Book of Entries” remained unaccounted for and it appears that a disagreement between Cuthbert and

35 Data taken from: Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, Enrolment of Apprentices, Freemen and Journeymen, 1637-1702 (MS 95), 1670-98.

36 Parish records of St John the Evangelist, Dublin, 15 September 1680, 26 October 1690, 11 April 1693, 8 March 1696 (<http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords>, 13 March 2012).

37 Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, Enrolment of Apprentices, op cit, see note 7, 1696.

38 Ibid, f 83v.

39 Op cit, see note 1, ff 42, 48v.

40 Ibid, f 22v (Dublin Assay Office, Archives of the Dublin Company of Goldsmiths, Book 1).



Fig 5 Maker's mark of John Cuthbert.

the Company ensued, culminating in an external enquiry into the matter which was referred to

ffrancis Stoit of the City of Dublin Esq chosin for & in behalf of this Company & William Lemon Master of the Corporation of Bakers Dublin for the sd Mr Cuthbert to end & determine the same in some short time if they can.<sup>41</sup>

The outcome of the proceedings found in favour of the Company of Goldsmiths and Cuthbert was ordered to pay £3 15s for the unaccounted plate. Furthermore, it was decided that he should swear an affidavit to the effect that he knew nothing about the whereabouts of the ledger, which it can be presumed, was never recovered.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to extraordinary events such as this, along with the fines he received relating to his employment of journeymen, Cuthbert was frequently, along with other established freemen, listed and fined for not attending hall meetings and for submitting sub-standard plate [Fig 5]. On 2 February 1691/2 he was fined for submitting a sub-standard cup and knife haft and again, in July 1693, for a sugar caster and four knife hafts "for being course silver".<sup>43</sup> The following year, in November 1694, four separate entries record that a "sett of breast buttons" of the largest size, of middling size and of the smallest size were all seized from him, as were a "penner" and snuff boxes all of which failed the assay.<sup>44</sup> Again, in 1703, he was fined, this time for sub-standard gold buttons "with wier on the topps" [Fig 6].<sup>45</sup> Judging by the frequency of records in the minutes throughout this period relating to fines and seizures of the plate marked by other goldsmiths, it should be

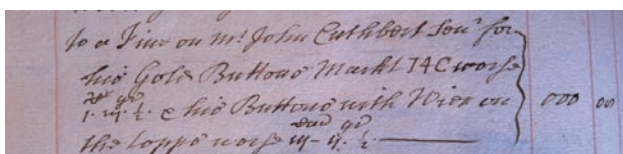


Fig 6 Fine to John Cuthbert for sub-standard gold buttons, 1704.  
(Courtesy of the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, Account Book, 1704)

noted that Cuthbert was not unusual in this regard. The complex episode involving Cuthbert, his journeyman William Pridham and some gold in 1698 was, however, out of the ordinary and once again highlights his precarious professional practice but, perhaps in the context of these other offences, may be seen as more in keeping with his general *modus operandi*.

### Cuthbert's output

In light of the body of evidence weighing heavily against a reputation for good conduct, how did Cuthbert retain his foothold within the competitive and tight-knit landscape of Dublin's goldsmiths? How was it that he moved so seamlessly between issues that culminated in his prosecution by the Company and positions in which he was upheld as a figure of respect and authority? One plausible reason is that it was in the Company's financial interest to maintain and support the prolific Cuthbert, rather than remove him from their sphere of influence and corporate gain. His workshop was prodigiously productive in the 1690s, as the assay records for the period 1694-9 attest: in this period he maintained, on average, an annual submission of approximately 2,000 oz (62,207g), making him at times, as was the case in 1693-4 and in 1694-5, the second most productive goldsmith in Dublin.<sup>46</sup> The Company of Goldsmiths employed an Assay Master whose task was to test and hallmark all silver submitted by goldsmiths in Ireland. The charge for this service was 1d per ounce (31.1g) of plate, of which the Assay Master retained half as his fee, the remaining half going to the Company. This meant that the annual submissions by a productive goldsmith like Cuthbert were worth on average £8 per year to the Assay Master and the Company, a not insignificant sum. Cuthbert was one of just a handful of master goldsmiths who dominated in Dublin in this period. His colleagues David King, Joseph Walker and John Phillips joined him and Thomas Bolton as the main producers of plate in the last decade of the seventeenth century. A total of 158,317 oz (4,924,210g) of plate were

41 Ibid., (MS 1), 9 August 1693, f 37r.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., 2 February 1691, f 24r; 29 July 1693, f 35v.

44 Ibid., 9 Nov. 1694, ff 51-52.

45 Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, Account Book, 1692-1716 (MS 70), p 220.

46 The goldsmith who submitted the greatest quantities of plate in the 1690s was Thomas Bolton whose career has been documented by John McCormack, 'The sumptuous silver of Thomas Bolton (1658-1736)', *Irish Arts Review*, xi, 1995, pp 112-6. The Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin assay records for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been collated and analysed by Thomas Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company', *The Silver Society Journal*, 11, 1999, pp 143-57.



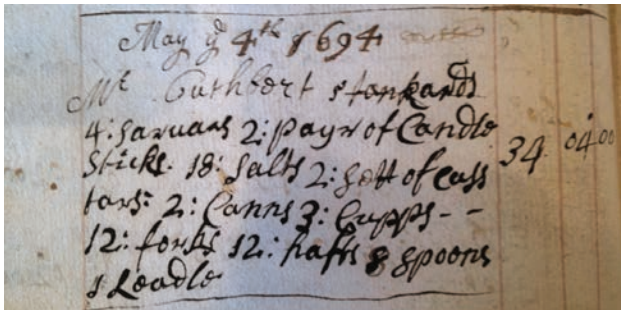


Fig 7 John Cuthbert's assay record, 4 May 1694.

(Courtesy of the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, Assay Book, 1694)

assayed in the period February 1694 to October 1699 and 51,647 oz (1,606,401g) of this, or nearly one third, was produced in the workshops of these five goldsmiths. When it is considered that a total of fifty-two goldsmiths and cutlers were submitting plate in this period, the disproportionate contribution of these individuals becomes apparent.<sup>47</sup>

For approximately ten months, from February 1693/4 to November 1694, the Assay Master's clerk listed and described each submission by type and overall weight. Prior and subsequent to this unusual window, the assay records simply detail the total weight of each goldsmith's submission. Thanks to this anomaly valuable insight into the kinds of objects and vessels that Dublin's goldsmiths were producing for assay at this time can be gained. It is clear that the bulk of John Cuthbert's output was silver for domestic use.<sup>48</sup> One substantial submission he made on 4 May 1694 illustrates both the variety and quantity of items he was producing when it was detailed:

Mr Cuthbert: 5 tankards, 4 sarvars [servers], 2 payr of Candlesticks, 18 salts, 2 sett of casstars, 2 Cann, 3 Cupps, 12 forks, 12 hafts, 8 spoons, 1 leadle; 34lbs 4oz [Fig 7].<sup>49</sup>

The quantities of items submitted by Cuthbert were very much in line with trends at this time. In the seventeenth century spoons were, and continued to be throughout the eighteenth century, the most common item of silver to be produced in Ireland. 848 spoons were submitted and recorded by the Assay Master's clerk in the period 1 April – 31 October 1694,<sup>50</sup> and were followed by 263 forks and 219 salts.<sup>51</sup> This data undoubtedly reflects the development of refined dining

<sup>47</sup> Thomas Sinsted, *ibid*, p 151.

<sup>48</sup> Cuthbert also produced non-domestic plate: a communion cup for St Werburgh's parish church, Dublin (1685-7) bears his mark, as does a paten (circa 1693) which he submitted as a fine to St Werburgh's for not serving as a church warden in 1693. Four communion cups hallmarked 1694 and with Cuthbert's maker's mark are also extant and are in the possession of the Representative Church Body, Ireland.

<sup>49</sup> Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, Assay Books, 1693-9, (MS 13), 4 May 1694.

<sup>50</sup> Two spoons marked by John Cuthbert are extant and are hallmarked for 1694. My thanks to Thomas Sinsted for this information.

<sup>51</sup> Thomas Sinsted, *op cit*, see note 44, p 149.



Fig 8 Caster, Dublin, 1685-7, by John Cuthbert.

(Courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland)

practice and the adoption of continental fashions among Dublin's (and Ireland's) elite. Similarly the transition of demand for singular, large standing salts to smaller sets of trencher salts, of which Cuthbert submitted eighteen on 4 May 1694, was another

Fig 9 The Freke porringer, Dublin, 1685, by John Cuthbert.

(Photograph © National Museums Northern Ireland)





Fig 10 Tankard, Dublin, circa 1685, marked by both John Cuthbert and Edward Swan.

(Courtesy of Sotheby's)

demonstration of the growing vogue for dining *à la française*, which Dublin's society had embraced. Pairs and trios of casters were also becoming common fixtures on Irish dining tables; the National Museum of Ireland's collection incorporates an early example of one marked by Cuthbert in 1685-7 in the lighthouse pattern, complete with excellent examples of stencil work and applied ornament [Fig 8]. Meanwhile, more traditional vessels indicated by Cuthbert's assay submissions, included cups, tankards and "cans". Items such as these constituted a considerable quantity of silverware in high demand in late-seventeenth century Dublin. An unusual two-handled covered cup decorated with flat-chased chinoiserie, now in the Ulster Museum, demonstrates Cuthbert's engagement with a popular decorative style of the 1680s [Fig 9]. Meanwhile extant items such as a tankard and mug show he was equally adept at producing pieces to satisfy the appetite for plainer plate [Fig 10].

## Conclusion

It is through close analysis of an individual goldsmith such as John Cuthbert that wider conclusions regarding the operations of Dublin's goldsmiths are possible. Cuthbert's regular employment of journeymen and "fforeigners" on an annual basis allows a glimpse of the

diverse profile of goldsmiths' workshops in the late-seventeenth century. His frequently repeated sponsorship of individual journeymen suggests that Dublin's master goldsmiths were actively seeking specialised skills from among these largely mobile, and sometimes international, craftsmen that were not readily available among the city's existing body of goldsmiths. That these numbers increased, year on year, indicates the success of this activity which was mutually beneficial.

In many ways Cuthbert is representative of a typical Dublin goldsmith from this period. Like many of his contemporaries he went through the various stages that punctuated the careers of goldsmiths: as a free brother, warden, Master Warden and as an enterprising master goldsmith running his own workshop, enrolling apprentices and submitting silver for assay at Goldsmiths' Hall. Events and data reveal, however, that Cuthbert was also exceptional: the records of the Dublin Company of Goldsmiths, particularly the Minute Books, document events and issues that illustrate his relationship with the Company which was at best compliant but was, more often than not, punctuated by confrontation, fines and reprimands. In addition, the large number of apprentices and journeymen that he employed, coupled with his substantial annual assay submissions in the 1690s, demonstrate that he, along with just a small handful of his peers, was exceptionally productive. In all, it is apparent that Cuthbert was an ambitious and opportunistic man who, despite regularly falling short of compliance, managed to steer a path between self-interest and the success of the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, contributing in no small measure to the prominence enjoyed by the Company by the early-eighteenth century.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to sincerely thank Alison FitzGerald and Thomas Sinsteden for their assistance and insight. My thanks also to the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin Assay Office, the National Museum of Ireland, the Representative Church Body Library and the National Museum Northern Ireland. Furthermore, I would like to acknowledge the invaluable support of the Irish Research Council Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship programme and Maynooth University's John Hume Scholarship programme.

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# Out of the darkness into the light:

## Early baroque homage gifts presented to the House of Hanover<sup>1</sup>

JULIANE SCHMIEGLITZ-OTTEN

### The Paris auction

Over some decades the French fashion designer Yves Saint-Laurent and his partner Pierre Bergé collected works of art: paintings, furniture and crafts, from antiquity up until the twentieth century, items of the very highest quality and refinement. After Saint-Laurent's death Pierre Bergé had this collection, one of the last major European art collections, put up for auction at Christie's, Paris, in February 2009.<sup>2</sup>

The sale caused a sensation in the world of art and cultural history when it became apparent that the objects on offer included a total of fourteen early baroque silver-gilt cups from the Welf family of the House of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, later the House of Hanover: the oldest European royal family still in existence. One indication of just how extraordinary this group was within the Yves Saint-Laurent collection, and also in the eyes of the auctioneers, is the fact that these exceptional pieces appeared on the title page of the catalogue section "Orfèverie, Miniatures et Objets de Vertu" [Fig 1].<sup>3</sup>

A second surprise was that thirteen of these pieces could be unequivocally associated with one of the main Welf *Residenzen* during the seventeenth century: Celle. Due to a concerted fund-raising campaign by the Kulturstiftung der Länder foundation and several other supporters it was possible to acquire the three finest pieces from this ensemble at the auction for a total price of around 2 million euro.<sup>4</sup>

In April 2009 the three objects were brought from Paris to Celle and presented at a ceremony at the Celle *Residenz*. Public sponsors, one private sponsor, numerous foundations, the town of Celle and the German state of Lower Saxony all gave financial support to bring these items of



Fig 1 Group of the 'Hanoverian' cups from the Yves Saint-Laurent and Pierre Bergé Collection, 2009.

(Copyright: © Christie's Images Limited (2009))

1 This essay is a summary of a lecture delivered by the author in London on 27 October 2014 at the invitation of the Silver Society which, together with its President Timothy Schroder, I wish to thank sincerely for the opportunity. All the relevant literature is listed in the conference proceedings mentioned in footnote 9.

2 Sale, Christie's, Paris, 24 February 2009, Yves Saint-Laurent and Pierre Bergé Collection: Orfèverie, Miniatures et Objets de vertu, lots 197-210.

3 Fig 1 from left to right: (1) Bunch of grapes cup (so called 'pineapple cup'), gift of Bevensen, Hamburg, circa 1614-17, by Johann Robyn (?) (2) Columbine cup, gift of Blumlage, Hamburg, circa 1640, by Ewert Kettwyck (3) Columbine cup, gift of Fallersleben, Nuremberg, 1620-1629, by Hans Enderers (4) Columbine cup, gift of Medingen, Hamburg, circa 1635-49, by Hinrich Ohmßen (5) Columbine cup, gift of Medingen, Nuremberg, 1609-1629, by Hans Christoph Lauer (6) Table fountain, gift of Bodenteich, Hamburg, 1628-43, by Ewert Kettwyck (7) Massive cup, gift of Lüneburg, Lüneburg, circa 1649?, by Nicolas Siemens, (8) Lobed cup and cover, gift of Ebstorf, Nuremberg, 1609-1629, by Franz Fischer (9) Nautilus cup, unmarked, Germany, seventeenth-century, (10) Columbine cup, gift of Oldenstadt, Hamburg 1635-49, by Hinrich Ohmßen (11) Quadruple cup, gift of Osterode, Osterode, 1649, by Christoph Uder (12) Wager cup, Nuremberg, 1627-29, by Hans Clauß I (13) Columbine cup, Nuremberg, 1609-29, by Franz Fischer (14) Wager cup, Hamburg, 1620-29 by Dietrich Utermarke.

4 I want to mention two people without whose help and support this major acquisition would not have been possible: Winfried Baer, Curator of Berlin's Charlottenburg Palace, of whom I have happy memories and it was a sad loss when he died in 2011. It was Winfried who first drew my attention to these pieces. I would also like to thank Lorenz Seelig, the leading authority on the Welf silver, for all his support.



significant cultural heritage home to their origins in Celle after 300 years [Fig 2].

### The Residenz at Celle

Even ascribing the objects to the House of Hanover is problematic because this notion is based on a historical view, ie from the perspective of the Electorate of Hanover (from 1814 onwards the Kingdom of Hanover) whose ruler was also the King of Great Britain throughout the 123 years of personal union (1714-1837). Anyone wishing to gain an impression of the area under Welf rule at the time that the cups were made has, however, to consider the royal *residenzen* of that period. Up until the period when the states, in the modern sense, were formed: the end of the seventeenth century, the territories under the control of the Welf family had been in constant flux, and had shifted repeatedly from one family line to another within the borders of the overall state. This situation, which was characteristic of developments within the old kingdom, may appear confusing, at least from the perspective of an island state whose territory is clearly bounded. For this reason, some clarification is necessary at the outset.

From the tenth century up until the nineteenth century, the areas that are now Germany and

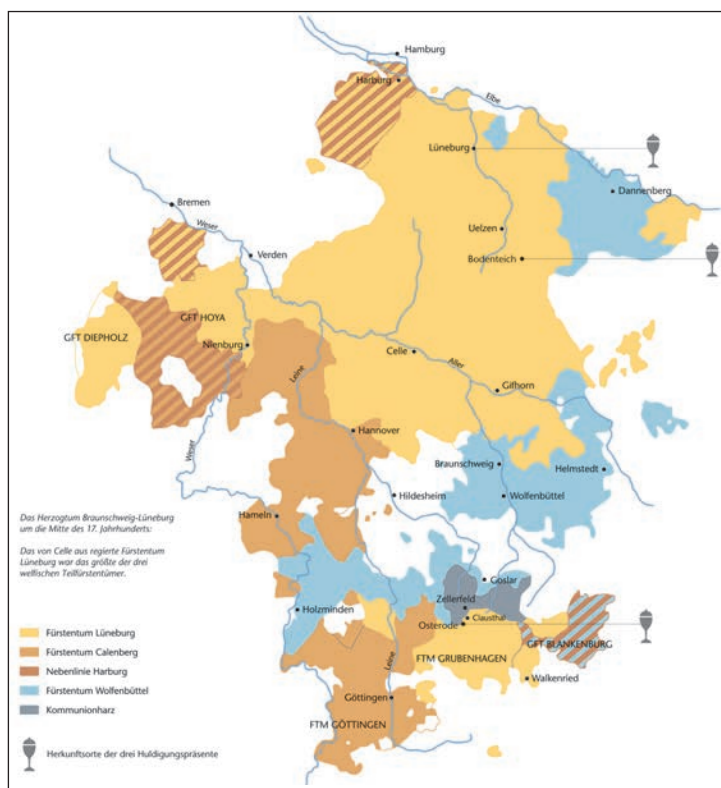


Fig 3 The Duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg circa 1650. The places which presented the homage gifts are indicated.

(© Residenzmuseum im Celler Schloss; graphic: Homann Güner Blum, Hanover)

Austria largely formed the heartland of the Holy Roman Empire. This so-called 'Old Empire' consisted of a large number of small states, hundreds of bishoprics, principalities, duchies, counties, free imperial cities, and later also some kingdoms such as Bavaria, Saxony and, from 1814, onwards Hanover. This situation was accentuated after the Thirty Years War of 1618 to 1648. This war arose from of the religious animosity between Catholics and Protestants and out of the efforts of the states to acquire greater independence from the Habsburg emperors who wanted to retain their pre-eminence.

The Peace of Westphalia, which brought the war to an end, strengthened the position of various political entities, most of all that of the principalities, vis-à-vis the emperor as they were all granted sovereign rights. They were, for example, allowed to enter into alliances with foreign partners provided that these alliances did not then turn against the empire. The princes of these small states now attempted to increase their power through, not only expanding and securing their territories, but also by emphasising their rank: a significant element of which was the display of the evidence of the standing in which they were held.

Fig 2 Three homage gifts presented to the Dukes of Celle.

(© Land Niedersachsen; photo: Ursula Bohnhorst)



What appeared to be an overall political weakness: the increasing erosion of central power, was culturally a stroke of luck. Each of these small states had its own *residenz*, at least one castle or palace, often several of them, which were now all expanded, as circumstances allowed, with their own court and courtly culture. These courts were modelled on the large courts of emperors and kings.

One territorial state is the particular focus of this article: the Duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, ruled by the Welfs. In the states of the 'Old Empire' primogeniture was not introduced until the end of the seventeenth century. Until that time an estate had always been divided between all the sons so partible inheritance was the norm which meant that every royal family broke up into several lines (or houses), all of which in turn built a *residenz* of their own, and not uncommonly competed with one another.

The Duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg consisted largely of three smaller principalities: the principality of Calenberg with its *Residenz* in Hanover, the principality of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel with its *Residenz* in Wolfenbüttel, and the principality of Lüneburg with its *Residenz* in Celle. After the Thirty Years War this latter principality, Lüneburg, had the largest territory and the highest revenues of the three regions: it stretched from the River Elbe in the north to the Harz mountains in the south and this was where its revenues came from. They were made up of customs duties from the ships on the Elbe, levies paid by the town of Lüneburg, made rich by its salt production, and from the silver mines in the Harz [Fig 3].



Fig 4 Celle Residenz, view from the west.

(© Bomann-Museum Celle/Residenzmuseum im Celler Schloss; Photo: Fotostudio Loeper, Celle)



Fig 5 The monogram GW (for Duke Georg-Wilhelm, engraved later) indicates the importance that was given to the provenance of the cups within the Hanoverian inheritance.

(Photo: Juliane Schmiegitz-Otten, Celle)

The majority of the expansion work on the Celle *Residenz* took place during the early baroque period and it is still regarded as the finest of the surviving Welf castles. It was built by Duke Georg-Wilhelm (1624-1705) who decided on what was at the time a highly innovative design comprising four wings, with a tower

at each corner; it followed the precedent established during the competition process for the Louvre in Paris only shortly before. The choice of Italian architects and ornamental plasterers, coupled with the installation of a court theatre and a series of grand chambers, show that the Celle *Residenz* conformed to the standards of European royal culture in the early modern period [Fig 4].

The Celle line of the Welf family died out on the death of Georg-Wilhelm in 1705 and the principality of Lüneburg was merged into the overarching Electorate of Hanover and from then on the *Residenz* was in Hanover. Since 1701, under the terms of the Act of

5 Bomann-Museum Celle, DO 875.









Fig 7 Table fountain, silver-gilt, Hamburg, 1628-43, by Ewert Kettwyck. Homage gift given to the Duke Christian-Ludwig of Celle in 1649.

(© Land Niedersachsen; Photo: Ursula Bohnhorst)

Frankfurt City Hall in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries reveal the enormous significance of the presentations of gold and silver vessels arranged on specially designed buffets [Fig 6]. The electors showed off their power and status with the aid of magnificently presented credenzas lined with red velvet, on which jugs, cups, washing utensils etc were displayed.

As in all other forms of ceremonial defined by status, here too, there was marked differentiation between the ranks, and the imperial buffet outshone all the others in terms of size, value and position. This special silver was a clearly defined symbol of power, it was presented in an impressive manner to forcefully demonstrate the



Fig 8 Inscription Ambt Bodendick engraved on the wine cistern of the table fountain [See Fig 7].

(© Land Niedersachsen; Photo: Ursula Bohnhorst)

rank and importance of the ruling house: the imperial buffet had five tiers while the ones of the Electors were only permitted three. The joint display of a number of items on a buffet was intended to enhance the effect of each individual piece. The intention was not necessarily to show off the artistic design of individual items but more to achieve a grand overall effect. Size mattered!

While the overall impression was what mattered to the outside world huge differences existed between the items from the Saint-Laurent Collection because the size and type of the homage gifts and the way they were differentiated from one another, reflected the size, importance and financial power of the territory which had presented it.

The Saint-Laurent Collection included gifts from Ebstorf (1640), Bevensen (probably 1649), Medingen, Bodenteich and Oldenstadt (all 1649), the village of Fallersleben (1649), the town of Osterode (1649), and the village of Blumlage (1649), which today is part of Celle, plus the town of Lüneburg. Files in the state archive of Lower Saxony suggest that the entire body of homage gifts was originally even larger. Of the pieces in the group seven are in a generally similar style while three others are stylistically very different.

The grand table fountain [Fig 7] by the Hamburg goldsmith Evert Kettwyck was, as indicated by the inscription, a gift from the district of Bodenteich<sup>6</sup>. The inscription "AMBT BODENDICK" (District of Bodendick) is stamped on the spherical reservoir [Fig 8]. The district paid its homage in September 1649 but the gift was not ready at the time and was not handed over until three months later. This points to the fact that by the baroque period the payment of tribute was

6 Lorenz Seelig (ed), 'Katalog der Huldigungspräsentate für die Herzöge von Braunschweig und Lüneburg', *Kulturstiftung der Länder, Braunschweig*, 2010, pp 37-84, see no 5, pp 47-9; Christie's, op cit, see note 1, lot 207.



Fig 9 Quadruple cup, silver-gilt, Osterode, 1649, by Christoph Uder.  
(© Land Niedersachsen; Photo: Ursula Bohnhorst)

increasingly becoming a unilateral demonstration of power by the ruler. He imposed certain requirements on the type and quality of the gifts and the towns paying homage had to consult with the royal administration to determine what type of gift was required. Instead of an object being genuinely 'gifted', the situation was more that a specific item was ordered to then be presented. The often difficult negotiations sometimes resulted in the present not being ready in time.

The table fountain is an impressive piece of baroque silverware. The reservoir was filled with wine or perfumed water and air was used to create pressure forcing the wine upwards so it squirted out through the breasts of the nymphs and was collected in the shell-shaped bowls below. This was definitely an object that would make an impression at a grand dinner hosted by the Duke: toys for boys!

7 Lorenz Seelig, *ibid.*, no 15, pp 63-5; Christie's, *op cit*, see note 1, lot 210.

8 Lorenz Seelig, *ibid.*, no 9, pp. 53-5; Christie's, *op cit*, see note 1, lot 201.

The second exceptional piece is a quadruple cup from the town of Osterode [Fig 9].<sup>7</sup> The cup, with four lidded goblets shaped like bunches of grapes, was modelled on the rare triplicate cups by Nuremberg goldsmiths and is of the 'joke glass' type popular during the period. The three cups at the top are connected by a system of pipes and, if the person taking a drink was skilful, the wine collected in the lowest cup, enabling him to drink a large quantity without putting the cup down. If, however, he was less adept, the wine would pour onto his face to the amusement of the assembled court. The decorative motif is an impressive rendition of the Fall of Man, not only depicting Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge in the scene on the foot of the cup, but it is also alluded to in the decoration of convex bulges shaped like small, stylised apples.

A truly outstanding example of a town's homage gift was presented during the reign of the last Duke, Georg-Wilhelm. The huge cup (*Buckelpokal*) from the town of Lüneburg was created by the local goldsmith Nicolas Siemens [Fig 10]<sup>8</sup> and it was probably given in 1666.



Fig 10 Lüneburg cup, silver-gilt, Lüneburg, 1649(?), by Nicolas Siemens.  
(© Land Niedersachsen; Photo: Ursula Bohnhorst)



This cup, which is 44½ in (113 cm) high, is one of a few exceptionally large cups that otherwise survive only as ambassadorial gifts, e.g. in the Armoury in the Kremlin in Moscow. The top of the cup is decorated with very rare and apparently original enamel work.

This gigantic piece, impressive more on account of its magnificent size and less because of its workmanship, proudly announces where it came from, which is also an indication of its donor; it is impossible to overlook the large coat of arms of the town of Lüneburg on the foot. The Lüneburg cup emphasises the wealth and importance of the Hanseatic town, which had grown wealthy on the salt production, within the territories ruled from Celle.

If the political dimension, which these silver-gilt objects of homage undoubtedly have, is taken into consideration it can also be seen that they reflected the dynastic aspirations of the new House of Braunschweig-Lüneburg in a fascinating way. It is possible even to speak of a kind of 'silver policy'.

This valuable and grandly representative buffet of plate was created at a time of increasing state consolidation. In the second half of the seventeenth century the House of Braunschweig-Lüneburg managed to rise politically to take its place among the most preeminent

and respected royal houses of the Holy Roman Empire. This first phase of its rise was closely associated with the Celle line of the family, whereas from 1705 onwards, after the death of Duke Georg-Wilhelm, the centre of political power moved to Hanover.

### The history of the homage cups after 1705

As far as is known the fate of the cups was as follows. Until 1705 they were at court at Celle and, when Celle was no longer the *Residenz*, they were taken to Hanover. They were probably taken by George I to Britain in 1714 when he acceded to the throne which saved them from Napoleon's troops. In 1837, when the personal union of Hanover and Britain came to an end, the cups were in Hanover and in 1866, when the Kingdom of Hanover ceased to exist, the King took them with him into exile in Austria. They appeared for the last time in a photograph taken on the occasion on the Silver Wedding of Georg V of Hanover when they were displayed in Vienna [Fig 11]. It was only in the early twentieth century that the cups were sold by the Hanoverian royal family and found their way into the hands of art dealers and collectors who recognised their value. They were finally sold to Yves Saint-Laurent through the major Parisian dealers Kugel.

The preservation of this core part of the silver collection right into the twentieth century suggests that these homage gifts had a special role within the family's possessions in expressing the identity of the House of Hanover. It may have been that precisely because there was not a permanent capital, and that the court was centred on London, then in Hanover, and ultimately in Austria, that these portable pieces of their heritage played an even more important part in maintaining continuity.

For Celle's history as a *Residenz* these objects are

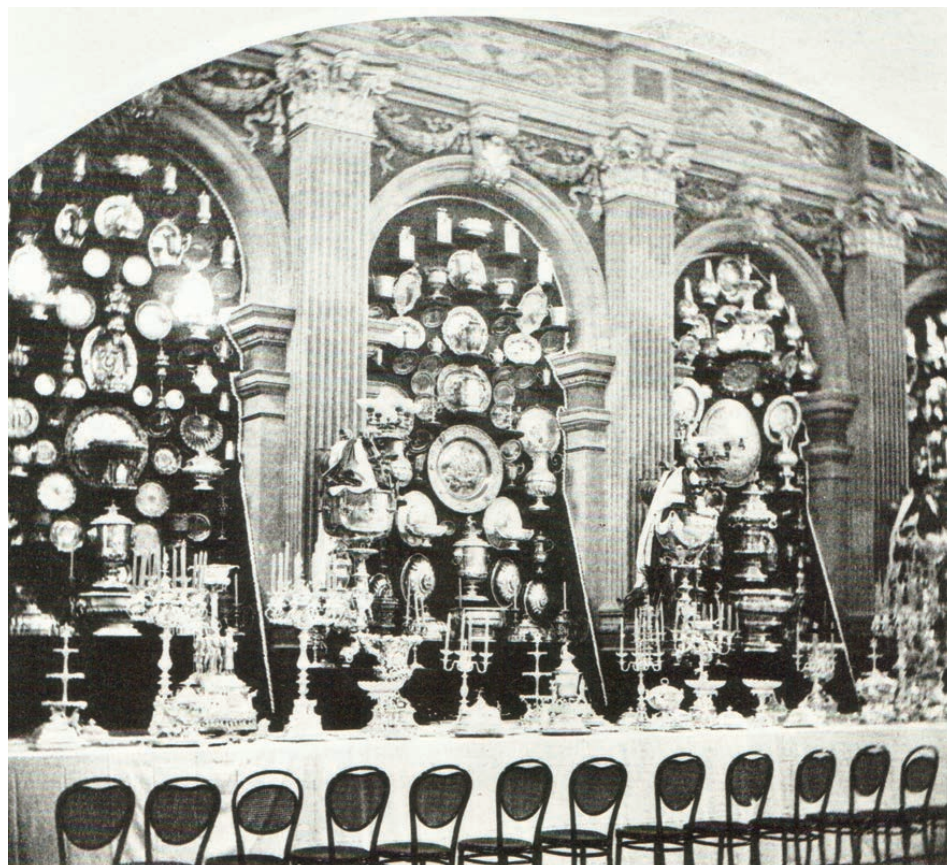


Fig 11 Hanoverian royal plate, displayed in Vienna on the occasion of the Silver Wedding anniversary of Georg V of Hanover, photograph.

(© Historisches Museum Hannover)





Fig 12 The three homage gifts presented at the Residenzmuseum, Celle within the former apartments of Duke Georg-Wilhelm. The silhouettes in the background indicate the ten homage gifts belonging to the Celle Residenz that were not acquired at auction in 2009. The performance communicates the abstract impression of a presentation as a credenza.

(© Residenzmuseum im Celler Schloss; Photo: Fotostudio Loeper, Celle)

of such immense significance because their high quality indicates the exceptional standard of the items that would have made up Celle's baroque *silberkammer*. They are first-class works produced in the centres of the European goldsmith's art, such as Hamburg, Augsburg, Nuremberg and Antwerp. This quality is reflected in the fact that they came to reside in one of the world's major art collections.

Today it is known that around thirty more pieces from the *silberkammer* have survived around the world in private collections and in museums in Boston, London, Vienna and Copenhagen although some of their current whereabouts are not known. Some outstanding objects from the Schroder Collection would also seem to have originated from the House of Braunschweig-Lüneburg.

It was a great moment for the *Residenz* in Celle when, in 2013, it was able to exhibit the three acquisitions for the first time, together with items on loan from Rosenborg in Denmark as well as from the Schroder Collection. At the same time this marked the beginning of a huge research project into the history of the homage silver which the Celle museum has now

launched jointly with the universities of Göttingen and Mainz.<sup>9</sup> It gives the museum hope that one day a splendid buffet of display plate could be presented once again and the demonstration of its existence, which up to now it has only been possible to reconstruct in theory, would be unique anywhere in Europe [Fig 12].

*Juliane Schmiegliitz-Otten was born in 1961. She studied German philology, historical science and education at the University of Hamburg and in 1988 became assistant curator at the Bomann-Museum, Celle. In 2004 she headed the project to restore the permanent exhibition at the Residenzmuseum, Celle*

*where she has been the Head since 2008. She has also been responsible for the Tansey Miniatures Foundation: one of the world's largest and most important collections of miniature portraits, which focuses on continental miniatures dating from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century. Her work has focused on research into historic residenzen as well as the personal union between the House of Hanover and Great Britain between 1714 and 1837 as well as European miniatures and the didactics of museum exhibition.*

<sup>9</sup> Juliane Schmiegliitz-Otten and Ines Elsner (ed), *Silberpolitik als dynastische Strategie. Die Huldigungspräsente aus der Celler Residenz und der Aufstieg des jüngeren Hauses Braunschweig-Lüneburg*, Celle, 2015. The publication comprises lectures given at the international conference on the Welf silver that took place at the Celle *Residenz* in February 2014.

## Michael Francis Gttleson (1921-2015)

I first met Michael Gttleson at Dunham Massey, Cheshire, where, through his role as a trustee of the A H Whiteley Trust, he supported the National Trust's ambition to buy back Huguenot silver from the remarkable collection formed by George Booth, 2nd Earl of Warrington, in the first half of the eighteenth century. The Whiteley Trust and Mrs Whiteley personally contributed substantial donations towards purchases of silver for Dunham; helping to secure the export deferred egg-cup frame by Peter Archambo of 1740-41, two of the Great Bedchamber sconces, also by Archambo, of 1730-31 and the Paul de Lamerie snuffer pan of 1728-29. They also made a substantial contribution to the catalogue of silver at Dunham Massey: *Country House Silver from Dunham Massey* by James Lomax and James Rothwell (2006).

Michael was already a legend at the V&A as a thwarted visit to the museum's temporary exhibition *Sporting Glory*, on a particularly grey, wet day in January 1993 (it had closed early after the company sponsoring the project had gone into receivership), resulted in his persuading the newly established Whiteley Trust to support the refurbishment and redisplay of the British Silver Galleries. The refurbished galleries enabled the museum to display over 65% of the national collection of silver including electrotypes of masterpieces preserved elsewhere from Knole, Kent, to Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen, the Moscow Kremlin Museums and the State Hermitage, St Petersburg. Michael forged strong links with Philippa Glanville and earned the admiration and friendship of her entire department. When the opportunity arose to create the Sacred Silver and Stained Glass Galleries, it was again through Michael Gttleson's influence that the Whiteley Trust sponsored the project. Furthermore, in 2005, Michael commissioned from Rod Kelly the astonishing silver binding for the 1935 lectern bible: a technical and aesthetic tour de force. This crowning gift is displayed at the entrance to the galleries. Shown nearby is David Poston's 2004 pectoral cross made from Coca-Cola bottle tops collected from a bar in Rwanda, also purchased by the Whiteley family; it demonstrates Michael's engagement with wide-ranging contemporary creativity in metal.

The Whiteley Trust was established in 1990 with a principal aim of acquiring English silver and retaining significant pieces in this country. It was founded by Corinne Whiteley, the wife of A H Whiteley, who had made a fortune through his engineering firm which was eventually sold to Vickers PLC. Michael often drew our attention to important opportunities for acquisition, for example the set of four candlesticks of



Fig 1 The Basingstoke monteith, London, 1688-89, by Robert Cooper.  
(© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

1756- 57, made for the 6th Earl of Coventry to a design by William Kent, of which a pair was acquired by both the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the V&A, a creative result benefitting both institutions.

Amongst the outstanding silver given by the Whiteley family to the museum is the Basingstoke monteith, purporting to be one of the earliest racing trophies in existence, inscribed "Basingstoke Plate 2 Oct:rye 2d:1688" [Fig 1]. It was won by Edward Chute of the Vyne (now belonging to the National Trust) for a race run to the west of Basingstoke. Marked by the London goldsmith Robert Cooper, it is flat chased with an appropriate scene: a mounted jockey in contemporary dress riding adjacent to spectators surprisingly rendered in Chinoiserie style [Fig 2], including one presenting the monteith to the winner. Chinoiserie decoration on English presentation silver was fashionable in the 1680s. The mounted jockey is taken from the earliest English horseracing print, published in 1687, which commemorates the last horse race run before "Charles II of Blessed Memory at Dorset Ferry,



Fig 2 The Basingstoke monteith, [Fig 1] detail of flat chased decoration showing a mounted jockey in contemporary dress adjacent to spectators rendered in the Chinoiserie style.

(© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)





Fig 3 Francis Barlow, The last race before Charles II of Blessed Memory at Dorset Ferry, near Windsor Castle in 1684, etching, 1687.

near Windsor Castle" in 1684 [Fig 3]. The monteith was used for cooling glasses in ice in preparation for drinking; both white and red wine were served chilled. The scalloped rim could be removed and the glasses filled with punch from the basin to toast the winner. It was given on behalf of Diane Bacon and Helen Smyth, granddaughters of A H Whiteley, on 26 November 2002, to mark the opening of the third phase of the Whiteley Silver Galleries.

Other pieces accepted in lieu of inheritance tax from the Whiteley Silver Settlement include a spectacular pair of silver-gilt two-handled cups, covers and salvers intended for display in the British Embassy in Spain, where Lord Bingley served as Ambassador from 1713-1714. In 2015 they were lent to Schwabisch Hall, near Stuttgart as part of a loan exhibition entitled *Miraculous Silver* which attracted over 100,000 visitors. Another set of four candlesticks, made in 1744-45 by Paul de Lamerie, for Peter and Clara Le Heup, will be lent to the Huguenot Museum, Rochester, Kent, where portraits of the original owners are displayed. Silver from the Whiteley Trust on loan to the V&A includes a York-marked tankard by James Plummer, made to mark the marriage of John Frank and Mary Wistow near Pontefract, York in 1648; it is appropriately inscribed "When this yow se remember me, whome God joynes together let no man separate". It is

displayed in the V&A's British Galleries which were also generously supported by the Whiteley Trust. Further Whiteley loans in the Silver Galleries include sauceboats, ladles and stands by Nicholas Sprimont of 1746-47, a 1749-50 cream jug by William Cripps, and the 1707-8 wine fountain and cooler by the London goldsmith William Lukin made for the Earl of Hopetoun, for use at Hopetoun House, near Edinburgh.

The other major beneficiary of Michael's generosity and enthusiasm was the Ashmolean. Thanks to his involvement and his advocacy with the Whiteley Trust and the Whiteley family and, sometimes to his skill in getting the best out of the tax concessions available to testators, the Ashmolean has been able to make a series of major acquisitions of Tudor and Stuart silver. These include, among others, a sculptural cagework tankard almost certainly by Jacob Bodendeich, circa 1665; the Mildmay monteith, by George Garthorne of 1684-85, with enchanting flat-chased chinoiserie; the sumptuous Capel basket, by Pierre Harache of 1686-87; and two delectable small engraved silver-gilt cups and covers by IC (Jean Chartier?), of circa 1690. Michael's enthusiasm and the Whiteley family's support also enabled the Ashmolean to secure major funding from the National Heritage Memorial Fund to acquire two of the most beautiful pieces from the Cassel collection: the Proctor ewer and basin of 1592-93 and a bell salt of 1597-98. Furthermore, the centrepiece of the Ashmolean's small but choice collection of silver by contemporary makers is a ewer and basin by Rod Kelly, with enamels by Sheila MacDonald, commissioned by Michael in 2008 to mark the centenary of the merger in 1908 of the old Ashmolean Museum and the Oxford University Galleries to form the present united museum of art and archaeology.

As an only child, Michael developed a great sense of independence and self-reliance. His father's parents were Jewish, but severed relations when their son married outside the faith, and Michael was brought up in the Anglican tradition. Educated at Gresham's School and Oriel College, Oxford with a war-time degree, Michael was recruited to the Sherwood Foresters and served in North Africa and Italy, where





Fig 4 The John Charles Robinson medal, patinated bronze, designed by Felicity Powell, 2002 and cast by Alun Dunn, given by Sir Terence Etherton in memory of Michael Gettleon, 2015.

he was put in charge of thousands of German prisoners of war at Caserta.

He returned to Oxford to study law and took up a criminal pupillage; he eventually entered the chambers of Leonard Caplan at 2 Harcourt Buildings. His beautiful rooms overlooking the Temple gardens and later his room at 17 Bedford Row, where he served as

a partner in the chambers of Allan Levy QC, were somewhat chaotic. There were stories of visitors being startled by rustling from an apparent pile of rubbish which turned out, on investigation, to be the man himself.

Michael exhibited a great charm, a certain impetuosity, and was deeply cultured, extraordinarily

knowledgeable about history, fluent in French, German and Italian, and a proud Englishman who loved this country's institutions. He maintained a warm loyalty to his university, as demonstrated by his support for silver acquisitions at the Ashmolean. He built up a personal collection of Ludwigsburg porcelain figures. He loved the theatre and the opera: he often went to Glyndebourne and travelled to Italy, Germany, Russia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Sweden and France. On one of his last trips, a cruise from Istanbul to Venice, he insisted on climbing Mount Olympus. He always loved dogs and had a string of Irish Kerry Blue terriers. His favourite, Winkle, lived for over 100 dog years.

In June 2004 Michael Gettleon was awarded the V&A's prestigious John Charles Robinson medal [Fig 4] commissioned from Felicity Powell (1961-2015) in recognition of all the support which he had given this great museum. The hands are inspired by Donatello's Christ giving the keys to St Peter and signify, in Felicity's words

the generosity of gesture and of passing the legacy on for future generations.

*Tessa Murdoch*  
Victoria and Albert Museum

## Benton Seymour Rabinovitch (1919-2014)



Seymour Rabinovitch was known to members of the Silver Society as a passionate collector of silver fish servers of which he formed two significant and comprehensive collections. The first was of antique, predominately silver, servers the subject of his first book, *Antique Silver Servers for the Dining Table* (Concord, 1991). The second collection sprang from the first and was the extraordinary and visually stunning group of contemporary servers which, thanks to the American Friends of the V&A, he donated to the museum in 2005.

Seymour began collecting fish servers after buying a silver anniversary present for his brother: he bought a server believing it to be old Sheffield plate, only to discover that it was electroplate, but he then decided to continue the search for a genuine piece and gradually became intrigued by English antiques shops and silver dealers as well as with the cultural history of English silver more generally. It was not just the forms of objects that interested him but the way in which they would have been used and the society that employed them. He started collecting antique fish and cake slices, enchanted with the varied adornments of piercing, chasing, engraving and the different shapes. What began as a modest collection of slices from the



*Server, London, 1997, by Kay Ivanovic.*  
(© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries broadened after his wife, Marilyn's death in 1974, and he became an ardent collector. The slices satisfied his aesthetic sense and had the added advantage of being small, easy to store, and not as costly or as difficult to transport as hollow-ware but he was also intrigued by the evolution of the forms and patterns of these apparently utilitarian objects. His earliest slice was made in Stockholm in 1723 and the collection spanned a period of nearly two hundred years and included numerous examples from the British Isles, the United States and continental Europe. Eventually, when he felt that he wished to concentrate on commissioning new servers, the collection was dispersed at a selling exhibition at Partridge Fine Arts in London.

As always Seymour was thorough in his approach and wanted to understand and appreciate as many aspects of his interest as possible. He took lessons in silversmithing and designed and created a broad-bladed server himself. After getting to know a number of silversmiths he decided to make a study of contemporary servers and, in the late 1980s, began commissioning his series of servers. The project had two objectives: the first was to support, in a modest way, independent silversmiths and craftsmen, and the second was to make a comparative study of contemporary styles in silversmithing relating to one particular type of object: the broad-bladed server. As he described it:

Their challenge was to create and convey beauty through a vehicle, the slice, an implement that is ostensibly a utilitarian form. But if a question arose or was in doubt, it was always emphasized that it was deemed better to feed the spirit than the stomach, and that artistic and aesthetic considerations should take precedence over function.

Seymour felt that the servers lent themselves to the display of many of the silversmiths' skills: piercing, chasing, engraving, enamelling, casting and engraving.

Once a silversmith had agreed on the commission he allowed them complete freedom and in did not intervene in the creative process. The only stipulation was that it had to be made from predominately silver rather than any other metal. He described with great delight his excitement when he knew that a server had been finished and was about to be delivered and he had a precise recall of the time that a

commission had taken and the circumstances in which he met or communicated with a silversmith. Each entry in *Contemporary Silver* (London, 2000) includes a comment by the silversmith as well from Seymour which further illuminates his relationship with them. The first volume was followed in 2005 by a supplement *Contemporary Silver Part II: Recent Commissions*; in the introduction he wrote that fine craft pieces were:

made to be touched, carried, or worn, or held in the hand. They provide a unique intimate experience. So who may question the stimulation and aesthetic impact that piece of craft art may afford. Indeed, every art form – be it a large marble sculpture or a netsuke in ivory or wood, a tapestry or a quilt, or whatever – has its own unique aspects and virtues.

This passionate response is one shared by so many collectors and enthusiasts and it was his appreciation of each piece that shone through so fiercely when he talked about his collection and on which it was grounded rather than the mere act of acquisition on which many collections have been based.

The mesmerizing collection was first shown in 1995 in the exhibition *Slices of Silver*, held at the Goldsmith's Hall, and comprised the first forty-two servers commissioned by him over a period of twenty years. The collection eventually included over 100 pieces by many of Britain and North America's most distinguished craftsmen and women including one by his second wife, Flora Book. Exhibitions at the Winnipeg Art Gallery, the National Ornamental Metal Museum, Memphis, the Seattle Art Museum, the Schneider Art Museum, Ashland, Oregon, Aberdeen Art Gallery, Nottingham Castle Museum and Art Gallery followed, as well as articles on the collection in *Country Life* and *Silver Magazine*. In 2000 he was made an honorary liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company: an honour for someone not born in the United Kingdom.

Seymour was characteristically modest and entertaining when he talked with the same passion

and interest about his long and distinguished career as a chemist. He was born in 1919 in Montreal, Canada, the youngest of the seven children of Rochelle and Samuel Rabinovitch who had emigrated from Romania and Bessarabia respectively. Aged five he declared that he wanted to be a lawyer, advance to the position of Prime Minister, and be seated to the right of the King of England but his career changed course when he was taught that at a temperature of zero degrees Kelvin all matter would disappear. He found this so fascinating that he decided on a career in chemistry instead.

He graduated from McGill University with First Class Honours, in 1939. During his time at university he lived at home, walking to and from the college, which was three miles away, and he helped to fund his education by selling magazines. At weekends during winter he enjoyed skiing; at this time the physical benefits of this activity were enhanced considerably by the lack of tow lifts on the ski slopes.

When Seymour entered college a quota system governing the admission of Jews to McGill was still in force and the same quota system was applied to the medical and professional schools; this troubled him greatly and left a lasting impression upon him. He remained a strong advocate of minority rights throughout his life.

Shortly after Canada entered the Second World War, early in September 1939, Seymour acceded to the Dean of the Graduate School's request that he should remain at McGill to continue with his doctoral studies. It was pointed out that the department's energies would be directed toward research to contribute to the war effort. He completed his PhD with Professor Carl Winkler in February of 1942; his thesis was entitled *Studies in Chemical Kinetics (Academic Research) and the Detection of Vesicants (War Research)* and chemical kinetics became his life's work. He then entered the Chemical Warfare Laboratory in Ottawa as a civilian but in December 1942 went to a training camp for officers at Gordon Head, British Columbia and the next year was sent to England as a Captain in the Canadian Army, remaining there until 1946. During this period he developed a simple method for detecting the presence of mustard gas by impregnating cloth swatches with appropriate dyestuffs or resin and placing them on battlefields or clothing. These were to be inspected early on a day of troop advancement. This method was an outgrowth of his PhD research and yielded excellent results. On 12 June 1944, Seymour's unit was posted to Portsmouth and a month after D-Day landed in Courseulles-sur-mer in France, advancing to Ghent, then Antwerp, Bredda, Tilbourg, Leiden, Raubkammer Bie Munster, and Appledorn. He led a team of young scientists who investigated German munitions factories and battlefields as the Germans retreated, looking for violations of the Geneva Convention on

Weaponry. In Raubkammer bie Munster, his unit was the first to enter the German command centre where manufacturing and experimentation had been carried out. Fluorophosphate esters and nerve gases were among the substances they found.

Following the war, Seymour taught physical chemistry to former soldiers at the Khaki College, the Veterans Rehabilitation College of Canada, situated in Watford, England. He was awarded Milton and Royal Society of Canada fellowships, enabling him to conduct post-doctoral studies in Physical Chemistry at Harvard University, under Professor George Kistiakowsky. In 1948, Seymour joined the Department of Chemistry at the University of Washington, where he remained throughout his academic career.

Seymour taught and conducted research at the University of Washington for nearly four decades. During his career he became a virtuoso of experimental physical chemistry and he received numerous awards for his scientific contributions, including the American Chemical Society's 1983 Peter Debye Award and the 1984 Polanyi Medal bestowed by the Royal Society. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a Fellow of the Royal Society, London. He served as an editor for the *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, and was Chairman of the Division of Physical Chemistry of the American Chemical Society. In 2005, the University of Washington established the B S Rabinovitch Endowed Chair of Chemistry in his honor.

Seymour married Marilyn Werby of Boston in 1949 and the couple settled in Seattle; they had four children. Marilyn died in 1974 and in 1980 he married Flora Reitman and together they bought a flat in London where they spent several months each year. His passion for collecting and the search for new treasures, which also included blue and white pottery, led to the exploration of many small towns in Britain and America.

Rod Kelly whose fish slice was first to be commissioned by Seymour Rabinovitch comments: I first met Seymour over twenty five years ago when he tentatively approached me at the Goldsmiths' Fair and we spoke about the possibility of a chased beaker. I prepared some sketches and we met at his north London flat; it was the start of a wonderful friendship that led to several commissions and the first fish slice that would be the start of his internationally acclaimed collection.

Every year when Seymour came to London we would have lunch at Fortnum & Mason, each of us paid on alternating years often forgetting who had paid for the previous lunch. We talked about silver, design, chasing and metallurgy as Seymour was an emeritus professor of Chemistry and had completed several



classes in silversmithing. The first fish slice he commissioned had to weigh more than 13 oz (404g); he was most insistent that it should be of a good weight. We talked at length about fire-stain, its chemical properties, the reason for it forming and how to apply a solution to the silver that would reduce the build-up of fire-stain while working. He returned to Washington University and in good time sent me a recipe that I still have today that would help with the fire-stain problem. Seymour and Flora were the most engaging lovely couple and my lunches with him have provided me with many lovely memories. He was so supportive, free with good advice and someone whose judgement I trusted on so many matters.

Only a few months before he died Seymour arranged to gift aid a sum of money to the charitable trust that I run that helps and supports young silversmiths. He was a perfect gentleman in every way and in his heart had a love of silver that benefitted so many designer makers in so many different ways.

Helen Clifford, who collaborated with Seymour on *Contemporary Silver* writes:

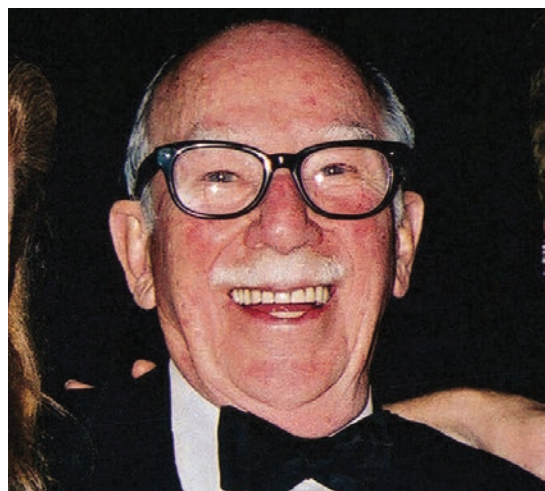
It was a double pleasure to first meet Seymour Rabinovitch in 1998 over lunch at Fortnum & Mason, he always entertained in gentlemanly style, and it was then that he introduced his collecting strategy to me. It was a treat to dine so sumptuously and have the opportunity to hear about his silver, both old and new. Inspired by his wife, an artist herself, he was using his old collection of fish and cake servers to build a brave, new, exciting and innovative collection of modern work. The book he planned, and which he wanted me to help write would not only be a celebration of contemporary silversmiths' work, but also an inspiration to others to commission pieces.

How could one refuse to participate in such an unusual and wonderful project even if it did seem completely mad? In the same way that Seymour placed no restraint on the silversmiths, no bars were put on the descriptions of these dining tools he wanted me to write about. From utilitarian commissions sprang lyrical, useful, inspiring work. Who would have thought these slices and servers could come in so many shapes and forms? He was always keen to place himself firmly behind the scenes, leaving front stage to the silversmiths. The freedom he gave them was rewarded with an astonishing collection showing how good craftspeople respond, brilliantly and imaginatively to specific requirements.

The pace Seymour set was difficult to keep up with. As soon as one server appeared, a black and white fax would rapidly follow of the next to join the collection. One could not wait to see it in person: was it shiny or oxidised, smooth or textured, were there fins, or fantasy figures? It was difficult to draw the line as the publication grew and grew. What fun we had, each new arrival bearing the recognisable style of a particular craftsman as well as being an adventure in interpretation. Seymour delighted in the science as much as the art of making. Who on earth would think that these servers could be so exciting!

With wise counsel from Vanessa Brett, who sometimes shared the planning lunches, we organised the page layout for each piece, and then Merrell Holberton created a book that still looks as fresh and beautiful, as the slices it serves. What a pleasure and privilege it was to be taken under Seymour's wing and share his boundless enthusiasm for contemporary silver.

## Eric Norman Shrubsole (1912–2015)



Eric Shrubsole was the most dynamic dealer in antique silver in post-war Manhattan. He was born in Dulwich, the son of the London dealer Sidney J Shrubsole and his wife Lilian, and he joined the family firm at its premises in Lincoln's Inn Fields, off Kingsway in London when he was fourteen. His father had trained as an apprentice to the pre-eminent silversmith Charles Stuart Harris and set up his own business in 1912 buying, restoring and selling antique silver.

In 1936 it was decided that Eric should be responsible for establishing a branch of the company in New York City. On his arrival he spent a year touring the United States by car, meeting collectors and museum curators and selling silver out of suitcases: thereby laying the foundations of one of America's finest antique shops. Having established himself in a premises on East 57th Street in 1937, Eric was instrumental in forming

numerous significant collections including one of tea wares for R B Smallwood, the Chairman of Lipton's Tea; coffee accessories for the Atha family, the owners of Folger's Coffee, and soup tureens for the heirs of the Campbell soup company. Well-known names in silver collecting such as William Randolph Hearst, Judge Irwin Untermyer and Arthur Gilbert bought silver from him and some of the most significant additions to museum collections passed through his hands. Celebrities were also regular buyers in the mid-town shop: they included the Duke of Windsor and Katharine Hepburn. Groucho Marx, on being told that everything in the shop was antique and English, pointed his cigar at the Brooklyn-born porter and asked, "Even him?"

It was a golden age for silver dealing in America, when every Park Avenue apartment had a Paul Storr soup tureen on the dining table, and the rich ate off Georgian silver at every meal. Americans had discovered antique silver as an adjunct to gracious living, and English silver, together with Derby or Worcester porcelain, was the staple wedding present fare for decades. In addition, the collector's market for early silver, both English and American, was expanding. Eric once quipped that his business had been built on the three Pauls: Paul de Lamerie, Paul Storr and Paul Revere.

During the Second World War Eric served five years as a drill sergeant at Fort McClellan, Alabama. He attributed his longevity and fitness to the training he received in the army, as well as to eating and drinking anything he wanted in moderation.

In 1961 he and his brother Charles, who ran the London branch of the firm in Museum Street, bought the Sutherland wine cistern by Paul de Lamerie for £27,000 at Christie's in London; this remained the world auction record price for a piece of silver for many years. The cistern is now in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

In 1983 Eric was very proud to have been invited by the Goldsmiths' Company to become an Associate in recognition of the help that he had given the company

and the silver trade. Two significant pieces in the Company's collection passed through his hands: the Westwell livery pots of 1597-98 and the William III wine cistern of 1698-99.

Eric celebrated his 100th birthday in 2012, the year in which the firm celebrated its centenary. A letter written by Kevin Tierney of Sotheby's on this occasion described him as

The Gentleman of the Antique Silver business, who has never lost his enthusiasm for a great piece. This time last year at the age of 99 Eric called me on a Sunday morning bubbling with excitement about a gold box he had just bought! Other 99 year-olds can barely change their TV channel.

The letter continues

A large part of Eric's success lies in his charm and wit. I always wonder what else he could sell with that charm – bibles, vacuum cleaners, yachts, London Bridge or maybe the V&A? ... Eric combines humour, warmth, guts, style, authority and integrity. He projects the highest standard of gentlemanly behavior matched by the high quality of the objects he chooses to sell.

Eric had an enormous zest for life: he loved his trips to London and entertaining, as well as playing golf, with his friends and he was a very generous host. He was never less than impeccably dressed, usually in a dapper three-piece suit and highly polished shoes and would always be there to welcome clients on to the company's stand at antique shows. He had a keen sense of humour and was ever ready with a new story or joke. In the American museum world, where he was a respected figure, his lectures combined practical advice on collecting with infectious enthusiasm for the thrill of the chase. His jokes, which were always carefully adjusted to bring antique silver into the tale, regularly brought the house down. A recent introduction to his annual catalogue read:

Hurry in! The items in the catalog are like me: unique, in great condition for their age, and probably won't be around very long!

# Book Reviews

## Bertrand's Toyshop in Bath Luxury Retailing 1685-1765

by Vanessa Brett

*Published by Oblong Creative Ltd, 2014*

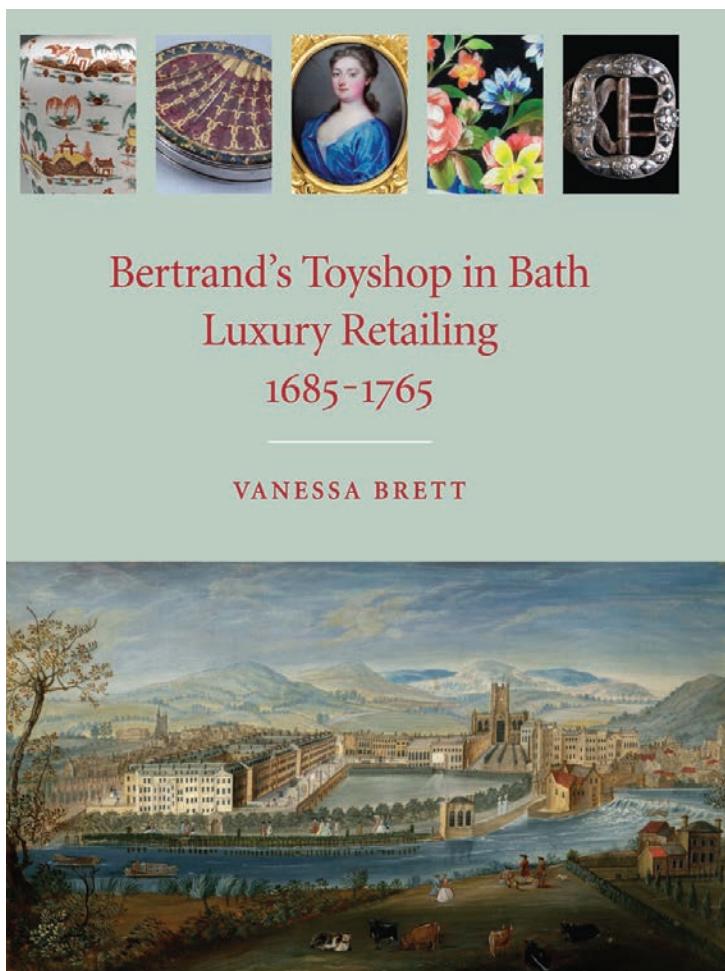
Hard cover; 368 pp; 270 illustrations; ISBN 978 0 9575992 4 6

With characteristic modesty the author describes herself on the back cover of this book in two short sentences. They belie a lifetime's experience in the field of silver. As Editor of this journal for many years, overseeing its transformation into a major publication, she has accrued not only immense knowledge, but also refined her gift for focusing in on what is important. She needs the latter ability in plenty to tackle the complexities of Paul Bertrand, his toyshop and the complicated network in which he operated between 1685 and 1765. The book, a result of ten year's research and writing, has truly done justice to the project that Brian Beet placed in her hands.

This is an interdisciplinary book in which the products of the toyshop, from gold snuff boxes to fancy painted fans are central. It straddles histories of place, notably Bath (and its relationship with London and Bristol); of the emergence of polite society, of shopping, and consumption, and of business and luxury. It is the very best of silver scholarship and empirical research although the author assures us this is not an academic book. This is true in the sense that it is not dry, difficult to read or perplexingly theoretical; but it does rank, along with some of the best doctorates, in its contribution to scholarship. It contributes to the ongoing fascination with Neil McKendrick et al's *Birth of a Consumer Society* (1982); John Brewer's *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1994) and Maxine Berg's investigation into *Consumers and Luxury* (1999). It is also an immense pleasure to read, either from cover to cover, or by dipping into chapters, which deal with the main players first: Paul Bertrand and his second wife Mary Deards, the partnerships, bankers and employers, then Bath as a resort providing a rich social and cultural context to the business, then Bertrand's retirement.

At this point we are only just over half way through the book, as we move to Bertrand's account at Hoare's bank, an extraordinary discovery with over 900 names of suppliers

and customers, and covering over 100 trades, made easily accessible via potted biographies of each customer and supplier. This is the world of William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham, of Captain Prosper Browne, the poetess and milliner Mary Chandler; of Samuel Clarke, Turkey merchant and William Cockee, clockmaker of Somerset, of Gislingham Cooper, London silversmith and banker, and Paul Desca, tobacco and snuff seller. Here is John Tribble, the jeweller in Litchfield Street, London who valued the estate of toyman George Willdey, who was a banker for Lady Wortley Montague, an executor of the will of jeweller Francis Creuze, (who supplied John Parker and Edward Wakelin), and who appears on the list of customers at the Meissen porcelain works. As layer upon layer of interconnection emerges the author steers us through the complexities via the skilful and sensitive design of the book, in terms of both structure and appearance. There are 'focus' pages highlighting specific themes, such as key people like the Gribelin family, or customers such as Earl Fitzwalter; or types of object for instance equipment for travel. The author has also thought hard about how to

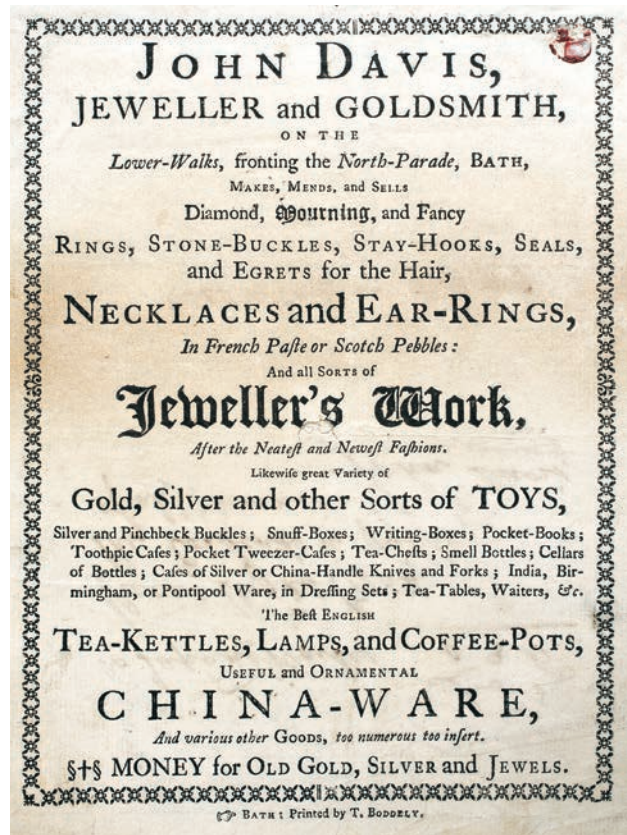






Token for James Kirk's toyshop in London, brass, circa 1780.

visualise and present detail, so we have easy to read timelines, annotated maps and plans, graphs, tables and family trees. With such a panoply of illustrations, people, places, and objects, we are never faced with a



Business card for John Davis, jeweller and goldsmith of Bath.

double page of plain text, no page looks dull, all is in a format that sits comfortably on the knee. The book itself is designed as beautifully and alluringly as the goods for sale in Bertrand's toyshop.

Those familiar with silver and the eighteenth century will find something new. The author has an engaging eye for detail. For example she has tracked down a miniature silver carriage with horses (Amsterdam, 1734) that bring to life Sir Richard Hoare's purchase in the same year of a 'chase and pair with horses' for 4s. The word 'Flowers' at the bottom of Lady Jernegan's bill of 1737, reveals her purchase of silk flowers and links to trade cards that advertise them. No snippet of information is left unquestioned. This is the first time I have seen a small silver framed paper lantern, or a lead dial plate for a toy watch. The ample inclusion of bills and receipts mean we can build up a contemporary scale of monetary value, from a 'Brilliant Girdle Buckle' costing £113, a 'wrought silver Tea Kettle' valued at £30 to a pair of Pinchbeck shoe buckles costing 4s.

What this book reveals, however, is not just the relative costs of early eighteenth century luxuries, large and small, but their social, cultural and personal value. We see how they are embedded within the very fabric of society, desired and acquired by both men and women and, by both Frederick Prince of Wales and Anne Phillips, lodging house keeper. This book helps us understand the power of these 'toys', as desirable now as then, linking us to the interconnected world of early modern Bath and London. Once you have read this book you will never view another eighteenth-century 'toy' or walk the streets of Bath in the same way. This book reveals the importance of understanding the wider contexts in which silver objects were made, sold and consumed.

Major exhibitions at the Fitzwilliam Museum (*Treasured Possessions from Renaissance to Enlightenment*) and at Fairfax House in York (*Consuming Passions*) in 2015, dealt with exactly the type of goods that appeared in Bertrand's shop. Indeed the theme of connectivity is further driven home when we realise that it is the same Lord Fairfax who bought "four silver salts and two silver sauceboats" from Bertrand in 1730, who with his daughter decamped to York in 1762, to live at Fairfax House.

This book is an essential acquisition for collector, curator or the curious; it will provide not only plenty for the academic, but is also a handsome (and very affordable) present for those who are just beginning to be fascinated by this alluring world of goods.

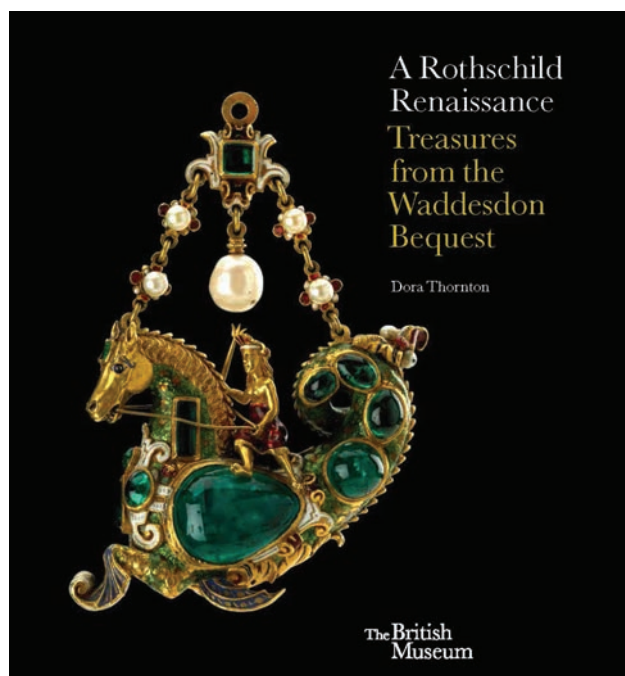
Helen Clifford

# A Rothschild Renaissance Treasures from the Waddesdon Bequest

by Dora Thornton

*Published by the British Museum Press, 2015*

Hard cover; 325 pp; 300 illustrations; ISBN 978-0-7141-2345-5



This impressive publication is part of the wider Renaissance of the Waddesdon Bequest at the British Museum, which includes a gallery refurbishment and an utterly engaging online presence. To discuss one of these elements without the others would not fully convey the achievement: each part serves a specific purpose, and has been created with the kind of attention to detail and genuine commitment that gives the treasures and their stories centre stage.

Storytelling and scholarship go hand in hand on each of the platforms: the galleries are likely to remain the first point of encounter for many. As curators, we aim to dazzle and inspire visitors with a sense of wonder, by showing precious masterpieces, well lit and close to the front of the case. Grayson Perry beautifully sums up the sense of excitement that these marvels elicit when he calls the holdings of the Waddesdon Bequest “freak show objects”. In one of the videos on the *Waddesdon Renaissance* web pages he describes them as “blingy and intense” (in the best possible way) and his words are as apt as those of Edmund de Waal and Neil MacGregor, with their respective comments, who use a vocabulary more traditionally associated with the idea of the *Kunst-und Wunderkammer*.

The *Wunderkammer*, *Kunstkammer*, *Schatzkammer*, anything really with – *kammer* (chamber) in it, meaning a rich display of works, of a precious or rare nature, has been a favourite theme of museum professionals and scholars around the world for quite some time now; perhaps it has never been truly out of fashion. The early modern idea of the contents of an often comparatively small, enclosed space as a microcosm, echoing the entire world, is an archetype and predecessor of today’s museums but such dense and rich selections appeal particularly to our time. They chime with our experience of precious gadgets which connect us to endless repositories of information and, therefore, are our own spaces of enlightenment and confusion alike.

With the density and variety of *Schatzkammer*-type displays comes the opportunity to discover, to explore and to be genuinely surprised. This is what makes spaces like the Waddesdon Bequest gallery at the British Museum spaces for the twenty-first century. Designers Stanton Williams and curator Dr Dora Thornton have achieved a space that is dramatic and peaceful, compact, yet ever-expanding, a mini-universe. The cases themselves seem to disappear, but offer unexpected views of extraordinary masterpieces. They are equally successful for those enjoying the visual effect as for those looking for a maker’s mark (even though an Arthur Gilbert might have commented on the lack of magnifying glasses). Among the many beautiful and witty details is the display of the Augsburg automaton in the shape of a huntsman [Fig 1]



Fig 1: Huntsman automaton, silver-gilt with iron clockwork mechanism Nuremberg, 1617-30, by Wolf Christoff Ritter.

(British Museum WB.134)





Fig 2: Huntsman automaton displayed with a seventeenth-century boar cup by Johannes Lencher.

(Photograph from Baron Auselm's collection of 1866)

who defends its rhomboid case: standing on a pointed ledge he charges forward, spear in hand [Fig 2]. One can but smile which is, of course, the kind of reaction that the automaton would have provoked when charging across a table in early modern times.

It is worth considering the galleries and the publication in the context of work on comparable collections in other museums. Arguably, and by its very nature, the redisplay of the Imperial collection of the *Kunstskammer* at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and the earlier magnificent reconstruction and renewal of the Green Vault in Dresden, remain the most stunning examples. These are the original collections which inspired later collecting efforts of this nature. The new displays at these museums have clearly informed that at the British Museum. The initiatives of these historic princely collections were also accompanied by publications, although the three volumes on the Rosenberg Castle collections dwarf both of them so far. Research on the collections in Dresden and Vienna is ongoing, and Dr Ulrike Weinhold's forthcoming scholarly catalogue of the silver in the Green Vault collection (with Dr Theresa Witting) promises to result not only in a feast for the eyes, but also in an eye-opening reference volume of extraordinary works with unusually well-documented histories. Research has also covered the inventories of other famous princely collections, and Dr Lorenz Seelig's in-depth volume on the world-class Munich *Schatzkammer* is a stark reminder that its display in the Residenz urgently requires it to be dragged out of its dusty fairy-tale slumber.

Museums in the English-speaking world have been quick to adopt the intriguing idea of the *Schatzkammer* for the twenty-first century, arguably thanks to the lavish nature of the collections given to public

institutions by some of the most distinguished private collectors from the nineteenth-century onwards: from the Wallace Collection and Rothschild collections, to William Randolph Hearst and even the Gilbert Collection in its three incarnations (from Los Angeles County Museum of Art to Somerset House and the Victoria and Albert Museum). In terms of understanding the history of collecting decorative arts, Ferdinand Rothschild's collection and his bequest to the British Museum, as well as the collections of other branches of the Rothschild family, are an important



Fig 3: Holy Thorn reliquary, gold, enamel, rubies, sapphires and pearls, Paris, circa 1400.

(British Museum WB.67)



link between the princes who owned the masterpieces at the time of their creation, and the more recent collectors such as Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert in the twentieth century, as well as Selim Zilkha or Professor Reinhold Würth today. (The new catalogue to his collection appeared in May 2015 to coincide with the exhibition *Silberhirsch und Wunderprunk*, Kunsthalle Würth, Schwäbisch Hall, ISBN978-3-89929-311-1.) Each of these collectors has been adding a new layer to the meaning of their objects by attributing significance to their history. In the nineteenth century the new layers were a re-interpretation of the very essence of the object to the point of being physically altered. For obvious reasons such objects have been, by and large, omitted from *A Rothschild Renaissance*, even though the vibrant market for fakes is addressed in the essay on the Holy Thorn Reliquary [Fig 3], formerly in the Vienna *Kunstammer*.

Printed publications remain key instruments for celebrating and documenting such collections as recent changes to the size and goals of the publication departments of some national museums, including the British Museum, have shown. Balancing commercial scholarship, and publications that do justice to they discuss, is becoming increasingly important across publishing platforms. "Content commissioning" has replaced scholarly catalogues. Dora Thornton's book is an excellent example of how to successfully negotiate this still relatively new concept of museum publishing. The book is explicitly marketed on the museum's website as an addition to the existing scholarly catalogues and is intended to "open up the Bequest to the general reader." The contents of the book comprises thirty-nine treasures from the collection as well as former Waddesdon Senior Curator Rachel Boak's informative essay on *Baron Ferdinand Rothschild and his Bequest to the British Museum*. The book, just as the gallery, is meant to enable readers "to see and understand these beautiful and fascinating objects in a completely different light".

Saul Peckham's photography documents the objects from all sides. Hidden details of each masterpiece emerge from the dark background in hitherto unseen clarity. What is more, each object is granted between four and fourteen pages of the 350 page volume. This generous allocation of space has allowed Dora Thornton to explore each piece in a short essay rather than traditional catalogue entries and she provides ample background information and illustrations of comparable objects in a sometimes conversational tone, including anecdotes such as the varied reactions of visitors to the famous Holy Thorn Reliquary [Fig 3]:

There is no doubt that it still continues to fascinate and provoke. Curators at the British Museum, like priests, are accustomed to receiving confidences,

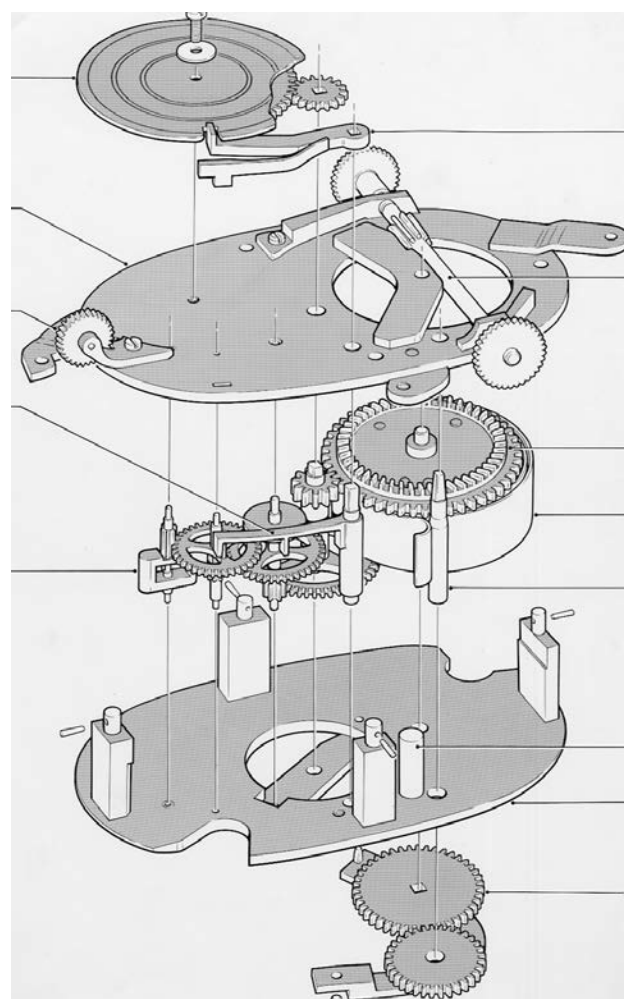


Fig 4: Jim Farrant, drawing of the original clockwork under the base of the automaton.

sharing revelations and responding to odd requests. These arrive unsolicited by letter or email, or directly in conversation, in the galleries or elsewhere. [...] On one occasion, an excited three-year-old raised a hand shaped like a starfish to point out the naked figures rising from the tombs on the jewel. Yet other visitors say that they still visit the Reliquary for the purpose for which it was originally intended: as a prompt for Christian meditation and prayer. (p. 87)

Thus *A Rothschild Renaissance* becomes an entertaining and very readable anthology of object stories, stretching from ancient Roman martyrs via Medieval Syria and Egypt, to Gothic Paris and eventually to Renaissance Germany and Italy. What scholars consider key information is mostly included in the caption to the first illustration of each object, while detailed object descriptions are embedded in the main text. Nonetheless, much new information can be gathered from the volume by the scholar as well, including Jim Farrant's technical drawing of the mechanism [Fig 4] of the huntsman described above. The result is very

innovative, and even slightly addictive, I certainly wanted to know what stories would be revealed about each and every piece. The approach is very much in line with the gallery refurbishment which is explained within this book in an equally enthralling behind-the-scenes article. This is a fascinating volume that will draw in readers of all ages and with varied interests. It is fun to get to know these objects through Dora Thornton's text, which at times feels like an edited transcript of a particularly engaging gallery talk.

It could be asked whether the *A Rothschild Renaissance* will interest a new generation and new audiences in this subject matter. The volume's design, in the same way as the design of the galleries, is defined by elegance and understatement; qualities which do not necessarily characterise the objects on display and which target well-established audiences who would also appreciate a more traditional volume with footnotes and images of marks.

What does this interpretation of *Kunstkammer*-type collections mean for the current and future generations? This is, of course, a question that also concerns the work of the Silver Society and everyone working on comparable material in a museum context: how can we enthuse and nurture the next generation of connoisseurs, the Pinterest aficionados and Twitterati? And what about the next generation of museum visitors, those who will return online or by physically visiting, not only for the sake of their children, but for their 'inner child' that has retained the capacity to look and wonder, and thrives upon the encounter with such wonderful objects. The redisplay of the Waddesdon Bequest, including this book, is a fascinating exploration of what is possible right now, and an encouragement to continue to challenge ourselves with the needs and interests of the widest possible audience in mind.

Heike Zech

## Designer British Silver from studios established 1930-1985

by John Andrew and Derek Styles

*Published by Antique Collectors Club, 2015*

Hard cover; 560 pages; ISBN: 9781851497805



If any book is due to become the standard work on its subject this is it. It is a labour of love written over many years by John Andrew, the driving force behind the Pearson Silver Collection, and Derek Styles who with his family runs the highly respected silver dealers Styles of Hungerford.

The book is divided into three distinct but linked sections: a lengthy introduction by John Andrew which sets the scene, an alphabetical list of craftsmen with short biographies interspersed with fuller biographies, many over ten pages long, of fifty selected designers. Wherever possible the latter are based on interviews conducted by John Andrew, but which otherwise are drawn by him from published and family sources, or in two instances from unpublished autobiographies. There is a very useful forward by Gordon Hamme, in which he outlines the scope of the book and some of the more remarkable sections. The whole is profusely



Centrepiece, parcel-gilt and enamel, London, 1974 by Gerald Benney, enamelling by Robert Winter.

(Photograph Courtesy of the Pearson Silver Collection, photograph by Bill Burnett)

illustrated in colour where possible, with a total of over 500 images, helping to show the subtleties of some of the pieces as well as the vibrancy of the enamelling.

The book starts at 1925 when the British Empire Exhibition of 1924-5 had shown that British design was not the best. One of the interesting points John Andrew makes is that George V complained that year to the Goldsmiths' Company that he never had trophies of modern design to present at Ascot. The Company was slow to react but two years later they selected some designs, all of which were rejected by the King. He was, at this time, taking great interest in the designs for the coinage and his beloved stamps.

Shortly after the Depression the Government established committees to look at improving design standards. The Silverware Committee recommended an exhibition of modern silver and in 1938 the Goldsmiths' Company responded with the first exhibition in its history; it was a great success attracting 37,000 visitors.

During Second World War the Government recognised that after the hostilities were over it would be essential for Britain to export as much as possible to pay off its war debts. What became the Design Council was subsequently formed, with the Royal College of Art (RCA) being seen as the ideal vehicle to supply industrial designers. Among the early star designers to come from the RCA were David Mellor, Robert Welsh and Gerald Benney. All three were silversmiths and designers by training but they also taught and founded successful businesses which still exist today. Andrew has based his accounts where possible upon personal interviews to augment his own knowledge.

One of the revelations in the book comes from an interview with Stuart Devlin. When asked who he considered who had been the trigger for the post war resurgence of well designed silver, he said,

Gerald (Benney) broke the mould. He brought a richness to silver, a contribution to the idiom.

In other words he abandoned the Scandinavian influence that was dominating design at the time.

Andrew found a feature, *Design profile: Gerald Benney, Breakthrough*, from the June 1962 *House Beautiful* in the Benney family archive. The article looked at what was wrong with British design and noted that few people could name or recognize the style of any modern British designer; it also pointed out that manufacturers said the public would not buy items of modern design. The journalist then wrote that at thirty one Gerald Benney had acquired a prestige that left him free to



*Tea caddy, London, 2009 by Anthony Elson, chasing by Richard Price.*  
(Image courtesy of Anthony Elson)

design whatever he liked and be certain that it would sell.

It quoted Benney as saying,

I am trying to design silver which is immediately recognisable as English..... I think English silver should be rugged, solid and functional, but at the same time modern.

He succeeded and this book is an account of the success of this generation and their successors. Benney's influence can be seen in a telling list of major silversmiths who trained at the RCA during the time he held a chair there, many of whom feature in the major biographies in this book: Kevin Coates (1973-6), Michael Lloyd (1973-76), Alistair McCallum (1975-78), Clive Burr (1976-79), Jane Short (1976-79), Richard Fox (1978-81) and Rod Kelly (1980-83). It was the team Benney built up, led by John Bartholomew as Chief Silversmithing Instructor, which ensured that the training was of the highest standard.

The fifty longer biographies are full of interesting anecdotes and insights. I shall mention a few as examples of the breadth of information. First in the list is Malcolm Appleby whose impressive entry is illustrated by photographs which bring out the excellence of his engraving and the textures he uses; there is also a near full page photograph of him in his famous woolly jumper. Jocelyn Burton's wonderful architectural and zoomorphic designs are well



represented and the accompanying account reflects her larger-than life character. The entry for Stuart Devlin includes a list of his master craftsmen's marks as well as details of some of the prices achieved by his work at auction particularly for items that the Pearson Silver Collection was successful in acquiring or under-bid. There is so much more to Stuart Devlin which is well detailed here including the incredible story of his use of the fancy coloured diamonds extracted in large quantities from the Argyle Diamond Mine in East Kimberley, Australia. He created performing eggs in 18-carat gold and set with 'champagne' (brown) and white diamonds.

The dust cover has a photograph of an impressive pair of candelabra, by Christopher Lawrence, in the form of reed warblers' nests supported by five sticks, each with a candle holder. His prolific output is well represented.

Kevin Coates was commissioned by the Goldsmiths' Company to make a large piece for the table: that was all, the rest was to be up to him. Being a fine musician he thought of sound.

Coates is quoted as explaining,

The ancient method of testing a metal's purity was by means of a touchstone ---- a small slab of dark material, which would retain a clear and 'gradable' mark when an alloy of gold was rubbed or touched against it, in what is, in effect, a kiss of truth. And it is this 'moral embrace', together with the ring of truth --- the sound of the noble metals themselves --- which led me to devise a bell, in fact a double bell, in which the sounds of silver and of gold are involved by this impacting kiss of touchstone against metal, through the touchstone clapper's touching the gold and silver of the bells themselves.

Using a star-chart for 13 March 1327, the date of the first charter granted to the Company, he cloaked the bell in lapis lazuli with gold emblems which is separate from the vibrating part of the bell. The top of the bell is a demi-Virgin, the crest of the Company and, being in three dimensions he cleverly formed the back of her head as the Company's leopard's head; there is a good deal further symbolism bound into the piece. This addition to the Company's collection has altered the ceremony of the installation of the Prime Warden: now at the beginning of his year in office he is rung in by this bell.

The text of the captions to the photographs is often exactly the same as that of the main body of the book, which I would not have noticed had I not read straight through the book. It initially seemed strange but Andrew specifically wrote the book so that the main points could be gleaned by just reading the captions. This shows that this is primarily a reference book and it is as reference source that it works particularly well and it certainly feels encyclopaedic. A few of the

photographs are slightly out of focus which is surprising in a book of this quality; this may be improved upon in a subsequent edition. At £60 this book is good value, but why it needs a slip-case I do not know. These are minor quibbles, but overall this is a first rate production of which everyone who has been involved should be proud. I showed a friend his entry to which he replied in astonishment "how did they know that about me?" I could carry on but do not feel the book needs it. Handle it, enjoy it, and refer to it. If I have not persuaded you that this book should be on all silver-lovers shelves, I have failed. *Geoffrey Vevors*

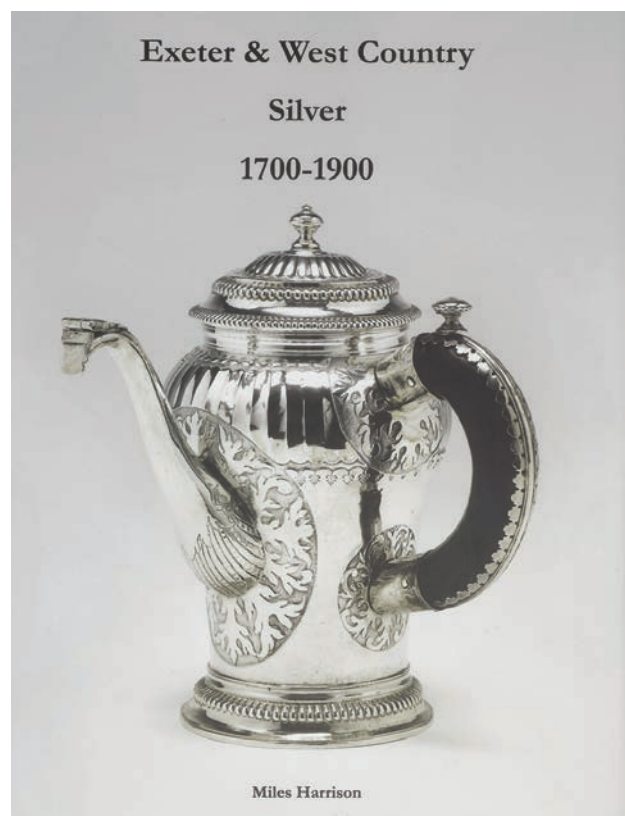
## A Register of Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Jewellers in the West Country from 1700-1900

by Miles Harrison

*Published by Berforts Group, 2014*

Hard cover, 308 pp, 60 illustrations of objects, 350 makers' marks; ISBN 978 1 908616 81 4

Miles Harrison's title is an ambitious one but *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary's* entry: "a register: an Official or Authoritative list kept eg of births, marriages or deaths..." seems at first sight a very fair description of his book. These 'register' details are seen in the 359 biographical details that make up



the body of the book; they are listed alphabetically by surname on pp 12-265; they also appear in the list of hallmarks at the back of the book (pp 276 – 295). With so many makers' details listed, the register is wonderfully comprehensive, in spite of the obvious limitations of documentary evidence resulting in some incomplete and sketchy entries. As such one will expect this book to be as useful to the West Country specialist and collector as Grimwade has been to London collectors.

In the foreword Tim Kent comments that the layout forms a logical sequence; this is well-illustrated in the entry for John Adams which gives his name, dates and location as well as photographs of marks, where they exist, and mentions in publications (where this is significant the extract is given). The entry finishes with Harrison's observations on Adams's family, the range of pieces made, his will and his assets. This all appears as a list of data, allowing quick reference to basic information at the beginning of the entry and easy comparison between various entries, such as that of the Ferris brothers, both surely essential in this kind of reference book. The inclusion, where known, of images of makers' marks at the head of the entry, saves some unwelcome page turning. The reader may at first wonder whether the rather large page size is a handicap, and it is certainly as unwieldy as many other similar reference books, but it lies well on a table and the binding is secure and flexible enough to allow the pages to open flat. Similarly the uncluttered appearance of each page does not tire the eye unduly.

From many of these pages real people emerge: John and Philip Elston, Richard and George Ferris, Thomas Furlong, Joseph Hicks, Alexander Jenkins, the only goldsmith to warrant a portrait, Pentecost Symons, and James Strang to name but a few. William Hope was not alone in attempting forgery, Edward Byne showed considerable initiative and many attempts to forge London Assay Office marks, whilst the entries for Thomas Eustace and Richard Jenkins illustrate the vagaries of the business and the not infrequent bankruptcies that resulted. Tim Kent's reference to 'slop-sellers' in the foreword catches one's eye only to re-appear as the trade of Henry and Moses Hart as well as that of Joseph Joseph I. The trade of dealing in slop-clothing, i.e. loose outer garments or trousers of the cheaper kind, often for sailors, seems distant from that of goldsmith or jeweller and that of James Allen as a 'back-stage man' only slightly nearer to a jeweller's porter but they all get a mention in the register, bringing to life a city that had sufficient trade to support an active goldsmiths' quarter. Such side-avenues relieve the tedium of pure research but Miles's opening essays on the economic history of Exeter and



*Tankard, Exeter, 1716, by Andrew Worth of Modbury.*

Plymouth do much to explain the breadth of the register and make the wide-ranging detail relevant.

Where a maker is significant Harrison adds a photograph of an example his work: Thomas Furlong's elegant caster, Jason Holt's simple tea-pot design, the early porringer by Peter Jouet or the dust jacket image of John Elston's wonderful chocolate pot. He is not mean in his use of such images: there are sixty in total and they are large enough to read the marks and to see the details of design. Joseph Hicks' cream jug with its uneven decoration around the rim, Philip Elston's porringer with much rubbed decoration above the fluting, even the cross hatching of Thomas Clarke's mug, all help us to appreciate the interesting quality of much of the work. Sometimes the images present us with a conundrum such as Pentecost Symons, whose elegant and finely balanced chocolate pot, seems at odds with the lemon strainer also shown, whose pierced design is so off-centre as to raise the question of whether it was casually re-fashioned from an earlier piece?

What emerges from all this is clearly much more than just a register; the frontispiece map of Exeter in 1723 illustrates this rather subtly. The city, with its encircling Roman walls and four gates at the points of the compass, was still surprisingly small for a city in which an Assay Office had been established twenty-three years earlier. The street pattern remains distinctly medieval and the names historically descriptive: the 'shambles' may have disappeared but remind us of York and the selling of meat whilst Southern Hay, as an

enclosure or park, remains a tree-lined enclosure but occupied today by solicitors and estate agents. At the outset a strong element of social history emerges to captivate and perhaps distract the reader

This element is maintained in the biographical detail, some of which is far from being in 'summary form'. John Sweet's assayed items include a stock, part of a lock or perhaps a holy water stoop<sup>1</sup>, William Dunsfor's biggins i.e. coffee-biggins<sup>2</sup> and John Sweets' chapes (the metal plate covering the point of a scabbard)<sup>3</sup>. The variety of goods produced and stocked by many of these silversmiths is impressive, showing not only the skills required in their manufacture, but also the increasingly sophisticated market that was established in the West Country. This may have given rise to the Elston Agreement of 1701/2, which Harrison quotes in excerpts from the Minute Book on pp 272-3, from which we deduce that John Elston agreed to produce plain tankards, bellied porringers, handled cups and mugs and communion cups and patens for those silversmiths who were party to the agreement. In the nineteenth century we see from Harrison's list of items assayed that this increased considerably, as illustrated by the entries for George Ferris, Owen Fielding, Joseph Hicks, Isaac Parkin, William Pope and John Stone, amongst others.

The book is completed by impressive tables of makers' and Exeter hallmarks. In his preface Harrison sets himself the objective: "to make this volume as thorough and informative as Mr Kent's benchmark publication." 359 West Country makers are listed, together with

town and known working dates and clear images of their marks, that is for all bar five! This is just the information a collector and researcher needs and it is laid out clearly in an alphabetical table. The photographic images of the Exeter hallmarks, every bit as clear as the makers' marks, are also an essential tool for the researcher.

Having enjoyed delving into Miles Harrison's register, the reader may well ask whether he has reached any conclusions from his exhaustive researches. After looking at a considerable body of silver produced in the West Country, is it possible to say that a West Country style emerged: is Elston's coffee pot (front cover) a typical piece, was there a sudden demand for side-handled cream jugs (p 230)? These are a just few questions that might lead to some interesting essays. Having myself found this book unexpectedly thought-provoking I am delighted to have it on my bookshelf for interesting social history, as well as future reference, and commend it wholeheartedly to libraries, researchers and collectors alike.

Paul Holmes

1 Michael Clayton, *The Collector's Dictionary of the Gold and Silver of Great Britain and North America*, London, 1971, pp148 and 154.

2 Harold Newman, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Silverware*, London, 1987, pp 40-41.

3 *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*.



# Index

Illustrations are not separately identified except under certain headings such as invoices and marks. Usually only the first entry of an article is indexed so the reader is advised to check the whole article. A complete index of previous issues may be found on the Society's website.

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