



SILVER STUDIES

*The Journal of
The Silver Society*

NUMBER 26

2010

SILVER STUDIES



The Journal of the Silver Society

Number 26
2010

Contents

NUMBER 26: 2010

Silver Studies is published by
The Silver Society, a registered
charity, no 279352

ISSN 1743-2677

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

Editor: Lucy Morton
(editor@thesilversociety.org)

The Silver Society
Box 246, 2 Lansdowne Row,
London W1J 6HL

www.thesilversociety.org

© The Silver Society, 2010

Designed and produced by:
Weblinks Advertising Ltd.

Front cover:

Alms dish, John Richardson,
London 1684-85 (@ The Dean and
Chapter of Westminster Abbey,
London).

(see Cathlyn and Simon Davidson,
*John and Samuel Richardson:
Seventeenth-century goldsmiths,
their marks and work*, pp 5-16)

FROM THE EDITOR 3

CATHLYN AND SIMON DAVIDSON

John and Samuel Richardson: Seventeenth-century
goldsmiths, their marks and work 5

VANESSA BRETT

The paper trail of eighteenth-century retailers 17

TESSA MURDOCH

The James II coronation cup and the culture of gifts
and perquisites in Stuart and Hanoverian coronations 32

BRUCE JONES

Patterns of occupation around Goldsmiths' Hall 42

PETER KAEELGREN

Chinese Yixing stoneware teapots as a source of
English silver design 1675-1830 50

SOPHIA TOBIN

"These six sheets of paper". Some biographical insights
from the will of Thomas Heming 58

CLIVE TAYLOR

George Smith of Huggin Lane: a Georgian silver bucklemaker 60

ROSS FOX

English silversmiths and goldsmiths in Canada during
the eighteenth century 69

ANTHONY TWIST

Towards the Patriotic Fund 75

PETER KAEELGREN

Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada.
Recent Acquisitions: Posy holders 96

ANTHONY BERNBAUM

More light on the Liberty Cymric metalwork venture.
An evaluation of the contribution of Oliver Baker 98

ANTHONY SALE

Silver in medieval probate inventories of the diocese of York 113

INDEX 116

NOTES 120

From the editor

In some respects a society such as the Silver Society seems to change very little. Its central interests remain the same: namely the study of silver of all periods, places and forms and the appreciation, knowledge and understanding of work in, or relating to, silver and gold. Of course the Society also aims to support education in silver-related matters. One of the delights of the Society is that at a meeting, trip or event there will always be familiar faces, many of whom one would not otherwise see; it is always stimulating to be with people who are keen to share their knowledge and passion for silver.

It is, however, always very welcome to meet new faces and to learn about new members' interests and enthusiasms. As a society we need to work hard to encourage people to join us and, once they have done so, to make them feel welcome and to value their participation. New members are needed to take the society forward and to open up new avenues and ideas. Two years ago we celebrated our fiftieth anniversary and it is good to feel that we are now firmly set on course for the next fifty years. Although it is impossible to predict what people will be collecting and studying in 2058, we must always have an eye to the future, and be ready to consider different options and ways of doing things.

One of the reasons that as a society we can feel so positive is thanks to Ed Campbell and Julia Cagwin who have worked incredibly hard on the technical aspects of our website which has been revamped and I would strongly urge you to use it. We owe them both a huge debt of gratitude: without them and their wizardry it would have been much more difficult and costly to implement these changes. They have given this project huge amounts of time and consideration on top of leading very busy lives and having many other commitments; Vanessa Brett and Philippa Glanville have master minded the content of the website. This is an appropriate moment to say a very large thank you to everyone who has been involved in this project, both for their very hard work in deciding how the site should work and what it should offer members, and in getting it up and running and then maintaining it.

The website is an invaluable resource and contains huge amounts of information. It now works much

faster than before and is easier to use and to negotiate; it is also attractive and very 'user-friendly'. It is important to understand that this is the society's website and that the input of the members is critical to keeping its content up-to-date and relevant. It is too much for any one individual to keep up-to-date with publications, exhibitions and events relating to silver. Everyone is busy but it would be a great help, if you come across anything that you feel might be of interest to fellow members, if you would please send it to **info@thesilversociety.org**. If you have a small piece of research that you would like to share, or are seeking information on some on-going research, the website will be a good resource for you. **www.thesilversociety.org** is now up and running and, for the society's wellbeing, it is important to keep it topical and current. We are working hard to avoid being out-of-date and we aim to provide relevant and stimulating information. We would like your feedback and reactions to the site, as well as your contributions to it.

No editor could fail to be impressed by the dedication of the contributors to this journal and I would like to thank them very much for the hours of hard work that have gone into researching and preparing all of these articles. Although I have not done this job for very long, each year I have had a sinking feeling, wondering what on earth I am going to be able to find to put in the Journal. But so far I have been amazed by the contributions which have found their way to me. Each article brings something new to the field and it is extraordinary what can be found out by painstaking and methodical research. I enormously admire the way in which people carry on with work of this kind undeterred by the unproductive days, dead-ends and blanks which can be the result of a long day in an archive or library. One of the things that I most enjoy about being editor is the feeling of passion and enthusiasm which comes through in my, mostly e-mail, conversations and correspondence with the contributors. Knowing how many of you manage to undertake all this work and research, often on top of a demanding full-time job or other commitments, is amazing.

I very much hope that all of the membership will find something in this Journal which brings something new to them and that they maybe even be

inspired to write up some research and contribute a future article. Articles do not need to be long and they do not need to give the whole picture; two contributions to this year's Journal are works in progress, they present where the author is up to with their research and the direction that it is currently taking. It is exciting that the authors are prepared to present this work and I know that both of them are only too pleased to exchange ideas about avenues which might be worth exploring or for small pieces of possibly relevant information.

To a large extent an exchange of ideas is what the Journal is all about; it is seldom about people working in splendid isolation and emerging, after years of solitary work, with a finished piece of research. This is a daunting prospect for most of us and few people have the time, energy or resources to work in this way. The articles in the Journal represent a great many conversations and suggestions, as well as mutual encouragement. One of the society's greatest strengths is the vast pool of knowledge of the membership, a valuable resource which, I hope you will agree, should be shared and which can benefit so many enthusiasts who wish to learn more about the subject. I would encourage anyone who has an area that they would like to research to have a go, to ask questions and to see where it takes them.

I would also welcome future contributions from museums and galleries concerning their latest acquisitions, new exhibits, exhibitions and publications. It is always of interest to members to know where they can go to see silver and related material. A follow-up contribution to the website or to the Journal, is a good means of sharing with the membership an insight into a particular aspect of a piece, or of just drawing attention to it or to an area of particular significance. The other day I was in a cathedral treasury where some wonderful objects were on display but they were only accompanied by short labels giving the date, maker and, if there was one, the donor. There was nothing to give them a context and to most tourists and visitors this information would have meant very little. The Society and the Journal would be wonderful forums for disseminating a wider knowledge of pieces such as these which could, in turn be shared with the institutions that own them and thence, make this information available to a wider public.

To end with an apology: I am very sorry that once again the Journal is so late. I am grateful to you all for your understanding and patience and venture to hope that you will receive the 2011 Journal on time before the end of the year.

Lucy Morton

THE SILVER SOCIETY 2010

<i>President</i>	<i>Advisory Panel</i>		<i>Committee</i>
Philippa Glanville	Ellenor Alcorn	Oliver Makower	Vanessa Brett
<i>Chairman</i>	Catherine Arminjon	Tessa Murdoch	Philippa Glanville
Christopher Hartop	David Beasley	John Salter	Jonathan Gray
<i>Treasurer</i>	Beth Carver Wees	Lorenz Seelig	Christopher Hartop
Miles Roberts	Alain Gruber	Charles Truman	Richard Jonas
<i>Secretary</i>	Rod Kelly	Nuno Vassalo e Silva	Kathryn Jones
Jonathan Gray	Timothy Kent	Matthew Winterbottom	Lucy Morton
<i>Editor</i>	James Lomax		Miles Roberts
Lucy Morton			James Rothwell
<i>Events Organiser</i>			Timothy Schroder
Ruth Keane			

John and Samuel Richardson: Seventeenth century goldsmiths, their marks and work

CATHLYN AND SIMON DAVIDSON

The brothers John and Samuel Richardson came from a preceding generation of the family whose descendants were to form the Richardson dynasty of goldsmiths who worked in Chester throughout the eighteenth century [Table 1]. This article aims to substantiate the attribution of two marks on the Goldsmiths' Company copper plate of 1682 to John Richardson and his brother Samuel. It further seeks to attribute a third mark previously attributed to Samuel Richardson, to Simon Romney. No paper records relating to the makers' marks on the plate at Goldsmiths' Hall would appear to exist.

It is perhaps useful at this stage to give some background to the remarkable coincidence that two sets of brothers, who all came from the same small Worcestershire hamlet of Knightwick, were all apprenticed to London goldsmiths during the middle years of the seventeenth century. They were the Richardson brothers, John and Samuel and the Romney [or Rumney] brothers Walter and Simon; all were, according to their indentures, the sons of gentlemen. It is a good example of seventeenth-century networking that Walter Romney and Samuel Richardson were indentured to the same London goldsmith, Edward Decane, although some thirteen years apart. This article however, concentrates, on the lives and work of the brothers John and Samuel Richardson.

Our interest was aroused by a mark often described in the literature and books on church plate as well as in auction catalogues as: 'PR in cypher with pellet below', 'a script R' or as 'TR in a monogram'. This mark appears on the 1682 Goldsmiths' plate [fig 1]; it is found only on silver dating from 1669 to 1695 and it is almost always found in conjunction with London hallmarks, although very occasionally some pieces only have a makers mark¹.

The crucial pieces, which we have examined and which we believe prove that the mark in fig 1 is that of John Richardson, are a chalice and paten in Knightwick parish church. The chalice is inscribed "Knightwick Chalice 1676" and it bears this maker's mark as well as

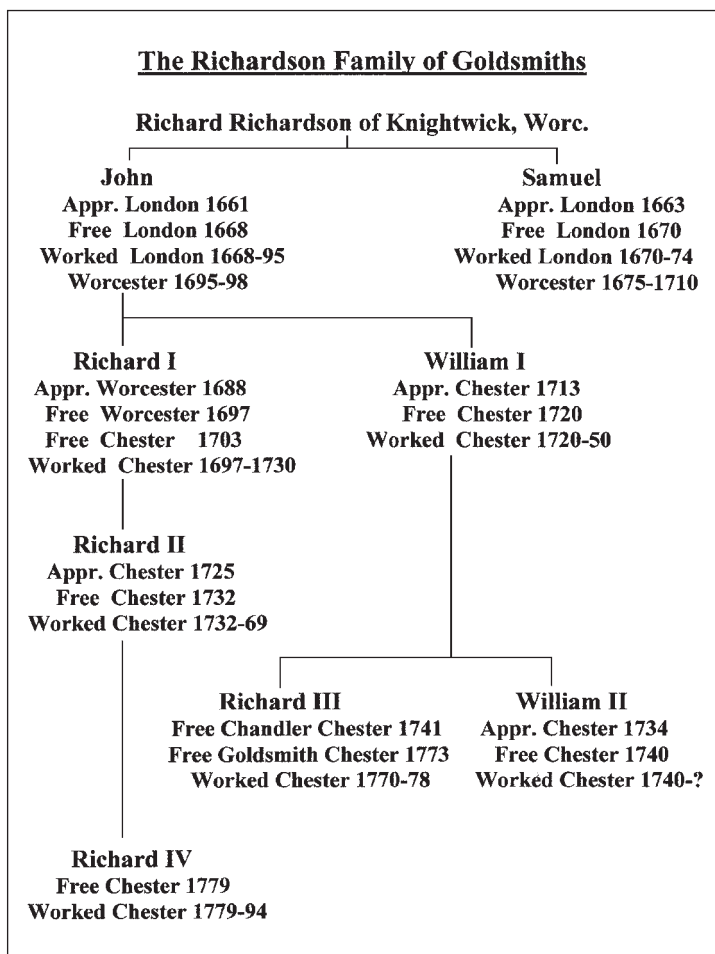


Table 1



Fig 1 Mark of John Richardson.
(© The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

1 Goldsmiths' Hall from henceforward GH: London, copper plate of goldsmiths' marks for 1682, second column fifteen down; Jackson,

Silver and Gold Marks of England, Scotland and Ireland (revised edition) Ian Pickford (editor), Woodbridge, 1989, p 139.



Fig 2 Chalice and paten, John Richardson, London, 1676-77.

(St Mary's church, Knightwick, Worcestershire)



Fig 3 Mark of Samuel Richardson.

(© The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)



Fig 4 Mark of Simon Romney.

(© The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

London marks for 1676-77 [fig 2]. As indicated above Knightwick was the home parish of John Richardson: it was where his parents still lived and his elder brother Stephen had been appointed Rector of the parish in 1674. When, for whatever unknown reason, the rector required a chalice and paten, to whom should he turn but to his goldsmith brother, working at that time in London? It could even have been a gift from John to his elder brother but unfortunately the churchwardens' accounts have not survived. We have identified the address of John Richardson's workshop in London from Land/Tithe tax assessments; these position him amongst other leading goldsmiths with premises close to Goldsmiths' Hall. John Richardson, unlike his brother Samuel and his fellow goldsmith Simon Romney, was never fined by the Goldsmiths' Company for selling sub-standard work.

The existing silver which bears the mark of John Richardson [fig 1] is a mixture of both secular and church plate, the latter is mainly in Worcestershire and Cheshire. The silver that we have found which is identified by this mark is given in *Appendix 1*. The pieces are in a range of styles which are commensurate with the period that John Richardson was active: 1669 to 1695. In the case of a pair of flagons of 1684-85 at Westminster Abbey the stylistic influence of his master, Henry Greenway, is very apparent: as will be explained later.

The mark shown in *fig 3* also appears on the 1682 plate at Goldsmiths' Hall. It is described in the literature as 'SR with cinquefoil below between pellets in an indented shield'². It generally appears struck three or four times on plain pieces of silver with no London marks and is found in the Worcester area. This mark should not be confused with that shown in *fig 4* which is a plain shield-shaped punch; this mark also appears on the Goldsmiths' copper plate of 1682.

The evidence that the mark 'SR in shaped shield' [fig 3] belongs to Samuel Richardson is more circumstantial but, we believe, conclusive. All the silver that we have found with this mark is in the Worcester area, as stated above; it bears this maker's mark only and can be dated stylistically from the mid 1670s to about 1700. We know from records of the Goldsmiths' Company searches of Worcester of 1687 and 1698 that Samuel Richardson must have been active in the city at these dates as he was fined for selling below standard silver and gold items. We also know that he took up his freedom at Worcester in 1671 and that he resided in Broad Street, Worcester at some time after his marriage which had taken place in London in 1674. Samuel Richardson was frequently required to repair the Worcester Corporation plate during the period 1680-1710. It seems, therefore, highly likely that the mark in *fig 3* is that of Samuel Richardson of Worcester. Silver with this mark is listed in *Appendix 2*.

The mark in *fig 4* often described as 'SR in plain shield'; it is found on a wide variety of secular and church plate but always in conjunction with London date marks³. The church plate in question belongs to a few churches in Worcestershire. This mark first appears on pieces dated 1662, well before 1670 when Samuel Richardson had become a freeman, and it continued to be used into the mid 1690s. We would suggest that this is the mark of Simon Romney who

became free of Edward Treen on 13 January 1662/3⁴. Like the Richardson brothers he would have had the opportunity and connections to supply customers in his home county of Worcester. Romney became a liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1674. The Goldsmiths' Court books record that he was fined for broken plate following London searches from 1665 until 1694, a clear indication that he was working in London. He committed these offences, despite being a member of the Court, from 1687 onwards. We suggest, therefore, that this mark [fig 4] can now be attributed with some confidence to Simon Romney.

The Richardson Family

John Richardson was the third son and fifth child of Richard and Hester Richardson who were living in Worcester at the time of his baptism on 4 March 1644/5; they had a total of seven children⁵. Richard Richardson had obtained his freedom of Worcester by redemption in 1628⁶ and he had married Hester Fowler at St Andrew's church, Worcester on the 12 September 1635⁷.

The family must have moved out to the village of Knightwick some time during the late 1640s, after the birth of their children who were baptised within the city of Worcester. By the time of John Richardson's apprenticeship in London in 1661 his father was recorded in the indenture as "Yeoman" and two years later in Samuel's indenture as "Gent". The Hearth Tax assessments for Knightwick show that Richard Richardson was assessed for three hearths in 1662, 1664, and 1678⁸.

Stephen the eldest surviving brother, entered Magdalen college Oxford in 1656 and he received his BA in 1660, followed by his MA. On his return from Oxford he became Usher (Second Master) at King's School

Worcester and he was also appointed a minor canon at Worcester Cathedral⁹. He was appointed vicar of Kemsey and Chaplain to the Bishop in 1662¹⁰. He was assessed for two hearths in 1665 whilst at Kemsey¹¹. He was then appointed vicar of St Peter's Worcester in 1667¹². He must have owned a substantial property at College Green in Worcester as, in the Worcester Hearth Tax assessment of 1678-80, he was assessed for four hearths occupied by a tenant¹³. In 1674 he was appointed rector of Knightwick and the chapel of Doddenham, his home parish where his parents still resided¹⁴. A year after his appointment he presided over the burial of his mother Hester Richardson¹⁵. Stephen died in office at Knightwick in September 1684 and his wife Isabella died at Knightwick in August 1689¹⁶.

John Richardson

John Richardson must have gone to London in the early part of 1661. In July of that year he was assessed for personal tax of 2s in person and 4s for a house in Cripplegate Ward Within¹⁷. At 16 years of age, as an apprentice, he began the Richardson Memorandum Book in which he continued to record important dates, activities and business transactions relating to his life as a goldsmith. He included detailed notes on assaying both gold and silver and also personal records of his family. He wrote his first entry in 1661:

Memorandum that I John Richardson was bound prentise unto Henry Greenway for seven years the 20th December in the year 1661 and also that my couzen Twell keepeth my indentures for me and a powder purse until I shall demand them¹⁸.

This implies that at the age of 16 he had come to London from Worcester, a journey of at least five days on horse-

2 GH: copper plate of goldsmiths' marks for 1682, third column, seventeen down.

3 GH: copper plate of goldsmiths' marks for 1682, second column five down; *Jackson, Silver and Gold Marks of England, Scotland and Ireland (revised edition)*, Ian Pickford (editor), Woodbridge, 1989, p 129.

4 GH: Apprenticeship Book 2, p 75.

5 Worcester Record Office from henceforward WRO : Richard baptised 4 September 1636 at St Helen's, Worcester;

Stephen baptised 7 October 1637 at St Swithin's, Worcester; Hester baptised 19 July 1640 at St Swithin's Worcester; Elizabeth baptised 26 August 1642 at St Swithin's, Worcester; John baptised 4 March 1644/5 at St Swithin's, Worcester; Anne baptised 17 June 1645 at St Swithin's, Worcester; Samuel born circa 1646.

6 19 August 1628, WRO: Chamber Order Book 1602-50 A14.

7 WRO: St Andrew's

Parish Register.

8 WRO: E179/201/325 film 2; E179/375/15 film 5; E179//260/9-16 film 4.

9 Alec MacDonald, *A History of the King's School Worcester*, London, 1936, p 333; WRO : Dean and Chapter Leases, book 17, folio 63, 24 June 1661.

10 WRO: Dean and Chapter Leases, book 18, folio 83, 25 November 1662.

11 WRO: E179/260/5, film 3.

12 WRO: Dean and

Chapter Leases, book 19, folio 37, 25 July 1667.

13 C A F Meekings, S Porter and I Roy (editors), *The hearth tax collector's book for Worcester 1678-80*, Worcester, 1983, p 98; WRO: E179/260/9-16 film 4.

14 WRO: Dean and Chapter Leases, book 20, folio 60.

15 WRO: St Mary's Knightwick Parish Register, 21 July 1675.

16 WRO: St Mary's

Knightwick Parish Register, buried 8 August 1689.

17 London Metropolitan Archive from henceforward LMA: COL/CHD/LA/03/111.10.

18 Richardson Memorandum Book. This valuable resource was continued by five succeeding generations of Richardsons up to circa 1900. The later entries principally concern family details. The original remains in the possession of the family but there is a copy in the Chester Heritage and History Office (Z 72).

back, armed with a pistol, which he would probably have needed for protection as highwaymen were not uncommon. In another undated entry he recorded :

the agreement my Master made he was to have £30 and I a shutte and cloake two shirts a paire of shoes and stokings¹⁹.

The Apprentice Book at Goldsmiths' Hall records:

Memorandum that I John Richardson, the sonne of Richard Richardson of Knightwick, in the county of Worcester, yeoman, do put myself Apprentice unto Henry Greenway citizen and Goldsmith of London for seven years from Xmas next morning²⁰.

Henry Greenway was a prominent goldsmith whose long career spanned the years 1648 to 1670. He was the son of a yeoman from Cirencester, not so far from Worcester, and no doubt there was some connection with John Richardson's father. Greenway's premises were in Stayning Lane, next to his own master Henry Starkey and four doors up from Haberdashers' Hall at the corner with Gresham Street²¹. John Richardson and his father had chosen well: Henry Greenway's first apprentice in 1652 was Robert Smithier who was made free in 1660 and had, in 1664, become Subordinate Goldsmith to Sir Robert Viner, Principal Goldsmith to the king. Another of the Subordinate Goldsmiths at this time was Francis Leake who had served his apprenticeship with Henry Greenway's master Henry Starkey²².

As an apprentice the young John Richardson would have come into contact with some very influential and distinguished goldsmiths at this formative time in his career. In 1663, during the time that he was an apprentice, Greenway was responsible for the famous large flagon, or livery pot, weighing some 144 oz, which was presented by Charles II, via the embassy of Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, to the Tsar of Russia in 1664²³.

John Richardson's apprenticeship had two serious interruptions before he became a freeman: both he and his

master lived through the plague of 1665 and although they both survived the Great Fire of 1666, Greenway's premises did not. He was recorded as having his house destroyed by the fire and he benefited from the Royal Aid set up by Charles II following this terrible catastrophe²⁴.

During his apprenticeship John Richardson wrote three further entries in his Memorandum Book²⁵

Memorandum that ye 23rd Feb 1664 bought of my couzen on paire of stokings for my Brother Samuel Richardson cost me 3s – 6d which he hath had and one pair of shoes and my father sent unto me two shirts for which he received of me June ye 11th 1664.

October 15th 1665 received a shutte and cloake from my father and money to buy me a hat which cost me 14 shillings.

Memorandum that my Mother she gave unto me John Richardson one piece of gould coming in at 22 oz. and two silver spoons with guilte nobes at the endes ye wait is 4 oz. 12 dwt. O grs.

He was made free on the 14 January 1667/8²⁶. It is likely that he then worked for Greenway. The first mention of John Richardson in the Church Tithe assessments was during 1671 when he was assessed for 11s and 8d in the annual church tithe of St John Zachary, Stayning Lane²⁷. When Greenway retired in 1670 it would appear that John Richardson took over his premises near to Haberdasher's Hall on the east side of Stayning Lane. At about this time in early 1670 he made what is currently thought to be the earliest example of a wax jack, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [Appendix 1]²⁸.

John Richardson was assessed in the quarterly Land Assessments as within the precinct of St John Zachary. He remained in business at these premises until the end of 1679 and quite possibly for longer but the records after this date are not complete²⁹. It seems that John wanted to remain in the same street as this was a prestigious site at that date, close to Goldsmiths' Hall in Foster Lane.

19 Richardson Memorandum Book.

20 GH: Apprenticeship Book 2, p 122.

21 LMA: COL/CHD/LA/03/66.2.

22 H D W Sitwell, 'The Jewel House and the Royal Goldsmith', *Archaeological Journal*, vol CXVII, June 1967.

23 Olga Dmitrieva and Natalya Abramova (editors), *Britannia and Muscovy English Silver at the Court of the Tsars*, Yale, 2006, p126-7.

24 LMA: COL/CHD/LA/03/F/65.

25 Richardson Memorandum Book.

26 GH: Apprenticeship Book 2, p 122.

27 LMA: MS 523 & COL/CHD/LA/03/57.19.

28 Ellenor Alcorn, *English Silver in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, Boston, 1993, vol. I, no 71, pp 158-9.

29 LMA: COL/CHD/LA/03/38.23, 41.19, 22.24 & 25.10

John Richardson married Ann Pass on 11 July 1669 at All Hallowes, London Wall³⁰.

Whilst he was working in London John Richardson took four apprentices: the first on 10 December 1669 was Walter Arden, son of John Arden, a gentleman of Martley, Worcestershire, who became free on 20 December 1676³¹ and went on to take apprentices and became, therefore, a practicing goldsmith. A second apprentice was taken on only three years later on 19 July 1672, an indication that John Richardson must have had a significant business which justified maintaining two apprentices. This second apprentice was Nicholas Best, son of Thomas Best, a brewer of Canterbury, Kent: who became free on 18 August 1679³². The third apprentice also overlapped with the first two. He was Richard James, son of Edmond James, a yeoman of Clewilsey, Shropshire. He was indentured on 19 July 1675 and was later turned over to Walter Arden; he was made free on 18 August 1682³³. The fourth and final apprentice was Francis Bloomer who was indentured on 7 August 1679, just before Nicholas Best was due to be made free. He was the son of Francis Bloomer, a gentleman, late of London; he was turned over to Alexander Roode and made free on 22 September 1686³⁴.

It would appear that the first three apprentices: Arden, Best and James, may have registered marks on the 1682 plate as Gerald Taylor made some tentative attributions in his notes on the goldsmiths who became free up to 1682³⁵. We know for certain that Walter Arden was a practising goldsmith as he took four apprentices.

In April 1678 the business of John Richardson benefited from an injection of capital when he received £150³⁶ from his father but the latter died in January 1680/81³⁷. Clearly something happened to John Richardson's business or,

as is more likely, to his family, which was connected with his father's death for this was when he turned over his two remaining apprentices. The other evidence of this is that of his eight children, five were born in London and the remaining three children were all born in Worcester starting with the date of January 1685/86, some five years after the previous child born in London³⁸. It is likely that, after the death of his father, he moved his wife back to Worcester to liaise with his brothers in family affairs. Family papers record that he had an address, at which his family lived, in Angell Lane, Worcester. It would seem that John Richardson remained in London, living apart from his family; we also know from the evidence of his surviving output that the decade of the 1680s must have been one of his busiest [*Appendix 1*].

Notes made by John Richardson in his Memorandum Book³⁹ in 1680 show that he had business transactions supplying a Mr Humphreys of London, who may have been a retailer, with:

3 sword hilts, 1 rapier hilt and rapier blade and scabbard £6.19.9d
1 skillet 7 shillings
7 spoons £2-13-11d

His notes also show that in 1680 and 1681 he supplied holloware to the specialist spoonmaker Lawrence Coles⁴⁰. He listed

19th November 1680	2 plain pans - weight 48oz 17dwt
10th December 1680	2 bread plates - weight 24oz
23rd January 1681	2 plain pans, 1 tumbler 56oz 4dwt
27th January 1681	4 tumblers - weight 22oz 14dwt
10th February 1681	1 plain pan - weight 23oz 15dwt

30 Guildhall Library, London: Ms 5085.

31 GH: Apprentice Book 2, p 183.

32 GH: Apprentice Book 3, p 20.

33 GH: Apprentice Book 3, p 47.

34 GH: Apprentice Book 3, p 86.

35 GH: Gerald Taylor's notes: Walter Arden possible mark: fourth column fourth up; Nicholas Best, possible mark: fifth column

sixteen down and Jackson 1989 p 144; Richard James possible mark: third column thirty five down and Jackson 1989, p 139.

36 It is known that his father sent him this money as it is later mentioned in his will WRO: Registry of Worcester Wills: "Richard Richardson of Knightwick proved 24 March 1680/81".

37 WRO: St Mary's church, Knightwick, Parish Register: "Richard Richardson, gent, buried 22 January 1681" (1680/81).

38 *Richardson Memorandum Book*: Children born to John & Ann Richardson:

"My Daughter Elizabeth Richardson was borne Monday 5th July and was Baptized 16th following Anno Dom 1671 St Mary Stayning Parish"; "My Daughter Hester was borne Monday ye 6th of January and was Baptized ye 12th following Anno Dom 1672 (1672/73) St Mary Stayning Parish"; "My Son Richard was borne Monday ye 9th of December and was Baptized 27th following Anno: Dom: 1674 St Mary

Stayning"; "December ye 6th 1676 my daughter Mary was Borne and baptized ye 17th following St Mary Stayning Parish"; "My son Tho was Borne ye 21st December 1679 Baptized ye 8th of January (1679/80) following St John Zachary Parish London"; "My Daughter Ann was Borne 30th January 1684 and was Baptized ye 8th February (1679/80) following in ye parish of St Nicholas in ye City of Worcester"; "My son John was Borne ye 31st of July 1687: was Baptized August the 7th following in ye

parish of St Nicholas in ye City of Worcester"; "My son William was born the 24th of January 1691 (1690/91) and was baptized in the parish of All Saints in ye City of Worcester"

39 Richardson Memorandum Book.

40 Timothy Kent, *London Silver Spoonmakers*, London, 1981, p 20. Lawrence Coles was apprenticed to John Smith in 1660 and made free 1667.



Fig 5 Porringer, John Richardson, London 1683-84.
(Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

He received from Lawrence Coles flatware comprising:-

13th October 1680	1 ladle - weight 6oz 10dwt
16th October 1680	4 dozen spoons & 1 dozen forks - weight 92oz 8dwt
2nd November 1680	6 plain spoons - weight 11oz 3dwt
2nd November 1680	1 baby porringer - weight 7oz 13dwt
10th November 1680	6 plain spoons - weight 11oz 4dwt
4th December 1680	12 fashioned spoons - weight 25oz 4dwt
10th December 1680	6 plain spoons - weight 10oz 4dwt
24th December 1680	6 plain spoons - weight 9oz
25th December 1680	6 plain spoons - weight 9oz 4dwt

On 22 June 1683 John Richardson was admitted to the freedom of Worcester by patrimony from his father Richard Richardson⁴¹. This would, however, seem to have been a precautionary measure, perhaps connected with his father's estate, as he continued to work and produce silver in London and the greatest volume of his known work dates from this decade. It was at this time that he was responsible for a superb large porringer in 1683-84 engraved with the arms Sir Thomas Pengelly, Chief Baron of the Exchequer now in the Victoria and Albert Museum [fig 5].

We have been privileged to examine six pieces of silver- gilt plate bearing John Richardson's mark which are in Westminster Abbey. These include two magnificent, richly embossed flagons [fig 6] not unlike the one previously mentioned which had been produced some twenty years earlier by his master Henry Greenway. There are also two silver- gilt alms dishes: a plain one and a large, heavily decorated example [fig 7]. All these pieces bear John Richardson's mark and the same date of 1684-85. These four pieces were supplied to the Dean and Chapter by John Thursby from a gift by Edward Carey⁴². John Thursby, who had premises at the Ball in Lombard Street, was described as a 'Goldsmith with running cash'; he must have been acting as banker and would have sourced the pieces from John Richardson⁴³.



Fig 6 Pair of communion flagons, John Richardson, London 1684-85.
(© The Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, London)



Fig 7 Alms dish, John Richardson, London 1684-85.
(© The Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, London)

At Westminster Abbey there are also two large silver-gilt, repoussé, pricket candlesticks with triangular bases which are 81 cm high and weigh over 200 oz [fig 8]; these are, to this day, located on the high altar at the abbey. They too bear the mark of John Richardson and the date of 1684-85. There is a cartouche on each base engraved with "Sarah Hughes". They were supplied with their cases and invoiced in 1691 by John Thursby:

Bought of John Thursby 11th June 1691

A pair of Large Wrought Silver Candlesticks Guilt wt. 210 oz
10 dwts at 9s. 7d. per ounce.

Comes to £100.17.3

Cases for the Candlesticks £3.0.0

£103.17.3

Received this 12th of January 1691 of the Reverend Dr. Birch
by the hands of Mr. John Needham the sum of one hundred
and three pounds in full for the pair of Large Silver
Candlesticks Guilt.

John Thursby⁴⁴

The money for these candlesticks came from a legacy from Sarah Hughes which was specifically intended for "the buying of candlesticks for the High Altar in the Abbey"; the amount had to be supplemented with a further £19 from another legacy.⁴⁵

Examples of John Richardson's extensive output of chinoiserie decorated silver include a magnificent tankard of 1685 from the Arthur and Rosalinde Gilbert Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum [fig 9] and a beaker of 1692 which is in private ownership [fig 10].

In 1691 John Richardson recorded further business transactions in memorandum notes. These were with two fellow goldsmiths: Peter Floyer and Brother Robinson (probably Edward Robinson I) and with Nicholas Wendell, a chaser. A quitclaim exists from Peter Floyer dated 5 August 1695 and witnessed by three goldsmiths: John Cooper, George Hawson and Lawrence Coles⁴⁶. It was at about this time that John Richardson appears to have ceased working as a goldsmith in London. Floyer was a refiner and supplier of silver to other goldsmiths. He came originally from Staffordshire, was apprenticed in London and made free in 1675⁴⁷. He had premises in Stayning Lane, close to where John Richardson had his business. Land Tax assessments show that he had the largest establishment in the



Fig 8 Candlestick, one of a pair, John Richardson, London 1684-85.

(© The Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, London)



Fig 9 Chinoiserie tankard, John Richardson, London 1685-86.

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



Fig 10 Chinoiserie Beaker, John Richardson, London 1692-93.

(Private Collection)

41 WRO: Liber Recordum, BA9360, ref 496.5 A2, box 4, book 2 1682-83.

42 Personal communication from Miss Christine Reynolds, Assistant Keeper of Muniments, Westminster Abbey.

43 *The Little London Directory List of Merchants of 1677*, reprinted London 1863. John Thursby is listed as "at the Ball in Lumbard

Street" under "Goldsmiths that keep running Cashes".

44 Westminster Abbey Muniment 44363. Dr Birch was the prebendary and John Needham was the Receiver-General.

45 James Perkins, *Westminster Abbey Its Worship and Ornaments*, London, 1952, vol III, p 58-59. Sarah Hughes was housekeeper to the Under

Master of Westminster School.

46 Richardson family papers in the possession of descendants, Chester Heritage and History Office, Z 72.

47 GH: Apprentice Book 2, p 166. Apprenticed 10 June 1668 to Thomas Loveday and made free 2 July 1675.

precinct with some thirteen staff as well as his wife and five children⁴⁸. He was knighted on becoming Sherri^{ff}⁴⁹ and became Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths in 1701⁵⁰.

By the end of 1695 John Richardson had definitely moved back to Worcester. He died in February 1697/98 and was buried at All Saints, Worcester⁵¹. His eldest son Richard was apprenticed to his father in Worcester and was admitted as a freeman on 18 April 1697⁵². This Richard Richardson (later known as Richard Richardson I) moved to Chester shortly afterwards and it was he who established the Richardson dynasty of goldsmiths in that city which continued in business there until the end of the eighteenth century [Table 1]. It can be assumed that he moved to Chester in order not to compete with his uncle Samuel who was, by this time, well established in Worcester. Chester was a wealthier city and by the late 1690s several of its goldsmiths had retired and one of the most prominent, Ralph Walley, appears to have handed over his premises and business to the young goldsmith from Worcester.

Samuel Richardson

Samuel was the fourth son of Richard and Hester Richardson and, although his baptism record has not been found amongst the incomplete Worcester parish records, it can be deduced from his apprenticeship details that he was born in 1646. His indenture, dated 31 July 1663, apprenticed him to Edward Decane, a goldsmith of Bishopsgate, for a period of seven years from the following Michaelmas (29 September). His father was listed as a gentleman of Knightwick in the county of Worcester⁵³.

His brother, John, noted in the Richardson Memorandum book the following two entries:

February the 23rd 1663 Memorandum that Mr. Decayne received £20 of my couzen. Witness John Richardson.

July the 31st 1663 Memorandum that my Brother Samuel was bound unto Edward Decayne for seven years but his time beginneth as was agreed on 25th July 1663.

Edward Decane (sometimes Decayne or Keane or Kene) came from a family of goldsmiths: both his father, Andrew, and uncle, Richard, were goldsmiths. Edward was made free by patrimony on 23 November 1649⁵⁴. He took nine apprentices, including Samuel Richardson, who was the third, up until 1686⁵⁵. He took his first apprentice, Walter Romney, in 1650; the latter was also from Knightwick and he was made free in March 1658. Five years later Samuel must have been introduced to Decane by Romney and his own elder brother who was by this time living in London and responsible for managing the financial aspects of Samuel's apprenticeship.

Samuel became a freeman on 30 September 1670 having, like his brother, experienced the plague and the Great Fire. It seems that he remained in London for some years before returning to work in Worcester; it is more than likely that he worked for his brother in Stayning Lane after obtaining his freedom in London. Samuel married Elizabeth Laine on 7 January 1674 at St Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street, London⁵⁶. He then took up his freedom by patrimony in Worcester on 23 August 1671⁵⁷; he probably moved back to Worcester some time after his marriage in London in 1674 as he appears in the periodic Hearth Tax collection records as resident in Broad Street, Worcester with four hearths in 1678⁵⁸.

Samuel appears regularly in the Audit City Accounts as being paid for repairs to the city's civic plate⁵⁹:

1680-81 Repairing 2 City Tankards 5 shillings
1683-84 Repairing the Sergeants Maces 8 shillings
1684-85 Paid Mr Samuel Richardson for Supply of Plate £1-10s
1687 Cleaning and repairing the 4 Sergeants Maces £1-1s-6d
1698-99 Repairing 1 Sergeants Mace 6d

The Goldsmiths' Company conducted a visitation to Worcester in 1687 when the Clerk to the Court of Assistants ordered Samuel Richardson of Worcester to appear in their Court for selling wares "worse than standard"⁶⁰. The records at Goldsmiths' Hall show that a person appeared for Samuel Richardson:

48 LMA: COL/CHD/LA/03/12.10;3 3.13; 44.15; 8.22; 34.11; 35.13; 13.5; Guildhall Library, London: MS9801. Peter Floyer occupied premises in the precinct of St Mary, Stayning Lane from 1680 to the fourth quarter of 1692/93.

49 Alfred Beaven Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, London, 1908, vol

II, p 119: Peter Floyer, goldsmith, Common Council 1688-1700, Alderman 1700-02, Sherri^{ff} 1701-02, knighted 29 June 1701.

50 GH: Prime Warden 1701-02, died in office 31 January 1702/2.

51 WRO: All Saints, Worcester Parish Register, "buried on 9 February 1698 (1897/98) John Richardson".

52 WRO: Liber Recordum, BA9360, ref. 496.5 A5, box 2, book 2, 1696-97.

53 GH: Apprentice Book 2, p 137.

54 Personal communication from David Beasley, Librarian at Goldsmiths' Hall.

55 GH: Apprentice Book 2, pp 41, 45, 137 and 163 and

Book 3, pp 17, 26, 128, 144 and 158.

56 International Genealogical Index

57 WRO: Court Book 1632-85, BA9360, ref X496.5 A9, box 7.

58 WRO: E179 260/9-16 film 4; C A F Meekings, S Porter and I Roy (editors), *The hearth tax collector's book*

for Worcester 1678-80, Worcester, 1983, p 51.

59 WRO: Audit City Accounts BA936, ref 496.5 A10, 1669-92, vol. 4, box 4 and 1693-1720, vol. 5, box 5.

60 GH: Court Book 9, p 200a, Wednesday 3 August 1687.

summoned out of the county for selling goods less than standard and that the offense being small was ordered to pay the cost of the goods - 10 shillings and a fine of 5 shillings⁶¹.

There was a further visitation in 1698 and Samuel was again admonished for putting on sale sub-standard gold wares and ordered to pay the cost of the goods: 34s and a fine of 28s which he duly paid⁶². One of his former co-apprentices, John Partridge was on the Court of the Goldsmiths' Company at this time⁶³.

Samuel and Elizabeth Richardson buried their son Samuel on 6 July 1681⁶⁴ and no further children have been found in the baptismal and burial records. The Richardson Memorandum Book does, however, record that Samuel and Elizabeth had a daughter Ann and a son Edward, who presumably both died before adulthood as no further mention of them is made.

The city records for 1680/81 show that the goldsmith Samuel Richardson and his wife, together with his eldest brother Stephen Richardson, "cleric of Knightwick" and his wife, Isabella, leased to Edward Saunders, a baker, property in the parishes of St Andrew's and St Helen's, Worcester⁶⁵. This was almost certainly property that had belonged to their father whose estate was at that time under administration⁶⁶.

It would appear that Samuel was a goldsmith of some standing who worked in both silver and gold in Worcester. During the mayoral years 1689-90 and 1690-91 it is his signature which appears in the City Account Book at the year end⁶⁷.

The fact that Samuel had to administer his father's will in April 1685 confirms that his older brother John was not resident in Worcester himself even though by this time his family was living in Angell Lane, Worcester. Although their father had died some four years previously, their eldest brother Stephen, who was his executor and had proved the will shortly after the death, had not fully administered it before he himself died in September 1684⁶⁸.

Samuel Richardson died intestate in March 1710/11⁶⁹. The administration bond for his estate, of 17 March 1711, was signed by his widow, Elizabeth, Richard Richardson, the goldsmith and Frank Haynes, a draper, of the same parish of St Nicholas. The bond had an inventory value of over £800 indicating a sizeable estate for the period⁷⁰. Elizabeth died in July 1711, just four months after her husband; her probate was made in the same month⁷¹.

The surviving work of Samuel Richardson is limited to church plate as shown in *Appendix 2*. All of the pieces listed are struck with a maker's mark only, struck a number of times as on a standing paten [*fig 11*].



Fig 11 Standing paten circa 1675, Samuel Richardson of Worcester.

(St Edburgha's church, Abberton, Worcestershire)

61 GH: Court Book 9, p 206, Wednesday 7 September 1687.

62 GH: Court Book 10, p 192, Wednesday 22 February 1698.

63 John Partridge was apprenticed to Edward Decane in 1656, free in 1663, liveryman in 1682, Assistant in 1692, Warden in 1703 and Prime Warden in 1713.

64 WRO: St Nicholas Parish Register.

65 WRO: Liber Recordum, BA9363 ref 496.5 A2, box 4, book 3 1682-83, Indentures 3 January 1682/83 and 28 March 1683/84.

66 *Richardson Memorandum Book*, 22 January 1681.

67 WRO: Audit City Accounts BA9363, ref 496.5 A10 1669-92, vol 4, box 4.

68 WRO: St Mary's Knightwick, Parish Register, buried 20 September 1684.

69 WRO: St Helens Worcester, Parish Register, burial of Samuel Richardson of St Nicholas 16 March 1711.

70 WRO: Administration Bonds

71 WRO: St Helen's Worcester, Parish Register, burial 17 July 1711 and probate 30 July 1711.



Fig 12 Chalice and paten remade 1688, Samuel Richardson of Worcester.

(St Mary Magdalene, Himbleton, Worcestershire)

A chalice and paten [fig 12] are inscribed "Mr. John Fincher's gift to the Parish of Himbleton 1656 augmented 1688". In 1688 Samuel Richardson evidently completely remade the chalice together with a new paten as the amount of silver added is more than double the weight of the original chalice⁷².

As he took care of the corporation plate in Worcester and may have been the only goldsmith in the city during the late seventeenth century Samuel Richardson must in all probability have made secular plate which has yet to be identified.

Conclusion

We believe from the evidence given above that it is now possible to attribute reliably silver with the mark in fig 1 to John Richardson. The wide range of silver and silver-gilt examined by us which bears this maker's mark illustrates the appreciable skills of a craftsman who was able to work in the styles that were fashionable during the last quarter of the seventeenth century [Appendix 1]. This attribution means that his work can now be identified in the collections of major museums in England, Canada and the United States as well as, of course, the prestigious silver-gilt plate at Westminster Abbey.

The mark of his younger brother Samuel Richardson can now be identified as that in fig 3: 'SR with a cinquefoil below between pellets in an indented shield'. It would seem that he only worked in Worcester where he was respected and enjoyed status as the leading goldsmith of the city at this time [Appendix 2]. This discovery and the associated research have further enabled us to distinguish and identify the mark of Simon Romney shown in fig 4: 'SR with cinquefoil below in a plain shield'.

We wish to thank the following who kindly gave us invaluable assistance: Ian Pickford for numerous references in auction catalogues of silver with the marks referred to in this article, Christine Reynolds, Assistant Keeper of Muniments at Westminster Abbey, Richard Peplow for help with access to Worcestershire Churches, David Beasley, Librarian at Goldsmiths' Hall and Dr Tessa Murdoch and Ann Eatwell of the Victoria and Albert Museum. We would also like to thank those who allowed us access to silver in their care: the Dean's Verger of Westminster Abbey, the church wardens of the following parishes in Worcestershire: Knightwick, Abberton, Alfrick with Lulsley, Grafton Flyford, Hallow, Himbleton, Huddington, and Powick and in Cheshire: Knutsford and Partington.

Cathlyn and Simon Davidson have had an interest in silver for over forty years and have focussed in particular on Chester silver and the work of some London makers. They research biographical details of goldsmiths and their marks. They also have an interest in contemporary silver.

72 William Lea, *Church Plate in the Archdeaconery of Worcester*, Worcester and London, 1884, p 79: explained by a notice on the Board of Charities now disappeared "Mr John Fincher gave a silver communion cup weighing 8 oz in the year of our Lord

1656 which in the year 1688 was by the addition of more mettle altered into a fair silver chalice and paten for the more decent use in the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, amounting in weight to 17 ounces. and upwards".

Appendix 1 - List of silver by John Richardson

DATE	ITEM	LOCATION
1669-70	Chalice Height: 16 cm, weight: 7 oz 15 dwt	St Nicholas's church, Warndon, Worcestershire
1669-70	Wine taster Diameter: 6.7 cm, weight 1 oz 2 dwt	Sale, Christie's, 20 June 1973, lot 175
Circa 1670	Wax jack (London date letter indecipherable) Height: 22.9 cm, weight: 39 oz 6 dwt	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Ellenor Alcorn, <i>English Silver in the Museum of Fine Arts</i> , Boston vol 1, no 71, pp 158-9
1674-75	Beaker Height: 8.2 cm, weight: 3 oz 8 dwt	John A Hyman, <i>Silver at Williamsburg: Drinking Vessels</i> No 66, p 50
Circa 1674	Chalice (maker's mark only) Height: 19 cm, weight 10 oz 15 dwt Inscribed: This cupe belongeth to Parish of Powick, Worcester-sheare 1674	St Peter's church, Powick, Worcestershire W A and W R H Peplow, <i>Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Worcester</i> no 67
Circa 1674	Paten cover (maker's mark only) Diameter: 13 cm, weight: 4 oz Inscribed: Powick 1674	St Peter's church, Powick, Worcestershire W A and W R H Peplow, <i>Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Worcester</i> no 628
Circa 1674	Alms dish (maker's mark only) Diameter: 22.1 cm, weight: 9 oz 13 dwt Inscribed: This cupe belongeth to Parish of Powick, Worcester-sheare 1674	St Peter's church, Powick, Worcestershire W A and W R H Peplow, <i>Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Worcester</i> no 629
1676-77	Chalice Height: 16.5 cm, weight: 6 oz 5 dwt Inscribed: Knightwick Chalice 1676	St Mary's church, Knightwick, Worcestershire W A and W R H Peplow, <i>Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Worcester</i> no 273
1676-77	Paten cover Diameter: 10 cm, weight 2 oz 2 dwt	St Mary's church, Knightwick, Worcestershire W A and W R H Peplow, <i>Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Worcester</i> no 274
1676-77	Chalice, silver gilt Diameter: 20 cm, weight 12 oz	St Michael's church, Great Witley, Worcestershire
1676-77	Paten cover, silver-gilt Diameter 12.5 cm, weight: 4 oz	St. Michael's church, Great Witley, Worcestershire
1679-80	Alms dish Diameter: 27.5 cm, weight: 15 oz 15 dwt Inscribed: Grafton Flyford	Church of St John the Baptist, Grafton-Flyford, Worcestershire W A and W R H Peplow, <i>Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Worcester</i> no 196
Circa 1680	Standing alms dish Diameter: 28.8 cm, weight 27 oz 10 dwt Inscribed: This plate belongs to Hallow Church	Church of St Phillip and St James, Hallow, Worcestershire W A and W R H Peplow, <i>Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Worcester</i> no 267
1683-84	Porringer Height: 9.5 cm Engraved with the arms of Sir Thomas Pengelly (1675-1730)	Victoria and Albert Museum, London Item no 238-1885
1683-84	Communion flagon Weight: 43 oz 10 dwt Inscribed: The gift of Madam Martha Thomlinson John Bull, Robert Baines Churchwardens 1683	St Clement's church, Eastcheap, London
1683-84	Porringer Height: 8.5 cm	St Peter's church, Wormbridge, Herefordshire Christies Exhibition, <i>Silver Treasures from English Churches</i> , 1955, no 133, p 44
1683-84	Porringer, chinoiserie Height: 8.5 cm, weight: 6 oz 8 dwt	Sale, Christie's, 17 October 1962, lot 71
1683-84	Porringer, chinoiserie Height: 9.1 cm, weight: 13 oz 19 dwt	Sale, Christie's, 30 July 1975, lot 216
1683-84	Mug, chinoiserie Height: 5.1 cm	Exhibited at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada <i>Seven Centuries of English Domestic Silver</i> , p 28, D 46
1683-84	Porringer, chinoiserie H 7.9cm weight 7oz 8dwt	Sale, Christie's, 17 February 1981, lot 153
1683-84	Alms dish Diameter: 23.5 cm, 11 oz 10 dwt	All Saints church, Evesham, Worcestershire W A and W R H Peplow, <i>Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Worcester</i> no 99
1683-84	Porringer, chinoiserie Height: 7.8 cm, weight: 7 oz 8 dwt	Sale, Christie's, 10 June 1981, lot 86
1684-85	Pair of communion flagons, silver-gilt, chased and embossed	Westminster Abbey, London James Perkins, <i>Westminster Abbey: Its Worship and Ornaments</i> , vol III, p 58
1684-85	Alms dish, silver-gilt Diameter 48.4 cm, weight 81 oz	Westminster Abbey, London James Perkins, <i>Westminster Abbey: Its Worship and Ornaments</i> , vol III, p 56

1684-85	Alms dish, silver-gilt, chased and embossed Embossed with the arms of Edward the Confessor Diameter 63.5 cm, weight: 129 oz	Westminster Abbey, London James Perkins, <i>Westminster Abbey: Its Worship and Ornaments</i> , vol III, p 58 Timothy Schroder, <i>Church Plate in England</i> , 2004, p 23, no 36 Silver Studies Special Issue No 1
1684-85	Pair of altar candlesticks Height: 80.9 cm, weight: 224 oz	Westminster Abbey, London James Perkins, <i>Westminster Abbey: Its Worship and Ornaments</i> , vol III, pp 59-60 Cripps, <i>Old English Plate</i> , 1926, p 444
1685-86	Salver on foot, chinoiserie	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York Yvonne Hackenbroch, <i>English Silver in the Untermyer Collection</i> , 1969, no 62, p 36
1685-86	Porringer, chinoiserie Height: 7.8 cm, weight: 6 oz 10 dwt	Sale, Christie's, 27 February 1985, lot 223
1685-86	Tankard, chinoiserie Engraved with arms of Weeke of Hurstpierpoint, Sussex	The Arthur and Rosalinde Gilbert Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London
1688-89	Tankard (the domed cover later) Height: 14 cm, weight: 19 oz 15 dwt	Sale, Christie's, 14 December 1962, lot 98
1688-89	Communion cup Height: 23 cm, weight 33 oz 10 dwt Inscribed: Bought by Mary, Countess of Stamford and given for the use of St George's Chapel, Carrington 1759	Made for St George's chapel, Carrington, Cheshire but now at St Mary's church, Partington, Cheshire Maurice Ridgway, <i>Church Plate of the Diocese of Chester</i> , 2010
1689-90	Standing paten Diameter: 21.5 cm, weight 12 oz 10 dwt Inscribed as flagon above	St George's chapel, Carrington, Cheshire Maurice Ridgway, <i>Church Plate of the Diocese of Chester</i> , 2010, pp 34-6
1688-89	Porringer, chinoiserie Height: 8.8 cm, weight: 10 oz	Huntingdon Library, San Marino, USA Robert Wark, <i>British Silver in the Huntingdon</i> , 1978 p 13, no 26
1689-90	Tankard Height: 17.2 cm, weight: 24 oz 15 dwt	Sale, Christie's, 14 December 1962, lot 128
1689-90	Porringer and cover Height: 16.5 cm, 27 oz	Sale, Christie's, 27 November 1974, lot 156
1690-91	Basting spoon, cannon handle Weight: 7 oz 7 dwt	Sale, Christie's, March 1972, lot 28
1692-93	Beaker, chinoiserie Height: 8.9 cm, weight: 3 oz	Private collection
1693-94	Bleeding Bowl Weight: 3 oz	Sale, Christie's, 10 July 1984, lot 627
1693-94	Caster Height: 19.7 cm, weight: 7 oz 18 dwt	Sale, Christie's, 7 March 1979, lot 97
1694-95	Porringer Height: 8.2 cm, weight: 5 oz 5 dwt	Brook Street chapel, Adams Hill, Knutsford, Cheshire Christopher Stell, <i>Nonconformist Communion Plate</i> , 2008, p 12
1694-95	Porringer Weight: 4 oz 5 dwt	Sale, Christie's, 26 July 1972, lot 138

Appendix 2 - List of silver by Samuel Richardson

DATE	ITEM	LOCATION
Circa 1675	Standing paten, maker's mark struck four times Diameter: 21.4 cm, weight 9 oz Engraved with arms of Sheldon of Abberton	St Edburga's church, Abberton, Worcestershire W A and W R H Peplow, <i>Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Worcester</i> , 1967, no 61
1688	Chalice, maker's mark struck four times Height: 21 cm, weight 12 oz 15 dwt Inscribed with the date 1688	Church of St Mary Magdalene, Himbleton, Worcestershire William Lea, <i>Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Worcester</i> , 1884, p 79
1688	Paten, maker's mark struck once Diameter: 13.5 cm, weight: 4 oz 10 dwt	Church of St Mary Magdalene, Himbleton, Worcestershire William Lea, <i>Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Worcester</i> , 1884, p 79
Circa 1688	Chalice, maker's mark struck four times Height: 15.5 cm, weight: 5 oz	St James's church, Huddington, Worcestershire William Lea, <i>Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Worcester</i> , 1884, p 79
1693	Flagon, maker's mark struck four times Height: 22 cm, weight: 27 oz 15 dwt Engraved inscription shows the flagon was consecrated on donation in 1693	St Giles's church, Lulsley now church of St Mary Magdalene, Alfrick with Lulsley W A and W R H Peplow, <i>Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Worcester</i> , 1967, no 228

The paper trail of eighteenth-century retailers

VANESSA BRETT

In order to understand the business of an eighteenth-century toyman and what, if anything, distinguished them from retailers who advertised themselves as jewellers and goldsmiths but who also sold toys, it has been useful to look at surviving papers of tradesmen and also at personal accounts. The purpose of this article is to bring together some of this comparative material.

The need to look at paper archives is driven by the difficulty of linking surviving objects to the toyshops that sold them. The watch in *fig 1* is an exception, and a few items of porcelain have also been matched to invoices from toyshops. English snuffboxes were often not marked at this period, nor were other small items such as seals and buckles, the mainstay of any toyman's stock.

Papers so far discovered that relate to toyshops include material for Paul Bertrand of Bath and the London businesses of his in-laws, the Deards and Chenevixes, and that of the Willdeys in St Paul's Churchyard¹. Other toyman such as Valentine Grimstead, Christopher Pinchbeck and Charles Gouyn also feature prominently in the story of luxury retailing, as do chinamen and cutlers who sold toys and therefore fall under the wider parameters of this research. The paper trail of these businesses, from the first half of the eighteenth century, enables interesting comparisons to be made.

Although no one archive has yet been found that gives a complete picture of a toyman's business at that time, it would be possible to create a pretty close approximation if known records were amalgamated into one imaginary business. Private archives, as well as those in the public domain, help to create a picture of both sides of the shop counter: how both shopkeeper and customer dealt with their financial affairs. When looking at these archives it is hard not to be daunted by the sheer quantity of information in them: each set of documents yields something slightly different. For example the toyman Paul Bertrand's bank account (1736–47) gives the names of some of his customers and also those of a large number of people working in many different trades in London and Bath from whom he presumably acquired stock, but it does not tell us what that stock was. On the other hand, the ledgers of George Wickes (later Parker and Wakelin) tell us what each customer bought from 1735 but the names of the firm's suppliers do not survive for the period 1690 to 1765 being researched by this writer.

The most detailed studies written so far of a single firm are of the Wickes/Parker and Wakelin/Garrard business². Helen Clifford has also looked at the papers of George and Thomas Willdey³, and she



Fig 1 Gold, enamel and lapis lazuli cased verge watch, with quarter repeat, circa 1740, the movement signed P D Chevenix 851 London.

(Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, WA1947.191.110)

1 For a preliminary article, based on the material I took over from Brian Beet, see Vanessa Brett, 'The great (and lesser) toyshops', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 16, 2004.

Forthcoming: publication of talks given to the English Ceramic Circle in January 2010 and to a seminar on gold boxes at the Victoria and Albert Museum, in November 2010. Some of the material in this article was included in a talk to the Silver Society in October 2010.

2 Elaine Barr, *George Wickes, Royal Goldsmiths 1698–1761*, London 1980; Helen Clifford, *Silver in London, The Parker and*

Wakelin Partnership 1760–1776, New Haven and London, 2004. Both books investigate ledgers now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The ledgers are kept at Blythe House; microfiche are in the National Art Library, pressmark SD.95.0050. The workmen's ledgers (those who supplied the firm) survive from the eighteenth century for 1766–75; there is a stock ledger for 1747–60.

3 Helen Clifford, 'In defence of the toyshop: the intriguing case of George and the Huguenots', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, XXVII (2), 1999.

makes reference to other archives, particularly the Webb family of jewellers and the silversmith George Brathwaite (see below). The best-known records for the ordering of gold and silver are the Jewel Office accounts⁴, but these lie beyond the scope of this article, as does a smaller example of orders (made through a goldsmith) to the heraldic engraver Benjamin Rhodes, due to its particular specialisation⁵.

Several silversmiths and retailers had interests outside precious metals, which must have added to the amount of paper in their shop or home. John Culme and Helen Clifford have touched on this in the past: Dru Drury was interested in butterflies and insects, Abraham Portal in theatre and both John Tuite and Lewis Pantin turned to engineering projects⁶. These pursuits too, are outside the remit of this writer's present research but, as a toyman, George Willdey's activities *are* of interest. He specialised in spectacles, telescopes and other like instruments, and was interested in solar power. Although he regularly advertised in the press a wide range of his toyshop's stock, his "burning glass" was either such a roaring success that he did not need to repeat the advertisements or, perhaps, a complete failure⁷.

I have now finished the best Burning Glass in the World, and plac'd it upon the Top of my House, it produces a Heat many Degrees exceeding that of the most Artificial and hottest Furnace, and in less than a Minute melts Iron, Gold, Silver, Copper or Brass, and notwithstanding it so soon Liquifies Metals, yet the fury of this Celestial Fire is much better exprest by its melting, or vitrifying immediately those Materials that have withstood the hottest First for many Years; as also by its melting or vitrifying Slat, Pumice, Bricks, Tiles, Crucibles, Sand, Marble and most sorts of Stones; its greatest heat is in the Air, at Ten Foot distance from the Glass, but hath many Degrees of Heat; in one it will serve for a hot Bath, in another for a Sun Kitchen, where Meat may be Boil'd, Bak'd, roasted, Stewed, or Broil'd: Coffee Tea or Chocolate made, in another Iron or other Metals forged or melted into all manner of shapes and whatever is done by any other Fire, may be done by this Celestial Heat: It and its surprising Effects are shew'd Gratis to any of my Customers, that lay out Five Shillings or more with me, provided the

Sun shines and the Air be Clear. N.B. This far exceeds that show'd in the Privy Garden in White Hall, though each Person paid Half a Crown for the Sight of that.

It was succeeded in 1726 by a "weather-house", a barometer that had a man and a woman going in and out of a house: one indicating rain, the other sun (perhaps rather like a cuckoo clock or the clocks on Fortnum & Mason and Liberty's in London), which probably aroused greater interest.

The working notebooks and ledgers of a business and of a large household come in all shapes and sizes. Some are the size of a modern exercise book and similarly paper bound, others pocket-sized; books containing fair copies of accounts are usually larger and bound in varying kinds of leather or vellum; most are portrait, some landscape. Some are indexed. The waste of paper is striking: few books were fully used and in some archives volumes close to an inch thick have writing on only a few pages. Some covers and many inner pages are covered in doodles: clerks trying out a new quill or merely bored. The pounce used to dry ink still clings to pages, making them glisten. Many have incomprehensible jottings: random calculations. At Hoare's Bank in Fleet Street generations of clerks transferred the day's transactions for every customer into large ledgers, each indexed at the front and cross-referenced between pages and ledgers. How many customers, one wonders, were presented (as Lord Burlington was by another bank) with accounts bound in brown suede embossed on the cover "Book of Accounts with Nath Gould & Robert Nesbitt Esqr begun 29th March 1732"⁸? At Holkham the domestic accounts are beautifully set out in red and black ink, each entry easily legible, headings underlined.

Both businesses and private individuals filed invoices by folding them into strips, writing the amount and the payee on the outside and then tying them together. Each bundle could then easily be riffled through to find a particular paper. They fitted neatly into the narrow pigeon-holes of a contemporary desk. Some sheets have the tell-tale central hole of having been kept temporarily on a spike. In some households invoices were numbered and that number written against a summary of the bill in the household account books for cross-reference. Usually transferral of information to the account book resulted in

4 Held at the National Archives, Kew. See James Lomax 'Royalty and Silver: the role of the Jewel House in the eighteenth century', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 11, 1999, note 4.

5 At Hoare's Bank, London.

6 Helen Clifford, 'Goldsmiths of invention: hidden connections and alternative occupations', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 9, 1997, John Culme, 'The

embarrassed goldsmiths, 1729-1831', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 10 1998.

7 British Library Burney collection, *Post Man and the Historical Account*, 22 October 1720, issue 1874.

8 Chatsworth MSS: Lady Burlington's Accounts 1738-57; Trademen's Bills. The Devonshire Collection by permission of the Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth House Trust.

9 Woburn Abbey, the Duke of Bedford and the Trustees of the Bedford Estates.

an invoice being destroyed, but at Woburn, for example, both have sometimes survived⁹.

Understandably only a few day books (journals) have come down to us from businesses but those that have show how carefully each transaction or instruction was noted and then crossed through when dealt with: a system that still survives today, of course, in many firms. An example of a day book at Hoare's relates to the early period of the bank, when the firm was still trading as goldsmiths, before turning exclusively to banking.

Who kept the books of a business and who wrote out invoices depended on how many assistants, clerks or apprentices were employed. Elizabeth Chenevix, for example, sometimes wrote out a bill herself but on other occasions merely acknowledged receipt of payment by signing an invoice prepared by another hand. Stock and account books usually show the handwriting of more than one person, but in most small businesses (other than banks) the proprietor or his wife must have kept these vital records. As an apprentice to Willdey, Susannah Passavant had to maintain a day book of her own from which information was transferred to stock books, customer ledgers, etc. At a time when bankruptcy could strike at any moment it was crucially important to know who owed and who was owed money. The survival of some papers is due to legal cases resulting from bankruptcy or family dispute.

For the purposes of this article the paper trail is split either side of the shop counter: 'behind' the counter is the shopkeeper, 'in front' of the counter is the customer. But the retail shopkeeper would himself have been the customer of a wholesaler or of the craftsmen who supplied his stock.

The customer: personal and household accounts

The accounts of Benjamin Mildmay were published some years ago¹⁰, and other personal accounts are increasingly quoted in this Journal. The keeping of accounts and the payment of bills depended as much on the temperament of a grandee as his financial standing. Lyonel Tollemache, 4th Earl of Dysart was a customer of both William Deards and his sister Elizabeth Chenevix and he kept account of his payments to both toyshops although it is impossible to tell how complete the surviv-

ing records are¹¹. He kept a personal account book in which he recorded his daily expenditure. These books give a vivid picture of his interests and the comparative costs of daily life. In 1744 there is the following sequence of expenditure:

	£	s	d
Deards ye toyman his bill in full	13	4	0
Given ye Yeoman of ye Guards	1	1	0
Paid for seeing ye Play	0	1	0
paid for 3 Lobsters	0	3	6
Paid Crespin Sylversmith ... on Acct of a Service of Plate	200	0	0

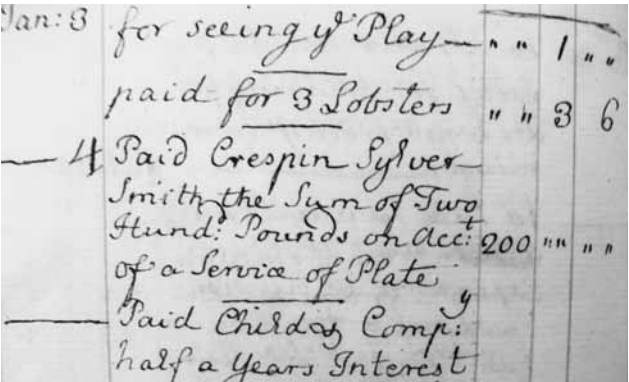


Fig 2 Day book of Lyonel Tollemache, 4th Earl of Dysart recording payment to Paul Crespin.
(Sir Lyonel Tollemache.)

On occasion he used the book as a commonplace book and diary, randomly quoting Shakespeare¹² and noting earthquake tremors at Ham¹³.

Lord Dysart's agent paid most of his bills and the agents of other peers did likewise. The agent, or steward, appears to have visited shops in turn, taking with him a receipt book. Not only was a shopkeeper required to receipt his or her invoice but also the agent's book. So one after the other, in a small pocket-sized volume, we find numerous receipts from Paul Crespin and David Willaume interspersed with upholsterers, tailors and other tradesmen. Unsurprisingly, although both invoices and receipt books survive, they have not done so in tandem, so one cannot be checked against the other. Although [figs 2 and 3] correspond no matching bill from Crespin appears to have survived. Some customers expected shopkeepers to collect payment. Thus, for example, Mrs Chenevix sent an employee to Richmond House (the London home of the Duke and Duchess of

10 A C Edwards, *The Account Books of Benjamin Mildmay Earl Fitzwalter*, London 1977.

11 Sir L H J Tollemache.

12 In looking through these

account books I was astonished to find myself reading a quotation from *The Tempest* that my great-grandfather, Reginald Esher, used as a title and frontispiece to a book of memoirs published in 1927.

One of the best known quotations from Shakespeare, it seems entirely apposite to the subject of luxury goods: "The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces / The solemn temples, the great

globe itself / Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve / And, like this insubstantial pageant faded / Leave not a rack behind."

13 February 8th 1749/50: I was at Ham in my Dressing

Room & ye Clattering of ye Looking Glass, China cups, tables, chairs &c I thought at first it had been some Powder Mill blown up

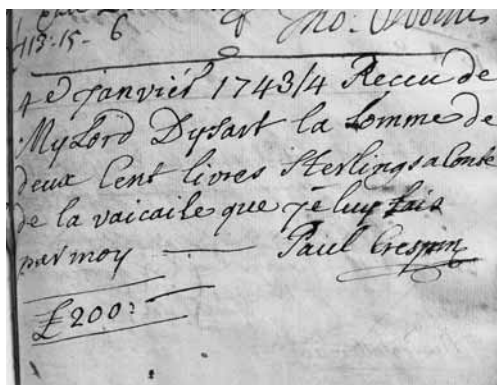


Fig 3 Receipt book of the Earl of Dysart's agent, in which Paul Crespin acknowledges a part payment towards the cost of a service of plate.

(Sir Lyonel Tollemache).

Richmond) where they signed a printed receipt book. Shopkeepers were sometimes paid in cash but sometimes by a bill of exchange, that might be post-dated, which delayed actual payment for up to several months.

Lord Stanhope (of Chevening) also kept a daily record of his personal expenditure as did his wife. In some respects similar to that of Lord Dysart these examples are, not entirely randomly, copied from the small books that must have been their constant companions¹⁴.

Lady Grizel Stanhope:		£	s	d
26 July 1745	Received from my Lord, an endowing purse given on the day I was married	105	0	0
Expended:				
26 July 1745	Mounting 2 watch toys in pinchbeck	0	5	0
Jany 1746	Thirty thousand pins of different sorts	2	4	8
Novr	For 900 needles @ 10d pr hundred	0	7	6
1749	Pd Ramsay [for 3 pictures at 5 gns each]	15	15	0
Lord Stanhope:				
1735/6. Jan 17	Paid for seeing Jernegan's famous cistern	0	10	6
1736. July 14	to Paul de Lamerie ye silversmith	605	0	0
	Paid for a Draughts board & map bgt in St Paul's Churchyard [<i>this probably from Willdey</i>]	1	1	8
1738. July 7	Bought a house in Hanover Square of the Earl of Pomfret	2,900	0	0
1744. Jan	Chocolate @ Smyrna's coffee house	0	1	6
1745. 24 July	Thomas Basnett, new Coach and Chariot	224	16	00
Sept 6	Bought of Creswell a cane string	0	1	6
Sept 7	Paid Geo Graham's Bill for my wife's repeater	87	0	0
Oct 21	For seeing a ostrich	0	2	0
1746. Jun 13	For a silver trowel to cut pudding with	1	7	0
1748/9. Feb 22	Picture by Ramsey [<i>in two instalments of 10gns</i>]	21	0	0

Of a very different temperament, and mourning the death of his second wife Louisa Carteret in 1736 after only three years of marriage, Thomas Thynne, 2nd Viscount Weymouth (1710–51) found himself in severe financial difficulties. In 1740 the contents of Longleat were put up as security for a loan to prevent bankruptcy. His agent juggled outstanding bills from numerous tradesmen, who charged interest on bonds and were paid a percentage of what they were owed¹⁵. Among these were:

William Basnett Laceman	746	10	0	by Bond at 5% pr ann	37	6	6
Chenevix Toyshop	80	0	0	by Bond			
Peter Dutum [<i>Dutens</i>] Jeweller	21	2	9				
Deard Toyshop	173	0	0	by Bond			
Friburg Snuff	21	5	0				
Isaac Lacam Jeweller	1000	0	0	by Bond			
Lamott Taylor	688	0	0				
Metcalf Morland Linnendraper	212	12	10				
Stamper, Mary Glass & china	67	15	8	at 4% pr ann			

14 Maidstone Record Office, U1590, 903a: A98, A99.

15 Longleat. Bound Schedule of Creditors, ref: 150.

The complexities of such accounting in the days before professional auditing, particularly when a jeweller or goldsmith was also acting as a banker, makes it unsurprising that so many retailers ran into difficulties.

Of those listed in Lord Weymouth's book, the name Lacam also appears several times in the Prince of Wales's accounts and features in the accounts of other families too. The laceman William Basnett also regularly submitted bills for very substantial amounts to the Prince of Wales¹⁶. Dutens crops up in numerous archives not only as a jeweller but also in transactions involving loans and annuities; clients included Frederick, Prince of Wales and Lyonel Tollemache. He must have employed clerks, shopmen and an errand boy and yet his wife Elizabeth personally delivered diamond jewellery to the Countess of Kildare¹⁷. Dutens also visited customers in their homes, on one occasion failing in his mission to pierce the ears of Mrs Delany's niece:

Lady Cowper's earrings have not yet prevailed. I think, as you do, it is not a point worth contending for; Mary has raised a terror in herself about it, for she intreated me to send for Mr. Dutens, and when he came would not suffer him to come near her. I have never mentioned the earrings since.

The operation was successfully carried out two months later. In 1758 Mrs Delany recorded that¹⁸:

I have been with the Duchess of Portland and her daughters at Mr Dutens, the jeweller's, where my eyes have been dazzled with constellations of diamonds; but I was so modest, as to prefer one single diamond to all the bouquets, esclavages, earrings, and knots; it was so clear, so perfect, so brilliant, and the price but four thousand pounds! Mr Dutens entertained us with the sight of a clock of his own composing ...

Customers were notorious for not paying tradesmen or delaying payment for months or even years. Few followed the advice of Lord Chesterfield:

As far as you can possibly, pay ready money for everything you buy, and avoid bills. Where you must have bills ... pay them regularly every month, and with your own hand.

Most would have followed the practice of Edward Knatchbull: "I receive my rents once a year so I pay my tradesmens bills once a year"¹⁹. Invoices show that items were often paid for at the time of purchase, and the

paucity of surviving invoices from Paul Bertrand is probably explained by his requesting immediate payment from customers who were only in Bath for a short period, thus avoiding the difficulty he would have in chasing payment once they had left the resort and scattered throughout England.

Lord Chesterfield was a regular visitor to Bath and lodged at Leake's bookshop next to Bertrand, but he does not feature in Bertrand's bank account. This may have been due to his preference for paying cash, but payments from Chesterfield and many other customers (and indeed many banking transactions) were probably disguised under the name of banks through notes or bills of exchange (the forerunners of cheques). Like uncrossed cheques they could be passed from hand to hand, and numerous advertisements in newspapers for the return of lost 'notes' detail substantial sums of money.

Most retailers allowed members of the aristocracy to buy on account, and submitted a bill every six months or yearly. Some of the bills from William Deards and John Curghey to Richard Hoare run over two or three years and then, surprisingly (given their proximity), Hoare was slow to pay and sometimes knocked off the shillings and pence: bills were rounded down in his favour rather than up in favour of the shopkeeper.

The retailer: business records

In addition to account books there are stock books and inventories taken, following the death of a silversmith or retailer, or due to bankruptcy. Those of the Webb family, of James Craig and of Richard Brathwaite have not, to my knowledge, been investigated in detail hitherto²⁰. A summary is given below for the reference of readers who may wish to pursue them further. The papers of Brathwaite and another retailer, John Curghey, have been looked at in order to compare the stock of a silversmith/jeweller and a toyman. Both businesses are largely peripheral to this writer's present research, so neither man has been investigated beyond these particular documents.

The instructions and notes that daily went between craftsmen have not survived but it would be fascinating to know how an object was passed from hand to hand through the various stages of its making and how, and

16 Duchy of Cornwall archives, on microfilm at the British Library, M2401, 2402, etc.

17 "All this is apropos to poor Mrs Dutens, who has

just been here with my diamonds - they are charming!" Letter to the Earl of Kildare, Holland House, 24 June 1757. Brian Fitzgerald (ed), *Correspondence of Emily, Duchess of Leinster*

(1731-1814), Dublin 1749, vol 1 p54

18 Lady Llanover (ed), *The autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*, London 1861,

vol 3, pp.413 and 478.

19 Quoted by Helen Clifford (2004), see note 2, pp 146 & 147.

20 I am most grateful to Peter Cameron for suggesting that I should look at this material.



Fig 1a Backplate of gold watch by Cheveux
(see fig 1)

who, kept track of it. The clearest indication of the system is in watches and clocks. Watch specialists have estimated that a watch might require the skills of over a hundred men and women, each making a particular part. At its inception, therefore, a watch would be assigned a number and each screw, each wheel, each plate, would be selected for watch no XXX. This number was then engraved on the watch so that a record could be kept of repairs. Indeed such numbers are occasionally recorded in invoices for mending or replacement parts. The number was often quoted in advertisements, too, when a watch was lost. An owner sometimes also remembered the name on the dial or inner plate although the appearance on watches of 'Deards' and 'Chenevix' (both toymen not watchmakers) shows that, like a 'maker's' mark on silver, such a name might be of a retailer [fig 1a]. In practice the owner of a lost item probably asked the help of the shopkeeper who would have checked his ledgers in order to supply details for the notice of the loss²¹. A similar system of identification during the process of manufacture was probably applied to snuffboxes, particularly those incorporating enamel or hardstones, and also for the makers of the shagreen cases that they were often sold in, or for the various craftsmen involved making tea caddies. However these did not need the precision of watchmaking which required that a unique part ended up in the correct timepiece. At each stage a piece of paper must have accompanied an object: understandably such scraps have not survived.

Depending on the size of a shop an object might also be given a number when it was acquired and entered in a stock book. If, and when, the piece was sold, its number was noted in the day book and the information subsequently recorded in the stock book. Like many systems that were begun with good intentions such meticulous record keeping was not always maintained: hence the need for occasional stock checks. Before bar codes and scanning were introduced it was easy to forget to record information when the shop was busy.

It is rare to find correspondence between shopkeeper and customer, certainly in the first half of the eighteenth century. Occasionally a day book has copies of correspondence and the Webb papers are an unusual example of this. A certain amount of correspondence survives from Rundell's to customers in the early nineteenth century and, in the eighteenth, letters of the Purefoy family contain instructions to an agent in London²². The survival of letters from the London goldsmith Thomas How seems to be unusual.

Thomas How²³

On occasion, the relationship between a customer and a shopkeeper developed into a mutual trust over business matters and an understanding of personal taste, enabling purchases to be made confidently by letter. Correspondence between Thomas How, a London goldsmith, and George Allan lasted many years from the 1720s on, and continued through three generations of Allan's family and successive partnerships of the goldsmith's business [figs 4 and 5]. How addresses Allan as "My esteemed friend" or "Respected friend": Robert Barker has found other evidence that How was a Quaker. The correspondence not only deals with the silver and jewellery the

21 For an investigation of the issuing of warning notices following thefts, see Judy Jowett, 'The Warning Carriers', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 18, 2005.

22 L G Mitchell (ed), *Purefoy letters, 1735-1753*, London 1973. Whether their agent Thomas Robotham, licensee of The King's Head in Islington, was a connection of the toymen Francis Robotham, in Whitechapel, remains to be discovered.

23 North Yorkshire Record Office, Northallerton, 2DG(A) V, Havelock-Allen archive.

24 Burke's *History of the Commoners* (1836) vol 1, p 40.

25 As note 23.

26 Information from Robert Barker, who has researched the firm's transatlantic dealings with Joseph Richardson in Philadelphia. Not listed by Grimwade, there are several entries for the various partnerships in Heal's *London Goldsmiths*, (as note 34).

27 The National Archives (TNA), C/108/284.

28 Peter Caron was in Aldermanbury in 1768 (Heal); Mary Chowns is not recorded by either Heal or Grimwade.

29 Clifford (2004), as note 2.



Fig 4 Invoice from Thomas How to George Allan.
(North Yorkshire Record Office, Havelock-Allen archive).

Allans purchased but How also enquires about the welfare of the Allan family. His bill for "1 fine Saxon stone girdle buckle" for 5 guineas in 1738, came with a lengthy explanation of the delay in sending it. The cost of a "fine chac'd silver tea kettle, lamp and stand" (£27 12s 4d) included a fee to "search at the office for the armes of Sir Robert Eden"; the kettle was sent from London to Yorkshire by sea in November 1743.

George Allan (1663–1743) was a general merchant who, "making a large fortune by government contracts", built Blackwell Grange near Darlington²⁴. His daughter Hannah married Farrow Eden; the estate of his son George (died 1753) devolved to the latter's third daughter, Anne, who also features in the correspondence.

The memory of this lady, who was long distinguished for her benevolence and extensive charities, is so much and deservedly revered at Darlington, that her portrait hangs over the chimney-piece of every respectable parlor in that place²⁵.

In later years the family purchased items from Isaac Cookson and John Langlands in Newcastle, but the majority of their silver and jewellery came from London.

Fig 6 Detail of an invoice from Thomas How to George Allan showing how an "old salver" was altered by adding a chased border.
(North Yorkshire Record Office, Havelock-Allen archive).

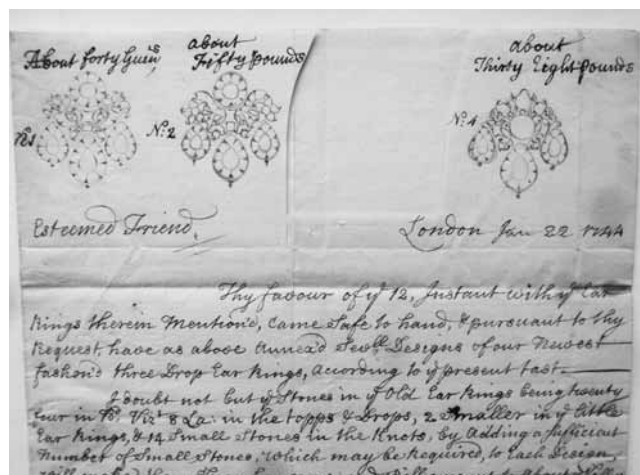
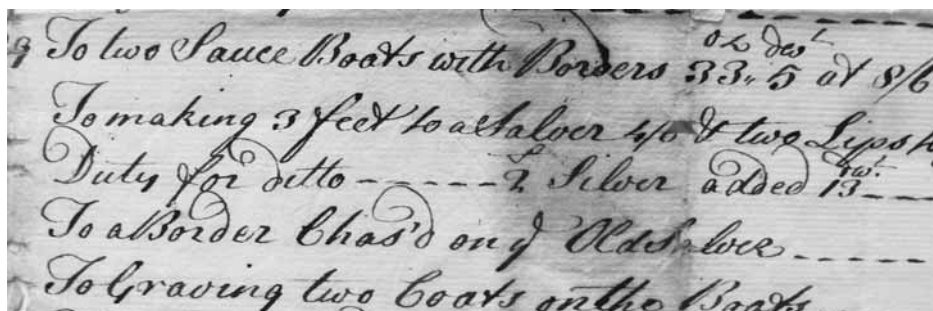


Fig 5 Letter dated 22 January 1744 regarding the sale of jewellery to George Allan, who obviously chose the third of four options on offer, the design which he cut out and presumably returned to Thomas How.
(North Yorkshire Record Office, Havelock-Allen archive).

Thomas How, goldsmith, was in White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street. Edmund How was with him in the 1720s, Thomas then went into partnership with his nephew John Masterman who, in turn by the 1760s, was joined by William Archer. They appear to have operated as retailers and as wholesalers²⁶, dealing in jewellery and toys as well as new and second-hand silver which was sometimes brought up to date by judicious alterations [fig.6]. The business clearly merits further research.

Peter and Arthur Webb²⁷

The Webb family were based in Throgmorton Street. A series of their account books of 1717–91 show both the sale and purchase of stones and finished jewellery. There is an index of customers and journals that record hundreds of transactions in considerable detail, including the weight of stones. The Webbs bought diamonds from a range of suppliers such as Andrew Levy and Peter Caron; mourning or motto rings came from Mary Chowns²⁸. Helen Clifford gives further examples of the firm's dealings²⁹. Mary Delany, in letters to her sister, wrote in detail of her daily doings when in London including shopping with her close friend the Duchess of Portland. The duchess was a great naturalist so they

shopped for shells, and other specimens, as well as jewels. On 30 October 1754 she wrote “to-morrow we are to go into the City to do a world of business”. That “world of business” probably included going to her favourite jewellers, the Webbs and Peter Dutens, to prepare for the winter Court. Although the dates in Webb’s journal do not precisely match Mrs Delany’s, ten days after that letter, she was relating what might well have been the dazzling results of those expeditions to the City:

10 November 1754. Our Duchess and Lady Betty came to town on Thursday, and we have been very full of business in settling the jewels and clothes for the Birthday. The Duchess of Portland’s is white and silver ground, flowered with gold and silver, and a stomacher of white satin, covered with her fine *coloured* jewels, and *all* her diamonds. Lady Betty is to have a very fine sprig of pearl diamonds and turquoises for her hair, by way of pomponne, loops and stars of diamonds between on blue satin for her stomacher ... She rehearsed her clothes and jewels yesterday, and practised dancing with her train ...

Stars, together with the “bouquets, esclavages, earrings, and knots” mentioned previously, all feature in the Webbs’ daily journal, which records that the duchess purchased in December 1755 “a very fine large Brilliant spread very lively and in all perfection, 28 grains” for £850. Expensive but nowhere near the £4,000 diamond shown to Mrs Delany and quoted above. Items the duchess acquired from Webb in February 1757 alone amounted to: on the 14th 7 guineas, on the 19th £756, on the 21st £54 10s. She liked pearls and, in 1752, bought “a mocoa with a worm that will never dye” for a mere 3 guineas. This was outdone in 1758 when an invoice covering several visits that year included:

To a prodigious fine Coral Tree growing out of a Stone as big as a Mans head 4½ feet in height	£9 9 0
To a superfine pair of long Pearl Drops w. 35½ Cts which is 142 grains	£260 0 0

Clearly the Webbs’ stock extended beyond precious stones. It is unusual to be able to link a shopkeeper’s books with contemporary diaries or letters. As jewellers, the Webb family are largely outside the interests of the Silver Society and this research into toyshops, but the need to search for information across disciplines is underlined not just by the “coral tree” but the fact that one of the jewellers the Webbs employed to set diamonds, Samuel Bishop, also supplied the toyman Paul Bertrand.

John Craig³⁰

No mark is recorded for John Craig, a jeweller in Norris Street, who for a short time was in partnership with George Wickes. Following his death an inventory was taken of his “goods, chattels and credits” which devolved to his widow Ann. The Craigs’ involvement with John Neville, who married their daughter Mary and went into partnership with Ann Craig (they entered a mark in 1740), is a story that merits further investigation³¹. The inventory, which Ann Craig swore

30 TNA. PROB
31/166/482.

31 This is outside the author’s research into toyshops. Peter Cameron has looked at these papers, which he summarised as follows: “It would seem that Mary, the daughter of John and Ann Craig married John Neville in 1735, whom her parents thought unsuitable, without their consent. John Craig eventually was persuaded to take John Neville into his business and promised him a partnership if he behaved in a proper manner. John Craig died soon after, intestate. Ann Craig decided to take on John Neville as a partner but he allowed the business to run into trouble and when Ann Craig died in 1744, leaving her share to her daughter, it proved impossible for Mary to get her full inheritance. The executors and trustees, Thomas Hayward, a wine merchant, and John Foxall, a refiner, were involved with John Neville, indeed he was indebted to them and so they refused to act

as executors. Mary Neville then turned to Richard Debaufre, the jeweller, of the Haymarket, but apparently without much success. She complains that two of the creditors of her husband, Robert Abercromby and Lewis Pantom were pressing her to accept a much smaller sum than was her due. In a separate case, Ann Craig’s son, David, [apprenticed to Wickes] had got into financial difficulties and, in 1738, after coming to an agreement with his creditors to pay them within a year, fled abroad leaving his mother to try to sort the matter out. She offered 10s in the pound, on David’s behalf, stating that she would pay the money herself if her son did not. She paid some of the creditors but died before paying all. Her other son, William, a mariner of ‘Bednall Green’, was unable to get his full inheritance [£100] and complained that he faced ruin. It would seem that Wickes got out of the partnership with John Craig in 1735 at a good time.”

on 9 July 1737, listed items valued at £5,717 12s 3d; when sums owing from customers were added the total amounted to £8,734 16s 9d. It describes household goods in each of ten rooms, in the kitchens and yard, and then “the shop goods”. These include watches, silver and jewellery.

The inventory differs from others (for example the Brathwaite listing, below) because the compilers moved from cabinet to cabinet in the shop, listing the value of the contents of each one. “Jewells in the three Draws of the best Glass” totalled nearly £1,170; they then moved on to “the chest” and valued “loose diamonds” at approximately £540. The only detailed information is in the listing of watches “in the Head Glass”. These included gold chased watches by Adams, Rainsford, Dunlope, Blanchard, Smith, Ffreeman and Decharmes (£10–17 each) and another by Gerrard at £37; plain gold watches were by Ffaver, Cambden, West, Smith and Thornbrugh; gold repeating watches by Delander (£20 and £18gns) and shagreen watches by Drasade, Haynes and Harmer (3gns each)³².

The list of “shew glasses” that follows makes the reader realise how hard it is to visualise the interior of an eighteenth-century shop as the descriptions seem to bear little relationship to the simplified images depicted in trade cards.

In the best Show Glass
 In the small flat shew glass
 In the new Buckle Glass
 In the old Glass
 In the old Flat Glass
 Buckles in the Runners
 In the small head Glass
 In the large Head Glass
 In the small Drawers in the Runners
 In the Round Glass
 In the round Part of the Press
 In the small corner facing the Haymarket
 In the Press
 In the Mahogany drawers
 In the large round fronting Norris Street

George Brathwaite³³

George Brathwaite was a retail goldsmith in Lombard Street where he sold silver, jewellery and watches and also acted as a banker. He was close to the Post Office, to Birchin Lane and Exchange Alley, where so many

merchants were clustered. Like the Webbs, he remained in the City and did not move to the West End. Brathwaite is not listed by Grimwade but is listed by Heal and he features in Paul Bertrand’s bank account, with one small entry in 1738³⁴. Brathwaite made a will in 1737, which was proved on 18 August 1741, by the oath of his widow Martha. On 11 April 1745 administration of George Brathwaite’s estate “left unadministered by Martha Brathwaite ... now also deced” was granted to her brother William Tayleur and then in 1747, following the latter’s death, to Michael Tayleure, uncle and guardian of the Brathwaite’s son, George, a minor³⁵. William and Michael Tayleur were Martha Brathwaite’s brothers. Also mentioned in the valuations is George Brathwaite’s sister, Sarah Stopford. The papers have survived due to a case in Chancery, *Brathwaite v. Tayleure*, regarding administration of the estate and guardianship of the child. There are two valuations of the stock of the shop. It was initially listed on 20 February 1744, and it was valued again in 1746, headed:

A True and perfect Inventory of all the Jewelles
 Diamonds Plate & other Stock in Trade belonging
 to Mrs Martha Brathwaite late of Lombard
 Street Widow Dec & Appraised & Valued by Henry
 Hurt & Tho Parr on the 26 of June 1746 at her Late
 Dwelling House in Lombard Street London.

The fittings of the shop valued in 1746 included a pair of diamond scales, two “show cases for knives &c”, “2 large beams and 4 brass pans”, seven pairs of hand scales and numerous weights and tools. There was a “counter with draw & a turn up bed 15 foot long”, “2 presses for plate containing 113 square feet and 6 inches” valued at 1s 6d per foot and “5 wainscott shutters to each of sd presses ... with iron barrs and padlocks”³⁶.

32 Spelled here as in the original document. Britten and Bailey use different spellings, see G H Baillie (ed) revised Cecil Clutton, *Britten’s Old Clocks and Watches and their makers*, 9th edn, repr 1986. Dunlop is described as ‘jeweller’ in invoice; Freeman’s watches were sold by Christopher Pinchbeck.
 33 TNA, C/105/5.

34 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697–1837*, London, 1976. Ambrose Heal, *The London*

Goldsmiths, 1200–1800, Cambridge 1935.

35 TNA, PROB 11/711.

36 See Claire Walsh, ‘The design of London goldsmiths’ shops in the early eighteenth century’, in David Mitchell (ed), *Goldsmiths Silversmiths and Bankers, innovation and the transfer of skill 1550–1750*, London, 1995, in which the author illustrates a suggested reconstruction of the shop from information in these papers.

An Accot of the Estate of Mr Geo Brathwaite Dece'd which was rece'd by
Mrs Martha Brathwaite his Execx, and what was paid by her whereout

	£	S	D
Recd plate & other things appraised by Wm Kidney & Robt Abercromby	1435	13	7
Reced Diamonds and Jewells appraised by Francis Creuze & John Saffory	993	10	6
Reced Watches appraised by John Pyke	295	9	0
Reced Knives and forks appraised by Dru Drury	41	19	6
Reced Tea Cases appraised by George Moreland	18	13	0
Reced Gold and Silver Snuff Boxes appraised by Edward Pars and Lewis Portal	116	5	0
Reced Gold Chains appraised by Wm Hunt	46	6	6
Reced Gold Cane Heads appraised by Wm Doxey	38	19	0
Reced false Stone Work appraised by Henry Coles	20	16	0
Reced Cash in the House at Mr Brathwaits's Death	502	2	1
Reced Goods returned by Mr Sinclair ----	2	16	0
Reced a Brilliant Diamond Stayhook & a Brilliant Diamond Locketts returned by Mrs Forman valued by Mr Saffory at	39	0	0
Reced Sundry Goods returned by Mr Saml Duez valued by Mr Barry	53	14	0
Reced sundry Goods returned by Capt Thos Walker valued by Do	25	15	6
Reced Sundry Goods returned by Capt Harman valued by Do	27	12	0
Reced a Watch in a Shagreen Case returned by Mr James Johnson valued by Do	2	10	0
Reced a Silr Snuff Box ret'd by Mr Mollons [Mollou] valued by Do	1	15	0
Reced 2 setts of Earring Drops Composition sold by Miss Alcroft valued by Do	1	1	0

In addition, Creuze and Saffory valued "diamonds and things" belonging
to Martha Braithwaite "and not belonging to the shop" at £132 6s. Daniel
Quare and Peter Pons are other names in the lists worth noting.

The monies to those who were paid included:

A third document, a small book bound in a soft blue cover, gives:

	£	S	D		£	S	D
Abercromby, Robert	182	2	10	King, Jeremiah/Jeremy	79	3	6
Barker	3	4	11	Lancake	6	0	0
Barry, John	40	5	0	Mocato	0	4	6
Battallard	3	12	0	Mooreland, Geo	0	17	0
Bird,	4	4	0	Morell, Lewis	16	15	0
Bostock, Robert	3	9	3	Newberry, Nathaniel	8	14	6
Burket	1	13	0	Paz	1	14	0
Cole, Henry	100	11	05	Portall	2	0	0
Cragg	47	6	9	Pugh	0	10	0
Creuze, Francis	15	8	4	Pyke, John	83	18	0
Drury, Dru	90	14	7	Randall	3	0	0
Fletcher, Nathaniel	25	15	6	Russell, Michael	0	1	6
Gaire, Isaac	46	7	9	Selby, John	0	17	0
Gascoyne, Crisp	2	4	0	Sheere, Henry	3	0	4
Goldby, William	3	10	3	Slater	13	0	5
Harris	14	4	3	Stainforth, George	4	2	0
Hayman	10	10	0	Teboe, Peter	1	17	0
Hunt, William	44	4	0	Vintners [rates]	10	0	0
Hunter	23	3	10	Walker	0	5	0
Jacobs	0	5	0	Wallis	0	8	6
Keith, John	46	7	3	Willson	2	12	0
Kettle, Capt James	227	0	4	Wood	111	9	2
Kidney, William	291	13	2	[Edward, Samuel and Thomas]			

Some of those who valued Brathwaite's estate re-appear in the list of suppliers. It is clear from the latter that William Kidney, Robert Abercromby, the Wood family and Dru Drury supplied most of his silver.

Looking first at the valuers, Thomas Parr entered his mark as a goldsmith in 1733, giving Cheapside as his address; Henry Hurt was the toyman whose business evolved into Rundell and Bridge in later years. William Kidney, who had been apprenticed to David Willaume II, was in Six Bells Court, Foster Lane; he was, therefore, positioned mid-way between Robert Abercromby, best known as a maker of salvers, off St Martin's le Grand, and Dru Drury, a maker of knife hafts, in Wood Street³⁷. William Doxey was presumably connected to Thomas Doxsey who Heal lists as a goldsmith in Castle Alley near the Exchange, later in Great St Helens. The two jewellers were also based in the City: Francis Creuze was near Will's coffee house in Broad Street and John Saffory in Lothbury. William Hunt, who valued the gold chains, was in Cheapside.

The involvement of Lewis [Louis] Portal and Edward Pars is interesting, given the date of the inventory. Grimwade records that Portal registered his only mark in 1758, twelve years after the valuation, from St Martin's le Grand. Edward Pars appears in Paul Bertrand's accounts in 1736 and 1738³⁸. Henry Cole[s] also supplied Paul Bertrand and, if correctly identified, was based off the Strand (outside the City) like Pars³⁹. John Pyke was a well-known watchmaker. In fact there were two, apparently independent, watch and clock-makers of this name, neither of whom (so far as I can tell) should be confused with the John Pyke who worked for Paul Bertrand in Bath⁴⁰. The listing of "Tea Cases" by George Moreland, who was a watchcase maker, is confusing: it may refer to etuis⁴¹.

In the list of those who were paid, other than those who compiled the "account", "Barker" and "Hunter" probably refer to Joseph Barker, who was closely linked to the Deards/Chenevix family, and his partner Andrew Hunter who was in Great Russell Street. John Cragg (not the same as John Craig, above) was in Cloth Fair. "Pugh" is probably Humphrey Pugh, a goldsmith and toyman; "Peter Teboe" can be read as Thibaut, listed by Heal, the son and apprentice of the jeweller Thomas Thibault in Fetter Lane; Nathaniel Newberry is known so far only as a "warehouseman". All these people are also found in Paul Bertrand's bank account. Of the rest, the Wood family is well known: one entry is written as "Mr Wood Salt Maker". It is interesting to see the names of the sculptor Henry Cheere and the painter Francis Hayman. Several people who feature in the Brathwaite papers can also be found in those of the toywoman Susanna Passavant and her husband Samuel Rush, a jeweller who supplied Parker and Wakelin, as did Francis Creuze. The network of trade relationships was complex.

There is no way of linking any of these names to specific objects in the valuations of Brathwaite's stock. A selection from these lists is given in *Appendix 1* of this article. They show some interesting variations in prices between 1744 and 1746 with a detailed record of items sold in the intervening period. The per-ounce cost for silver was lowered; the valuation of the chased cup and cover is of

37 For more on Drury, see John Culme, 'The embarrassed goldsmith, 1729-1831', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 10, 1998.

38 Richard Edgcumbe, *The Art of the Gold Chaser in eighteenth-century London*, Oxford, 2000, refers to Edward Pars, goldworker of St Clement Danes. Brian Beet, 'Foreign snuffbox makers in eighteenth-century London', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 14, 2002, has Evert Pars, born 1698, and a different Edward

Pars born in 1739.

39 Listed by Heal as Henry Cole, jeweller, in Eagle Court or Coles, in Tavistock Street. There was also Henry Cole, razor maker, in Old Round Court, also off the Strand.

40 See Britten, as note 32.

41 Philip Priestley, 'Watchcase-maker's marks in the missing register of 1739-58', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 12, 2000.

particular note (presumably taking into account the cost of chasing in 1744) as is the difference between new and old plate. It is as well to remember that 1746 was a difficult year politically: there were troubles between Pelham and Pitt, and Bonnie Prince Charlie had been defeated at Culloden only a few weeks before the valuation was finalised.



Fig 7 Detail of Rocque's map of 1739.
(south at top). (Motco Enterprises).

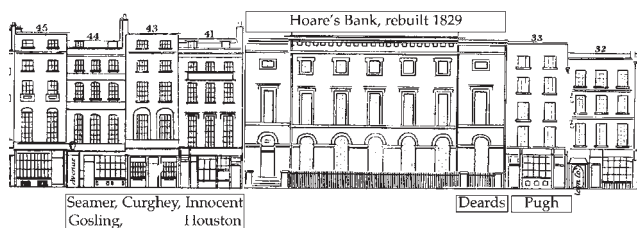


Fig 8 The south side of Fleet Street. Detail from Tallis's *London Street Views* of 1838 by which time the building that housed Deard's toyshop had been incorporated into the newly-designed Hoare's Bank. Precise locations of each shop are difficult to establish, but those named were between Mitre Court and Faulcon Court.

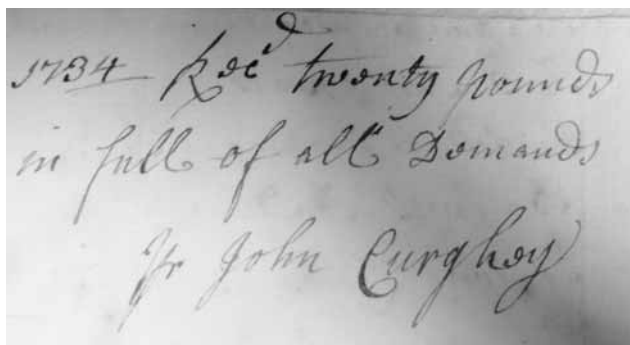


Fig 9 Detail of an invoice from John Curghey to Richard Hoare.
(Hoare's Bank archive).

John Curghey

As those who interest themselves in the silver trade of the eighteenth century are increasingly realising, there was much more to the trade or, rather, there were more people working in the trades of the silversmith and goldsmith, than the information culled from the registers at Goldsmiths' Hall by Grimwade for his seminal work suggests. Grimwade based his work on the marks registered at Goldsmiths' Hall and, of course, frustratingly two registers are missing between 1739 and 1773⁴². Curghey makes it into Heal's listings, but little else is known about him. As a retailer he had no need to register a mark but many retailers did: William Deards being one example. Since writing a little about Curghey in a previous issue of this Journal⁴³, it has become apparent that the rate books do not tally precisely with information in Hoare's archives about the exact location of Curghey's shop. His name is listed between Mitre Court and Faulcon Court, on the south side of Fleet Street, from 1728 and for the last time in the 1756–57 Land Tax records⁴⁴ [fig 7 and 8].

Curghey contributes a different dimension to this overview of documents relating to the trade through a group of some thirty-odd invoices to Sir Richard Hoare (1709–54)⁴⁵. This is a substantial number and their contents amount to some 400 separate entries. The invoices date from 1732 to 1753 and show that Hoare spent in the region of £850, after deductions for trading in and melting, with Curghey over this twenty-year period. There is no way of knowing whether all the purchases and repairs listed relate only to Richard Hoare's personal needs or whether some are supplies for the 'shop' (ie the bank) or on behalf of customers of the bank.

Invoices from Curghey have not yet been found in any archive other than Hoare's Bank [fig 9]. He presumably had other customers, for despite the quantity of work from Richard Hoare, the price of each transaction was relatively low and would not have created sufficient profit to keep his family. It looks as though Curghey probably dealt with a clientele taken from the lawyers, printers, writers and bankers who were based in and around Fleet Street, rather than wealthy aristocrats. The Royal Society, too, was across the road, in Crane Court. The physical proximity of his shop to Hoare's meant that Curghey accepted deliveries, for example of oranges, and arranged for the repair and cleaning of clocks at Richard Hoare's house in Barnes. Of the 400 entries in this batch of invoices only thirty-three were for more than £10. Of the fourteen for single items worth over £20, four were for diamonds, nine for silver and one for a gold watch. Easily the most expensive of these, in February 1733, was a set of three stay buckles, for which the seventy-two brilliant diamonds (17.1.8 carat) cost £104 5s; fashion was charged at three guineas, making a

total of £107 8s. This is nowhere near the prices charged by jewellers such as Dutens or Webb. The most expensive item of silver was a salver billed in July 1740 as:

3 July	To a large chasd Tea Table wt 155oz 15d at 8s6d	66	4	-
	To a Leather Case to Do	16	-	
and on another invoice:				
15 Sep	To paid Mr Smith for Engraving a large Table	2	2	0
	To Lining 4 feet to a Table	2	6	

Two months before this purchase, Hoare had traded in a tea table (presumably out of fashion or damaged) weighing 95oz 15dwt for which he was credited £29 18s 6d, at 6s 3d per ounce. Mr Smith was the engraver used for the cup and cover presented by the Jewish community to Richard Hoare in his year as Lord Mayor, which I wrote about in this Journal three years ago⁴⁶. Another large piece of silver owned by Hoare was a surtout, which Curghey altered and repaired on three separate occasions, but there is no indication of its original maker⁴⁷. The invoices show most of the silver being acquired in the 1730s and 1750s with a break during the '40s but this may reflect nothing more than the chance survival of the paperwork. The last purchases were in 1753, the year before Hoare's death. Over the years Hoare stocked his households with the usual range of equipment, including sponge boxes and shaving brushes, a chamber pot⁴⁸, candlesticks and snuffer trays, casters, cruet frames, a tureen, sauceboats, tankards, orange strainers, teapots and coffee pots, waiters and dishes, cutlery and bottle tickets; there are also buckles, buttons, stock clasps and spurs of silver and the occasional dog collar.

When reading through these invoices, the striking feature is the level of repairs and alterations, which amount to 30 to 35% of entries. Invoices from toyshops also contain a great deal of such business and it is seen in the work Elias Russel did for Parker and Wakelin.⁴⁹ It is easy to forget, in today's throw-away society, how frequently the tools of daily life were mended: a coffee pot handle, the spout of a teapot, a watch dial, knives, notebooks and book clasps, jewellery, instrument cases and scissors, spurs, buckles and buttons, were all kept in use by the expenditure of a few pennies or shillings. Cleaning of watches and blacking of buckles, were also regularly undertaken.

Several authors have detailed acquisitions culled from

household account but few have focussed on the trivia of a retailer's daily commissions: the bread-and-butter work that ensured, not just a flow of work, but also the footfall of customers through his door. Customers who came to spend a shilling or two on a repair, might also have been tempted to purchase when in Curghey's shop. *Appendix 2* shows a selection of entries from Curghey's invoices. On its own the information is of little use to us today (it cannot be connected to surviving objects) but it gives an insight into working practices of the time. Such evidence might also make today's collectors and dealers re-think their attitude to 'old repairs': mending plate was a necessary part of keeping the utensils of a household in good order.

Conclusion

This article can be treated as an *aide memoire* of some archives that relate to retailing. Other sources of material will surely come to light now that more people are looking into the luxury trades, and more survives from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Mention is made here of stock books, account books, invoices, bank ledgers, order books, day books, inter-workshop instructions, purchases and sales, repairs and trading-in, the display and valuation of a shop's stock and how that stock was dealt with on the cessation of a business. Additionally there are trade cards, advertisements and newspaper reports, and correspondence. Looked at dispassionately it is all pretty dry stuff but it can be brought to life through knowing a little of the people mentioned, the neighbourhoods where they lived and worked, and the objects they sold.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to the partners of C Hoare & Co for allowing me access to their archives, and to their archivist, Pamela Hunter, for the time and assistance she has given me. I wish to thank also the private owners of papers, and staff in record offices, whose archives I have examined.

Vanessa Brett is a former editor of this Journal. She is researching eighteenth-century toyshops and would be grateful to hear from any reader who knows the whereabouts of archives that might contain relevant material.

42 These are for smallworkers 1739–58, and large-workers 1758–73.

Journal of the Silver Society, no 22, 2007.

London. I have transcribed all the Curghey invoices.

Soldering a screw to a surtout saucer: 1s.

ledgers, see note 2. Elias Russell was a cousin of Peter Russell who was Elizabeth Chenevix's second husband and who continued her shop in Charing Cross after her death.

43 Vanessa Brett, 'Chains of office and a 'Jews Cup', Richard Hoare's purchases from John Curghey and John Kemp in his mayoral year', *Silver Studies*, the

44 London Metropolitan Archives, Land Tax Assessment for St Dunstan in the West, microfilm reels 11316/14–173.

45 Hoare's Bank archives,

46 See note 43.

47 Candlestick for a surtout: 10oz 10dwt @ 8s6d £11.9.3d. Altering and adding silver to four rings to a surtout: £1 9s.

48 This features in an invoice dated 30 December 1738; weighing 35oz it was charged at £7 per ounce, totalling £12.5s.

49 Parker and Wakelin

Appendix 1

Selection from valuations of the stock of Richard Brathwaite.

The majority of items were listed as multiples from which individual pieces had sometimes been sold in the period between the two lists: such groups have not been included in the list below. The stock contained many more buckles, buttons, jewellery, loose stones, etc than this selection suggests. The order of the present list does not replicate the original.

	<i>weight</i>	<i>pr oz</i>	<i>1744</i>	<i>pr oz</i>	<i>1746</i>
		<i>1744</i>		<i>1746</i>	
11 Doublet Rings			4 4 0		3 6 0
2 Diamond Crosses			15 0 0		12 0 0
2 fancy Diamond Rings			2 2 0		0 16 0
3 Gold Thimbles			2 12 6		3 0 0
3 Gold Toys			3 0 0		
Brilliant Diamond Locket			17 0 0		8 8 0
Brilliant Diamond Stay Hook			22 0 0		14 0 0
Chas'd Watch. Na. Pyke			15 0 0		14 0 0
Egret			14 0 0		12 0 0
Flower Pott Ring with Rubies Emerald & a Rose			1 11 6		1 5 0
Gold Cane Head			4 4 0		3 16 0
Plain Watch. Na. Cotsworth			8 8 0		8 0 0
Plain Watch. Na. Pyke					
Round Patch Box set in Silver			0 5 0		0 5 0
Snuff Box Blood Stone			6 6 0		5 5 0
Snuff Box German Agate			2 10 0		4 4 0
Snuff Box Mother Pearl			4 4 0		4 0 0
Dram Bottle	8.6		2 15 1	5.9	2 7 8
A fine chas'd Cup and Cover	125.5	9.10	60 11 9	7.6	46 19 4½
Tea Kettle and Stand with an Acorn on the Cover	64.19	7.8	24 18 0	7.0	22 14 7
Tea Kettle and Stand with an Acorn on the Cover	60.1.	7.4	22 10 4	7.0	21 0 4½
Chas'd coffee pott and wooden handle	25.19	7.6	9 16 2	<i>sold for</i>	10 15 2
One pr plain Sawes Boates	28.0	7.3	8 10 7		
Step crewit frame and Casters	54.3	6.6	17 12 0		
Case with a Dozen of Knives and Forks - Desert		3	0 0 0	2	5 0
Case with a Dozen of Knives and Forks		4	4 0 0	3	3 0
4 Nurld Salts with Lyons heads & feet 5 pr plain and fashion 2.18	44.10		17 12 5	7.1	
12 Spoons and Fashion	10.17		3 13 10	6.3	3 7 9
12 Desart Spoons	13.3		4 11 0	6.6	4 5 6
Boled Tankard	46.15	6.6	15 13 10	6.4	14 16 1
Boled Mugg	15.3	6.10	5 3 6	<i>sold for</i>	5 19 10
Carv'd Waiter	38.10	7.6	14 8 9	7.0	13 9 6
Pair hand Waiters	13.14	7.2	4 18 2		
Old Waiter	10.1	5.6	1 15 3		
Old Punch bowl	57.16	5.6	15 17 2		
Pair old Candlesticks	23.16	5.8	6 14 10		
Sett of old Castors	20.5	5.6	5 10 4	<i>sold for</i>	6 1 10
Old Tankard	29.5	5.6	8 0 10?	<i>sold for</i>	8 15 2
Old Tankard	47.2	5.6	12 19 0	<i>sold for</i>	13 7 3
6 carved and 6 plain bottle tickets	4.18		2 2 0		
Hearing trumpet	3.3		0 17 7		
4 pr of Spurs	12.11		4 12 0		
2 Twee's gilt			4 4 0		
2 Twee's Chas'd			2 10 0		
3 Twee's Chagreen			1 15 0		
4 toothpick cases			0 16 0		
1 gild corall with 6 bells			1 12 6		
2 carved coralls			3 0 0		1 18 0
Pr fine stone shoe & knee buckles			3 15 0		
3 stone girdle buckles			5 0 0		
18 fine stone wastecoast Buttons			1 4 0	<i>sold for</i>	1 4 0
13 stone seals sett in gold			9 0 0		6 10 0

Appendix 2a

Silver traded in by Richard Hoare through John Curghey

1732			
plates: 139oz 5d @ 5s6d	38	6	0
1734			
round silver box	2	7	0
split shank ring	1	0	0
an old ring	3	-	
9 brillt diamonds	6	0	0
toothpick case	15	0	
eight dress eargs	18	-	
two pair old buckles	18	-	
a sett of casters	5	0	0
by an orange strainer	16	0	
an old flowerd ring	7	6	
old silver	11	0	
silver burnt	3	8	0
small snuffer tray	14	0	
2 diamond weights	3	0	0
old snuff box	1	1	0
rose diamond ring	6	0	0
silver watch chain	12	6	
1735			
old silver @ 5s	1	5	0
gold ring	13	0	
Japand box	5	0	
Pencil	3	6	
Skillet	3	10	3
old silver ferrell	1	3	
old tea tongs	5	9	
tankard	6	0	9
tip to a jack	12	6	
a pr of old spurs	19	0	
1738			
3 sauce boats: 13oz14d			
@ 8s10½d	6	1	0
1740			
pair of old buckles	3	0	
tea table: 95oz15d @ 6s3d	29	18	6
1741			
5 old spoons: 9oz @ 5s8d	2	11	0
1747			
parcel of silver	16	3	2
1749			
16 brillt diamds	19	2	6
by old cruit frame	11	13	0
old gold dial plate	16	0	
1750			
old knee buckles	1	6	
pr of old spurs	15	0	
an old thimble	6		
1751			
cruitt frame	5	8	6
old silver	2	13	4
cruitt frame	14	6	
old silver	7	14	6
1 gold snuff box & 28 rings	33	0	0
old gold joints	4	-	
old silver	2	8	-
1752			
old silver	5	-	
4 candlesticks &			
1 snuffer pan	18	18	8

Appendix 2b

Repairs in invoices from John Curghey to Richard Hoare

1733

repairing a compartment & crest	1	0
---------------------------------	---	---

1734

soddering a top to a chocolate		
pot and silver added 2-15	1	6 0
soddering a panikin with 2 handles	3	6
making a silver joint to an iron box	4	6
mending a joint to a night earring	1	6
ivory leaves & mending a book	2	6
handle and fitting up a chocolate pot	2	0
setting and enamelling a motto ring	2	6
soddering a chocolate pot	2	0
soddering and colouring a gold cane head	2	6
wicketing a tea kettle	1	0
gilt bottom to a box	3	0
chaine to a china ware pot	2	0
coffee pot handle	2	0

1735

silver hoop to a stopper	1	0
mending an instrument case	1	0
altering a tortoiseshell snuff box	3	6
mending an instrument case	4	6
spout to a teapot	5	0

1736

tortoiseshell rim to a snuff box	4	6
soldering and mending a knife	1	
soldering and mending a pair of tea tongs	1	

1737

gilding and fitting up a snuff box	6	0
mending an instrument case	2	6
gilding and repairing a sword	1	1 0
polishing and hardening a steel seal	1	6
blackening a pr of buckles	0	6

1738

soddering & mendg an instrument case	2	6
to blackg buckles	1	0
covering a patch box	5	0
gilding a pr of Buckles and new tongues	4	6
soderg a silver rule	1	6
handle to a coffee pott	2	6

1739

exchange of a pair of buckles	6	0
fittg up 2 salvers	2	0
fittg up a pint mugg 1s	4	6
lancit and mendg an instrument case	5	0
soddering and mendg a pencil	1	6
coffee pot handle	2	6
socket to candlesticks	16	0

1740

gilding a picture frame	2	6
-------------------------	---	---

1741

mending 2 pencils	1	6
mending a spurr	1	0
gilding and fixing a coral	4	6
polishing a triangular seal	7	6
setting and polishing a cornelian seal	5	6

1743

soddering & fitting up 2 candlesticks & tea tray	4	0
engraving a dogg collar	1	0
soddering and mending a coffee and chocolate pot	3	6

1744

mending a silver watch	8	6
poll a tortoiseshell snuff box & screws to do	1	0
soddering a crewitt top	1	6
mending a silver repeater name Vernon	8	6
cleaning an instrument case	2	0

1746

soddering a gold cane head & fitting up Do	3	6
mending a pr of tea tongs	1	0
setting an appearne to rights & case to Do	10	0
soddering a salt shovole	1	0

1747

mding 2 sauce boats a tankard & sauce pan	5	0
mending a silver looking glass frame		
& silver added	5	0
soddering a salt shovel & handle to a coffee pot	4	0

1749

mending a saucepan & a new handle to it	2	0
altering an instrument case & a new knife to it	7	6
making anew rim to a snuff box	7	6
cleaning & mending a gold etwee	3	6
new enamell dial plate to a gold watch	1 11	6

1750

soddering & mendg an Instrument Case	3	6
2 rose diamds & setting do in a stay hook	1 7	6
mending a sissar case & sissers	1	6
new stopper & gilding the top of a smelling bottle	2	0
mending & gilding the hook of a woman's chain	7	6
mending a sieve	1	0

altering a silver repeatr & new covering the case	1 1	0
---	-----	---

cleaning & mendg a watch, new studdg		
--------------------------------------	--	--

ye case & a key	10	6
-----------------	----	---

adding gold & mending pr sleeve buttons	4	0
---	---	---

cleaning chapes & tongs of pr		
-------------------------------	--	--

stone shoe buckles	1	0
--------------------	---	---

new glass for Mastr Hoare's watch	1	6
-----------------------------------	---	---

cleaning 2 meddals & mending 1 frame	2	0
--------------------------------------	---	---

new silver foot to a waiter	3	6
-----------------------------	---	---

mending a tea pott topp & a new button	6	
--	---	--

cleaning yr son's watch	2	0
-------------------------	---	---

new finishing the dials of your watch		
---------------------------------------	--	--

& a new glass	3	6
---------------	---	---

soddering a shoe buckle	0	6
-------------------------	---	---

new handle to a shaving brush	3	0
-------------------------------	---	---

1751

a new joint to a smelling bottle & gildg do	7	6
---	---	---

new chrystall & setting a compass seal	6	0
--	---	---

new lacing & silvering a tea chest	5	0
------------------------------------	---	---

mending a sponge box	1	0
----------------------	---	---

neat strong inside gold joint & lip to a snuff box	3 5	-
--	-----	---

gilding a picture frame & a new plate	15	0
---------------------------------------	----	---

mending a sauce pann	1	0
----------------------	---	---

cleaning and mendg yr watch	3	6
-----------------------------	---	---

new setting & poll a seal	2	0
---------------------------	---	---

1752

new key & mendg an enamel dial plate yr Lady	2	6
--	---	---

altering 2 boxes with pictures	12	6
--------------------------------	----	---

The James II coronation cup and the culture of gifts and perquisites in Stuart and Hanoverian coronations*

TESSA MURDOCH



Fig 1 Cup and cover, silver-gilt, unmarked, circa 1685.

(Victoria and Albert Museum, M. 34-2008 2009BX8574)



Fig 2 Cup and cover, silver-gilt, circa 1685, reverse of fig 1.

(Victoria and Albert Museum, M. 34-2008 2009BX8575)

The Victoria and Albert Museum recently acquired a remarkable souvenir of the coronation of James II¹. This silver-gilt cup was made from recycled silver bells and stave mounts which had adorned the canopies carried over James II and Mary of Modena at their coronation on St George's Day, 23 April 1685. After the ceremony the silver was shared by the barons of the Cinque Ports as a perquisite of their role in carrying the canopies over the king and queen in the coronation procession. Two of the barons, members of the same family: Cresheld and Gawden Draper, combined their share, probably one stave mount and one bell, which was melted down to make this commemorative cup and cover. As the combined weight of one mount and one bell was just under 36 oz and this cup and cover weighs just over 16 oz, it is possible that two cups were made, one for each member of the family who attended the coronation, but only one is known today.

The cup stands on a cast circular gadrooned foot; the lower part of the body is applied with cut card work. The cylindrical bowl has a moulded lip and the body is flat-chased with four chinoiserie figures carrying a canopy, with a fruit tree on either side [fig 1]. The opposite side [fig 2] is engraved with an escutcheon of arms: 'or, on a fesse between three annulets gules as many covered cups'. The arms are flanked by two engraved cartouches, one inscribed: "Tria pocula"; the other "Fero"; the Latin motto translates as 'I bear three cups'. The spaces between are engraved in Chinese taste with branches and a bird sitting on a bough. A panel below the coat of arms contains the inscription:

"Hoc obtinui
Ex in aug: Iac: 2.d
Et Mar: Ap: 23. 85"

'I obtained this from the coronation of James II and Mary,
23 April 1685'

The arms are those of the Draper family of Winchelsea, Sussex. Cresheld Draper was amongst those who supported James II's canopy and Gawden Draper (probably Cresheld's son) supported the canopy held over Mary of Modena. Cresheld Draper (d 1693) originally from Crayford, Kent, was M P for Winchelsea from 1678 to 1687. He married Sarah Gauden of Clapham, Surrey in 1665; she was the daughter of Sir Dennis Gauden of Mayland, Essex².

The cup was purchased with assistance of the Art Fund, the National Heritage Memorial Fund, Hugh Phillips' Bequest to the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Friends of the V&A, the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths and an anonymous donor³.

1 This was purchased from Koopman Rare Art. It was sold at Sotheby's New York, 19 April 1991, lot 327. It belonged to J. Pierpont Morgan by 1908.

2 The International Genealogical Index.

3 The Art Fund Review 2008/2009, p 106.

4 Public Record Office, London LC9/43.

5 Roy Strong, *Coronation From the 8th to the 21st Century*, London, 2005, p 103.

6 Ibid, p 175.

7 Thomas Ross, 'Coronation Services of the Barons of the Cinque Ports', *Sussex Archaeological Collections relating to the history and antiquities of the county*, vol 15, 1863, pp 178-210, p 183.

8 Ibid, pp 187-191.

9 Strong, *ibid*, p 350.

10 The coronation procession from Tower of London to Westminster on 22 April 1661 was captured in a contemporary painting by Dirk Stoop now in the Museum of London.

The Jewel House Delivery Book records the delivery of the silver ornaments for the canopies⁴. Three days before the coronation, Sir Benjamin Bathurst received

Twelve Large Canopy staves, crowned with silver
6 for his Majties & 6 for her Majties Canopy

weighing in all 369 oz 10 dwt. Bathurst also received “8 gilt Bells” for “each Canopy” with a combined weight of 61 oz 15 dwt.

From the time of the coronation of Richard I in 1189 to that of George IV in 1821, canopies were carried over the monarch by the barons of the Cinque Ports as a symbol of the role that they played in defending their king and country⁵. They enjoyed the title of baron for the day of the coronation only. Their presence ensured that citizens from the regions were represented on such national occasions to balance the presence of the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the City of London and the aristocracy who were always well represented at such historic events. The ports of Dover, Hastings, Hythe, Romney, Sandwich, and later, Winchelsea and Rye, were granted privileges by the monarch in exchange for supplying ships and men to protect England’s vulnerable southern coastline. After the ceremony the barons were entitled to claim the canopies of cloth of gold and the silver bells and staves as a perquisite of their role in the procession; they were also invited to dine at the table to the right of the king and queen at the coronation banquet held in Westminster Hall.

The seating plan for Anne Boleyn’s coronation feast of 1533 shows the queen presiding over her banquet seated under a canopy with the small figure of the Archbishop of Canterbury to her right. In front of her are four tables labelled from left to right: “the barons of the cinq ports and maisters of the chauncery”, “busshoppes at this table”, “lorde chancellor erles and barons”, “duchesses marquesses & countesses at this table” and “ladyes on the oone side etc”, “at this table the maire of London & his brethren the aldermen”⁶. After the coronation, the canopy, staves and bells that had been carried over the queen were delivered to the barons representing Dover and Romney. It was agreed that at the next coronation, which was to be that of Edward VI, the perquisites would be claimed by the barons representing Rye; at the next, that of Mary Tudor on 1 October 1553, they went to Sandwich and Hythe; then Hastings and then Winchelsea. The barons representing Winchelsea had been the beneficiaries at the coronation of Henry VIII in 1509 as a result of agreement between the towns of Hastings and Rye. At Elizabeth I’s coronation on 15 January 1558/9 Dover, Romney, Hastings and Winchelsea all claimed the canopy, staves and bells with the result that they were sold by a Mr Manwood; twenty

per cent of the profit was divided between the four towns and the remainder was given to the five ports. From then on it was agreed that all coronation canopies, bells and staves should remain for the common use of the whole corporation of the five ports⁷.

For James I’s coronation on 25 July 1603 a new sartorial standard was expected. A letter from the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Henry Cobham, announced the need to elect

such as shall be fit for the performance of the service and that they may be prepared and in readiness against the time appointed. In which choice I wish you to be very cautious and wary that they may be men of the metest and comlyest psonage amongst you.

Their apparel consisted of

one scarlett gowne, down to the ancle, cyittezen’s fashion, faced with crimson satten, gascoine hose, crimson silke stockings and crimson velvet shoes, and black velvet capes.

All those selected for the role were summoned to a meeting at St Paul’s cathedral on 22 July 1603. The town of Hastings awarded each of its representatives 6s a day towards riding charges, horse hire and diet and 43s 4d towards the cost of their scarlet liveries. It was not unusual for the barons to make gifts to appropriate officials, so in 1604, the Mayor of Hastings, Mr. Richard Lyfe, was reimbursed 24s for the present of fish for the Speaker of the Parliament House, Mr Sorgaunt Phillips, which was made in the name of the five ports⁸.

After Charles I’s coronation there was no dinner in the hall; after the service at Westminster Abbey the king went by river to Whitehall. The barons who had carried the canopy went to a tavern and divided it up. The division of the perquisites amongst the barons of the Cinque ports was not always peaceful; at the coronation of Charles II in 1661, the royal footmen tried to tear the canopy and its bells from the barons during the coronation feast and dragged the barons down the length of Westminster Hall⁹. Samuel Pepys was present and recorded the disruption in his diary entry for 23 April 1661:

Into the hall I got where it was very fine with hangings and scaffolds one upon another, full of brave ladies, and my wife and one little one on the right hand. Here I staid walking up and down, and at last upon one of the side stalls I stood and saw the King come in with all the persons (but the soldiers) that were yesterday in the calvacade¹⁰



Fig 3 Tankard, London, 1661.
(The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

and a most pleasant sight it was to see them in their several robes. And the King come in with his crowne on, and his Sceptre in his hand, under a canopy borne up by six silver staves, carried by Barons of the Cinque Ports, and little bells at every end. I observed little disorder in all this, only the King's footmen had got hold of the canopy, and would keep it from the Barons of the Cinque Ports, which they endeavoured to force from them again, but could not do it till my Lorde Duke of Albermarle caused it to be put into Sir R.Pye's hand until tomorrow to be decided.¹¹

Another witness Bishop Kennet noted:

No sooner had the aforesaid Barons brought up the King to the foot of the stairs in Westminster Hall, ascending to his throne, and turned on the left hand (towards their own table) out of the way, but the King's footmen most insolently and violently seized upon the Canopy, which the Barons, endeavouring to keep and defend, were by their number and strength dragged down to the lower end of the Hall, nevertheless still keeping their hold, and had not Mr. Owen, York Herald, being accidentally near the Hall door and seeing the contest, caused the same to be shut; the footmen had certainly carried it away by force. But in the interim also (speedy notice having been given to the King) one of the queries were sent from him, with command to imprison the footmen and to dismiss them out of his service, which put an end

to the present disturbance. These footmen were also commanded to make their submission to the Court of Claims, which was accordingly done by them the 30th April following, and the canopy then delivered back to the said Barons'. Whilst this disturbance happened, the upper end of the first table which had been appointed for the Barons of the Cinque Ports, was taken up by the Bishops, Judges etc etc, probably nothing loth to take precedence of them, and the poor Barons, naturally unwilling to lose their dinner, were necessitated to eat at the bottom of the second table, below the Masters in Chancery, and others of the long robe.¹²

One of the original silver bells from Charles II's coronation canopy was given to the Duke of Albermarle, possibly for his role in resolving the dispute between the barons and Charles II's footmen. George Monck, Duke of Albermarle had served as Commander-in-Chief of the British army in 1660 and played a crucial part in the restoration of the monarchy. When he died in 1670, Charles II took on the expenses for the funeral. Francis Sandford who was later to record James II's coronation produced a record of the *Order and Ceremonies Used for and at the Solemn Interment of George Duke of Albermarle* which was illustrated with engravings based on drawings by the artist Francis Barlow. The duke was succeeded by his son Charles who was appointed as Governor of Jamaica. The bell descended in his family and was sold in the 1850s by a Miss Monck in the West Indies. It has recently been given, with part of a large collection of silver, by Rita Gans to the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts¹³.

Other recorded examples of silver recycled from coronation bells and stave mounts include a tankard [fig 3] made for the senior baron Tobias Clere who represented Sandwich after the coronation of Charles II which is now in the collection of the Goldsmiths' Company. It is inscribed:

This Pott was made of ye Silver of ye Canopie when King Charles ye 2d was Crowned, April 23d 1661.

It also bears three later coats of arms, those of: Paramor impaling Clere, the Boys family of Sandwich impaling Fuller and the Littledove family of Whitehaven, Cumberland, recording the ownership of this family heirloom through the eighteenth century¹⁴. Charles II's coronation procession was engraved by Wencelaus Hollar.

Serving as a baron at a coronation in this way was often the experience of a life time. Thomas Delves, who represented the town of Hastings at the coronation of Charles II in 1661, died eight years later aged 57. His monument in St Clement's church, Hastings records that he was the brother of Nicholas Delves, Alderman of London and that

he had the Honor of being one of the Barons of this Ancient Towne and Port who carried the Canepy over King Charles ye second at his Coronation.

The inscription affirms that Thomas Delves was “Captain of ye Trained Bands for many years and he was five times Mayor of Hastings”¹⁵.

Although full accounts of the coronations: of William and Mary on 11 April 1689, Anne on 23 April 1702 and George I on 20 October 1714 were not published, the names of the barons representing the Cinque Ports on each of these occasions are recorded for posterity in local records. Interestingly they include members of well established Huguenot refugee families: for Dover the Papillon family were represented by Thomas Papillon in 1689, Philip Papillon in 1702 and again in 1714 and for Sandwich, Jacob Desbovery in 1714 (the ancestor of the present Earl of Radnor).

The claim for canopy duty at George II’s coronation in 1727 was lodged at the Court of Claims in August 1727. Written in French, then regarded as the fashionable language at court, it specified the role of carrying

un drapes, appell un canope, d’or ou de soy purpure sur quatre launches battus d’Argent, ayant quatres coins, et a chacun coin un campbanell d’argent battus d’or, seisie des dits barons d’estres assignez a chaque canope.¹⁶

By 21 September the Constable of Dover Castle, Lionel, Duke of Dorset announced to the Mayor, Jurat and Common Council of Hastings, the need to hold an election in five days for the six “fitly qualified to be bearers of the Canopy at the Coronation” and to communicate the names of those elected.

The names chosen reflect leading local families, Thomas Townshend, Sir William Ashburnham, James Pelham, Thomas Pelham, Edward Dyne and John Collier¹⁷. John Collier had served as Town Clerk and Mayor of Hastings; his monument in St Clement’s church mentions

he had also the Honour of being one of the Canoby(sic) Bearers at the Coronations of their Majestys King George the Second and his Royal Consort Queen Caroline.

He died in 1760 aged 76. The inscription affirms that Collier “thought the duties of religion indispensable, therefore constantly attended Divine Service”. If in the event, the elected baron was unable to perform his duty through ill health a petition would be submitted to permit a deputy to take his place. The barons met four times (presumably in London), twice at the Devil’s Tavern, once at the Bedford’s Head and once at the Thatched House, to consider what still needed to be done in preparation. They had to apply for the eight bells and twelve staves needed for the two canopies: at the last coronation, that of George I, only one canopy had been in use over the king. In 1727 a further canopy was needed for the queen’s use so the order for bells and staves had to be doubled. An order thus went forward to James Brudenell, “Master of his Majesties Jewel Office”. Each baron also required a ticket of admission to the coronation.

On the morning of the coronation of George II, the barons met, dressed in their robes at about seven in the morning at Mr Balam’s in Surrey Street (off the Strand). Their robes were made of

the finest scarlet cloth, in fashion of a Master of Art’s pudding sleeve gown, only a longer train, and a large cape, it was faced with rich crimson sarsenet (satin or silk). The waistcoat(sic) was of crimson sarsenet, faced white sarsenet, the breeches of the same cloth with the robe, The stockings were of the finest scarlet worsted, The shoes were black velvit(sic), the cap the same, in fashion of a Scotch bonnet, with a ribbon on it to hang it on his arm, full bottom wigs, neckcloth and ruffles of the finest lace, and white gloves, faced with crimson sarsenet (satin), They all wore swords, and some had very fine sword knots.¹⁸

They assembled at Westminster Hall at about eight. Those carrying the canopy over the queen included, for Winchelsea, Peter Burrell and the Hon George Doddington. Daniel Minet, a first generation Huguenot refugee and established merchant, was one of the representatives for Dover. The king’s canopy was supported by the Winchelsea representatives John Scroope and Robert Bristow; the Hon George Berkeley represented Dover and the bell that formed part of his perquisite survives in a private collection in the West Country¹⁹. At the beginning of the procession, the queen came under the

11 Ross, *ibid*, p 194.

12 *Ibid*, p 194.

13 Christopher Hartop, *A Noble Pursuit, English Silver from the Rita Gans*

Collection at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 2010, p 18, fig 10.

14 John Bodmin Carrington and George Ravensworth Hughes, *The*

Plate of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, Oxford, 1926, pp 69-70.

15 I am most grateful to Elaine Tierney and Nigel Llewellyn for information

about these monuments in St Clement’s church, Hastings.

16 Ross, *ibid*, p 198.

17 *Ibid*. p 201.

18 *Ibid*. p 206.

19 Michael Clayton, *The Collector’s Dictionary of the Silver and Gold of Great Britain and North America*, London, 1971, p 27.

canopy appointed for her before the king. She walked under the king's canopy which was raised over her head by the barons before she came to her own whereupon the barons lifted it up before setting the staves on the ground.

In 1975 the Victoria and Albert Museum acquired part of the canopy of Spitalfields silk which was carried over George II at his coronation in 1727. The rich gold brocade with a lining of silver tabby and a border of white lustring was supplied by the textile dealer George Binckes whose shop was in Covent Garden. It bears an inscription attached to the selvedge which reads

June the 11th 1727 Part of the Canopy held over George II head by one of the free Barons of Sandwich, at his Coronation. The other half is in the possession of Mr Baker the late member for Canterbury who was likewise one of the Bearers – woven in Spitalfields.

Currently displayed in the British Galleries, this rich fabric with its metallic colours was originally adorned by four silver-gilt bells suspended from the corners supplied by the London goldsmith Francis Garthorne for George I's coronation in 1713. One of these bells was bequeathed to the museum by Sarah, Countess of Waldegrave in 1873, together with two further silver bells which adorned the canopies held over George III (1761-2) and George IV (1825)²⁰. Her first husband William Milward, a resident of Hastings, had served as a Baron of the Cinque Ports at the coronation of George IV. These are displayed in the Whiteley Silver Galleries.

As a result of articles published in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* announcing the museum's acquisition of the James II coronation cup, a further bell from the coronation of George II came to light in a private British collection²¹. This had been acquired as a perquisite by the Hon George Berkeley, Baron of the Cinque Ports and MP for Dover from 1720. He in turn gave it to his sister, Lady Elizabeth Germain, well known as the chatelaine of Drayton House, Northamptonshire.

Once again at George II's coronation there was a skirmish over the seating plan for the coronation banquet. The barons were to sit at the second table on the right side of the hall, to the right of the king, but the Lord Mayor and Alderman intruded and had to be dispossessed. After the dinner, some of the barons returned by barge and others took coaches. The barge was the better option as there was a long wait for the coaches. In order to avoid earlier haggling over the perquisites, the Duke of Dorset had been instructed by the barons to take care of the canopies. Accordingly, the king's watermen carried the canopies to the House of Commons, and a few days later the barons met there and divided the perquisites amongst themselves amicably "not so much as the least thing missing"²².

Other souvenirs of this time-honoured tradition include the punch bowl and ladle supplied by London goldsmiths George Boothby and William Fordham made following George II's coronation which belong to the Corporation of Hastings²³. The Hastings punch bowl is inscribed

THIS Silver Bowl was presented to the Corporation of Hasting (ye premier Cinque Port.) by ye Gentlemen whose Names are hereon Inscribed who had ye Honour to be unanimously Elected ye Barons of ye said Town to support ye Canopy over their sacred Royall Majesties King George ye 2nd and Queen Caroline at ye Solemnity of their Inauguration at Westminster the Eleventh day of October 1727. And ye same was made out of their Shares and dividend of the Silver Staves &c belonging to the said Canopy.²⁴

Recycled silver from George III's coronation was allegedly refashioned as a chandelier for St Clement's church, Hastings (this no longer survives) and a basket (present whereabouts unknown)²⁵.

There is an engraving by James Basire of William Phillips Lambe, one of the barons for Rye at the coronation of George IV²⁶. This is probably the outfit associated with Thomas Lambe, described as Lord Mayor of Rye in 1808,

20 V&A: 494,495,496-1873. These are illustrated in Michael Clayton, *The Collector's Dictionary of the Silver and Gold of Great Britain and North America*, (London, 1971) p 27, fig 33 a,c,d.

21 This bell is also illustrated in Clayton, *ibid*, p 27, fig 33b.

22 Ross, *ibid*, p 198.

23 Edward Perry, 'Gift Plate from Westminster

Hall Coronation Banquets', *Apollo*, Double Coronation Number, LVII, no 340, 1953, pp 198-200, where the beneficiary is incorrectly named as Tobias Cleve not Clere.

24 J Manwaring Baines, *The Cinque Ports and Coronation Services*, Hastings Museum Publication, no 18, 3rd edition, 1968.

25 *Ibid.*, p 11; the information on the cake basket was provided by Charles Truman.

26 Ross, *ibid*, ill, p 189.

27 For William Lambe's outfit see article on Barons of the Cinque Ports on the website of the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery.

28 *A Baron of the Cinque Port at the Coronation of George IV* signed by J Stephanoff, dated 1821 is also in the Brighton Museum collection.

29 J Manwaring Baines, *ibid*, p 12.

30 Strong, *ibid*, p 350.

31 A Ailes, *Artists and Artwork of the Heralds' Visitation in England and Wales 1530 - 1687*, forthcoming.

32 Stephen Zwicker, *About the Coronation of James II', The History of the Coronation of James II: a digitized facsimile of the 1687 edition belonging to the Bridwell Library, computer optical disc* (Oakland, California,

Octavo, 1999). Only fifty copies of the published account are recorded today.

33 Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library press mark RC. LL. 21.

34 From the Bruce Ingram Collection, the Huntington Library and Art Collections, accession number 63.52.15.

which is preserved in the collections at the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery²⁷. In the 1770s Thomas Lambe built Mountsford on the outskirts of Rye. He died in 1820 so the outfit at Brighton must have been worn by William Phillips Lambe. The outfit is also recorded in a contemporary watercolour by J Stephanoff²⁸. At this coronation the canopy was carried behind, instead of over the king, apparently so that his subjects might be able to see him as he processed. The Hastings Museum has a silver stave mount from the coronation of George IV marked by the London goldsmiths Thomas and James Phipps for 1820-21²⁹. Whilst researching this subject, a silver counter box inscribed on the underside of the lid

This box is made out of one of the Staves borne by the Barons of the Cinque Ports at the Coronation of Geo.4 July 1821

and engraved on the outside with a royal crown [fig 4] came to light.

On this occasion, on returning to Westminster Hall, the elderly barons began to tire of their task which caused the canopy to sway from side to side. George IV was nervous that the canopy would fall on his head and thought it safer to walk further in front of it. The barons tried to keep up with their monarch and the canopy swayed more and more; the more the king hurried, the canopy surged after him. They arrived at Westminster Hall in disarray and presumably exhausted³⁰.

The official record of James II's coronation is the most complete. Despite the king's short reign, it had an auspicious start with the coronation held, like that of his brother, on St George's Day. The event was recorded in newspapers and diaries, there were panegyrics, songs and broadsides to celebrate the occasion. Francis Sandford, Lancaster Herald, also a talented artist and architect³¹, was appointed by James to publish an illustrated account of his coronation. *The history of the coronation of the most high, most mighty, and most excellent monarch James II, etc., and of his Royal Consort Queen Mary: solemnized at Westminster, 23 April 1685: with an exact account of the several preparations, their majesties most splendid processions, and magnificent feast at Westminster Hall* was published in 1687 with twenty seven plates and three plans including images of crowns and sceptres, the processions, ceremonies and fireworks. The engravings were by I Collins, S Moore, William Sherwin, and Yeates after drawings by the artist Francis Barlow³². The volume is dedicated by Francis Sandford with the sentence

A Man cannot do Right to the Solemnity that is here in Question, without carrying his Thoughts back at the same time into the Boundless Antiquity of Your Imperial Descent Through so many Ages.



Fig 4 Counter box, circa 1821. Made from one of the staves from the canopy borne over George IV at his coronation.

(Private Collection)

Details show the canopies held over the king and queen and supported by the barons of the Cinque Ports³³. Each identifiable figure in the procession was drawn from life; all classes of people were recorded: drummers and aldermen, chaplains, masters of chancery, judges, earls and countesses, the Bishop of London and the Duke of Beaufort. One preparatory drawing by Francis Barlow, presumably made from the life, of two heralds, is in the Huntingdon Library, San Marino, California³⁴. Another print actually records the appearance of Francis Sandford himself, dressed in his herald's tabor and significantly holding a book, the book, in his right hand. The barons were dressed in doublets of crimson satin, scarlet hose, scarlet gowns lined with crimson satin, black velvet caps fastened on their sleeves and black velvet shoes. Nineteen plates illustrate the procession headed by the herb women who led the way scattering flowers from baskets. They were followed by trumpeters sounding and choirs singing anthems. Dress was more closely controlled in 1685: petticoats were to be white or of cloth of silver and baronets were permitted to wear velvet robes for the first time.

Sandford published the *Genealogical History of the Kings of Portugal* in 1662 in honour of Charles II's queen, Catherine of Braganza, and a series of plates to commemorate the burial of George Monk, Duke of Albermarle in 1670. In 1677 followed *The Genealogical History of the Kings of England*, with engravings by Hollar, and Richard Gaywood after Francis Barlow, written in collaboration with Gregory King, a fellow herald, and then Rouge Dragon Pursuivant. The expense and time involved in producing *The History of the Coronation* near-

ly bankrupted Sandford who died in a debtor's prison in 1694. His meticulous account lists all the necessary preparations, all those who attended the procession, and those who received awards after the event through the Court of Requests. It is reassuring to find that the Barons of the Cinque Ports who had performed their duty,

To carry a canopy of gold or purple silk over the King, Supported by Four Staves, Covered with silver, Four Barons to a staff, and a silver bell gilt, at each corner & the like for the Queen, and to have the canopies staves and bells for their Fees and to Dine in the Hall on the right hand of the King,

were rewarded. The verdict

Allowed both as to the service & fees, which they performed accordingly, being in all thirty-two Barons, habited alike in crimson satin.

Sandford's illustrations show the progress of the procession and include

A Ground plot of part of the City of Westminster showing the position of Westminster Abby (or the Collegiate Church of St. Peter) Westminster- Hall, The Court of Wards, Court of Requests, Painted Chamber, House of Lords and Princes Lodgings; The Old & New Palace Yard, The great Sanctuary and Several Other places adjacent.

The plan showed in particular

The Way from the Hall to the Church as it was spread with Cloth and Railed in, and the Several

Stations in which His Majesties Troops of Horse and Regiments of Foot Guards were posted on both sides the said Rail on the Day of the Coronation.

The barons took up their duty at the great stone steps in Westminster Hall; there were six staves so four barons supported those at the corners and there were two in the middle to ensure stability. The publication provides a clear order. Announced by drummers, the procession included the Alderman, the Master of the Jewel House, pursuivants, heralds, and the queen who preceded the king.

The caption to the illustration in Sandford's publication reads:

A canopy of Cloth of Gold to be born over the KING by Eight of the Sixteen Barons of the Cinque-Ports (two to a Staff) with Silver Bells gilt at each Corner of the said Canopy, viz. four in all. (It was born by 16 of the 32 Barons of the Cinque Ports). The key to the illustration reads:

- A. The King's Majesties
- B. The Bishop of Durham
- C. The Bishop of Bath and Wells
- D. The Four Earls eldest sons
- E. The Master of the Robes
- F. Sixteen Barons of the Cinque Ports
- G. The Earl of Huntingdon Capt. Of the Band of Gt. Pensioners
- H. The Duke of Northumberland Capt of the Guard in Waiting.
- I. The Viscount Grandison, Capt. Of the Yeoman of the Guard
- K. Gentleman Pensioners



Fig 5 Engraving showing the canopy held over James II. From Francis Sandford, *The History of the coronation of James II, London, 1687.* (National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum)



Fig 6 Engraving showing the canopy held over Mary of Modena. From Francis Sandford, *The History of the coronation of James II*, London, 1687.

(National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum)

The caption to the illustration in Sandford's publication reads:

A canopy of Cloth of Gold, like that of the Kings, to be born over the QUEEN by Eight Barons of the Cinque-Ports with Four Silver Bells gilt hanging at the Corners. It was born by 16 Barons of the Cinque Ports there being 32 in all.

The key to the illustration reads:

- A. The Queen's Majesties
- B. The Bishop of London
- C. The Bishop of Winchester
- D. The Dutchess of Norfolk
- E. Four Earls Daughters
- F. Sixteen Barons of the Cinque Ports
- G. A Lady of the Bedchamber
- H. Two of her Majesties women.
- I. Gentleman Pensioners

The meaning of the coronation was propounded by the sermon which was preached by Francis Turner who had served as chaplain to James while he was Duke of York. Turner proclaimed the sanctity of the Stuart dynasty choosing as his text:

Then Solomon sate on the Throne of the Lord, as King, instead of David his Father, and prospered and all Israel obeyed him.³⁵

James was also compared to Charles the Martyr. While homage was rendered to the newly crowned and enthroned king and queen, coronation medals were scat-

tered by the Treasurer of the King's Household and the Keeper of the Great Seal, from the four corners of the dais on which the thrones were set. In 1685, 100 gold and 800 silver medals were struck for the king and fifty gold and 400 silver medals for the queen. The medals were designed to represent the special aim and stamp of the new regime.

James II saw his accession as a progression from a naval to a regal crown: he had been Lord High Admiral during the reign of Charles II. The inscription on the reverse of the medal reads "A.MILITARI.AD.REGIAM" - 'from a military to a royal crown'. A heavenly hand no longer bestows a crown but supports it from beneath so that it hovers over the victor's laurels³⁶.

The queen's medal shows on the reverse a lady clothed in a long stole or ancient Roman habit sitting on a rock her head crowned with laurel: a *paragone* of ancient virtue³⁷.

Again as a result of the articles published announcing the acquisition of the James II coronation cup, the Victoria and Albert Museum was presented with a contemporary copy of the sermon preached at James II's coronation in Westminster Abbey by Francis Turner,

35 Carolyn A Edie, 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual: Sermons, Medals, and Civic Ceremony in Later Stuart Coronations', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol 53, no 4 (Autumn, 1990) pp 311-336.

36 Strong, *ibid*, p 341, illustrated James II's Coronation medal, p 341.

37 Coronation medal of Mary of Modena, British Museum G3.EM.214.



Fig 7 Cup and cover, maker's mark on lid of cover only RC in a dotted circle, London, 1687.
(The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)



Fig 8 Cup and cover, gold, Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, London, 1821-2.
(Victoria and Albert Museum, M.42-1982 2006AM6851)



Fig 9 Monteith racing trophy, Robert Cooper, London, 1688-89.
(Victoria and Albert Museum, M.25-2002 2006AW2721)

38 The full title is: 'A sermon preached before their majesties K[ing] James II and Q[ueen] Mary at their Coronation in Westminster Abbey', April 23 1685, London, Robert Clavell.

This was presented by Mr O S Vickers and is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library press mark 802.AK Box II (5).

Lord Bishop of Ely and Lord Almoner to his Majesty³⁸.

After the service in the abbey the procession returned to Westminster Hall and Francis Sandford's account provides amazingly detailed information on the resulting feast. The barons of the Cinque Ports fared well with 261 dishes to choose from (there were 1445 dishes in all). Boeuf à la Royal was particularly appropriate, Parmesan and Bologna sausages may have reflected the queen's Italian origins. Sandford's "A Ground Plot of Westminster Hall with the table layout" helps to explain the bird's eye view of the sixteen buffets under the upper ranks of seated spectators enabling the servers to cater for the assembled guests.

The perquisites acquired by barons of the Cinque Ports must be distinguished from the gifts given to officials by successive monarchs in gratitude for services rendered at coronations³⁹. Charles II gave Sir Sampson White, Mayor of Oxford in 1661 and 1665, a cup and cover in recognition of his services at his coronation in presenting the sovereign with a silver-gilt bowl of wine. This cup, dating from 1665, now belongs to the Corporation of Oxford⁴⁰. Mary of Modena presented Sandford with a cup and cover in recognition of his role in recording the coronation for posterity [fig 7]⁴¹. The cup survives in the collection of the Goldsmiths' Company⁴². It bears the inscription

The QUEENS most gracious giuft unto Francis Sandford Esqr.
Lancaster Herald upon his Presenting Her Mitie with ye
History of ye Coronation. 1 Jan 1687.

The cup bears casts of the coronation medals of James II and Mary of Modena although their positions have been switched and the lion (James II) and eagle (Mary of Modena) supporters are thus misplaced. The cup may have come into the possession of Francis Sandford's colleague Gregory King as the initials FK under its base may be those of Gregory's wife Frances King. Given Francis Sandford's bankruptcy the cup may have fallen on hard times: it certainly bears signs of damage and later alteration, but its striking heraldic eagles, the crest of Mary of Modena's family, indicate that this was a special gift made in gratitude to a hardworking courtier and herald in the best time-honoured tradition of new years' gifts.

In 1982 the Victoria and Albert Museum acquired a gold cup and cover, one of four presented by George IV at the time of his coronation [fig 8]. The cup was given to James Butler, 19th Earl of Ormonde, who served as Chief Butler of Ireland in succession to the Earls of Arundel who had officiated as successive Chief Butlers of England from 1243 to 1821. The cup was supplied by Rundell, Bridge and Rundell for £230 16s 6d. The museum has other striking souvenirs of royal coronations. In 1991 it acquired the footstool made for the king's use at the coronation of George IV (on long term loan to the Westminster Abbey Undercroft Museum)⁴³. The chair and footstool covered with purple velvet, used by Archbishop Juxon at the coronation of Charles II, came to the museum in 1928 and are also currently displayed in the British Galleries⁴⁴.

The James II coronation cup and cover formerly belonged to J Pierpont Morgan, an outstanding collector of paintings, manuscripts and decorative arts⁴⁵. The museum already has a number of pieces previously

owned by him. The earliest piece of silver in Morgan's collection was the small silver drinking bowl of 1525-26, now in the Gilbert Collection and displayed in the new Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Galleries⁴⁶. In 1919 the museum acquired an important collection of stained glass from J P Morgan's son, given after World War I to cement the friendship between our two English speaking nations; examples from the collection are displayed in the Sacred Silver and Stained Glass Galleries⁴⁷.

Although the cup and cover is of regular size and proportions, and the armorials and inscription are standard for the 1680s, the chinoiserie flat-chased decoration of figures supporting the canopy is of particular significance; further research may demonstrate that the canopies used at James II's coronation were of cloth of gold woven in China. Increased interest in chinoiserie was inspired by the publication of recent travels in China by Johannes Nieuhof. His account of *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Province, to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperour of China...* 1665, was first translated into English in 1669⁴⁸. The fashion for chinoiserie decoration on silver extended to toilet services and vessels used in the service of wine. A toilet service from Sizergh Castle of circa 1680 and the Basingstoke monteith racing trophy [fig 10] of 1688-89 are both chased with chinoiserie; they are displayed in the Whiteley Silver Galleries⁴⁹.

The taste for chinoiserie reflects the growing importance of European trade with China following the foundation of the London-based East India Company in 1600. By the 1670s the establishment of a trading base off Fujian resulted in large-scale shipments to England of admired Chinese goods. Such trade fostered a European market for furniture japanned in imitation of true oriental lacquer. Bed hangings and curtains of imported Chinese silk damasks created appropriate settings for such exotic possessions. By 1688, John Stalker and William Parker thought it worthwhile to publish *A Treatise of Japaning and Varnishing* which was dedicated to Mary, Countess of Derby, Lady of the Bedchamber to the new queen, Mary II, daughter of James II and his first wife Anne Hyde. Chinoiserie continued to provide an appropriately exotic

element for furnishings associated with the monarch⁵⁰.

The James II coronation cup is currently displayed in the Whiteley Silver Galleries. It is hoped in due course to arrange a small touring exhibition of coronation silver, memorabilia and dress including this exciting new acquisition to museums in the Cinque Ports of Dover, Hastings, Rye and Sandwich and the associated towns of Brighton and Faversham.

I would like to thank David Beasley, Eleni Bide, Patrick Dickinson, Nigel Llewellyn, Rosemary Ransome Wallis, Harry Williams-Bulkeley, Elaine Tierney, Tim Schroder and Charles Truman for their help.

*This article was first published in the Victoria & Albert Museum's online journal, 2009 as 'New Acquisition: A Silver-gilt Cup Commemorating the Coronation of James II. 23 April 1685 and the Culture of Gifts and Perquisites in Stuart and Hanoverian Coronations', *V&A Online Journal*, issue no 2, Autumn 2009.

http://www.vam.ac.uk/res_cons/research/online_journal/journal_2_index/murdoch-coronation/index.html

Tessa Murdoch has worked at the V&A for almost twenty years as a curator in the Furniture Department from 1990 and since 2002 as Deputy Keeper in the Department of Sculpture, Metalwork, Ceramics and Glass where she serves as Head of Metalwork and concentrates on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century silver. She was lead curator for the museum's Sacred Silver and Stained Glass Galleries (2005) and the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Galleries (2009). She is currently leading an exhibition exchange project with the Kremlin Armouries Museum: The Golden Age of the English Court from Henry VIII to Charles I which opens in Moscow in October 2012 and will come to the V&A in March 2013. It will include a display of the wonderful Tudor and Stuart silver given to the tsars by successive British ambassadors and merchants. She worked at the Museum of London from 1981 – 1990 where she curated the exhibition: The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots 1685-1985. She was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1988, a Freeman of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths in 2004 and member of Livery in 2007.

39 For coronation silver given to the Earls and subsequently, Dukes of Ancaster who served as successive Lord Great Chamberlains; to the Marquess of Exeter, Lord High Almoner at the coronation of James II; to the dukes of Norfolk in their role as Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England see E Alfred Jones, 'Some Coronation Plate', *The Burlington Magazine*, 70, no 410,

May, 1937, pp 240-247.

40 Perry, 'Gift Plate from Westminster Hall Coronation Banquets', *Apollo*, 1953, p 198.

41 Acquired by the Goldsmiths' Company, Christie's, 23 November 1982, lot 175.

42 The cup and cover, in the collection of the Dundas family at Arniston, Midlothian were listed in

an inventory of 1788, *Country Life*, 1925, LVIII, pp250, 284. There was also a copy of Sandford's account of James II's Coronation.

43 V&A:W.7-1991. The stained and gilded beech footstool was supplied by Bailey and Saunders for the coronation of George IV, British, 1821.

44 V&A: W.12 & 13-1928. Christopher Wilk (editor.,

Western Furniture 1350 to the Present Day, London, 1996, p 68.

45 E Alfred Jones, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Collection of Old Plate of J.Pierpont Morgan*, London, 1908, pl XXIX, p 33.

46 V&A: Loan: Gilbert 577-2008.

47 Paul Williamson, *Medieval and Renaissance Stained Glass in the Victoria*

and Albert Museum, 2003, figs 11-12.

48 V&A: National Art Library Press Mark 5.X.37. 49 M.21-1968.

50 For recent studies on chinoiserie see Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer, *Encounters: the meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800*, London, 2004; David Beevers (editor) *Chinese Whispers: chinoiserie in Britain*, Brighton, 2008.

Patterns of occupation around Goldsmiths' Hall

BRUCE JONES



Fig 1 Richard Horwood's map (detail) showing Foster Lane and Gutter Lane.

Premises favoured by goldsmiths

An examination of the occupation of premises around Goldsmiths' Hall during the eighteenth century shows that some premises were particularly favoured by goldsmiths¹, with successive occupation by members of this craft. This is apparent from examining the Land Tax assessments² for three streets on the west, south and east of Goldsmiths' Hall, namely Foster Lane, Cary Lane and Gutter Lane. These streets, to the north of the main thoroughfare of Cheapside in the City of London, are shown on Richard Horwood's map³ of circa 1800, with Goldsmiths' Hall at the top centre on the map [fig 1].

There were approximately one hundred houses in these three streets and in a number of courts off the streets. There were eighteen separate premises among these where the tax was paid by goldsmiths for more than fifty years during the eighteenth century and a further eighteen which were occupied by goldsmiths as taxpayers for between twenty-five and fifty years⁴. This accounts for approximately one third of the houses in these three streets.

Factors encouraging successive or lengthy occupation

While the connections between goldsmiths favouring certain premises cannot be established in all instances, it is apparent that there were a variety of influences leading to this succession of goldsmiths at the same address.

Master/apprentice connection, with a former apprentice taking over premises from his master. Examples include Samuel Welder following Robert Keble, his former master, at 47 Gutter Lane in 1715/16; Robert Piercy following his master Samuel Wood as taxpayer at 21 Foster Lane from 1762/63; and Francis Crump taking over 40 Gutter Lane in the 1760s from his master Gabriel Sleath's widow.

Family succession at the same address, as occurred at 28 Foster Lane, which was occupied by Edward Aldridge from 1751/52 to 1765, by widow Aldridge from 1766/67 to 1768/69 and by Charles Aldridge from 1769/70 to 1772/73.

Long life of a goldsmith obviously affected the length of occupation: an example is Walter Brind who paid tax at 34 Foster Lane from 1749/50 to 1796/97.

Similar line of business is apparent in some instances of succeeding occupation, as with the smallworkers at 16 Gutter Lane and the-caster makers at two premises described below.

1 'Goldsmith' is used as a general term to cover both goldsmiths and silver-smiths.

2 Land tax assessments at London Metropolitan Archives (from henceforward LMA): for the Ward of Aldersgate within, St Leonard's and St John Zachary precincts; Saddlers' Hall, Foster Lane and St Michael Le Quern; the Ward of Farringdon within, Gutter Lane and the Ward of Cripplegate Within, St John Zachary.

3 Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, 1799-1813, originals at LMA, published in *The A-Z of Regency London*, London 1985.

4 A list of premises occupied by goldsmiths for more than fifty years in the

century appears in the Appendix.

5 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths, Their Marks & Lives 1697-1837*, London 1990, p 492 (from henceforward Grimwade).

6 Parish register of St Vedast's Foster Lane (LMA). His will, quoted in Grimwade, directed the sale of "all my stock in Trade and also the lease of my House in Gutter Lane" (indicating that the taxpayer might not be the freeholder).

7 Parish register of St Vedast's Foster Lane (LMA) on the baptism of his son Thomas on 27 July 1704, quoted in Grimwade (indicating also that the taxpayer was not the only person resident at a property).

Succession at selected premises

There was often a combination or intertwining of these various factors when there was a succession of goldsmiths at the same premises. This is illustrated by examining in detail several examples.

40 Gutter Lane: long life, master/apprentice, family links

At 40 Gutter Lane the long occupancy by silversmiths was due primarily to the combination of Gabriel Sleath's long career and to Francis Crump, his former apprentice, succeeding him as taxpayer. He in turn was followed by the Phipps family.

At the commencement of the extant assessments for Gutter Lane, Captain Isaac Dighton is recorded in the assessments as paying tax at number 40 from 1703/4 but he may well have been here previously as he entered a mark in Gutter Lane earlier⁵. He remained as taxpayer until he died in 1707⁶. Among known items bearing his mark are mugs; one of 1700-01 is illustrated in *fig 2*.

Dighton was succeeded at these premises by Gabriel Sleath who was recorded in 1704 as living at Isaac Dighton's house and may have been working for him⁷. Gabriel Sleath entered his first mark in Gutter Lane on 14 March 1706/7 and became the taxpayer at number 40 in that year. He became a Common Councillor for the ward of Farringdon Within and a Touch Warden of the Assay Office; he remained at these premises until his death on 16 March 1756⁸. His widow Joan then appears in the assessments from 1757/58 until Francis Crump became the taxpayer in 1763/64.

Francis Crump had been apprenticed to Gabriel Sleath in 1726, was made free in 1741 and entered marks in 1741, 1745 and 1751. Then in November 1753 he registered a joint mark with Gabriel Sleath; the latter was by then seventy nine and had been appointed Deputy Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company⁹, a sensible time at which to take a partner. Francis Crump, recorded by Grimwade as having an extensive business in the standard types of flatware, was at the premises until 1775. In May of that year "The Household Furniture and various Implements in Trade of Mr Francis Crump, working Goldsmith" were sold by auction at his house¹⁰; perhaps indicative of financial difficulties, for in the following year he was recorded as a "Prisoner for Debt" in the King's Bench Prison in Surrey¹¹.

Like that of Isaac Dighton, the mark of Gabriel Sleath has been noted on mugs [*fig 3*] as has that of Francis Crump on one of 1763/4 [*fig 5*].



Fig 2 Mug, Isaac Dighton, London 1700-1.
(Courtesy of Sotheby's New York).



Fig 3 Mug, Gabriel Sleath, London 1738-39.



Fig 5 Mug, Francis Crump, London 1763-64.
(Courtesy of Sotheby's London).

8 *London Evening Post* 16 March 1756 "near Ninety Years old" although see footnote 9 which would make him eighty two.

9 Gabriel Sleath, born 11 January 1674 in Friern

Barnet, Grimwade p 660-1 and appointed Deputy Warden, Arthur Grimwade, 'London goldsmiths 1697-1837, Further additions to biographical entries, *The Silver Society Journal* 12, 2000, p 152.

10 *Daily Advertiser*, Saturday 20 May 1775.

11 *London Gazette*, Tuesday 25 June 1776.



Fig 4 Pair of candlesticks,
Gabriel Sleath and Francis
Crump, London 1754-55.
(Courtesy of Sotheby's New York)

The shape of mugs by this time had evolved into the pattern that was to remain hugely popular throughout much of the eighteenth century. The time of the partnership between Sleath and Crump is represented by a pair of candlesticks bearing their joint mark [fig 4]. Good solid domestic items such as mugs and candlesticks were the predominant output of the workshops in this area.

Francis Crump was succeeded for the single year 1775/76 by a taxpayer listed only as Bevin: the Collector of Taxes often listed only a surname in the first year of occupation, until further details were established, and I too have no information about 'Bevin'. However James Phipps I moved here in "midsummer" 1776¹² from 11 Gutter Lane, a few doors to the north on the opposite side of the street¹³. I have not been able to establish a connection between Crump and Phipps.

James Phipps was in turn succeeded as taxpayer from 1788/89 by his son Thomas Phipps in partnership with Edward Robinson. Both had been apprenticed to James Phipps and both cemented relationships by marrying other members of the Phipps family¹⁴. Thomas Phipps and Edward Robinson had registered a joint mark here in 1783 as smallworkers, when the partnership between James and his son Thomas was dissolved¹⁵ and the Phipps and Robinson partnership continued here into the nineteenth century.

It should be noted that 41 Gutter Lane, the premises next door to 40 Gutter Lane, was occupied continuously by engravers from 1718/19 into the nineteenth century: by John Freeman, followed by Henry Copland, Charles Sherborne and then Hannah Sherborne.

47 Gutter Lane and 21 Foster Lane: Caster makers

Examining the occupants at two premises, 47 Gutter Lane and 21 Foster Lane, reveals the succession of a line of caster makers. Christopher Canner I appears at 47 Gutter Lane from the commencement of the extant assessments in 1703/04 to 1707/08; his mark can be mainly seen on casters¹⁶. He died in 1708¹⁷ and was followed by Robert Keble¹⁸ from 1708/09 to 1714/15. Samuel Welder, another caster maker who had been apprenticed to Robert Keble, took over in 1715/16 and was there until 1728/29 when he moved to Foster Lane¹⁹.

After an interval of four years with two different taxpayers and one year when the premises was unoccupied, the noted caster maker Samuel Wood occupied 47 Gutter Lane for twenty years from 1733/34 to 1753/54²⁰.

Samuel Wood then moved to 21 Foster Lane in 1754, previously the premises of Hugh Arnett and Edward Pocock, and was there for seven years until 1761/62; he became Prime Warden in 1763. He was followed at 21 Foster Lane in 1762/63 by his former apprentice Robert Piercy, also noted, like Wood, for casters. When Robert Piercy left in 1779/80, the premises was empty for two years, maybe due to rebuilding, and then occupied for two years by Richard Crossley, followed from 1784/85 to 1787/88 by Phineas Borrett, a jeweller. Thereafter the premises was taken by the ribbon weavers Joshua Webb and Co.

So the link of these premises to caster makers ended. Apart from the link to the premises, however, Samuel Wood had connections by apprenticeship to other caster makers in the area. He had been apprenticed to Thomas Bamford in Foster Lane, who in turn had been apprenticed to Charles Adam who also worked in Foster Lane and both Bamford and Adam were caster makers.

14 Foster Lane: Candlestick makers

14 Foster Lane illustrates another example of similar lines of business at the same premises: in this case candlestick makers. Captain Joseph Bird is recorded as paying tax here from the commencement of the extant assessments in 1703/04 to 1733/34²¹. He was followed by William Gould, also noted for candlesticks, who was the

12 "midsummer" noted in the tax assessments for Gutter Lane 1776.

13 James Phipps had succeeded his master's widow Elizabeth Collyer at 11 Gutter Lane in 1767.

14 Thomas Phipps married Elizabeth Phipps 27 September 1778 at St

Mary's Staining; Edward Robinson married Ann Phipps 20 May 1783 at St Vedast's Foster Lane (parish registers, LMA).

15 *London Gazette* 12 July 1783.

16 Grimwade, p 458.

17 Parish register of St

Michael le Quern, noted in Grimwade.

18 In 1707 Robert Keble had registered a mark in Foster Lane and was recorded in the St Vedast's Foster Lane register 11 July 1709, at the City of Oxford in Gutter Lane on the baptism of his son (LMA).

19 As Grimwade notes, Samuel Welder's mark (Grimwade 2655) "is inconveniently close in appearance to that of Samuel Wood"; it is a curious coincidence that Samuel Wood occupied from 1733/34 the same premises in Gutter Lane that had been occupied by Samuel Welder until 1728/29.

20 47 Gutter Lane was subsequently occupied for thirty five years from 1757 by William Plummer.

21 Captain Joseph Bird died in 1735, St John Zachary parish register (LMA).

taxpayer here from 1734/35 to 1751/52 and again from 1756/57 to 1761/62, when he was declared bankrupt²². Between these two periods of occupancy the premises was taken by Robert Albin Cox, who had registered marks at Goldsmiths' Hall but was more noted as a refiner and bullion dealer²³. Joseph Stewart II was there from 1762/63 to 1765/66; thereafter the premises was occupied by ironmongers.

A typical candlestick dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century bears the mark of Joseph Bird [fig 6]. Two matching candlesticks from 1717-18 and 1724-25 [fig 7] are interesting as one bears the mark of Joseph Bird, the other that of his former apprentice William Twell who was registered in Gutter Lane, although he does not appear as a taxpayer in the assessments.

Succession at the same premises was again clearly not the only link between specialist makers and this is illustrated by other connections with candlestick makers who had different premises in these same streets. William Gould [fig 8], who followed Captain Joseph Bird at the Foster Lane premises, had been apprenticed to his brother James Gould in Gutter Lane; and James Gould had been apprenticed to David Green in Foster Lane who had been apprenticed to Captain Joseph Bird. Also working, first in Foster Lane, then in Cary Lane and then in Gutter Lane, was John Cafe who had been apprenticed to James Gould. John Cafe was succeeded at his Gutter Lane premises by his brother and former apprentice William Cafe. Furthermore, the Gould and the Cafe families had their roots in Somerset²⁴. So there was, and had been, an extensive collection of candlestick makers in the area.

16 Gutter Lane: master/apprentice, family, smallworkers

16 Gutter Lane illustrates a combination of factors: similar output, an apprentice following his master and family ties. The premises was occupied by Edward Cornock between 1711/12 to 1723/24 but the period of continuous occupation by silversmiths started with Sandilands Drinkwater who paid tax there, at the sign of the Hand and Coral, from 1731/32 to 1760/61 when he stepped aside prior to becoming Prime Warden in 1761, just as Samuel Wood had done at 21 Foster Lane.

Drinkwater was succeeded at the address by his former apprentice Richard Binley who moved up the street from 11 Gutter Lane, where he had been at the sign of the Crown and Coral²⁵. Binley died in 1764 and his widow Margaret was there until 1778. The premises was then occupied by Susanna Barker, widow of John Barker²⁶. She was

Fig 6. Candlestick,
Joseph Bird,
London 1703-4.



Fig 7 Two
matched candle-
sticks, Joseph
Bird, London
1717/18 and
William Twell,
London 1724-25.
(Courtesy of Sotheby's
New York).



Fig 8 Candlestick,
William Gould,
London 1736-37.



22 *London Gazette* 6 July 1762.

23 Described as "refiner" in *General Evening Post* 10 September 1776.

24 Timothy Kent and Luke

Schrager 'Thicker than water: The Chawners and their connections', *The Silver Society Journal* no 25, 2009.

25 *Daily Advertiser* 10 August 1745.

26 She had married James Barker at St. Paul's Cathedral on 27 February 1745/6 (Chapter House, St Pauls Cathedral).



Fig 9. St. Vedast's church, Foster Lane, Samuel Rawle after George Sidney Shepherd, 1814
(© Trustees of the British Museum).

another smallworker whose mark appears on items similar to those marked by Drinkwater and the Binleys: items such as buckles, buttons and wine labels. She was there until 1787 when she moved across the street to 29 Gutter Lane.

...but connections not always apparent

Despite these various examples, it must be said that in many instances there is no obvious connection between the goldsmiths who followed each other at the same premises. Nor does it appear that these goldsmiths were favouring premises owned by the Goldsmiths' Company, although certain premises may have had features which made them particularly suitable for goldsmiths.

The *Appendix* lists premises where goldsmiths were the taxpayers over a substantial number of years. There were other premises at which goldsmiths were the occupants for shorter periods and some goldsmiths occupied premises but were not taxpayers, the taxpayer being the landlord or a main tenant. The large majority of goldsmiths who appear in Grimwade, however, also appear as taxpayers in the assessments²⁷.

Goldsmith numbers: 1750 and 1790

The number of goldsmiths paying tax in these streets in 1750 compared to the position in 1790 shows a marked difference. For 1750, I have identified thirty-five goldsmiths mentioned in Grimwade who appear in the assessments for these streets or the adjacent courts. In 1790 the total number of goldsmiths paying tax here was fourteen, less than half the number in 1750.

The goldsmiths in the assessments for the streets in 1790 were predominantly major suppliers. They included: Thomas Daniell, the Hennells and Walter Brind in Foster

Lane and William Plummer in Gutter Lane.

It may be that the reduced numbers of goldsmith taxpayers was the result of a combination of a drift westwards and of an increasing concentration within the trade, encouraged to some extent by growing use of more expensive equipment. While these larger firms employed more people, the number of heads of firms responsible for tax was reduced.

At the same time, increasing specialisation of product or skill meant that there was still a role for independent specialists and outworkers who may have rented part of a premises and, therefore, not been directly responsible for the tax. Indeed, as noted earlier, some goldsmiths do not appear in the assessments and, in addition, some neither appear in the Land Tax assessments nor registered a mark at Goldsmiths' Hall. In this latter category in Foster Lane were Benjamin Brown, listed in contemporary directories as a goldsmith, and John Kennett, listed as a silversmith²⁸.

Trades in the streets: 1790

Leading off Cheapside, a wide thoroughfare with fashionable shops, were the small streets of Foster Lane and Gutter Lane connected by Cary Lane, narrow streets except for the area in front of Goldsmiths' Hall. Few images of these lanes exist apart from those of Goldsmiths' Hall although an image of St. Vedast's church in Foster Lane dating from early in the nineteenth century [*fig 9*] gives some feel of the area, though not the narrowness of the street; it may well be that cows and sheep were not a common feature. Looking south towards Cheapside, beside the church were several premises, occupied in the early nineteenth century by dealers in lace, one of many trades carried on in the area.

Identification of the trades of the residents allows a picture to be formed of the business profile of these streets in the late eighteenth century; by this time commercial directories had become sufficiently comprehensive to allow extensive identification of the trades of the residents. It shows how the workers in silver rubbed shoulders with many other trades.

In total in 1790 there were eighty-two taxpayers listed in the three streets, excluding those in the courts²⁹ leading off the streets. A total of sixty-two taxpayers, or over three quarters, appear in contemporary directories which show their trade; a further twelve names who were not taxpayers appear in the directories. As a result it is possible to identify the occupations of seventy-four residents. Fourteen were goldsmiths, representing close to one fifth of the trades identified. In Gutter Lane there was: Susanna Barker, James Hyde, Thomas Hyde,

the Phipps and Robinson partnership and William Plummer and in Foster Lane: Walter Brind, Thomas Daniell, Robert Hennell, James Mince, Samuel Meriton, widow Purton, Joseph Lewis, Benjamin Brown and John Kennett (the last two were not registered at Goldsmiths' Hall but listed in directories as goldsmith and silver-smith respectively).

IDENTIFIED OCCUPATIONS IN 1790

Occupation	No	%
Goldsmiths	14	19
Ancillary trades	12	16
Watchmakers	4	5
Jewellers	2	3
Sub-total luxury trades	32	43
Textile	16	22
Building, ironmongery	10	14
Other	16	22
TOTAL	74	100

Note: Shows only residents whose trade identified.

In addition to the goldsmiths, twelve residents were in what might be called ancillary trades: five engravers (one listed as an engraver and printer, another as a seal engraver³⁰), two refiners, an assayer of metals³¹, a silver turner, an ivory turner, a bucklemaker and a wholesale cutler. There were also four watchmakers and two jewellers. Viewed overall, approaching half of the occupants of these streets were in the luxury trades: 19% were goldsmiths and a further 24% in luxury and ancillary trades.

This was, however, a diversified area with a mix of other trades. Apart from goldsmiths and allied trades, the next largest group were sixteen residents in the textile trade, accounting for 22% of the total. Seven of these were weavers of various sorts. Embroiderers' Hall in Gutter Lane and Haberdashers' Hall in nearby Staining Lane attracted those in the textile industry in the same way as Goldsmiths' Hall did for goldsmiths. Perhaps the location of Wax Chandlers' Hall at the north end of Gutter

Lane had some influence on the significant number of goldsmiths who were candlestick makers in this area.

There were ten residents, or 14% of the total, in building and ironmongery and associated trades, including two in the glass business and a bricklayer. There were a further sixteen in other occupations, including Benjamin Raven a peruque maker, Phillip Stevens a baker, Samuel Kettle a cheesemonger, George Dawson a wine merchant, John Penn a boxmaker and Davis Pritchard a pawnbroker. There were two publicans and I believe that there was also at least one other tavern and a coffee house in these streets although these were not identified among the taxpayers. Overall the goldsmiths worked in an environment where there was a wide variety of other trades around them, particularly those in textile-related businesses.

Insights into goldsmiths' dates

Examination of the Land Tax assessments, which form a basis of this research, also provides insights into goldsmiths' movements and, in some instances, their lives. This confirms, illuminates and sometimes amends remarks in Grimwade or Heal³². A few examples illustrate this in a variety of ways.

Edward Aldridge I paid tax at 28 Foster Lane until 1765/66 and was followed there by "Widow Aldridge", thus described in the tax assessments. This confirms Grimwade's suggestion that Edward was probably dead by 1766-67 and that the lozenge mark (Grimwade 3730 EA noted on items dated 1766) was that of his widow Elizabeth. There is also confirmation about Robert Purton, who Grimwade thought, was probably dead by 1783 when his widow entered a mark. The tax assessments confirm this: Robert Purton paid tax at 2 Cary Lane from 1780/81 to 1782/83 and was followed by "Widow Purton" from 1783/84 to 1798/99. Heal has her in Cary Lane only between 1788 and 1793.

In some instances the tax assessments provide more precise dating than appears in Heal. For example: Richard Bayley paid tax at 18 Foster Lane from 1730/31 to 1753/54, longer than the 1748 suggested by Heal. Similarly the assessments show that Samuel Bates paid tax in Foster Lane from 1732/33 to 1772/73, having

27 76% in Foster and Cary Lanes together, 75% in Gutter Lane; the other quarter were presumably sub-tenants.

28 Kennett in *Andrew's New London Directory 1790*; Brown in *The Universal British Directory of Trade and*

Commerce 1792 (LMA microfilms).

29 Hardly any occupants of these courts were listed in the directories.

30 The seal engraver was Hannah Sherbourne at 41 Gutter Lane, widow of

Charles Sherbourne whom she succeeded as taxpayer in 1787/88. Charles Sherbourne had paid tax there for forty-four years from 1743/44, succeeding Henry Copland, another engraver. An example of lengthy occupation at the same premises but on this

occasion, by engravers.

31 Thomas B Pratt in Gutter Lane is included under ancillary trades; he appears in the directories as an "Assayer of Metals" but had registered a mark at Goldsmiths' Hall. Similarly J Kirk of the firm

Kirk, Bright & Snow is included as a jeweller although he registered a mark as a goldworker.

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

moved premises in the street in 1760. Heal lists him in Foster Lane only until 1755. James Slater registered a mark between 1725 and 1728 at Garland Court, Great Trinity Lane and Heal records him there in 1732. He moved to Foster Lane in 1730 as is recorded by the constable of St Leonard's precinct³³ and the tax assessments show him paying tax at 6 Foster Lane from 1730/31 to 1749/50.

Research Method

This study utilised a combination of the **Grimwade Project database**³⁴, a computerised database which conveniently identifies goldsmiths who appear in Grimwade by street, and the **Land Tax assessments** for the City of London. These record for each year the amounts of tax payable on a premises and the names of those liable, who might be the landlord or tenant. This study is based on an examination of the assessments for the wards covering Foster Lane and Gutter Lane and also Cary Lane, the short street between them.

The dates when the tax assessments for each year were completed varied for each ward. For Gutter Lane they were typically completed by July or August but completion could be as late as October. Consequently in terms of considering periods of occupancy derived from the assessments there is an overlap from one year to the next. We therefore show in places in the text overlapping years, eg 1755/56 and indeed, the assessment books are headed in this format.

The order of entries of the names of taxpayers within each section reflects the route taken by the Collector of Taxes. The position of the names of taxpayers year by

year in the lists clearly shows how long an inhabitant had paid tax at a property and who preceded or followed them at those premises. Street numbers, introduced from the 1760s, are not shown in these assessments. By examining contemporary London directories and the addresses of goldsmiths who registered marks after the late 1760s it is possible to relate a significant proportion of taxpayers to street numbers and to estimate with some confidence the majority of the rest.

The street numbers as shown in Horwood are used to identify the premises. In this study these post 1760s street numbers are utilised throughout the century to denote and differentiate premises including premises occupied before the 1760s even though they were not numbered at that time. Every time this occurs in relation to pre 1760s matters, the phrase 'premises which became number... in the 1760s numbering' should be used; in practice we have omitted the phrase.

Contemporary trade directories make it possible to identify the occupations of many of the taxpayers in these streets in 1790. By this period directories were listing a much greater number of names of those in trade, in particular the *Universal British Directory*.

Bruce Jones, formerly an investment analyst, now spends some of his time on various silver related matters and is Co-Editor of the Wine Label Circle Journal.

³³ *Constable's Book for Aldersgate Ward, St Leonards Precinct*, Guildhall Library London, L91 M2057, now at LMA.

³⁴ The Grimwade Project database of names and addresses from *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837* produced by the Silver Society under the leadership of Jonathan Gray.

APPENDIX: Premises occupied by goldsmiths for over fifty years in the eighteenth century.

6 Foster Lane:

1730/31 – 1749/50: James Slater
1750/51 – 1770/71: Henry Bailey
1771/72: Widow Bailey
1772/73 – 1784/85: Burrage Davenport

7 Foster Lane:

1703/4 – 1723/24: John Fawdery
1724/25 – 1749/50: Jeremiah King
1750/51: Mary King
1760/61 – 1772/73: Samuel Bates

8 Foster Lane or Courts behind:

1703/4 – 1715/16: John Cowsey
1716/17 – 1717/18: Nathaniel Roe
1718/19 – 1722/23: David Green
1723/24 – 1734/35: Edward Cornock
1735/36 – 1739/40: Richard Gurney & Co
1740/41 – 1761/62: Thomas Cook & Co
1762/63 – 1766/67: Richard Gurney & Co
1770/71 – 1775/76: Walter Brind (1)

9 Foster Lane:

1747/48 – 1789/90: Edward Holmes
(smallworker in Grimwade, a jeweller)
1790/91 – 1800/01: John Kirk (gold-
worker)

14 Foster Lane (corner of Cary Lane):

1703/4 – 1733/34: Captain Joseph Bird
1734/35 – 1751/52: William Gould
1752/53 – 1755/56: Robert Albin Cox
1756/57 – 1761/62: William Gould
1762/63 – 1765/66: Joseph Stewart II

18 Foster Lane:

1730/31 – 1753/54: Richard Bayley
1754/55: Deborah Bayley
1763/64 – 1790/91: Samuel Meriton II
1797/98 – 1800/01: Elizabeth and
Thomas Meriton

21 Foster Lane (Blackamoor's Head):

1720/21 – 1728/29: Hugh Arnett & Co
1729/30 – 1738/39: Edward Pocock
1739/40: James West
1754/55 – 1761/62: Samuel Wood
1762/63 – 1779/80: Robert Piercy*
1783/83 – 1783/84: Richard Crossley
1784/85 – 1787/88: Phineas Borrett

** premises then empty for two years*

33 Foster Lane:

1705/6 – 1706/07: Samuel Edlin
1707/8 – 1717/18: David Green
1720/21 – 1747/48: George Greenhill
Jones
1748/49 – 1757/58: Edmund Medlycott

34 Foster Lane:

1703/4 – 1706/7: Thomas Spackman
1744/45 – 1747/48: Richard Kersill
1748/49: Ann Kersill
1749/50 – 1796/97: Walter Brind

By 34 Foster Lane, probably Round Court or Six Bells Court (2):

1703/4 – 1728/29: William Scarlett
1729/30 – 1737/38: Richard Scarlett
1738/39 – 1748/49: William Kidney
1752/53 – 1796/97: Walter Brind

38 Foster Lane:

1703/4 – 1707/08: Francis Archbold
1717/18: James Morson
1718/19 – 1724/25: James Smith I
1725/26 – 1730/31: Thomas Rush
1731/32: Empty
1732/33 – 1759/60: Samuel Bates
1769/70 – 1790/91: Joseph Lewis

16 Gutter Lane:

1711/12 – 1723/24: Edward Cornock
1731/32 – 1760/61: Sandilands
Drinkwater
1761/62 – 1763/64: Richard Binley
1764/65 – 1778/79: Margaret Binley
1779/80 – 1787/88: Susanna Barker

Kings Head Court / 15 Gutter Lane:

1703/4 – 1705/6: Samuel Day
1706/07 – 1717/18: Margaret Day
1718/18 – 1728/29: John Cooper I
1729/30 – 1760/61: John Gorham
1761/62 – 1768/69: William London

29 Gutter Lane / 6 Cary Lane (3):

1735/36 – 1737/38: Edward Aldridge
1740/41 – 1762/63: David Hennell
1766/67 – 1771/72: Thomas Liddiard
1788/89 – 1793/94: Susanna Barker
1794/95 – 1795/96: John Barker/Robert
Barker
1796/97 – 1799/1800: James Hyde

33 Gutter Lane:

1703/4 – 1712/13: John Broake
1713/14 – 1731/32: Samuel Hitchcock
1732/33 – 1737/38: Samuel Bourne
1738/39 – 1745/46: John Harvey
1746/47: Empty
1747/48 – Nineteenth century: Thomas
Hyde

39 Gutter Lane:

1703/4 – 1718/19: Isaac Davenport
1722/23 – 1758/59: George Smith I
1759/60 – 1765/66: Widow / Ann Smith

40 Gutter Lane:

1703/4 – 1706/7: Isaac Dighton
1707/8 – 1756/57: Gabriel Sleath
1757/58 – 1762/63: Widow Sleath
1763/64 – 1774/75: Francis Crump
1775/76: Bevin (occupation unknown)
1776/77 – 1787/88: James Phipps
1788/89 – Nineteenth century: Thomas
Phipps and Co

47 Gutter Lane:

1703/4 – 1707/8: Christopher Canner
1708/9 – 1714/15: Robert Keble
1715/16 – 1728/29: Samuel Welder
1733/34 – 1753/54: Samuel Wood
1754/44: Empty
1755/56 – 1756/57: H Hawkins and
J Hyde
1757/58 – 1792/93: William Plummer
1793/94 – 1794/95: Michael Plummer

NOTES:

1. Walter Brind paid tax also on other premises in Foster Lane
2. These premises appear to have been in the courts behind 34 Foster Lane
3. 29 Gutter and 6 Cary Lane were either the same (renumbered) property or directly adjacent

Chinese Yixing stoneware teapots as a source of English silver design 1675-1830

PETER KAELLGREN



Fig 1 Teapot, red stoneware, China, Yixing, circa 1700 to 1800; impressed seal mark of the potter Bao-yüan at base of handle and seal of Wen-Yüan t'ang (Hall of Long Literary Tradition) on base. Pear-shaped pots in Yixing stoneware are usually associated with the early seventeenth-century potter Hui Mengchen.

(Royal Ontario Museum, gift of Mr and Mrs G Egerton Brown-983.236.37.1-2)

My initial connection with the Royal Ontario Museum began in 1971 when I researched and wrote a thesis, *Chinoiserie in English Silver*, as part of my master's degree in Museum Studies at the University of Toronto. The thesis examined the influence of Chinese design and decoration upon English silver which began in the late 1600s. This influence was to a large extent associated with the importation of Chinese tea, which had become a fashionable beverage in England, and with the Chinese wares associated with the drinking of tea.

By the time of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) Chinese scholars were promoting the idea of brewing tea in small stoneware pots made at

Yixing (formerly spelled 'I-hsing' or 'Yi-hsing'). They considered that these stoneware teapots allowed tea to steep properly so that the full colour, flavour and bouquet were preserved while the tea was kept warm for longer than if porcelain was used¹. The stoneware teapots produced at Yixing in Jiangsu province were hand-made from local red, grey, dull yellow or dark brown clay; rounded forms predominated but, over the years, they were produced in an increasing variety of models. Some were very rustic and shaped like bamboo or tree trunks while a number of the rounded forms were adorned with applied decoration made by using small moulds. Captions for illustrated examples and comments in the recent literature on Yixing stoneware suggest that the models ornamented with appliques, pierced work, or otherwise decorated were made largely for export to Europe. This adds to the complexity of research on Yixing teapots because the majority of examples illustrated in the literature to date are of Chinese provenance and were made for local consumption². Many Yixing models have been revived and produced up to the present day, sometimes even with spurious maker's marks. This adds to the difficulty of exactly dating individual examples.

When shipments of tea began to arrive in Europe during the 1600s Yixing teapots were among the first wares to be imported with them; typical of these early arrivals were pear-shaped teapots such as the example in fig 1. Imitations of these Chinese teapots were made in

1 A useful and succinct history of these teapots is found in the introduction to Barry Till and Paula Swart, *The Brown Stoneware of the Yixing Kilns: The Carol Potter Peckham Collection*, Vancouver, 1992, pp 7-12. For a longer study see K S Lo, *The Stonewares of Yixing*

from the Ming Period to the Present Day, Hong Kong, 1986.

2 Patrice Valfré, *Yixing Teapots for Europe*, Poligny, 2000, is one of the few publications to examine the teapots from a European perspective.



Fig 2 Teapot, slip-cast red stoneware with sprigged decoration. England, Elers Brothers, Vauxhall, Surrey, and Bradwell Wood, Staffordshire, circa 1690-1700.

(Royal Ontario Museum, gift of Mr and Mrs G Egerton Brown-984.18.188.1-2)



Fig 3 Toy teapot, George Manjoy, London, 1693.

(Royal Ontario Museum, gift of Mrs Margaret Gouinlock-988-33.117.1-2)

red stoneware in the Netherlands, Saxony and England. The example in fig 2 is attributed to the brothers, David and John Philip Elers (1656-1742) and (1664-1738) respectively, who had trained as silver-smiths. They moved from the Netherlands to London in about 1686 to 1688 and operated potteries making salt-glazed stoneware and red stonewares in London and north Staffordshire during the 1690s³.

The Yixing teapots, whose exact source was unknown, had a fascination and allure for Europeans. In the 1600s Chinese ceramics were often put into the categories of red or white porcelain; contemporary scholars also described them admiringly as 'Terra Sigillata': a fine red earthenware which was produced in the Roman Empire during the first and second centuries and widely exported. This high quality, glazed earthenware usually had moulded relief decoration based on mythology⁴. At Meissen in Saxony Chinese red stonewares inspired a wide range of tea and coffee wares and tankards which were produced as luxury goods during the early years of the factory: circa 1709 to 1725. Both imported and locally produced red stoneware teapots were initially treated as valuable artifacts. They often had silver, silver-gilt or even gold mounts around the foot, tip of the spout and on the cover which, for safety reasons, might be attached to the handle by a chain⁵.

Many of the earliest English silver teapots followed the pear shape⁶ and the small more or less spherical forms of the Yixing stonewares. The pots were initially small as tea was considered to be medicinal and was only consumed in small amounts; it was also very expensive. These early pots tended to be fairly plain. Although the Royal Ontario Museum does not own a full-size English silver teapot from the period 1680 to 1700, it does possess a miniature version in the Margaret Gouinlock Collection of early English silver toys [fig 3]. Small spherical teapots with the maker's marks of a number of

3 Wolf Mankowitz and Reginald B Haggard, *The Concise Encyclopedia of English Pottery and Porcelain*, New York, 1957, pp 81-83. The Elers red stoneware teapot with panels of low-relief chinoiserie decoration (Victoria and Albert Museum, acc no C.4&A-1932) is illustrated and described on the Victoria and Albert Museum collections website.

4 Patrice Valfré, *Yixing Teapots for Europe*, Poligny, 2000, pp 121-123. Valfré notes "the most striking example of this [terminology]" was the inventory of Augustus the Strong, Elector Prince of Saxony and King of Poland which was begun in 1721. According to Valfré (p 135), Augustus owned 24,000 porcelain objects. The term was used as early as 1656 (p 134, footnote 65).

5 A good example of the taste for mounting red stoneware teapots is seen in a still life by Pieter van Roestraten, circa 1690 (Victoria and Albert Museum, acc no P.5-1939) displayed in the Silver Discovery Area, room 66 which can be seen on the

Victoria and Albert Museum collection website. Roestraten included similar teapots in other paintings.

6 The 'li' or pear shape goes back at least to the Ming dynasty in Chinese ceramics. Line drawings of the form are illustrated in *Pao-ch'ang Keng, Ming Ch'ing tz'u chi chien ting*, 1984, p 9, no 1; a blue and white porcelain example from a Ming dynasty tomb, p 33, no 43; two Ming dynasty examples with reign marks for Yongle (1403-1424) and Xuande (1426-1435), p 72, no 8. The influence of the Yixing teapots and the pear-shape form is fully examined in N M Penzer, 'The Early Silver Teapot and its Origin', *Apollo* LXIV, no 382, December, 1956, pp 208-212. Karel Citroen ('Copy, manner or creation? Influences and confluences in European silver', *The International Silver & Jewellery Fair & Seminar*, 1987, pp 9-10, pls 1 and 2) suggested that the 'melon-shape' silver-gilt teapot with panels of flat chasing, often described as the earliest English teapot (VAM M.48-1939) derived from a Far Eastern ceramic form.

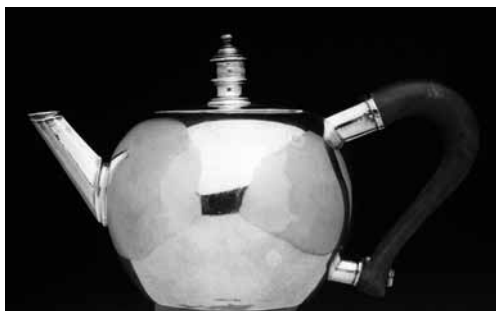


Fig 4 Teapot, Charles Frederick Kandler, London, 1730.

(Royal Ontario Museum, the Norman S and Marian A Robertson Collection-993.53.65.1-2)



Fig 5 Teapot, Chinese, unknown maker, circa 1680 with London hallmarks for 1682-83, maker's mark 'TA in a monogram'.

(Sale, Christie's, New York, 18 April, 1989, lot 589 © Christie's Images Limited 2010)



Fig 6 Teapot, Chinese, circa 1700; rim of cover struck with later mark for the Netherlands between 1814 and 1953.

(Royal Ontario Museum, the Norman S and Marian A Robertson Collection-993.53.293)

British silversmiths from the period 1700 to 1730 do survive [fig 4]. They are often referred to as 'bullet-shaped' as they resemble spherical cast lead musket balls.

By the late 1600s silver versions of the Yixing teapots began to be made in China. The extremely elaborate decoration suggests that these rare items were made for export. Surviving examples with an old English provenance are distinguished by the silver which is 94% or purer: a higher standard than sterling silver. The pots were manufactured in a manner similar to the Yixing stoneware teapots; the teapot in fig 5 is assembled from individual panels soldered together. Early Chinese silver examples are made of thicker silver than their English counterparts and the interior finish is coarser⁷. Like the stoneware teapots some have extensive pierced and chased relief decoration which can be very intricate and is comparable to the fine detail of carved lacquer work. Labour was cheap in China which meant that considerably more hand-finishing could be used on a piece without adding appreciably to the cost. Most early Chinese silver examples bear no marks. The example in fig 5 must have been assayed after its importation, as was obligatory for a piece that was to be retailed, and marked with London hallmarks for 1682-83 and the maker's mark TA. At least one similar, unmarked example is known⁸.

In 1993 Mrs Norman S Robertson presented the Royal Ontario Museum with a related Chinese export ware silver teapot [fig 6]⁹. The interior of this piece reveals that the body was made from a thick sheet of silver that was hammered into the desired form and joined by a vertical seam that is visible inside the pot. Similarly constructed pots have been dated in the literature to as early as circa 1680. A slightly different example with a body shaped like a panelled, baluster jar with a cover is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (accession no. M.69:1,2-1955)¹⁰. The ivory bands inserted into the handle of the first example were apparently added later to insulate the hand from the hot tea.

Throughout the eighteenth century, in Britain as elsewhere in Europe, red stoneware teapots continued to be made and used for brewing imported Chinese tea and medicinal teas or 'tisanes'. Conversation piece paintings of the period show tea parties with the tea being brewed in a simple red stoneware pot even though the rest of the equipment for the tea table consisted of silver and fine

7 The author travelled to New York to inspect this teapot when it was on sale at Christie's New York (Wagstaff Collection), sale, 18 April, 1989, lot 589. It is now part of the Chinese export silver collection at the Peabody Essex Museum (Acc. no. 25,031).

8 Sale, Christie's New York, Important Silver,

Objects of Vertu and Russian Works of Art, 20 October 1998, lot 420. The pot is of globular hexagonal shape with panels of low-relief Chinese scenes to each section, the cover and the handle. It is now in the collection of Harriet Carlton Goldweitz, a ceramics scholar in Boston, noted for her early English earthenwares and dated

and documentary design pieces. An indicator of an early date for both the Yixing stoneware teapots and the silver examples is the absence of a pierced strainer inside the pot at the junction with the spout.

9 A similar pear-shaped example with Dutch hallmarks circa 1780 was sold at Sotheby's New York, 28

October 1992, lot 221. The author has seen at least one other example in a magazine illustration (source of clipping unknown).

10 Illustrated and discussed on the Victoria and Albert Museum collection website. Colonel Putland apparently obtained it in China and gave it to Martha Putland.

Engraved inscriptions include: "Martha Putland 1753" (on the inside) and "To my sister Jane Roberts in acknowledgement of her affectionate regard 1832" (on the exterior). See also Philippa Glanville, 'Chinese Influences on English Silver 1550-1720', 'The International Silver & Jewellery Fair & Seminar', 1987, pp 15 - 22.

porcelain¹¹. Yixing teapots and some larger punch pots, again with applied or relief decoration, continued to be imported from China but do not appear to have exerted a further significant influence on the development of the designs of English silver pots. They did, however, have a greater influence on English ceramics and in the case of red stoneware teapots made in Staffordshire and Leeds, it can sometimes be difficult to differentiate between English products and Chinese imports. The Chinese examples have harder bodies with a finer, more consistent texture and minute white or dark specks of grit. Inside there can be tiny scraper marks from the tools used to finish the pot. English examples were either slip-cast clay, mould-pressed, or raised on a wheel and often have distinctive press-moulded 'sprigged' ornament or, by the late 1700s, are engine turned with elaborate linear patterns.

George Prince of Wales, later George IV, was a leader of fashion and taste from the 1780s onwards. Although the classical sources that had inspired the Adam style continued to dominate form and decoration in the mainstream of English decorative arts during the early 1800s, the tastes of some wealthy consumers were expanding to embrace an appreciation of earlier styles including the Gothic, Renaissance, Tudor, Charles II, and Rococo. In part this appreciation was generated by an interest in collecting antiques and historical objects which can be most readily seen in the great collections of French seventeenth and eighteenth-century furniture and Sèvres porcelain assembled by George IV and other prominent members of society. The range of this antiquarian collecting was very wide and included antique silver¹² as well as specially commissioned silver created using historical objects and prints from earlier periods as the source of their design¹³. As a part of this shift away from Greek vase forms and neo-classical taste imported Chinese ceramics again assumed an increasing importance as fashionable objects and Yixing teapots were apparently amongst the imports.

English-made ceramics, which were more affordable to a



Fig 7 Two teapots, slip-cast black basalt and glazed caneware. English, Wedgwood, circa 1820.

(Royal Ontario Museum, gift of Mr and Mrs G Egerton Brown 970.242.2a-b and 970.242.3a-b)

wider audience than silver, can often provide a barometer of popular taste by imitating or emulating contemporary imports which were being acquired by wealthier members of society. The Wedgwood pottery of Etruria, Staffordshire, provides an especially good example of this trend because their wares were created for every strata of the popular market and survive in comparatively large quantities from the Regency period. A significant number of the dinner and teaware patterns for Queen's ware and bone china introduced by Wedgwood between 1810 and 1820 have 'Chinese' incorporated in their name. In particular Wedgwood developed a line of dry body wares or stonewares which looked very similar to Yixing stonewares. Popular examples from their 1817 catalogue included a small lobed model (no 70) which must have been inspired by a Chinese 'chrysanthemum' or chrysanthemum bud teapot that originally appeared in Chinese stoneware and porcelain during the Yongzheng period (circa 1723-1735)¹⁴ [fig 7]. Wedgwood stoneware teapots were most commonly produced in comparatively small sizes on a scale similar to the Yixing teapots. The low bulbous shape with lobes was a new design departure. It contrasted with the ovoid and urn forms of the Adam period and the square, rounded casket shapes that were then often used for ceramic, silver and Sheffield plate teapots in England. Some of the Wedgwood stoneware pieces, notably the rosso antico (terra cotta) and black basalt, were even painted in enamels with Chinese sub-

11 A good example of this is Francis Hayman's group portrait *Jonathan Tyers and his Family*, 1740 (National Portrait Gallery, London: acc no NPG 5588). For another English conversation group circa 1720, with a similar red stoneware teapot see Robert Charleston (editor), *World Ceramics*, London, 1971, p 259, pl 736,

12 Michael Snodin, 'William Beckford and Metalwork', Philip Hewat-Jaboor and Bet McLeod et al, *William Beckford, 1760-1844: An Eye for the Magnificent*, New Haven and London, 2001, pp 203-215.

13 See Snodin's essay above. Also Shirley Bury, Alexandra Wedgwood, and Michael Snodin, 'The

Antiquarian Plate of George IV: A Gloss on E A Jones', *Burlington Magazine*, 121, no 915, June, 1979, pp 343-353. Both of these essays provide insights into the sources available on the Regency period and the design process. Perhaps the most exceptional example of these new historical revival creations was a pair of silver-gilt candlesticks supplied to William

Beckford (London, 1800-1801, Paul Storr), see Philip Hewat-Jaboor and Bet McLeod et al, *ibid*, no 107, pp 377-8).

14 Terese Tse Bartholomew, a scholar of Chinese ceramics and Yixing stonewares, kindly discussed the source of this form with me. She cited a line drawing of a chrysanthemum pot from the

Yongzheng period illustrated in *Gen Baochang, Ming and Qing Porcelain on Inspection*, Taipei, 1984, p 239, Pl 406, as well as a Yixing example in Patrice Valfré, *Yixing Teapots for Europe*, Poligny, 2000, p 175, no 38 where it is dated to circa 1700-1750.



Fig 8 Teapot and stand, silver-gilt, Paul Storr, London 1812-13.

(© The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland)



Fig 9 Teapot, silver-gilt, John Page, London 1817-18.

(© The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland. 1980.977a,b)



Fig 10 Teapot, red stoneware, China Yixing, circa 1700-1800.

(Royal Ontario Museum, the George Crofts Collection-923.18.5a-b)

jects such as eroded rocks, peonies, flowering plants and colourful butterflies. Again this was in imitation of Yixing stoneware, which, from late in the reign of Kangxi (1644-1722) onwards, was sometimes painted in bright, glossy enamel colours.

William Beckford (1760-1844) travelled extensively in Europe during the 1780s and 1790s and assembled an outstanding collection of antiques as well as some of the finest contemporary decorative arts which were often made to his own exacting specifications. His taste was highly personal and diverse ranging from the Neo-Classical and Renaissance to the exotic and Gothic Revival. One of his quirky digressions was to design and commission special silver mounts for small pieces of Chinese export ceramics and fragments of Indian Mughal jade and semi-precious stones. These new creations were expensive and often entirely unique¹⁵. The silver-gilt teapot and stand of 1812-13 [fig 8] were made for William Beckford and are in a mixture of Chinese and Indian tastes. The lobed form of the pot is suggestive of the domes of Brighton Pavilion, the seaside retreat of the Prince Regent, which John Nash began building in an exotic Chinese-Indian style in about 1815.

Since the 1980s art historians have paid increasing attention to influential designers and wealthy patrons, such as Beckford, as they often initiated new styles that later passed into popular usage. The Bard Graduate Center for the Decorative Arts in New York City displayed in their 2001 exhibition, *William Beckford, 1760-1844: An Eye for the Magnificent*, a simple four piece tea set [fig 9]. The teapot, sugar bowl and milk jug are marked for London, 1817-18 and bear the maker's mark of John Page. Christopher Hartop, who catalogued both Beckford teapots, suggests that Yixing teapots provided the design source¹⁶. He also raised the possibility that Page may have supplied finished wares to the royal goldsmiths, Rundell, Bridge and Rundell. When Page entered his mark at Goldsmiths' Hall as a plate-worker in 1813, he gave an address in Horseshoe Court, Ludgate Hill, London, which was around the corner from the royal goldsmiths. George, as Prince of Wales, regent and later king, maintained a standing account with Rundell's who acted for him as jewellers, goldsmiths, and purveyors of precious and artistic objects. The Beckford set resonates with artifacts in the Royal Ontario Museum collection in a number of different ways.

A Yixing stoneware teapot on display in the Chinese Galleries of the museum offers a potential source for the lobed form teapots [fig 10]; it has been dated to between circa 1700 and circa 1800: the patination on the surface suggesting this age. It is one of a number of different lobed teapots made in Yixing. The form, with the rose and butterfly knop on the top of the Beckford silver teapot also relates to important artifacts in the museum's European collections.

In 1988, the widow of D Lorne Pratt of Toronto presented the museum with an extensive English silver-gilt tea and coffee service from her husband's estate. The service was a gift from George IV to his mistress, Elizabeth, Marchioness of Conyngham (1768-1860). The author was able to fully research and publish this service (969.367.1.1-76) and document the original cost of the individual pieces from the surviving royal accounts with Rundell, Bridge and

15 Malcolm Baker, Timothy Schroder, and E Laird Clowes, *Beckford and Hamilton Silver from Brodick Castle*, London, 1980, where Chinese porcelain tea bowls, bowls, small vases and pots mounted in silver gilt and silver are illustrated and discussed (nos B29, B30, B32 to B38). These mounts were specially designed and commissioned by Beckford.

London hallmarks on the pieces range from 1816 to 1820 with the maker's marks for John Harris, James Aldridge and John Robins.

16 Philip Hewat-Jaboor and Bet McLeod et al, *William Beckford, 1760-1844: An Eye for the Magnificent*, New Haven and London, 2001, pp 341-343, nos 58-62.



Fig 11 Tea set, silver-gilt, London, 1821-22, Philip Rundell.
(Royal Ontario Museum, gift of Mrs D L Pratt from the Estate of D Lorne Pratt-969.367.1.8-13)



Fig 12 Teapot, William Ker Reid, London, 1829-30.
(Royal Ontario Museum, bequest of Gerald Larkin 961.123.19)

Rundell¹⁷. The teapot, designed for one or two people, like the other contents of the case, bears London hallmarks for 1821-22 and the maker's mark of Philip Rundell [fig 11]. The date letters for pieces, which are all contained in a fitted mahogany case with a lock, range from 1814-15 to 1826-27. The range of dates would suggest that much of the service was drawn from existing stock at Rundell's. The invoice is dated 14 March, 1827.

The tastes of the court often filtered down to become the tastes of the masses. Lobed teapots became a popular model in silver together with milk jugs, sugar bowls, hot water pots, coffee pots, and waste bowls for the spent tea and crumbs, all made to match. The form was used for teapots made in London [fig 12], Scotland and Ireland [fig 13] as well as for Britannia metal and Sheffield Plate pots manufactured in Birmingham and elsewhere. The finials varied but, during the 1830s and 1840s, were often formed as acorns and melons. It is interesting that the English metal form is traditionally referred to as the 'melon shape' as this term is also used in the literature on the Chinese Yixing teapots.

In comparison with many of the teapots produced during the 1820s, the Sheffield Plate example in fig 14 is relatively plain. The band around the middle is where the upper and lower halves of the die-pressed body were joined together. Even in the case of this relatively nondescript everyday teapot, a precedent in Yixing stoneware may be detected. Although the Chinese example in fig 15 may date to anywhere between 1800 and 1950 it follows a traditional form, is of a similar size, and has the same raised band around the middle.



Plate 13 Teapot, James Fry, Dublin, 1834.
(Royal Ontario Museum, the Norman S and Marian A Robertson Collection 993.53.249)



Plate 14 Teapot, Sheffield Plate, circa 1820.
(Royal Ontario Museum 924.16.49)



Fig 15 Teapot, red stoneware, China, Yixing, circa 1800-1950. Impressed under the cover, "Ren Xiang Jian [or Jen]". It has not been possible to trace this mark in the published lists of Yixing wares.
(Private Collection. Photo courtesy of Catherine Wyss)

17 C Peter Kaellgran, 'Lady Conyngham's silver gilt in the Royal Ontario Museum', *Burlington Magazine*, 134:1071, June, 1992, pp 368-374.

The original invoices for the service are preserved in the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle (26226). Following the death of Mrs Lucile Pratt in 2008, her

estate gave the Royal Ontario Museum documents indicating that Mr Pratt had purchased the service from John Bell of Aberdeen in June, 1958.



Fig 16 Teapot, silver-gilt, possibly English, circa 1815, unmarked.
(Private Collection)



Fig 17 Milk jug, silver-gilt, John Edward Terry, London, 1821-22.
(Private Collection)



Fig 18 Teapot, silver-gilt, John Page, London 1819-20.
(Private Collection. Illustration reproduced courtesy Bill Kime and Waddingtons Auctioneers & Appraisers, Toronto, Canada)

Replicas of antique jewellery and silver began to be made as part of the taste in antiquarian objects. Pieces such as a Chinese hexagonal silver teapot with chased low-relief scenes were replicated [fig 16]; this version was briefly on loan to the museum from a private collection together with a matching milk jug marked for London, 1821-22 by John Edward Terry [fig 17]. A further teapot of similar design, with London hallmarks for 1814-15 and the mark of William Eley I, is in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston¹⁸.

A variant of this hexagonal form with a different set of motifs to each relief panel was apparently created by John Page in 1819-20 [fig 18]. The author was able to examine this teapot personally when it was recently offered at auction in Toronto¹⁹. Each panel is an individual design in the Regency taste and incorporates rococo scrolls but, like the Chinese teapots, the body, handle and cover were assembled from separate cast panels. The chain running from the cover to the handle is a typical feature of imported Chinese and Japanese ceramic teapots which were sometimes mounted with silver circa 1700. The cast and chased china-man finial distinguishes this teapot from most of the other Regency models. An apparently identical example of this teapot with a lobed depressed ball finial, made in London with marks for Paul Storr, 1825-26 also survives²⁰. Based on Christopher Hartop's suggestion, it is possible that John Page may have supplied the teapot to Paul Storr.

The 1820s was a period when many small novelties were made in silver. Some were functional while others like the miniature teapot from the Margaret Gouinlock collection in fig 19 were luxury trinkets intended for display in cabinets. It was made by the firm of Joseph Wilmore in Birmingham in 1829. Other examples of this pot, which was based on an Yixing model, are illustrated in books and auction catalogues.

In conclusion, Chinese Yixing stoneware teapots inspired the basic, small round and pear-shaped models when teapots first began to be made by English silversmiths in the late 1600s. In the early 1800s, renewed interest in stoneware teapots, both from Yixing and those made by Wedgwood and other English potteries, resulted in new



Fig 19 Toy teapot, Birmingham, 1829, Joseph Willmore.
(Royal Ontario Museum, gift of Mrs. Margaret Gouinlock-988.133.125)



Fig 20 Tea service, silver-gilt, London, teapot, stand, milk jug, sugar bowl, tea caddy and slop bowl, 1821, Philip Rundell; kettle and stand London, 1826, John Bridge.

(Royal Ontario Museum, gift of Mrs D L Pratt from the Estate of D Lorne Pratt-969.367.1.3-14, 20-21)

lobed forms for silver teapots and other tea and coffee wares. Concurrently, during the Regency period, earlier examples of Chinese export silver teapots, constructed of panels with low-relief Chinese scenes, inspired a smaller production of teapots and other pieces which were copies or new versions with contemporary chinoiserie motifs. The most readily recognised result of these Chinese-inspired designs was the lobed 'melon-form' tea set which remained a classic production model for silver and electroplate right up to the mid-twentieth century [fig 20].

My thanks go to Gwen Adams, Departmental Assistant in the Department of World Cultures, Royal Ontario Museum for her assistance in processing and assembling the illustrations; Jennifer Kinnaird, collections data technician, and Catherine Wyss, European technician who provided additional assistance. Dorothea Burstyn very generously shared her research on the low-relief teapots with me. I am grateful to the late Mrs G Egerton Brown (Hazel Brown) who assembled an outstanding collection of English earthenwares and Chinese and English stonewares, which she generously donated to the Royal

Ontario Museum, as well as to the silver donors Gerald Larkin, Mrs R W Gouinlock senior (Margaret Gouinlock) and Mrs Norman S Robertson (Marian A Robertson). The examples in the accession series 983, 984, 988, and 993 were all certified as Cultural Property by the Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board. Thanks also go to Jennifer Pitman and Emily Grimbail of Christie's, New York; Margaret Wilson of the National Museums of Scotland and Waddingtons for images.

Dr Peter Kaellgren, a member of the Silver Society, lives and works in Canada. After completing a Masters in Museum Studies in 1971, he joined the staff of the European Department at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto in 1972. He has worked on the fields of ceramics, glass, furniture, as well as silver. In 1987, he completed a PhD in Art History at the University of Delaware. Peter has lectured and written widely and co-ordinated the annual Decorative Arts Symposia at the Royal Ontario Museum from 1991 to 2008. He retired at the end of 2009 and was appointed Curator Emeritus; in this capacity he continues with research with a view to completing projects such as a book on early English silver toys.

18 Illustrated and discussed by Ellenor M Alcorn, *English Silver in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, Boston, 2000, vol II, no 181; this example has defaced marks on the underside for London, 1814-15, William Eley (I). The author thanks Dorothea Burstyn for bringing this teapot to his attention. The earliest example of this revival of

interest and imitation of Chinese export silver with low-relief panels would seem to be a pair of silver-gilt bowls on stands (London, 1810-11, Paul Storr) (sale, Sotheby's London, 23 January, 1964, lot 63), one bowl and cover were described as "unmarked, probably Cantonese work of Ch'ien Lung [Quianlung] period

made for export." Also illustrated in Vanessa Brett, *The Sotheby's Directory of Silver 1600-1940* London, 1986, no 1139, pp 252-253. For related pieces by John Edward Terry and other makers, also see nos 1270-1273, p 275.

19 Bill Kime, silver specialist at Waddingtons, stated that this teapot had come

from the collection of the Canadian silver collector Richard G Meech I. It would seem to be the same pot that was sold at Sotheby's New York, 17 October 1995, lot 56 (London, 1819-20, John Pratt (?). Page and Pratt had similar marks (Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1687-1837*, 1976, p 120, nos 1593 and 1594),

20 Vanessa Brett, *The Sotheby's Directory of Silver 1600-1940*, London, 1986, no 1273, p 275. Possibly the identical teapot was recently sold at Bonhams Sydney, 25 June 2010, lot 416, from the Owston Collection.

"These six sheets of paper".

Some biographical insights from the will of Thomas Heming

SOPHIA TOBIN



Memorial to Thomas Heming Esquire, Hillingdon church.

The name of Thomas Heming is familiar to admirers of eighteenth-century silver and pieces bearing his mark adorn national and international collections. This brief article adds to the biographical details available on him; it uses his will as its central source and marks the beginning of the author's research into his life and work.

Thomas Heming was a talented cultivator of royal and noble patrons, and earned his fortune and reputation as the organiser behind a vast web of craftsmen and contacts. Operating within a society where family, trade and social connections were inextricably linked, his will indicates his concern with the status he had attained, and a fastidious precision in distributing the benefits of the "many and exceeding great blessings" he had attained.

Heming signed his last will and testament on 27 April, 1796, putting his seal to "these six sheets of paper written only on one side"¹. The will, and the three codicils (amendments) he would subsequently add, would be proved exactly five years later. Fourteen years previously Heming had been unseated as 'Goldsmith in ordinary to His Majesty', a role he had filled for twenty-two years, amidst suggestions of excessive pricing². In his will, Heming styled himself not as a former goldsmith but as an "Esquire" of Hillingdon, then a country parish, where he lived in considerable style. He was by this time in his mid seventies and had left the hurly-burly of Bond Street behind. The document does, however, afford us a glimpse of some of the connections that had been important during his life and career.

Heming, the son of a mercer, was born in Ludlow in 1722 and his will reveals that he maintained links with the area for the rest of his life, containing as it does bequests to relatives in Shrewsbury, Worcester and Wales. He was in his mid teens when he left the green landscape of Shropshire for London and one can only imagine the impact the city must have had on him. On 7 February 1737 Heming was apprenticed to Edmund Boddington and made over, on the same day, to Peter Archambo. That his family had secured him an apprenticeship to one of the most prestigious of the Huguenot goldsmiths indicates a reasonable level of prosperity and a possible, as yet undiscovered, geographical or familial link. Nevertheless, as the son of a provincial tradesman, Heming's social climb was to be considerable.

Grimwade notes that Heming achieved his freedom in 1746 and operated from an address on Piccadilly³. In 1760, at the age of 38, he was made Royal Goldsmith, and by 1765 he had premises on

1 The National Archives, PRO B 11/1356/244, 245, 243, Crown Copyright.
2 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837*, London, 1976, p 543.

3 Arthur Grimwade, *ibid*, London, 1976, p 543.

4 His first wife, Anne, died in 1777 and was buried in Paddington. His (second) wife, Mary Cambridge, a widow, died in 1800, a year before Heming himself, and was buried in Hillingdon.

5 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837*, London, 1976, p 542.

6 Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths, 1200-1800*, Cambridge, 1972, p 72.

7 The National Archives PRO B 11/1110/93 Crown Copyright.

8 London Metropolitan Archives, ACC/1525/001-002.

9 City of Westminster Coroners: Coroners' Inquests into Suspicious Deaths, 7 January 1783-30 December 1783, London Lives, 1690-1800, WACWIC652230532 (www.londonlives.org, Sept 2010), Westminster Archives Centre, image 532 of 618.

10 George Heming Junior left a sizeable bequest to Thomas Laver, Benjamin's son, for "his father's faithful service". (The National Archives, PRO B 11/1491/272, 271, Crown Copyright).

11 The National Archives, PRO B 11/1356/244, 245, 243, Crown Copyright.

12 Initially Heming had requested that he be buried beside his first wife, Anne.

Bond Street at 'the King's Arms'. His family members were also involved in the firm. Church records reveal that Heming married at least twice⁴, and most histories mention his sons: George and Thomas junior, who were apprenticed to their father in 1763 and 1767 respectively. Neither became freemen, and Thomas junior is missing from his father's will, indicating death or disgrace.

George was involved in the family business and it is widely assumed that he was the same George Heming who registered a mark with William Chawner in 1774, a premise which is perfectly credible⁵. This has been disputed because there was more than one George Heming, the other one being Thomas Heming senior's brother. Heal placed a George Heming, goldsmith and jeweller, at the Hand and Hammer, Piccadilly from around 1760 until 1773⁶. This was evidently Thomas Heming's brother rather than his son, for in his will, proved in 1783, George Heming senior described himself as a goldsmith living in Piccadilly. He went on to ask that his bequests be administered by "my brother Thomas Heming of Bond Street"⁷. His will is sparse in comparison to that of his brother but then his marriage settlement of 1765 described him as a "goldsmith, citizen and musician"⁸, perhaps an indication that he had a less business-like attitude than his brother, who was by this time set on the road to prove himself a gentleman.

George Heming senior came to an unhappy end: a coroner's report of 1783 describes how he committed suicide by drinking laudanum mixed with water. At the inquest into his death one of the witnesses was Benjamin Laver, the most famous of Thomas Heming's former apprentices. Laver stated that he had known George "upwards of thirty years" and that due to agonising pain, Heming had been "in capable [sic] of doing Business" and was "at times Disordered in his mind" in the days leading up to his death⁹. Laver's evidence led to the verdict that George's suicide was due to the fact that he was not of sound mind, thereby allowing him a Christian burial and saving his family from further disgrace and forfeiture of his goods. Laver's loyalty to the Heming family would be rewarded years later in the will of Thomas Heming's son: an indication of how closely their personal and professional relationships were intertwined¹⁰.

George Heming senior allowed his executors money to settle his only child Richard in "any profession, business or employment". That only child, 15 at the time of his father's death, is the Richard Heming we find operating as a goldsmith at 151 Bond Street in 1796. He is explicitly identified in his uncle, Thomas's, will and the first codicil to the will, made in June 1799, throws light on a seemingly troubled relationship. In it, Thomas promised his nephew an additional two hundred pounds a year

...provided he discharges the Bonds he now stands indebted to me which now amount to upwards of two thousand pounds...

an enormous sum of money at the time. Amidst the legal language a hint of emotion seeps into Heming's words:

...I recommend my Executor to lean on the side of mercy to him and if he reforms his life to be liberal towards him...¹¹.

Whilst his family relationships may have been complex, Heming's will reveals that he maintained his contacts in high society even though he had lost the title of Royal Goldsmith. One of the "worthy and esteemed friends" he named as a trustee was the Reverend Samuel Glasse. Glasse was at the heart of the upper echelons of eighteenth-century society: an influential clergyman who had been made Chaplain-in-Ordinary to George III in 1772, while Heming was Royal Goldsmith. He was also the rector of St Mary's Hanwell: the church at which he had officiated at the marriage of Heming, then aged 64 to Mary, "Mrs Cambridge", a widow, in 1786. The second Mrs Heming's will indicates that she, like her husband, had links to Shropshire.

Mary Heming died in 1800 and a year later Thomas Heming was buried beside her in the church at Hillingdon, as requested in the first codicil to his will¹². On the elegant, neo-classical memorial installed by his son George, there is no mention of his status as Royal Goldsmith, only the description "Thomas Heming Esquire of Hillingdon". This "Esquire", was a mark of status that Heming evidently cherished. In his will he used the term sparingly, applying it only to himself and two others, but never to his son, nephew, or other goldsmiths. It was an indication of the social standing that he had spent his life working for, and helps us begin to form a notion of the character of a man who was one of the leading figures in the eighteenth-century goldsmiths' trade.

This article marks the start of my research project on the life and work of Thomas Heming. I would be very grateful for further information, thoughts and suggestions from members of the Society.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank David Beasley for his assistance in researching this article, and I am deeply grateful to the following for their help: Wynyard Wilkinson, Luke Schrager, Eleni Bide, Christine Bartlett and Aelred Tobin.

Sophia Tobin worked for Wartski for six years and is currently researching the life and work of Thomas Heming.

George Smith of Huggin Lane: a Georgian silver bucklemaker

CLIVE TAYLOR

1 George Smith to John Eaton, Citizen and Goldsmith of London, on 2 August 1753 for seven years (*Goldsmiths Hall Apprentice Book 7*, p 198). The margin contains the information that Smith was turned over on the same day to Samuel Eaton, a Leatherseller, with the premium of £20 going to him. Arthur Grimwade (*London Goldsmiths 1697–1837*, 1990) states that George Smith of Huggin Alley was apprenticed to William Aldridge but, in the biographical details, he apparently conflated two George Smiths and the mark (Grimwade 896), pre August 1758, of a George Smith at Red Cross Street, seems to relate to another silversmith. This latter maker's mark was in an oval punch whereas the subsequent marks at Huggin Alley were rectangular. Significantly, the *Smallworkers' Register* shows all the marks at Huggin Alley in a separate block, even though there was space to continue the Red Cross Street entry, which would almost certainly indicate that they were started as a separate registration for a new silversmith.

2 Parish Records of Scaldwell, Maidford and Arthingworth, Northamptonshire at Northamptonshire County Records Office. The Eaton family probably originated in Leicestershire, migrating to Scaldwell in the early 1700s and John's father moved to Maidford soon after 1734.

3 John Eaton is recorded as having taken as apprentices: William Cattell, George Smith, Joseph Lewis, George Eaton (his cousin), and Jeremy King and turned them all over to Samuel Eaton. He also took

on William Taylor, who was turned over to his father William Taylor, and Jonathan Christopher who was turned over to Benjamin Cooper, another silver bucklemaker. The only apprentice Eaton appears to have trained himself was John Packwood. I have not seen any buckles or other silver attributable to John Eaton and he appears not to have been a very successful silversmith. Although elected to the livery in 1758, he resigned from it in 1767 shortly before his death. By his will his widow Martha was left his entire estate but it seems he left very little. The *Goldsmiths' Company Court Book 17*, p 22 records Martha's admission, on charity grounds, as one of four new almshouses to the Goldsmiths' almshouse.

4 The will of Robert Wood of Arthingworth, Northamptonshire, husbandman, proved 18 May 1749 and the will of George Eaton of Scaldwell, Northamptonshire, farmer, proved 8 December 1759. The inventory of Robert Wood of Arthingworth was appraised by George Eaton, Peter Eaton and Samuel Eaton 3 May 1759 (Northamptonshire County Records Office). The inventory gives a remarkable insight as to the house and farm on which Hannah Wood, later George Smith's wife, was born. The house had only a kitchen and parlour downstairs and two bedrooms upstairs with a further bedroom in the attic. The farm was mixed arable and grazing; the stock included "7 Cows, 3 Yearling calves, 4 Weaning Calves, 6 Horses, 8 Mayrs, 1 Yearling Colt, 3 Hoags, 116 Sheep and Sum Lambs".

Many collectors of small pieces of Georgian silver will have come across tongs, buckles and other small items marked by George Smith II but to date there has been little information published on him. The introduction of many new sources on the internet has, however, made it possible to find relevant material comparatively easily in a way that was not possible even a few years ago. George Smith's career was in many ways typical of that of other successful silversmiths of the period, illustrating as it does the shift from the craft workshops of the mid-eighteenth century to the more modern concepts of outsourcing or larger scale factory production which were key to a business's survival. It tells us much of the background to the silver trade of the period and the close links between many silversmiths.

George Smith's indentures of apprenticeship to John Eaton of 1753 give George's father as George Smith of Witney, Oxfordshire, yeoman¹. The apprenticeship of the second and subsequent sons of country farmers and other middle class men to City of London masters was entirely characteristic of the eighteenth century. London was perceived, often rightly, as the place to make a fortune or at least to prosper, although the first born was normally expected to stay and inherit the property. Nothing is known of George's childhood, although the parish register of St Mary's church, Witney records his parents' marriage on 11 August 1738 and his baptism on 26 October 1739.

John Eaton, a silversmith in Gutter Lane, on the same day turned his new apprentice over to Samuel Eaton a silversmith in nearby Huggin Alley. John Eaton was a nephew of Samuel and both, like George himself, were from a country farming background: the Eatons came from Northamptonshire². The transfer of Smith from John to Samuel Eaton may have been a device to give him freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company. John Eaton was a freeman of the Goldsmiths', a more prestigious company than the Leathersellers' of which Samuel was a freeman. John Eaton seems to have made a regular practice of turning over apprentices on what appears to have been a 'flag of convenience' basis³.

Samuel Eaton's own master, the silver bucklemaker Robert Elliot, who became a freeman of the Leathersellers' in 1715 and died in 1760, also came from Witney. It may be that the Smith family were related to, or in some other way connected to, the Elliot family.

Samuel Eaton was a well-established silversmith, who had registered his first mark as a smallworker in 1736 at Huggin Alley in the

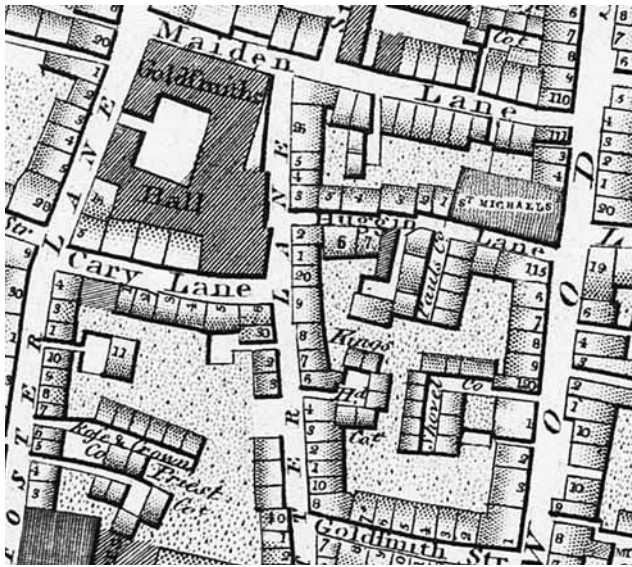


Fig 1 The area around Goldsmiths' Hall and Huggin Lane circa 1795. Based on Motco's copy of Richard Horwood's great map of 1799. Maiden Lane is now Gresham Street. The map omits naming Haberdashers' Hall and Wax Chandlers' Hall.

parish of St Michael, Wood Street [fig 1]. Often earlier referred to as Hogan or Hoggan Alley, it was a typically short and narrow City thoroughfare of about 240 feet long and less than ten feet wide. The west end emerged into Gutter Lane at the point where the entrance to the Assay Office at Goldsmiths' Hall is today. The east end, where St Michael's church stood until it was demolished in 1897, was at the junction with Wood Street. The whole area, once a cramped maze of courts and alleys bounded by Maiden Lane (now Gresham Street), Wood Street, Goldsmiths Street and Gutter Lane is now under one vast building, only relieved by the Wax Chandlers' Hall, the sole survivor of the period. Of Huggin Alley, or as it had become by the late eighteenth century, Huggin Lane, nothing now remains. St Michael's was a small parish even by City standards, having less than a hundred householders paying Poor Rate and Land Tax during the eighteenth century.

Samuel Eaton kept in contact with his family in Northamptonshire, assisting after the widowhood of his sister, Martha Wood, upon her husband's death in 1749 and witnessing the will of his brother, George Eaton in 1759⁴. Perhaps it was after one of these visits that Samuel's niece Hannah Wood, the daughter of Martha Wood, came to London, since by 1765 she and George Smith were well acquainted as will later be seen.

The late 1750s and the 1760s saw the beginning of a boom in the fashion for buckles, particularly shoe buckles which was to peak in the 1770s and start to decline in the 1780s. Although Samuel Eaton recorded all his marks as a smallworker he was also heavily involved in the

buckle trade and undoubtedly prospered accordingly. Few of buckles marked by Samuel Eaton survive [fig 2].

Once a silver buckle went out of fashion or money was needed, it would have been promptly turned into cash or part-exchanged. In the eighteenth century buckles were not permanently sewn or attached to a garment or a pair of shoes as is normal today. Virtually all buckles were fitted with not only a set of prongs, but a device know as a chape, which in the case of a shoe buckle was a loop of metal with internal spikes which allowed the buckle to be easily removed and transferred at will. A lady or gentleman might have owned several pairs of shoes and shoe buckles and mixed and matched them as required. Chapes for the smaller buckles for knee breeches took the form of an anchor shape and for buckles for the high cravat collar called a stock, a series of studs was used. Both of the latter type of chapes fitted into a sewn hole in the garment resembling a buttonhole. Other types of buckle are mentioned in contemporary documents, including hat, shirt, breast and girdle buckles. As they were transferable buckles were effectively treated as jewellery, indeed buckles with precious stones or paste decoration were regarded as 'jeweller's work'.



Fig 2 Samuel Eaton buckles.

Top left: Knee buckle marked with what is believed to be a lost register script mark of Eaton overstepping that of Edward Bills, lion passant of 1740-1756.

Top middle: Knee buckle with Eaton's mark of 1761-1767. The internal spikes in the chape may have been for use as a hat band buckle.

Bottom left: Three stud stock buckle with a pelleted SE mark believed to be another lost register mark of Eaton; very similar to his 1761-1767 marks, lion passant of 1740-1756.

Bottom middle: Four stud stock buckle with SE mark without pellet, believed to be yet another lost register mark of Eaton, lion passant of 1740-1756.

Right: Shoe buckle, mark of Eaton of 1761-1767 without pellet. Buckle in a late 1750s style but of a larger size more consistent with 1765. As an apprentice George Smith may well have actually worked on this buckle.



Fig 3 George Smith had numerous marks and many are difficult to distinguish from each other and from other makers' marks with the same initials. The top one is identifiable as his 21 September 1776 mark and the bottom one is almost certainly his mark of 15 May 1778, both as bucklemaker.

George Smith would have finished his apprenticeship with Samuel Eaton in late 1760; his freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company was recorded on 14 January 1761. It appears that he then may have worked as a journeyman for William Taylor, another silver bucklemaker in Huggin Lane, as his name appears as a witness to Taylor's will of 22 July 1766. It was fairly common practice for journeyman to attest the wills of their employers⁵. It is more probable, however, that he was, at least by 1765, already working as an independent silver bucklemaker. In 1765 he took his first apprentice, David Carpenter son of David Carpenter of Bampton, Oxfordshire, "Husbandman deceased" who was "bound to George Smith of the Parish of St Michael, Wood Street, London, Buckle Maker to learn his Art of Buckle Maker". Another son of a small Oxfordshire farmer and perhaps related to Smith. There is no record of George Smith in the Land Tax assessment records of the period and the Poor Rate records are missing

Samuel Eaton died suddenly in late October 1767, probably on Friday 30 October⁶. His death totally changed George Smith's life. Whether or not Smith was previously aware of it, Eaton in his will dated 9 October 1765, had left

to George Smith my late apprentice if he marries my niece Hannah Wood all my working Tools Patterns and Fixtures and the Lease of my House.....The bulk of his estate⁷.

Having probably been romantically involved with Hannah for at least two years Smith must have now been galvanised into action and married her on 12 October 1767, less than a month before Eaton's death⁸. There must, however, be considerable doubt as to the accuracy of the date of 12 October. After Lord Hardwicke's Act of 1754 the signature of both parties to a marriage and those of two witnesses had to be entered into a pre-printed register of standard form and all the entries were numbered. George and Hannah's marriage is no 95 in the register of St Michael's, Wood Street and follows no 94 which is dated 18 October, ie six days later. The next entry is no 96 of 15 February 1768.

The likelihood is that the date was actually 12 November. This is reinforced by the dates of the Bishop of London's licence by which the marriage was authorised: both the allegation and the bond required of George were dated 10 November 1767. The entry in the parish register could be a simple clerical error, although it is surprising that neither George, Hannah nor the two witnesses noticed it; it seems more likely to be deliberate. Smith probably realised that if the marriage took place before Eaton's death, his inheritance could not be voided as creating a trust of indefinite duration which would otherwise have been a strong possibility. All the signatories of the register, other than the officiating priest, had an interest in the matter. The witnesses were Peter Eaton (another uncle of Hannah) and Charles Holliday, almost certainly a friend of Smith's from Witney.

Hannah Wood, described as a spinster of the parish of St Michael, was able to sign her own name in the register. She was born in late 1736 or early 1737 and was baptised on 13 January 1736/7 at Arthingworth in Northamptonshire (see note 2). At the time of their marriage she was about 31, and he was 28. There appear to have been only two children from the marriage, both girls. The eldest, called Martha, after both her grandmothers, was probably born in 1768 shortly after the wedding; the baptismal records of St Michael's are lost so the exact date is uncertain. Similarly the date of birth of the second daughter, Ann, is unknown.

After the marriage Smith wasted little time and entered his first mark, as a smallworker at Huggin Alley on 21 November 1767, less than a fortnight after Eaton's burial [fig 3]. Smith inherited a thriving business and the



Fig 4 Shoe buckle of about 1770 -1775, with silvered chape, by George Smith. I have an identical buckle with the mark of John Faux and George Love and they undoubtedly both came from the same pattern if not mould.



Fig 5 Shoe buckle of about 1770 –1775. GS mark and lion passant only, marked like virtually all pre 1784 London buckles on the back, with no town mark or date.



Fig 6 Shoe buckle of circa 1780 when rectangular buckles came into fashion. With probably George Smith's mark of 15 May 1778.

silver buckle trade was now entering its heyday. From his surviving buckles and tongs he seems to have catered for the low to mid-end of the market; his output very much geared to the rising demand of the rapidly expanding middle classes of the late Georgian period. He was not the only one to spot and exploit this trend. Hester Bateman, Charles Hougham and Benjamin Mountigue are other silversmiths whose work must have been destined for the same markets; like them, Smith produced sugar tongs in large numbers. Because of the casting skills involved with producing both buckles and tongs, the average bucklemaker would have had no problem with turning his hand to the manufacture of tongs and they would have been part of his normal output and trade. Tongs were originally made from three-piece castings but the transition to the more cheaply produced one-piece rolled item was a logical step for the enterprising Smith. He also sold spoons; a bill, dated

1790, states that he was a "Buckle, Spoon, and Tea-Tongue Maker"⁹.

1771 saw Smith's election to the livery of the Goldsmiths' Company when he was described as "George Smith of Hogan Alley". He was listed as a bucklemaker in the Parliamentary Report of 1773. After the report a new register of marks, which gave more detail of each silversmith's specialisation, was commenced at Goldsmiths' Hall. Bucklemaker was a common description, reflecting the importance of the trade. Smith entered nine marks as bucklemaker at 4 Huggin Lane between 1775 and 1789, a premises which he had inherited as leasehold and later acquired as a freehold. He ultimately owned not only 4 Huggin Lane but numbers 1, 2, and 3 as well, together with other property in the City. This must have initially been to house his expanding workforce and manufacturing capability but was seemingly also an investment vehicle¹⁰.

5 Will of William Taylor, silversmith of St Michael's, Wood Street (National Archives PROB 11/924), proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (from henceforward PCC) on 2 December 1766. Samuel Eaton was named as the sole executor, although he was not a beneficiary, and he proved the will. He seems to have been involved in several legal matters, acting for example in the registration of the mark of Thomas Pigott of Portsmouth in April 1759.

6 Samuel Eaton's burial in

the middle aisle of St Michael's church, Wood Street was recorded on 8 November 1767 in the parish register. Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697–1837*, 1976, p 662 records his ninth and last mark as being registered on 16 March 1768. This is actually his fourth mark, entered on 16 March 1763; Grimwade mistook the 3 of 1763 for an 8. His final mark was entered on 17 September 1767 so it would seem that his death was sudden. At this period wills were often made close to, and in the imminent

expectation of, death. Samuel Eaton's will was over two years old at the time of his death..

7 Will of Samuel Eaton of Saint Michael, Wood Street (National Archives PROB 11/933). Proved 12 November 1767 at PCC.

8 Parish Marriage Register of St Michael's church, Wood Street. Year 1767, p 24, no 95.

9 Fred W Burgess, *Antique Jewellery and Trinkets*, 1919, p 125.

10 Details from Smith's will of 1803 of property held by him in the City at the time of his death are summarised as follows: freehold at 4, Huggin Lane "wherein I now dwell" (inherited as a leasehold from Samuel Eaton), freeholds of 1, 2, and 3, Huggin Lane (all let to tenants by 1803), freeholds at the upper end of Mutton Court in Maiden Lane "which I lately purchased of Mr Francis Coleman and which are now in the occupation of myself and my undertenants", three leasehold properties "in Long

Lane and Cloths Street near West Smithfield in the Parish of Saint Bartholomew the Great", also "my four other Leaseholds ... In Cumming Street and numbered 2, 3, 6, and 7", leasehold property "numbered 9 and 10 ... being on the South side of Half Moon Alley in the parish of Saint Giles without, Cripplegate". With the exception of 4 Huggin Lane, and perhaps some of the Mutton Court property, none were utilised in his silversmithing business by 1803.



Fig 7 Shoe buckle of circa 1790 with George Smith's mark of 1789 with pellet. Marked on the bridges (welded side flanges) as were virtually all post duty shoe buckles



Fig 8 Small shoe buckle of about 1775- 1784, perhaps for a lady. George Smith's mark without pellet.



Fig 9 Typical reeded shoe buckle of about 1785-1790. The GS mark on this buckle may be an over-stamping of that of another maker.

A 1782 case at the Old Bailey gives us a remarkable view of George Smith's operations and a glimpse into his character, or at least the character he chose to portray: 'spin' is not a new phenomenon! He certainly appears to have had a sense of humour, if somewhat sardonic. This account has been abridged and slightly edited but the full version is available on the Old Bailey online website¹¹.

JOHN WOOD was indicted for stealing on the 27th of July last, seven pair of silver shoe buckles, value £5, three hundred and seventeen other pair of silver shoe buckles, value £166, eleven pair of silver knee buckles, value 33s, one silver stock buckle, value 2s, three hundred and fifty-four pair of other shoe buckles, value £220, one pair of silver knee buckles, one pair of silver tea-tongs, and one hundred and fifty dozen of silver filings, value £ 37, the property of George Smith

GEORGE SMITH: I am a working silver-smith; the prisoner has worked for me, I think, ten years ... An officer from Bow-street brought a woman with him; he said - have you been robbed ? I said yes, I have been robbed often, but do not know for today. He said the woman's name was Wood, and she had pawned some buckles ... I was sorry to find these buckles pawned by this woman, because I placed the utmost confidence in her husband: we put the woman in custody, and I and the officer went directly to Wood's house, in Coppice-row, facing Cold-bath-fields ... I went in and found him at supper with his children ... I said to the prisoner, here is a very unfortunate affair which has happened, let me speak to you; I did it out of delicacy and feeling for my man, whom I had occasion to respect; I took him up into his garret, the work-shop, I told him then that his wife had been to pledge some of my buckles, and that she was in custody; I asked him what right he had to have finished buckles in his house ... I told him I was very sorry, I rebuked him much; you know I have been injured in

11 Old Bailey Proceedings Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org), Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 11 September 1782, the trial of John Wood (t17820911-115). Quoted with permission and my heartfelt thanks to one of the best sources of information available on eighteenth-century London. The search facility and the entire site are a delight to use.

12 London Lives (www.londonlives.org), City of London Sessions: Sessions Papers, Justices'

Working Documents, 11 January 1786 - 12 December 1787 (Ref: LMSLPS150980207 - 30 October 1787).

13 George Smith's apprentices were, with date of indentures: David Carpenter (1765), William Staines (1769), Thomas Harding (1773), William Deane (1775), Henry Cooke (1777), Thomas Hayter (1782), George Burrows jnr (1783), Samuel Key (1787) and Henry (?) Jennings (1790).

my property for years past, I never thought you was the man, I am sorry to find you are ... I told him he knew I had always told my men, and especially at our annual dinner, that as they never wanted work, I would prosecute the first man I found out ... We searched the house, and found as in the indictment, the value of the whole is £422 .

COURT: How could so very large a quantity be gone together without being missed?

GEORGE SMITH: I have been in a large way of business; it has been the usage of the shop not to weigh it. I had suspected some of my men, and in the year 1777 I took two or three houses in the adjoining court, and so shifted those men I disliked, but reserved the prisoner as a man I respected from his diligence. I lost these things in the course of ten years.

PRISONER'S COUNCIL: I understand you are one of the greatest buckle makers in London?

GEORGE SMITH: Indeed I am not.

PRISONER'S COUNCIL: But one of them you are; now what mark is there, Mr. Smith?

GEORGE SMITH: There is, or should be, G. S. on one side, and the hall mark on the other.

PRISONER'S COUNCIL: Is there no other George Smith of the trade but yourself?

GEORGE SMITH: There is no other in London.

PRISONER'S COUNCIL: None in Birmingham?

GEORGE SMITH: None that I know of; but all the marks I can swear to, they are my own patterns and chapes.

PRISONER'S COUNCIL: Some of them might be sold out of your shop?

GEORGE SMITH: They might, I have sold many hundred pair; he acknowledged taking the seven pair.

PRISONER'S COUNCIL: You serve the shops?

GEORGE SMITH: I will serve you.

Wood was found guilty and sentenced to be transported to Africa for seven years, lenient, for the crime of Grand Larceny: the sentence could have been death. Although not mentioned in the trial, could Wood have been one of Smith's wife's family?

The trial indicates the scale of Smith's business. Particularly revealing is the fact that he manufactured not only the buckles but also the chapes. Most of the silver bucklemakers, although casting, chasing and finishing the silver frames themselves, bought in their chapes, usually of iron, from specialist artisans. His comment that he knew of "no other George Smiths of the trade" is also interesting; it would seem that George Smith III, formerly of nearby Wood Street and later of Paternoster Row, confined himself to spoons and flatware and was not regarded as a major producer of buckles.



Fig 10 Pair of knee buckles by George Smith. Slightly old-fashioned in design as the incuse duty mark dates them from late 1784 to mid 1785.

By October 1786 Smith had suffered a serious illness. At the Guildhall he was required to explain his failure to appear for jury service¹²; he told the court that on account of his ill health he had been sleeping at Islington and that he was "in so bad a state of Health as to be unable to attend as a Juror at the said Session without Manifest danger to [his] Life". Where he slept in Islington is unknown but it may have been with relatives.

He took several apprentices of which one, Thomas Hayter, appears to have learnt more than the art of a silver bucklemaker from him¹³. Soon after his freedom in 1790 he married his master's eldest daughter, Martha Smith on 23 October 1791 at St Mary's, Islington; George Smith and John Powell being the witnesses. A partnership soon followed and the mark of George Smith and Thomas Hayter as plateworkers was registered at Goldsmiths' Hall on 7 January 1792.

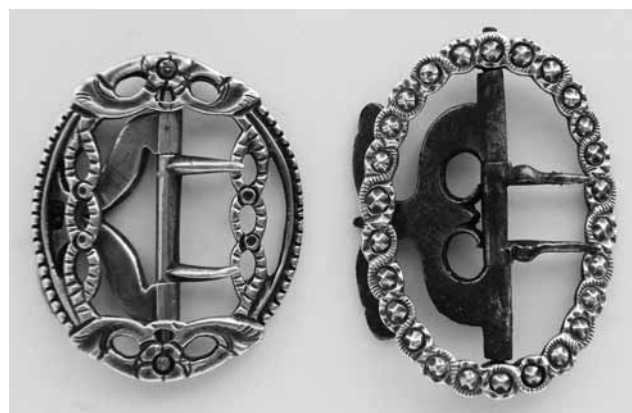


Fig 11 Two knee buckles by George Smith
Left: Knee buckle with silver chape, marked in three places with one of George Smith's marks but no assay marks; probably made to match a pair of shoe buckles.

Right: Knee buckle in the style popular in the 1770 -1780 period but must date after 1784 as it carries the cameo duty mark. The chape is unusual.

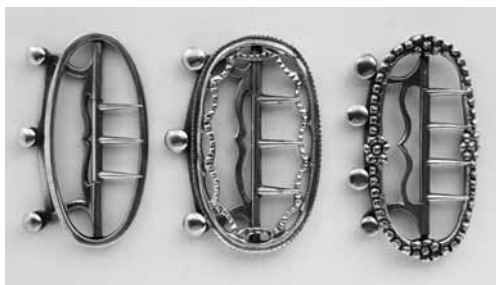


Fig 12 Three stock buckles by George Smith, from 1770-1785, the middle one is likely to be at the later end of the period.



Fig 13 Two late shoe buckles. After 1790 London shoe buckles usually had date letters but the town mark was still omitted.

Left: by George Smith and Thomas Hayter, London 1796/97.

Right: Thomas Hayter, London 1807/8.

It is significant that they registered as plateworkers and not bucklemakers. Buckles were going out of fashion except for formal occasions; after about 1785 less men and very few women were wearing buckled shoes. Knee buckles were to follow into extinction when trousers replaced breeches in the early 1800's. The silver bucklemakers attempted to stem the tide by introducing new types of more convenient chapes but to no avail¹⁴. Smith himself was chairman of a committee which petitioned assorted members of the royal family in early 1792 on behalf of bucklemakers, upmarket retail jewellers and silver establishments¹⁵. He personally headed the deputation of six that presented the petition to the king. Like many attempts of modern times to save declining industries, the petitioners got brave words but achieved nothing; the only positive outcome was the requirement for men to wear buckled shoes for formal appearance at Court. This requirement lasted until the 1950s until, like the presentation of debutantes, it was swept away.

During the late 1780s and early 1790s George Smith would seem to have adapted by changing the nature of his business from buckle manufacture and sale to more general silver retailing. He had started out with one premises: 4, Huggin Lane and by 1771/1772 he was paying Land Tax on two properties in St Michael's parish and by 1777/78 on four. The Poor Tax records similarly show his name to four properties in November 1777, but this has dropped to three by 1790 and only one (with Thomas Hayter) in July 1794. He had presumably decided to downsize his own manufacturing and was either sub-contracting or buying in from other factories or firms, possibly in the provinces¹⁶. This had been a growing trend for the fashionable shops as Helen Clifford's work on the Garrard Ledgers has shown¹⁷.

From the evidence of the trial of John Wood mentioned above, Wood evidently had a home workshop in the Cold Bath area of Clerkenwell which perhaps indicates that George Smith might have been using some of his staff as outworkers from as early as 1782.

14 There are numerous patents from the period 1780-1800 which relate to shoe buckles. The only ones that seem to have met with any success were Eley's Patent of 1784, and Smith's Patent of 1792, which were made by William Eley and the firm of Matthew Boulton and James Smith respectively. Eley's patent, or copies thereof, are commonly found on shoe buckles dating from after 1785; they were still being produced for Court wear in the 1930s or even later. They were extensively copied by other bucklemakers, one of whom, either John or more likely William Yardley, was successfully sued by Eley for infringement of his patent. The established bucklemaking fraternity decided to fight this decision and got Eley's patent itself repealed at Westminster Hall on 8 December 1790. The Times

reported "The numerous buckle-makers in and about the Court were rather noisy in expressing their approbation of this verdict by repeated huzzas!"

15 There were petitions from both Birmingham and London bucklemakers. The London petitions were printed as a pamphlet and have been digitised to computer by Gale in their Eighteenth Century Books collection, available to academic institutions. According to the printed version all the petitions were the same but the only known surviving original, the Petition to the Prince of Wales (Royal Archives, Windsor, RA GEO Adm 16/129) differs slightly both in wording and the names of signatories to the printed version. The petitioners were the good and

great of the jewellery and goldsmithing London retail establishments as well as many of the silver bucklemakers. Significantly William Eley's name is not present. The Petitions were: To the King - 4 January 1792 at St James's, to the Queen - 26 January 1792 at St James's, to the Prince of Wales - 26 January 1792 at Carlton House, to the Princess Royal - 2 February 1792 at St James's, to the Duke of York and the Duchess of York - both 16 February 1792, to the Duke of Clarence - 23 February 1792 at St James's.

16 Of the more well-known bucklemakers of the period: Charles Hougham diversified into plateworking and the broader silver trade. Samuel Cooke of Crown and Sceptre Court, an upmarket bucklemaker, diversified

into sword hilt making and his son John into gold boxes. William Yardley, who had obtained his business by marrying the widow of Samuel Beedal, also diversified into sword hilt making. A real opportunist, he later acquired a soap making business: Yardley's Old English Lavender has survived as a brand into the twenty-first century. William Eley turned to largely making flatware. George Burrows took his son into partnership without registering any new marks. After his death in 1801 his widow Alice and son George II registered as plateworkers, so had probably diversified well before that date. Some, however, failed to adapt: William Sharp became master of a workhouse and died in 1811 with very few assets indeed and many went bankrupt, including the

doyen of the silver bucklemakers, John Faux who went bankrupt in 1785. His entire estate was sold at auction the next year; he found a job at Sheridan's theatre in Drury Lane, dying on duty as doorkeeper in 1798. His son, Thomas Thames Faux, who had been with him in his shop, married a rich widow and ended up as the keeper of a lunatic asylum. James Atkins of 12 Well Street was the last survivor of the major bucklemakers. He produced a range of standardised small shoe buckles for Court wear until his death in 1815. His daughter Theodosia Anne Atkins sold the business to Charles Rawlings, later of Rawlings and Summers. She died a spinster in 1835.

The ledgers of George Smith are alas lost, but another Old Bailey case of 1799 shows that other bucklemakers were buying stock from small silversmiths with no registered mark and presumably assaying them under their own name¹⁸.

LAVE COLEY sworn: I am a silversmith.

Q: Where do you live? –

A: No. 3, Northampton-row.

Q: Are you in business for yourself?

A: Yes; I work for shops.

Q: What shop?

A: Any shop that will buy my work.

Q: How long is it since you sold any to any shop? –

A: I sold some articles to my cousin, Mr. Coley, a silversmith in Fetter Lane, about a fortnight ago.

Q: What particular articles do you work? –

A: In the small knee-buckle line; I have sold him dozens upon dozens.

Q: Any body else?

A: I sell to pawnbrokers and silversmiths shops promiscuously.

Lave Coley had no registered mark but his cousin was almost certainly Simeon Coley II, who registered a mark as a bucklemaker on 2 October 1789 at 35 Fetter Lane.

Smith did not choose to move to a new factory outside the City, a place now too confined for large-scale manufacture but does not seem to have concentrated on retail sales and to investing his prior profits into property instead. The concept of moving to other areas seems to have been a problem for George: he spent some time whilst ill in Islington and in circa 1790 he bought the leasehold of 5 Winchester Place, a fine house in nearby newly fashionable Pentonville which was probably

bought directly from the developers. It was listed in Holden's Triennial Directory of 1805 - 1807 as his private residence. Obviously pleased with the district, he also bought the lease of 10 Winchester Place, five doors along, and let it to Thomas Hayter and Martha! Both houses no longer exist and Winchester Place is now part of Pentonville Road. Further investment in properties in Pentonville followed¹⁹. Whether he lived at both Pentonville and 4 Huggin Lane, or commuted weekly or daily between Pentonville and the shop is unknown although he appeared to maintain both as residences. His wife certainly lived in Winchester Place but it is possible that by this time they may have lived separate lives.

Other than a partnership for her husband and the use of a fine house we have no details of any marriage settlement to Martha Smith. There are, however, some details of the settlement made on George Smith's second daughter Ann on her marriage to William Clark, a merchant of Hatton Garden, Holborn, late in 1799 are known. She received two debentures of £1000 each: one from Smith and the other from her intended husband. They were part of a trust that ensured Ann had money entirely out of the control or use of her husband²⁰.

By 1800 4 Huggin Lane seems to have been principally a retail shop. Another Old Bailey case²¹ tells us that at this date rings and spoons were on sale and it appears to show Thomas Hayter as the more active partner. Smith was still attending the shop, although he was becoming or soon became, a sick man. He died, according to his monument formerly in the church of St Michael, Wood Street, on 1 May 1805²².

His will is a truly monstrous document²³. With the codicils it occupies some forty pages of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury Register. He carefully divided his proper-

17 Helen Clifford, *Silver in London, The Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760 - 1776*, Yale and London, 2004.

18 Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 8 May 1799. The trial of Francis Chant. (t17990508-49); the extract has been abridged. Chant also appeared earlier as an acquitted defendant in an Old Bailey trial involving the silver bucklemaker William Yardley (Proceedings, 20 October 1784: the trial of George Owen and Francis Chant - t178420-20). The latter trial should be studied by anyone interested in contem-

porary Goldsmiths' Hall Assay Office procedure.

19 Details of the Pentonville property held by George Smith at the date of his death are summarised from his will of 1803: leasehold at 5, Winchester Place, Pentonville "in my own occupation", leasehold at 10, Winchester Place, Pentonville "late in the Trust or occupation of Mrs Mary Webb and now of my said Partner, Thomas Hayter", leasehold at 3 Owens Row near Sadlers Wells (Pentonville), leasehold property situated on the east side of Cumming Street, Pentonville, "num-

bered 14, now in the Tenure or Occupation of Peter Picoll".

20 Will of Ann Clark, wife of Pentonville, Middlesex (National Archives PROB 11/1625), proved 22 February 1820 at PCC. The will gives details of the two debentures of which the most interesting feature is the names of the trustees: George Smith himself, William Bickerton, a solicitor of Giltspur Street, John Crouch of Monkwell Street, goldsmith (in partnership with Thomas Hannam at 37 Monkwell Street in 1790), Alexander Maine of Mark Lane, oil merchant, Richard

Holliday of Fleet Street, cheese factor and William Sumner of Clerkenwell Close, goldsmith.

21 Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 15 January 1800, the trial of William Birbeck. (t18000115-24).

22 Grimwade, London Goldsmiths 1697 -1837, 1990, in his addenda gives, under the entries for both Thomas Hayter and George Smith, details of a memorial plaque to the Smith family which was formerly in St Michael, Wood Street. It recorded George Smith's death at Pentonville on 1 May 1805, aged 66 and his

daughter Martha's death on 10 April 1834, also at the age of 66. The whereabouts of this plaque are unknown to me, as is the source of Grimwade's information about it. The church itself was demolished after the Union of Benefices Act in 1897 reduced the number of City parishes and many bodies were disinterred and reburied at Brookwood Cemetery. The date of Smith's death is confirmed by the will of Ann Clark.

23 Will of George Smith, Goldsmith of Saint James, Clerkenwell (National Archives PROB 11/14260, proved 20 May 1805 at PCC.

ties into different life trusts for his wife and two daughters, with reversion to his grandson. Thomas Hayter was only given a legacy of £1000 but this was

made on this express Condition that he the said Thomas Hayter shall at all times and to the best of his power and ability aid and assist my Executors... [in settling the partnership's affairs] ... in case be that the said Thomas Hayter shall not do aid and assist my said Executors or shall in any manner delay or protract the Settlement the said sum shall not be paid.

Whether this is legal over-cautiousness or if there was some friction between the partners is unknown but the clause makes uneasy reading. An interesting point is that George did not appoint any lawyers as executor or trustee. He appointed:

my Friends Peter Wynne of Wood Street, Stationer, William Holmes of the Strand, Watchmaker and Thomas Meriton of Foster Lane, Goldsmith.

Minor beneficiaries included relatives from Witney in Oxfordshire and Thomas Wood, his wife's brother. John Dix of Witney, his brother-in-law (married to George's sister Elizabeth in 1773) was given an addition amount of £150,

in consideration of his faithful and attentive services during to me during a long and painful illness.

Another sign that sickness clouded his last years is that the final codicil was attested by "The Mark X of George Smith": he was unable even to sign his name. The three witnesses to the will were: Joseph Case, a tenant of Smith's at 1 Huggin Lane, Mark Gregory of Wax Chandlers' Hall, and William Evans, Gregory's clerk. Mark Gregory was recorded in Holden's Triennial Directory for 1805-1807 as being an attorney, principal of Lyons Inn and clerk of the Wax Chandlers' Company. The Wax Chandlers' Hall has been at its present address of 6 Gresham Street, (Maiden Lane in the eighteenth century) since 1501 and was a two minute walk from Huggin Lane. Gregory also witnessed Hannah's will and was probably the legal mind behind Smith's will.

George left behind his wife Hannah, two daughters, Martha Hayter and Ann Clark, a granddaughter, Ann Clark and a grandson, George Smith Hayter. Thomas Hayter continued the business at Huggin Lane, at first under his own name and then from 1816, in partnership with his son George Smith Hayter. He died 2 September 1840. George Hayter then carried on the business, progressing through the hierarchy of the Goldsmiths'

Company until he ultimately became Prime Warden in 1854 and 1863. He died in 1887. Ann Clark and her husband moved to Southampton where she died in late 1819 or early 1820 (see footnote 20).

Hannah Smith, who had come a long way from the little farm in Northamptonshire, died at her home at 5 Winchester Place and was buried on 3 January 1807 in the church vault of St Michael's, Wood Street, almost certainly alongside her husband whom she survived by less than two years. A codicil dated 6 December 1806, written literally on her deathbed adds a poignant ending to the story²⁴. She left to daughter Martha:

the Bed Mattress Bolster Pillows and the Bedstead and Furniture in my Bedroom in which I now lie and a Curtain to match a whool [sic] Chair, a large Chair and a piece of Embroidery worked by my said Daughter.

Martha Hayter died on 10 April 1843 at 10 Winchester Place. Somewhere there may survive a Georgian sampler worked by the young Martha and kept by her mother in her bedroom until her death.

Acknowledgements

There are too many people to whom I am indebted for assistance in compiling this account to mention everyone. But thank you all. Two deserve special mention: David Beasley of Goldsmiths' Hall for his support, advice, encouragement and assistance and Arthur Grimwade, whom I regret I never met, whose seminal book, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837*, provides not only a prime source of information but also an example of excellence to all researchers.

Clive Taylor is a retired Chartered Accountant now living in Warwickshire. He is a collector of Georgian silver buckles and his other hobbies include naval history and canal narrowboating. From 1970 to 2000 he and his wife Sue ran a naval photographic agency and they still run a canal boat charter business: Taylors Waterways Tours Limited.

24 Will of Hannah Smith, widow of Saint James, Clerkenwell

(National Archives PROB 11/1455), proved 21 January 1807 at PCC.

English silversmiths and goldsmiths in Canada during the eighteenth century¹

ROSS FOX

The eighteenth century was far from the peak of English emigration to Canada, but even so an estimated twelve to fourteen thousand people chose to embark for what was a remote wilderness land². Among them were venturesome craftsmen who worked in precious metals, undeterred by the prospect of a rugged pioneering existence, who must have been drawn by the promise of new opportunities and prosperity. Some were trained silversmiths, others goldsmith-jewellers some of whom also worked in silver in an environment where an absence of craft regulation allowed anyone to work in the precious metals trade. A few were freemen of the City of London in either of the above categories; others came from the mass of obscure journeymen. By far the most successful among the former was Robert Cruickshank (1743-1809): although Scottish by birth he had served his apprenticeship as a silversmith and operated his own workshop in London before immigrating to Montreal in 1773. As a separate article was devoted to him in a recent issue of *Silver Studies*, he is, therefore, not discussed in this article³; the others came from the provinces as well as London. This article explores who they were, why they emigrated, their craft activity and their success or otherwise in adapting to colonial conditions.

The earliest of these silversmiths was Samuel Payne who is documented for the first time in Montreal in 1725. On 30 July he married a local woman, Marguerite Gareau (also Garau)⁴. According to the marriage contract, he was a twenty-nine year old, from London and the son of Laurent (Laurence) Payne⁵, a protestant minister, and Marie Rivière.⁶ His father was stated to be chaplain to Lieutenant-General Sir William Cadogan (later Earl Cadogan); this was probably before 1711 the year in which he became chaplain to Charles Mildmay, 18th Baron FitzWalter⁷. Samuel Payne's parents were among the Huguenot refugees who had escaped from France following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). According to Laurent Payne's record of ordination of 1698 he was a native of Dauphiné who had studied in Geneva and then went to England in 1689⁸. During the late 1690s, the family belonged to the *église de l'Artillerie* in Spitalfields where a great many Huguenots had settled⁹. The above-mentioned marriage contract describes Samuel as a native of the parish of St James's, London and St James's, Piccadilly is the most likely location. Where he trained as a silversmith is not known. Could it have been under one of the many Huguenot silversmiths in nearby Soho, which was outside the guild jurisdiction of the City of London and, therefore, would explain why there is no record of his apprenticeship in the registers of Goldsmiths' Hall? All of Payne's known silver was fashioned in a distinctly French manner.

1 Special thanks are due to David Beasley for his long-distance help with records of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths.

2 Most went to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Lower Canada (Quebec). The great migration of Englishmen to Canada was relatively recent, occurring between 1900 and 1930, when 1,600,000 arrived in the country. Bruce S. Elliott, 'English', *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, Paul Robert Magocsi (editor), Toronto, 1999, p 463.

3 Ross Fox, 'Robert Cruickshank (1743-1809)', *Silver Studies*, no 23, 2008, pp 83-93.

4 Église Notre-Dame de Montréal, register of baptisms, marriages and burials (from henceforward NDM).

5 The family name in France was Payan.

6 Bibliothèque et archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de Montréal (from henceforward BAnQ CaM), Greffe Michel Lepailleur, 28 July 1725.

7 Lambeth Palace Library, Noblemen's Chaplains, F V/1/VI, f 66, 12 April 1711.

8 Guildhall Library, London, Manuscripts Section, Ordination Papers, Ms 10326. His father was naturalized on 3 July 1701. William A. Shaw, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland, 1701-1800*, vol 27, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, Manchester 1923, p 6.

9 Susan Minet (editor), *Register of the Church of the Artillery, Spitalfields, 1691-1786*, vol 42, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, Frome, 1948, p 8.



Fig 1 Écuëlle, circa 1730, with the marks of Samuel Payne and Paul Lambert dit Saint-Paul.

(The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Ramsay Traquair Bequest, acc. no. 1952.Ds.20 © The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts)

Because of his Huguenot background Samuel Payne was no doubt fluent in French and this might partially explain his inclination to emigrate to New France. There must also have been some other greater inducement as it was a marginal colony, of no more than 27-28,000 Europeans who were thinly dispersed along the banks of the St Lawrence river, from which moreover, protestants were officially banned. Was Payne's conversion to Roman Catholicism therefore genuine or was it merely a ruse? He would not have been permitted to marry if he had not converted.

Payne was not the only British subject in Montreal during this period. In 1727, the colony's *Intendant*, Claude-Thomas Dupuy, complained to the Ministry of the Marine in France about "the large number of Englishmen, craftsmen, merchants and others who are established at Montreal"¹⁰; they mainly came from Albany, New York, the main rival to Montreal in the British colonies for the Great Lakes fur trade. Some of them were engaged in illegal fur trading, diverting peltries (undressed skins) to Albany. Among them were some who feigned religious conversion in order to ease their acceptance. In view of this situation together with Payne's background, the question suggests itself, was he a protestant in disguise with ulterior intentions? Ironically, similar, but reverse suspicions often tainted Huguenots in

England itself. As Christopher Hartop noted:

In the middle class, among the members of the Goldsmiths' Company and the workers in the silver trade ... there was constant fear that Huguenots could in fact be Catholics in disguise¹¹.

While in Montreal Samuel Payne would seem to have adapted to local society rather quickly in a place where British subjects were normally treated as outsiders. He managed to marry well and his father-in-law, Pierre Gareau, was a well-to-do merchant, as was his wife's brother-in-law, Pierre Guy. The social value of these family connections is apparent in the local notables who witnessed his marriage contract, including Jean Bouillet de La Chassaigne, Knight of the Order of St Louis and King's Lieutenant (commandant) at Montreal. Payne's own personal financial means from the outset of his arrival are reflected in the amount of his wife's dowry which consisted of a fixed sum of 1,500 *livres* and *preciput* of 500 *livres*¹². On this basis, he ranked in the second tier of a five-tier, colonial social hierarchy, as categorised by Peter Moogk, although most silversmiths ranked among the colonial elite in the first tier¹³. Since he had just arrived in the colony this is not necessarily a reliable measure of his later status.

Payne must have had some success as a silversmith. In 1726 he purchased the house and shop of the recently deceased silversmith Jean-Baptiste Gobelien¹⁴, which gave him a ready-made setup almost from the outset. On 21 May 1731 he contracted to employ a journeyman silversmith, Jacques Dache, for a term of four months, but their working association probably predated this agreement¹⁵. He had only two competitors in Montreal: the native-born Jacques Gadois and Michel Cotton, both of whom had limited skill as silversmiths. Samuel Payne disappeared in 1732, almost as mysteriously as he had appeared¹⁶. Efforts to trace him or his family after this time have been unsuccessful.

Surviving pieces of silver by Payne are scarce; they include three tumblers, a beaker, spoon, *écuelle*¹⁷ [fig 1]

10 Library and Archives Canada (from henceforward LAC), Fonds des Colonies, Series C11A, Correspondance générale, Canada, vol 49, f 441, 1 November 1727. He recommended a royal order compelling them to move to Quebec City.

11 Christopher Hartop, *The Huguenot Legacy: English Silver 1680-1760*, London, 1996, p 45.

12 As note 4. A dowry,

which is distinct from a bride's dowry, was an amount that was to be paid to the wife from the husband's estate, upon his death. The *preciput* was an amount paid to the survivor, be it the wife or husband.

13 *La Nouvelle France: The Making of French Canada - A Cultural History*, East Lansing, 2000, pp 164-68.

14 BANQ CaM, Greffe Jean-Baptiste Adhémar,

1 March 1726.

15 BANQ CaM, Greffe Joseph-Charles Raimbault. On 29 December 1730, Payne and Dache were witnesses in a civil dispute involving the property of a third party where it is stated that Dache was living in Payne's house. BANQ CaM, Fonds Juridiction royale de Montréal, Procès, TL4,S1,D3773.

16 NDM: The last record of his presence in Montreal is

at the baptism of his son, François-Amable, on 12 July 1732.

17 The *écuelle* actually bears the maker's mark of Paul Lambert of Quebec City, which is apposed three times underneath, as well as Payne's mark below the outer rim. Robert Derome suggested that this represents a working association between the two men in Quebec City but, because evidence of Payne's presence in that

town is lacking, a more likely explanation is that Lambert made the *écuelle* and Payne marked it as retailer. See Robert Derome, 'Des poinçons de deux maîtres', *Musée des beaux Arts Montréal*, vol 6, 1975, pp 5-9; *Les orfèvres montréalais des origines à nos jours: Catalogue chrono-thématique*, exhibition catalogue, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1996, p 17.

and an altar cruet tray, all of which are characteristically French in design and indistinguishable from the work of French colonial silversmiths. Colonial liturgical plate was much more likely to be preserved than table wares, but the cruet tray is the only known liturgical piece by Payne. There is, moreover, no record of any liturgical vessels commissioned from him by the Roman Catholic church, which was a key patron of silversmiths in the colony.

A distinguishing feature of Payne's silver rests in the manner in which he struck his mark on his work. In New France his mark consisted of the initials 'SP with a crown and fleur-de-lis above' [fig 2] which was consistent in appearance with the marks of other colonial silversmiths. He mostly struck this mark once on the upper exterior of hollow-ware where it is clearly visible; an approach which conformed to English practice. The silversmiths of New France, as in the towns of France that lacked an assay office nearby, struck their mark underneath a piece, once in the case of small wares or in a cluster of several strikes on larger pieces. The purpose of the latter was to compensate for the absence of hallmarks.

Robert Griffin was the next silversmith to arrive in Canada when, in 1742, he signed a contract with the London-based Hudson's Bay Company¹⁸ for five-years service in Rupert's Land: the company's extensive territory that comprised the drainage basin of Hudson's Bay¹⁹. In 1749, Griffin was a witness at a parliamentary enquiry into the state of the Hudson's Bay Company and its domain, at which he was referred to as a silversmith. He testified to smelting small samples of ore to test their lead content. He also related how the chief factor of Fort Albany ordered him to try "to extract Silver from the Ore," but "told him he had not proper Instruments to make such [an] Experiment"²⁰. Griffin apparently worked for the company as a mineral prospector.

The previous year, on 1 February he had been admitted as a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company by virtue of patrimony²¹. His father was William Griffin, a freeman goldsmith²² who, in turn, had been apprenticed to the

goldsmith-jeweller, John Orchard²³. Robert Griffin, like his father and Orchard, would seem to have worked primarily as a jeweller. The lack of a record of his apprenticeship suggests that he was apprenticed to his father. During the late 1730s he had his own shop for, in 1739, he declared bankruptcy which may explain why he entered the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company²⁴.

In 1754 Griffin took Henry Jordis as an apprentice.²⁵ The latter's father, Paul, was a financial broker who, between 1761 and 1777, was listed in London directories as a financial broker²⁶, as was Henry Jordis, between 1768 and 1783,²⁷ following him becoming a freeman goldsmith by service in 1762²⁸. The implication would be that Robert Griffin became involved in financial services soon after his return from Canada.

Richard Walker and **Isaac Gandon** went to Canada shortly after Griffin, in 1749²⁹. They were among 2,547 settlers transported from England, in a fleet of ships, by the newly appointed governor of Nova Scotia, Edward Cornwallis, to found the town of Halifax³⁰. They comprised chiefly discharged sailors and soldiers, together



Fig 2 Mark of Samuel Payne on fig 1.
(© The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts)

18 Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Officers' and Servants' Ledgers.

19 The fur trading company's official name was: The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay. It controlled fifteen per cent of North America's surface area.

20 *Report from the Committee, Appointed To Enquire into the State and Condition of the Countries*

Adjoining to Hudson's Bay, and of the Trade Carried On There, London, 1749, pp 225-26; Beckles Willson, *The Great Company Being a History of the Honourable Company of Merchants-Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay*, Toronto, 1899, p 271.

21 *The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, Freedom Book* (from henceforward GC FrBk) 1742-80, vol 2 f 21.

22 GC FrBk 1694-1741, vol

1, f 9. He was made free by redemption on 7 May 1724.

23 GC, Apprentice Book (hereafter ApBk) 1708-22, vol 5, f 39. His apprenticeship agreement is dated 19 December 1712.

24 Listed under bankrupts in the *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer*, 1739, vol 8, p 102 is "Robert Griffin, of Holborn, Goldsmith".

25 GC ApBk 1740-63, vol 7, f 212.

26 *Kent's Directory*, 1761, 1765, 1767-70, 1772 and 1774-76; *London Directory*, 1769, 1772 and 1774; *The New Complete Guide to All Persons Who Have Any Trade or Concern with the City of London and Parts Adjacent*, 1774 and 1777.

27 *Kent's Directory*, 1768-72 and 1774-82; *The New Complete Guide to All Persons Who Have Any Trade or Concern with the City of London and Parts Adjacent*, 1783.

28 GC FrBk 1740-82, vol 2 f 70, on 3 February.

29 Donald C Mackay, *Silversmiths and Related Craftsmen of the Atlantic Provinces*, Halifax, 1973, p 56.

30 The founding of Halifax was due to the leadership of George Montagu-Dunk, 2nd Earl of Halifax, President of the Board of Trade and Plantations, after whom it was named.

M A R D E R, GOLD-SMITH and JEWELLER from *London*,

HAS to sell, at his Shop in the Market-Place, Lower-Town, Quebec, All Sorts of Gold-Smiths and Jewellers Goods of the newest Fashions : All Sorts of old Gold and Silver taken in Exchange; likewise mends all Sorts of Gold-Smiths and Jewellers Work, in the neatest Manner, and on Reasonable Terms.

Fig 3 Advertisement of Joseph Marder in the Quebec Gazette, 6 September 1764.

with craftsmen from London; amongst the latter were Walker and Gandon who were entered on the passenger list as silversmith and goldsmith respectively³¹. Walker was most likely the person who, on 6 May 1730, was apprenticed to the London goldsmith, William Bankes³². On 10 January 1743 he was made free by service³³. Walker was accompanied by his wife, a daughter and a manservant, while Gandon was single. The Londoners who arrived at Halifax were overwhelmed by the hardships of pioneering in an untamed land: forty percent of the settlers died during the first winter as a result of an epidemic and almost as many moved on to New England. What happened to Gandon and Walker is not certain³⁴.

By 1752 **John Paget** had also emigrated to Halifax from London³⁵. A native of Glastonbury, Somerset, he was apprenticed on 4 September 1733 to the London silversmith, James Gould, the specialist candlestick maker³⁶; there is no record of Paget's completing his apprenticeship. In Halifax he exemplified the versatility required of all craftsmen for survival in a pioneering environment; he was referred to as a clock and watchmaker as well as a silversmith³⁷. It is likely that he was predominately a retailer. Paget remained in Halifax until 1783 when he advertised his intention "to leave this Province with his family by the first November next"³⁸. During that same year American loyalist refugees inundated Nova Scotia in the aftermath of the American Revolution; they included many silversmiths and clockmakers, so Paget may have been reluctant to contend with this new competition. He supposedly returned to England. The stock he had on sale at the time of his departure included "Jewellery and Silver work, Swords, Daggers, etc." Doubtless most of his stock was imported from England.

James Chaffey was another native of Somerset who ended up in Atlantic Canada. A longstanding family tradition³⁹ held that he was a silversmith in London, which is reinforced by the records of the Old Bailey that indicate he was convicted of stealing silver metal while working for the silversmiths George Morland and Henry Corry. The evidence against him was conclusive:

He was searched, and his pockets turned inside out, and silver filings appeared on every one of them, both waistcoat and breeches⁴⁰.

In a contemporary newspaper account he was described as an "occasional journeyman"⁴¹, but there is no record of his apprenticeship. Chaffey received a sentence of transportation for seven years. He was subsequently recorded as in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and shortly thereafter settled on Indian Island in the Passamaquoddy Bay, which later became part of the British colony of New Brunswick. Reputed to be the first European to settle there permanently, he engaged in the fur trade with the aboriginal people. Chaffey died on Indian Island in 1796⁴².

With the transfer of New France to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Canada entered a new era of British rule. English-speaking immigrants, however, were slow to respond, possibly discouraged by the continuing French cultural dominance in the colony. At first, they came in small numbers. Among the early newcomers from England was **Joseph Marder**. In 1748 he had been apprenticed to the jeweller, Henry Coles of Covent Garden, for six years⁴³. Arriving at Quebec City in 1764, he billed himself as a goldsmith and jeweller. His advertisements [fig 3] indicate that he sold

All sorts of Gold-Smiths and Jewellers Goods of the newest Fashions: All Sorts of old Gold and Silver taken in Exchange: likewise mends all Sorts of Gold-Smiths and Jewellers Work, in the neatest Manner...

The colonial economy was slow in recovering from the recent war which did not bode well for immigrant craftsmen. Lured by high hopes, reality often proved pitiless; strict adherence to a specialised craft was all too often a formula for financial failure. Even though Marder tried to adapt by diversifying into the sale of wine, brandy and tea⁴⁴, he soon abandoned this second venture and, in 1765, returned to England. In 1784 he was working in Portsmouth Common (Portsea) as a silversmith⁴⁵. Within the next six years, he had become a wine merchant once

more, just as he had in Canada⁴⁶. Marder died in 1822, evidently having achieved a degree of success, for in his will he described himself as a gentleman⁴⁷.

On 6 March 1782 another colonist, **Thomas Aylwin**, became a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company⁴⁸; this was while he was on a visit to London and it was simply a matter of claiming a right that he had earned years earlier. A native of Romsey, Hampshire, Aylwin had served a seven-year apprenticeship under Richard Sharp⁴⁹, a liveryman of the company⁵⁰. Neither man was actually a goldsmith⁵¹; they were both trained hatters and although Aylwin was made a freeman by service, that service would have been as a hatter⁵². "America Hatter" is written clearly at the bottom of the entry in the Apprenticeship Book⁵³. An obituary notice for Sharp confirms that he too was a hatter⁵⁴; being a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company did not necessarily signify that a person was a trained goldsmith. Sharp and Aylwin exemplify how complex and even confusing inter-guild membership had become by the eighteenth century.

Aylwin arrived in Quebec City in about 1763 and remained there until 1769 when he moved to Boston. With the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1775 his loyalist sympathies compelled him to flee back to Quebec City where he remained until his death on

11 April 1791⁵⁵. He would seem to have never worked as a hatter in North America but was, rather, a merchant importer of a great variety of products. In 1768 he advertised that he had imported the following from London:

Sun Raisins, Prunes ... Spices, and other Groceries, China, Birmingham and Sheffield Wares of different Sorts, such as Tea Kitchens, japaned Tables and Canisters, Knives and Forks, Glass Decanters, Wine & Beer Glasses, Silks of various sorts, Linens, Woolens, Stationary, Haberdashery and Merceries of all Kinds ... with a Variety of other Goods proper for this Country⁵⁶.

Unlike Aylwin **Thomas Powis** was a trained goldsmith when he arrived in Quebec City in 1781⁵⁷. He had been apprenticed to Edward Brignall, jeweller and goldsmith in Westminster for seven years from 23 April 1766⁵⁸. In Quebec City he advertised that he was a jeweller, goldsmith and engraver⁵⁹ who had "served a regular Apprenticeship in London"⁶⁰. Most of his stock was imported from London and ranged from childrens' corals to dirks, including

elegant gold bracelets, rings lockets, breast-pins, ear-rings, fine paste knee and stock-buckles, silver and Tortoise shell snuff-boxes, silver plate, etc⁶¹

31 'List of the Settlers Who Came Out with Governor Cornwallis to Chebucto, in June 1749', Thomas B Akins (editor), *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*, Halifax, 1869, pp 429 and 510.

32 GC ApBk 1722-40, vol 6, f 126. He was the son of Thomas Walker, turner and citizen of London.

33 GC FrBk 1740-82, vol 2 f 7.

34 George T Bates, 'The Great Exodus of 1749 or the Cornwallis Settlers Who Didn't', *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 1973, vol 38, pp 51 and 60.

35 Mackay (as note 29), p 77.

36 GC ApBk 1722-40, vol 6, f 180. His father was Simon Paget, clerk.

37 Henry and Barbara Dobson, *Heritage Furnishings of Atlantic Canada*, Kingston, 2010,

p 77. There exists a long-case clock with face inscribed 'John Paget' and 'Halifax'. The case, with arched hood, recalls London longcase clocks from circa 1770.

38 *Nova Scotia Gazette* (Halifax), 16 September 1783.

39 J G Lorimer, *History of Islands & Islets of the Bay of Fundy, Charlotte County, New Brunswick*, St Stephen, 1876, pp 74-77.

40 The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, ref no t17620114-29, <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org>

41 *The London Chronicle*, 18 January 1762.

42 Martha Wilson Hamilton, *Silver in the Fur Trade 1680-1820*, Chelmsford, 1995, p 186. It has been said that Chaffey made Indian trade silver. There is nothing in the inventory of his estate to indicate that he was actively engaged as a sil-

versmith in New Brunswick. Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Early Probate Records, James Chaffey, RS71/1776.

43 National Archives, Board of Stamps, Apprenticeship Books (from henceforward NA ApBk) 1710-1811, IR 1/18, f 155, his father is given as Nicholas Marder. He had a clockmaker contemporary, and the two should not be confused, F J Britten, *Britten's Old Clocks and Watches and Their Makers*, revised edition, G H Bailie, C A Ilbert and Cecil Clutton, 8th edition, London, 1973, p 441.

44 *Quebec Gazette* (from henceforward QG), 12 September 1765.

45 *The Hampshire Directory*, Winchester, 1784, p 115.

46 *Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce & Manufacture*, London, 1792, vol 1 supp, p 105.

47 NA, Perogative Court

of Canterbury and Related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers, 14 January 1823, PROB 11/1665.

48 GC FrBk 1781-1810, vol 3, no page.

49 Sharp's family also had Hampshire roots.

50 GC ApBk 1740-63, vol 7, f 178. His apprenticeship agreement dates to 4 June 1752.

51 Because of the apprenticeship and freeman's records for Aylwin with the Goldsmiths' Company it was sometimes assumed that he must have been a practicing goldsmith. See John E Langdon, *American Silversmiths in British North America 1776-1800*, Toronto, 1970, pp 32-33.

52 Patricia Kane et al, *Colonial Massachusetts Silversmiths and Jewelers*, New Haven, 1998, p 1036.

53 He is also listed as a hatter in *The American Negotiator: or the Various Currencies of the British*

Colonies in America, London 1761, p 1.

54 "Yesterday morning died ... Mr. Richard Sharp, an eminent hat-maker." *London Evening Post*, 2 September 1775.

55 Jean Lafleur, "Aylwin (Aylwyn), Thomas," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol 4, Toronto, 1979, pp 37-38.

56 QG, 2 June.

57 In a petition of 16 March 1796 for a land grant, his age was given as 46 years, hence he was born circa 1750. LAC, Lower Canada Land Petitions, RG1-L3L, vol 160, f 78335.

58 NA ApBk, 1710-1811, IR 1/25, f 44.

59 QG, 27 June 1782.

60 QG, 17 June 1784.

61 QG, 16 December 1784.

THOMAS POWIS, Jeweller and Goldsmith, from LONDON.

*Inform the public that he undertakes the Jewellery, Gold and Silver-smith's
business in all its branches, at his house the top of Mountain Street,
opposite the PRINTING OFFICE in the Lower-town, viz.*

TO make diamond and plain Rings, Seals, Bracelets, Locketts and Buttons in gold; to make Soup-ladles, table and Tea spoons, &c. in silver, Wedding Rings at an hour's notice, human hair work'd in any form fancy suggests. Having engaged assistance in the above branches hopes to merit encouragement from the public, as he is determined to execute any business entrusted to him with the strictest attention.

Gold Seals made and engraved with cyphers or Coats of Arms in the neatest manner.—Impressions to be seen of Devices and Engravings to find the approbation of those who honour me with their commands.

Fig 4 Advertisement of Thomas Powis in the Quebec Gazette, 21 February 1782.

Elsewhere he advertised that he made and repaired jewellery and silver articles [fig 4], and "all orders for Silver in the Indian trade," would be "forwarded with the greatest attention and dispatch"⁶². By this time silver ornaments for the fur trade had become a lucrative mainstay of colonial silversmiths. A maker's mark consisting of 'ligatured TP in a shaped cartouche', which is attributed to Powis, is usually found on Indian trade silver⁶³. In 1783 Powis advertised for a person "that understands the Jewellery or Silversmith business"⁶⁴. In the same year he expanded into watch and clockmaking which was when he employed Richard Dunn, a watchmaker from New York City⁶⁵.

In 1787 Powis moved to Montreal which was fast becoming the leading commercial centre of the colony. There he advertised that

He makes Gold Bracelets, Rings and Locketts, and any Business in the Gold and Silver-smith Branches⁶⁶.

Over the next decade and a half he acquired property in Montreal and its vicinity, as well as speculating in the vast tracts of public lands that, in 1791, the colonial government opened to settlers. In 1797 he abandoned his earlier trade and acquired the Montreal Tea-Gardens, a

"House of Entertainment", in the St Antoine Suburbs of Montreal⁶⁷. He pursued the hospitality trade in Montreal until 1803 when, in a last will and testament drawn up that year, he indicated that he was "weak in constitution"⁶⁸. Powis subsequently moved to Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake) in Upper Canada where he owned the Niagara Coffee House which, during the war of 1812, was destroyed when American forces burned Newark to the ground,⁶⁹ thereby ruining Powis financially.

Other English emigrants were possibly involved in the precious metals trade in Canada during the eighteenth century but they have yet to be identified. They may include persons with English names such as William Franckling and John Wood, who were a goldsmith and silversmith respectively, but at the present it is not certain whether they originated in the United States or in England. The emigrant silversmiths and goldsmiths discussed above, whether they stayed, moved on to the United States, or returned to England, demonstrate the close ties between England and the fledgling colonies of Canada and their part in the formation of a colonial silver craft.

Ross Fox is Associate Curator of Early Canadian Decorative Arts at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. He works primarily with furniture and silver, Canadian, American and English.

62 As note 59.

63 John E. Langdon, *Canadian Silversmiths 1700-1900*, Toronto, 1966, p 116; James W VanStone, *Indian Trade Ornaments in the*

Collections of Field Museum of Natural History, Fieldiana: Anthropology New Series, Chicago, 1989, p 10.

64 QG, 11 September 1783.

65 QG, 23 October 1783 and 8 January 1784.

66 *Montreal Gazette* (from henceforward MG), 22 November 1787.

67 MG, 6 February 1797.

68 BAnQ CaM, Greffe Louis Chabouille, 26 January 1804. Also MG, 11 October 1803.

69 Peter Moogk, 'At Home in Early Niagara Township', Richard Merritt et al (editors), *The Capital Years: Niagara-on-the-Lake 1792-1796*, Toronto, circa 1991, pp 165-66.

TOWARDS THE PATRIOTIC FUND

ANTHONY TWIST

INTRODUCTION

On October 2 1798, a special issue of the *London Gazette* gave the first official news of Nelson's victory over the French fleet in what has become known as the Battle of the Nile. On the same day, the *Morning Chronicle* carried an advertisement headed "Lloyd's Coffee House" announcing:

A subscription for the relief of the Widows and Children of the Brave Men who fell in the service of their KING and COUNTRY and for such as have been wounded in the glorious victory obtained by the British Fleet, under command of Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, Knight of the Bath over the French fleet on the First of August in the Mediterranean.

John Julius Angerstein headed the list of contributors to the fund, and a few days later *The Times* reported that "the subscription at Lloyd's Coffee House goes on rapidly"¹, and referred to some of the donors towards "this benevolent and patriotic fund". Later the fund committee, chaired by Angerstein, resolved to give Nelson £500 to be spent on plate; the inscription on a dish from the service he acquired [fig 2] reads:

Lloyd's 1800. Presented by the Committee, for managing a Subscription made for the Wounded and Relatives of the Killed at the Battle of the Nile, To Vice Admiral Lord Nelson and Duke of Bronti (*sic*), K.B., &c, &c, &c, who was there wounded, As a testimony of the sense they entertain of his Brilliant Services on the first of August, 1798, when a British Fleet under his Command obtained a most decisive victory over a Superior French Force. J. J. Angerstein, Chairman².

The plate from the Nile service is now spread amongst a number of collections, and pieces have been described, illustrated and exhibited but little explanation has been given of how Lloyd's in general, and Angerstein in particular, came to be the focus of national support for the men wounded, and the families of those who were killed, in the battles of the Napoleonic wars. The Nile subscription was one of a series of similar appeals, which culminated in 1803 with the Patriotic Fund. The silver vases and swords which the fund awarded are justly celebrated, but they form only a part of the philanthropic endeavour with which Angerstein and his Lloyd's colleagues were engaged for many years.



Fig 1 £100 Patriotic Fund vase presented to Captain the Hon T B Capel after the Battle of Trafalgar .

© The Corporation of Lloyd's



Fig 2 Entree dish from the Nile service presented to Lord Nelson.

© The Corporation of Lloyd's

1 *The Times*, 3 October 1798.

2 Charles Wright and C Ernest Fayle, *A History of*

Lloyd's, London, 1928, p xvii and illustration opposite p 208, which shows three dishes from the service.

JOHN JULIUS ANGERSTEIN AND LLOYD'S

John Julius Angerstein was born in 1735 in St Petersburg and baptised in the Lutheran Church there³. When he applied for naturalisation as a British subject in 1770 (by private Act of Parliament, as was required at the time) he stated that his parents were John and Eva Angerstein. This may indeed have been the case since a Johann Heinrich Angerstein, a surgeon born in Coburg, and Eva Pritzen, from Archangel, were married in the same church in 1733. It has, however, long been suggested that John Julius's father was actually a British merchant named Andrew Thomson, under whose auspices the boy certainly went to London in about 1749, never as it transpired, to return to the country of his birth. For the purposes of this article it would be attractive for his father actually to have been Johann Heinrich, since from 1686 to 1714 a man named Heinrich Ernst Angerstein, likely to have been of the same family, was Master of the mint at Coburg, a very responsible position which permitted him to put his initials on the coinage.

Nothing is known about Angerstein's life in St Petersburg, but once in London he was in effect a member of Andrew Thomson's family. Thomson and his wife had a son John (born about 1757); and Thomson's sister and her husband Andrew Bonar had a son named Thomson (born 1743) who married one of Thomson's daughters. This family grouping of Angerstein, John Thomson and Thomson Bonar would often support charitable subscriptions together, including notably the Patriotic Fund, over the next half century. The older generation of Andrew Thomson and Andrew Bonar ran their business: trading with Russia in partnership with another man. The insurance that they generated gave Angerstein a flying start in business when, after a spell in the partners' counting house, he was 'introduced to Lloyd's' by Andrew Thomson and became the junior partner of a merchant named Alexander Dick. The Lloyd's to which Angerstein was introduced was still only one of the numerous coffee houses where merchants and shipowners met to socialise and to do business with firms such as Dick and his young partner Angerstein, who, it seems, quickly showed exceptional skill both in placing and underwriting marine insurance. City merchants frequently lived in the rooms over their counting-houses but in 1774 Angerstein took a lease of forty-one acres of land in Greenwich and built a villa there which was (and still is) called Woodlands. For a number of years the house was the home of himself and his wife and their son and daughter and also of the pictures he was starting to collect, though an early description comments that it was "respectably fitted up" but not "remarkable for containing any objects of virtue". If, however, a story which appeared in 1860 is true, there was a collection of silver at Woodlands:

A gentleman of fortune named Angerstein lost a large quantity of valuable plate. His butler was soon on the track of the thieves (who had brought a coach to carry the plate) and enquired at the first turnpike whether any vehicle had recently passed. The gate-keeper stated that a hackney-coach had shortly before gone through; and though he was surprised at its passing early in the morning, he had not noticed the 'number' on the coach. A servant girl, hearing the conversation, volunteered her statement that she saw the coach pass by and its number was '45'. As the girl could not read, they were surprised at her knowing the 'number'. She stated that she knew it well, as being the same number that she had seen about the walls everywhere, which she knew was '45'. The allusion of the girl's was of course to the 'Wilkes' disturbances...

The graffiti must have been very long-lasting, since it referred to the forty-fifth number of the *North Briton* newspaper which had been banned in 1763. The article went on:

Mr A's butler went at once to London and found the driver of the hackney-coach number 45, who...drove him to the place where the plate was deposited and it was all recovered⁴.

Many years later, the diarist Joseph Farington, who knew Angerstein well, was entertained to dinner and wrote afterwards:

We dined off plate, & the cups in which our glasses were immersed in water during dinner were of silver...⁵

Angerstein could not, however, match some of the presentation plate that he was responsible for, because the claret and port circulated after his dinner party were in "earthen coolers placed on stands" rather than in silver ones. On an earlier occasion when Farington recorded that he had dined with Angerstein, the meal sounded just like one that could have been served in the dishes that formed Lord Nelson's Nile Service:

The dinner consisted of two Courses viz: a fine Turbot at the top, a Sirloin of beef at the bottom & vermicelli soup in the middle, with small dishes making a figure of dishes. The remove roast ducks at the top & a very fine Poulet at the bottom, macaroni, tartlets &c &c afterwards Parmesan & other Cheese & Caviare with toast. Champaign & Madeira were served round during dinner...⁶

In 1771 Angerstein was one of the seventy-nine men who signed what has been called “the most important document in the history of Lloyd’s”. Each one agreed to pay £100 into the Bank of England for the building of a new Lloyd’s Coffee House, which was part of a move to control the premises in which the group of merchants, underwriters and brokers did their business. This presaged a move towards the gradual creation of an entity where men were not subscribers to Lloyd’s but members of Lloyd’s. Angerstein was not on the original committee of Lloyd’s (the New in the title was gradually dropped) but he performed an essential service by finding and negotiating premises over the Royal Exchange; Lloyd’s remained there until 1838 when the Royal Exchange was burnt down. It was an ideal situation since merchants and traders of all kinds met on the Royal Exchange and did business there. Angerstein did not join the committee of Lloyd’s until 1786 and served only until 1796. During this period the office of Chairman was ill-defined and meetings were taken by the most senior committee member present, but Angerstein is regarded as having been Chairman in 1795-96. When presentation plate describes him as Chairman it means that he led the relevant committee, for example that of the Nile Fund referred to above, and not that he was Chairman of Lloyd’s.

Angerstein was not only a successful insurance broker and underwriter, but he had a number of other business interests as well. These included shipowning and shipbroking, property, industry and, most importantly in the Napoleonic period, loan contracting: the high-risk operation of raising money for the government. Small groups of men bid against each other to offer the best terms for successive loans: Angerstein frequently worked in partnership with Sir Francis Baring (described as ‘the first merchant in Europe’) and sometimes competed with the brothers Benjamin and Abraham Goldsmid. Angerstein could afford to be generous, but his philanthropy was still remarkable.

CHARITABLE AND PATRIOTIC APPEALS

There were numerous charitable appeals over the course of the eighteenth century, and some of the organisations they funded flourished for many years. There was sometimes a superstructure of patrons (possibly royal), governors and subscribers, with perhaps an annual church service and rights of nomination to whatever service it was that the charity provided. Angerstein subscribed to many such bodies but this article is more concerned with

the development of a rapid response to new demands as they emerged, such as the Nile appeal. It is notable that these responses came mainly from merchants (who were using cash all the time in their day-to-day dealings) rather than from aristocrats (who tended to be asset-rich and cash-poor). There was, in fact, nothing novel about the Nile appeal: four decades before it had been reported that:

A subscription was open’d at Lloyd’s Coffee-house for the benefit of the widow of Captain Death, and for the widows of those brave men who lost their life in his defence⁷.

In 1775 there was another example, an appeal for funds to permit:

...such occasional Acts of Benevolence as may be useful to the Soldiers, who are or may be employed in his Majesty’s service in America, and for succouring the distressed Widows and Orphans of those brave men who have fallen or may fall in defending the Constitutional Government of this Country⁸.

Andrew Thomson was on the committee of that subscription, and so, further down the list, was Angerstein.

Then, on 29 August 1782, came the *Titanic* disaster of the eighteenth century: the loss of the *Royal George*. One of the largest ships in the navy, she turned over and sank within a few minutes while at anchor at Spithead on a calm day. Much has been written about how the accident happened but the result was that about 500 of the crew drowned as well as a similar number of women, children and other visitors who were on board at the time. William Cowper wrote his poem *Toll for the Brave* about the tragedy, and more practically the *Morning Post* carried an account dated 5 September from New Lloyd’s Coffee House:

At a Meeting of several of the principal Merchants of London, and others, the very distressful circumstances of the Widows and Children of the unfortunate Petty-Officers, Seamen and Marines who lost their lives in his Majesty’s ship the *Royal George* (for whose relief no provision is made by the public) being taken into consideration, resolved that a Subscription be opened in their behalf...

3 Anthony Twist, *A Life of John Julius Angerstein, 1735-1823*, Lewiston, New York, 2006, is the source for Angerstein unless further

references are given.

4 *Notes & Queries*, vol 10, 2nd series, p 242, 29 September 1860.

5 Kenneth Garlick and others, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, 17 vols, New Haven and London, vol 7, 25 June 1806.

6 *Do*, vol 6, 26 Feb 1804.

7 *London Chronicle*, 10-12 February 1757.

8 *Public Advertiser*, 25 October 1775.



Fig 3 Privateer Committee 100 guinea soup tureen presented to Captain Amelius Beauclerk.

© National Maritime Museum



Fig 4 Privateer Committee tea urn presented to Captain Nicholas Tomlinson.

© National Maritime Museum

The Master of New Lloyd's Coffee House was to receive donations and a committee, with Angerstein named fourth, was to be responsible for setting up the structure for distributing the money raised, which amounted to over £6,000 by the end of September⁹. The *Royal George* appeal was the prototype for many future appeals and Lloyd's had become a catalyst for national patriotic support for servicemen's widows and orphans.

WAR WITH FRANCE

War with France broke out in February 1793, and almost immediately William Devaynes chaired the inaugural meeting of the clumsily named United Society for the Relief of Widows and Children of such Seamen Soldiers Marines and Militiamen who may die or be killed in the actual service of their Country during the present War¹⁰. In contrast to the *Royal George* subscription this was not a Lloyd's based appeal. Devaynes was an MP and an East India Company director; Angerstein was not an initial donor nor on the committee although by March both he, and his family, had made contributions¹¹. He played what appeared to be a minor part in a second society set up by Devaynes which had the purpose of providing British troops on the Continent with extra clothing although it later transpired that he had arranged insurance on several shipments at specially reduced premiums¹². The United Society attracted royal patronage and received donations from all over the country although, initially, there were no widows and orphans to support, and the funds were invested.

The United Society was designed purely to provide relief and there was no question of making awards for gallantry. The further body set up in February 1793 aimed to do precisely the opposite: this was the Committee for Encouraging the Capture of French Privateers, which was again not based at Lloyd's and again did not include Angerstein¹³. The Privateer Committee raised just over £4,000 in total and disbursed that sum gradually over the next seven years: £2,400 in "acknowledgements" (swords and plate awarded to officers); £1,000 in money paid to seamen; and the balance in administration etc¹⁴. The donors (about sixty in all, including £500 from the City of London¹⁵) no doubt had good business reasons for encouraging the navy to contain the privateer menace, but in doing so they were responsible for the creation of a number of pieces of presentation plate¹⁶. Reports of meetings of the committee in *The Times* make it possible to identify the recipients of six pieces valued at 100 guineas each and six more valued at fifty guineas¹⁷. Captain Amelius Beauclerk's 100 guinea soup tureen by Robert Makepeace (1796-97) and a tea urn by Robert Salmon (1792-93)¹⁸ which formed part of the fifty guinea gift to Captain Nicholas Tomlinson are illustrated [figs 3 and 4]: both are now in the National Maritime Museum.

As a merchant ship captain, Thomas Truxtun (sometimes spelt Truxton) was well-known at Lloyd's prior to the War of Independence. Early in 1799 Truxtun, who was by this time one of the senior captains in the new United States Navy, defeated and captured a French frigate off Guadeloupe. In June it was reported that the merchants

and underwriters at Lloyd's had subscribed 500 guineas to buy him a sword but when the award was received two years later it turned out to be "an extravagantly handsome silver urn encased in a brass bound mahogany box". Truxtun sent his thanks to the gentleman at Lloyd's "many of whom are my old friends and acquaintances" and continued:

This mark of your attention will leave an impression of respect and esteem on my mind that will only cease with my existence, and will be remembered after by my offspring.

A visitor to the Truxtun's home in 1802 called the urn "the most dazzling utensil I ever saw on a tea table"¹⁹. (It is not clear whether Truxtun's very generous award came from the Privateer Committee or from the proceeds of a special subscription. The urn was recorded as being in Washington in 1928, but its present location has not been traced)²⁰.

During the period 1797 to 1806, both Great Britain and France were theoretically at peace with the United States but the latter's shipping was liable to capture by British ships, if carrying cargoes destined for France, or by French ships if they were engaging in British trade. Lloyd's had a Committee on American Captures which looked after the interests of insurers and in 1806 their chairman, Thomas Backhouse was presented with a silver urn which now forms part of the collection of silver at Lloyd's.

THE GLORIOUS FIRST OF JUNE

On the evening of 10 June 1794, an officer arrived at the Admiralty, with a dispatch from Admiral Earl Howe

reporting a great victory over the French fleet on what was soon called the Glorious First of June. Lord Chatham, the First Lord of the Admiralty:

Carried the account...to the Opera and...it was made known to the house...Never was any scene so rapturous as the audience exhibited, when the band struck up *Rule Britannia*...

The Duke of Clarence took the news to Covent Garden and met the same response²¹. Next day there was a routine meeting of the "Subscribers and Frequenters" of Lloyd's Coffee House under the chairmanship of Godfrey Thornton who was also Governor of the Bank of England. At the end of the regular business a committee was immediately set up to raise a subscription "for the relief of the widows and children of the warrant and petty officers, seamen and soldiers who fell gloriously in the service of their King and country". Angerstein led the names of the initial contributors (each gave ten guineas) and *The Times* reported the next day that the subscribers of Lloyd's "with the liberality which will ever distinguish that respectable body of men" gave 1,000 guineas in less than an hour. Godfrey Thornton's name appeared, but further down the list, and Angerstein was clearly in charge²². By 14 June a list in the *Sun* contained some 430 names each one of whom gave ten guineas. A few days later the managers of Ranelagh, the pleasure gardens in Chelsea, announced an entertainment with tickets costing one guinea and with the profits going to the appeal:

...A Promenade, Concert, Fire Work and Supper under the Patronage and Direction of the Committee, and Subscribers of Lloyd's Coffee-house²³.

9 *Morning Post*, 27 September 1782.

10 *The Times*, 19 February 1793.

11 Do, 12 March 1793.

12 *General United Society*..., 1798, reporting a meeting held on 4 January 1794.

13 He was heavily involved in raising a loan of £6 million 3% stock for the British Government in very difficult market conditions at the time.

14 *The Times*, 22 February 1800.

15 Do, 4 and 22 March 1793.

16 This article does not consider plate given by individual groups of underwriters who had benefited from the actions of the recipients. Examples are: the cup and cover presented to Captain Lawrence Irvine in 1758 (National Maritime Museum) and the cup and cover given to Captain Hugh Crow in 1800 (Lloyd's Collection), both for defending their ships against privateers. The collection at Lloyd's, usually known as the Nelson Collection, was described by Leslie Southwick in his article 'Historic Tokens: the Nelson Collection at Lloyd's of London' on pp 71-85 of the 1996 issue of *Trafalgar Chronicle*. A num-

ber of pieces were shown as part of the Trafalgar Bicentenary Exhibition at Lloyd's in 2005; some are displayed on www.lloyds.com.

17 Captains Amelius Beauclerk, Durham, Sir Edward Hamilton, T B Martin, Sir Edward Pellew and Sir James Saumarez received plate valued at 100 guineas; and Captains Brisac, Cochrane, Sarmon, Tomlinson and Williams and Lieutenant George Long plate valued at 50 guineas.

18 For the attribution of silver to Robert Salmon, see Arthur G Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837*, London, (3rd ed),

p 655 under Robert Sharp. Another, larger, tea urn by the same maker was later presented to Tomlinson by the Royal Exchange Assurance (National Maritime Museum).

19 Eugene S Ferguson, *Truxtun of the Constellation*, Baltimore, 1956, pp 80, 172, 221.

20 Charles Wright and C Ernest Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's*, London, 1928, p 182.

21 *Annual Register 1794, Chronicle*, p 15, 10 June 1794.

22 *The Times*, 12 June 1794. It may seem strange that the subscription was set up

when Devaynes's fund was already in existence and had funds available for widows and orphans. There was certainly no friction between Devaynes and Angerstein who had worked together in other contexts. On at least one occasion Angerstein chaired the United Society, which later did valuable work arranging for the repatriation of widows and orphans from Europe.

23 *The Times*, 17 June 1794.



Fig 5 Glorious First of June soup tureen presented to Mrs John Harvey.

© Corporation of Lloyd's

Then, in a notable development, royalty began to take note of Angerstein's committee. A second benefit was announced, this time at Drury Lane, under the patronage of the Prince of Wales and his brother the Duke of Clarence. The evening was run by a thirteen-man "Committee of Noblemen and Gentlemen" which included two dukes, an earl, the Lord Mayor and Angerstein; tickets were half a guinea each. Institutional donors: the East India Company, the Royal Exchange and the London Insurance corporations, amongst others, joined the subscription list and in July the Lord Mayor gave a "grand dinner" at the Mansion House for the committee that had run the Drury Lane entertainment²⁴.

Contributions to the Glorious First of June subscription came in from many parts of the country and the total donated finally reached £21,282²⁵. This was a larger sum than had been anticipated, and in March 1795 *The Times* contained a report of a full meeting held at Lloyd's on 26 February at which it was resolved unanimously:

That in the opinion of this Committee, it would be a measure highly gratifying to the feelings of the several Subscribers who had so liberally contributed, that a Present of a Piece of Plate be made to those Officers who have been wounded, and to the Representatives of such as were unfortunately killed in the ever memorable action under Earl Howe, and whose circumstances are happily such as to render their application to this Committee for relief unnecessary. This Committee...earnestly requests every person under the above description to have the goodness to send their address to the Secretary, Mr Oddy, over the Royal Exchange. John Julius Angerstein, Chairman²⁶.

Angerstein and his colleagues would have known at once the size of the problem they were tackling because the *Supplement* to the *London Gazette* dated 14 June 1794 had contained a casualty list. This showed that eighteen officers and 278 men had been killed and forty-two officers and 783 men injured. If it is assumed that £20 was allocated for each of the men or their widows and that there was an eighty per cent take up, enough would have been left in the fund for forty £50 pieces of plate and twenty £100 pieces for the officer casualties who varied in rank from midshipman to admiral. This arithmetic perhaps explains the very generous offer made in the advertisement quoted above and one might expect to find First of June plate in many silver collections. This does not, however, seem to be the case: four items have been noted, two of which are a pair of matching soup tureens by John Scofield (1795-96), awarded to the widows of Captain John Harvey [fig 5] and Captain John Hutt respectively²⁷. After the engagement both men were brought home wounded but died soon afterwards; they share a memorial by the younger John Bacon in Westminster Abbey. No doubt Angerstein felt that he was able to speak for the nation, judging by the inscription on Captain Harvey's tureen:

Lloyd's Coffee House, A tribute of gratitude and respect from his Country to the memory of Captain John Harvey...John Julius Angerstein, Chairman.

Rear-Admiral Thomas Pasley, who lost a leg in the action, was presented with a similar tureen although this time on an elaborate stand²⁸. A lesser award was a silver half-fluted goblet presented to Midshipman Richard Shortland who was wounded while serving on HMS Marlborough on 1 June²⁹.

CAPE ST VINCENT AND CAMPERDOWN

Two years later, in March 1797, history repeated itself with another naval victory followed by an appeal at Lloyd's chaired by Angerstein. This was the Battle of Cape St Vincent, where the casualties exceeded 300, and the then Commodore Horatio Nelson was among those wounded. In spite of over £500 from a benefit at the Opera and a similar amount from Covent Garden the fund only produced £2,615³⁰, less than £10 per casualty, and there was certainly nothing left over for gifts of plate.

As 1797 drew on, the donor community became more concerned about the naval mutinies at Spithead and The Nore, and this must have affected the Cape St Vincent appeal. In October 1797 came news that Admiral Duncan, commanding many of the ex-mutineers, had won a great victory over the Dutch in the battle of Camperdown³¹. Angerstein headed the subscription at Lloyd's³² but a man named Calverley Bewicke, not otherwise well known for his charitable activities, chaired the committee meetings. The subscription became a runaway success: amounting in total to over £52,000 with subscriptions coming in from all parts of the country³³. This was two and a half times as much as the proceeds of the First of June appeal (even though there were fewer casualties at Camperdown) and would prove to be almost as much as the future Copenhagen and Nile appeals put together. This generosity was, no doubt, a sign of national relief that the mutinies had not prevented Britain from having an effective fighting navy. There were, however, no awards of plate from the Camperdown fund: the committee had early resolved unanimously that:

...the monies subscribed and collected...be applied for the Relief of Such Persons specifically, and to no other purpose whatsoever³⁴.

The "Persons" referred to were of course the wounded and the dependants of those who had been killed, who must have received larger individual payments than those awarded after other battles.

THE BATTLE OF THE NILE AND THE FIRST GIFT OF PLATE TO NELSON

The next great naval victory took place in 1798: the Battle of the Nile. As described above Angerstein led the subscription at Lloyd's which, once again, was opened as soon as the news of the battle reached London. At a meeting of the committee on 5 October, Angerstein was unanimously appointed chairman and was:

...desired to write Circular letters to the Mayor or other Civil Magistrate of the principal towns and places in Great Britain and Ireland requesting them to open Subscriptions, and that the amount thereof be transferred to this Committee³⁵.

It is remarkable that a self-appointed committee could take on this national responsibility and also remarkable that that committee, with no staff other than a part-time secretary³⁶, could take on the administrative burdens involved. One part of the work is demonstrated by a letter Angerstein wrote to Nelson on 10 October: although the letter has not survived, its contents are made clear by Nelson's response, written from *Vanguard*, Palermo, and dated 31 December 1798. Angerstein had asked the captains of the ships under Nelson's command to provide the committee with lists of the dead and wounded; the latter replied that this would be done as soon as possible "in order to forward their (i.e. the committee's) charitable intentions"³⁷. The total of casualties, as reported in Nelson's despatch, was 895: sixteen officers and 202 men were killed and thirty-seven officers and 640 men wounded.

By early 1799 the Nile fund exceeded £25,000 and it ultimately reached more than £38,000 before it was wound up in 1806³⁸. As with the Camperdown fund, the Nile appeal was for the "Relief of Such Persons" as had suffered as a result of the battle but the Nile Committee felt able, nonetheless, to offer Nelson £500 to spend on plate. This was perhaps justified on the basis that he had been wounded although not seriously enough for Nelson to have included himself in the return of casualties.

24 Do, 27 June 1794; 7 July 1794.

25 Charles Wright and C Ernest Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's*, London, 1928, p 209.

26 *The Times*, March 11 1795.

27 Both are now in the Lloyd's Collection.

28 It is illustrated opposite

p 288 of *Private Sea Journals 1778-1782*, Rodney M S Pasley (editor), London, 1931.

29 Now in the Lloyd's Collection.

30 Charles Wright and C Ernest Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's*, London, 1928, p 209. The news of the victory was announced in a special edition of the *London Gazette* on 3 March,

and the subscription in *The Times* on 10 March.

31 The first news of the battle was given in a special issue of the *London Gazette* on 13 October.

32 *The Times*, 17 October 1797.

33 The usual personal subscription was ten guineas and the donors included Rundell and Bridge.

The Goldsmiths' Company gave 100 guineas (list in *The Times* 27 November 1797).

34 *The Times*, 28 October 1797 reporting a meeting of the Committee held the previous day.

35 Do, 8 October 1798.

36 Charles Wright and C Ernest Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's*, London, 1928,

pp 209-210.

37 Sir Nicholas H Nicolas, *Dispatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson*, 7 vols, London, 1844-46, vol 3 p 217.

38 Charles Wright and C Ernest Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's*, London, 1928, p 209.



Fig 7 Admiral Lord Nelson KB and the Battle of the Nile (Engraving).

© The Corporation of Lloyd's

Captain Henry d'Esterre Darby was wounded at the start of the action and also received an award of plate [fig 6]³⁹ but, so far as is known, none of the other officers were honoured in the same way. Just when the Committee took its decisions is uncertain but it was probably before 6 November 1800 when Nelson, accompanied by Sir William Hamilton and the latter's wife Emma who was by then heavily (and strictly secretly) pregnant with Nelson's child, arrived at Great Yarmouth. The public's reaction to the Hero of the Nile was ecstatic although there were also those, notably George III, who disapproved strongly of his personal life⁴⁰.

On 15 November 1800, Nelson went:

...to pay his respects to several of his old friends in the City and was upon the Royal Exchange some time⁴¹.

There is no reference in the Minute Books of Lloyd's, or elsewhere, to Nelson actually visiting Lloyd's, which was on the first floor of the Royal Exchange, but it seems certain that he met Angerstein and his Nile Fund colleagues informally. Nelson was eager to spend the £500 he had been awarded by the fund and called on Rundell and Bridge⁴² in Ludgate Hill, perhaps even on the same day⁴³. This visit may have been to see and approve the inscriptions on the service rather than to place the initial order because Rundell's invoice is dated 24 November. Angerstein may have gone with Nelson, particularly as the budgeted £500 had crept up to a final figure of £627-2-0. Nelson received a suite of first and second course dishes, weighing a total of 960 oz⁴⁴, one of which is shown in fig 2. In March 1799 a print called *Admiral Lord Nelson, KB and the Victory of the Nile* was produced; it was



Fig 6 Plate presented to Captain Henry d'Esterre Darby by the Nile Committee.

© The Corporation of Lloyd's

zealously inscribed to J J Angerstein Esq and the Gentlemen who have so humanely, strenuously & successfully exerted themselves for the relief of the Widows & Orphans of those men who bravely fell on the above occasion⁴⁵ [fig 7].

Nelson certainly greatly appreciated the work that Angerstein and his colleagues did. There was an occasion when the Nile Committee had a request for help from several seamen who had very belatedly reported themselves as having been wounded. Angerstein gave their names to Nelson, who replied:

...I can only say that my Captain the ever to be regretted Miller was so particular and regular in all his conduct that I should rather doubt their having been wounded on that day, or so slightly that they were never reported as such and of course not objects for the bounty of your Committee. The Trouble that the Committee have taken and you Sir in particular at the head of it stamps your character as one of the very best men of the age we live in, and Believe Me Sir you possess the esteem regard and veneration of your most obliged and faithful Nelson & Bronte⁴⁶.

Captain Miller had died in an accident in 1799 and Nelson instructed Alexander Davison, his prize agent and man of business, to arrange for a bas-relief panel in Miller's memory to be put up in St Paul's Cathedral. The sculptor was John Flaxman, who had met Sir William Hamilton in Naples, and whom Nelson admired⁴⁷. Flaxman was also responsible for a memorial, consisting of a tablet and a simple urn, to Nelson's father who died in 1802, in Burnham Thorpe church⁴⁸.

COPENHAGEN AND THE SECOND GIFT OF PLATE TO NELSON

The letter to Angerstein referred to above was sent by Nelson in March 1801 from H M S *St George* at Yarmouth just before he sailed with Sir Hyde Parker to the Baltic.

In January Nelson had written that his "plate from Rundell & Bridge is not arrived" and again in February "I shall take my plate with me. Sink or swim, it goes with me"⁴⁹. He was to be disappointed because it was delivered just after he sailed. In April the news reached London of a great victory off Copenhagen and, on 17 April, *The Times* carried the announcement of a subscription, led as usual by Angerstein:

...for the brave MEN wounded and the FAMILIES of those who fell in the Fleet under the command of Sir Hyde Parker in the service of their King and Country off Copenhagen and in the Baltic in 1801.

The Lord Mayor asked that donations should be made to the new fund instead of being spent on illuminations to celebrate the victory and *The Times* commented that it was superfluous to add its own commendation to readers to support the fund⁵⁰. A few days later Angerstein, unanimously voted chairman of the appeal, was able to announce that £5,000 had been subscribed.

Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson and Rear-Admiral Graves were thanked by both Houses of Parliament for their services but it gradually became clear that Parker had played no part in the battle and actually had sent a signal which, if Nelson had obeyed it, might have turned victory into defeat. On 5 May Parker received orders to hand over his command to Nelson, who at the time was "physically and emotionally exhausted" and preparing to return to England on sick leave. The latter was "revived by command" and took over the fleet. On 19 May, Nelson was made a viscount and Graves a CB⁵¹; nonetheless after he had returned to Yarmouth on 1 July, Nelson felt that his service had been underrated. A small example of this can be seen in the Copenhagen appeal where the name Hyde Parker appeared in all the newspaper advertisements and the name of Nelson was never mentioned, except when, in an unusual move, he gave £100 to the appeal himself. (At the same time Hyde Parker

39 The tureens are now in the Lloyd's Collection, together with a teapot and a swing-handle basket also presented to Captain Darby.

40 Jack Russell, *Nelson and the Hamiltons*, London, 1969, p 145.

41 *The Times*, 17 November 1800.

42 The firm later became Rundell, Bridge and Rundell: they are referred to simply as Rundell's in the rest of this article except in direct quotations.

43 Martyn Downer, *Nelson's Purse*, London, 2004, p 209.

44 Details of the composition of the service are given

by Kenneth Quickenden, 'Nelson Memorabilia and his Nile service', *Silver Studies*, no 19, 2005, pp 38-40.

45 The print was recently reproduced in *Representing the Royal Navy* by Margaret Lincoln, London, 2002.

46 Letter dated March 9

1801. Lloyd's Collection.

47 Martyn Downer, *Nelson's Purse*, London, 2005, pp 230-31.

48 Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851*, London, n d, p 150.

49 Warren R Dawson, *The Nelson Collection at Lloyd's*, London, 1932, p 6.

50 *The Times*, 17 April 1801.

51 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition 2009, article by N A M Rodger.

Fig 8 Letter from Nelson to John Julius Angerstein 1801.
© The Corporation of Lloyd's



Fig 9 Soup plate from the Copenhagen service
presented to Nelson.
© The Corporation of Lloyd's

London July 4th 1801

Sir I am honor'd with your polite letter
yesterday, conveying the resolution of
the Committee to present me with the sum
of five hundred pounds to be laid out in
Plate, I have frequent that you will have
the goodness to advise the Committee that
I am truly sensible of their kindness to
me and that I feel myself bound to
accept their very handsome offer and that
I shall derive much pleasure & pride to
make Plate for that amount, Please the
Honour to Be Sir with the greatest respect
Your most obedient servant
Nelson J. Bronte

John J. Angerstein Esq.

gave £150, Graves £50 and the other officers of the fleet suitably scaled amounts)⁵². All this perhaps provides the background to the letter Angerstein wrote to Nelson on 3 July:

...Fortunately I have had an opportunity of getting acquainted with the manner that your Lordship acquired your last very severe illness, the consequences of which might have been so fatal to the country in the loss of so valuable a life as that of your Lordship. I informed the committee for the sufferers of the glorious action at Copenhagen the particulars and they have directed me to inform you that they have voted five hundred pounds to be laid out in plate, in such a manner as you will please to direct, as a small token of their gratitude for the extraordinary exertions of your Lordship in that ever-memorable victory⁵³.

Nelson had not, strictly speaking, been wounded at Copenhagen but the "relief of such persons specifically" condition did not appear in the advertisements for the appeal and Angerstein clearly felt able to stretch the rules for Nelson's benefit. In a postscript to the letter quoted above Angerstein mentioned that the committee had voted £60 per annum Long Annuities to Mrs Mosse. Her

late husband and Captain Riou, who were both killed at Copenhagen, share a memorial by John Rossi in the crypt of St Paul's cathedral⁵⁴. Angerstein also told Nelson that £500 had been voted to Sir Thomas Thomson, one of Nelson's captains at the Battle of the Nile, who lost a leg at Copenhagen. The casualties at Copenhagen numbered 953 (254 killed and 689 wounded), which exceeded those at the Nile, but the fund available for their relief totalled only £15,588, which was half the Nile amount⁵⁵.

Nelson's reply to Angerstein's letter is illustrated [fig 8]. He gave Alexander Davison, his agent, instructions to spend the new £500 award to "make what you think necessary to add to the rest to make a complete set, such as plates, or whatever you may think right"⁵⁶. Rundell's advised Davison that there should be six dozen silver plates, weighing not less than eighteen ounces each, and eighteen "soop" plates, weighing not less than twenty-two ounces each: the order was executed at a total cost of £719-2-0⁵⁷, a figure which was, like the Nile Service, well over the budget of £500.

THE COMBINED SERVICE

Several authors, most recently Rina Prentice in *The Authentic Nelson* (London, 2005), have quoted from a document headed "Inventory of sundry Plate belonging

Fig 10 Pair of wine coolers from the Combined Service presented to Nelson.

© Corporation of Lloyd's



to The Right Honble Lord Viscount Nelson furnished by Rundell & Bridge November 1800⁵⁸ and have noted that the date must be incorrect because Nelson only became a viscount in May 1801. The list was probably produced for Nelson's executors, judging by the annotations on it and, therefore, the items enumerated should match the sum of the Nile and Copenhagen awards. Taking the list as given, John May⁵⁹ went to great lengths to trace the later history of the pieces: including those belonging to Lady Hamilton and those included in the Bridport sale of 1895. He had some success but the number identified, as he said, fell short of Rundell's inventory. A further point which he did not consider was how the pieces got on to the list in the first place. The items from the Copenhagen award are straightforward: the inventory has seventy-two plates and eighteen soup plates [fig 9] weighing a little less than when they were supplied; there is a quantity of dishes, including the one referred to at the beginning of this article, which no doubt originate from the Nile award. There are also a number of other pieces that are neither dishes nor plates, to the extent that the total weight of the inventory items exceeds the weight of the Nile and Copenhagen plate (as described above) by over 1,300 oz. An example is the pair of wine coolers [fig 10], now in the Lloyd's Collection: these are two of four by William Hall (1801-2) which weigh 307 oz in total and have a full inscription from the Copenhagen Committee ending "...John Julius Angerstein Chairman"⁶⁰. The inventory also includes, amongst other items, eight sauce tureens with domed covers by Daniel Pontifex (1801-2) [fig 11]⁶¹. It seems very possible that Angerstein felt that Nelson's dining table was not adequately furnished with merely dishes and plates and that more items should be presented to him. Nelson was not, however, everyone's hero and the Copenhagen fund could not afford a second public gift so perhaps Angerstein and his friends quietly paid what must have been the better part of £1,000, via the fund, to Rundell's to complete Nelson's plate as it was later listed in the inventory⁶². The wealthier Nile Fund might have made a further award, but the wine coolers and the other items would surely then have had Nile inscriptions.



Fig 11 Sauce tureen from the Combined Service presented to Nelson.

© The Corporation of Lloyd's

52 *The Times*, 27 May 1801.

53 Warren R Dawson, *The Treasures of Lloyd's*, 4th ed, London, 1932, p 142.

54 Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851*, London, n.d., p 328.

55 Charles Wright and C Ernest Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's*, London, 1928, p 209.

56 Martyn Downer, *Nelson's Purse*, London, 2005, p 235.

57 Martyn Downer as above, quoting from letter from Rundell's dated 6 September 1801 (sale, Sotheby's, 21 October 2002, lot 52).

58 British Library Add Ms 34990. The list, including the weights of the pieces, is given by Warren R Dawson, *The Nelson Collection at Lloyd's* (pp 4-5) and by John May (see below) without the weights.

59 John May, 'The Nelson Silver', *Antique Collecting*, no 5, vol 20, October 1985, pp 72-75.

60 Lloyd's Collection.

61 Five of these are now in the National Maritime Museum.

62 Martyn Downer's book makes no mention of any such additional silver being bought which suggests that any transaction of this nature would not have involved Davison.

BOULOGNE

Appeals like the Copenhagen one provided genuine support for the casualties of war, and they also did much to enhance the status of Lloyd's: on one occasion in 1802 *The Times* referred to the "Gentlemen of Lloyd's Coffee-House" as "the father of every seaman's orphan"⁶³. Despite this Angerstein and his colleagues must have wondered whether the system of individual subscriptions was the best one, not only because of the accounting involved, but also because the benefits that could be provided depended entirely on the mood of the public at the time an appeal was made. There was a very clear demonstration of this in August 1801 when Lord Nelson (no less) commanded a night attack on Boulogne. The operation achieved little but resulted in four officers and forty men being killed and forty officers and 114 men being injured. Angerstein led a subscription as usual but the total sum given only amounted to £640. In October Nelson wrote to one of his captains:

The Committee at Lloyd's want to know the names and places of residence of the killed. I send you Mr Angerstein's letter. You will start at the smallness of the sum...⁶⁴

Angerstein later discussed with Nelson the possibility of coming to the rescue of the Boulogne casualties by transferring £2,000 or £3,000 from the Nile Fund but it is not known whether this was actually done⁶⁵.

RENEWAL OF THE WAR AND THE LAUNCH OF THE PATRIOTIC FUND

After a peace lasting little more than a year, war with France was renewed in May 1803. Two months later, in an operation described by the commanding admiral as equalling the most daring episodes of the last war, two British naval lieutenants from the frigate *Loire* led a party in small boats which boarded and captured a large French gun-brig. Angerstein as usual led a subscription and the £250 or so contributed would have been sufficient to provide some comfort for the boatswain and the five men who were injured⁶⁶.

But there was a second clause to the *Loire* appeal, stating that it was also:

...for the relief of such as may suffer by defending the Country at sea or on land in the present threatened attack by the French.

This may have been put in to remind the House Committee of Lloyd's that there was before them a requisition made the previous month for a special General Meeting to consider the inauguration of a fund to assist wounded men and the dependents of those killed and also, notably, to present rewards for valour. The outcome was a meeting of Lloyd's subscribers on 20 July with Alderman Sir Brook Watson Bart MP, the Chairman of Lloyd's, in the chair. The resolutions that were passed were published as a leaflet and in the newspapers⁶⁷. The effect was to state, in a more emotive and detailed way, similar objects for the new subscription, which soon became known as the Patriotic Fund, as had been put forward for earlier appeals such as those following the battles of the Nile and Copenhagen, but with the crucial addition that the fund could also grant "pecuniary rewards, or honourable badges of distinction, for successful exertions of valour or merit". There would no longer be a need to bend the rules to make awards to the likes of Lord Nelson. William Cobbett was highly critical of the fact that the members of the fund committee were having "the effrontery to arrogate to themselves the power of distinguishing and rewarding military and naval merit, which belongs to the sovereign alone" but *The Times* dismissed "the low, illiberal and vulgar abuse of 'a certain weekly writer'"⁶⁸. It is notable that the Patriotic Fund never had a superstructure of royal patrons, this might have been seen as carrying arrogation too far.

The promoters were taking a calculated risk in launching such a high profile appeal. It was a situation like that faced by William Devaynes a decade before: preparing for the casualties of battles to come, rather than taking advantage of the public's response to a victory just won. The meeting of Lloyd's subscribers resolved to go ahead and even committed £20,000 consols, almost half the assets of the Coffee House, to the new fund. Sir Brook

63 *The Times*, 26 March 1802.

64 Sir Nicholas H Nicolas, *Dispatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson*, 7 vols, 1844-46, vol 4, p 519. 25 October 1801.

65 Warren R Dawson, *The*

Nelson Collection at Lloyd's, London, 1932. In a letter to Nelson dated 6 September 1805 Angerstein says that the Nile Committee intended to make a decision at their next meeting in early January 1806.

66 *The Times*, 11 July 1803.

67 The pamphlet is reproduced in full in Jim Gawler, *Britons Strike Home*, Sanderstead, 1993, Appendix I, pp 119-121. Leslie Southwick gives the text in his article 'The silver vases awarded by the Patriotic Fund', *Silver Studies*, no 1, 1990.

Hereafter Gawler's book will be referred to as G and Southwick's article as S.

68 Cobbett made the comment in his *Weekly Political Register* for 1 October 1803 and *The Times* responded on 3 October.

69 John Thomson and Thomson Bonar have been mentioned above as part of Angerstein's family circle.

70 G, pp 119-21, quoting the report of a General Meeting of Subscribers held on 29 July 1803.

Watson led the personal donors with a generous £100 and he was followed by Sir Francis Baring, Angerstein, Benjamin and Abraham Goldsmid, John Thomson and Thomson Bonar who each gave the remarkable sum of £1,000⁶⁹. A few days later a committee of fifty of the major subscribers was appointed and several more were co-opted including the Lord Mayor, the Governor of the Bank of England, the Chairman of the East India Company, the Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company (which gave £1,000 to the appeal) and Earl Spencer, who had been Pitt's First Lord of the Admiralty until 1801. A seven man Committee of Treasury was appointed with three of them, Baring, Angerstein and Thomson Bonar, named as trustees⁷⁰. John Parr Welsford was appointed as Secretary: he was the only paid employee until Trafalgar, when an assistant secretary joined him, all the rest of the work being done voluntarily by members of the committee⁷¹.

WORDS AND VASES

In August, Sir Brook Watson, having seen the fund established, retired and was replaced as chairman by Sir Francis Baring. Such was the response to the appeal from the public, that on 17 August *The Times* carried a report in which:

The Committee acknowledge with true patriotic pride, that the Subscription exceeds any that has been recorded in the Annals of our History, but when it is considered that every former war sinks into a petty contest, compared with the mighty struggle in which we are now engaged 'single-handed', the Committee trust that they may appeal with success to the feelings of every true Friend of his Country, to promote the objects of this Institution. 'At the eve of such a conflict, the Seaman, the Soldier, the Volunteer, should know that those who were dear to them will, in the event of his falling in this glorious Cause, find Protectors and Guardians in a grateful and generous Country'.

Clearly the offering of "pecuniary rewards and honourable badges of distinction" for valour was intended to be a subsidiary but still significant part of the commit-

tee's activities. Later in August they considered the matter and decided that badges should be awarded rather than money, and that these badges should be medals, swords and vases⁷². On 5 September Joseph Farington wrote in his diary:

West I called on in the evening. He has got a number of proposals for designs to be made for the Patriotic Fund which Sir Francis Baring desires him to distribute⁷³.

Benjamin West, the President of the Royal Academy, had been asked by Sir Francis to invite artists to submit designs and premiums of fifty, thirty and twenty guineas were offered for "a medal, a sword or a vase, all or either of them"⁷⁴. On 2 December the results of the competition were published, with fifty guineas being awarded to John Shaw for his drawings for a vase and to Edward Edwards for his drawings for a medal, while (Edward) Pugh and James Roberts won the second and third prizes for a vase design; no prize was given for a sword. The committee regretted that they must "leave unnoticed some most beautiful and elegant designs"⁷⁵. John Shaw was a distinguished architect, a regular exhibitor at the Royal Academy and a Fellow of the Royal Society; while Edward Edwards was an Associate of the Royal Academy, a teacher of perspective there, and the author of several books. The committee concluded that as the two winning designs were nearly the same, they would serve "as the principal ornaments" both for the vase and the medal and went on to resolve:

That the following inscriptions be added to those designs. Over the Group of a Warrior combating an Hydra, "For our King, our Country, and our God". Underneath "Britons strike home". On the Reverse, being the Figure of Britannia, seated with her Attributes, and presenting a Laurel Wreath, "A Grateful Country to her brave Defender". Underneath "Rule Britannia"⁷⁶.

In the event, only one medal was ever awarded, but judging by the wording of the resolution, both Shaw and Edwards must have contributed to the design of the vase.

71 G, pp 78-79.

72 S, p 28, quoting *Patriotic Fund Committee Book 1*, p 34.

73 Kenneth Garlick and others, editors, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (17 vols), Newhaven and London,

1979, vol VI, 5 September 1803.

74 S, p 28, quoting *Patriotic Fund Committee Book 1*, p 34.

75 *The Times*, 2 December 1803. For Patriotic Fund swords see the articles by

Leslie Southwick in *The Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* for September 1987 and March 1988. All references to swords are from this source unless otherwise stated.

76 G, p 59. The words "Rule Britannia" and

"Britons Strike Home" appeared on the original seal of the Patriotic Fund. (illustration G, p 1). The former was and is a popular patriotic song, and the latter, now forgotten, was then almost equally popular. Originally from an opera by Henry Purcell, it had a rous-

ing chorus 'fight, fight, fight' which was perhaps why it was played, along with *Rule Britannia* and *God Save the King*, by the band on HMS *Victory* before Trafalgar (Carola Oman, *Nelson*, London, p 545).



Fig 12 £30 Patriotic Fund vase presented to Mr John S Tracey.

© Sotheby's

77 George Fox, *Account of the Firm of Rundell, Bridge and Rundell...* (unpublished), p 56, quoted by Roger M Berkowitz in his article 'The Patriotic Fund Vases Regency Awards to the Navy', *Apollo*, February 1981, p 56.

78 W Doran, *Memoirs of the Late Philip Rundell, 1827*, p 7.

79 There is a lack of clarity in the information available about Flaxman's involvement. According to Roger Berkowitz's article cited above, quoting *Notes from the Patriotic Fund Archives*, n d, by A J Carter, Secretary of the Fund from 1968 to 1990, Rundell's asked Flaxman in March 1804 to plan a design of the vase to be executed in silver conforming to the Shaw-Edwards designs. However according to Southwick, the *Committee Books* do not mention this and merely record that on 29 March 1804, as quoted above, Rundell's had offered to prepare a vase. Jim Gawler, the author of *Britons Strike Home*, succeeded Mr Carter as Secretary but is not aware of the latter's notes. The attribution to Flaxman, however, is much older than Carter: a vase awarded after Trafalgar and illustrated by Wright and Fayle in *A History of Lloyd's*, 1928,

is described as "designed by John Flaxman R A" (p xviii). The prowling lion, which appears on the cover of most of the vases (e.g. fig 1) was not mentioned as part of the design at the committee meeting referred to above, and could therefore perhaps have been contributed by Flaxman. For a discussion of the design and symbolism of the vases see S, pp 31-40.

80 S, quoting Patriotic Fund Committee Book 1.

81 Shirley Bury, 'Flaxman as a designer of silverware' in David Bindman (editor), *John Flaxman*, London, 1979, p 141.

82 G, pp 9-10.

83 G, pp 63-64: S. p 41.

84 S, p 32 states that the makers' marks shown on vases are those of Digby Scott and Benjamin Smith II, followed by Benjamin Smith II and James Smith and then Benjamin Smith II alone. It has been suggested that Paul Storr made some vases but no examples have been noted.

85 Arthur G Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837*, London, (3rd ed) 1990, p 661.

According to George Fox, writing many years later about Rundell's:

The late John Julius Angerstein was a particular friend of the House, and through his interest they received all the orders from the Committee. They generally consisted of vases...⁷⁷

Given his dealings with Rundell's over the Nelson plate, and that firm's pre-eminent position, it is unsurprising that Angerstein put the Patriotic Fund business their way. The flow of orders was greatly valued by Rundell's, as W Doran, like George Fox an ex-employee, later wrote:

During the war the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's was continually voting silver cups, some valued at 100 guineas, some 50, to different naval officers, likewise pieces of plate to military officers, for signal services; continually bringing the relatives to witness the same, made the shop known to every person of respectability in all parts of the kingdom⁷⁸.

It is not clear just when the commission was given to Rundell's but in March 1804 the firm asked John Flaxman to plan a design of the vase to be executed in silver, conforming to the Shaw-Edwards drawings⁷⁹. At the end of the month the committee was informed that Rundell's had offered to prepare a vase as a pattern conformable to the design approved by the committee (as above) and it was resolved that this offer should be accepted⁸⁰. None of the Shaw, Edwards or Flaxman drawings has survived, so it is not possible to decide the relative contributions of the three men to the final design but it is notable that the warrior combating a hydra and the seated Britannia did indeed appear on the standard vases as shown in fig 1. What seems clear is that Flaxman would have been paid very little for his design work. He received fifteen guineas in 1819 for two drawings for the National cup which was much more elaborate than a Patriotic Fund vase (being sold to George IV in 1825 for £870) and he was paid as little as five or seven guineas for other single drawings⁸¹. No accounts rendered by Flaxman for his Patriotic Fund work have been traced but at least one invoice from Rundell's to the fund for a vase seems unusually high (see below) and could include a sum due to Flaxman. All that seems reasonably certain is that Shaw and Edwards were better paid than Flaxman for their contributions to the design.

THE FUND IN ACTION

Encouraged by the flow of donations, the fund started making money payments in late August 1803 and the first to benefit were the sufferers from the *Loire* engagement⁸²; presumably the money raised for them in Angerstein's July appeal was subsumed into the main fund. Swords, initially money to buy swords, also began to be awarded at once and twenty-two had already been given by 1 May 1804 when the committee first began to consider awarding vases. The first case was that of Lieutenant Pickford and a decision was deferred for a fortnight, pending the receipt of a letter from William Marsden, Secretary to the Admiralty and a report from Angerstein and Thomson Bonar. Pickford was then awarded a vase which was delivered in December 1804⁸³. Before a decision had been made

about Pickford another meeting, held on 8 May, decided to award £30 or a piece of plate to the secretary to Commodore Hood, Mr John S Tracey, who opted for a vase. It seems possible that this request was made before the committee and Rundell's had finalised their design work because Tracey's vase (by Digby Scott and Benjamin Smith II⁸⁴, 1804-5) [fig 12] which has a full presentation inscription on the back, is quite distinct from subsequent Patriotic Fund vases, such as that shown in fig 1 and others that are illustrated later in this article.

With the exception of Pickford's, vases had a nominal price (most frequently £100) although Rundell's usually charged rather more; the £148-6-5 paid for Pickford's could have included a sum for Flaxman's design work. Digby Scott and Benjamin Smith II, had entered their mark from Limekiln Lane, Greenwich in 1802⁸⁵ and, since Angerstein was a keen horseman and his home at Woodlands was only a mile or so from Limekiln Lane (now Greenwich South Street), it is pleasant to imagine him riding over in the summer of 1804 to see how the Patriotic Fund vases were taking shape.

In March 1804 the committee resolved that recipients of all money awards and badges of distinction should be notified on a special form "signed by the Chairman, ornamented with Naval and Military Trophies, or other appropriate devices"⁸⁶. Sir Robert Ker Porter was commissioned to design the notice, and it was engraved by Edward Scriven whilst the wording was done individually for each recipient by George Robinson, a schoolboy at Christ's Hospital. An example from 1805 is illustrated [fig 13]: it is signed by Robert Shedden as the chairman of the committee on the day the payment was agreed. Others, signed by Angerstein, have also survived⁸⁷. After January 1807 certain recipients were no longer sent these engraved and handwritten notices and they are thought to have been discontinued completely in 1809⁸⁸.

Swords and vases continued to be given slowly until the committee meeting in August 1804, when seventeen swords and two vases were awarded for a single action. This was the remarkable

circumstance of an Enemy's fleet of ships, commanded by an Admiral, in an 84 gun ship, being attacked, defeated, and chased by a fleet of merchant ships, protecting an immense property...⁸⁹

Each of the East India captains involved received a sword (as did a naval lieutenant travelling as a passenger who gave what was clearly valuable advice) and two were also awarded £100 vases. One of these, given to Captain John Fann Timins, is now in the National Maritime Museum, and it is interesting in that it has "BRITANNIA TRIUMPHANT" inscribed above the figure of Britannia on one side and "BRITONS STRIKE HOME" above Hercules fighting the Hydra on the other. These inscriptions, which were on the lines originally planned by the Fund Committee, seem not to appear on the later vases such as that illustrated in fig 1. The same wording is, however, to be found on a £100 type vase dated 1805-6 now in the Victoria and Albert Museum [fig 14]; this has no presentation engraving and thus, presumably, was never awarded. There is no entry in their accounts with the fund for the original sample vase that Rundell's had under-



Fig 13 Patriotic Fund award notice.
(Private Collection)



Fig 14 Patriotic Fund vase without presentation inscription.

© Victoria and Albert Museum

86 G, p 70.

87 In 1806 the *Monthly Magazine and British Register* (vol 22, p 160) reviewed what it called the Fund's Reward-Prints, and make them appear similar to swords and vases in that they were to record "the names and particular actions of such persons as the Society distinguish and

reward. These heroic characters may thus be transmitted to posterity, and a most honourable memorial of their service and the gratitude of their country may thus be transmitted to posterity..."

88 G, p 70.

89 G, p 13, quoting the minutes of the meeting.

taken to make; so it may be that they retained it as a model, belatedly had it hallmarked, and then kept in their shop so that there was always a vase for the many visitors to see. It could even be that this was the origin of the vase at the Victoria and Albert Museum, but this is only a supposition.

In February 1805 French forces made an attempt to invade Dominica and their defeat led to three awards from the Patriotic Fund: it was resolved that Brigadier Prevost should receive a £100 sword and a piece of plate valued at £200 and that Major Nunn and Captain O'Connell should each be awarded a £50 sword and a piece of plate valued at £100. There is no record of whether Major Nunn received any plate and the other two both misunderstood their awards in that they spent the money at their own silversmiths. The fund refused to allow the items to be engraved but agreed to pay for them. In Brigadier Prevost's case he purchased a supper service by John Emes⁹⁰.

By the eve of Trafalgar, the fund had received subscriptions plus interest of some £195,000; and about £50,000 had been paid out, predominantly for the benefit of the wounded and the families of those who had been killed. The 'badges of distinction' awarded had been chiefly swords: six at £30, thirty-three at £50 and fifteen at £100; these would have cost £3,300 in all. Ten vases had been awarded: Pickford's plus another four at £100, four at £50 and one at £30. These, plus some other minor items, meant the expenditure on plate by then would have been just over £1,000⁹¹.

The news of Trafalgar reached London late on 5 November 1805 and, as usual, the details were published at once in a special edition of the *London Gazette*; but there were, as a newspaper report put it: "mixed sensations of transport and anguish"⁹² because the great victory was accompanied by Nelson's death in action. There had been many other casualties and the Patriotic Fund had money available for their benefit but, nevertheless, on 21 November Thomson Bonar announced from the chair that there would be a Special General Meeting of the fund on 3 December⁹³. The government's

first formal response to Trafalgar was the proclamation by the king of a General Thanksgiving to be held in all churches on 5 December⁹⁴.

Angerstein was probably surprised to receive a letter at this time, stating that the Prince of Wales had expressed a:

confident hope, that from the ardent zeal which he and his patriotic coadjutors had manifested on all great National occasions, some Public memorial would arise, under their auspices, on which the high achievements of Lord Nelson might be durably recorded to future ages. His Royal Highness concluded by requesting, that to any plan which should be thus proposed and adopted, his name might be added, with the sum of five hundred guineas annexed to it⁹⁵.

On 20 November there was, therefore, a meeting setting up a subscription for a "Naval Pillar, Statue or some other Public Monument". It was headed by the Prince's promised contribution and followed by Angerstein and a handful of others⁹⁶. The appeal raised very little and nothing more was heard of the plan until thirty-three years later when the then Nelson Memorial Committee were assisted in the building of Nelson's column in Trafalgar Square by the accumulated funds from the earlier abortive subscription⁹⁷. From the point of view of 1805, however, the importance of the Prince's approach was his implied approval of the Patriotic Fund and thus of the fact that it had the twin objects of relief and making awards for gallantry. On 22 November "A Friend to the Navy" suggested that collections in parish churches on the Day of Thanksgiving should go to the fund and the committee immediately adopted the idea, sending a letter to "the chief magistrate or resident minister in every town and city throughout the kingdom" and asking for their support which, as it turned out, was very freely given⁹⁸.

The Special General Meeting, with the Lord Mayor in the chair, duly took place on 3 December and, having considered the information contained in the relevant issues of the *London Gazette*, resolved:

90 G, pp 19, 67.

91 G, p 22; S, Appendix 1 (derived from Patriotic Fund accounts).

92 Carola Oman, *Nelson*, London, 1990, p 550.

93 *The Times*, 22 November 1805.

94 *London Gazette*, 9-12 November 1805 containing the Royal Proclamation

dated 7 November.

95 Joshua White, *Memoirs of the professional life of Horatio Nelson*, 3rd ed, 1806, p 398.

96 *The Times*, 21 November 1805.

97 Rodney Mace, *Trafalgar Square*, 1976, pp 58-59.

98 *The Times*, 27 November 1805.

99 G, 20-21, 127-29.

100 G, p 22.

101 G, p 127-29; S Appendix 1.

102 *Do*.

103 Now in the Lloyd's Collection.

104 The size of the vases varied somewhat. The National Maritime

Museum has one £100 vase with overall dimensions 42.5 x 25.5 cm and another of 39.37 x 22.86 cm; and their £200 vase measures 54.6 x 29.2 cm, which is closely matched by one sold at Bonham's which was 54.5 cm high. Balliol College has a £300 vase which, with its plinth, is illustrated (fig 17); while another of the same value awarded after the same action but displayed with-

out its plinth (Anglesey Abbey, National Trust) is, by observation, of precisely the same size as the two £100 vases alongside it. It appears, therefore that a £300 award consisted of a £100 vase mounted on a £200 plinth. Earl Nelson's £500 vase is 71.1 cm high (National Maritime Museum).

That a Vase of the value of Five Hundred Pounds, ornamented with emblematical devices, illustrative of the transcendent and heroic achievements (sic) of the late Lord Viscount Nelson, be presented to his relict, Lady Viscountess Nelson.

That a Vase of similar value be presented to the present Earl Nelson, to descend as an Heir Loom with the Title so gloriously acquired.

That a Vase of like value be presented to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, who, after the death of the Commander in Chief in the hour of victory, so nobly compleated (sic) the triumph of the day.

That Vases of the value of Three Hundred Pounds each, with appropriate inscriptions, be presented to the Right Hon Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, and Rear-Admiral Sir Richard John Strachan Bart.

That Swords of the value of One Hundred Pounds each, with appropriate inscriptions, be presented to the surviving Captains and Commanders of his Majesty's ships, who shared in the dangers and glories of those memorable actions.⁹⁹

The meeting decided on a scale of compensation for the wounded which was based on rank, like the official allocations of prize money, it ran from £100 for a severely wounded lieutenant to £10 for a slightly wounded seaman. Widows and other relatives of those killed would receive awards when information was available. At the end of the meeting it was resolved that all the sums given on the Day of Thanksgiving should be kept in a separate account and used exclusively for relief: that is to say should not be spent on badges of distinction¹⁰⁰.

The resolutions did not make explicit provision for the widows of the two captains who were killed at Trafalgar, Mrs John Cooke and Mrs George Duff, but the former was in due course awarded a £200 vase and the latter a £100 one. The surviving captains had the option of a £100 vase instead of a sword and eight of them chose vases: Captains Thomas Baker, Sir Edward Berry, the Hon Thomas Capel [fig 1], Thomas Fremantle, L W Halsted, Thomas Hardy, William Hargood, William Hennah, James Morris, and Edward Rotheram. For unknown reasons Captain Eliab Harvey did not receive an award and Captain Edward Codrington refused one: asking that the value should be spent on the wounded. The father of Lieutenant Thomas Simons, who had been killed, was awarded a £100 vase and the remaining twenty-five of Nelson's captains accepted swords¹⁰¹. (In the details quoted above Rear-Admiral Strachan and Captains Baker

and Halsted and three recipients of swords are included although they were not at Trafalgar: this is because they were responsible soon afterwards for the victory at Ferrol, defeating and capturing four French ships that had escaped after the main battle)¹⁰².

On the basis of the analysis above, the £100 vases awarded cannot strictly be called 'Trafalgar Vases': they were not designed to commemorate that battle but were, in fact, further examples of Patriotic Fund vases which had been awarded, and indeed delivered, before Trafalgar took place. No vases valued at over £100 had previously been given but, for example, the Earl of Northesk's £300¹⁰³ one was of the usual design¹⁰⁴ distinguished by being mounted on an elaborate plinth. The writer has not succeeded in tracing any literature on the design and execution of these plinths which accompanied vases valued at £300 and above. The Nelson ones are especially complex and the decoration on the body of the vases is different to that on other vases so that it would be a reasonable, if unsupported, guess that Flaxman might have been involved with them.

The vases awarded to Lady Nelson and to Viscount Collingwood, both of which are illustrated [figs 15 and 16], have an interesting history. Albert Edward Prince of Wales acquired both of them, the former privately and



Fig 15 £500 Patriotic Fund vase presented to Lady Nelson after Trafalgar.

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



Fig 16 £500 Patriotic Fund vase presented to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood after Trafalgar.

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

the latter at auction, and by no later than 1911 they were on board the royal yacht. The two vases were on RY *Britannia* until she was decommissioned in 1998¹⁰⁵; they were the principal decorations on the dining table and, as such, must have been admired by innumerable guests.

The fund committee were no doubt distressed, but perhaps not surprised, when William Cobbett continued his hostility towards the Patriotic Fund in a long diatribe in his *Political Register* on 14 December 1805. The *Monthly Review*, however, took a more measured view in its January 1806 issue:

May we intimate, however, that *magnificent vases, etc* rather trench on the primary design of the fund, and perhaps on the proper powers of a body of individuals; and that disabled seamen and soldiers, and the relicts of such as have fallen, are the properest objects of its bounty. We were pleased to hear that the whole of the contributions on the thanksgiving day were used for this purpose¹⁰⁶.

Later the *Universal Magazine*, in its October 1806 issue, was much more in favour of making awards, and wrote:

Objections, it is true, have been raised against the propriety of distributing vases and swords among the officers of the British navy; but not possessing ourselves the ability to discover the danger, we feel no inclination to refute objections which contain no solid arguments against the measure of so doing...

The magazine went on to quote a "contemporary writer" who maintained that:

...these swords and vases will descend to posterity and will progressively animate the children and descendants of their present possessors to a bold emulation of the courage which originally deserved them¹⁰⁷.

The fund must have been faced with a major problem in

tracing, and arranging the appropriate provision for, the large number of casualties at Trafalgar: 1,690 men were killed or wounded plus another 135 at Ferrol. To assist the Fund Nelson, before Trafalgar, had written to his captains giving them his "particular direction" that a return of all casualties should be given to him on the form he had provided:

In order that I may transmit it to the Chairman of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's Coffee House that the case of the relations of those who may fall may be taken into consideration¹⁰⁸.

Earlier, in a letter headed "*Victory, at Sea 24 May 1804*", he had written personally to Angerstein to tell him what he was arranging¹⁰⁹.

After the battle Collingwood repeated Nelson's order but, even so, many cases must have remained to be dealt with when the Fund reported its condition as at 28 February 1806. Among the outstanding ones were those of two women who were on HMS *Swiftsure* at Trafalgar and who later received cash awards: Mrs Ellis Armstrong who was granted £10 for the great assistance she gave the surgeon, and Charlotte Pannel who received £5 for her humane and exemplary conduct towards the wounded¹¹⁰.

The third *Report* of the fund committee showed that as at 28 February 1806 subscriptions and interest amounted to some £339,000 plus £21,000 stock and that the special collection on the Day of Thanksgiving had raised £105,000 (to be used exclusively for the wounded and the relatives of those killed) and that since its inception the fund had paid and voted £105,000 for the benefit of 2,140 wounded or disabled men, 570 widows, orphans or parents of those killed and had awarded 153 "honorary gratuities for instances of successful exertion of valour or merit"¹¹¹.

From June 1805 onwards the fund made payments for the benefit of prisoners of war in France; these totalled £27,000 by the end of the war. In May 1806 an appeal signed by over 220 masters of merchant ships who were prisoners in various parts of France was sent to Angerstein but the

105 This information has been supplied by Kathryn Jones, Assistant Curator, Works of Art, the Royal Collection. In *British Royal Yachts*, Tiverton, 2002, Tony Dalton describes the vases as "the principal decorations" (p 249) and includes a photograph of the dining table of RY *Britannia* on which they can be seen (p 248). The vases are now at Frogmore.

106 *Monthly Review*, January 1806.

107 *Universal Magazine*, October 1806, p 302.

108 J S Clarke and J M'Arthur, *The Life of Admiral Lord Nelson* KB..., 2 vols, 1809, p 494.

109 Warren R Dawson, *The Nelson Collection at Lloyd's*, London, 1932, p 348.

110 G, p 22.

111 The *Report* was summarized and reviewed in the press, including the October 1806 *Universal Magazine* as above. Information given by S and G indicates that the 153 awards referred to consisted of: 111 swords, 28 vases and 14 other pieces of plate or cash.

112 G, p 51.

113 G, p 55.

114 G, pp 23-24. Sums of money were awarded to 11 wounded officers, two of whom opted for vases instead.

115 G, p 24. One of the recipients of a £100 vase was Captain Francis Austen, the brother of Jane.

116 S, p 45.

117 S, p 45.

118 S, p 45.

119 G, pp 26-27.

120 S, pp 45-46; G, p 67.

121 G, p 31.

committee decided they were not eligible for help and Angerstein instead led a special fund for their benefit¹¹². The fund had also become concerned about the education of children of seamen who had been killed and, in July 1806, resolved to provide £40,000 out of the Day of Thanksgiving collection to pay for boys to go to the Royal Naval Asylum, while girls were to receive £5 per annum until the age of fourteen to live with their mothers and attend day schools¹¹³.

The capture of the town and garrison of Cape Town in January 1806 led to the awarding of four vases: one of £300 to the Commander-in-Chief Major-General Sir David Baird, one of £200 to Commodore Sir Home Popham and two of £100 each to army officers¹¹⁴. Then in February came the action, now relatively forgotten, that produced nearly as many vases as Trafalgar: the defeat of a French fleet off St Domingo. Thirteen vases were awarded consisting of: one of £400, two of £300, that awarded to Admiral Louis is illustrated [fig 17], and ten of £100¹¹⁵. Two £100 and two £50 vases for smaller actions were agreed by the committee during the summer of 1806¹¹⁶. One of the latter, awarded to Lieutenant Ogle Moore, is illustrated [fig 18]. Only seven £50 vases were ever awarded and the design shown is simpler and lighter and without the prowling lion on the cover of the vase. In September three vases (one of £300 and two of £100) were given for a purely military action: the battle of Maida, in Calabria. One of the recipients, Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Macleod, was sufficiently proud of his £100 vase for it to form a prominent part of the composition when he had his portrait painted [fig 19]¹¹⁷. The same month £200 vases were given to the naval and military commanders during the capture of Buenos Aires¹¹⁸. Commodore Sir Samuel Hood was awarded a £300 vase in October for an action in which four French frigates were captured and he was severely wounded in the arm (which subsequently had to be amputated). He later asked if he could have two smaller vases instead of one large one and the resulting pair of silver-gilt wine coolers are now owned by Lloyd's¹¹⁹. Actions off Cuba and Curacao were rewarded with one £200 vase and two of £100; the capture of Montevideo, in February 1807, again led to two £200 vases being awarded. Five further awards of vases for individual actions were made between May 1807 and January 1809: one of £50 and four of £100. For some reason one of the latter, to Captain James Athol Wood, was amended to become a silver kettle, stand and spirit burner¹²⁰.

In August 1808, the fund's situation was radically changed by the onset of the Peninsular War with the expectation that there would be large numbers of casualties. This may have been why no swords or vases were awarded after the victory at Vimiero, nor following the death of Sir John Moore and the defeat at Corunna, although £500 was made available immediately after the latter action to help distressed soldiers returning home¹²¹. Three subsequent £100 vases were, however, awarded for naval actions: two in November 1808 and one in January 1809.

The number of casualties at Corunna and during the victorious action at Talavera in July 1809 led the committee further to consider their position at a meeting on 24 August and to call a General Meeting of subscribers on 28 August. This was chaired by Sir Francis Baring and



Fig 17 £300 Patriotic Fund vase presented to Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Louis after St Domingo.
© The Master and Scholars, Balliol College, Oxford



Fig 18 £50 Patriotic Fund vase presented to Lieutenant Ogle Moore after an action off Cape Finisterre.
(Private Collection)

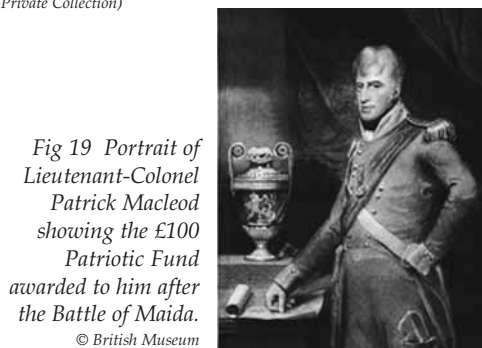


Fig 19 Portrait of Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Macleod showing the £100 Patriotic Fund awarded to him after the Battle of Maida.
© British Museum

Weymouth Street Jan 4th 1816 -
 Gentlemen
 I beg you will accept my
 best thanks for the attention you have
 been pleased to show me, in voting me
 a Vase; as the Widow of my Lord Nelson
 I must ever experience the highest gra-
 tification in bearing of the respect
 and veneration testified by the
 Nation to the memory of so illustrious
 a Man. I have the honor to be,
 Gentlemen,
 Yours very obliged
 humble servant,
 Frances M. Nelson & Bonar

Fig 20 Letter from Lady Nelson about the Patriotic Fund vase
 presented to her after Trafalgar.

© The Corporation of Lloyd's

the principal speaker was Joseph Marryatt¹²². He reported that rather more than £350,000 had been received in subscriptions since the inception of the fund and interest plus profits on stock sold had increased the amount available to some £425,000. After outgoings the balance remaining was about £93,000 which would be increased to around £130,000 by bringing in unclaimed benefits. This amount would probably be entirely absorbed by claims now expected by the families of more than 3,000 killed and 6,000 wounded, including the casualties at Corunna and Talavera. Marryatt said that the running expenses of the fund were trifling: the hire of the rooms used by the committee and the salary of the secretary, and, since Trafalgar, an under-secretary, because the great mass of the business was handled by the committee and its sub-committees. £11,000 had been spent on advertising but, large as this sum was, he was convinced it would not have been in the fund's best interest to have spent less. With the war now being carried on more by land than by sea, claimants would probably become more numerous and it was necessary in future to limit relief to those who were disabled by their wounds or had lost a limb. This change would nearly halve the present expenditure of the fund. Marryatt reported that the amount of the sums voted as rewards for merit was £16,400 and said that it should be remembered that the original subscribers had voted that rewards or honourable badges should be given to mark distinguished merit. There had been some little difference of opinion about the propriety of such donations but, from necessity, he felt that they must be dispensed with in future even though the saving would be but trifling.

The claims of merit alone must yield to merit accompanied by distress. Marryatt concluded by proposing that the fund should make a new public appeal. The resolutions were seconded by Thomson Bonar and all were passed unanimously. The new subscription started at once and eventually raised some £32,000¹²³.

Thus ended the giving of "badges of distinction" although twelve officers subsequently took the gratuity to which their wounds entitled them in the form of a sword rather than in money. No more vases were awarded. The total amount paid by the fund to Rundell's was £11,030-2-8, which included £280-19-0 for "Change on Fashion, Workmanship &c on 7 vases not used"¹²⁴. This last item is something of a mystery. It may refer to cases like that of Captain Codrington, who chose not to have the vase that perhaps was already being prepared for him. It may also mean that Rundell's had anticipated a flow of orders for vases following the large scale land battles of the Peninsular War, only to find that their preliminary work had been wasted when the award scheme was cancelled. It seems probable that the fund was compensating Rundell's for abortive work not included in the prices of the individual vases that had been awarded¹²⁵. In January 1809 Rundell's still had a number of uncompleted orders and did not deliver their last vase for two years. In January 1806 Lady Nelson had written to express her thanks to the fund [fig 20] but it was four years before she was finally able to tell her agent William Marsh that the vase was finished and that it should be sent to her in Bath "taking care to have it insured if necessary"¹²⁶; it was eventually delivered in March 1810, and Earl Nelson received his vase two months later¹²⁷.

WATERLOO

Sir Francis Baring died in 1810 and though there was no election Angerstein is taken as being the Chairman of the Patriotic Fund thereafter. (There were three further losses to the original inner group that set up the fund in 1803: both Benjamin and Abraham Goldsmid committed suicide in 1810 and Thomson Bonar and his wife were murdered by a deranged servant in 1813). Aided by the changes in the rules and by subscriptions the fund continued to provide for the casualties of the successive battles of the Peninsular War but when he read the *London Gazette Extraordinary* on 22 June 1815, Angerstein must have been concerned to learn that the great victory at Waterloo had been accompanied by what Wellington described as "immense casualties". The Patriotic Fund had by this time raised £543,000 in the twelve years since its foundation in 1803, but all save £63,000 had been spent¹²⁸. More money was urgently needed and a decision was quickly taken to raise a special Waterloo Subscription rather than make a new appeal on behalf of the Patriotic Fund. On 26 June the Waterloo appeal was

launched at the City of London Tavern with Alexander Baring (son of Sir Francis) in the chair and Angerstein leading the donors. Two days later another meeting was held, with Angerstein in the chair, at which three treasurers were appointed: Angerstein, Baring and William Mellish the Governor of the Bank of England. The intention was to open a subscription for the families of those who had been killed and also for men who had been wounded in other battles in Wellington's campaign as well as at Waterloo¹²⁹. On 30 June Angerstein, the public voice of this appeal as he had been of the Patriotic Fund, wrote to Wellington sending him a copy of the proceedings of the meeting and on 8 July Wellington replied from Paris:

I cannot express to you how sensible I am of the kindness and attention of our countrymen to the misfortunes of the brave officers and soldiers of this Army and of their families; which I entertain no doubt will make a due impression on them, and will be a fresh incitement to their exertions should the cause of their country and the world require them¹³⁰.

On 12 July, like some earlier subscriptions but unlike the Patriotic Fund, a parallel "Waterloo Subscription for the Nobility and Gentry" was opened under the patronage of six royal dukes, the Archbishop of Canterbury, numerous titled individuals and a handful of commoners including Angerstein's son John. The two appeals ran together, but the City one was much more successful: raising £243,000 by the end of 1815 compared with £107,000 from the one headed by the Duke of York¹³¹.

There is no doubt that the Patriotic Fund, launched at Lloyd's by a group of private individuals on their own initiative, did every bit as much good as its successor the

Waterloo Subscription. The words of the Duke of Wellington quoted above could well have been written by Lord Nelson if he had survived Trafalgar. The awarding of "badges of distinction" was perhaps slightly controversial but Lady Nelson's letter shows how much they were appreciated. Angerstein lived on until 1823 although he did not chair committee meetings after 1815. The Patriotic Fund continues to this day to do valuable work and in its bicentenary history, *Unbroken Service*, the author Charles Messenger wrote that:

Angerstein himself, with his previous experience of raising subscriptions, had been a tower of strength from the outset. His standing in the City and his wide circle of friends had been of immeasurable value and he had worked tirelessly for the Fund¹³².

Whatever Angerstein's individual contribution may have been this article can properly end by repeating the words with which Leslie Southwick began his 1990 article:

The silver vases awarded by the Patriotic Fund are among the most renowned pieces of presentation plate given for distinguished service during the Napoleonic War¹³³.

The writer's special thanks are due to Jim Gawler, formerly the Secretary of the Patriotic Fund, who kindly read an early draft of this article, and to the suppliers of the illustrations, most notably the Corporation of Lloyd's.

Dr Anthony Twist is retired following a long career in the City of London. He has recently published a biography of John Julius Angerstein who was closely involved in the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's and the commissioning of the silver vases which it awarded.

122 He was a senior member of the Committee, an MP and a future chairman of Lloyd's.

123 This paragraph is derived from S, p 25; G, pp 32-33; *The Times*, 25 August 1809; and Charles Messenger, *Unbroken Service*, London, 2003, p 56.

124 The total of Rundell's account and the sums charged by Richard Teed for swords exceeded £20,000. Using the information given in G and S, it appears that Rundell's supplied one call, two tankards and sixty-six pieces of plate

to the Fund. Of the sixty-six, sixty-two were vases, two were other plate in lieu of vases (Wood and Hood, as described above) and two were simply described as plate and may or may not have been vases. In addition three (probably) of the intended recipients of vases used their own silversmiths to supply other items. One Trafalgar captain refused a vase and another cannot be traced as receiving one and on other occasions, five men offered £100 vases and another five offered plate did not receive any silver, and so presumably chose a money award instead. The charge

of £280-19-0 was the last item in Rundell's accounts and was dated 10 January 1809.

125 It has often been assumed but is, in the writer's opinion most unlikely that, at a time when its resources were under pressure, the fund would have entered into a deal with Rundell's that left them with seven vases for which there were and could be no recipients. In any case £280 would not have been enough to pay for the seven. Rundell's were surely paid for their work but retained the silver which they could then use

for unrelated purposes. On this hypothesis there never were seven 'unused' vases and the unengraved vase now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, often taken to be one of them, arose in another way, perhaps as suggested above.

126 George P B Naish, ed, *Nelson's Letters to his Wife...*, London, 1958, p 616.

127 S, p 41.

128 *The Times*, 13 July 1815. The figures were not published until after the Waterloo Subscription was announced but Angerstein

would already have been well aware of the position.

129 *The Times*, 29 June 1815. There was no suggestion that swords or vases should be awarded.

130 Quoted in Anthony Highmore, *Philanthropia Metropolitana*, 1822, pp 594-95.

131 *The Times*, 23 and 30 December 1815.

132 P 71

133 S, p 27

Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada

Recent acquisitions: posy holders

PETER KAELLGREN

Posy holders or 'porte-bouquets' were an essential part of female formal dress from about 1820 to circa 1900. They can be considered as costume jewellery or accessories to complement formal, ballroom or wedding attire. The finest examples were made of gold and mounted with precious and semi-precious stones and/or enamelled. The vast majority were, however, manufactured from less expensive materials such as gilded brass, brass, silver, 'German silver' and other metals with mother-of-pearl, ivory, opaline glass, wood, and enamelled metal handles and 'paste' decoration and even micro-mosaic panels. As they are seldom marked, it is difficult to identify the manufacturers who could be English (usually from Birmingham), French or even Russian or Indian.

Posy holders were used to hold a bouquet or nosegay that would have been carried, or dangled from a ring, on formal occasions. They were usually made with two small attached chains: one with a finger ring at the end and the other with a pin to secure the flowers in the holder. Some had a small threaded nut on a chain which screwed over the threaded end of the handle; when the nut was unscrewed, the three sections of the handle, which were spring-loaded, extended

to create a tripod foot. This allowed the bouquet to be left on a table when dancing or pursuing other activities. A number (usually the smaller models) have a hook at the back which allowed the flowers to be attached as a corsage, most likely at the bodice of a dress. The subject is investigated in depth in *Porte-bouquets*, the catalogue of an exhibition held at the Musée Cognac-Jay in Paris (19 April to 16 October, 2005) in which 127 representative English and continental posy holders are illustrated and described. Numerous high quality examples are illustrated on the internet site for the Bilgi Kenber Collection, Paris. The range of surviving models is extremely varied and extensive. Some of the simpler examples made of metal stamped in a lacey patterns have been reproduced and are available for modest prices on the internet, which is where most of the interest in this field occurs.



Figure 1 Detail of the title illustration for *The Christmas Waltz*, showing a bouquet in a posy holder. The Illustrated London News, vol XLVII, nos 1348, 1349, 13 December 1865, p 632, wood engraving by Daniel Godfrey. (Author's collection)

Collections of posy holders are comparatively rare. They mostly appear as individual examples on the antiques market which means that it can take many years to assemble a significant, representative collection. Mr Al Gilbert, CM, who



Fig 2 Posy holder, repoussé and chased laten (gilded copper).
Jenner and Knewstub, London, circa 1862-1888.

(Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada. Gift of Mr. Al Gilbert, CM.
Certified as Cultural Property. 2009.123.17)

lives in Toronto, is a Canadian photographer who has earned an international reputation for portraiture during his long career. Because posy holders appear in some Victorian studio photographs, he began to collect them during the 1970s and often used them in wedding or first communion portraits. Last year Mr. Gilbert allowed curators of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto to select a representative group of forty-one 'porte-bouquets' from his collection. This constitutes an exceptional addition to the textile and costume collections as well as to those of the silver and metalwork departments at the Royal Ontario Museum. Mr Gilbert's gift was certified by the Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board under the terms of the Cultural Property Export and Import Act.

Two of the more interesting English examples from the Gilbert collection which relate to silver research are illustrated here. The first is made of laten (gilded copper) of a quality comparable to many of the *étuis* and *nécessaires* created in England during the mid-1700s. The rococo revival design consists of an eagle perching on a wreath of tiny flowers and bending down its head to peck at a cornucopia of flowers that issues from a tapering scrolled handle. A chain with a gilded pin is attached towards the top to secure the flowers; the chain with the suspension ring is missing from the end. Small fine letters are engraved down the flat surface of a rococo scroll on the handle: "JENNER & KNEWSTUB 33 ST. JAMES'S ST. & 66 JERMYN ST."

Founded by Frederick Jenner and Fabian James Knewstub in 1857, this firm produced or commissioned fashionable dressing cases, travelling cases, jewellery, watches and other novelties. The original location was

33 St James's Street, London. By 1862, they had taken on additional premises at 66 Jermyn Street. Information on the history of the firm is found in John Culme, *The Directory of Gold & Silversmiths, Jewellers & Allied Traders 1838-1914* (1987, vol 1, p 259). Stylistically, this posy holder probably dates to quite early in the firm's production which continued until 1888.

One of the best designed and most meticulously crafted posy holders in the collection is a fine example in the neo-Grec (Greek Revival) style with Birmingham hall-marks for 1874. It bears the mark of Barnet Henry Joseph, jewellers of Frederick Street, Birmingham. The simple conical form with a fine pierced gallery is adorned below the opening with three bands of fine twisted wire separated by reeds. The length of the cone with its gilded matt finish is divided into three sections with cast silver ornament: the top has applied silver anthemion with a bead at the top and fine leaves with wire stems applied between; the middle comprises smaller anthemion of the same design with a raised band above and two below; the tip section has large silver wheat ears with flutes at the base terminating in a bead below. A ring attached to this bead holds a sturdy chain with a suspension ring at the end. One of the most notable features is the way in which the bouquet is held in place: between the arcs of the gallery are two low domed wire handles, each stamped "PATENT". Pressing down on one of these releases the springs on a pair of elaborately engraved serrated 'teeth' that cover most of the opening and secure the flowers in place. John Culme (op cit, vol 1, pp 266-267) describes B H Joseph & Co (1865-1929) as "manufacturing and wholesale jewelers" who towards 1900 opened showrooms in London and an office in Madrid.



Fig 3 Posy holder, silver with gilded and frosted surfaces.
Barnet Henry Joseph, Birmingham, 1874.

(Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada. Gift of Mr. Al Gilbert, CM.
Certified as Cultural Property. 2009.123.28)

More light on the Liberty Cymric metalwork venture.

An evaluation of the contribution of Oliver Baker

ANTHONY BERNBAUM

Introduction

This article explores one area of early modern silver design. It focuses on the origins of the Liberty & Co Cymric range of silver and the role that one designer, Oliver Baker, played in its development. It seeks to use existing material to put the Cymric range and Oliver Baker's role into a proper context and also draws on previously unpublished material from Baker's sketchbook and his diaries and those of his father which are held at the Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive, Stratford-upon-Avon¹. This material highlights the significant role played by Baker in the birth of modern British silver and the Liberty Cymric range. It focuses on the period 1897 to 1899 when Oliver Baker first conceived of a modern silver range and began designing his radical silverware. The article also draws on previously unpublished material from the *Art Journal* of 1901, the Register of Trade Marks held at the National Archives in Kew and the archives of Bernard Cuzner, a contemporary of Baker and himself a leading silversmith during the first half of the twentieth century, which are now held by Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.

The Cymric range was launched by Liberty & Co early in 1899. There is no known specific date, but the presumed launch date is May 1899 for which an exhibition catalogue exists which lists some eighty, mainly silver, items: this is referred to throughout this article as the May 1899 Cymric exhibition catalogue. Liberty & Co, a London retailer, had already established a global reputation for sourcing and selling the most fashionable and *avant-garde* wares of its day. The Cymric range of silver was seen at the time, as it is today, as highly innovative as well as modern and influential in its design style.

The Cymric range was not a completely new venture in modern silver design (as Liberty themselves claimed at the time) but it came very early in the move towards modern silver design. An extract from the introduction to the May 1899 Cymric exhibition catalogue (p 2) is extracted below:

....For at least a century past no conspicuous development has been noticeable in the production of silver-work.

An art-craft of such antiquity, such dignity, such charm, naturally attracts the sympathetic study and fires the imagination of all whom are concerned with art-production; and follow-

1 The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust includes the Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive and contains the local archives for Stratford-upon-Avon which in turn contains the Baker family archives: Ref DR142. The diaries are catalogued under DR142/53-54.

2 Alan Crawford is one of the leading writers and academics on the Arts and Crafts movement. The extract is taken from his book *C R Ashbee*, Yale, 2005, p 343.

3 *The Studio*, November 1898, issue 68, vol XV, pp 104-114.

4 Glenys Wild, Alan Crawford (editor), *By Hammer and Hand: the Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham*, Birmingham, 1984, p 110.

5 *The Studio*, November 1896, issue 44, vol IX, pp 126-131.

6 Stephen Pudney, 'Connell's of Cheapside, 'Pioneers of modern artistic silverware', *The Silver Society Journal*, 1999, no 11, p 228. William Hutton & Sons began producing modern silverware early in 1899.

7 Christopher Dresser continued to be closely associated with Liberty at this time and his son, Louis, worked for Liberty. It is thought that Dresser's influence on the Cymric range came indirectly through his influence on Archibald Knox who may have worked in Dresser's own studio during the 1890s.

ing up, as it were, their work of creating new schools of design and colour in connection with fabrics, furniture and other matters, Messrs Liberty & Co Ltd have now made a characteristically original and artistic departure in silver-craft, conceived and produced under their immediate direction, and known as "Cymric" silver work.

Modern silver: the Cymric range in context

By 1899, when the Cymric range was launched, there were only a few modernist silver designers, two of whom are truly outstanding: Christopher Dresser and Charles Ashbee. Alan Crawford sums up this early modern silver work as follows:

... made him [Ashbee] part of the genealogy of the Modern Movement, reaching out on the one hand to the radical work of Christopher Dresser and on the other to the novelty of Art Nouveau..... to the modern eye, both Dresser and Ashbee seem to stand apart from the work of their contemporaries...²

The origins of modern British silver design go back as early as 1870 and lie in the work of Christopher Dresser and the aesthetic period with its accompanying strong Japanese influences.

Dresser, working mainly in conjunction with the silver-smithing companies of: Hukin and Heath, James Dixon and Sons and Elkington & Co, designed radical modern silverwares from about 1870 until about 1890. Much of his work was produced in silver plate, not solid silver. Whilst Dresser's designs appear strikingly modern today, they did not influence the mainstream of silverware manufactured in Britain at the time. He was quite possibly too far ahead of his time to be embraced. He was a commercial designer who seems, for the most part, to have been ignored by artistic designers and craftsman in his day. In 1899 *The Studio* magazine gave a positive retrospective on Dresser's work. A passage that captures this sentiment is extracted below:

In the case of Christopher Dresser we have not the least, but perhaps the greatest, of commercial designers imposing his fantasy and invention upon the ordinary output of British industry, it would argue blindness or prejudice to decline to recognise a very loyal friend of the cause [modern art and design] we have at heart³.

With the exception of Dresser's work very little Modern Movement silver was produced until the middle to late 1890s. During the 1890s a number of guild movements were founded as part of the Arts and Crafts movement

which were inspired by the work of William Morris. Most of these guilds did limited amounts, or no original work, in silver; they typically worked in copper and other cheaper materials or focussed on other crafts such as furniture making⁴. Only two guilds became known for their silver work: Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft and Arthur Dixon's Birmingham Guild of Handicraft.

The Guild of Handicraft, established in 1888, stands out as producing innovative silver from as early as 1889 and the Birmingham Guild of Handicraft also produced Arts and Crafts silver from the middle of the 1890s. The approach of the guilds was the antithesis of that of the commercially orientated Christopher Dresser, and focussed not just on the designs for their output but the processes used to achieve them. The work of the individual craftsman was prioritised and, ironically, by looking back to workmanship of a pre-industrialised age, modern silver designs were inspired by medieval and historical artefacts.

By far the most influential of these silver designers and makers was Charles Ashbee and his Guild of Handicraft. Their output until circa 1900 was very small indeed, perhaps only a few hundred pieces, but it was recognised as representative of a departure from conventional silver of the period. In 1896 *The Studio* published silverwares produced by Ashbee's Guild which had been presented at the 1896 Arts and Crafts Society exhibition and commented as follows:

For Ashbee gains an effect of superb richness in the right way. That is to say he knows when to be silent, when to let the broad sweep of the undecorated surface prepare you for the final ornamentation which heightens the beauty of the object instead of hiding it underneath a superfluous mass of applied decoration.⁵

By the last years of the nineteenth century there was very little Modern Movement silver available in Britain. The better-known modernist silver designers from Denmark and Germany: Georg Jensen and Josef Hoffman respectively, did not commence their work in silver until the early years of the twentieth century.

The Cymric silver range

This brings us to the Liberty Cymric silver range and its launch in 1899. As shown above it was not wholly original and unique as Liberty claimed but it certainly appeared very early in the development of modern Arts and Crafts silver design. As a commercial venture it was the first or second of its kind, after William Hutton and Sons⁶; following Christopher Dresser's much earlier lead⁷.

Liberty deliberately kept the designers of their silverwares anonymous, a fact that has frustrated devotees and academics alike, both in their understanding the origins of the range, and in enabling them to attribute fair credit to their original and innovative work. The loss of most of Liberty's own archives has further frustrated academic enquiry. Archibald Knox is the designer most closely associated with the Cymric silver range and he undoubtedly produced most of the silver designs for the range after 1900. His distinctive modern Celtic knot designs became the trademark feature of the range and today Knox holds international status as a modernist designer.

This article does not seek to focus on Knox but rather to assess the period leading up to the launch of the Cymric range, that is: 1897 to 1899. The Baker family archive, mentioned above, contains Baker's 1897 and 1898 diaries and an undated sketchbook from this period which enable us to link Baker directly to previously unattributed designs. The sketchbook appears to be a mixture of sketches of actual antiquities of interest to Baker, and of his designs which used these sketches as a source of inspiration.

The origins of the Cymric silver range

Shirley Bury's key article: *New Light on the Liberty Metal Work Venture* was published in 1977⁸. In 1975 Bury was responsible for organising a major centenary exhibition, at the Victoria and Albert Museum, of Liberty's wares, ranging from fashion to metalwork⁹. She was frustrated by the difficulties of identifying the designers and origins of the Cymric range but was, however, subsequently successful in interviewing the elderly Max Haseler, the son of William Rathbone Haseler, who had run the family business of W H Haseler during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Max Haseler ran the company himself from around 1920 to 1939.

Max Haseler provided a handwritten, seven page account of the Haseler firm and its relationship with Liberty at the time of the establishment of the Cymric silver range¹⁰. The firm was the principal manufacturer of the Cymric silver range and in May 1901 their relationship was cemented by the formation of a joint venture company with Liberty which had the sole purpose of manufacturing Liberty silver and pewter wares.

Max Haseler gave a clear account of his family's recollections of the birth of the Cymric range. In about 1897 his father William Rathbone (W R) Haseler, who much admired the pre-Raphaelite movement and the work of William Morris, approached his brother-in-law Oliver Baker, a well known water colourist and antiquarian, together with a few other Birmingham artists,

and sought to create a new, distinctive and innovative range of silverware. In Max Haseler's own words:

In about 1897 he [William Haseler] conceived the idea of making some jewellery and silverware from designs which were in complete contrast to the heavy and ugly Victorian style which was in vogue at the time. Most of the designs were the work of Mr Gaskin and his pupils and friend Oliver Baker. He [William Haseler] employed several ex pupils to make up the designs.

Shirley Bury's article cast doubt on one aspect of this recollection: the role of Arthur Gaskin, whose work for Liberty seems to have been later than 1899. This may yet be an area for further research but for our purposes it leaves us with Oliver Baker as one, if not the, critical designer for Haseler's modern range at this time.

Max Haseler went on to explain that many silver items were produced in around 1898 but were too distinctive and modern for Haseler's customers. In his words:

... he [WR Haseler] built up quite a collection of these revolutionary designs but unfortunately he could not persuade any of his customers to buy any of it, in fact some of them laughed at it.

As a consequence Haseler took the pieces to London and eventually found a buyer: Liberty & Co. Liberty bought the entire collection and obtained the exclusive rights to sell this range of artistic silver within a five mile radius of Charing Cross, London and so the range was born. The date of this transaction is uncertain but it probably took place during the first half of 1899. John Llewellyn, Managing Director of Liberty at the time was a Welshman and it was he who named the range: Cymric.

Max Haseler's account is in part validated by a nearly contemporaneous article on Oliver Baker and his artist father published in the 1901 edition of *The Artist*¹¹:

The [silver] work was originally undertaken at the request of Messrs Haseler, an enterprising local [Birmingham] firm of jewellers and silversmiths, who were dissatisfied with the inartistic groove into which most of the modern jewellery and silverware had fallen, and were anxious to produce something of higher interest. With this end in view they applied to Oliver Baker, as a personal friend, for assistance. The artist at once consented to see what he could do in an entirely new direction ...

Max Haseler's account is further validated by the Arts and Crafts Society exhibition which took place in the



Fig 1 Casket designed by Oliver Baker, illustrated in *The Studio*, February, 1900.

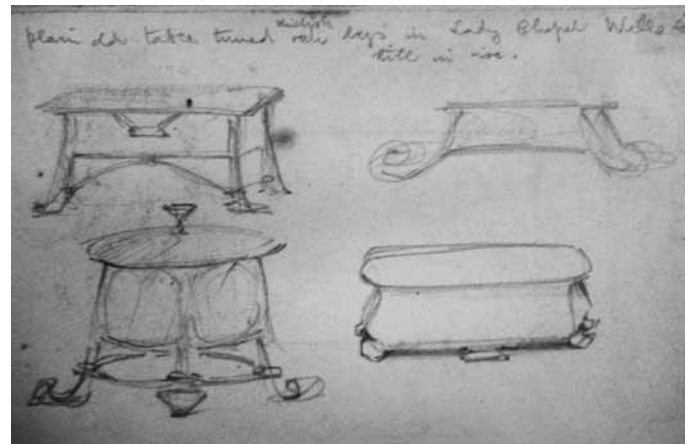


Fig 2 Drawing for the casket in fig 1 (Oliver Baker's sketchbook).

autumn of 1899. The exhibition catalogue is one of the only early and directly contemporary sources that survive which help in making attributions for Liberty's Cymric silver designs. The Arts and Crafts Society catalogue, which was not illustrated, shows that Baker produced designs for nine of the eleven Liberty silver items displayed. The name of Archibald Knox does not appear in the catalogue at all either in connection with Liberty or otherwise. Two other designers who are listed were Bernard Cuzner and A H Jones. Cuzner is known to have worked for Haseler's from 1898-99 and he went on to be one of the most significant designers involved with the Cymric range alongside Knox, Baker and a few others¹².

The Studio, the highly influential magazine, subsequently published an article on Oliver Baker in February 1900 (vol XIX). Fig 1 above shows the image of a silver casket designed by Baker and taken from this article. It may well have been one of the items exhibited at the 1899 Arts and Crafts Society exhibition. Fig 2 is a page from Baker's sketchbook from the family archive; the top drawings in fig 2 are a clear match to the casket.

An assessment of the origins of the Cymric range might conveniently end here save for two pieces of information which contradict the above and suggest that Liberty was itself the driving force for the establishment of the range using other designers and London based silver manufacturers.

The first contradiction is that all the early Cymric pieces dated 1898-99 seem to bear London hallmarks, suggestive of a manufacturer other than Haselers, who were solely Birmingham based.

The second point is that the Cymric range was launched in May 1899 and there is evidence that designers other than Baker were responsible for these designs. A number of silver design sketches exist within the Silver Studio archive at the Museum of Domestic Design and Architecture, Middlesex University (MODA), together with a sales register for 1898 which gives details of designs that were sold and to whom.

The Silver Studio was a leading design company which, at the time, supplied Liberty across a range of wares but principally with designs for fabric and wallpapers. It was founded by Arthur Silver in 1880 and was based in Hammersmith, London. After his death in 1896 it was run by two senior employees: Harry Napper and J P Houghton until 1900 when Silver's son Rex came of age and took over the business. Several sketched silver designs from the Silver archive at the MODA have the same names and match descriptions of items from the very first May 1899 Cymric exhibition catalogue (which frustratingly has no illustrations). In the archive these designs have mainly been attributed to Archibald Knox, who was almost certainly designing for the Silver Studio at the time. Oliver Baker's name makes no appearance.

8 Shirley Bury, 'New Light on the Liberty Metal Work Venture', *Decorative Arts Society Journal*, no 1, 1977 and republished in 2001 in *Archibald Knox*, Stephen A Martin (editor), pp 139-146.

9 *Liberty's 1875-1975*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1975.

10 Handwritten transcript, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, ref 86KK, box III

(XXIX).

11 *The Artist*, vol 32, pp 145-148.

12 Cuzner produced silver under his own name and registered a mark with the

Birmingham assay office in 1902; from 1910 to 1942 he was head of the metalwork department at the Birmingham School of Art. Cuzner's work can be seen in the Silver Galleries of the Victoria and Albert

Museum (room 67, case 7, shelf 2). In 1935 he published *A Silversmiths Manual*.

The register of sales shows that the Silver Studio was selling silver designs to Liberty as early as October 1898.

This information has lead several writers to suggest that Liberty was the originator of the Cymric range and that Oliver Baker's work and Haseler's manufactures were introduced slightly after the launch of the Cymric wares in May 1899. This article addresses this issue and demonstrates the key role that Baker and William Haseler played.

More Light on the Cymric Liberty Metalwork venture and the role of Oliver Baker

Oliver Baker was a poor diarist; his archive contains no diaries dating from after 1898. These may be missing but in May 1899, as is described below, he made a long entry in his 1898 diary, suggesting he may have stopped keeping a diary at the end of 1898. His handwriting is poor, ironic for an artist and designer, and he wrote very little and infrequently in his diaries. Thankfully though, his 1897 and 1898 diaries survive and the sparseness of his writing is in some ways a blessing: Baker largely wrote about what mattered to him and that, it seems, was his silver work for Haselers.

Max Haseler identified William Haseler as the inspiration for the Cymric range. This may well be true, but as early as November 1897, some eighteen months before the launch of the Cymric range, Baker wrote the following passage in his diary:

What is popularly called the New Movement in Design while greatly influencing for the better [and] exercising a beneficial influence on the architecture, furniture and the decorations of our homes has so far left untouched the work of the silversmith. Perhaps the conditions under which modern silver is produced rendered this almost inevitable but the result in any case has been that while we have in houses [and] churches furniture etc in which the New Movement has given us surroundings not only artistic in the best sense but also conceived in the spirit of old English work. So much so that while actual old English furniture is thoroughly at home in such surroundings, it is not necessary to possess because the work of some of our most advanced firms produce furniture, hangings, or wall decoration which is designed and created to a great extent in the spirit of the work of our ancestors which all agree [admirably]. As a result of this state of things, the actual silver work which has descended to us from past times becomes more and more valuable and the demand for it greater while the modern silversmith is either employed in mechanically copying the old work to supply that demand or in produc-

ing challenge cups from a few stock patterns in which the leading features alternate between for-bearers cycle parts and the heads of bullocks and sheep [last part of last sentence illegible].

Whatever one's views on the validity of this passage, it reads as a call to arms to create a 'New Movement' silver ware range, made in the spirit of the old wares and craftsman. What is also striking is how close this passage is, albeit a lot less politic, to the introduction to the May 1899 Cymric catalogue, an extract of which is provided above. Whether this is coincidental or not we may never know.

Baker's diaries remain silent on his silver designs until May 1898 but then start to make consistent references to them. The more pertinent comments are extracted below, all from his 1898 diary; illegible words are indicated by xxx's:

May 11th : Talked over the proposal for making designs for plate [at Haseler's warehouse].

May 17th : Went to Haselers with sketches.

May 24th: Went to Haselers at 4.30 and took detailed sketches and three new ideas for vessels. They liked them all. Had another talk about terms and they made another offer. 5% on the sale price and not deduct the price received for the sketches.

May 25th: One W.C. [watercolour] drawing two handled bowl silver and red gold. One pastel drawing, jar with 4 handles. Silver with gold xx unglazed and enamelled purple studded with Connemara... [This may well be the basis of the design in *fig 10* below]

May 26th: Working and designing all day. One W.C. drawing 3 handled pot silver with gold xx and lapis stones. Enamel leaf. One silver bowl with gold xxx. One silver cup W.C. drawing with xx curly handles.

May 28th: Worked all day on candlesticks and the large copper and silver fruit bowl.

June 14th : Went to Haselers and saw some of the work part done. Was rather discouraged at the difficulties and xxxx of artistic designing xxxx. Took 2 sketches of small candlesticks one coloured large one. Showed him small xxx for big cup which he liked.

August 9th: In afternoon went to Haselers. Took in drawing of sconce.

October 6th : Designs came back from Haselers. Stayed in all day working them xxx.

October 13th : Posted to Haselers 1 black lead outline elevation of 3 fold candlestick silver on wooden base...1 black lead of same design with four candlestick buckets and base with 3 feet instead of 4. Also two coloured designs for clasps.

October 25th :...posted the W.C. of bowl, 2 black leads of xxx and black lead of casket.

There are also a number of relevant entries from Baker's father's diaries, two of the most interesting entries from 1899 appear below:

20th February: Oliver in afternoon to meet Haselers about designs for silver goods - afterwards to School of Art to work in metals.

3rd March: A young man called Bernard Cussiner [Cuzner] called to see Oliver about a situation at Haseler's to carry out designs in Silver and Gold from Oliver's designs.

The items described above give real insight into the volume, breadth and appearance of Baker's work: early work in modern silver. It shows Baker was working on his designs throughout 1898 and that he was working with Bernard Cuzner. In addition to this information we know that Oliver Baker attended the Birmingham School of Arts in early 1899¹³. There has always been a suspicion that he ceased designing for Haselers during this period but the comments from his father's diary prove otherwise.

Two items have recently come to light that may well be amongst those described above in Baker's diary entry of 28 May 1898 and later in June. These are shown as *fig 3* and *fig 5*. The candlesticks [*fig 3*] bear Haseler's W H H mark and are marked for Birmingham, 1898 which pre-dates the launch of the Cymric range by up to a year and for which the earliest pieces carry the Birmingham or London 1899-1900 date letter¹⁴. Taking account of Max Haseler's recollection, it would seem that these pieces, most certainly the dated candlesticks, formed part of the

collection that Baker designed and Haseler made in 1898 but was unable to sell until it was acquired by Liberty.

The very design of the candlesticks is somehow awkward, as if grappling to combine and create a consistent modern theme. It seems that their form may have been based on a goffering iron; these were used to iron pleats into fabric and their origins lie as far back as ancient Greece with the more modern English version dating from the seventeenth century. An image of a pair of eighteenth-century goffering irons in their stands is shown in *fig 4*.

The candlesticks synthesise an Arts and Crafts base with a central spiral that appears wholly modern, with the upper candle holder having a more continental European Art Nouveau style. The scrolling base and spiral middle section appear in later works by Baker for Liberty but not together on the same piece¹⁵. The junction of the silver spiral to the legs harks back to eighteenth-century baluster wine glasses. The overall effect is handcrafted, giving the totality an Arts and Crafts appearance. Whilst beauty is very much in the eye of the beholder, there is no doubt the design of these candlesticks is Oliver Baker's and that, in some way, they represent the 'missing link'.



Fig 3 Pair of candlesticks, W H Haseler Ltd, Birmingham, 1898-99.



Fig 4 Pair of eighteenth-century goffering irons.

13 In September 1898 Baker, aged 42, enrolled in the Birmingham School of Arts, class 6 "Designs executed in materials for which they are intended" (Glenys Wild, Alan Crawford (editor), *By Hammer and Hand: the Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham*, Birmingham,

1984, p 110). From Baker's and his father's diaries it seems that he attended the classes from January through to March 1899 but it may be that he attended from the date of enrolment.

14 There are in fact some Cymric pieces marked London 1898-99. There is a

small salt at the Victorian Albert Museum (room 67, case 20). Such pieces are thought to be those that were exhibited at, or soon after, the May 1899 Cymric exhibition. The salt was named Cybell and catalogued as no 22 in the May exhibition catalogue. The salt has a very small

Liberty mark which was only registered with the London Assay office on 28 April 1899 (it is otherwise identical to the 1894 Liberty mark). As the London date letter ran until 5 May 1899 we can be reasonably sure these very early Liberty Cymric items were assayed in this narrow window just

in time for the May exhibition.

15 The scrolling legs can be seen in *figs 20* and *22* and the sinuous silver twists can be seen in the buckle designs of *figs 24* and *25*.



Fig 5 Bowl, mixed metal, copper and silver, unmarked.



Fig 6 Four-handled vase, W H Haseler Ltd, Birmingham 1899-90.

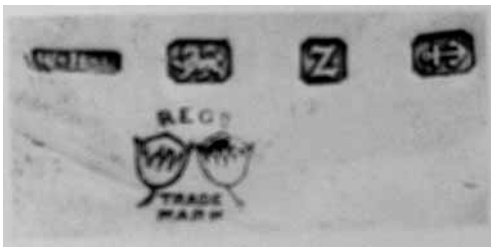


Fig 7 Marks from base of vase (fig 6) showing Haseler's trade mark of two hazelnuts.

They are a clear break from the past: thoroughly modern in their appearance but not yet fully worked through and formed.

The bowl [fig 5], being substantially made of copper is unmarked but the design appears later in plain pewter, as part of the Liberty Tudric pewter range of around 1902, with the model number 01029. The bowl, in plain silver, also appears in the Liberty silver sketchbook, as model number 217¹⁶, making this copper and silver bowl a forerunner of the Cymric range in which the design later appeared. This bowl has Connemara marble inserts set within the stylised silver flowers around the rim. Baker used Connemara on a different piece referenced in his diary only three days before on 25 May.

As an aside, I can find no earlier examples of 'modern' English silver candlesticks or of English mixed metal silver and copper work which makes such a complete departure from Japonisme.

Haseler's new trade mark

On 22 October, 1898 Oliver Baker made the following diary entry:

Did design for marking the silver wares, series of hazel nuts and took it to the mill to post.

This entry puts Baker, or both Haseler and Baker, at the forefront of the concept of a specific and uniquely branded range.

I believe this reference to an early Haseler trademark has never been previously assessed. As illustrated above, one piece of silver has been identified that carries this trademark, or at least a derivation of it [figs 6 and 7]. Haseler's trade mark of two hazelnuts was registered by him on 22 March 1899, two months prior to the launch of the

16 The 'Liberty Silver Sketchbook' is held at the Westminster City Archive, London. It is a contemporaneous leather-bound volume containing small

sketches with model numbers of all, or nearly, all of the Cymric range. Frustratingly it contains no design attributions.

Cymric range [fig 8 and 9]¹⁷. The silver and enamel vase in fig 6 is hallmarked for William Haseler and dated Birmingham 1899-1900. It appears in the Liberty silver sketchbook as model 210 and similar vases marked with the Liberty mark are also known [fig 18]; it can be attributed to Oliver Baker. Quite why Haseler used their mark on this piece and so few others is unclear but, drawing from Max Haseler's account that Liberty was only given exclusive sale rights within a five mile radius of London (until May 1901 when the Cymric joint venture was formed between Liberty and Haselers), it would seem that this was one of a few items that Haseler reserved to sell themselves.

The role of Haselers

It is important at this point to address the early role of Haselers themselves in the manufacture of Cymric wares. Was there a London manufacturer producing Cymric wares before or contemporaneously with Haselers? Was the firm of Haseler, and William Haseler, by inference, more a follower than leader in the conception of the range? This now seems very unlikely. Identical Cymric buckles hallmarked for London and Birmingham 1899 and 1905 respectively have been uncovered. Since the buckles, like most pieces in the Cymric range, were machine made and only hand-finished, the similarity of the two pairs of buckles would suggest that the machinery and craftsmen used must have been the same for both pieces and that the pieces were sent to London in 1899 to be hallmarked¹⁸.

It is highly likely that Liberty wanted their own mark to appear on the designs; this would have been consistent with their marketing approach in branding the Cymric range as their own. The designer and manufacturer were to be kept anonymous. Since Liberty had no mark registered at the Birmingham assay office until 26 September 1899, when they registered the mark 'L & Co in a lozenge' it would have been impossible to achieve this through the Birmingham assay office prior to this date. The only assay office at which Liberty had registered a mark was that in London. They first registered the mark 'Ly & Co' in 1894 when they started selling silver, imported mainly from Japan. Goldsmiths' Hall was by necessity the only assay office for the silver to be sent to.

There is further evidence of an earlier link between Haselers and Liberty of London. When the Liberty mark was registered with the Birmingham assay office in September 1899 one of the three signatories to the registration was William Haseler himself, along with two Liberty directors, suggesting that an established relationship already existed between the two companies¹⁹.

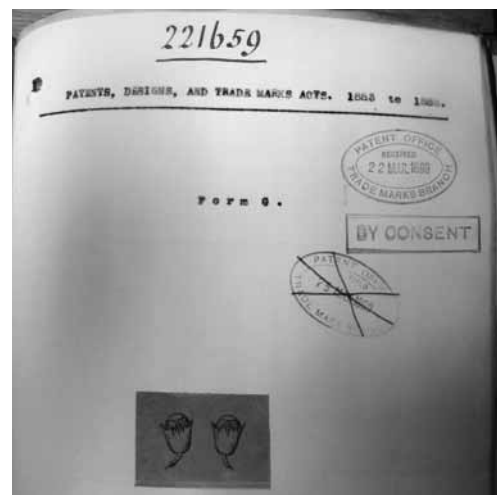


Fig 8 W H Haseler's registration of their trade mark of two hazelnuts.

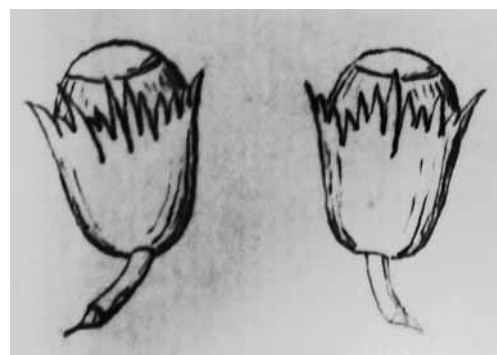


Fig 9 Detail of W H Haseler's registered trade mark of two hazelnuts from fig 8. This trademark is also similar to W H Haseler's later trademark for its Solkets subsidiary, of two overlapping flowers. Solkets made Tudric pewter for Liberty.

17 The trade mark can be found in Representations of Trade Marks, 221501-222000 (vol 614, form G, no 221659, ref BT/82/656) in the National Archives at Kew. From the image and

the date of registration I have assumed it is that imprinted on the vase of fig 5a, although the records linking the registered trademarks of this period with their registrants have

been destroyed. The bowl, from a private collection, was exhibited in three museums in 2003-4 as part of the *Seawolf* collection, late 19th and 20th century silver, a personal touch, and repro-

duced in an accompanying book of the same title, pp 70-71.

18 Shirley Bury's analysis, *Liberty's 1875-1975*, exhibition catalogue, London.

1975, no D129, p 66.

19 See Shirley Bury's introductory essay on the Cymric range, *Liberty's 1875-1975*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1975, p 14.



Fig 10 Bowl, WH Haseler Ltd, London, 1898-99.



Fig 11 Drawing of a bowl similar to that in fig 10 (Oliver Baker's sketchbook).

One final piece of evidence confirms Haseler's role in manufacturing silver which was then sent for hallmarking in London. This concerns the small silver vessel [fig 10] which is marked for London, 1898-99 but is clearly designed by Baker who only worked for his brother-in-law William Haseler. Set below this vessel is an image taken from Baker's sketchbook [fig 11]. Fig 11 may well be the design for the bowl described in Baker's diary entry of 25 May 1898 as extracted above.

The major contributors to May 1899 Cymric exhibition catalogue

One final issue remains. Who was responsible for the design of the bulk of the wares for that first exhibition catalogue of May 1899 which launched the Cymric range? Was Baker designing simultaneously with Knox and Rex Silver or was Baker's work in fact later than that of Knox and Silver, whose work, Shirley Bury hypothesised, may have formed the basis of that first exhibition, only for Baker's work to be added in the later 1899 Arts and Crafts exhibition and subsequent Cymric ware catalogues.

As has been previously mentioned the catalogue of May 1899 has no images and only summary descriptions of the items. Identification of some pieces can only be made by linking the names given to the items to the named designs in the Silver Studio archive. Items were typically named after people or places drawn from ancient British history or antiquity.

Of the seventy-five or so silver pieces listed in the Cymric exhibition catalogue of May 1899 there are just thirty-three which can be linked with any degree of certainty to sketches in the Silver Studio archive²⁰. Even if, as is currently thought to be the case, these designs are by known Silver Studio designers, Archibald Knox and Rex Silver, it still leaves scope for other designs to be by Baker and others.

Baker's sketchbook opens up an additional line of enquiry which is the possibility that some of the early Silver Studio sketches, attributed to Archibald Knox and Rex Silver, are by Baker. This would point conclusively to his role in this first Cymric exhibition and it would allow some designs to be reattributed to Baker.

A sketch of a group of vases [fig 12] is from the Silver Studio archive and is included with other silver sketches from 1898-99. It is described as "Sheet of trial designs for vases". Most of the vases are also individually drawn and recorded in the archive with names that link them directly to those in the May Cymric exhibition catalogue or to a later illustrated Cymric catalogue of circa 1900. Intriguingly, the style of the sketches in fig 12 matches the rough sketches in Baker's sketchbook [fig 13].

In addition, most of the named Silver Studio designs included in Cymric exhibition catalogue (and for which we have images from the Silver Studio) are copies of objects from antiquity. This idea of copying of historical artefacts (although not of Celtic origin) was an approach that is closely associated with Baker (an antiquarian) and was not a common feature of Knox or Silver's work.

How and why Baker's designs may have ended up with the work of the Silver Studio is unclear. Perhaps when Liberty asked the Silver

20 The attribution of the named Silver Studio designs to the matching pieces named in the *Cymric Catalogue* of May 1899 is my own work undertaken for this article. A print-out showing the matched items is now lodged with the archive.

21 Liberty Cymric model numbers are not strictly chronological. It would seem, in general, that each class of product (candlesticks, vases, bowls etc) was allocated a round starting number (0, 100, 200 etc) and items were then added from that start-

ing point in date order.

22 I am reluctant to claim this piece as entirely conclusive of Baker's early contribution to the Cymric range as I have not seen the marks. The piece was listed as Cymric silver dated 1898 when sold by Bonhams, 16 May 2006, lot 60 and confirmed to me by the buyer who has since sold the piece

23 A number of Lethaby textile designs were exhibited by Liberty at the 1893 Arts and Crafts Society exhibition

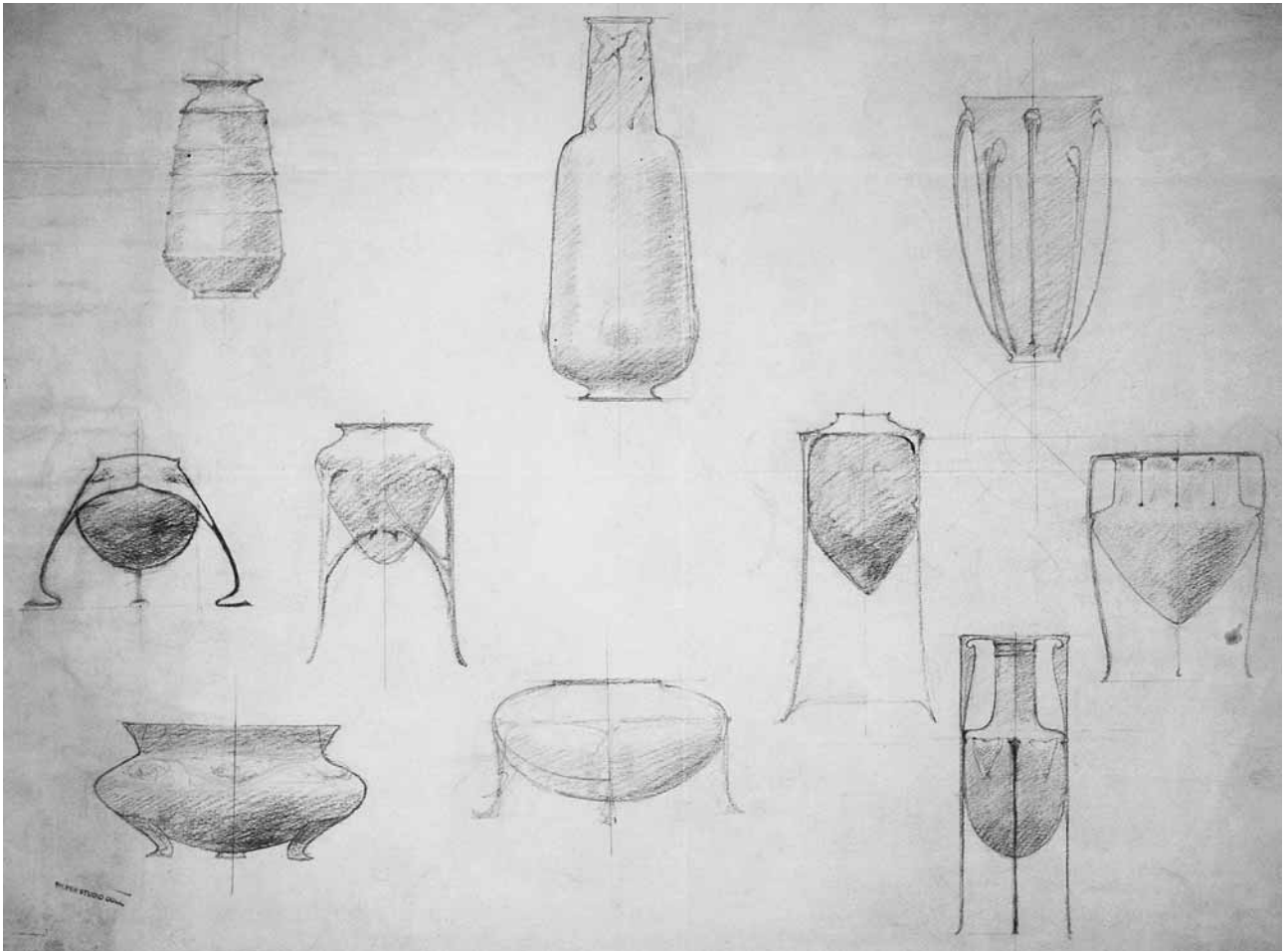


Fig 12 "Sheet of trial designs for vases" from the Silver Studio archive (SD 1635).

Studio to do designs for its new Cymric range they wanted some form of comparative basis of style, hence leading to Baker or Haseler sending them the earlier sketches. Ultimately the analysis of these Silver Studio designs remains an area of further research but two other pieces of information also point to Baker's role in the launch of the Cymric range.

The first is the small four handled bowl shown as *fig 10*. It is stamped 'Cymric' together with the Liberty model number 552²¹. The London date letter for 1898-99 means it must have been hallmarked (and hence designed and produced) before 5 May 1899²².

The second point is that there is one final diary reference to be considered. In Baker's 1898 diary he wrote at the front a record of his conversation with W R Lethaby. Excitingly for our purposes this is dated 6 May 1899 (see below). W R Lethaby was an architect, a founder of the Art Workers Guild and a leading member of the Arts and Crafts design movement; he was also a designer for Liberty's during the early 1890s²³. It is hard to draw any conclusion other than that Baker is recording a conversation that he had with Lethaby, after the latter had visited the Liberty Cymric exhibition in the same month. We know from Baker's father's diaries that Oliver Baker was in London at this time.

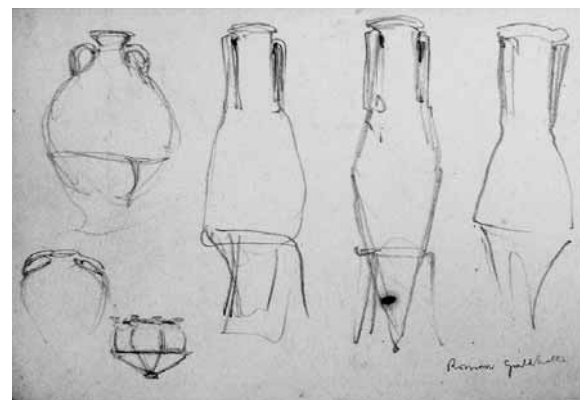


Fig 13 Drawings of vases similar to those in fig 12. (Oliver Baker's sketchbook).



Fig 14 Drawing of a cup.
(Oliver Baker's diary).



Fig 15 Image of a cup similar to the
drawing in fig 14.
(Cymric ware catalogue, 1900).

24 From his diary it is clear that Baker designed only a very few candlesticks, which Max Haseler recalled were amongst the pieces sold to Liberty, and it is quite possible that the pair of candlesticks referred to are the pair shown in fig 3. The reference to the steel rolled copper bowl may also be that in fig 5.

25 National Archives Kew, copy3/71, key register vol 37, p 256, ref 17552.

26 In September 1904 *The Studio* published a photograph of this design which was described as a "cachepot" and attributed to Eleanor Fortescue Brickdale who went on to become famous as an artist, part of the pre-Raphaelite sisterhood, and as an illustrator. It is possible the decoration and choice of inscription are hers as there is evidence she adapted other Baker works (A Tilbrook, *The Designs of Archibald Knox for Liberty & Co*, 1976, p 44).

WR Lethaby liked the best little candlesticks from the knop downwards but thought the upper much too artistic and fussy. The salt cellars would have been good if they had been five times the size. They and the buckles were too much like bizarre knick knacks. Too amorphous. Too Studiosque. He objected to the steel rolled copper surface in the bowl²⁴.

There are, however, no candlesticks listed in the Cymric exhibition catalogue of May 1899 which casts some doubt on this attribution although there may as yet be an explanation. During the nineteenth century Stationers' Hall was the copyright depository for Great Britain; this is to be distinguished from the Patent or Trade Mark Office and, like today, it was used to protect copyright on manuscripts and images, as distinct from designs that could be patented. Liberty used Stationers' Hall extensively to copyright its commercial catalogues. An examination of the Stationers' Hall archives for 1899 identifies only one possible entry for the May catalogue but this was entered on 26 July 1899. The entry simply states "Cymric Silver-work": the exact title of the May exhibition catalogue. The entry also gives the first date of publication as 24 July²⁵. This raises the possibility that the May 1899 exhibition catalogue may not actually have been published contemporaneously with the start of the exhibition itself but was launched subsequently as a commercial catalogue.

Baker's further contributions to the Cymric range.

There is a further important Liberty Cymric catalogue which does have illustrations and, therefore, allows identification of other early works of Baker's that were produced for the Cymric range. The catalogue is undated but many of the designs included in it are also in the May 1899 catalogue; it is thought to date from the middle of 1899 to early 1900. Some of Baker's finest designs are shown in this article alongside the images and prices from this catalogue, and where possible, drawings from his sketchbook. A striking feature is just how expensive the larger Cymric pieces were.

Fig 14 is a sketch from Baker's sketchbook with an image of a cup [fig 15] in the later illustrated Cymric catalogue of circa 1900. The cost of this item was listed at £24. Figs 16 and 17, from the same two sources respectively, show a cup or vase²⁶ which cost £45. Figs 18 and 19 are images of a surviving version of a silver bowl marked for Liberty & Co, Birmingham 1901 and its image from the Cymric catalogue of 1900; the colours of the enamel are reversed. This was priced at £25 in the 1900 catalogue or £19 10s if it was ordered without the enamelling. The hammered surface of the bowl is accentuated as part of the design, an innovation of the period. Figs 20 and 22 show two of the finest examples of Baker's work, together with their images from the 1900 Cymric catalogue [figs 21 and 23]. Fig 20 shows an 1899 Birmingham hallmarked bowl marked for Liberty & Co on four scrolling copper feet with a rim set with semi-precious stones. Two buckles designed by Oliver Baker are shown [figs 24 and 25]; they were illustrated in the 1900 catalogue and in *The Studio* article on Baker of February 1900.

Finally, a rare Cymric rose bowl of 1903-4 (model 2028), attributed to Oliver Baker, is shown as fig 26. Although the feet on the bowl are in

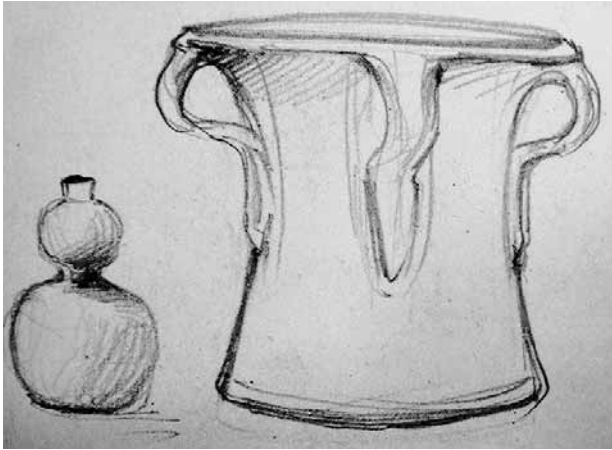


Fig 16 Sketch of a three-handled vase or cup.
(Oliver Baker's sketchbook).



Fig 17 Image of a presentation or challenge cup similar to the drawing in fig 16.
(Cymric ware catalogue, 1900).



Fig 18 Bowl, Liberty & Co, Birmingham, 1901-2.



Fig 19 Image of bowl in fig 18.
(Cymric ware catalogue, 1900).



Fig 20 Cymric bowl on copper feet set with stones, Birmingham, 1899-1900.



Fig 21 Image of bowl in fig 20.
(Cymric ware catalogue, 1900).



Fig 22 Liberty Cymric bowl with four feet and Connemara marble stone set rim, Birmingham 1903-4.



Fig 23 Image of bowl in fig 22.
(Cymric ware catalogue, 1900).



Fig 24 Silver and hardstone buckle, Liberty & Co, Birmingham, 1900-1.



Fig 25 Silver and hardstone buckle, W H Haseler Ltd, Birmingham, 1905-6.



Fig 26 Silver and enamel rose bowl, Liberty & Co, Birmingham, 1903-4.

Baker's style, the bowl is atypical for the Cymric range being based from on Arthurian revivalist taste which was prevalent in other areas of the Arts and Crafts movement. The bowl carries the Shakespearian inscription: "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet"²⁷.

Insights from Bernard Cuzner

As already mentioned Bernard Cuzner was a young silversmith and contemporary of Baker who worked at Haselers during 1898 and 1899; he also provided silver designs for the Cymric range. Notes for a speech he wrote and gave in May 1951, towards the end of his life, are contained within his archive at the Birmingham Museum. The speech, entitled "Modern Silverwork", gives his personal account of the origins, design and industry of silver manufacture from around 1890 to the then present day. It provides an essentially contemporaneous perspective of someone who had been at the heart of modern silver work and design throughout that period. His notes include the following passage describing his view of the birth of modern silver in the 1890s:

H Wilson, JP Cooper out of Sedding's office began to work in metal with their own hands. Ashbee's Mile End Class, AS Dixon, AJG, G of H, Nelson Dawson, Alex Fisher enamel. Attempts to revive guilds didn't get very far. [Unintelligible sentence]. Uncommercially with varying degrees of success artistically and financially. Art Nouveau prevalent around 1900 confused many. They could or did not realise the difference. The O.B + W.H.H venture. Gallant and worthy of a better fate. Rejected Lethaby's criticism. L&Co, their I of M designer, mixture of Art Nouveau and Celtic interlacings, forced and extravagant ...

In a subsequent section titled "Art and Industry" which may be from a different speech, Cuzner wrote:

The Haseler experiment, founded on an Art Nouveau reef.

These extracts from Cuzner's notes provide a wealth of important confirmatory information. The first part of the main passage identifies, as is widely accepted, the role of the craft guilds in creating a new style of silver design: the Arts and Crafts style. The reference to "Sedding's office" must be to John Dando Sedding (1838-91), an architect and leader of the early Arts and Crafts movement who trained many of the next generation of Arts and Crafts architects and designers. Henry Wilson was his assistant and became a leading Arts and Crafts jeweller and silversmith as was John Paul Cooper who was head of metalwork at the Birmingham School of Art from 1904-7, a position shortly thereafter filled by Cuzner himself. The refer-

ences to "Ashbee's Mile End class" and "G of H" concern Charles Ashbee and his Guild of Handicraft which operated from Essex House in Mile End, East London until moving to Chipping Campden in 1902. "A S Dixon" was Arthur Stansfield Dixon, an architect, who from the mid 1890's was the chief designer and head of metalwork for the Birmingham Guild of Handicraft. "A J G" was Arthur J Gaskin, another leading Birmingham artist and designer, who was head of the Vittoria Street School for Jewellers in Birmingham from 1902-24. Nelson Dawson founded the Artificers Guild in 1901 and worked with his wife Edith to create Arts and Crafts jewellery and silver. Alexander Fisher was a leading enamellist of the period.

Most of these designers contributed jewellery or silver work to the 1893 and/or 1896 Arts Craft Society exhibitions ie prior to the work of Baker and Haseler that appeared in the 1899 Cymric exhibition and prior to the launch of the Cymric range. Examples of silver or jewellery work by all of these designers are in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, with images on the museum's website.

Critically, the second section of Cuzner's notes confirms Oliver Baker (O B) and William Haseler (W H H) as responsible for creating a distinctive style or range of silver; one that preceded, and was subsumed by, the more commercial Liberty venture with its Art Nouveau and Celtic style. The passage also provides a direct link to Oliver Baker's diary entry of May 1899 referring to Lethaby's criticism of Baker's work. Finally there is Cuzner's disapproval of Liberty and Archibald Knox (I of M being the Isle of Man). Whilst this view would not be shared by many today it does give some insight into the divisions between the Arts and Crafts movement and silversmiths on the one hand and the more Art Nouveau style and commercialism of Liberty on the other: influences of both of which can be seen in the Cymric range.

Oliver Baker

So just who was Oliver Baker? He was born in 1856, a fourth son, into an artistic middle class Birmingham family. Baker's father was Samuel Henry Baker who was a renowned water colourist and member of the Royal Academy. Of the four brothers, two died at a relatively young age, leaving Oliver and his brother, Harry. Harry, a talented artist himself, chose to pioneer photography as an artistic media and went on to hold many exhibitions in Birmingham and London. It was Harry who married William Haseler's sister.

Oliver Baker himself studied art under his father and at Birmingham School of Art. He was elected a full member of the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists (1884) and Royal Cambrian Academy (1908). He was an antiquarian

and ran a gallery in Stratford-upon-Avon for much of his life. His artwork was exhibited from 1875 at the Royal Academy, the Royal Society of British Artists, the New Watercolour Society, the New Gallery and elsewhere, although he was never an especially successful artist commercially. He took up etching in 1880 but worked mainly in watercolours from 1887.

As can be seen from his diaries, in the period around 1898-99, when Baker was already over 40 years old, he spent much of his time designing silver. In Max Haseler's account of the origins of the Cymric range he in part attributed the origins of Liberty's Tudric pewter range to Baker who was said to have provided Arthur Lazenby, owner of Liberty's, with examples of Elizabethan pewter. Based on surviving Liberty silver and pewter work of the period it would seem that Baker continued to design for Liberty's up to circa 1906, perhaps later. A range of ceramic and silver black jacks (a medieval leather drinking vessel) was introduced in a Liberty catalogue of 1906 and it is probably safe to assume these were designed by Baker²⁸. The range was not repeated in subsequent Liberty catalogues and the pieces are, I believe, unknown in the antique trade suggesting that very few were sold, perhaps marking the end of Baker's time as a silver designer. Baker's publications included the illustrated *Ludlow Town and Neighbourhood*, *The Moated Houses of Warwickshire* and *Black Jacks And Leather Bottells* which was published in 1921. He became an active member of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments and was also a member of the Shakespeare Club. He went on to work with the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust advising them on the restoration of Mary Arden's House at Wilmcote which can still be seen and visited today. He was also a founder of the Stratford Guild in 1912.

Baker died, aged 84, in 1939 and on his death was accorded a sizeable obituary in *The Times* of 14 April 1939. The obituary makes no mention of Baker's metalwork designs or of his work for Liberty but it does emphasise the point that Baker was at heart an antiquarian with a deep knowledge of medieval and historic artefacts, as extracted below.

By the death of Mr Oliver Baker, the artist and antiquarian and author.....Warwickshire loses a fine medievalist and a charming personality. In a sense the artist and the author were subordinate to the antiquarian, for though his watercolours are held in high regard, though his "Ludlow Town and Neighbourhood" is still a standard work after 50 years and though his "Black Jacks and Leather Bottells" is an authority never likely to be challenged, these impressive achievements grew out of his lifelong passion for old buildings, old furniture and old documents.

It is hard to uncover Oliver Baker's true character. He was married with one child but his diaries and archive offer little insight into his personality. Through my research I have gained a sense, but no more than that, of a quiet studious man who lived in the shadow of his father. From his father's diaries there is a sense of disapproval of his son's silverwork and certainly there are more favourable references to Oliver's brother Harry. The lack of references to Oliver's silverwork in his father's diaries, make me think that Oliver hid the extent of his work from his father. His father makes no reference to Lethaby having seen Baker's work although this was, quite clearly, a seminal moment for his son. Similarly there is no mention of Oliver's role in the 1899 Arts and Crafts Society exhibition, yet his father wrote consistently of Harry's photographic exhibitions, including one which took place at exactly this time.

Conclusion

I hope this paper has shown that Oliver Baker was at the absolute heart of the development of modern silver and the Cymric range.

It has also established that Baker's designs were developed and produced as early as 1898, bearing the Haseler mark. They exist with Liberty marks in conjunction with both London and Birmingham hallmarks as early as 1899. Through his diary it is possible to establish that Baker was a conscious innovator in the development of his modern silver designs. Through the 1899 Arts and Crafts Society and 1900 Cymric catalogues we know Baker was a, or the, leading designer contributing to the Cymric range at that time and I hope to have plausibly established, though not proven, that he may well have had the same role in that first Liberty Cymric exhibition of May 1899.

Overall I hope that this article has extended the existing knowledge of the birth of the Cymric silver range. Taking Shirley Bury's work, the key interview with Max Haseler and the new material from the Baker archive and Bernard Cuzner's notes into account, it is now possible to be quite confident, although not certain, of the following timeline.

27 William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, scene II. Baker was a Shakespeare enthusiast. He gave his only child Geoffrey, the middle name of

Arden: presumably after Mary Arden, Shakespeare's mother.

28 Liberty catalogue, 1906 in the National Art Library, London.

Late in 1897 Oliver Baker, quite probably stimulated by his brother-in-law, William Rathbone Haseler, determined to create a 'New Movement' artistic silver range.

Throughout 1898 designs were produced by Baker, and quite probably other Birmingham artists, for Haselers who in turn manufactured them.

Liberty asked the Silver Studio, with whom they already had a strong connection, to execute silver designs. This may have been a decision inspired by, or independent of, Haseler's works. From October 1898 the Silver Studio produced some of its own designs.

Baker, with Haseler's, chose to give their silver range a distinctive trademark of hazelnuts; the mark was designed circa October 1898 and registered in March 1899.

The items produced by Haseler's were shown to, and bought by, Liberty's circa 1899 and the decision taken to make the unique Cymric range.

Haseler's did the bulk, if not all the manufacturing but initially items were sent to the London Assay Office for hallmarking in time for the May 1899 exhibition.

In May 1899 the Cymric range was launched, and Oliver Baker's designs were, almost certainly, a significant part of the exhibition.

Items from, or similar to, the May range of Cymric wares were shown at the November 1899 Arts and Crafts Society exhibition. Baker's work was sufficiently distinctive to be written up and several images of his works reproduced in *The Studio* in February in 1900.

The Cymric range was given further impetus with the launch of an illustrated catalogue of circa 1900 which contained a large number of Baker's works.

Haseler's and Liberty's cemented their relationship by forming a joint venture in May 1901.

This article has focussed principally on identifying the origins of the Cymric range and establishing Oliver Baker more clearly as one of, if not the, key originator

together with William Haseler. It has, hopefully, also shown that some of Baker's work has distinct modern qualities and beauty and deserves wider acclaim. Baker was a true innovator and credit must go to him to as one of the key participants who laid the foundations of modern silver design and for the Cymric range, from which Knox and other designers subsequently flourished.

Acknowledgments

Having discovered Baker's archive diaries and sketchbook, and on about my fifth draft of this work, I found *By Hammer and Hand, The Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham* (1984), edited by Alan Crawford. The book contains an excellent article on metalwork by Glenys Wild and Alan Crawford which includes some of the extracts from Baker's diaries used in this current article and draws some of the same conclusions. The article directed me to new sources (such as *The Artist* article of 1901) and gave me the confidence to push on with my own research.

I would also like to thank the following: the staff at the Birmingham Assay Office and Goldsmiths' Hall who have assiduously answered my many e-mails and helped me to understand, in particular, the precise dating of silver in 1899 and the workings of the assay offices. Jan Van den Bosch for his enthusiasm and knowledge and for providing some of the images contained in this article. The staff and curators at the Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive, the National Art Library, the National Archives, MODA, Birmingham Museum and the Westminster City Archive who were all so helpful in my research and have granted permission for a number of images and/or text to be reproduced in this article. A number of private collectors have generously given permission for images of pieces in their possession to be reproduced.

Anthony Bernbaum is an investment banker in the City who has a longstanding interest in British Arts and Crafts design, in recent years focussing on the silver of that period, which has become his passion. He is particularly fascinated by the origins of modern design and modern silver design specifically. Married with two children he lives in North London. He has a BA in Economics from Cambridge University and an MBA from INSEAD.

Silver in medieval probate inventories of the diocese of York

ANTHONY SALE

Probate inventories provide a valuable insight into social history in the early modern period. They were commonly made throughout the seventeenth century but comparatively few exist from the Tudor period. The survival of some one hundred inventories from the York diocese made before 1500 is remarkable and they provide a rare glimpse into medieval life and household contents. Particularly interesting are the contents of a goldsmith's workshop.

The inventories have been transcribed from the original languages (medieval Latin, middle English and French) into modern English by Philip Stell and published in a book entitled *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese 1350-1500*¹. They include not only the inventories of the deceased persons but often the accounts of the administrators involved in the probate procedure. The layout of the inventories tended to follow a similar pattern. After the account of any money found, the contents of each individual room were listed and valued item by item. Sometimes plate and jewels appeared under a separate heading. Finally debts owed to and by the deceased were usually listed.

The inventories that include silver provide an insight into the use of plate in the fifteenth century; who owned it and to what use it was put. Of the hundred odd probate inventories there are thirty-eight that include holdings of plate. Of these thirty-eight inventories the occupations of twenty-six deceased persons are specified. They are: an archbishop, an archdeacon, a canon, two canons residentiary, a cleric, a parson, a prebendary, a precentor, a vicar, a vicar choral, two knights, a gentleman, a baker, a barber, a chapman, a girdler, a goldsmith, three masons, a tailor, a weaver, a lady and a relict. Some of them had very large amounts of plate, the most being the archdeacon whose inventory of 1400 listed silver valued at £428; the canon had silver amounting to £192 in 1421, the girdler had £78 worth in 1415, the gentleman had £30 worth in 1488, the goldsmith had no silver in his house and little in his workshop. Some inventories had plate valued at only a few pounds or a few shillings.

Very little is known about medieval plate as so little has survived and the documentary evidence is largely confined to a few inventories of royal and aristocratic plate. So this collection of probate inventories provides a very valuable insight into the plate in use in the fifteenth century by a wide range of the middling class of people. Many of the items were familiar in the sixteenth century and later: such as mazers, many sorts of drinking vessels, salt cellars, bowls and of course spoons. A term commonly appearing in the inventories was 'piece', with or without further description and there were other unusual terms including: chauffer (portable warmer), furgon

¹ Published by York Archaeological Trust, 13 Cromwell House,

Ogleforth, York YO1 7FG. 2006.

(fork or poker), godet (drinking cup), grate for ginger (long spoon with a fork for ginger), powder boist (box), shewer (mirror), thoriac box (thoriac was a compound of many drugs, powdered and dispersed in honey and used as an antidote to poison).

One example taken from Stell's book is the inventory of Thomas Morton of York, Canon Residentiary, dated 1449 which has his plate listed under the heading: JEWELS.

Two silver basins with gilt roses weighing six pounds £1 10s [sic]. Two ewers of one set for the same weighing two pounds ten ounces £1 10s [sic] sold at £15. A silver basin with arms weighing 40 ounces, price per ounce 2s 6d – total £5. A silver ewer for the same weighing 15 and a half ounces, price per ounce 2s 6d – £1 18s 9d. Two silver two-gallon jars of one set weighing five pounds three and a half ounces – total £7 18s 9d. Two silver jars of one set, a measure of two quarters enamelled on the head weighing four pounds four ounces £6 10s. Two old silver jars of one set holding two quarters and weighing two pounds ten ounces £4 5s. A jar partly gilt holding a quarter and enamelled weighing two pounds an ounce £3 2s 6d. Two candle-sticks partly gilt weighing two pounds eight and a half ounces £4 1s 3d. A silver bowl with a base and a lid with an image of Michael on the head weighing two and a half pounds and half an ounce £3 16s 3d. A silver bowl standing on lions in the style of a bell with a lid weighing two pounds and a quarter ounce £3 5s 7¹/₂ d. A standing bowl with a base and a lid with leaves and a knop, not gilded, weighing 21 and a quarter ounces £2 13s 1¹/₂ d. A bowl with a base and a lid with leaves and a gilt knop on the head weighing 20 and a quarter ounces £2 10s 7¹/₂ d. A silver bowl with a lid with a squared knop in the style of a bell weighing one pound three and a half ounces £1 18s 9d. A bowl with a lid and an image of the blessed Mary on the bottom weighing 18 and a half ounces £2 6s 3d. A pounced bowl with a round gilt knop weighing 17 and a quarter ounces £2 3s 1¹/₂ d. A bowl with a rose, not gilded, with a plain cover weighing 14 and a quarter ounces £1 15s 7¹/₂ d. A salt-cellar with a writhen lid weighing 15 and a half ounces £1 18s 9d. Another salt-cellar without a lid of the same type weighing ten and a quarter ounces £1 5s 7¹/₂ d. Four bowls of plain pattern without lids weighing two pounds seven ounces £3 17s 6d. A silver casket with the inscription *Strew on powder* weighing four and three quarter ounces 12s 10¹/₂ d. A bowl in the style of a rose without a cover weighing six ounces 15s. Three bowls chased without covers weighing 12 ounces £1 10s. A gilt ewer weighing

eight ounces £1 3s 4d. A gilt bowl with a lid in the style of a bell weighing 19 and a half ounces £2 12s. A gilt salt-cellar with a lid with towers and a palace weighing 23 and a quarter ounces £3 2s. Seven gilt spoons, four of one set, and three other weighing eight and a quarter ounces £1 6s 8d. 27 silver spoons £2 18s 8d. A silver grate for ginger weighing five and a quarter ounces 13s 1¹/₂ d. Two silver furgons weighing one and three quarter ounces 5s 2¹/₂ d. A silver bell weighing one and a half ounces 3s 9d. A gilt bowl with a lid in the style of a chalice weighing two pounds one and three quarter ounces £3 8s 8d. A bowl with a pounced gilt lid with flowers weighing 17 and three quarter ounces £2 7s 8d. A bowl with a gilt lid in the style of a beaker weighing 13 and a quarter ounces £1 15s 4d. A bowl with a chased lid weighing 15 and a quarter ounces £1 18s 1¹/₂ d. A mazer with a gilt lid with signs on the head weighing [blank] £2 9s 4d. A bound mazer with a base and a lid weighing 17 and a half ounces £2. A large mazer weighing nine ounces £1 13s 4d. A mazer with a lid standing on lions with a motto on the cover weighing 14 ounces £1 17s 6d. A small mazer without a cover weighing 7 ounces 12s. A pax in silver and gilt enamelled weighing seven and a half ounces £1. A gilt chalice with a paten weighing 22 [ounces] £3 13s 4d. Two gilt jars with mottos weighing ten ounces £1 6s 8d. Two jars in silver weighing [blank] 19s 3¹/₂ d. TOTAL £113 10s 4¹/₂ d [? should be £116 11s 4d].

Twenty-five inventories have the values of each item of plate or the amounts received on the sale by the executors. Thirteen have the value and weight, given to the nearest quarter ounce, implying that sensitive and accurate balances were available in the fifteenth century. Thus the rates in shillings and pence per ounce can be calculated. Some of the inventories also state the actual rates in shillings and pence per ounce or per pound [troy]. Interestingly silver-gilt seems to be valued at the same rate as silver. There are minor variations in the valuations but in general silver was valued at about 2s 6d to 2s 8d per ounce in inventories from 1421 to 1452. From 1468 to 1494 the valuations are mainly at 3s or 3s 2d per ounce. There are only three inventories between 1452 and 1468 and these do not have valuations. In this period the price of silver seems to have risen, presumably because the mint was paying more for bullion for coinage, which had to be renewed at intervals because of wear.

Several goldsmiths' names appear in the probate records. Four were appraisers: Jonyyn, John Rowland, George Willerton and Wormod. Three others appear in the accounts of the administration: Bagot, William de

Hovyngham and Wermboltus. Two jars are mentioned as being signed by Scalop.

There is only one goldsmith among the occupations specified in the inventories transcribed. He was John Collan of York and his inventory was dated 1490. It details the items, with the value of each, in each room of his house which had eight rooms. The grand total of all his goods and debts paid amounted £15 18s 2d while he owed £4 12s 10¹/₂ d. Not a wealthy man. There was no silver in the house other than a small amount in his workshop which contained:

A working board and a desk 1s 8d. Two stithies 3s 4d. Two sparrow hawk stithies 10d. Six large forging hammers 2s. Five planching hammers 1s. A hook hammer and a straining hammer 3d. Five small clinches 4d. Two spoon tayses 10d. Two stamps 1s 2d. Three swages 6d. A round stake, a flat stake and a nebbed stake 4d. Four pairs of sherithez 1s 4d. A pair of spanne-tongs and two pairs of pliers 3d. Two pairs of fire tongs and a pair of small tongs 7d. A shaving hook and a copper standard 5d. A long locker with pounsons 1s 8d. Two drawing tongs with two drawing tools 1s 2d. Two pairs of hand scales with accessories 4d. A small stithy with holes in it 1d. Two ingots and a pair of pounsons 4d. A locker with gravers and shavers 4d. A candle-stick and a fayn 1d. A locker with files 8d. Two other lockers with pounsons 4d. A round brass stamp with two bosses 2d. A small triblet and a pair of wooden spanne-tongs ¹/₂ d. Four pattern lockers with old patterns 8d. A pile and three pairs of balances 2s 2d. Two pairs of balances for gold 4d. A sarce-casket and a rinspindle 2d. A gilding platter with accessories 4d. An enamelling locker 6d. A fire with a pair of bel-lows 1s. Three tin pieces 10d. An old board and a

desk 3d. Two stones of slate 1d. A large pile of weights and a pair of balances 5s. A silver pax weighing 12 and a half ounces at 3s 2d per ounce – total 39s 7d. Three bands of maple-wood and a foot of maple wood weighing 12 ounces at 3s 4d per ounce – total £2. A maple wood band and a locker with small change weighing 12 and a half ounces at 3s 4d per ounce – total £2 1s 8d. A silver bow with a silver arrow and a little bell of gold 5s. A silver spoon without a knop 7d. 21 pearls 2s. Two diamonds 8d. Three sheets of book gold 3d. A heft of a knife of green serpentine 1d. A mazer shell 1s. A pair of balances 1d. A stamp 1d. A primer 6d. Two other old books 2d. A tin cresset 2d. A sarce-cresset 2d. A jet rosary 2d. Sweepings from the workshop £1. TOTAL £9 3s 10¹/₂ d.

Glossary for the workshop taken from Stell's book:

Clinch: tool for riveting

Cresset: maybe a frame to hold a candle or other source of light

Fayn: candle shield

Pounson: punching tool for making holes in metal.

Rinspindle: boring instrument used by cutlers

Sarce: sieve

Scarce-casket: probably a receptacle for material that had been sieved

Sherithez: probably shears

Spanne-tongs: possibly spoon tongs

Stithy: anvil

Tays: sheath.

Triblet: cylindrical rod for forging rings or tubes

Anthony Sale has researched Gloucestershire archives and surviving silver to identify local goldsmiths, their work and their marks. This research and other studies, not restricted to Gloucestershire, have been published in the Journal of the Silver Society and elsewhere.

Index

Illustrations are not separately identified except under certain headings such as invoice and marks, nor are footnotes separately identified. Usually only the first entry in an article is indexed; the reader is advised to check the whole article. A complete index of previous issues may be found on the Society's website.

- Abercromby, Robert 27
 Accounts 18
 Accounts, personal and household 19
 Adam, Charles 44
 Advertisements, in Canada 72
 Albermarle, George Monck 34
 funeral of 34
 Albin Cox, Robert 45
 Aldridge,
 Charles 42
 Edward 42
 Allan,
 Hannah 23
 George 22
 Alms dishes, John Richardson 10
 American captures, Committee on 79
 Angerstein,
 Eva 76
 John 76
 John Julius 75
 house in Greenwich 76
 Appeal,
 charitable, patriotic 77
 Copenhagen 81
 Nile 81
 Apprentice/master connections at premises 42
 Archambo, Peter 58
 Archives 17
 Arden,
 Mary 111
 Walter 9
 Archer, William 23
 Armstrong, Mrs Ellis 92
 Arnett, Hugh 44
Art Journal 98
 Art Nouveau style 103
 Art Workers Guild 107
 Articles
 New Light on the Liberty Metal Work Venture 100
 Artist, *The* 100
 Arts and Crafts
 movement 99
 Society exhibition 99
 Ashburnham, Sir William 35
 Ashbee, Charles 99
 Assayer 47
 Aylwin, Thomas 73
 Backhouse, Thomas 79
 Bacon, John 80
 Bagot, goldsmith of York 114
 Baird, Chief Major-General Sir David 93
 Baker,
 Harry 110
 Oliver 98
 Black Jacks & Leather Bottells 111
 diaries 102
 Ludlow Town and Neighbourhood 111
 The Moated Houses of Warwickshire 111
 sketchbook 98
 Samuel Henry 110
 Bamford, Thomas 44
 Bank accounts,
 Paul Bertrand's 17
 Banker
 Richard Hoare 28
 John Thursby 10
 Bankes, William 72
 Bank, Hoare's 17
 Baring,
 Alexander 95
 Sir Francis 77
 Barker,
 John 45
 Joseph 27
 Robert 22
 Susannah 45
 Barlow, Francis 34
 Basingstoke racing trophy 40
 Basire, James 36
 Bates, Samuel 47
 Bath, city of 17
 Bathurst, Sir Benjamin 33
 Beaker 70
 John Richardson 11
 Beauclerk, Captain Amelius 78
 Beckford, William 43
 Bells 33
 Francis Garthorne 36
 Berkeley, George 35
 Bernbaum, Anthony, **More light on the Liberty Cymric metalwork Venture. An evaluation of the contribution of Oliver Baker** 98
 Bertrand, Paul 17
 Best, Nicholas 9
 Bewicke, Calverley 81
 Binckes, George 36
 Binley,
 Margaret 45
 Richard 45
 Bird, Joseph 44
 Birmingham School of Arts 103
 Black jacks 111
 Bloomer, Francis 9
 Boddington, Edmund 58
 Boleyn, Ann 33
 Bonar,
 Andrew 76
 Thompson 76
 Book, Richardson Memorandum 7
 Books,
 The Authentic Nelson 84
 Black Jacks and Leather Bottells 111
 The Directory of Gold & Silversmiths, Jewellers & Allied Traders 97
 An Embassy from the East-India Compan. to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperour of China ... 1665 41
 Genealogical History of the Kings of Portugal 37
 History of the Coronation of Charles II 37
 Interment of Duke of Albermarle 34
 Ludlow Town and Neighbourhood 111
 Probate Inventories of the York Diocese 113
 The Moated Houses of Warwickshire 111
 William Beckford, 1760-1844: An Eye for the Magnificent 54
 Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing 41
 Unbroken Service 95
 Boothby, George 36
 Boulogne, attack on 86
 Bowl 40, 104
 drinking 41
 W H Haseler Ltd 106
 Liberty & Co 108
 Box, counter 37
 Borrett, Phineas 44
 Brathwaite,
 George 18
 estate of 26
 Martha 25
 Richard,
 Stock of 30
 v Tayleure 25
 Brett, Vanessa, **The paper trail of eighteenth-century retailers** 17
 Bridport, sale 85
 Brighton Pavilion 54
 Brignall, Edward 73
 Brind, Walter 42
 Bristow, Robert 35
 Britannia, RY 92
 Brown, Benjamin 46
 Brudenell, James 35
 Bucklemakers, silver 47, 60
 Buckles,
 designs for by Oliver Baker 108
 Cymric 105
 shoe, hat, shirt, breast 61
 knee 66
 Bullion dealer 45
 "Burning glass" 18
 Burrell, Peter 35
 Bury, Shirley 100
 Butler, James, 19th Earl of Ormonde 40
 Butler, Chief of Ireland 40
 Cafe,
 John 45
 William 45
 Camperdown,
 battle of 81
 fund 81
 Canada,
 Emigration to 69
 English silversmiths in 69
 Candlestick makers 44
 Candlesticks
 Joseph Bird 45
 Francis Crump 44
 William Gould 45
 W H Haseler 103
 John Richardson 11
 Gabriel Sleath 44
 William Twell 45
 Canner, Christopher 44
 Canopy, coronation 33
 Cape St Vincent, battle of 81
 Carey, Edward 10
 Carlisle, Earl of, Charles Howard 8
 Caron, Peter 23
 Carpenter, David 62
 Cary Lane 42
 Casket, designed by Oliver Baker 101
 Caster makers 44
 Casters 44
 Celtic style 110
 Ceramics,
 Chinese 51
 English 53
 Chaffey, James 72
 Chalice
 John Richardson 5, 13
 Chancery case, Brathwaite v Tayleure 25
 Chapes, for buckles 61
 Charitable appeals, funds 77
 Chawner, William 59
 Chester silversmiths 5
 Chesterfield, Lord 21
 Chevenix,
 Elizabeth 19
 family 17
 China, trade with 41
 Chinese
 Export silver 52
 stoneware teapots 50
 Chinoiserie, 50
 beaker 11
 monteith 40
 tankard 11
 Chinoiseries 41
 Chowns, Mary 23
 Church of
 All Hallows, London Wall 9
 Burnham Thorpe 83
 Hillingdon 59
 St Andrew's, Worcester 7
 St Clement's, Hastings 34
 St John Zachary 8
 St Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street 12
 St Mary's, Hanwell 59
 St Mary's, Islington 65
 St Mary's, Witney 60
 St Michael's, Wood Street 61
 St Peter's, Worcester 7
 St Vedast's
 Cinque Ports 32
 Barons of 32
 Lord Warden of 33
 Clarence, Duke of 80
 Clark,
 Ann 68
 William 67
 Clere, Tobias 34

- Clifford, Helen 17, 66
 Clinch 115
 Cloth of gold 41
 Cobbett, William 86
 Cobham, Henry 33
 Coles,
 Henry 72
 Lawrence 9
 Coley,
 Lave 67
 Simeon II 67
 Collan, John 115
 Collections
 Al Gilbert 96
 Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert 11
 Margaret Gouinlock 51
 Bilgi Kenber 96
 Collier, John 35
 Collingwood, Viscount 91
 Connemara marble 104
 Conyngham, Elizabeth Marchioness of 54
 Copenhagen
 appeal 81
 award 85
 battle of 83
 committee 85
 service 84
 Cookson, Isaac 23
 Cooper,
 John 11
 John Paul 110
 Robert 40
 Copland, Henry 44
 Copper plate, Goldsmiths' Hall 5
 Copyright depository 108
 Cornock, Edward 45
 Coronation,
 Anne 35
 banquet 33
 bells 33
 canopy 33
 chair 40
 Charles II 34
 feast 40
 footstool 40
 George I 35
 George II 35
 George IV 36
 James II 32
 Mary of Modena 32
 medals 39
 robes 35
 sermon 39
 staves 33
 Stuart and Hanoverian 32
 William and Mary 35
 Corry, Henry 72
 Corunna, battle of 93
 Cotton, Michel 70
 Cragg, John 27
 Craig,
 Ann 24
 James 21
 John 24
 Crawford, Alan 99
 Crespin, Paul 19
 Cresset 115
 Creuze, Francis 27
 Crossley, Richard 44
 Cruet tray 71
 Cruickshank, Robert 69
 Cup 40
 Oliver Baker drawing for 108
 Cup and cover
 RC in a dotted dircle 40
 Rundell, Bridge and Rundell 40
 unmarked 32
 Curghey, John, 21
 invoices from 31
 silver traded through 30
 Culme, John 97
 The Directory of Gold & Silversmiths, Jewellers & Allied Traders 97
 Cutlers 47
 Cuzner, Bernard 98
 speech by 110
 Cymric
 exhibition 106
 exhibition catalogue 98
 rose bowl 108
 ware 98
 Dache, Jacques 70
Daily Telegraph 36
 Daniell, Thomas 46
 Davidson, Simon and Cathlyn, **John and Samuel Richardson: Seventeenth-Century goldsmiths, their marks and lives** 5
 Davison, Alexander 83
 Dawson,
 Edith 110
 Nelson 110
 Decane, Edward 5
 Delany, Mrs Mary 21
 Deards,
 family 17
 William 19
 Delves, Thomas 34
 Desbovery, Jacob 35
 D'Esterre Darby, Captain Henry 82
 Devaynes, William 78
 Dick, Alexander 76
 Dighton, Isaac 43
 Dishes,
 alms, John Richardson 10
 first course 82
 second course 82
 Dixon,
 Arthur 99
 James, and Sons 99
 Doddington, George 35
 Doran, W 88
 Dorset, Duke of, Lionel 35
 Dover 33
 Dover Castle, Constable of 35
 Doxey, William 27
 Doxsey, Thomas 27
 Draper,
 Cresheld 32
 Gawden 32
 Dresser, Christopher 99
 Drinkwater, Sandilands 45
 Drury, Dru 18
 Duncan, Admiral 81
 Dunn, Richard, watchmaker 74
 Dupuy, Thomas 70
 Dutens,
 Elizabeth 21
 Peter 24
 William 21
 Dyne, Edward 35
 Dysart, 4th Earl of, Lyonel Tollemache 19
 East India Company 80
 Eaton,
 John 60
 Peter 62
 Samuel 60
 Ecuelle, Samuel Payne 70
 Eden, Farrow 23
 Edict of Nantes, Revocation of 69
 Edwards, Edward 87
 Elers, David and John Philip 51
 Eley
 Bishop of, Francis Turner 40
 William 56
 Elkington & Co 99
 Emes, John 90
 Engravers 47
 Family succession at premises 42
 Farington, Joseph 87
 Fayn 114
 Fisher, Alexander 110
 Flagon, Henry Greenway 8
 Flagons
 John Richardson 6
 Westminster Abbey 6
 Flaxman, John 83
 Fleet Street 28
 Fordham, William 36
 Foster Lane 42
 6 Foster Lane 47
 7 Foster Lane 47
 8 Foster Lane 47
 9 Foster Lane 47
 14 Foster Lane 44
 18 Foster Lane 47
 21 Foster Lane 42
 28 Foster Lane 42
 33 Foster Lane 47
 34 Foster Lane 42
 38 Foster Lane 47
 Fowler, Hester 7
 Fox, George 88
 Fox, Ross, **English silversmiths and goldsmiths in Canada during the Eighteenth century** 69
 Floyer, Peter 11
 France, war with 78
 Freeman, John 44
 Funds, patriotic 77
 Fur trade, in Canada 70
 Gadois, Jacques 70
 Gandon, Isaac 71
 Garthorne, George 36
 Gareau,
 Marguerite 69
 Pierre 70
 Gaskin, Arthur 100
 Gauden, Sarah 32
 Gawler, Jim 95
 General Thanksgiving, after Trafalgar 90
 Germain, Lady Elizabeth 36
 Gilbert collection, Al 96
 Gilbert Collection, Rosalinde and Arthur 11
 Gifts 32
 Glasse, Rev Samuel 59
 Glorious First of June 79
 subscription 80
 Gobelin, Jean-Baptiste 70
 Goblet 80
 Goffering irons 103
 Gold,
 cloth of 41
 cup and cover 40
 watches, makers of 25
 Goldsmid,
 Abraham 77
 Benjamin 77
 Goldsmith, Royal 58
 Goldsmiths' Company 5
 collections of 34
 copper plate 5
 Prime Warden 12, 44, 87
 visitations of 12
 Goldsmiths'
 dates 47
 premises 49
 Goldsmiths' Hall, patterns of occupation around 42
 Gouinlock, Margaret, Collection 51
 Graves, Rear-Admiral 83
 Green, David 45
 Greenway, Henry 6
 Gregory, Mark 68
 Grimwade, Arthur 25, 43
 Grimwade project database 47
 Goyn, Charles 17
 Gould,
 James 45, 72
 William 44
 Greenwich 76
 Griffin,
 Robert 71
 William 71
Guardian 36
 Guild of Handicrafts 99
 Birmingham 99
 Gutter Lane 42
 11 Gutter Lane 45
 15 Gutter Lane 47
 16 Gutter Lane 42
 21 Gutter Lane 44
 29 Gutter Lane 46
 33 Gutter Lane 47
 39 Gutter Lane 47
 40 Gutter Lane 42
 41 Gutter Lane 44
 47 Gutter Lane 42
 Guy, Pierre 70
 Halifax, Canada 71
 Hall,
 Embroiderers' 47
 Goldsmiths' 6, 42
 Haberdashers' 8, 47
 Stationers' 108
 Wax Chandlers' 47, 61
 William 85
 Ham House 19
 Hamilton,
 Emma 82
 Sir William 82
 Hartop, Christopher 54, 70
 Harvey, Captain John 80

- Haseler,
 Max 100
 W H Haseler Ltd 100
 trade mark 104
 William Rathbone 100
- Hastings 33
 mayor of 33
 punch bowl and ladle 36
- Hawson, George 11
- Hayman, Francis 27
- Hayter,
 George 68
 George Smith 68
 Martha 68
 Thomas 65
- Heal, Ambrose 25, 47
- Hearth tax 7
- Heming,
 George 59
 George senior 59
 Thomas 58
 Mary 59
 Richard 59
 Thomas junior 59
- Hennell, Robert 47
- Hercules and the Hydra 89
- Hoare, Richard 21
 invoices to 31
 silver traded by 30
- Hoare's Bank 18
- Hoffman, Josef 99
- Holden's Directory 67
- Holkham, accounts at 18
- Hollar, Wencelaus 34
- Hood, Commodore Sir Samuel 89
- Horwood, Richard 42
- Hovyngham, William 115
- How,
 Edmund 23
 Thomas 22
- Howard, Charles, 4th Earl of Carlisle 8
- Howe, Admiral Earl 79
- Hudson's Bay Company 71
- Huggin Alley 60
- Huggin Lane 60
- Hughes, Sarah 11
- Hunt, William 27
- Hukin and Heath 99
- Hunter, Andrew 27
- Hurt, Henry 27
- Hutt, Captain John 80
- Hutton, William and Sons 99
- Hyde,
 James 46
 Thomas 46
- Hythe 33
- Indian trade silver 74
- Insurance 76
- Inventories, probate in the diocese of York 113
- Inventory of,
 Martha Brathwaite 25
 John Collan 115
 John Craig 24
 Thomas Morton 114
 Horatio Nelson 84
- Invoices,
 George Allan, to 23
 Elizabeth Chenevix 19
 eighteenth-century 18
 Thomas How, from 23
- James II 32
- James, Richard 9
- Japan, influence on silver design 99
- Jenner and Knewstubb 96
 Jenner, Frederick 96
- Jensen, Georg 99
- Jewel House, Delivery Book 33
- Jewel Office, accounts of 18
- Jewellers, 47
 Edward Brignall 73
 Henry Coles 72
 Phineas Borrett 44
 Barnet Henry Joseph 97
 John Neville 24
 Peter and Arthur Webb 23
- Jewellery 23
- Jones, A H 101
- Jones, Bruce, **Patterns of occupation around Goldsmiths' Hall** 42
- Jonyn, goldsmith of York 114
- Jordis, Henry 71
- Joseph, Barnet Henry 97
- Kaellgren, Peter, **Chinese Yixing stoneware teapots as a source of English Silver design 1675-1830** 50
- Kaellgren, Peter, **Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada, Recent Acquisitions: Posy Holders** 96
- Keble, Robert 42
- Kemsey 7
- Kennet, Bishop 34
- Kennett, John 46
- Kettle, stand and burner 93
- Kidney, William 27
- King,
 Francis 40
 Gregory 37
- King,
 Charles II 34
 Edward VI 33
 Henry VIII 33
 George I 35
 George II 35
 George IV 36, 53, 88
 James II 32
 William 35
- Kings Head Court 47
- Knatchbull, Edward 21
- Knewstubb, Fabian James 96
- Knightwick, Worcestershire 5
- Knox, Archibald 100
- Lacemen 21
- Laine, Elizabeth 12
- Lambe,
 Thomas 36
 William Phillips 36
- Lancaster Herald 37
- Land Tax 6, 28, 42, 62
- Langlands, John 23
- Laten, gilded copper 97
- Laver, Benjamin 59
- Leake, Francis 8
- Leake's bookshop 21
- Leathersellers' Company 60
- Lethaby, W R 107
- Letter
 from John Julius Angerstein 84
 to Horatio Nelson 84
 from Lady Nelson 94
- Levy, Andrew 23
- Lewis, Joseph 47
- Liberty & Co 98
 hallmark 105
 Managing Director of 100
 metalwork 98
 pewter 111
 silver 98
 wares 100
- Llewellyn, John 100
- Lloyd's 75
 Coffee House 75
 Collection 85
 Corporation 95
 Master of 78
 Minute Books 82
- Lord Almoner, Francis Turner 40
- London Gazette* 75
- London Gazette Extraordinary* 94
- London Insurance corporations 80
- Louis, Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas 93
- Lyfe, Richard 34
- MacLeod, Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick 93
- Makepeace, Robert 78
- Marder, Joseph 72
- Marks
 ligatured TP in a shaped cartouche 74
 RC in a dotted circle 40
 PR in cypher with pellet below 5
 R in script 5
 SP with a crown and fleur-de-lis above 71
 SR with cinquefoil below 6
 SR in a plain shield 6
 SR in a shaped shield 6
 TA in a monogram 52
 TR in a monogram 5
- Marsden, William, Secretary to the Admiralty 88
- Marryatt, Joseph 94
- Master/apprentice connections at premises 42
- Masterman, John 23
- May, John 85
- Medals, coronation 39
- Meissen porcelain 51
- Mellish, William 95
- Meriton, Samuel 47
- Messenger, Charles 95
Unbroken Service 95
- Mildmay, Benjamin 19
- Minet, Daniel 35
- Milward, William 36
- Mince, James 47
- Mixed metals 104
- Modern Movement silver 99
- Modern Silverwork 110
- Monck, George, Duke of Albermarle 34
- Monck, Miss 34
- Monteith, Robert Cooper 40
- Monthly Review* 92
- Moogk, Peter 70
- Moore, Lieutenant Ogle 93
- Morland, George 72
- Morris, William 99
- Morton, Thomas 113
- Mug,
 Francis Crump 43
 Isaac Dighton 43
 Gabriel Sleath 43
- Mugs 43
- Murdoch, Tessa, **The James II coronation cup and the culture of gifts and perquisites in Stuart and Hanoverian coronations** 32
- Museums,
 Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery 98
 Brighton Museum and Art Gallery 37
 Domestic Design 101
 Fine Arts Boston, 8, 56
 Cognac -Jay 96
 Hastings 37
 National Maritime 78
 Royal Ontario, 96
 Victoria and Albert 10, 32, 52, 89, 101
 Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 34
- Napoleonic wars 75
- Naval mutinies 81
- Nelson, Horatio 75
 column 90
 engraving of 82
 death of 90
 inventory 84
 Memorial Committee 90
- Nelson, Lady 91
- Neville, John 24
- New France, silversmiths of 71
- New Lloyd's Coffee House 78
- New Movement silverware 102
- Nieuhof, Johannes 41
An Embassy from the East India Company to the Grand Tartar Chan Emperour of China ... 1665 41
- Nile,
 appeal 81
 battle of 81
 committee 81
 fund 81
 service 75
 subscriptions 75
- Northesk, Earl of 91
- Nunn, Major 90
- Occupation of premises 42
- Old Bailey 64, 72
 online website 64
- Orchard, John 71
- Ormonde, James, 19th Earl of 40
- Oxford,
 Corporation of 40
 Mayor of 40
- Page, John 54
- Pannel, Charlotte 92
- Pantin, Abraham 18
- Paper trail, of eighteenth-century retailers 17
- Papillon,
 Philip 35
 Thomas 35
- Parker, William and Stalker, John
A Treatise of Japanning & Varnishing 41
- Parker and Wakelin 17
- Parker, Admiral Sir Hyde 83
- Parliamentary Report of 1773 63
- Parr, Thomas 27
- Pars, Edward 27
- Partridge, John 13
- Pasley, Rear-Admiral Thomas 80
- Pass 9
- Passavant, Susannah 19

- Paten
 John Richardson 5
 Samuel Richardson 13
- Patriotic Fund 75
 award notice 89
 badges 87
 launch of 86
 medals 87
 Special General Meeting 90
 swords 87
 vases 87
 inscriptions 89
- Payne,
 Laurent 69
 Samuel 69
- Pelham,
 James 35
 Thomas 35
- Pengelly, Sir Thomas, arms of 10
- Peninsular War 93
- Pentonville 67
- Pepys, Samuel 33
- Perquisites 32
- Phipps,
 James 37, 44
 Thomas 37, 44
- Piercy, Robert 42
- Pierpoint Morgan, J 40
- Piccadilly 58, 69
- Pickford, Lieutenant 88
- Pinchbeck, Christopher 17
- Plate,
 Copenhagen 85
 Nile 85
- Plates 84
 soup 84
- Plateworkers 65
- Plummer, Christopher 46
- Pocock, Edward 44
- Political Register* 92
- Pons, Peter 26
- Pontifex, Daniel 85
- Popham, Commodore Sir Home 93
- Poor Tax 66
- Porringer, John Richardson 10
- Portal,
 Abraham 18
 Lewis 27
- Porte-bouquets 96
- Porter, Sir Robert Ker 89
- Portland, Duchess of 23
- Ports, Cinque 33
- Posy Holders 96
 Jenner and Knewstub 97
 Barnett Henry Joseph 97
- Pounson 115
- Powis, Thomas 73
- Pratt, D Lorne 54
- Premises, occupation of 42
- Prentice, Rina 84
 The Authentic Nelson 84
- Presentation plate 78
- Preservation of Ancient Buildings, Society of 11
- Prevost, Brigadier 90
- Prince of Wales,
 Albert Edward 91
 Frederick 21
 George 53
- Privateer Committee 78
- Probate inventories 113
- Punch bowl, George Boothby and William Fordham 36
- Purton, Robert 47
- Pyke, John 27
- Quare, Daniel 26
- Quebec 72
- Quebec Gazette* 72
- Queen,
 Ann Boleyn 33
 Anne 35
 Elizabeth I 33
 Mary 35
 Mary of Modena 32
 Mary Tudor 33
- Racing trophy 40
- Refiner 45
- Register of Trade Marks 98
- Report, Parliamentary of 1773 63
- Retailers,
 eighteenth-century 17
 records 21
- Retailing, luxury 17
- Rewards for valour 86
- Rhodes, Benjamin 18
- Richardson,
 Elizabeth 13
 family of Chester 5
 Hester 7
 John 5
 Silver by 15
 Isabella 7
 Memorandum Book 7
 Richard 7
 Richard I 12
 Samuel 5
 Silver by 16
 Stephen 6
 Richmond, Duke and Duchess of 19
 Rinspindle 115
 Riou, Captain 84
 Robertson, Mrs Norman S 52
 Robes, coronation 35
 Robinson, Edward 44
 Romney 33
 Simon 5
 Walter 12
 Rossi, John 84
 Rouge Dragon Pursuivant 37
 Rowland, John 114
 Royal Exchange 80
 Royal George, the 77
 Rundell, Philip 55
 Rundell and Bridge 27, 82
 Rundell, Bridge and Rundell 40, 54
 Rush, Samuel 27
 Rye 33
 St Domingo, battle of 93
 St George's Day 32
 St James's, Piccadilly 69
 St Paul's Cathedral 83
 Sale, Anthony, **Silver in medieval probate inventories of the diocese of York** 113
 Salmon, Robert 78
 Sandford, Francis 34
 Genealogical History of the Kings of Portugal 37
 History of the Coronation of James II 37
 Interment of Duke of Albermarle 34
 Sandwich 33
 Sarce 115
 Sarce-casket 115
 Scalop, goldsmith of York 115
 Scriven, Edward 89
 Scofield, John 80
 Scroope, John 35
 Sedding, John Dando 110
 Service,
 combined 84
 Nile 75
 Shakespeare Centre Library & Archive, Stratford-upon-Avon 98
 Sharp, Richard 73
 Shaw, John 87
 Sherborne,
 Charles 44
 Hannah 44
 Sherithez 115
 Shoe buckles 61
 Shop interiors, eighteenth-century 25
 Shops, eighteenth-century 25
 Shortland, Midshipman Richard 80
 Silk, Spitalfields 36
 Silver
 Arthur 101
 buckle makers 60
 Canadian 69
 design, English 50
 Indian trade 74
 galleries, Whiteley 41
 Rex 101
 Studio 101
 archive 101
 designs 106
 Silverwork, modern 110
 Sizergh Castle 41
 Slater, James 47
 Sleath, Gabriel 42
 Smallworkers 45, 61
 Smith,
 Ann 67
 Benjamin Smith 89
 George, bucklemaker 60
 George III 65
 Hannah 68
 Martha 65
- Smithier, Robert 8
- Southwick, Leslie 95
- Spanne-tongs 115
- Spencer, Earl 87
- Spoonmaker, Lawrence Coles 9
- Stained glass 41
- Stalker, John and Parker, William
 A Treatise of Japanning & Varnishing 41
- Stanhope,
 Lady Grizel, accounts of 20
 Lord, accounts of 20
- Starkey, Henry 8
- Staves 33
- Stell, Philip 112
 Probate Inventories of the York Diocese 113
- Stephanoff, J 37
- Stewart, Joseph II 45
- Stithy 115
- Stoneware
 Chinese 50
 English 53
 European 52
 Wedgwood 53
- Storr, Paul 56
- Strachan, Rear-Admiral 90
- Stratford Guild 111
- Studio*, magazine 99
- Succession at premises 43
- Sugar tongs 63
- Supper set, John Emes 90
- Swords 79
 Patriotic Fund 87
- Talavera, battle of 93
- Tankard 34
 John Richardson 11
- Tax,
 Hearth 7
 Land 6, 28, 42, 62
 Poor 66
- Taxes, Collector of 44
- Tayleur,
 Michael 25
 William 25
- Taylor, Clive, **George Smith of Huggin Lane: a Georgian silver bucklemaker** 60
- Taylor,
 Gerald 9
 William 61
- Tays 115
- Tea 50
 Urn, Robert Salmon 78
- Teapot,
 William Eley I 56
 John Page 54
 Philip Rundell 55
 Paul Storr 54
 John Edward Terry 56
- Teapots, 50
 Britannia metal 55
 Chinese stoneware 50
 hexagonal 56
 melon-shaped 55
 Sheffield plate 55
 Stoneware 50
 Wedgwood 53
- Terry, John Edward 56
- Thibault,
 Peter 27
 Thomas 27
- Tomlinson, Captain Nicholas 78
- Thomson,
 Andrew 76
 John 76
- Thornton, Godfrey 79
- Throgmorton Street 23
- Thursby, John 10
- Thynne, Thomas, 2nd Viscount Weymouth, accounts of 20
- Times*, *The* 75
- Timms, Captain John Fann 89
- Toilet service 41
- Trophy, racing 40
- Tobin, Sophia, **"These six sheets of paper". Some biographical insights from the will of Thomas Heming** 58
- Tollemache, Lyonel, 4th Earl of Dysart,
 daybook of 19
 agent's receipt book 19
- Townshend, Thomas 35
- Toymen 17
- Toyshops 17
- Trade directories 47

Tracey, John S 89
 Trades, 46
 luxury 17, 47
 Trafalgar,
 battle of 90
 captains at 91
 square 90
 Treen, Edward 7
 Triblet 115
 Truxton, Thomas 78
 Tudric pewter 111
 Tuite, John 18
 Turner, Francis, Bishop of Eley and Lord Almoner 39
 Tumbler 70
 Tureen,
 Sauce, Daniel Pontifex 85
 Soup,
 Robert Makepeace 78
 John Scofield 80
 Turners 47
 Twell, William 45
 Twist, Anthony, **Towards the Patriotic Fund** 75
 United Society 78
Universal Magazine 92
 Vases,
 W H Haseler Ltd 104
 Patriotic Fund 87
 Digby Scott and Benjamin Smith 89
 Rundell's 89
 Viner, Robert 8
 Waldegrave, Sarah Countess of 36
 Walker, Richard 71
 Walley, Ralph 12

Waterloo,
 appeal 94
 battle of 94
 subscription 94
 Wax jack, John Richardson 8
 Watchmakers 22, 47
 Watson, Sir Brook 86
 "Weather house" 19
 Webb,
 Arthur 23
 family 18
 Joshua and Co 44
 Peter 23
 Wedgwood 53
 Welder, Samuel 42
 Wellington, Duke of 95
 Welsford, John Parr 87
 Wendell, Nicholas 11
 Wermboltus, goldsmith of York 114
 West, Benjamin 87
 Westminster Abbey 6, 33, 80
 alms dishes 10
 flagons 6
 Westminster Hall 33
 Weymouth, 2nd Viscount, Thomas Thynne, accounts of 20
 White, Sampson 40
 Whiteley Silver Galleries 41
 Wickes, George 17
 Willaume, David 19
 Willerton 114

Wills,
 Samuel Eaton 62
 Thomas Heming 58
 George Smith 67
 Willdey,
 family 17
 George 17
 Thomas 17
 Wilmore, Joseph 56
 Wilson, Henry 110
 Winchester Place 67
 Winchelsea 32
 Wine coolers, William Hall 85
 Woburn, accounts at 19
 Wood,
 Hannah 61
 Captain James Athol 93
 John 64
 Martha 61
 Samuel 42
 Worcester,
 Angell Lane 9
 city of 6
 City Account Book 13
 corporation plate 6
 St Andrew's church 7
 St Peter's church 7
 Wormod, goldsmith 114
 Yixing, 50
 stoneware 50
 York,
 diocese of 113
 James Duke of 39

Notes

Weights

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

1 troy oz = 31.103 g

100g = 3.2 troy oz (approx)

Monetary values

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

12d pennies = 1 shilling

20s shillings = £1 (pound)

£1 1s = 1 guinea

Dates

Dates are written in the following styles:

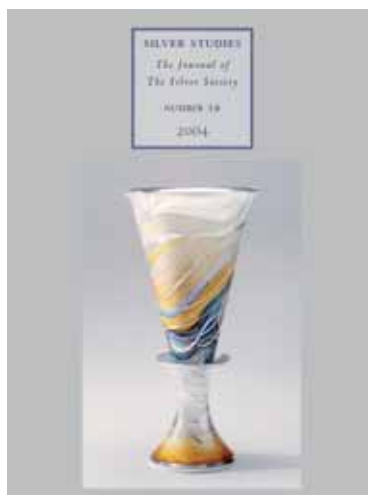
Calendar year prior to 1752 : 1 January – 24 March 1563/4

Assay year prior to 1975: 1563-64

Any opinions stated in this journal 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 here.

All items illustrated are silver unless otherwise stated.

RECENT SILVER SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS



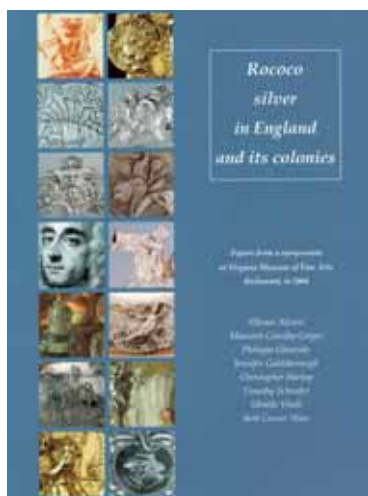
Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society - 16 (2004)



Special issue 2: *The Warning Carriers* - 18 (2005)



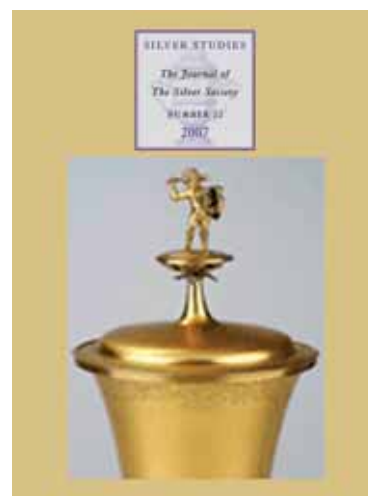
Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society - 19 (2005)



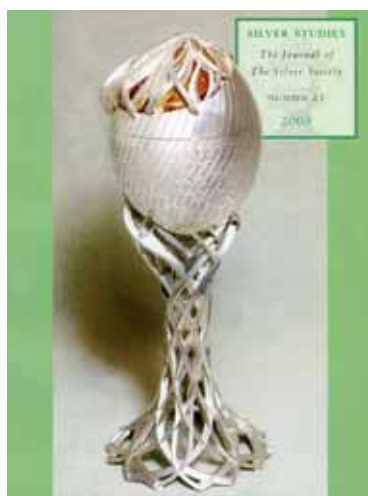
Special issue 3: *Rococo silver in England and its colonies* - 20 (2006)



Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society - 21 (2006)



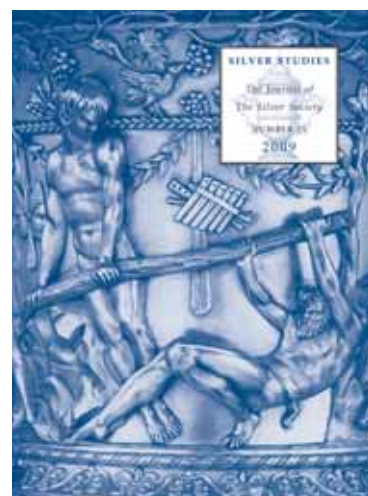
Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society - 22 (2007)



Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society - 23 (2008)



Special issue 4: *Church Plate in England* - 24 (2008)



Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society - 25 (2009)

SILVER STUDIES is the journal of the Silver Society. It is recognised as the most valuable specialist publication for the study of silver; much new research carried out in recent years has been published in the journal.

SILVER STUDIES is published annually, in the autumn. It contains papers read to the Society at its meetings as well as other articles.

THE SILVER SOCIETY was founded in 1958 to advance the study of silver of all periods, places and forms; it also seeks to widen the appreciation and knowledge of work in silver and gold, as well as plated wares and other metals.

THE SOCIETY welcomes research from authors on all aspects of the study of silver and related subjects. The Editor may be contacted at the address below.

If you would like information about membership of the Society, subscriptions to *Silver Studies* or the Society's funding of special projects please contact the Secretary or look at the Society's website.

THE SOCIETY'S WEBSITE contains application forms, information about the Society's activities, a cumulative index and a list of contents of back issues of the journal, most of which are still available.

JOURNAL SUBSCRIPTION. It is possible to subscribe to *Silver Studies* without being a member of the Society. Annual subscription: £15; reduced to £12 if paid by standing order.

THE SILVER SOCIETY

Box 246
2 Lansdowne Row
London W1J 6HL

www.thesilversociety.org

E-mail

Secretary: secretary@thesilversociety.org
Editor: editor@thesilversociety.org

SILVER STUDIES The Journal of the Silver Society: ISSN 1741-2677
formerly (issues 1-15) *The Silver Society Journal*: ISSN 0960-8745

