



THE SILVER SOCIETY

P O Box 326
Alton, GU34 9HW
www.thesilversociety.org

SILVER STUDIES

The Journal of the Silver Society: ISSN 1741-2677

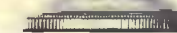
formerly (issues 1-15) *The Silver Society Journal*:
ISSN 0960-8745

SILVER STUDIES

*The Journal of
the Silver Society*

NUMBER 33

2016-17



SILVER STUDIES

The Journal of the Silver Society 2016-17

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NUMBER 33 – 2016-17

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

Registered office:

c/o Wilkins Kennedy
Bridge House
London Bridge
London
SE12 9QR

ISSN 1743-2677

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

Editor: Lucy Morton

editor@thesilversociety.org

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Designed and produced by:

Penrose Group
www.penrosegroup.co.uk

The Silver Society

P O Box 326
Alton
GU34 9HW
www.thesilversociety.org

THE SILVER SOCIETY 2017

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LUCY MORTON

Journal Editor

LUCY MORTON

Email: editor@thesilversociety.org

Front cover:

Cistern, London, 1705 by Philip Rollos senior, London 1705-6, Royal arms for Queen Anne, detail of handle.

Bought by Leeds Museums and Galleries 2011 with contributions from the Heritage Memorial Fund, the Art Fund, the Monument Trust, the Leeds Art Fund and many others.

(Photo Norman Taylor © Leeds Museums and Galleries)

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NOTES

Weights

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

1 troy oz = 31.103g

100g = 3.2 troy oz (approx)

This Journal is not peer-reviewed.

All items are silver unless otherwise stated.

Monetary values

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

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

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

£1 1s = 1 guinea (105p)

Dates

Dates are written in the following styles:

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

Assay year prior to 1975: 1565-64

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

All items are silver unless otherwise stated.

ERRATA

Obituary of Benton Seymour Rabinovitch (1919-2014) which appeared in *Silver Studies The Journal of the Silver Society* 2015, no 32 pp 98 – 101

The Editor would like to apologise to Ruth Rabinovitch for the use of material from an obituary of her father, Benton Seymour Rabinovitch, which had been prepared for publication by the Royal Society. The text of the Royal Society obituary by Professor Charles T Campbell and Dr Ruth A Rabinovitch may be found at

<http://rsbm.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/roybiogmem/62/505.full.pdf>

An annotated obituary, with appropriate acknowledgements and citations, is available on the website of the Silver Society www.thesilversociety.org

DRAWINGS FOR SILVER IN THE *HAUPTSTAATSARCHIV* IN DRESDEN

MAUREEN CASSIDY-GEIGER

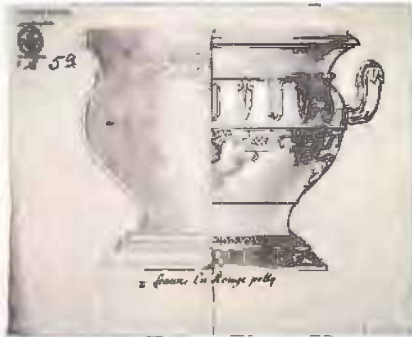


Fig 1 Design for a wine cooler, unknown artist, French (?), early eighteenth-century.
(Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.1, Cap 8, no 5a)



Fig 2 Design for a wine cooler with the Orléans arms, unknown artist, French (?), early eighteenth-century.
(Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.1, Cap 8, no 5b)

The rich holdings of the Saxon State Archive in Dresden, Germany, include a number of early eighteenth-century drawings for silver vessels and buffets which are largely unknown and therefore unstudied. Classified separately from the more conventional handwritten documentation, they belong to a catchall in the *Oberhofmarschallamt* [Head Chamberlain's Office] (10006) within the so-called *Plankammer* [Collection of Plans and Designs] and are inscribed VIII for chapter 8. At the moment the online guide to the *Plankammer* groups the holdings under the headings:

- 1 Vasen (Porzellan) [Vases (Porcelain)]
- 2 Geschirr (Porzellan, Silber u. ö) [Vessels and Tablewares (Porcelain, silver and other media)]
- 3 Schumuck, Orden, Medaillen, Wappen [Jewellery, Orders, Medals, Armorial]
- 4 Möbel (Betten, Stühle und Tische) [Furniture (Beds, Chairs, and Tables)]
- 5 Säulen [Columns]
- 6 Zimmer- und Tafeldekorationen [Room and Table Decorations]
- 7 Lustschiffe und -wagen, Schlitten, Tragsessel Tragsessel [Pleasure Boats and Carriages, Sleds and Sedan Chairs].¹

The drawings published here are from the sections *Vasen* and *Geschirr*.



Fig 4 Design for a covered two-handled vase, unknown artist, French (?), early eighteenth-century.
(Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.1, Ca. 8, no 1a)

Several designs in pencil are easily associated with the Flemish architect Raymond LePlat (circa 1664-1742) who, from 1698, was *Ordonneur de cabinet* [interior architect] to Augustus the Strong in Dresden and Warsaw [Figs 1-4]. These sheets bear his very distinctive orthographic inscriptions in French, the court language, as rendered phonetically by a nonnative speaker with perhaps scant formal training who eschewed using a secretary. Meissen scholars have published these designs, which precisely align in scale and ornamentation with early stoneware and porcelain vessels produced by the Royal Porcelain Manufactory in its first decade, circa 1710-20. For this reason, the drawings and the ceramics have all been attributed to LePlat.² The architect's inscriptions are in ink, however, not pencil, and it may be that he purchased the renderings in relation to a planned royal silver



Fig 3 Design for a wine cooler with the Orléans arms, unknown artist, French (?), early eighteenth-century.
(Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.1, Cap 8, no 5c)

¹ www.archiv.sachsen.de/archiv/bestand

² See, for example, Willi Göder et al, *Johann Friedrich Böttger Die Erfindung des Europäischen Porzellans*, Leipzig, 1982, pp 295-298. The Meissen manufactory archive does not possess related drawings.

- 3 Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, 'Porcelain and Prestige: Princely Gifts and "White Gold" from Meissen, *Fragile Diplomacy / Meissen Porcelain for Foreign Courts*, ca. 1710–63, New Haven and London, 2007, pp 14–15 and figs 1–26 and 1–27.
- 4 See Virginie Spénlé, 'Les Acquisitions de Raymond LePlat à Paris', *Splendeurs de la Cour de Saxe Dresde à Versailles*, Paris, 2006, pp 70–79 and 222–23. Also Virginie Spénlé, 'Der Monarch, seine Agenten und Experten. Institutionelle Mechanismen des Kunstankaufes unter August II. und August III', Barbara Marx (ed), *Kunst und Repräsentation am Dresdner Hof*, Munich/Berlin, 2005, pp 228–260.
- 5 His direct involvement in the planning and execution of the never-realized festival publication is not disputed; for background, see Constelatio Felix, Claudia Schnitzer (ed) *Die Planetenfeste Augusts des Störcken anlässlich der Vermählung seines Sohnes Friedrich August mit der Kaiserin Maria Josepha 1719 in Dresden*, Dresden, 2014.
- 6 For example, Virginie Spénlé, *op cit*, note 4, *Les Acquisitions*, p. 77, fig. 28. Also, Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, 'un Boute de Venus d'un Amethiste ancienne': discovering the Italian origins of an iconic object in the Grünes Gewölbe in Dresden, *The Burlington Magazine*, no 1347, vol CLVII, June 2015, pp 391–393.



Fig 5 Preliminary design for a ewer, unknown artist, early eighteenth-century.
(Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.2, Cap 8, no 14 recto)



Fig 6 Preliminary design for a ewer and stand, unknown artist, early eighteenth-century.
(Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.2, Cap 8, no 14 verso)

buffet for Dresden and later repurposed them as models for Meissen. Thus, drawings for silver coolers were titled by LePlat as if for representational vessels in polished Meissen red 'porcelain' (ie polished Meissen stoneware) with gold ornament and relief decoration. One he labelled

2 Seaux En Rouge Polly [two coolers in polished red stoneware]

and another

2 pisse parcyllie En Rouge Pollie garny de vermyllie [two pieces in polished red porcelain with gilded ornament]

Two of the designs, however, feature the arms of the duc d'Orléans, which has led this author to suggest that they were LePlat designs for Meissen gifts to France. The presence of the armorial is more likely clear evidence that the drawings are French and were acquired abroad for use in Dresden.³ The apparently French drawings for large covered silver vases were likewise envisioned in Meissen red stoneware as well as in the white porcelain body. One LePlat labelled

3 vasses blanche garny a peu pres L'une comme L'autre [three white vases with like ornamentation]

and another drawing, lost in the war, had the Orléans arms and was inscribed

Deu vase parcyllie En Rouge que j'ay fait vermire Et rougire aveq ornemen En or garnie de vermyllie [two red porcelain vases with gilding and relief ornament]

Until now the authorship of the drawings has not been questioned if only because a later hand wrote the name "LePlat" in pencil beneath his ink inscriptions. Yet recent scholarship has shown that LePlat, in his capacity of agent to Augustus, travelled extensively around Europe, identifying artworks and negotiating their purchase. This often involved acquiring sketches which he then annotated for the king, as on the two Italian watercolours of a rock crystal cup by Giovanni Battista Metellino, dated Milan 1724, in the Kupferstich-Kabinett today.⁴

Le Plat was active in Paris in 1699, 1714–15 and 1722, travelling as well to the Netherlands, Italy, Germany and Bohemia, in pursuit of paintings, tapestries, sculpture, porcelain and *Kunstkammer* objects. Augustus the Strong's taste for silver showpieces, akin to what he had witnessed at Versailles in 1687, might explain LePlat's acquisition of the drawings, which were ultimately repurposed as models for the Meissen manufactory at the precise moment of transition from red stoneware production to exclusively white porcelain wares. Although many of the large drawings for the festival book commemorating the 1719 marriage of the Crown Prince of Saxony, later August III, to Archduchess Maria Josepha of Austria, are attributed to LePlat, none of these are signed.⁵ Signature work is essentially unknown, therefore, with the exception of a few cryptic sketches and hurried outlines buried in the architect's personal correspondence.⁶

A further group of drawings in the Dresden State Archive are annotated only in German, by an unknown hand, and may have been

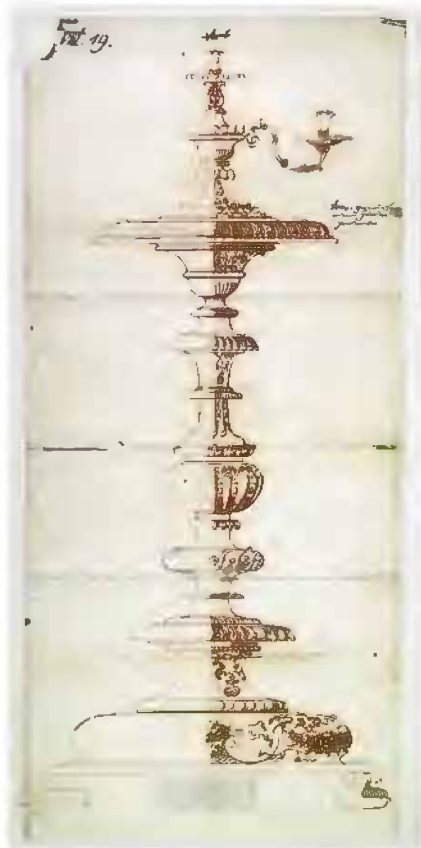


Fig 7 Drawing for a gueridon and ensuite candelabrum, unknown artist, early eighteenth-century. (Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.2, Cap 8, no 19)

7 A rendering of a porcelain buffet belongs to this group and was published by the author, 'The Hof-Conditorey in Dresden/Traditions and Innovations in Sugar and Porcelain', Ulrich Pietsch and Claudia Benz (eds), *Triumph of the Blue Swords/Meissen Porcelain for Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie 1710-1815*, Leipzig, 2010, pp 120-31 (illustrated on p 121.)

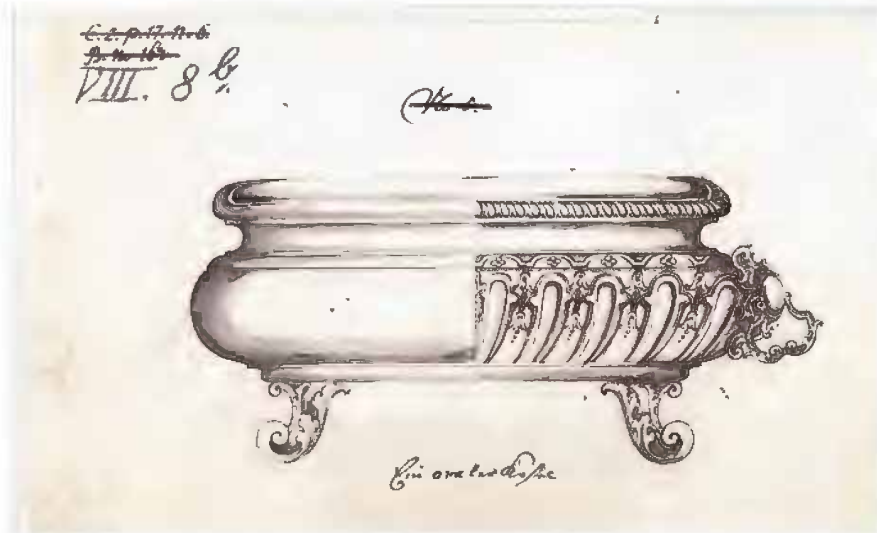


Fig 8 Design for a cistern, watercolour, unknown artist, early eighteenth-century. (Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.2, Cap 8, no 8b)

likewise purchased or provided as models, as opposed to drawn by a court artist [Figs 5-9]. Two ewers [Figs 5 and 6] are sketched on either side of a circular page composed of perhaps eight sheets of paper glued together, the circle representing the diameter and ornamentation of the associated stand. The recto is inscribed,

Ein andern Kanden auf jezzign art [another ewer in this style].

The verso is labelled

*Größe und façon von dem becken und Kanden
Das becken hat einen fuß gehabt, in welchen*

man hinten ein silbern Türer eingeschoben, worin durch löcher in der mitte das Wasser von Wasch gelaufen ist [the size and style of the basin and ewer, the basin has a foot with a door for draining the water].

Other designs represent silver furnishings for the buffet or audience room. There is, for example, a full size rendering of a gueridon with candelabrum [Fig 7], labelled

Völlige größe und façon von denen Gueridons und Gueridonelles [(Drawn to the) full size and styling of the gueridons and candelabrum]

and a cistern [Fig 8] described simply as

Ein ovaler Kessel [an oval basin].

A third design for a square vessel raised on scroll feet is called a Turkish-style brazier [Fig 9]:

Ein 4-eckigter Brassier, wie er für den Sultan kommen [A four-sided brazier like the one for the Sultan].

This suggests a special need for one of the four Turkish embassies to Warsaw (1714, 1718, 1731, 1737).

The archive also has rare designs for silver buffets.⁷ One shows a measured elevation and

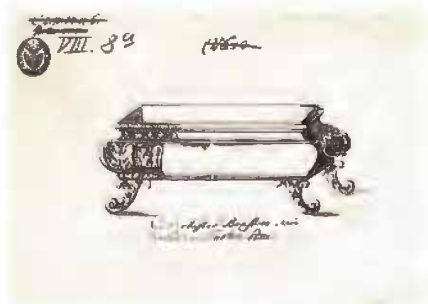


Fig 9 Design for a brazier, watercolour, unknown artist, early eighteenth-century. (Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.2, Cap 8, no 8a)

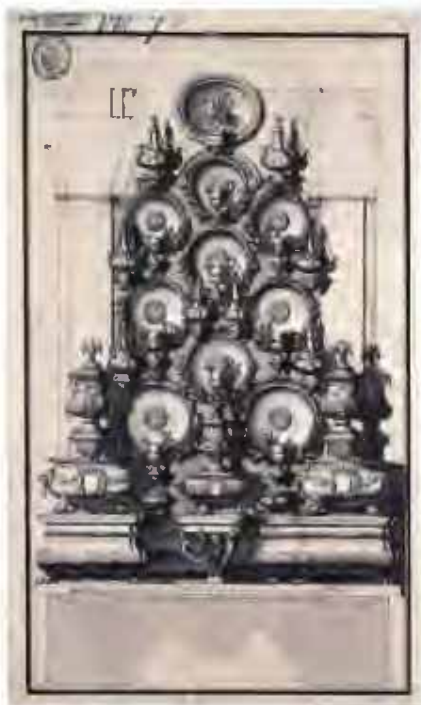


Fig 10 Measured elevation drawing approximating Johann Friedrich Eosander's 'Dessein Du grand Buffet [...] au chateau Royal de Berlin' (circa 1708) published in *Theatrum Europaeum*, vol XVI, 1717; unknown artist, early eighteenth-century. (Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.2, Cap 8, no 7b)



Fig 11 Elevation for a silver buffet, surmounted by the crest of an eagle, watercolour, unknown artist, early eighteenth-century. (Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.2, Cap 8, no 7e)



Fig 12 Elevation for a silver buffet, surmounted by the crest of Hanover, watercolour, unknown artist, early eighteenth-century. (Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.2, Cap 8, no 7h)

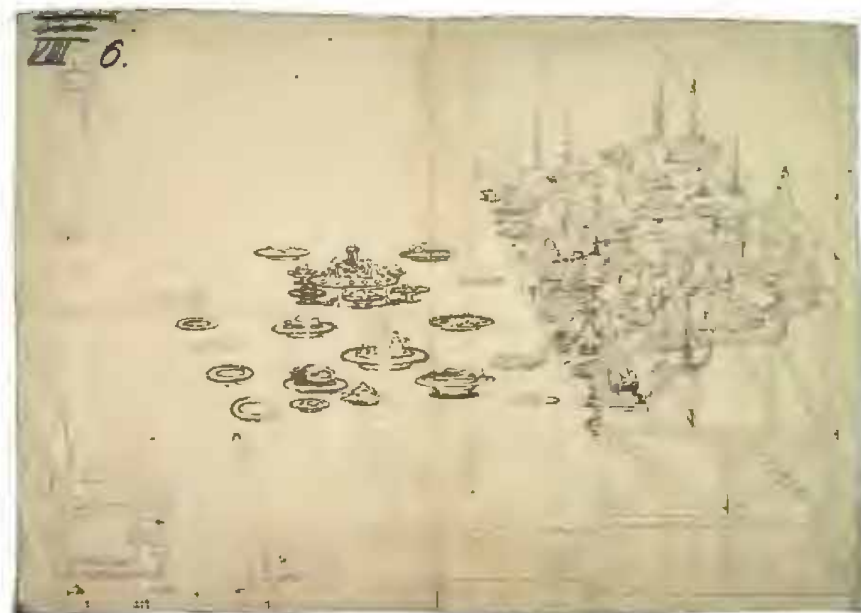


Fig 13 Sketch for a temporary buffet at a state banquet, pencil, unknown artist, early eighteenth-century. (Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.2, Cap 8, no 6)

8 Alfred Hagemann and Matthew Winterbottom, 'New discoveries concerning the Berlin silver buffet', *Silver Studies: the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 22, 2007, pp 116-22.

9 Augustus the Strong's Ceremonienmeister [Master of Ceremonies], Johann von Besser, brought an archive of material to Dresden when he transferred there from the Berlin court in 1717; perhaps these sheets were once part of his papers. See Maureen Cassidy-Geiger and Jochen Voetsch, 'Ceremonial documentation collected by the famous Berlin and Dresden Master of Ceremonies, Johann von Besser (1654-1729): "Presents", *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, vol XV, no 1, Fall-Winter 2007-2008, pp 114-177.

plan approximating the famous display installed in the *Rittersaal* of the Berlin *Schloss* in 1703, which was the subject of an insightful contribution to this journal by Alfred Hagemann and Matthew Winterbottom in 2007 [Fig 10].⁸ Possibly drawn from the illustration published in 1717, the armorials were left blank as if the display was a prototype for another court. A second sheet seems to incorporate actual parts of the Berlin display, in silver and silver-gilt, and may represent an intermediate design or temporary display; only the left half of the elevation is required, since the other portion is a mirror image [Fig 11]. A related elevation shows a white silver buffet topped by the rearing horse of Hanover in place of the Prussian eagle, also a feature of the fountain and cistern [Fig 12]. The meaning of these designs and their route to Dresden is unknown.⁹ A fourth sheet presents an axial rendering of the carpentry underpinning a temporary dessert buffet set with pyramids of edibles interspersed with silver vessels and candlesticks [Fig 13]. The table it confronts is

set for multiple diners and seems to curve at the top, perhaps indicating a U-shape or semicircle.

Two further watercolours evoke symmetrical displays of mostly nonspecific state silver and may be related to the silver buffet erected for the 1719 wedding celebrations in Dresden, as sketched for posterity in an idealized way circa 1730 for the never-completed festival book of the event.¹⁰ The obelisk [Fig 14] is stepped with Huguenot shapes and dishes, presumably in silver. The elevation [Fig 15] shows a blend of actual manufactures, such as the famous silver-gilt coffee urns by Johann Jacob Irminger (1635-1724), dated 1722, and apparently imaginary shapes.¹¹

Fig 14 Design for a formal display mounted onto an obelisk, watercolour, unknown artist, early eighteenth-century.
(Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.2, Cap 8, no 7g)

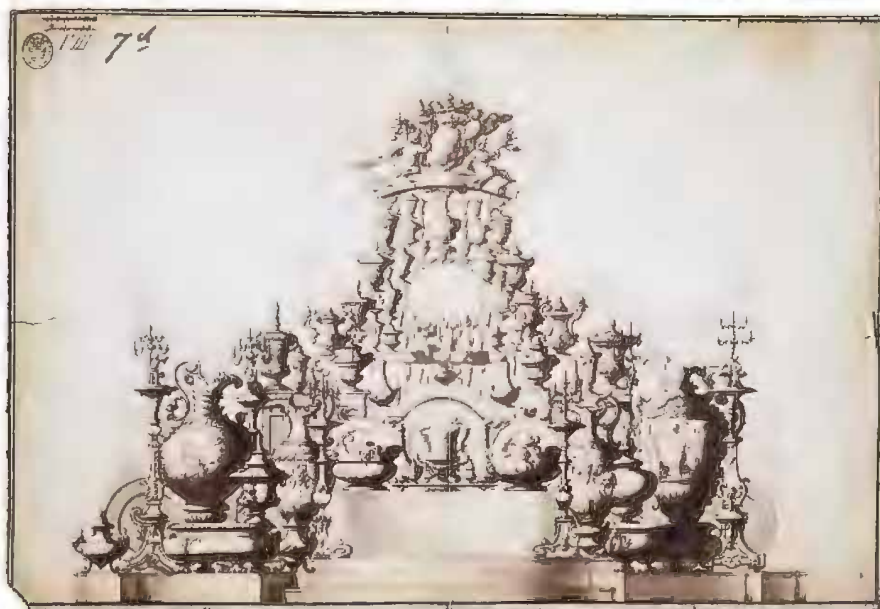


Fig 15 Elevation for a silver buffet, watercolour, unknown artist, early eighteenth-century.
(Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10006, Oberhofmarschallamt, Plankammer, 2.2.2, Cap 8, no 7d)

¹⁰ Claudie Schnitzer, *op cit*, note 5, pp 100-101, cat nos 65-66.

¹¹ There are some further designs in the Plankammer for a clock, and other covered vases, some in the neo-Classical taste.

SHEFFIELD PLATE AND THE ROCOCO STYLE

GORDON CROSSKEY



Fig 2 Snuff box, plated, circa 1760, hand chased depicting a couple playing shuttlecock and barredore.



Fig 3 Small patch box, plated, with enamel mirror, circa 1750, hand chased, showing two putti, one blindfolding the other.

- 1 Patent No 920, *A New Method of Performing that kind of Work commonly called Chasing*; Pickering's patent was based on the use of a drop-stamp.
- 2 Samuel Schroeder, *Day Book 1748-1751*, Kungliga Biblioteket MS X303, Stockholm f.170, quoted by Eric Hopkins, *Birmingham, The First Manufacturing Town in the World 1760-1840*, London 1989. In his account of his visit to Birmingham in 1749, Schroeder describes seeing the stamping of buttons using dies and drop-stamps.
- 3 Copper and silver fuse at 780°C, well below the melting points of silver, 962°C, and copper, 1085°C. The actual fusion temperature or eutectic point, of course, was unknown to eighteenth century platers and was only ascertained in the twentieth century.

As everyone knows, the so-called Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century was not one single event, but rather an accretion of radical new inventions and improvements in existing technologies that took place over time. In its turn, the early success of the plated trade was dependent on several aspects of this revolution; improvement in water wheel efficiency for driving rolling mills was one. Benjamin Huntsman's development of crucible steel in the 1740s, it is no exaggeration to say, was also vital as it enabled dies to be made of the finest quality steel both in terms of definition and durability. Although dies, in combination with a fly-press, had been used to make snuff boxes and watch cases from the beginning of the eighteenth century, there is no doubt that dies using a drop-stamp were in operation by the late 1740s. Despite John Pickering's patent of 1769¹, the use of drop-stamps had been observed in Birmingham two decades earlier by the Swedish metallurgist and traveller Samuel Schroeder.² Die-stamping, whether by fly-press or the more usual drop-stamp, was an essential facet of the production of plated ware. Thanks to Abraham Darby even the use of coke, or 'charked' coal, was advantageous as it superseded charcoal for firing the plating furnaces. That silver and copper will fuse at a temperature well below the melting point of either metal was, of course, a fortuitous fact of nature.³ In the mid-eighteenth century there was no way of measuring furnace temperatures and the workman in charge of the plating furnace had only empirical methods to rely on. These principally involved watching the change in

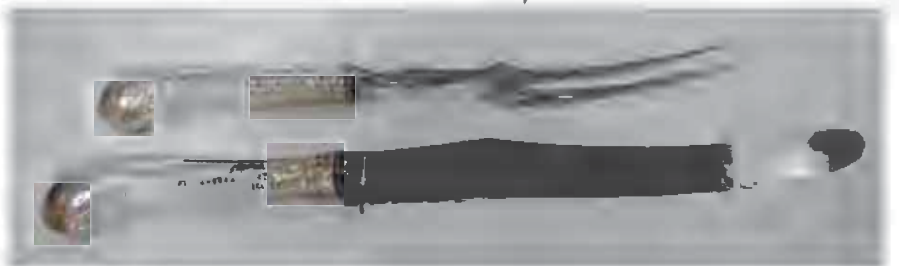


Fig 4 Two plated snuff boxes, the left one set with aventurine glass, circa 1765, illustrating two variations of the engraving by Ravenet showing Garrick and Anna Bellamy in the tomb scene from *Romeo and Juliet*.

colour of the copper ingot (with its attached silver layer) as it heated up, until a line of molten metal was observed at the interface between the two metals. Had the fusion temperature been much closer to the melting point of silver, such empirical methods would never have been adequate in controlling the plating process.

I would, however, like to propose that, whereas the above benefits were down to industrial processes or physical properties, one great advantage for the plated trade throughout the 1760s was the decline in popularity of rococo design and the birth of the neo-Classical. The rectilinear and symmetrical lines with shallower raised decoration, typical of designs by Robert Adam and his imitators, were ideally suited to the use of die-stamping. Nevertheless, between the early 1750s and the late 1760s, Sheffield plate had to compete with silver in the full blown rococo style. The purpose of this

Fig 1 Knife and fork with plated pistol grip handles, pre-1770 in date.
[Courtesy of Museums Sheffield]



4 Boulsover was made free of the Cutlers' Company in 1727. In the early 1740s, although there were hundreds of small cutlery firms, often merely a freeman and an apprentice or two, there were only four or five firms producing silver cutlery. They were the elite of the trade and, therefore, it was natural for Boulsover to use his newly invented process to emulate their products and undercut prices.

5 The great majority of such boxes are circular with pull-off lids. Much rarer are rectangular examples with hinged lids. Without exception, they were made from single plated metal, the lids and bases being fitted with thin sheets of copper and the entire interiors gilded. Some rare rectangular boxes have their interiors silvered.

6 At the present state of research it is impossible to say precisely when the Birmingham toy trade adopted the use of plated metal. The most likely period is the early 1750s. It is highly likely that John Taylor, one of the largest manufacturers and a great rival of Boulton, was making plated snuff boxes etc. Unfortunately, there are no surviving archives relating to Taylor's manufactory.

7 See William Eisler *The Dossiers and the "Fabrique de Genève" Medals and Luxury Goods* Cantonal de Vaud 2005. It should be mentioned that these snuff boxes and watch cases of Dassier's were die stamped with quite shallow relief. Plated snuff boxes, having deeper relief, were more likely die-stamped with some early form of drop stamp, although it was probably possible to produce this effect using a fly press by introducing a soft metal (e.g. lead) between the head of the fly press and the die.

8 House of Commons Journal, 20 March 1759. Birmingham and Sheffield manufacturers were petitioning Parliament to remove the 40s licence required by any manufacturer or dealer in articles containing silver.

9 *Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth's England* (exhibition catalogue), London 1984, p 33.

10 The design and an outer watch case, chased by Moser, can be seen in *Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth's England*, *ibid*, p 131.



article is to examine the degree to which this competition was successful.

When Thomas Boulsover initiated the process of fusion plating around 1742 he was only making plated handles for cutlery [Fig 1]. He was able to stamp out these pistol grip handles using the same sort of dies as employed by competing silver cutlers in Sheffield.⁴

His subsequent manufacture of plated buttons did not pose manufacturing problems due to style. It was the adoption of plated metal by the Birmingham toy trade from the early 1750s that introduced Sheffield plate reflecting true rococo fashion. The many surviving snuff and patch boxes with plated lids chased with asymmetric (or occasionally symmetric) cartouches, with S and C scrolls, are testament to this.⁵ Surviving examples are usually impossible to date accurately; the earliest dated snuff box I have seen is engraved with the year 1756.⁶ On close examination most appear to be die-stamped with occasional fine detail chased in by hand. The adoption of dies by the Birmingham toy trade for making plated boxes should not come as a surprise: the medallist, Jean Dassier, official engraver to the Geneva mint, had pioneered the method using a fly press from very early in the eighteenth century and the Birmingham button trade was using drop-stamps by the late 1740s.⁷ In 1759, according to the Birmingham manufacturer John Taylor, although the silver content of plated snuff boxes cost just pence, they retailed for around 18s.⁸ Sales of these items, with their English rococo designs, were obviously highly successful and profitable, and appealed to the growing middle-class. Interestingly, referring to the English rococo style, Michael Snodin has written:

The precise composition of the English patrons of the rococo has yet to be fully determined, but it appears likely that the style was at least as popular, if not more so, among middle-class townsmen as it was among the country house-owning upper classes.⁹



The images of plated snuff boxes with chased or enamel tops, probably all Birmingham in origin, are typically rococo in style [Figs 2-4].

The three snuff boxes illustrated [Figs 5-8] represent the height of rococo style. Fig 5 is a rare example based on Moser's drawing depicting the *Classical Wedding*.¹⁰ It appears to be die-struck with some hand chasing. Fig 6 which is die-struck, exhibits all the typical rococo elements of an asymmetric cartouche, a reclining female figure with a colonnaded background, a peacock and a water fountain. Fig 7 is also die-struck with an asymmetric cartouche and represents Aesop's fable of the fox and the grapes.





Fig 8 Two rectangular snuff boxes, plated, with fine quality enamel tops, probably Birmingham, circa 1750. The yellow antherion design against a white background is rare in English enamels. The top of the right hand snuff box is virtually identical to the top of an all enamel box in the Schreiber Collection at the V&A. It is quite possible that the manufacturers of these particular plated boxes bought in the enamel tops from surrounding areas like Bilston or Wednesbury, areas noted for the production of enamels.

When new such boxes were pristine, with no copper showing, they would have represented serious competition to their chased silver counterparts. These plated snuff boxes accurately reflected the designs that were to be found on gold or silver examples chased by artist/craftsmen such as Augustin Heckel or George Michael Moser, or printed patterns by William De la Cour. Although rarer, plated etuis must have been equally successful. The three illustrated [Fig 9] are possibly all Sheffield made.

Although they appear to be hand chased these etuis are actually die-stamped.¹¹ Other early items of plated ware in rococo style, although perhaps not strictly classed as toys, were wine labels or bottle tickets [Fig 10]. These are impossible to date exactly and their place of origin is uncertain, but probably Birmingham.¹² The two escutcheon labels (bottom row) are very much in the style of silver examples by the

London maker, Sandylands Drinkwater, and presumably date to the late 1750s. The 'W*PORT' label (top right) is double plated, whereas the other three are single plated, i.e. they have copper backs.

The use of plated metal in the manufacture of typical domestic articles, such as candlesticks and coffee pots etc, as opposed to toys, was developed by the Sheffield cutler Joseph Hancock around 1757.¹³ The earliest domestic items that he produced were saucepans, then candlesticks, salts and, perhaps surprisingly, cheese toasters. Hancock made candlesticks in a variety of shapes and patterns. Although largely modelled on contemporary silver examples, they are more baroque in style, rather than rococo. A group of his candlesticks, from a remarkable private collection, are shown below [Fig 11]. It should be born in mind that Hancock was manufacturing plated ware until his retirement in 1772 and hence not all his surviving pieces, by any means, date to the late 1750s.

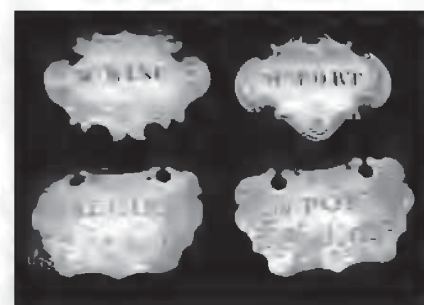


Fig 10 Four of the earliest types of plated wine labels.

Unlike rococo style silver candlesticks, which were cast and hand chased, plated examples had to rely on die-stamping. In appearance this placed them at a distinct disadvantage as surfaces could never be re-entrant in cross section nor the design too deep for stamping. An enterprising attempt is the candlestick [Figs 12 and 13] by Henry Tudor & Co which dates from the early 1760s. The base was struck from a single die and is slightly

- 11 The dies were about 4 in (10.15cm) in width. The single plated metal, once die-struck, was bent round in a flattened oval shape and the edges hand soldered up the back.
- 12 Of course, many later wine labels can be identified with particular makers. From the opening of the Birmingham and Sheffield Assay Offices in 1773, many plated wine labels can be matched with hallmarked silver examples. The introduction of pattern books in the late 1770s also helps with identification. But these illustrated early labels so far defy classification.
- 13 As with other areas related to the early development of the plated trade, it is not (so far) possible to be precise about the year that Hancock branched out into producing domestic plated articles. But my research tends to suggest a date of around 1757 or even 1758.



Fig 9 Three etuis, plated, all die-stamped, the centre one with aventurine glass panels, circa 1760; the right hand example Sheffield, by Tudor & Co. The right hand etui contains a silver snuff spoon with Henry Tudor's early mark.



Fig 11 A collection of early plated candlesticks by Joseph Hancock.
(Courtesy of Dr David Needham)

asymmetric in shape; underneath, it is fitted with a sheet of single plated metal. In terms of capturing a genuine rococo spirit the effect is admittedly weak: the appearance is rather stiff, with little feeling of free flowing curvilinear movement. Curiously, the most successful candlestick in plated metal that achieves a true

rococo design is one by Matthew Boulton & John Fothergill [Fig 14]. It appears to have been produced first in die-stamped silver, hallmarked in Chester in 1768, and the dies were then subsequently used to make plated examples [Fig 15].

Such an unequivocally rococo design is highly exceptional for Soho products as, by the late 1760s, Boulton & Fothergill were promoting the neo-Classical style. For reasons that are as yet unexplained, five years later in 1773, the first year of the Sheffield Assay Office, Thomas Law produced precisely the same pattern of candlestick in both silver and plated metal [Figs 16 and 17].

Having compared the Boulton & Fothergill and the Law plated versions of these candlesticks side by side the degree of similarity is extraordinary. The overall shape, dimensions and every detail of decoration are precisely duplicated. The bases of all four of the candlesticks, whether silver or plated, have been struck from single dies. Such dies were large and always expensive to sink.



Fig 12 Candlestick, plated, by Tudor & Co, early 1760s.



Fig 13 Candlestick, plated, by Tudor & Co, early 1760s,
detail of plated base.



Fig 14 Candlestick, silver, Chester, 1768 by Matthew Boulton & John Fothergill.
(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)

Perhaps the plated candlestick that epitomises the rococo more than any other is the caryatid shape that owes its form to designs by George Michael Moser.¹⁴ In plated metal they are exceptionally rare, but quite a few silver examples are known to have been made by a variety of London (and Dublin) silversmiths e.g. John le Sage, London 1759, or John Cafe, London 1749 and 1754.¹⁵ None of the very few surviving plated versions bear any marks, so they cannot be ascribed to a particular maker [Fig 18]. They probably date to the mid to late 1760s.¹⁶

The dies for this female caryatid figure were obviously very difficult to cut, particularly with the raised left arm supporting the sconce. The base was struck from a single die and the head, torso and left arm of the figure from two dies, one for the front and one for the rear of the body. Lacking any straight edges, every edge being curvilinear, the hard soldering of the die-stamped sections would have required the services of a highly skilled brazier.¹⁷ One final candlestick to be considered is that by Fenton, Creswick & Co dating to around 1770 [Fig 19]. Stylistically it sits on the cusp between the rococo and the emerging neo-Classical. The base is made from four identical die-stamped sections, known as 'quarter dies', which allowed the large base to be re-entrant in cross section.¹⁸ Fenton, Creswick & Co produced a silver version, Sheffield 1773/4, which was copied exactly by the Dublin silversmith, John Craig in 1775.

Apart from style, the usual difference between rococo silver articles and their subsequent neo-Classical counterparts was that of weight. By their nature, many cast and hand chased rococo pieces were heavy. Plated candlesticks of course were loaded, usually with pitch, which achieved a semblance of solidity and weight. However, a common technique used by the plated trade was plating 'back-to-back',



Fig 15 Candlestick, plated, made from the same dies as the silver example [Fig 14].
(Courtesy of Soho House)

whereby two single plated pieces of metal were fixed together, often by soft soldering, so that they presented a silver surface on either side. It is important to emphasise that the reason was not the inability to double plate metal at this early period, as claimed by Bradbury for instance. The reason was that by using the back-to-back method articles such as waiters or snuffer trays could be made that were substantial in gauge and felt weighty when picked up by a prospective customer.¹⁹ The snuffer tray [Fig 20] is a good example. The small waiter [Fig 21] is also made entirely by the back-to-back method. The rare rococo style salt [Fig 22], circa 1765, is an example that uses both double plating and the back-to-back method. Apart from not having a small twisted wire handle, the salt is very similar to a London-made silver version by John Jones of 1766.

- 14 Moser's drawing of a candlestick, depicting a female caryatid figure with raised arms supporting the sconce, and two silver candlesticks, circa 1740, can be seen in *Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth's England* op cit, note 9, p 70.
- 15 Others include John Quantock, London 1752, Emick Römer, London 1765 and James Warren, Dublin, 1755.
- 16 It is of course possible that these candlesticks were made during the period 1773 to 1784, when the marking of plated ware was prohibited by statute. But this seems very unlikely firstly, because the cost of sinking such dies would have been extremely expensive, and secondly because by 1773 such a design would have been regarded as very out of date.
- 17 This is particularly true when one considers that, in order to hard solder the edges of two pieces of single plated metal, the edges need to be mitred, copper would otherwise always be exposed.
- 18 The use of quarter dies, essential for stamping the bases of typical neo-Classical candlesticks, the great majority of which were re-entrant in cross section, also had the advantage of saving on costs. The final die, being only one quarter the size of the whole base, economised on the use of expensive crucible steel.

- 19 It might be thought that in order to achieve a feeling of weight thicker gauge plated metal could be used. But this is not possible, firstly because thick metal cannot be die stamped properly, and secondly, because the exposed copper of the raw cut edge could not be disguised. Using thinner gauge metal of the back-to-back method, a small part of the outer extremity of the upper layer is bent round and under to cover the outer edge of the layer underneath.
- 20 It was standard practice with the plated trade to make tea caddies from single plated metal with the inner surfaces tinned, but to use double plated metal for sugar boxes.
- 21 There is an extremely rare example in the Colonial Williamsburg collection dating to around 1765.



Fig 21 Waiter, plated back-to-back, circa 1765, by Tudor & Co.



Fig 20 Snuff tray, plated back-to-back, circa 1765, by Tudor & Co.

If die-stamping could never fully compete with casting and hand chasing there was one technique, quite widely used by the early plated trade, which achieved more satisfactory results when compared with wrought plate: the technique of repoussé work. The method was the same for both materials, whereby the decorative design was hammered out from inside the hollow ware article using snarling irons and the final detail chased in from the outside once the article had been filled with pitch that had been allowed to set solid. Plated ware manufacturers used this technique

particularly for tea urns, tea caddies, coffee pots, soup tureens, and a number of other items. The following illustrations give a good idea of the success achieved.

Regarding style, the caddies in Fig 23 are very reminiscent of the many boxed sets made by the London silversmith, Samuel Taylor. Those shown in Fig 24 share the identical bombé shape, design and dimensions to a pair made in silver in London in 1763 by Emick Römer.

The items shown in Fig 25 were probably originally part of a boxed set of three (i.e. two caddies and a sugar box).²⁰ The caddy shown in Fig 26 is fitted with a lock; the lid is attached with a silver hinge, so this may have been a free standing article. All the other caddies and sugar boxes illustrated have pull-off lids. The caddies shown in Fig 27 demonstrate good examples of plated repoussé work, as does the rare pair of candle vases in Fig 28.

Although plated teapots of the 1760s are virtually non-existent,²¹ a good many coffee pots have survived; some exhibiting superb repoussé work that certainly rivalled their contemporary silver counterparts. Two fine examples are illustrated in [Figs 29 and 30].

The stand in Fig 29 can be seen in Fig 21; it bears the same cypher as the coffee pot. The



Fig 16 Candlestick, silver, Sheffield, 1773, by Thomas Law, Sheffield 1773/4. (Courtesy of Museums Sheffield)



Fig 17 Plated version of Fig 16, made from the same dies (nozzle not original).



Fig 18 Caryatid candlestick, plated, circa 1765, maker unknown.



Fig 19 Candlestick, plated, 1765-70, by Fenton, Craswick & Co.



Fig 23 A set of two tea caddies and a sugar box, plated, circa 1765.



Fig 24 A set of two tea caddies and a sugar box, plated, circa 1765, by Tudor & Co, in original black and gold lacquer casket. (Courtesy of the Bowes Museum)



Fig 22 Salt by Tudor & Co, circa 1765, top double plated, base plated back-to-back.

coffee pot by Joseph Wilson [Fig 30] is marked on the underside of the base [Fig 31].²² Wilson's plated items using such marks are extremely rare, as essentially they were restricted to the year 1772.²³

Naturalistic forms, particularly leaf moulded shapes that were imitating contemporary rococo silver patterns, are not uncommon in English ceramics. Such forms do exist in Sheffield plate but are, again, extremely rare. The sauceboat (one of a pair) by Tudor & Co shown in Figs 32 and 33 is a particularly interesting example as the base and leaf terminal to the loop handle are obviously die-stamped. The bowl of the sauceboat would appear to be raised from the flat and hand chased but, being seamed along its entire length, it is in fact made from two equal and opposite die-stamped sections, one for the left and one for the right hand side, hard soldered together. The terminal to the handle was clearly made using a most skilfully cut die; the leaf representation is both complex and realistic. The loop handle, representing some kind of vegetable stalk, is made from two hand-chased strips of plated metal wrapped around a brass



Fig 25 Tea caddy with matching sugar box, gilded plate, circa 1765.

core, the edges of the strips being brought together and hard soldered: a technique presenting considerable technical problems at this early period.

Two other sauceboats of rococo design are shown in Fig 34; with S and C scrolls around the rim and bases they are very reminiscent, in terms of shape, of English porcelain examples, particularly by Bow or Longton Hall. Like the leaf moulded example in Fig 32, these two sauceboats have been made from two equal and opposite die-stamped sections hard soldered together. The strap handles were

²² The four marks are: IW for Joseph Wilson, a crown, an Irish harp, clearly intended to simulate the mark of the Dublin Assay Office, as much of Wilson's plated ware was exported to Ireland, and a fourth mark of indeterminate shape.

²³ Wilson's production of plated ware only began in December 1771; it continued until his bankruptcy in 1775. However, the plated trade had virtually abandoned the use of marks on their wares by late 1772 or early 1773 due to Birmingham and Sheffield's impending joint petition to Parliament to be allowed to establish their own Assay Offices. The Act which granted this petition included a total prohibition of marks used on plated ware. Hence the year of manufacture of Wilson's coffee pot is restricted to 1772.



Fig 26 Tea caddy, plated, circa 1765.

made using a strip of single plated metal wrapped around a thin brass wire and the edges are hard soldered together along the inside of the handle: the slight bulge caused by the inclusion of the brass wire giving the appearance of a single reed.

In my view, the finest artistic and technical achievement of the plated trade during this rococo period was its ability to produce large items such as tea urns, or 'kitchens', and soup tureens which also truly rivalled wrought plate. Technically this always required the combination of hand raising, often with added repoussé work, and die-stamping, but of such extraordinary quality that, for instance, the die-stamped elements imitated their cast and chased silver equivalents really convincingly. The two tea urns Figs 35 and 36 are fine examples. In both these articles, only the bodies of the tea urns have been hand raised with added repoussé work; the bases, feet, handles, spouts and finials etc have been constructed using die-stamped sections.

Of all these large, early examples of Sheffield plate that so convincingly capture the rococo



Fig 28 Pair of candle vases, plated, circa 1770.
(Courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)

spirit, the pièce de résistance must surely be the magnificent soup tureen and cover [Fig 37], now in the Colonial Williamsburg collection.²⁴ Dating from the 1760s, such an article would have been extremely expensive, probably costing between 12 to 15 guineas and made



Fig 27 Three caddies, plated, circa 1765.
(Courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)

²⁴ Being unmarked, no definite attribution can be given as to the manufactory. Henry Tudor & Co seems a strong possibility as the pineapple finial is identical to that on the Tudor & Leader silver cup and cover now belonging to the Sheffield Assay Office and assayed on 30 September 1773: the first piece hallmarked in Sheffield.



Fig 29 Coffee pot and stand, plated, circa 1765, by Tudor & Co.



Fig 30 Coffee pot, plated, 1772, by Joseph Wilson & Co. (Courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)

from double plated metal with 50 or more pennyweights (77.7g) of silver to the pound (453g) of copper, i.e. with 25 dwt (38.8g) or more of silver on each side. The standard strength of plating for the trade's staple product, candlesticks, was around 15 dwt (23.3g) of silver per pound of copper. Candlesticks of course were made from single plated metal.

All the aforementioned images illustrate the ingenious ability of the plated trade to convincingly simulate various rococo silver articles, whether toys or larger items of wrought plate. In terms of outward appearance the simulation was undoubtedly a great success. Durability of course was another

matter although perhaps not a primary concern of those members of the aristocracy and gentry who bought plated articles. Variety of design was an important factor, but price was often the motivating stimulus: the larger the article, for instance tea urns, tureens or ice pails, the more competitive plated versions became. Even the very wealthy might balk at the cost of such items in silver. Horace Walpole, typically, had other ideas. He advised Sir Horace Mann:

All plated silver wears abominably, and turns to brass like the age. You would not bear it six months.²⁵

Despite Walpole's injunction, plated ware enjoyed aristocratic patronage to an extraordinary degree. As far as potential customers were concerned the word 'plated' did not carry the pejorative connotation that perhaps it took on in later times. Plated articles were not regarded as aesthetically inferior

Fig 32 Sauceboat, plated, circa 1765, by Tudor & Co.



Fig 31 Coffee pot, plated, 1772 by Joseph Wilson & Co, detail of marks. (Courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)

²⁵ Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, 3 August 1774. Sir Horace Mann, British Consul in Florence, had written to Walpole seeking his advice on buying plated covers to fit some silver dishes. The covers are described as being Birmingham made which, at this time, could only mean of Soho manufacture. *Correspondence of Horace Walpole*, vol.10.

26 Garrard Ledgers, VAM 7 Fulke is incorrectly spelt in the ledgers. At this time Fulke Greville was envoy extraordinary to the Elector of Bavaria.

27 Ibid, VAM 9, Gentlemen's Ledger, 10 August 1771. John Luther was county MP for Essex.

28 Ibid, VAM 8, Stock Ledger, 13 August 1771. John Winter & Co was reimbursed for these ice pails just three days after Luther had bought them. Parker & Wakelin had to pay an extra 1s 2d for the wooden box in which they had been transported. The ice pails themselves were made almost certainly by the Sheffield firm of Richard Morton & Co of which John Winter was a partner. Apart from some buckles, the production of John Winter & Co was exclusively confined to candlesticks.



Fig 34 Two sauceboats, plated, circa 1765.

simply because they were cheaper than their solid silver equivalents. In this regard, it is worth bearing in mind that French plated articles had enjoyed the patronage of the wealthy throughout the first sixty years or so of the eighteenth century. The ledgers of the London silversmith, George Wickes, contain many references to sales of French plated items but the range of articles was very limited in comparison with that which was to become available in Sheffield plate. Inevitably, sales of the new medium rapidly eclipsed those of French plate during the early 1760s. A wider choice of patterns, the result of vastly more efficient production methods, and sheer quality were the determining factors, not price: Sheffield plated articles were more expensive than their French plated equivalents. The Gentlemen's Ledger of Parker & Wakelin (successors to George Wickes) provides a good example:

1766 His Excellency Fulk Greville

Jan 1	To 4 pair of plated	
	Pillar Candlesticks	
	and Nozils	@ £4 14s 6d £18 18s 0d
	To 2 pr of Chaisd	
	french plate	
	Candlesticks	£7 0s 0d ²⁶

The cost of ice pails provides another example. In 1752, the Earl of Northumberland purchased "2 french plate Ice Pails" for which George Wickes charged £4 4s each. In 1771, Parker &

Wakelin supplied John Luther MP with "4 plated Ice Pails @ £4 10s", i.e £18 in total.²⁷ Interestingly, the corresponding Stock Ledger records that these plated ice pails were bought from the Sheffield manufacturer John Winter, for £16 on which a discount of £2 8s was allowed.²⁸ Hence the cost to Parker & Wakelin was £13 12s from which one can see that their mark-up was around 32%. It may well be the case that the ever growing popularity of plated



Fig 33 Sauceboat, plated, circa 1765, by Tudor & Co detail of leaf-shaped terminal to loop handle.



Fig 35 Tea urn, plated, circa 1765, probably by Tudor & Co.
(Courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)



Fig 36 Tea urn, plated, circa 1765.
(Photo: Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

²⁹ Ibid, VAM 8, Stock Ledger

³⁰ Parker & Wakelin's Stock Ledger records many purchases of large plated candlesticks from Roberts, Elam, Winter & Co priced at £2 10s a pair (before discount). This Sheffield partnership changed to John Winter & Co in April 1768 and later, in August 1772, to Winter, Parsons & Hall.

³¹ Twenty two parliamentary committee meetings were held between 18 February and 31 March 1773 to which witnesses were called to give evidence or answer questions. The results were summarised in a Parliamentary Report, but the quotations given in this article are taken from the hand written minutes (MBP 270 and 271 Assay Office 1 and 2); these provide a more detailed account. [Note: these are the former reference numbers for the Matthew Boulton Papers, but they are cross-referenced with the new system introduced by Birmingham Archives.]

³² The eleventh committee meeting, 16 March 1773.

wares, especially with the nobility, allowed the trade to charge a higher mark-up than normal.

By the late 1760s many London goldsmiths and silversmiths were selling plated ware. The stock of John Steers' shop and that of Edward Scales, both in the Strand, consisted almost entirely of plated ware. Admittedly Parker & Wakelin's sales of plated items were largely confined to candlesticks but, evidently, the quality was not in question. John Parker himself is recorded as purchasing a pair. The firm's Stock Ledger records:

1766	John Parker	Debtor
Oct 27	To a pr Plated Candlesticks for Miss Parker	£2 10s 0d ²⁹

Parker of course reimbursed the firm at cost. The candlesticks were supplied by the Sheffield manufacturers, Roberts, Elam, & Winter, whose standard trade price for such items was 50s.³⁰

As far as quality was concerned the minutes of the parliamentary committee meetings, held at the time of Birmingham and Sheffield's petition early in 1773 to establish Assay Offices, bear testimony to the ability of plated ware to

realistically simulate wrought plate.³¹ The evidence of two witnesses in particular is worth recording. Abraham Portal, a goldsmith of Ludgate Hill, having shown a plated beaker [described in his evidence as a 'Can'] to the committee, stated:

I could sell that Can to any Body for Silver if I was Knave enough to do it.

When asked by the committee if he could tell the difference between silver and plated ware he admitted:

I have not known one from the other in the Shop without a long Examination.³²

The evidence of Richard Morson a goldsmith and plate worker, also of Ludgate Hill, confirmed the difficulties even the trade had in distinguishing plated items from those in solid silver. Morson recounted that he had recently visited the shop of John Steers where he had seen

almost every pattern that is made in Silver in plated Work.

Morson had asked Steers why so many plated pieces had four marks impressed on them, to which Steers replied:



Fig 37 Soup tureen and cover, plated, late 1760s.
(Courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)

33 The twelfth committee meeting, 17 March 1773.

Morson's name is incorrectly spelt as Mawson in the hand written minutes.

34 The formal titles were: *Petition of the Wardens and Assistants of the Compony or Mystery of Goldsmiths of the City of London in Court assembled and Petition of the Goldsmiths, Silversmiths, and Plate Workers, of the City of London, and Places adjacent.*

35 As reported to the House of Commons by Thomas Skipwith MP (later Sir Thomas) when reiterating evidence presented by John Wakelin. Skipwith was county MP for Warwickshire. House of Commons Journals, March 1773 p 192.

36 This Act is quoted verbatim in William Badcock's 1679 treatise *A new Touchstone for Gold and Silver Wares*, a work that must have been familiar to most eighteenth century gold and silversmiths.

37 5 Hen. IV c13 repealed under 19-29 Vict. c 64.

In Order to deceive the ignorant . . . the particular Marks were to represent those used at the Assay.

The use of these pseudo hallmarks had been standard practice throughout the 1760s and early 1770s. Although such marks were technically not illegal, their use was an issue which clearly troubled Morson. When asked by the committee:

Why do the Sheffield Manufacturers put more than one Mark on plated Goods?

Morson replied:

In order to appear like Silver. This I have had not only from Mr Steers at this Time but from some of the plated Workers when they have been in Town. I have particularly desired of Mr Hoyland & Mr Parsons that they would discontinue the marking of 4 Marks as I thought it had a great Appearance of Fraud, and seemed to me to be illegal. Mr Parsons has told me himself that since that time Mr Winters House (in which he is a partner) in Consequence of my mentioning it have discontinued marking plated Work.

Morson was then asked by the committee:

Could plated Goods within any Mark be sold for Silver?

Morson replied:

Certainly they could. I have several Times myself in shewing a Variety of Patterns of Candlesticks (having some patterns plated which were not in Silver) mixed the plated and the Silver together, and when the Customer has fixed upon the Candlesticks I have Intended to weigh them, but have been prevented by Difference of the Weight in hand, as the plated are filled and the solid Silver are not. Frequently Gentlemen in seeing of different Patterns have mistaken one for

the other, and have declared that if I had not mentioned the Difference they could not have found it out.

The committee further inquired of Morson:

Can you yourself always distinguish plated from Silver Goods?

Morson admitted:

No I cannot. I have been sometimes so puzzled in it that I have been obliged to file the Coat of Silver off before I could distinguish the Difference.³³

There can be no more compelling argument supporting the success of the plated trade, during this early period, than the fact that no witness, representing the hostile counter-petitions of Goldsmiths' Hall and the London silversmiths,³⁴ ever sought to disparage the quality or virtues of plated ware. Instead, the thrust of their argument was to impugn the quality of Sheffield and Birmingham silver articles that would result if both towns were granted Assay Offices. The London petitions made much of the

1,000 People out of Employ,
owing . . . to the general Distress of the
Times, and significantly, because the
Introduction of the plated Business in
London has hurt the solid.³⁵

In retrospect, it is surprising that Counsel for the London petitioners never cited the statute of 1403, technically still in force at the time, that prohibited the silvering or gilding of articles made of copper or 'Laten' ie brass,³⁶ an act not formally repealed until 1856.³⁷ But that is another story, and said with the benefit of hindsight!

Note: I am most grateful to Charles Ormrod for informing me about both Jean Dassier and Samuel Schroeder. Very early in the eighteenth century the Dassier family of medallists introduced the use of dies in combination with a fly-press, not merely for stamping coins and medals, but small artefacts such as snuff boxes and watch cases.

BARKENTIN & KRALL: GRAND COMMISSIONS FROM A PHILADELPHIA PATRON

ADDIE PEYRONNIN



Fig 1 Tracing of the plans for St Mark's Church, Philadelphia, sent to the Ecclesiological Society, John Notman, London, 1848. (Courtesy of Winterthur Museum & Library, 1960.0348.001)

The death of Fernanda Henry Wanamaker, wife of Rodman Wanamaker, on 24 March 1900, precipitated a number of unparalleled events in the life of her husband and in the history of St Mark's Church (Episcopal) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. A longtime member of St Mark's, Fernanda Wanamaker (b 1863) had been an active member of parish for many years, especially as a member of the Altar Society. Rodman Wanamaker's grief led to his bestowal of a vast number of gifts in her memory, beginning with the construction of the Lady Chapel. This memorial served as the basis for the rest of what was to become a large collection of designated Lady Chapel ornaments, and sacramental and liturgical accessories; not only that, but also a significant inspiration toward further gifts to Great Britain's royal family and to Westminster Abbey.

Rodman Wanamaker, son of a department store magnate John Wanamaker, has occasionally been maligned as an indulged heir and robber baron, out of touch with the reality of the city around him. An intensely private man who left behind few personal documents, he has been portrayed too easily, by casual biographers and scholars of department store history, as merely the "artistic" son of John Wanamaker. But letters from his family, along with a few of his own letters and newspaper articles, reveal a sensitive and thoughtful man dedicated primarily to his family and nearly as primarily to his father's business. Rodman Wanamaker was also a passionate collector and donor. The Lady Chapel, a long-term investment of time, money, and collecting, certainly started out as a gift of grief and devotion to a departed wife, but continued as a curatorial outlet for Rodman's passion for collecting beautiful objects.

The original commission comprised the chapel itself, designed by a firm of local, well-respected Philadelphia architects,¹ but it quickly grew to include a sizeable collection of bejewelled sacramental plate and

extraordinarily decorated vestments, all of which were imported from either England or France, along with furnishings such as devotional statues, a rood-beam, altar rails, and an organ. Wanamaker also gave an English alabaster altar and German-carved, English-painted wooden reredos. The altar and reredos were soon removed from the Lady Chapel having been supplanted by Wanamaker's subsequent gifts of a remarkable silver altar and a later silver and gold reredos. The Lady Chapel was consecrated and dedicated on 10 February 1902, and the silver altar was installed just in time for the Christmas of 1908.

When the Lady Chapel and its subsequent furnishings are considered within the context of Philadelphia in the late nineteenth century, they call to attention the developing popularity of memorialising departed loved ones through monuments. Most Americans, of course, could not afford to install entire chapels and their associated decorative fittings in their churches. The closest comparable donation contemporary with Wanamaker's is the \$200,000 bequest of Mrs Eugene Kelly to the Archdiocese of New York for the construction of a Lady Chapel in St Patrick's Cathedral in 1900.² Memorial chapels and, in some cases, memorial churches, were by no means a new form. Traditionally, memorials took the shape of a chantry chapel, in which masses, psalms, or prayers would have been offered for the benefit of the souls of the deceased. The Lady Chapel at St Patrick's in New York is the most comparable contemporary example in the United States, but Wanamaker's particular commissions may be more accurately compared with several large-scale projects funded privately by wealthy, landed members of the Anglican Church in Britain.³

The Lady Chapel's furnishing continued until Rodman Wanamaker's death in 1928. The scope of his bequests, both in value and over a sustained period of time, represents an incredible investment of money and a strong

- 1 "John Stewardson and Walter Cope were two men whose importance in the cause of sound art cannot possibly be overestimated [...]." Ralph Adams Cram, 'Architecture in America', *The Gothic Quest*, New York, 1915, p 153.
- 2 'Plans for New Lady Chapel at St Patrick's Cathedral', *The New York Times*, 1 September 1900, p 11.
- 3 A useful and particularly resonant example is the church of the Holy Angels in Hoar Cross, Staffordshire, which was commissioned in 1871 by Emily Meynell Ingram to memorialise her husband, Hugo Frances Meynell Ingram, who died in that year. It was designed and built by George Frederick Bodley and Thomas Garner of the firm Bodley & Garner but Mrs Meynell Ingram played an essential role in the design and furnishing of the church; her letters to Bodley show a deep involvement in, and strong opinions about, the building and are useful for a study of the architect/designer-patron relationship. Together, she and Bodley "perfected" the church until her death in 1904, showing a level of tweaking and curatorial effort that exceeded Rodman Wanamaker's. (Michael Hall, 'Emily Meynell Ingram and Holy Angels, Hoar Cross, Staffordshire: A Study in Patronage', *Architectural History*, 2004, p 47.

level of personal commitment not only to his church, but also to charitable giving and to his own moral strictures. The silver altar and the group of complementary objects also given to St Mark's are representative of more than just Wanamaker's personal views: they came out of a vibrant spiritual and theological movement in the Anglican Church, as well as a coeval ecclesiastical design revival. Additionally, Rodman Wanamaker's extended custom of the London-based firm of Barkentin & Krall is a remarkable testament to the influence of transnational trade, especially in luxury items, in the early twentieth century, and to the cosmopolitan nature of Wanamaker and many of his fellow Philadelphians.

St Mark's Church, Philadelphia

St Mark's Church was only one of many newly-formed Episcopal congregations that sought the advice and approval of the English Ecclesiological Society for their new building.⁴ Construction of St Mark's began in 1848 after a year-long consultation by the building committee members, the Ecclesiological Society, and the Philadelphia architect John Notman (1810-65). Notman's original plans were not entirely satisfactory to the St Mark's committee, which applied to the Ecclesiological Society for one of its sanctioned plans. The Society sent plans by the English architect Richard Cromwell Carpenter, who was known for his High Anglican designs; Notman made the necessary alterations and re-submitted the designs to the Ecclesiological Society for approval [Fig 1].⁵ The August 1848 edition of the *Ecclesiologist* reported:

We repeat our satisfaction at finding that the United States were able to furnish so creditable a design. Mr Notman further informs us that the Vestry of S Mark's were moved by the English tracings [Carpenter's] to devote a larger sum to the building of the church.⁶

St Mark's was dedicated in May 1850 although

finishing work on the tower and spire did not conclude until 1852.⁷

Two rectors at St Mark's, Eugene Hoffman and his successor, Isaac Nicholson, instilled the ritualistic tradition in the practice of worship in the early generations of St Mark's history and that tradition continues today. Under the leadership of Alfred Garnett Mortimer (1848-1924), however, the "beautification" of the formerly sparsely decorated church began in earnest. Born in London in 1848, Mortimer was installed as rector of St Mark's in January of 1892, holding that position until December 1912.

During Mortimer's tenure at St Mark's, the congregation flourished. In 1900, around the time of Fernanda Wanamaker's death, there were 1,627 communicants at the church, which led in size the pack of 'fashionable' Episcopal churches in Philadelphia. In the church's 1906 Annual Report, Mortimer noted that 101 new members were confirmed on "Easter Eve."⁸ St Mark's congregation was at a peak size in the first decade of the 1900s, with a large number of the city's most prominent families in attendance; by the 1920s there was a growing trend among the wealthiest members of Philadelphia society for moving westward as the city expanded.

The parishioners embraced the opportunity to enhance their spiritual space, making a considerable number of contributions, both financial and of valuable objects. Structural changes were made to the church from 1907-8, adding a concrete and steel foundation to the original ground foundation that had settled many inches, and irregularly, since 1848. The encaustic floor tiles were removed and replaced with large blue flagstones, and the chancel was paved with marble.⁹ At the same time other significant changes were made, including the erection of a new rood beam in 1907 in memory of the Rt Rev Isaac Nicholson, Bishop of Milwaukee

4 The rapid development of popular Gothic Revival churches in America is comprehensively documented by Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste*, Baltimore, 1968.

5 Jonathan Fairbanks, 'John Notman: Church Architect', MA thesis, University of Delaware, 1961, p 75.

6 The *Ecclesiologist*, vol IX, no LXVII, August 1848, p 4. A few months before the *Ecclesiologist* had reported with no particular reference to a specific church, "In the United States, indeed, and in the English colonies, the Society may now reckon some of its best friends, and may see the most gratifying results of its exertions" (vol VIII, no LXVI, June 1848, p 376.)

7 Constance Greiff, *John Notman, Architect*, Philadelphia, 1979, p 141.

8 The Rev Alfred G Mortimer, "Preface," *St Mark's Annual Report*, 1906.

9 The Rev Alfred G Mortimer, *St Mark's Church, Philadelphia, and its Lady Chapel: With an Account of its History and Treasures*, New York, 1909, pp 20-21. Mortimer recorded that "the cost was some \$16,000."



Fig 2 Altar and reredos of the Lady Chapel, St Mark's Church, Philadelphia, Barkentin & Krall, London, 1908 and 1923. (St Mark's Church, Philadelphia, PA. Photo by author)

and former rector of St Mark's; the addition of choir-stalls, an organ gallery, grille, and case for the organ: all given as memorials. In 1908, seven silver lamps by Barkentin & Krall were added to the sanctuary, just in front of the high altar, as another memorial gift.

In 1909 Mortimer compiled a lengthy, illustrated catalogue of the objects at St Mark's, which also contained a history of the church.¹⁰ He sent a copy to Queen Alexandra, wife of Edward VII and the description of the book in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* foreshadowed the later connection of Queen Alexandra to the Philadelphia church:

Among the illustrations are a number of views of the silver altar in the Lady Chapel presented to the church some years ago by Rodman Wanamaker in memory of his wife. It is the only altar of its kind in the world, consisting of sapphires, emeralds, pearls and diamonds, and cost \$100,000. The Queen's interest was aroused when the work was on exhibition in London, when it was suggested to her that she might receive the book to be published.¹¹

Mortimer's connections to members of the upper ranks of English society are an important clue to the life of St Mark's itself and also to the ever-increasing patronage of English companies by its parishioners. He inspired his parishioners to give valuable objects for the decoration of the church and was almost certainly a catalyst behind Rodman Wanamaker's series of bequests.¹² The magnitude of Wanamaker's gifts, however, suggests a deeper passion than a simple answer to Mortimer's call for enhancement.

The Lady Chapel, St Mark's Church, Philadelphia

Rodman Wanamaker commissioned the Lady Chapel's monumental silver altar from Barkentin & Krall in 1904, and it was installed in the Lady Chapel by December 1908 [Fig 2].¹³ It is 7ft long, 2ft deep, and 3ft high (2.13 x 0.6 x 0.91 m). The solid silver frame

¹⁰ The Rev Alfred G Mortimer, *ibid*.

¹¹ "Queen Thanks Rector. Alexandra Acknowledges Receipt of St. Mark's Album." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 22 March 1910, vol 162, no 78, p 13. The cost of the altar is unverified; this article is the only one in which it is mentioned, and no records have been found documenting the order or cost analysis.

¹² Mortimer credited Rodman Wanamaker with also inspiring fellow congregants: "Shortly after [Mrs. Fernanda Wanamaker's] death Mr. Rodman Wanamaker gave in her memory the Lady Chapel with all its treasures. This has not only been the great object of interest in S. Mark's, but has stimulated many other improvements. Indeed, from this year [1901] may be reckoned a new era in the life of the fabric of S. Mark's, gifts and memorials having been added until it has now almost reached perfection, and with the exception, perhaps, of the introduction of an interior roof-ceiling, and some changes in the south porch, nothing more seems left to be done to the structure of the Church." The Rev Alfred G Mortimer, *op cit*, note 9, p 14.

¹³ "The Church Congress: The Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition," *The Times*, 5 October 1908. This places the altar in London, until at least October 1908, where it was on display at the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition as a part of the Church Congress hosted by the Bishop of Manchester. The Rev Alfred G Mortimer, *ibid*, p 26, records that the altar was used for the first time on Christmas Eve of 1908.

supports a grey-black Irish marble *mensa*, or altar slab, and the entire structure is backed by wood supports. The silver altar was originally meant to serve as a movable frontal, used only on Marian feast days, to the alabaster altar already in place in the Lady Chapel, but its extraordinary decoration and weight necessarily caused its permanent installation in the Lady Chapel.¹⁴ The alabaster altar was relocated to the head of the church's north aisle, on the eastern wall, where it was rededicated as the altar of St John the Evangelist and it remains there today.

A pamphlet, written and published by Barkentin & Krall in 1907, compares the altar they produced for St Mark's to a silver altar made by the fifteenth-century Florentine silversmith Antonio del Pollaiuolo for the Baptistry of the Basilica di Santa Maria del Fiore (familiarily known as the Duomo) in Florence. Dedicated to St John the Baptist, it was carried each year to the Baptistry on his feast day. The authors of the Barkentin & Krall pamphlet declared that

since the creation of the Florentine altar, nothing has been produced at all approaching it in elaborate magnificence, until the present time, when Mr Krall, and the artists and craftsmen associated with him, have made the Altar for the Lady Chapel of St Mark's, Philadelphia.¹⁵

The St Mark's altar is decorated primarily on its front, with comparatively simple, panelled ends. The front is divided into seven sections by eight full-height columns, each decorated with eighteen figures of saints in individual niches stacked in rows of three; six of the seven sections are further divided by a decorative horizontal band. In the central vertical space is a niche containing a statue, surrounded by a floriated arch, of Mary holding the infant Jesus. The back of the niche is covered with pale blue enamel and decorated with a fleur-de-lys diaper pattern.

The twelve panels surrounding the central niche portray scenes from the life of the Blessed Virgin, each in low relief: the scenes proceed chronologically, beginning in the upper left with an angel's appearance to St Anne, proclaiming the news that Mary would soon be born. To its right is the birth of Mary, followed by the presentation of Mary in the Temple, which takes the narrative to the upper half of the central niche. The story continues at the bottom left corner, showing the espousal of Mary and Joseph and then the Annunciation.¹⁶ The next scene shows Mary's visit to St Elizabeth, when Mary tells Elizabeth of the news from the angel, Elizabeth praises her for her faith and trust in the message, and Mary delivers her famous song of praise, the *Magnificat*.

The scenes continue in the upper row, just to the right of the central niche, with a depiction of the shepherds' visitation to the Holy Family in their stable followed by the family's flight to Egypt to escape Herod's paranoid infanticide. The final episode in the upper right row shows Mary finding Jesus in the Temple as he questions the scribes and priests. To the right of the central niche in the first panel of the lower row, the narrative continues with the miracle at the marriage in Cana. The next scene shows the *Pieta*, the scene of at the foot of the Cross, with Mary at the centre of the scene holding Christ's body; the final panel, at the bottom right-hand corner, is a representation of the coronation of Mary by Christ, following her assumption into heaven.¹⁷

Wanamaker's later gift to St Mark's, a silver reredos to sit above and slightly behind the altar, was also commissioned from Barkentin & Krall in the early 1920s and replaced the carved, painted, and gilded wooden triptych reredos that was then reunited with the alabaster altar of St John the Evangelist for which it was originally intended. The reredos was designed by Carl Krall's son-in-law, Walter Stoye, and exhibits slight differences in both design and

14 The pamphlet on the altar published by Barkentin & Krall indicates the possibility of increased elaboration from the original design, making the altar's intended portability impossible. Without records of Wanamaker's original order, budget, and continued correspondence, it is difficult to know the process of the design's evolution.

15 Barkentin & Krall, *St Mark's Philadelphia; the Silver Altar, the Work of Barkentin & Krall*, London, 1907, p. 1.

16 In his book, *op cit*, note 9, Mortimer drew special attention to the floral iconography in these two panels: a "rose in full bloom" in the foreground of the espousal scene, and Gabriel presenting Mary with a lily at the Annunciation (pls LII and LIII).

17 The consideration of Mary as "Queen of Heaven" is part of the Catholic, and often Anglican, study of Mariology.

18 The Rev Alfred G Mortimer, *op cit*, note 9, pp 25-26.

19 Barkentin & Krall, *The Silver Reredos for the Lady Chapel of Saint Mark's Church, Philadelphia*, London, 1923, p1.

20 *Ibid*.

21 *Ibid*, p 2.

22 *Ibid*

execution from Krall's altar. It was installed in the Lady Chapel in 1923. As early as 1909, however, Mortimer referred to planning stages for a silver reredos to complement the altar in his catalogue on the treasures of St Mark's:

Since the Silver Altar has been in place, designs have been prepared for a Reredos of silver to take the place of the oak triptych. If these are approved the triptych would probably be removed to St. John the Evangelist's Altar in the north aisle, for which it was originally designed."¹⁸

The lapse of time between the 1908 installation of the altar and the 1923 addition of the reredos is strange and inexplicable, especially when one considers the volume of Wanamaker's other large commissions to Barkentin & Krall during those years.

The focal point of Stoye's design is a large central panel [Fig 3], representing

the out-pouring of the Holy Ghost on the Assembled Apostles, with the Blessed Virgin as the central figure.¹⁹



Fig 3 Central panel of the Lady Chapel altar, St Mark's Church, Philadelphia, Barkentin & Krall, London, 1923.
(St Mark's Church, Philadelphia, PA. Photo by author)

This is flanked by a side panel on each side, on the left: a scene of the Resurrection, and on the right, of Christ's Ascension.

According to a pamphlet produced by Barkentin & Krall describing the reredos, the scenes chosen were meant to resume the narrative where the altar's scenic panels concluded. Four columns frame the reredos and separate the scenes; the many niches in each column are filled with small statuettes representing "the angelic choirs" instead of the saints on the altar below,

and a separate study [was] made of each one of these small figures, with the appropriate symbols of the various choirs and orders.²⁰

The rectangular body of the reredos is surmounted by three pinnacles, each of a pointed Gothic form with canopied niches. The central pinnacle is the largest and shows the *Agnus Dei* [Lamb of God] in glory, above which is placed, around the canopy, a group of guardian angels. The whole design and construction of this feature is a suggestion of the heavenly city, and with the altar, forms a complete cycle of events.²¹ Two smaller, less elaborate pinnacles flank the central one and contain representations of, on the left, St John and, on the right, the Blessed Virgin.

The author noted that the reredos was made out of solid silver, excepting the gold *Agnus Dei*, and the use of various jewels including

sapphires, rubies, tourmalines, pearls amethysts, topaz, chrysoprase, some six hundred in number [which] are also set in gold.²²

According to the pamphlet, its construction took two years.

The Lady Chapel, furnished entirely by Wanamaker, comprises far more than the altar and reredos alone. Mortimer's 1909 catalogue comprehensively and exhaustively documents the collection up to that point but Wanamaker



Fig 4 Monse for the Lady Chapel St Mark's Church, Philadelphia, circa 1901-1908.
(St Mark's Church, Philadelphia, PA. Photo by author)

continued to outfit the Lady Chapel with metalwork, textiles, and religious objects in other media into the late 1920s. A brief discussion of Wanamaker's gifts up until 1909, culled from Mortimer's catalogue, provides an illustration of the sheer volume and expense of the Lady Chapel collection.²³

The objects given between 1901 and 1909 include, at the most basic level, ornate wrought-iron gates at the main entrance to the Lady Chapel, a memorial wall tablet, floriated bronze altar rails with ten angels, scrolls, and shield devices all in silver, and other architectural details such as carved stone and woodwork. Within the category of silver and gold metalwork, Wanamaker gave two sets of paired cruets to hold wine and water during the celebration of Communion. One elaborately jewelled set, made by Barkentin & Krall, also includes a pyx and lavabo, a small bowl for the priest to wash his hands; the other set, by Albert Boyer of Paris, includes a pyx and lavabo, as well as a crucifix and pair of

candlesticks. Wanamaker also gave a simple pair of cruets, with pyx and lavabo, for the daily celebrations within the Lady Chapel. Three chalices are included in the Lady Chapel catalogue: one, made by Boyer of 20 carat gold and with an accompanying paten, is

simple but chaste: the knob contains a large heart of diamonds and emeralds, the centre diamond of considerable size.²⁴

The other two chalices include one designed by Charles Eamer Kempe and an

ancient Spanish chalice, probably of eighteenth century workmanship.²⁵

Other furnishings included two sets of silver-gilt crucifixes and pairs of candlesticks (one by Kreindler; another designed by Charles Kempe); a silver-gilt cross

made originally for the Altar Cross of the Lady Chapel, but [which] was found to be too small... and it was affixed to a staff, and is used for the Lady Chapel banner of the Blessed Virgin.²⁶

²³ The Lady Chapel, and all of its furnishings, deserves a complete and exclusive study; this very short list serves only to provide readers with an idea of the objects at St Mark's Church and the magnanimity of Rodman Wanamaker's donations. Complete details, descriptions, and photographs can be found in Alfred Mortimer's catalogue.

²⁴ The Rev Alfred Mortimer, op cit, note 9, pl LXXXIII.

²⁵ Ibid, pl LXXXV.

²⁶ Ibid, pl LXXXI.

²⁷ Ibid, pl LXXIII

28 An instructional book with directions for the celebration of Mass.

29 The Rev Alfred G Mortimer, *op cit*, note 9, pl LXXVII.

30 The cross was represented to Rodman Wanamaker as genuine, but is very possibly, pending further study and investigation, a nineteenth-century creation.

31 This photograph shows the Lady Chapel's original wooden reredos; the frontal covers the original alabaster altar. The pair is photographed in its new location and designation as the St John's altar. The carved figures flanking the central panel are replacements, designed by Ralph Adams Cram, for the carvings of Saints Luke and John flanking a depiction of the Annunciation.

A silver hexagonal sanctuary lamp made by Barkentin & Krall,

similar to the one given by the Duke of Norfolk to Arundel Cathedral,²⁷

an "ancient German Gothic" censer, a silver-gilt, pearl studded altar desk and corresponding missal;²⁸ a pair of jewelled flower vases and a silver-gilt hand-held bell ("Sanctus bell"), both by Barkentin & Krall. Wanamaker overlooked no detail for the accessories required to celebrate mass within the Lady Chapel, even

including a gold morse, a clasp for holding together the edges of a cope. The morse is a quatrefoil shape and is set with blister pearls and sapphires, with a representation of the Virgin Mary in high relief in the centre on a ground of blue-enamelled fleur-de-lys [Fig 4].

Mortimer was most delighted by the silver processional cross, which he called

the gem of our Church Plate.

It had been for many years in a collection in Italy and was brought to London to be sold in 1901. It was thought, presumably not just by Mortimer, to have been made in sixteenth-century Sicily and is of elaborate workmanship and Gothic styling.³⁰

An additional collection of textiles comprised seven altar frontals, which would have been used for the alabaster altar [Fig 5] preceding the silver altar's installation.³¹ They were commissioned from well-regarded liturgical designers in England; most were designed by Kempe or Sir John Ninian Comper, and were intended especially for use in the Lady Chapel. In addition to the altar frontals Rodman Wanamaker commissioned and collected seven sets of vestments: some antique and some newly created by the same designers and embroiderers. Most of these materials are still used and appreciated at St Mark's.

Apart from the Lady Chapel commissions, other parishioners of St Mark's also frequented Barkentin & Krall for their memorial gifts to the church. Significant donations included seven silver sanctuary lamps, hanging before the high altar, the ivory-inlaid and jewelled silver-gilt

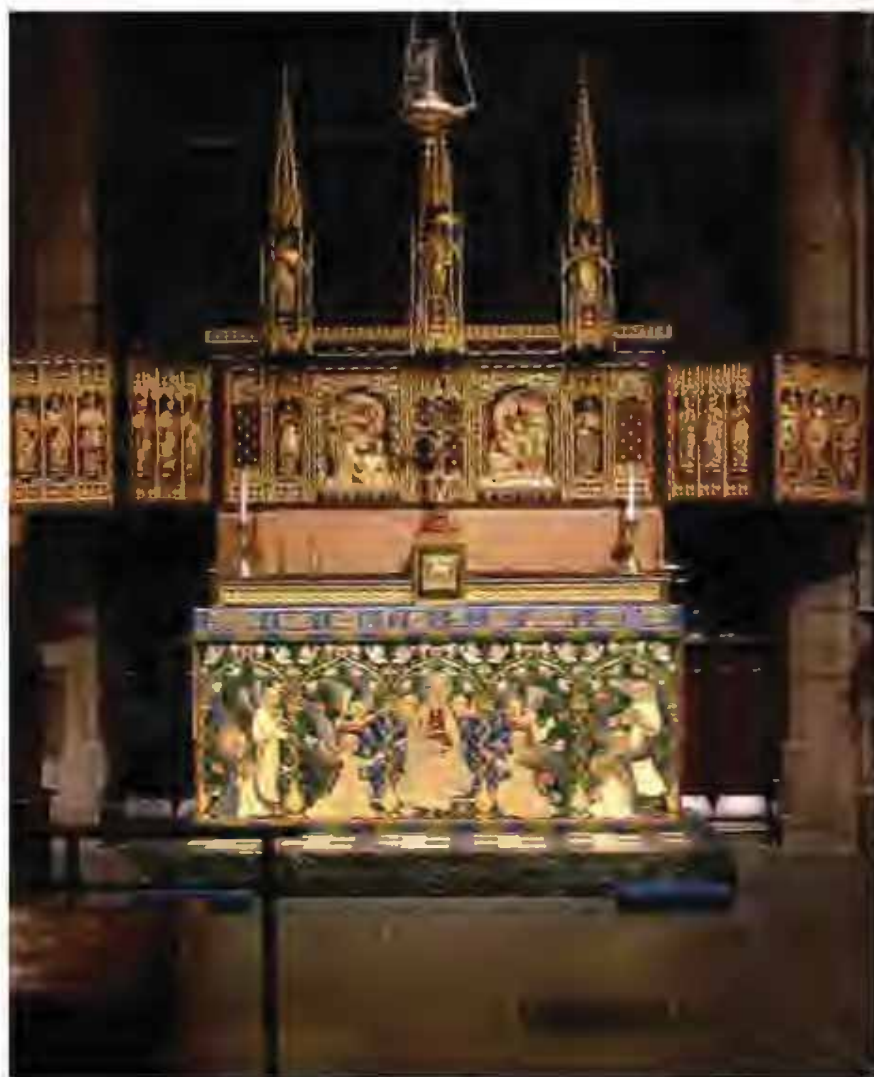


Fig 5 Altar Frontal, St Mark's Church, Philadelphia, designed by Sir John Ninian Comper, embroidered by the Sisters of Bethany.
(St Mark's Church of Philadelphia, PA. Photo courtesy Davis d'Amby)



Fig 6 Morse for St Mark's Church, Philadelphia, Barkentin & Krall, London.
(St Mark's Church, Philadelphia, PA. Photo by author)

crucifix on the high altar, and a heavily jewelled and enamelled pyx. Another morse, commissioned from Barkentin & Krall "for use in the Church" (not the Lady Chapel), is decorated with

a star of diamonds, containing about sixty stones; in the outer moulding of the Morse are eight large carbuncles between which and on the Cross, are the twelve precious stones mentioned in Rev. xxi, 19-21, as garnishing the foundations of the wall of the City of the New Jerusalem [Fig 6].³²

The objects listed above are certainly not an exhaustive representation of the collection at St Mark's. Without the list, however, the Lady Chapel's silver altar and reredos, as well as Rodman Wanamaker's subsequent, substantial donations to the British royal family as well as to Westminster Abbey, would stand in massive isolation. The large-scale commissions cannot be understood on their own without the contextual relationship of the other, smaller, yet comprehensively precise, gifts to the Lady Chapel. The larger silver gifts, however, garnered the most attention for international trade and transatlantic relationships and help to demonstrate Rodman Wanamaker's inexplicable, yet thorough, generosity; the Lady Chapel's altar was the impetus for the further donations abroad.

Rodman Wanamaker's royal commissions

Few records documenting the early building history of the church of St Mary Magdalene, Sandringham survive but there has been a parish church there since 1321. The present building is the result of a large restoration project undertaken in 1855 by Lady Harriette Cowper in memory of her daughter Marie Harriette. Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, bought the Sandringham estate from the Hon Charles Spencer Cowper in 1861 and restored the church twice, in 1890 and again in 1909. The later restorations fully embraced trends in church decoration, including a painted polychrome chancel ceiling; carved, gilded, and painted wooden figures of angels playing musical instruments (called the "Sandringham 'Angel Choir'"); and stencilled painted decoration on the walls.³³

Although the firm of Barkentin & Krall was not granted the Royal Warrant of Appointment to Queen Alexandra until 1913, the Queen visited the workshops and show rooms before that, as recorded in the Court Circular section of *The Times*. Queen Alexandra was so pleased by her visit to

inspect the silver altar made for Philadelphia

in July 1908 that Rodman Wanamaker presented the royal family with its own silver altar and reredos in May 1911 [Fig 7].³⁴ It was dedicated

to the Glory of God and in memory of Edward VII, the Peacemaker

and installed in the church of St Mary Magdalene on the first anniversary of Edward VII's death.

Unlike the years-long separation between the St Mark's altar and reredos, Rodman Wanamaker commissioned the Sandringham pieces together, as a unit. The front panel of the 6ft (1.82 m) long altar is set in a recessed alcove, ensconced by a floriated arch,

³² The Rev Alfred G Mortimer, *op cit*, note 9, pl LXXIV.

³³ Canon Patrick Ashton, *The Church of St Mary Magdalene, Sandringham, Norwich, 1998*, pp 2, and 16.

³⁴ "Court Circular," *The Times*, 23 July 1908, p 13.

35 In heraldic terms, supporting human or angel figures are called *Tenants*, while animalistic representations are *Supporters*.

36 According to parish research, sixteenth-century. Unverified.

37 It is possible that he went through Barkentin & Krall but no documentation of the purchase survives.

displaying in high relief the royal coat of arms and motto. A banner above the crest reads "EDWARD VII." In place of the usual royal supporter are two kneeling angels who each support the armorial shield with one hand.³⁵ The background of the panel is repoussé work of thick floral designs. On either side of the altar's front are full-height half-projecting pilasters, depicting three-story Gothic windows with lancets in the upper arches. The sides are plain, with the exception of a panelled inscription on the left reading:

This silver Altar, Reredos, and bronze Altar Rails are presented to Her Majesty Queen Alexandra on 6th May 1911, the first anniversary of the death of His Majesty

King Edward VII the Great Peacemaker, by Rodman Wanamaker Esq.

This Altar is proffered as a great privilege and as a token of sympathy to commemorate the great service His Majesty King Edward VII *rendered* the world and the manner in which he guided with diplomacy the sentiments of the English Nation. These feelings during his reign were reflected in other countries to the lasting good of the whole world.

This Altar of peace, the first acceptance of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, stands as an indication of what Her Majesty desired to express to her people for all time and that over this Altar prayers may be constantly offered for the Peace of all Nations.

Its great object is that by frequent use, its history may dwell in the hearts of all as an inspiration from the late King Edward VII The Peacemaker

The sentiment must have been of utmost importance to Rodman Wanamaker, considering the extra time and consequent expense that would have constituted completion of this panel. A further inscription, "C.C. Krall *fecit*", goes beyond the standard hallmarking system and likely was added because of the prestige of the altar's designation and the pride that Krall felt in his work and company.

In 1918 Wanamaker presented Queen Alexandra with an antique Spanish silver processional cross³⁶ in memory of the men from the Sandringham estate who died in World War I; Wanamaker's source for the cross is unknown.³⁷ The cross is mounted on an ebony staff and rests on a silver stand.

For his 1924 gift of a silver pulpit, presented to Queen Alexandra on her 80th birthday (1 December 1924) [Fig 8], Wanamaker returned to Barkentin & Krall, now under the design leadership of Walter Stoye. The

Fig 7 Altar and reredos, St Mary Magdalene, Sandringham, Barkentin & Krall, 1910
(Courtesy of the Rector of St Mary Magdalene, Sandringham).





Fig 8 Pulpit, St Mary Magdalene, Sandringham, Berkentin & Krall, London, 1924.
(Courtesy of the Rector of St Mary Magdalene, Sandringham)

octagonal pulpit rests on a bronze base set upon a black marble plinth; it comprises two large panels, each with two framed scenes, at either end of the octagon. Two smaller full-length panels, each with two individual niches for representations in relief of the four Evangelists, flank the protruding centre section, in which a full-length figure of Christ stands within an ornate gothic niche. The four panels are set into the pulpit of quarter-sawn oak, and are each separated by a highly carved wooden column. The scenes represent important moments of Christ's ministry: the Nativity; the Last Supper; feeding the five thousand; and the coming of the Holy Spirit to the disciples at Pentecost.

Within the central niche, backed by a gold diaper of cross motifs, Christ stands in a benedictory pose. His stylized, elongated body

spans the full height of the surrounding scenic panels, and represents work of a later, Art Nouveau-influenced style rather than Krall's gothic figures. On either side of the figure of Christ is a column of statuary niches, in each of which is an angel playing a musical instrument.

The artistic details of the pulpit, designed by Stoye, are of a markedly different style from the objects designed and produced during Krall's lifetime and are, therefore, particularly useful for exploring the changing nature of the firm's output following Krall's death. The relief composing the scenic panels on Stoye's pulpit is significantly flatter than the work on either of the altars and the chasing is far less detailed and delicate. Facial expressions, for example, are minimised on the pulpit, at least compared with the scenes on the altar, and details such as angels' wings are not as finely chased. The subjects' poses are stiffer in Stoye's design, whereas the surprised facial expressions, sweeping gestures, and animated stances of the apostles on Krall's reredos convey an almost painterly narrative.

The obvious change in stylistic trends is clearly visible also in the pulpit's elongated central figure of Christ and the long, narrow niches with their blunt-edged canopies; the linear designs are very different from the flowing, floriated complexities of the altar and reredos.

In 1927 Wanamaker presented George V with an elaborate set of jewelled gold communion plate for the church of St Mary Magdalene. The set comprises a diamond-set chalice, a simple paten, a pyx also set with diamonds and minute relief work, two flagons, and a comparatively simple alms dish.³⁸ All the pieces are of 20-carat gold and, in total, are set with more than 300 diamonds and rubies.³⁹ They are stored within a walnut cabinet enhanced with silver handles and fittings, and decorated with a carved representation of the royal arms.



Fig 9 Processional cross, Westminster Abbey, silver-gilt, ivory, gold and sapphires, Berkentin & Krall, London, 1922.
(Copyright: Dean and Chapter of Westminster)

38 The maker of these objects is unrecorded on available documentation but Rodman Wanamaker's predilection for Berkentin & Krall makes the firm a likely choice. The communion set is kept at Sandringham and not readily available for viewing or study.

39 Church of St Mary Magdalene, Object Notes. No author listed.

40 The Rev Jocelyn Perkins, 'Worship and Order', *Westminster Abbey, its Worship and Ornaments*, Oxford, 1952, p 174.

41 "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

The processional cross for Westminster Abbey, London

Four years after presenting the church in Sandringham with the Spanish processional cross, Rodman Wanamaker gave another processional cross, this time commissioned from, and designed by, Barkentin & Krall, to

Westminster Abbey [Fig 9]. The cross was presented to the abbey and dedicated as part of the 1922 Christmas Eve service. Much like the Sandringham altar, this gift from a

distinguished citizen of the United States [who] had long devoted himself to the development of 'brotherly union and concord' between the British Empire and the great Republic of the West

was intended to promote international amity and peace.⁴⁰

The cross is composed of three materials only: ivory, silver, and gold, with added jewelled embellishments. Even the staff, usually of wood or other lightweight material, is solid silver. Two inscriptions on the staff record the date of presentation and the sentiment behind the gift, in the form of a line from Isaiah (Chapter 2, verse 4)

Non levabit gens contra gentem nec
exercebuntur ultra ad proelium.⁴¹

Showing scenes from the life of Christ, each story is depicted in a square plaque of beaten eighteen carat gold. The central obverse plaque shows the Crucifixion; at the four points of the cross, clockwise from the extreme left plaque, are scenes of the Annunciation, Nativity, Resurrection, and Ascension. The reverse central panel shows Christ in Majesty, arms outstretched; the four surrounding plaques at the cross's extremities contain images of the twelve apostles, three to a plaque, identifiable by their emblems. Between the large end plaques are smaller ones, also of beaten gold, with mottoes of the Evangelists and smaller figures of angels. These plaques are set into background panels of ivory and the cross is further embellished with sapphires, lining the edges of the arms of the cross on both sides.



Fig10 Model for the Westminster Abbey processional cross, bronze, Barkentin & Krall, circa 1922. (St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia. Photo by author)



Fig 11 John R Wanamaker holding the Westminster processional cross circa 1964 while it was at Wanamaker's department store, Philadelphia, for its restoration and the addition of seventy-two diamonds.
(The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Wanamaker Papers, Collection Z188)

42 The official title of Westminster Abbey is, following its re-founding by Elizabeth I, the Collegiate Church of St. Peter in Westminster.

43 Sacristy inventory, 'Chapter IV: Altar Crosses, Candelsticks, & Other Furnishings in situ—High Altar and Sacrament.' The 1964 record was tucked in among earlier-dated pages describing the cross.

44 "Abbey's 900th Anniversary: Events Planned at Westminster. From Our Own Correspondent." *The Glasgow Herald*, 8 September 1965, p 7.

45 "Parade, Festivities Open British Fair." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 13 October 1963. The article features the Westminster connection: "Historic exhibits lent by many institutions and museums also are on display in the Grand Court [at Wanamaker's]. One of the rarest is the 'Cross of Westminster' processional cross used to lead processions in Westminster Abbey." No expense was spared for this event. Wanamaker's department store even transported a double-decker London bus to Philadelphia to take attendees between Wanamaker's and participating museums in Philadelphia.

From the body of the cross springs an articulated border of vines and leaves; at the base of the cross, just below the bottom-most plaque in a circle of canopied niches, stand representations of the founders and patrons of Westminster Abbey: St Peter, King Sebert of the Saxons, Edward the Confessor, Henry III, Henry VII, and Elizabeth I, each with his or her coat of arms above the niche. The niches are supported by a boss with coloured enamel badges of the royal arms of Great Britain and Ireland, the arms of the pre-Reformation monastery, and the combined arms of the collegiate church⁴² and those of Herbert Edward Ryle, Dean of Westminster Abbey from 1910 to 1925.

Metal models for this commission from Barkentin & Krall ended up in the offices of St Mark's church; they were found in Wanamaker's office following his death and subsequently given to the church. The proofs comprise the main scenic panels for the cross, beaten in bronze and nailed to a thick wooden board [Fig 10]. St Mark's also has a framed, double-sided watercolour print of the cross, signed "W. Stoye" in pencil. This was probably produced after the cross was presented to Westminster Abbey, as the dates and particulars of the gift are printed beneath the image.

A largely undocumented, yet intriguing, addition was made to the cross in the 1960s, when it was sent to Wanamaker's department store in Philadelphia for cleaning. According to a 1964 report from Westminster Abbey's Sacrist, the Rev Christopher Hildyard,

The Cross of Westminster is expected back from Wanamaker's in Philadelphia within the first two weeks of April, and they have told me that the inlaid ivory has been replaced by new ivory, specially prepared, so that it will not discolour, that the silver gilt has been regilded [sic.] with 22 carat gold,

and the central panels of beaten gold have been surrounded on both sides with a total of seventy two diamonds.⁴³

The occasion for the new ivory and re-gilding, as indicated by a note in this report, was an general clean up in preparation for the upcoming 900th anniversary of the foundation of the Abbey by Edward the Confessor (28 December 1965). An article in the *Glasgow Herald* reported that

[The anniversary celebration] coincides with the completion of restoration work inside the abbey made possible by the £1m appeal fund launched in 1953 by Sir Winston Churchill. The whole interior has been cleaned and the impression of light and loftiness, the gilding fresh on the creamy stone vaulting, the piers of Purbeck marble polished and gleaming, is probably closer to the original splendour of the Gothic abbey Henry III rebuilt in the thirteenth century than it has ever been since.⁴⁴

The restoration work on the cross can be explained, therefore, as a necessity for an object with such a prominent role. The primary reason for its presence at Wanamaker's store was its inclusion in *Exposition Britannia* (October 1963), a

cultural and trade fair [...] sponsored by John Wanamaker, the British Government and leading museums and cultural institutions.⁴⁵

The reason behind the decision to add the seventy-two diamonds around the central panels is unclear. While the cross was at Wanamaker's in 1964, detailed photographs were taken [Fig 11] and diagrams made, but no written record has yet been found of the way in which plans for the elaboration of the cross proceeded.

Conclusion

Rodman Wanamaker's large-scale donations to the Lady Chapel at St Marks, the church of St Mary Magdalene, and Westminster Abbey remain as representations of his immense generosity and enthusiasm. These are, however, only the largest and most widely known and discussed gifts. In a far smaller and quieter sphere, Wanamaker outfitted the Lady Chapel with every liturgical accessory, and more, required for both daily and festival celebrations.

With no documentation from Wanamaker himself on his feelings toward the Lady Chapel, and little documentation on his religious feelings, excessive speculation risks irresponsible scholarship. The idea that humans assign meaning to objects through patterns of use and personal value may seem intuitive, but the dualistic nature of the religious object adds an additional layer to their interpretation and study. It is tempting to give priority to the consideration of an object's symbolic qualities, but an object on its own has no real meaning independent of the values assigned to it. Additionally, the potential interpretive layers to each of Wanamaker's gifts make absolutes an impossibility. There is, of course, the easily-reached conclusion that the Lady Chapel, especially, is merely a manifestation of an aesthete's curatorial efforts to compartmentalise and create outlets for his collections. Even at this most basic level of interpretation of Rodman Wanamaker, the gifts and the intent behind them reaches more than a pure aesthetics. Objects of devotion automatically become imbued with layers of meanings, many of them intangible.

The Lady Chapel at St Mark's church started out as a devotional space dedicated to the memory of Fernanda Henry Wanamaker. Rodman Wanamaker, an extraordinary patron, continued to add to the Lady Chapel's collection over a period of nearly twenty-five years, enhancing it with a valuable collection of silver and textiles. It is impossible to define any specific intent behind Rodman Wanamaker's

gifts, including those to Sandringham and Westminster Abbey, and it is clear that there are many facets to Wanamaker as donor and patron. The lasting spiritual legacy created by hundreds of intensely personal relationships with the objects through the congregants not only at St Mark's Church, but also at St Mary Magdalene, Sandringham and Westminster Abbey, has created other layers of meaning, achievable only through a pattern of deep reverence and a practice of worship. The Lady Chapel is an exceptional example of the devotional fashion of memorial-making at the turn of the twentieth century; it allows for not only a personal study of the man behind it all, but also a contextual investigation into patronage and the material culture of sacred objects and spaces.

ALEXANDER AITCHISON I AND ALEXANDER AITCHISON II: EDINBURGH GOLDSMITHS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

WILLIAM IRVINE FORTESCUE

This article studies two eighteenth century Edinburgh goldsmiths, the father and son combination of Alexander Aitchison I and Alexander Aitchison II. Alexander Aitchison I is an example of a reasonably successful goldsmith who aligned himself with James Ker in the politics of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Goldsmiths, while Alexander Aitchison II is an example of an unsuccessful goldsmith who became involved in the Edinburgh Enlightenment, political radicalism and even in treasonable activities.

Alexander Aitchison I

Alexander Aitchison I was baptised on 21 May 1717, the son of Gilbert Aitchison of Netherdoun or Nether Howden, Berwickshire, a burghess of Edinburgh, and of Margaret Brown, daughter of Thomas Brown, stationer and also a burghess of Edinburgh.¹ On 18 April 1726 he was admitted as a scholar to George Heriot's Hospital, the Edinburgh school for boys founded in 1628 with a bequest from the eponymous Edinburgh and royal goldsmith². He was apprenticed, on 2 April 1733, to the



Fig 1 Coffee urn, Edinburgh, 1767-68, maker's mark of Alexander Aitchison I.
(Courtesy of the McManus Art Gallery, Dundee)

BCP: Edinburgh Bailie Court Processes.

BOEC: *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*.

CM: *Caledonian Mercury*.

EA: *Edinburgh Advertiser*.

ECA: *Edinburgh City Archives*.

EEC: *Edinburgh Evening Courant*.

EUL: *Edinburgh University Library*.

NLS: *National Library of Scotland*.

NRS: *National Records of Scotland*.

SM: *Scots Magazine*.

TCM: *Town Council Minutes*.

1 Charles B Boag Watson (ed), *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brothers, 1701-1760*, Edinburgh, 1930, p 2; Rodney and Janice Dietart, *The Edinburgh Goldsmiths II: biographical information for freemen, apprentices and journeymen*, part I, Cornell University ECommons site, p 13.

2 *Minutes of George Heriot's Hospital*, vol 5, p 227.

- 3 Apprentice Record of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of the City of Edinburgh, NRS, GD1/482/13.
- 4 Minutes of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of the City of Edinburgh (Minutes), NRS, GD1/482/3, f 184.
- 5 Ibid, f186.
- 6 Charles Boag Watson, op cit, see note 1, p 2.
- 7 Reverend Henry Paton (ed), *The Register of Morrioges for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1701-1750*, Edinburgh, 1908, p 6.
- 8 ECA, TCM, 24 April 1754, f 69. See also ECA, Miscellaneous Papers arranged by David Moses (Moses's Bundles), no 6675.
- 9 ECA, BCP, box 118, bundle 299.
- 10 Ibid, box 121, bundle 308. Lillias Dunning, widow of Gavin Drummond bookseller in Edinburgh, died in December 1751 owing rent. The Bailie Court consequently ordered her possessions to be auctioned including five silver spoons weighing 9 oz 14 dwt valued at £2 12s 8d and six silver teaspoons weighing 1 oz 14 dwt and case at 10s 6d, with the silver at 5s 4d per ounce.
- 11 James Gilhooley, *A Directory of Edinburgh in 1752*, Edinburgh, 1988, p 3.
- 12 Rodney and Janice Dietert, *The Edinburgh Goldsmiths I: training, marks, output and demographics*, 2007, p 44.

Edinburgh goldsmith Hugh Gordon.³ On 27 May 1746 he was set as an essay a diamond ring and a plain gold ring to be made in James Campbell's shop, with James Campbell and Robert Gordon acting as essay masters.⁴ The rings were accepted and on 12 August 1746 Alexander Aitchison I was admitted as a freeman.⁵ By right of his father he was also admitted as an Edinburgh burghess and guild brother on 20 May 1747.⁶ While still a journeyman he married Ann Pringle, daughter of John Pringle a barber and wigmaker, on 8 September 1745.⁷

Alexander Aitchison moved into a workshop "lying to the east of the tolbooth of Edinburgh" close to St Giles, where most of the Edinburgh goldsmiths had their workshops, on 15 May (Whitsunday) 1748. Unusually he rented this workshop from a woman, Margaret Denholm or Denham, wife of a tailor called William Ronald. The annual rent was £5 which compares very favourably with the £12 annual

rent which the Edinburgh goldsmith William Gilchrist agreed to pay the town council for his workshop in April 1754.⁸ Aitchison nevertheless fell behind with his rent and in February 1749 was taken to the Edinburgh Bailie Court by Margaret Denholm, which would suggest financial difficulties at the outset of his career.⁹ He was not, though, totally reliant on his income as a goldsmith since, by 1751, he was renting out a room to a widow.¹⁰ The *Edinburgh Directory* for 1752 gives his address as Mitchel's, Luckenbooths.¹¹

Between 1747 and 1768 Alexander Aitchison I took on ten apprentices only two of whom became freemen: Benjamin Tait, and his own son Alexander Aitchison II.¹² His recorded output seems to have been relatively small but among the more important surviving items are a pair of communion cups of 1760-61 (Langton Kirk Session), a pair of tumbler cups of 1766-67 (National Museums Scotland, MEQ 797), a coffee urn of 1767-68 (McManus Art Gallery

Mrs McKenna to A Aitchison

			£	s	d
1750 May	To 6 Silver Table Spoons	15oz 1dr	5	2	10
1756 Janry 26	To a Diamond Ring		10	13	0
April	To a sponge box		8	0	
1760 May 27	To a pr. Gold [?] Cheeks		4	10	
Decr 30	To 6 Tea spoons	2:4½	18	6	
1763 Decr 7	To one Gold [?] Cheek		1	6	
1765 Febry 4	To a pr. Shoe buckles	1:12½	15	7½	
	To a pr. Gold [?] Cheeks	18	6	0	
6	To 6 tea spoons @ 2d hand	2:4	15	4½	
	To a pr. Sugar Tongs	1:4½	10	0	
1766 July 24	To a silver Tip to a Tea Pot		2	0	

Contra Cr. [Credit]

			£	s	d
1751, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61	By Cash at sundry times		12	10	6
1759	By Cambrick		1	10	0
	By a [?] Wheel		6	6	
1764 April 25	By Cash		1	0	0
1765 Octr 12	By Gold		2	0	
	By Silver	1½			6
			15	15	2
	Balance		£ 4	2	6



Fig 2 Coffee urn, Edinburgh, 1767-68, by Alexander Aitchison I, detail of finial.
(Courtesy of the McManus Art Gallery, Dundee)

and Museum, Dundee)¹³ [Figs 1 to 3] and a punch bowl of 1771-72.¹⁴ The latter, weighing over 40 oz (1,244g), is engraved with the arms of MacDonell of Glengarry, possibly for Duncan, Lord MacDonald and 14th Chief of Clan MacDonell of Glengarry.¹⁵ Flatware bearing Alexander Aitchison I's maker's mark also survives, for instance a set of six Hanoverian pattern table spoons of 1746-47 and a pair of sugar tongs of 1760-61.¹⁶

A surviving account is probably representative of Alexander Aitchison I's output¹⁷ (see *previous page*).

Except for the six table spoons and the diamond ring the purchases, spread over sixteen years, were, therefore, for relatively inexpensive items such as teaspoons, a pair of sugar tongs, a sponge box, shoe buckles, and a finial for a teapot. Cash payments were made over the years and payments were also made with small quantities of gold and silver and with cambric or fine white linen. When Margaret McKenna died she still owed Aitchison £4 2s 6d; in 1774 her son-in-law and heir, Robert Forrest, was pursued in the Edinburgh Bailie Court for this sum. Forrest, an upholsterer, offered to settle the debt not in cash but "in upholster's work", which prompted the following response:

The Pursuers [Alexander Aitchison and son] must inform Mr Forrest however that this article [cash] will suit them much better than any of his work either in the Wright [carpentry] or Upholstery Way, as they do not know a single article which in that branch of business they have the smallest occasion for.

Unpaid bills were one of the major problems facing eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths, another was theft; in November and December 1754 the Edinburgh newspapers reported the following robbery:¹⁸

STOLEN

This is to give Notice, that JOHN ROW, who was serving in this Place Journeyman to a Goldsmith, has GONE OFF, and CARRIED WITH HIM from his Master's Shop, a Silver Tea Pot chas'd about the Brim, and all finished except fitting the Handle, and wanting the Button upon the Top: He has likeways carried off two Casters, which wanted both the Heads and Feet, the one Hallmark'd with the Marks of this Place, the other not, the Tea-pot likeways Hallmark'd. The above John Row is a thick-bodied Fellow, round-faced, about five Foot four inches tall, with a dark Copper-coloured Coat, and a black Vest and Breeches, light coloured Stockings, round Brass Buckles in his Shoes; he wore a dark cut Wig, and in all badly dress'd. He served his Time to one Mr. Baillie, in Forester-Lane, London. 'Tis hoped if any of the above Goods be offered to Sale, they will be stopt, and the Fellow secured, till Notice can be given to Mr Alexander Aitchison Goldsmith in the Parliament Close, Edinburgh, or the Publisher of this paper. Any Masters to whom he may address himself for Work are likeways desired to secure him till Advice be sent as above.

13 George Dalgleish and Henry Stuart Fotheringham, *Silver Made in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 2008, no 4.47, p 85.

14 Rodney and Janice Dietert, *Compendium of Scottish Silver*, 2 vols, Cornell, 2006, vol I, pp 122 and 174, vol II, p 524, vol I, p 18.

15 In 1745-46 MacDonells fought for the Jacobite cause at Prestonpans, Falkirk and Culloden; subsequently many clan members emigrated to Glengarry County, Ontario.

16 Auction, Bonhams Edinburgh, 22 August 2002, lot 53; Rodney and Janice Dietert, *op cit*, see note 14, vol I, p 286.

17 'Claim Aitchison and Son against Robert Forrest', 1774; ECA, BCP, box 150, bundle 392.

18 CM, 26 November and 3 December 1754, p 3, EEC, 3 December 1754, p 3.

19 ECA, TCM, 20 March 1751, f 229.

20 Minutes, 13 September 1746, GD1/482/3, f 44.

21 Ibid, 4 November 1746, f 52. See William I Fortescue, 'James Ker and Ker and Dempster, 1745-68', *Silver Studies the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 28, 2012, pp 121-122.

22 Minutes, 15 September 1756, GD/482/3, ff 317, 318.

23 Minutes, 16 September 1758, GD1/482/5, f 19. The other two candidates on William Dempster's list were James Hill and Patrick Spelding.

24 Ibid, 11 September 1760, ff 76-85. The anti-Ker faction comprised John Clark, William Davie, John Edmonston, Alexander Gardner, William Gilchrist, Robert Gordon, Patrick Robertson, and James Welsh. See William Fortescue, *op cit*, see note 21, p 142.

25 Minutes, 15 September 1763, GD1/482/5, ff 155-162.

Presumably John Row had been working as a journeyman goldsmith for Aitchison. If so, this is a reminder that those working for a master goldsmith might be tempted to steal from his workshop. The situation was not helped by the lack of a paid professional police force; instead, twenty-eight part-time constables were chosen annually, the choice falling on Aitchison in March 1751.¹⁹

Alexander Aitchison I started attending meetings of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths in September 1746.²⁰ He was present at, but apparently did not contribute to, the stormy Incorporation meeting of 14 November 1746 when James Ker secured the exclusion of six suspected Jacobite goldsmiths from voting and his own election as deacon. During the debate Hugh Penman tried to have Aitchison excluded from voting because he was not a Burgess of Edinburgh, but James Ker successfully countered that, as a freeman, Aitchison was entitled to vote.²¹ His election to office took time: in September 1756 he was short-listed for the post of treasurer but was instead chosen as one of six quartermasters.²² He went on to serve as a quartermaster until September 1759 and again from September 1761 to September 1764. The following year, having again been short-listed for the post of treasurer in September 1757, he was selected although only after the deacon's list of three candidates had been rejected in favour of a list of three candidates proposed by William Dempster.²³ Aitchison appeared on the long leet or list for deacon in September 1758 and 1759 but was not short-listed.

James Ker's defence of Alexander Aitchison's right to vote in November 1746, and William Dempster's support for his selection as treasurer in September 1758, probably explains Aitchison's inclusion in the Ker faction in the Incorporation of Goldsmiths.

Certainly, in September 1760, when John Edmonston accused Ker of having pressured the deacon (James McKenzie) into giving Ker

the nomination of four of the six members of the long leet of candidates for the post of deacon at a meeting in John's Coffee House, Aitchison backed Ker.²⁴ In September 1763 he again backed him and in a very prominent manner: at the Incorporation meeting for the election of the deacon, Aitchison opened the proceedings by requiring the clerk to administer the oath of non-attendance at an Episcopal meeting house where prayers had not been said for the royal family. John Anderson, Robert Clark, James Hewitt, William Ker, James Oliphant, John Robertson, and James Wemyss all refused to swear the oath and thereby debarred themselves from voting in the election. Aitchison went on protest that, in addition, Robert Hope had no right to vote because he had

deserted and given over the practice of his business as a goldsmith in this City and is not a householder within Edinburgh.

When Patrick Robertson challenged James Ker's right to vote Aitchison was among the majority who supported Ker. He was similarly in a majority of one who opposed the deacon's long leet and who subsequently voted for an alternative long leet proposed by John Welsh and featuring John Clark, William Dempster, Alexander Gardner, James Ker, William Taylor and John Welsh.²⁵

These manoeuvres were clearly pre-planned. In using Aitchison to secure the disqualification of potential opponents from voting and John Welsh to propose an alternative long leet, James Ker was hoping to repeat the tactics that had worked so successfully in November 1746. The alternative long leet which included two members on the deacon's list (John Clark and William Taylor), to appeal to more than just the Ker faction, repeated the tactics attempted by Ker in September 1760. Before the election a government representative had been sent to inform Ker that the government wanted William Taylor, the current deacon, to serve for another year. Finding that Ker was not in town,



Fig 3 Coffee urn, Edinburgh, 1767-68, by Alexander Aitchison I, detail of marks.
(Courtesy of the McMenus Art Gallery, Dundee)

34 TCM, 18 February 1767, f 334. According to the local tax records, Aitchison also rented a property from the heirs of Mathieson or Mrs Fleming: *Stent Books, City of Edinburgh 1759-68*, ECA, SL 35/2/2, f 29.

35 *Williamson's Directory for the City of Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith, and Suburbs (25 May 1773-25 May 1774)*, Edinburgh, 1889 reprint, p 3.

36 CM and EEC, 6 December 1775, p 3; SM, 37 (December 1775), p 695.

37 CM and EEC, 5 February 1783, p 3; SM, 45 (February 1783), p 110.

38 Rodney and Janice Dietert, op cit, see note 1, p 15.

39 *Minutes*, 14 August 1770, GD1/482/6, f 30.

40 *Ibid*, 3 September 1770, f 35.

41 *Ibid*, 12 September 1772 and 11 September 1773, f 63 and f 78.



Fig 5 Table spoon, Edinburgh, 1774-74, by Alexander Aitchison & Son.

FOUND Yesterday,

A SINGLE STONED GOLD RING. Any person who has lost the same, may apply to Alexander Aitchison, Goldsmith, south side of the Parliament close, and by proving the property of it, may have it again, upon paying charges.

The town council did not register the transfer of the shop to a new tenant until two years later.³⁴ The end of his tenancy may indicate that he was in poor health and/or that his son was taking over the business. *Williamson's Directory for Edinburgh* for 1773-74 lists, under Jewellers and Goldsmiths, Aitchison and Son, Parliament Close.³⁵ Aitchison died of consumption on 6 December 1775 aged fifty-eight.³⁶ The death of his widow, Anne Pringle, followed on 4 February 1783.³⁷

Alexander Aitchison II: goldsmith

Alexander Aitchison II was born on 30 August 1747 and baptised on 6 September, the son and probably the only surviving child of Alexander Aitchison I and Anne Pringle.³⁸ Judging from his surviving letters he probably received some formal education before being apprenticed to his father in about 1761, when he would have been approximately fourteen years old. He would probably have served the customary seven-year apprenticeship and a further two years as a journeyman goldsmith and on 14 August 1770 he was assigned as an essay "a three-stone ring" and a plain gold ring to be made in his father's shop with James Welsh and Daniel Ker as his essay masters.³⁹ The rings were judged to be "sufficient" and he was admitted as a freeman on 13 September 1770.⁴⁰

Initially Alexander Aitchison II appears to have played an active role in the affairs of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths. He regularly attended Incorporation meetings and was short-listed with two others for the post of treasurer as early as September 1772 and again the following year.⁴¹ He was not, however, elected on either occasion, nor was he elected or appointed to any other post in the Incorporation until 1782. This may perhaps have contributed to the development of his radicalism: on 26 August 1777, together with William Ker, he publicly dissented from an obsequious address from the fourteen Edinburgh Incorporations to Sir Lawrence

42 Ibid, 26 August 1777, f 123.

43 Ibid, 10 and 12 September 1778, f 137 and f 138.

44 Ibid, 14 September 1780, ff 160-169.

45 TCM, 15 September 1780, ff 275-281.

46 Minutes, 16 September 1780, GD1/482/6, ff 171-176.

47 Ibid, 12 September 1781, ff 196-201.

48 Ibid, 15 September 1781, f 205.

49 Ibid., 14 September 1782, ff 225-226.

50 Ibid., 13 September 1783, f 238.

51 Marguerite Wood (ed), *Register of Edinburgh Apprentices, 1756-1800*, Edinburgh, 1963, p 31; Minutes, 24 February 1781, GD1/482/6, f 182.

52 Marguerite Wood, *ibid*, see note 51, p 3.

53 Ibid, p 2. George Aikenhead was presumably related to Ann Aikenhead, Aitchison's first wife.

54 William Rhind was apprenticed to Daniel Ker in 1769 and, after Daniel Ker's death in 1775, to James McKenzie. He worked for Aitchison from January to October 1779. See ECA, BCP, box 163, bundle 430.

Dundas, the immensely wealthy and influential but also controversial M P for Edinburgh from 1768 to 1781.⁴² In September 1778, together with Patrick Robertson, William and Patrick Cunningham, James Gillieland, Archibald Ochiltree and James McKenzie, he unsuccessfully opposed the deacon's long leet in the deaconship election.⁴³ He again opposed the deacon's list in the election of September 1780 and produced his own which included himself, James Hewitt, and his previous allies, William and Patrick Cunningham, Archibald Ochiltree, and James McKenzie. At the same time he tried to have no less than twelve potential opponents disqualified from voting on a variety of grounds. Against his strong and repeated protests, a majority of the goldsmiths voted to dismiss his objections and to approve the deacon's list. Aitchison had his supporters: William and Patrick Cunningham, James Hewitt, Archibald Ochiltree, James McKenzie, and his future political associate, David Downie, but they were out-voted thirteen to eight.⁴⁴ Amazingly, the next day (15 September 1780) the town council rejected the list voted by a majority of the goldsmiths and they accepted instead Aitchison's list and returned a short list of three to the Incorporation of Goldsmiths, comprising James Hewitt, Alexander Aitchison and Archibald Ochiltree.⁴⁵

On 16 September the majority faction in the Goldsmiths was at least able to secure the election of Archibald Ochiltree as deacon, with Aitchison and his supporters voting for James Hewitt. Aitchison protested yet again and, together with James Hewitt and David Downie, refused to swear the customary oath of obedience to the new deacon, Archibald Ochiltree.⁴⁶

Presumably by now embittered by his defeats and alienated from the majority of his colleagues, Aitchison continued to be an awkward and rebellious member of the Incorporation. On 12 September 1781,

supported by James McKenzie and David Downie, he unsuccessfully challenged the treasurer's accounts, claiming that Incorporation money had been improperly spent on legal fees.⁴⁷ Aitchison did have an ally in the deacon, Archibald Ochiltree, who in September 1781 included him in his long leet of six candidates in the deaconship election. The town council returned Aitchison in the short leet of three, but Archibald Ochiltree was unsurprisingly re-elected.⁴⁸ The following year Aitchison was again included on the long leet for deacon but not on the short leet. He was also on the short list of three for the post of treasurer but not chosen. Perhaps as a consolation he was appointed one of eight quartermasters.⁴⁹ In September 1783 he featured in the short list of three for the post of Incorporation treasurer, was again not chosen, but was once more appointed a quartermaster,⁵⁰ an appointment not renewed in 1784. From 1785 Aitchison's name appears in the Incorporation minutes only in connection with requests for financial assistance.

As a master goldsmith Aitchison took three apprentices, Francis Howden (bound 12 September 1772, freeman 24 February 1781),⁵¹ William Anderson (bound 18 March 1778),⁵² and George Aikenhead (bound 20 December 1781).⁵³ He also briefly employed at least one journeyman goldsmith, William Rhind.⁵⁴ Between the end of 1770 and December 1775 he worked in partnership with his father, producing silver with the maker's mark of AA&S. He rented a shop from the town council, described as

that shop or Booth back and forelying on the South side of the Parliament Close of Edinburgh immediately below the Chamber or office used by the Commissarys of Edinburgh being part of the great Building erected by the deceased Thomas Robertson [Fig 4].

55 TCM, 3 December 1777, f.73.

56 Auction, Christie's London, 6 June 1965, lot 5; auction, Sotheby's London, 16 June 1993, lot 5; Rodney and Janice Dieter, *op cit*, see note 12, vol II, p 498. The teapot is unusually heavy, weighing 28 oz 3 dwt (875.5g).

57 Rodney and Janice Dieter, *op cit*, see note 14, vol I, p 269.

58 NRS, GD113/5/45, f. 9.

59 *The Perth Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, 10 July 1772, unnumbered page. Colin Fraser kindly communicated this reference.



Fig 6 Table spoon, Edinburgh, 1774-74, by Alexander Aitchison & Son, detail of marks. (Phoenix Collection)

At the time of the renewal of the lease in December 1777 the annual rent was only 12s 9¼d suggesting that the property was just a booth.⁵⁵

Recorded silver with the AA&S mark is relatively scarce. Two of the most important items are a snuff box of 1774-75 (National Museums Scotland, NQ 436) and a teapot, also of 1774-75.⁵⁶ There are several examples of flatware such as a table spoon of 1774-75 engraved with a crest and mottoes probably for Mackenzie or McKenzie (Phoenix Collection)⁵⁷ [Figs 5 and 6] and ten table spoons of 1777-78 engraved with a crest and motto probably for Macdonald. Interestingly the mark was used long after Alexander Aitchison I's death. Aitchison and Son also sold jewellery: on 24 November 1774 Miss Jean Innes of Stow bought from the firm a diamond locket with a large middle stone and a small rose diamond for £7 15s [Fig 7].⁵⁸

Aitchison seems to have worked hard to try to sell his stock and attract commissions, as an advertisement in the *Perth Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* indicates:⁵⁹

SALE of SILVER-PLATE and JEWELRY WORK At the GUILD-HALL, PERTH, by A. AITCHISON and SON, JEWELERS AND GOLDSMITHS, EDINBURGH

ALEXr. AITCHISON Junior, takes this opportunity of returning thanks to his Well-wishers in Perth, and all in general who have contributed to his encouragement on this occasion, hoping to merit their future favours: And as he has still a good assortment of small Plate and Jewelry Work, at the GUILD-HALL which he continues to sell this week, at the lowest prices for ready money, hopes that Ladies

and Gentlemen, who may need any of his articles, will apply soon, as he must leave Perth early on Tuesday next, and will not return with Goods sooner than next Mid-summer Fair.

N.B. Purchasers of Silver Work may depend upon receiving STERLING SILVER, as they are tried and marked in the Assay-office at Edinburgh, small articles as well as large.

Gives the highest prices for old Gold, Silver and Lace, in Cash or Exchange.

* * Takes the Notes of Douglas, Heron & Co, The Perth United Company, Dundee, *and several other Country Banks in payment of Goods.

This advertisement is revealing on a number of counts: it shows that Alexander Aitchison was trading under A Aitchison and Son, although Alexander Aitchison II may have been doing all, or most, of the work. He was moreover taking his goods to the provinces, or at least to Perth, where he seems to have stayed over a week and had hopes of returning for the mid-summer fair. As already noted, like most eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths, he was selling both silver articles and jewellery and indeed was often described simply as a jeweller. He apparently offered a discount on cash payments but he was also prepared to accept old gold, silver and lace in part exchange as well as bank notes from certain Edinburgh and provincial banks. The reference to sterling silver and assay marks is a reminder that sub-standard silver was in circulation. Indeed the

Perth Magazine, in its issue for Friday 30 April 1773, reported (p 158):

On Friday last some silver buckles and tea-spoons which have been seized from a travelling chapman, by warrant of the magistrates, as below standard, on an application from the incorporation of goldsmiths, and upon trial found to be so, to the extent of 6¼d per ounce, were ordered to be broken down. They had a false stamp on them, representing a cat, with D.E. of which the public should take particular notice, that they be not imposed on with this base metal. And, we hear, the magistrates are determined to punish all makers or venders thereof who shall be discovered.

Presumably because business was poor, perhaps partly due to the American War of Independence, Alexander Aitchison II also began to advertise his stock for sale in lotteries. The *Edinburgh Advertiser* published the first lottery advertisement in its issue for 9-13 June 1780 (p 374):

TWO HUNDRED POUNDS STERLING
to be gained by the fortunate adventurers in
ALEXANDER AITCHISON'S LOTTERY
Of Silver Plate, Jewellery and Hardwares;
of which complete schemes, (containing
several *advantageous conditions never before*
offered to the public in any former lottery of
the kind), may be had gratis at his shop,
south side of Parliament Square; where he
continues to carry on business in all its
branches.

Aitchison's next lottery advertisement was much more eye-catching:⁶⁰

*To the Lovers of Sport – the Favourites of
Fortune – and the Friends of Industry,*

PARLIAMENT-SQUARE RACES.

TO be run for over an unusual course, on
Saturday the 12th day of August next, by
all who please to start, of whatever age,

weight, size, or condition – whether they
have gained former stakes or not – the 111
best of 400 heats.

One hundred Pounds Sterling value in
Jewellery & Hardwares.

ALSO,

To be run for over the same course, and on
the same day, if possible, or very soon
after,

AITCHISON'S SILVER PLATE,
Of One Hundred Pounds Value.

Such as intend to start will please apply
immediately, before the subscription be
filled up, to ALEXANDER AITCHISON
Jeweller, south side of Parliament-square,
Edinburgh, who will show them the
conditions of the race, and furnish them
with the proper CERTIFICATES,
A.A.Steward.

N.B. No *Scaffolding* will be erected for
Spectators, as none but Subscribers will be
admitted on the course.

This apparent attempt to imitate Siena's famous horse race, the Palio, in Edinburgh's cramped Parliament Square should have aroused suspicions, especially since the winner was to be the best 111 of 400 heats, but evidently enough people took the advertisement seriously to warrant the following disclaimer.⁶¹

TO THE PUBLIC.

In a Paper which is constantly filled with advertisements, one can hardly expect to attract general attention, unless either the article advertised is uncommon, or the advertisement itself *outré* and striking. This consideration induced ALEXANDER AITCHISON to advertise his LOTTERY in the Courant of the 17th current, under the *temporary allegory* of a RACE. Such as had seen his former advertisements were at no loss to unravel the mystery; and such as

60 EEC, 17 July 1780, p 3.

61 EEC, 31 July 1780, p 3.

applied for certificates, got ample information from the scheme. But although it had, in this respect, the desired effect with many, yet as some took others interpreted it literally of a real *Race around the Square*, he thinks it necessary to inform the Public once more, without a metaphor, That the Lottery will positively BEGIN DRAWING on Saturday se'enight the 12th of August next, at 10 o'clock forenoon, when all concerned will be welcome to attend, upon showing their tickets to the door-keeper. This precaution is thought necessary, to prevent the house from being crowded by strangers, whom curiosity might prompt to attend.

Tickets 5s and shares 2s 6d, 15d and 1s 0d each, continue selling at the said

A. Aitchison's shop, Parliament-Square, where schemes may be had gratis.

CORRESPONDENTS in the COUNTRY will please order payment of the tickets and shares they have sold, and return what are not disposed of without delay, as the demand in town is daily increasing.

The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* published a further lottery advertisement on 25 December 1780 (p 3):

To all those who would wish to present a handsome NEW YEAR'S GIFT to a friend at a small expence.

ONE HUNDRED POUNDS STERLING.

To be gained by the Fortunate Adventurers in the THIRD and LAST DRAWING of

A. AITCHISON'S LOTTERY OF SILVER PLATE, JEWELLERY and HARDWARES;

WHICH will be held in Mary's Chapel, on the 27th of next month, or Sixth, if all the Tickets are sold before that time.

Tickets Five Shillings, and Shares, One Shilling, Fifteen-pence, and Half a Crown each, to be held at A. AITCHISON'S Shop, south side of Parliament Square; where SCHEMES containing a list of the prizes in the second drawing; and a particular account of the METHOD OF DRAWING LOTTERIES in general, may be had gratis.

As there are few Tickets now on hand, and the scheme will not be any further enlarged, no more will be sent to the country, but upon express commission. – For the convenience of the public, however, a few schemes are lodged with the following gentlemen – to whom

A. Aitchison cannot omit this opportunity of expressing his gratitude for their repeated trouble and favours, viz.

Mess. Walter Aitchison Gallowgate, John Eadie Trongate, and John Begbie Bridegate, Glasgow; Joseph Thomson, Paisley; W. Anderson and W. Paterson, Stirling; J. Macculloch and J. Drummond, Crieff; A. Alison and J. Gilles, Perth; J. More, Dundee; J. Low and J. Tod, Arbroath; H. Ross, Montrose; C. Gilles and J. Clark, Brechin; A. Peat, jun., Bognill, near Fettercairn; R. Smith, Upper Kirkgate, Aberdeen; P. Bowers, St. Andrews; A. Aitchison and D. Brown, Pittenweem; W. Young, Cupar, Fife; J. Halkerston, Falkland; A. Aitchison, Haddington; G. Fair, Berwick; J. Young, Dunse; G. Elliott and J. Rude, Kelso; J. Duncan, Dornock; J. Mathers, Thurso; and Jo. Burn, Burrowstounness.

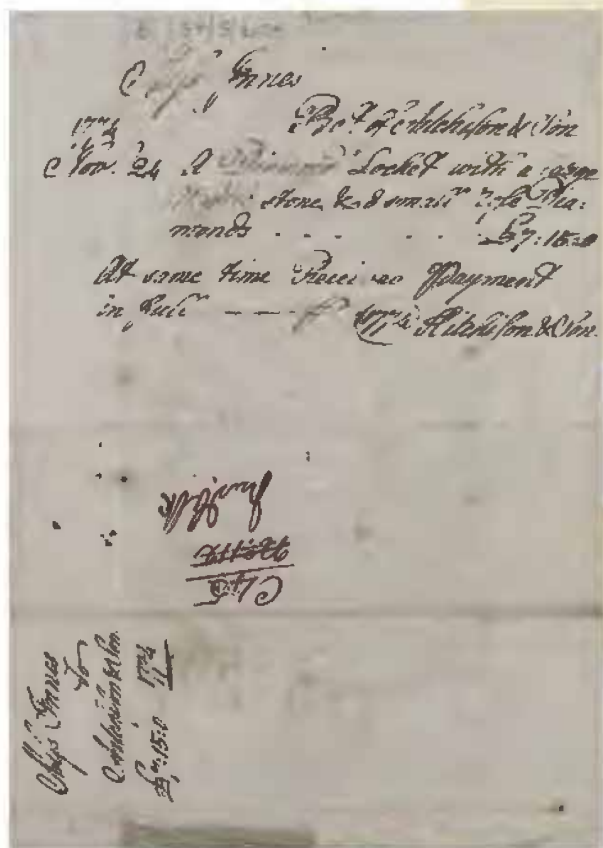


Fig 7 Invoice of 24 November 1774 for a diamond locket for £7 15s. from Alexander Aitchison & Son to Miss Jean Innes.

It is striking that Aitchison priced his tickets at between 1s and 5s clearly aiming at those who might not ordinarily have been his customers. Also, that through a surprisingly extensive network (including presumably his relatives), he was trying to tap a national market embracing most of Scotland's larger urban centres and towns as far apart as Berwick-upon-Tweed (just south of the Border in England) and Thurso (Caithness in the north of Scotland).

The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* on 1 January 1783 (p 3) advertised another Aitchison lottery to dispose of £300 worth of goods, with tickets again priced at between 1s and 5s.⁶² There followed similar advertisements for a further Aitchison lottery in 1784.⁶³

Were these lotteries good for business? There is insufficient evidence to answer this question but two of Aitchison's most important commissions date from 1781: a tea-urn and stand costing £50 presented as an Edinburgh horse-race prize;⁶⁴ and a goblet-shaped cup with two scroll handles and lid presented to Neil MacVicar, linen manufacturer and future Lord Provost of Edinburgh (1802-03).⁶⁵ Aitchison, however, does not seem to have subsequently had any further commissions of comparable importance.

In 1782 one of Aitchison's two female domestic servants fell ill with influenza. When he dismissed her without paying 20s in owed wages she sued him in the Edinburgh Bailie Court. He in turn claimed from her £5 in damages and 30s in expenses, supporting his case by alleging that she had left his employment without his consent, and portraying her as incompetent and disobedient and by attempting to blacken her moral character. This episode revealed his combative personality and his willingness to crush a poor young woman and former employee, while espousing political radicalism and reportedly spending money on a petition to the king. It

may also indicate, as the dismissed servant suggested, that he was in financial difficulties.⁶⁶ Certainly he failed to pay a bill totalling £2 5s 7d for wine and spirits ordered between 6 June 1781 and 4 May 1782.⁶⁷

Alexander Aitchison II: foot-soldier of the Enlightenment

By the end of 1782 Aitchison had progressed from selling lottery tickets to selling tickets for an Edinburgh debating society: public debating societies were a feature of the Edinburgh Enlightenment. Members of the public could buy tickets for a debate on a specific motion and then participate in the debate and finally vote for or against the motion. Women were usually permitted to attend but not to debate or vote. One of these debating societies, the Pantheon, was founded in December 1773. It held meetings every Thursday evening during "the Winter Session" in Mary's Chapel, Niddry's Wynd, where the Aitchison lottery tickets were drawn.⁶⁸ By July 1781 Aitchison was selling tickets for the Pantheon Debating Society.⁶⁹

On 20 November 1782 the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* advertised on its first page two separate debates: the first was to address the motion "Would it be for the advantage of Scotland, that Trials by Jury should be adopted in Civil Cases?", and the second "Whether Poverty or Flattery is most inimical to Female Virtue?" "Tickets to be had of Mr Aitchison jeweller, Parliament-square". On 7 December the newspaper informed its readers that "a considerable majority" had concluded that flattery was more inimical to female virtue than poverty and announced two further motions for debate: "Would it be for the interest of Britain at this crisis to conclude a peace with the Contending Powers, including the Independence of America?" and "Whether is Fancy or Judgement most consulted in chusing a Wife?" Again tickets could be obtained from Aitchison. In 1783 similar motions were debated: "Whether does the Happiness of the

62 See also *EEC*, 13 January 1783, p 3, 24 February 1783, p 1, 12 March 1783, p 3, 5 April and 17 May 1783, p 1; *CM*, 15 February 1783, p 3; *EA*, 6-9 February 1781, p 94.

63 *EA*, 13-16 January 1784, p 37; *EEC*, 14 January 1784, p 1, 11 February and 13 March 1784, p 3.

64 *TCM*, 15 August 1781, f 202.

65 Information kindly supplied by the current owner.

66 'Claim Thomson against Aitchison', 26 June 1782; *ECA*, BCP, box 166, bundle 439. Ann Thomson, daughter of a Dumfries shoemaker, was found liable to pay 40s in damages and 10s in expenses.

67 'Claim William Espy against Burt & Aitchison', 19 June 1783; *ibid*, box 168, bundle 443. Aitchison had ordered "1 bottle of red wine, 3 bottles of white wine, 2 bottles of port, ½ pint of brandy, 1½ pints of gin, 5 bottles of Lisbon wine, and 4½ pints of whisky".

68 John A Fairley, "The Pantheon: an old Edinburgh debating society", *BOEC*, 1 (1908), pp 47-75.

69 *EA*, 6-9 February 1781, p 94. See also *EA*, 9-12 July 1782, p 29.

70 *EA*, 13-17 December 1782, p 390; *EEC*, 28 December 1782, p 3, 19 February 1783, p 3, 3 March 1783, p 3, 8 March 1783, p 1
 71 *EEC*, 8 March 1783, p 1.

Married State depend most on the Husband or the Wife?"; "Suppose a Man, his Mother, his Wife, and Daughter, on sea in a boat; it oversets; he has it in his power to save but one of them, which ought he to save?" ("considerable majority in favour of the WIFE"); "Ought the Civil Magistrate to have any coercive Power in regard to Religious Opinions?" ("by a shew of hands determined in the Negative"); "Which is more blameable, the Old Woman who marries a Young Man, or the Young Woman who marries an Old Man?" (result not reported); "Which is the most commendable charity, that which is bestowed on the education of youth, or that given for relieving the wants of uneducated old aged?" ("a small majority was found to be in favour of Old Age"); "Whether is the Lady of an agreeable temper, though deformed, or one of an opposite temper, though beautiful, to be preferred as a Wife?" ("after a very spirited and entertaining debate of near three hours, without two minutes interval between the speakers, determined, by a numerous and polite audience, in favour of the latter").⁷⁰

Aitchison did not just sell tickets for these debates but almost certainly attended and participated. In this way he would have practiced his skills as a public speaker and debater. Some of the motions would now be considered sexist, but others related to contemporary social, legal and political issues, and would have encouraged him to develop his social and political consciousness. This new interest and activity did not however generate any income as the debaters were not paid and all the profits from the meetings went to the Edinburgh Charity Workhouse. In February 1783 Aitchison and two other prominent members of the Pantheon Society announced that they "would withdraw their aid" unless the Society agreed

to divide the profits of every debate among the speaking members equally.

The members of the society reportedly rejected this proposal unanimously

as selfish, inhumane, uncharitable, and in every point of view subversive of the real interests of an institution, whose leading principle was relief to distress.⁷¹

On 10 March 1783 (p 3) the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* announced the establishment of a new Edinburgh debating society, the Lycaeam:

IN ST. ANDREW'S CHAPEL,
 CARRUBBER'S CLOSE, To-morrow
 being TUESDAY, March 11, 1783.

The LYCAEUM, or School of Eloquence,

Will meet to discuss the following
 Question:

'Is it probable, that the OPPOSITION given to the establishment of an ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY in Edinburgh, arises more from *laudable* than *sinister* motives?

The Debate to close at Ten precisely.

Tickets will be issued by Mr Aitchison Jeweller, Parliament Square.

Ladies are admitted (in a certain number) by GRATIS Tickets, signed by any of the Managers, whose names and address may be known by applying as above.

An HONORARY GOLD MEDAL will be given every *thirteenth* night to that Gentleman who shall be esteemed by the company then present to have spoken best, in that night's debate, provided he hath spoken *three* preceding nights.

*** The very idle and ridiculous Advertisement *from the* PANTHEON will receive a full and humiliating answer on Monday next, when the *veil* of pretended *charity* will be stripped off, and what is *under* it properly and truly displayed.

The motion clearly referred to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, founded in 1780 and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1783, so a topical question but perhaps not one of widespread interest; and the promised award of an honorary gold medal under strict conditions may have been too obvious an attempt to attract debaters. The answer to the Pantheon duly appeared on the *Edinburgh Evening Courant's* front page on 15 March:

PANTHEON UNMASKED;

Being a FULL ANSWER to the late Advertisement of the PANTHEONITES, - displaying its Absurdities, Falsehoods, and Inconsistencies, and stripping off the Veil of pretended Charity from that Institution.

'Qui alienos improbat te intuari oportet' - Latin Proverb.

'No man should attempt to throw stones who had GLASS windows in his own house.'

'Penny wise and POUND foolish' - English Proverbs.

N.B. The members of the Lycaem were too charitable to commence any dispute with the Pantheon, being willing to let it decay gradually, and fall to the ground from its own weakness and insignificance; but having been wantonly attacked, without the least provocation, with scurrility and personalities, the duty they owe to themselves, and their respect to the public, will not permit them to remain silent; and this publication is delayed till Monday next, that they may be able to authenticate the several curious anecdotes and uncommon exertions of charity it contains.

The question to be debated in the Lycaem on Tuesday, being the 18th current, is - 'Does the too prevailing Disinclination to Matrimony arise more from a Defect in the LAWS of the Country, or an increased Depravity in the Morals of the People?'

Tickets to be had of Mr Aitchison, Parliament-Square.

The reference to the proverb that those in glass houses should not throw stones was unfortunate, since the same front page carried a report that Mary's Chapel had been attacked during a meeting of the Pantheon Society by "evil minded persons" throwing stones.

The two societies were now in sometimes violent competition, and it was a competition which the Pantheon Society won. It had been founded in 1773 and so had had ten years in which to attract a following. The Society switched its charitable support to the servants' ward in the Royal Edinburgh Infirmary, presumably a more popular cause than the Charity Work House, and the Pantheon's motions almost certainly had a wider appeal than those of the Lycaem. Its motions included: "Ought children when at the years of discretion to be under the influence and control of their parents in forming the matrimonial connection?" ("after a very spirited debate, decided by a great majority in the *negative*"); "Which is most prominent in the female breast, to excel in mental, or personal accomplishment?" ("after a very entertaining debate, determined in favour of the latter"); "Whether has Genius or Judgment contributed most to the Progress of the Arts and Sciences?"; "Whether has AVARICE or AMBITION been most hurtful to society?" ("Ambition was declared, by a small majority, to have been most hurtful"); "Do Mankind suffer more from REAL or IMAGINARY Evils?" ("determined by a small majority for the former"); "Does reading NOVELS tend more to PROMOTE or INJURE the cause of Virtue?" ("It was determined by a majority of TEN (out of 120), that reading novels tends more to promote than injure the cause of virtue"); "Would it be Sound Policy in the State to PREVENT Emigration to America?"⁷²

In contrast, the Lycaem advertised just two motions: "Are Mankind, in bestowing Charity, more generally influenced by GENEROUS or SELFISH Motives?" and "Whether ought

⁷² EEC, 17 March 1783, p 3, 24 March 1783, p 1, 2 April 1783, p 1, 9 April 1783, p 3, 16 and 21 April 1783, p 1.

73 EEC, 14 and 21 April 1783, p 3.

74 Minutes, 2 October and 18 November 1782, GD1/482/6, f227 and f229.

75 EUL, Centre for Research Collections, La II, 588.

76 R L Plackett, 'The Old Statistical Account', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 149, 1986, pp 247-251.

77 John H Burton (ed), *The Autobiography of Dr Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, 1722-1805*, Edinburgh, 1910.

78 EUL, Dc 4.41, f142.

Beauty, Sense, or Fortune, to be the chief incentive in the choice of a Wife?" The first motion might have caused some embarrassment, and the Pantheon had, in effect, already debated the second. Aitchison and his two colleagues felt obliged to introduce a donation to the Edinburgh Charity Work-house which must have seemed like an admission of defeat and after April 1783 there is no mention of the Lycaenum Debating Society.⁷³

At about the same time Aitchison became involved in a newspaper: the *Edinburgh Evening Post*. This is indicated by a letter, dated 13 February 1783, sent by Campbell Denovan to the Earl of Buchan. Denovan was an Edinburgh printer who subsequently printed *Williamson's Edinburgh Directory*, from June 1790 to June 1792, while David Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan, was one of the principal founders of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. In October 1782 the Incorporation of Goldsmiths had agreed to present the Earl of Buchan with the freedom of the Incorporation

in a box made from Sir William Wallace's tree to be mounted with silver.⁷⁴

Describing the *Edinburgh Evening Post* as

a Paper calculated for these Times, to point out to Scotland, & Scots Men, their much injured rights & privileges,

Denovan asked Buchan for financial support, explaining:⁷⁵

The expence of Printing, and the Advance of Money for Stamp-paper, has hitherto been with difficulty effected by Mr Aitchison Jeweller Parl. Square & myself; and we conjunctly assisted in packing up and regularly sending by Post the Papers as well as circulating them in this city and suburbs.

It is not clear whether or not Buchan advanced any money, but no copies of this newspaper seem to have survived, which suggests that this was for Aitchison yet another failed enterprise.

Although they were commercial failures, the Lycaenum Debating Society and the *Edinburgh Evening Post* introduced Aitchison to a world beyond that of the Edinburgh goldsmiths, raised his social and political consciousness, and encouraged him to acquire new skills as a public debater and printer's assistant. The details of his life during the next decade remain obscure, though he apparently enrolled as a medical student at Edinburgh University. In July 1794, however, he emerges as a proof-reader for the *Statistical Account of Scotland*.

The *Statistical Account of Scotland*, edited by Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster and published between 1791 and 1799, was a project characteristic of the Enlightenment:⁷⁶ it aimed to provide an up-to-date survey and description of the whole of Scotland. Questionnaires were sent out to Presbyterian ministers asking them to respond to up to 160 questions relating to the geography, topography, population, and agricultural and industrial production of their parish. Aitchison's involvement is indicated by three surviving letters between himself and Dr Alexander Carlyle. Minister of Inveresk, a parish approximately five miles south-east of Edinburgh, Carlyle was a minor figure in the Scottish Enlightenment, mixing in Edinburgh literary circles and publishing pamphlets based on his sermons, such as *National Depravity the Cause of National Calamities* (1793).⁷⁷ Aitchison clearly proof-read Carlyle's contribution and engaged him in epistolary debate. His first letter to Carlyle, sent from the Canongate and dated 23 July 1794, discusses the re-instatement of the names of female teachers, jauntily referred to as the "Musselburgh Ladies":⁷⁸

I perfectly agree with you, that it would not appear polite to record the Names of the male Teachers & omit those of the Ladies. I have therefore restored your Fair Friends to the honour you first intended them, & that

it is an honour no person can doubt, who reflects, that the Statistical Account will be read & consulted many ages hence – when perhaps there will not be a Mon-h [Monarch] in Europe.

The second letter, dated 30 July 1794, is also concerned with proofs, but in addition provides evidence of Aitchison's lively style and radical views:⁷⁹

AA [Alexander Aitchison] cannot help expressing his most cordial approbation of Dr C.'s [Carlyle's] sentiments respecting the 'fictitious vices', & 'artificial virtues'. – As an evidence of their justice he begs leave to give a short anecdote of a certain ruling Elder in the Church. This Gentleman, who is an heritor [possessor of the right to appoint the minister] & a man of considerable property, assured AA that he paid such a strict observance to the 4th command [the Fourth Commandment: 'Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.'], that he never shaved himself upon the Lord's day but once in his life; and on that occasion, retired to his closet, that he might not set a *bad example* to his family or servants.' – And yet this *holy* man is well known to pay no regard to the 7th command [the Seventh Commandment: 'Thou shall not commit adultery.'], being not only false to his lady, but having actually ruined the peace of several families by his illicit connections with *married* women!!! At the very time that he was boasting of his regard for the Sabbath day, he used every means to seduce AA's wife – (an Angel of a Woman, both in body & mind) from her duty, but happily in vain. – Query – What authority have Christians to observe any one day *more holy* than another? AA has searched deep into this subject & can find none – except a simple prohibition to absent from public worship & an order to lay up weekly charity. The 4th command is evidently a part of the Jewish typical

dispensation, binding upon that people alone, & seems never to have been given to, or observed by Adam, Noah or even Abraham, Isaac or Jacob. But it is fortunate for the Slaves, & the working Cattle, that the *deception* of observing one day of rest has continued so long.

In his reply Carlyle seems to have advised Aitchison not to be so forthright in the expression of his religious and political opinions, so as not to antagonise people such as Sir John Sinclair, to which Aitchison responded on 2 August:⁸⁰

As to the worthy baronet [Sir John Sinclair], to whom AA is under so many obligations, he is too liberal minded to find fault with a man for mere opinions; nor is he indeed a stranger to AA's political sentiments, which have undergone little variation these 25 years, and were adopted & openly avowed long before [Thomas] Paine wrote & [George] Washington fought. But Sir John knows also that AA does not wish a bloody Revolution in this Country (however much he may fear it) – as there is nothing that Britons want that is worthy of the numberless lives that would be lost before it could be obtained. To prevent such a direful catastrophe, as far as a single insignificant individual could, AA early joined the friends of Reform, & even contributed his mite to advertise against the war [declared by the French Republic against Britain in February 1793]; and he still thinks that, had a majority of the Nation been of the same way of thinking, much blood & treasure might have been saved, and our Country might have been still in the same happy & flourishing situation it was in three years ago. In these exertions AA must be allowed to have at least acted *disinterestedly* tho' he has doubtless acted *imprudently*. But tho' he has seldom seen an inch before his nose (so to speak) in his private concerns, he may with truth say, he has scarcely ever erred

79 EUL, Dc 4.41, f140.

80 EUL, Dc 4.41, f141.

81 Charles B Boag Watson (ed), *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1761-1841*, Edinburgh, 1933, p 6.

82 TCM, 12 May 1779, f 271; *Williamson's Directory*, 1783, p 12 (appendix); TCM, 16 April 1783, f 362.

83 Francis J Grant (ed), *Register of Marriages of the City of Edinburgh, 1751-1800*, Edinburgh, 1922, pp 5 and 7; Rodney and Janice Dietert, op cit, see note 1, p 14. The children were: Robert Stewart Pringle (born 26 October 1776, baptised 31 October 1776); Joan Tweedie (born 16 January 1779, baptised 26 January 1779); Frederica Bull (born 6 June 1781, baptised 28 June 1781); Washington Franklin Nisbet Bruno Fox (born 24 October 1784, baptised 20 November 1784). The latter died on 5 July 1785 and was buried in the Greyfriars' churchyard. The entry in the Greyfriars' register adds (possibly at his father's instigation) that he died "having been previously half-starved half murdered by his nurse and her drunken husband." Henry Steuart Fotheringham kindly communicated this reference.

84 ECA, Moses's Bundles, no 6632.

85 Minutes, 11 June 1784, GD1/482/6, f 242.

86 Ibid, 15 February 1785, f 251.

87 Ibid 19 September 1786, f 279.

88 Ibid, 13 October 1786, f 281.

89 Francis J Grant (ed), *Parish of Holyroodhouse or Canongate. Register of Marriages, 1564-1800*, Edinburgh, 1915, pp 5, 18.

90 Minutes, 9 April 1788, GD1/482/6, f 293; Rodney and Janice Dietert, op cit, see note 1, p 14.

91 Minutes, 12 August 1788, GD1/482/6, f 297.

in his public prognostications as to public matters.

The correspondence, which ends here, reveals that Alexander Aitchison harboured radical religious and political views which he was not afraid of expressing, while at the same time stressing that he still firmly believed in

the whole sacred Scriptures, from the 1st of Genesis to the end of Revelations,

that he continued

in the Communion of the Church of Scotland,

and that he wanted constitutional reform but not "bloody Revolution".

Alexander Aitchison II: radical political activist

Alexander Aitchison II's background and early career were respectable. The son of a goldsmith and an Edinburgh burgess, he himself was admitted to the Incorporation of Goldsmiths (13 September 1770) and as a burgess of Edinburgh (18 March 1778).⁸¹ Again like his father, he served as an Edinburgh constable (May 1779-April 1783).⁸²

For a time he worked quite successfully as a goldsmith, at first in partnership with his father. On 1 October 1778 he had married Ann Aikenhead, the daughter of Robert Aikenhead, a farmer of the "county of Mearns" (formerly Kincardineshire, now Aberdeenshire), and they had at least four children.⁸³

By 1784 Aitchison had apparently failed as a goldsmith. He owed his fellow goldsmith James Hewitt the considerable sum of £27 4s 3d, for which he was pursued in the Edinburgh Bailie Court in April 1784.⁸⁴ A letter he wrote to the Incorporation

setting forth his distressed situation

was read out at the meeting of 11 June, when it was agreed "to allot him seven guineas".⁸⁵ In February 1785 he again petitioned the Incorporation,

stating his necessitous circumstances and the situation of his Family.

This time the Incorporation responded more cautiously: he was granted £2 to be paid at the rate of 4s per week and only after he had furnished "a state of his affairs".⁸⁶ After the death of his wife in September 1786 he asked the Incorporation to contribute to her funeral expenses and received four guineas.⁸⁷ The following month one of his sons died, prompting another request for assistance again towards funeral expenses. The Incorporation sent him two guineas to Montrose "where he now is".⁸⁸

On 29 September 1787 Alexander Aitchison married for the second time. In the Canongate marriage register he is described as

late jewler in Edinburgh, and now student of medicine,

while his bride was designated as

Jean Anderson, relict [widow] of Richard Boyle, late manufacturer in Perth [Perth].⁸⁹

This led to another call on the generosity of the Incorporation: in April 1788 Aitchison wrote to the deacon

praying for some small assistance to defray the expense of his wife's inlying.

The baby, a girl, was born on 9 April 1788, less than seven months after the marriage, but the Incorporation nevertheless granted Aitchison 20s.⁹⁰ Aitchison's neglect of his trade, absence from Incorporation meetings, self-description as a medical student and receipt of so much Incorporation charity were beginning to attract criticism. At the Incorporation meeting of 12 August 1788 Alexander Gardner proposed that for these reasons Aitchison should be debarred from voting for the deacon; he was supported in this by David Downie, although Aitchison was able to claim, correctly, that he had never been struck off the electoral roll.⁹¹

On 11 September 1788 Aitchison was listed as eligible to vote in the election for the deacon of the Goldsmiths⁹² but by then he had probably stopped making any silver or jewellery for about four years and evidently considered himself to be a medical student. His financial problems continued as the minutes of an Incorporation meeting on 11 August 1789 indicate:⁹³

A motion having been made that Alexander Aitchison one of their Members is in great want and that a small supply at present would be very convenient for him, the Meeting authorize the Treasurer to pay him Three Guineas but declare that if he applies again for a supply it will be refused him unless he applies by petition in the common way.

The following month the Incorporation's concerns focused on an unnamed daughter of Alexander Aitchison who⁹⁴

was in a very destitute situation owing to the straitened circumstances of her father and was in a great measure thrown loose upon the world and unless the Incorporation interfered there was great reason to fear that she might be entirely ruined. In these circumstances the meeting were of opinion that every endeavour should be made to get her taken into the Trades Maiden Hospital and recommend to their Deacon to use his Interest for that purpose which he most readily agreed to. In the mean time they authorise their Treasurer to pay one Guinea to Mr James McKenzie to be laid out by him in whatever way he shall judge most proper for her Relief and to prevent her from falling into bad hands.

The Incorporation subsequently agreed

to continue to support her till further orders in as frugal a manner as possible under the management and direction of Mr James McKenzie.⁹⁵

The Incorporation evidently believed that

Aitchison's daughter had been virtually abandoned by her father and stepmother and was at risk of becoming a prostitute. To prevent this, they decided to take the initiative by having her enrolled in the Trades Maiden Hospital, a school for the daughters of Edinburgh tradesmen and craftsmen. They also paid her expenses and appointed a goldsmith, James McKenzie, to act almost as her guardian. Given the social and political conservatism of most of the Edinburgh goldsmiths, this intervention is remarkable. By contrast, the radical Aitchison apparently neglected one of his daughters to an alarming degree, despite harbouring a sentimental attitude towards his first wife, naming his new daughter Ann Aikenhead after her, and claiming to be concerned about society in general.

By May 1790 Alexander Aitchison had exhausted the patience and generosity of his fellow goldsmiths. In response to yet another petition

stating his distressed situation and craving a supply

they decided that:⁹⁶

as the said Alexander Aitchison has received supply on sundry different occasions from the Incorporation it is improper for him to be continued on the Roll and therefore order the Clerk to strike his name out of the Roll but as he appears to be in very calamitous circumstances the Meeting remit to the Treasurer to enquire into his situation and if he is satisfied of his distress they allow the Treasurer to lay out Three Guineas for relieving his household furniture from the distress threatened by his Landlord.

The Incorporation continued for a time to pay for the maintenance and education of Aitchison's two eldest daughters (£2 7s 6d in August 1791, £4 3s in February 1792). In May 1792 one of his daughters was admitted to the Trades Maiden Hospital and the following year

92 Ibid, 11 September 1788, f 299.

93 Ibid, 11 August 1789, f 308.

94 Ibid, 8 September 1789, f 310.

95 Ibid, 24 November 1789, f 313.

96 Ibid, 25 May 1790, f 315; *Minutes of Trades Maiden Hospital*, 7 May 1792, vol 2, p 401. Henry Steuart Fotheringham kindly communicated the latter reference.

97 Minutes, 16 August 1791, 14 February and 4 May 1792, 28 May 1793, GD1/482/7, f 58, f 65, f 111, f 120 and f 224.

98 Ibid, 13 March 1782, f 213. On 23 May 1797 the Incorporation granted a Miss B (presumably Frederica Bull) Aitchison three guineas "for the purpose of enabling her to purchase Cloaths and other necessities for entering into [domestic] service"; *ibid*, GD/482/8, f 78.

the Incorporation paid her school fees.⁹⁷ Thereafter Aitchison's name ceases to appear in the Minutes of the Incorporation.

Determining why an individual becomes a radical political activist can be difficult. In Aitchison's case he had by 1780 become a vigorous and persistent critic of authority in the Incorporation. One major factor was almost certainly his poverty: Edinburgh goldsmiths did not enjoy the Crown patronage and wealthy customer base of their London counterparts. By this period they were also suffering from some of the consequences of the Industrial Revolution: the development of large silver workshops in London, Birmingham and Sheffield; the increasing popularity of Sheffield Plate; and the proliferation in Edinburgh of hardware shops selling a wide range of goods including silver and Sheffield Plate made in those cities. The American War of Independence (1776-83) disrupted trade, increased taxation and discouraged spending on luxury goods. In these difficult circumstances Aitchison failed as a goldsmith, despite his imaginative attempts to sell his stock and, as a result, almost certainly became embittered and alienated from the status quo.

The American War of Independence had a political as well as an economic impact and Aitchison's sympathies are indicated by his proposal of a motion at an Incorporation meeting on 13 March 1782 that James Hunter Blair, M P for Edinburgh, should be thanked for having voted in the House of Commons

against the further prosecution of the war with America.⁹⁸

The names given to his second son (born 24 October 1784, baptised 20 November 1784) included those of Washington, Franklin and Fox, presumably after the American colonial leaders George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, and the English radical M P Charles James Fox, opponent of George III and supporter of American Independence. In his

letter to Dr Carlyle of 2 August 1794 Aitchison mentions Thomas Paine, so he was probably familiar with Paine's widely influential argument in favour of American independence, *Common Sense* (1776).

The disastrous outcome of the American War of Independence from a British perspective encouraged the emergence of a reform movement in Scotland. In August 1782 a general meeting of delegates from twenty-three out of the thirty-three Scottish counties was held in Edinburgh to organize and promote constitutional reform. Constitutional reform was again discussed in March 1784 by a convention, also held in Edinburgh, of delegates representing this time thirty-six of the sixty-four royal burghs in Scotland. A similar convention met in Edinburgh in October 1785 and thereafter annual conventions met in the city in August. Agitation to reform the British constitution expanded to campaigns to abolish religious tests for public office, the African slave trade, and the right of lay patrons to appoint Church of Scotland ministers. Those campaigns generated meetings, speeches, petitions, societies, pamphlets, and widespread public debate with which Alexander Aitchison must have engaged.

When the French Revolution broke out in July 1789 it was initially welcomed by many Scottish reformers who believed that it would lead to liberal reforms and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy; they including figures such as Henry Erskine, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, Professor Dugald Stewart, the philosopher, and the Rev Dr William Robertson, Principal of Edinburgh University (1762-93) and eldest brother of the Edinburgh goldsmith Patrick Robertson. The tide of opinion soon began to turn in Scotland, as in the rest of Great Britain, at least among members of the propertied classes. In November 1790 Edmund Burke's enormously influential critique of the French Revolution,

Reflections on the Revolution in France, was first published and thereafter the Revolution fulfilled Burke's prophecies by becoming increasingly more radical, with the confiscation without compensation of all Church property, the overthrow of the monarchy, the proclamation of the French Republic, the execution of Louis XVI, the coming to power of the Jacobins (June 1793), and the subsequent Reign of Terror. On 1 February 1793 the French Republic declared war on Great Britain, thus beginning a twenty-year armed conflict.

While events in France alarmed the moderate members of the Scottish reform movement, the more radical members were delighted and decided to form their own organisation. Following the establishment of a Society of the Friends of the People in England in April 1792, the first Scottish Society of the Friends of the People was founded in Edinburgh on 26 July 1792.⁹⁹ After July 1792 the Friends of the People continued to meet and to recruit, one of its earliest members being Alexander Aitchison, who joined on 9 August 1792.¹⁰⁰ Societies of the Friends of the People were also subsequently formed during the summer and winter of 1792 in various centres including Dundee, Perth, Glasgow, and Montrose.

Between 11 and 13 December 1792 the first General Convention of delegates from all the Societies of the Friends of the People throughout Scotland met in Edinburgh. The delegates numbered about 170, representing eighty societies from thirty-five towns and villages. At the convention Thomas Muir of Huntershill (a radical Edinburgh lawyer), anticipating the demands of the Chartists, advocated manhood suffrage and annual parliaments. The majority of the delegates were less radical and they agreed that the Friends of the People would defend the Constitution and assist the civil magistrates in suppressing riots, while at the same time campaigning for an equal representation of the people and a frequent exercise of their right to vote, by the

proper and legal method of petitioning Parliament. Aitchison attended the convention as a delegate for the Canongate; he belonged to the radical minority, contributing to a debate by maintaining that in

the days of King Alfred every free man had a vote in choosing his representatives, and that in those days Parliaments were annual.'

A second General Convention met in Edinburgh between 30 April and 3 May 1793. Government repression of political radicalism and the outbreak of war between Britain and France deterred moderates from attending, so the second convention was more radical than the first. Aitchison was again a delegate for the Canongate and he also acted as assistant to William Skirving, the secretary of the convention, both of whom took the minutes.¹⁰²

A third convention met between 29 October and 2 December 1793.¹⁰³ About 187 delegates, mostly from Edinburgh and Glasgow, attended, as well as prominent English radicals, including Joseph Gerrald and Maurice Margarot: the convention styled itself the British Convention. As before, Aitchison was one of the representatives of the Canongate and acted as Skirving's assistant. It was agreed on 30 October to press for manhood suffrage and annual parliaments, which Muir had previously advocated without success, and on 1 November

to call upon the people of Scotland to unite, as one man, to petition the King against the war.

Members of the Convention also expressed their "unanimous disapprobation of the Slave Trade". On 2 December Aitchison seconded a motion that

the Convention shall pass some resolutions respecting the late unprecedented and unwarranted infringements on the freedom of the press.¹⁰⁴

Responding to what they considered to be

99 John Brims, 'From Reformers to 'Jacobins': the Scottish Association of the Friends of the People', Thomas (Tom) M Devine (ed), *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society, 1700-1850*, Edinburgh, 1990, pp 31-50.

100 Thomas B and Thomas J Howell (eds), *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and other Crimes and Misdemeanours from the Earliest Period ... to the Present Time*, 34 vols, London, 1809-28, 23 (1817), p 582.

101 NRS, RH 2/4/66, ff 356-357; Henry W Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution*, Glasgow, 1912, p 251.

102 Thomas B and Thomas J Howell, *op cit*, see note 100, 23 (1817), p 528.

103 *Ibid*, 23 (1817), pp 391-471.

104 *Ibid*, 23 (1817), p 439.

105 Ibid, 23 (1817), p 1243. See William I Fortescue, 'Edinburgh Goldsmiths and Radical Politics, 1793-94: the case of David Downie', *BOEC*, new series, 9, 2012, pp 33-57.

106 Thomas B and Thomas J Howell, *op cit*, see note 100, 23 (1817), p 243.

107 *SM*, 56 (January 1794), p 33.

speeches and resolutions "of a most inflammatory and seditious tendency", during the evening of 5 December 1793, the Lord Provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, accompanied by thirty constables, went to the Masonic lodge in Blackfriars Wynd where the British Convention was meeting and forcibly compelled its dispersal. The following evening, members of the British Convention tried to meet in the suburbs of Edinburgh, but again their meeting was forcibly dispersed by the Sheriff-substitute of the county of Edinburgh, backed up by the Lord Provost, city magistrates and constables. On 7 December the Lord Provost and the Sheriff-substitute issued a proclamation banning any future meeting of the British Convention, and Joseph Gerrald, Maurice Margarot and William Skirving were subsequently arrested.

After the dispersal of the British Convention, about a hundred delegates continued to meet. Robert Watt, a former bookseller's assistant and wine merchant who had reported on radical meetings in Perth and Edinburgh to the authorities, soon emerged as the leading figure. On his initiative in January 1794 a Committee of Union was formed; the members included Alexander Aitchison, David Downie (the Edinburgh goldsmith), and Robert Watt.¹⁰⁵ On 5 March Watt proposed the formation of a secret permanent committee of seven members, known as the Committee of Ways and Means, which would meet once a week; Aitchison, Downie and Watt were members although Aitchison attended only the first meeting.

The reason that Aitchison ceased to attend meetings was almost certainly because he was alarmed at Watt's plans. What became known as the 'Pike Plot' involved the violent take-over of Edinburgh and the issuing of a series of demands to George III. A number of fires were to be started in different parts of Edinburgh so as to lure members of the military garrison out

of the castle to put out the fires. The soldiers would then be overpowered, magistrates, judges and other public officials would be arrested, the Post Office, banks and other public buildings would be occupied, and the castle would be seized. Once Edinburgh was in the hands of the plotters, Watt and his followers would demand that George III should dismiss the government and Parliament, establish a democratic constitution, and end the war with France.

Aitchison's withdrawal from the committee was fortunate for him because on 15 May 1794 sixteen pikes and other incriminating evidence were discovered in a house in Edinburgh and more were found in the house of one of the blacksmiths who had made them. Watt and Downie were rapidly arrested and detained on a charge of high treason. Aitchison was just in the clear, but because he had participated in the three conventions and had taken the minutes, and because he had been a member of both the Committee of Union and the Committee of Ways and Means, he became an important witness in the trials which followed the dispersal of the British Convention and the discovery of the 'Pike Plot'. Aitchison's testimony at those trials provides further evidence of his political opinions and personal character.

"Alexander Aitchison, student of physic, residing in Canongate of Edinburgh" was listed as a potential witness in the trial of the Rev Thomas Fyshe Palmer, accused of "Seditious Practices", before the Court of Justiciary held at Perth, 12-13 September 1793.¹⁰⁶ In the event he was not summoned to appear in court, but he did give evidence at a series of trials of English radicals held at the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh. At the trial for sedition of William Skirving (6-7 January 1794), he claimed he could not identify Skirving's handwriting. When this provoked incredulous laughter in the public gallery, he boldly asked the presiding judge:¹⁰⁷

My Lord, what noise is that in the gallery – is it proper for people to laugh in a Court of Justice, when a witness is giving his declaration on oath?

He made his political sympathies clear by referring to¹⁰⁸

the ever memorable and immortal 9th of August 1792 [in fact 10 August 1792, when the French monarchy was violently overthrown], which gave birth to the most noble event that ever happened among the nations of the earth, when liberty was given to millions of our fellow-creatures who had hitherto groaned under despotism and tyranny!

Similarly he declared to the Court that citizen

is the best title a man can have, should blush for myself, as a burgess of Edinburgh if I did not think so; and it is preferable to master, because we are commanded to call no man master.

When Skirving cross-examined him, the following exchange took place:¹⁰⁹

[Skirving]: Did you ever suppose I had any thing like a seditious intention in any thing I did?

[Aitchison]: So far from it, that I have heard you say, you were sure the only way to support the present form of government, by King, Lords, and Commons, would be to obtain a timely reform.

The trial of Maurice Margarot, also for sedition (13-14 January 1794), featured similar exchanges:¹¹⁰

[Margarot]: What was your motive for associating with the Friends of the People?

[Aitchison]: The public good, which, I hope, I will always have at heart.

[Margarot]: What do you understand by the public good?

[Aitchison]: I understand, by the public good, that grievances should be addressed, and every man made as happy as possible.

[Margarot]: What would be the consequence of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and of the act of preventing wrongous [unlawful or illegal action].

[Aitchison]: It would be certainly a great encroachment upon the privilege of Britons.

In the trial of Joseph Gerrald (3, 10, 13 and 14 March 1794), Aitchison even took on one of the judges:¹¹¹

[Lord Dunsinnan]: Has any body told you or instructed you what to say?

[Aitchison]: If his majesty himself had instructed me what to say, I would not have regarded it.

[Lord Dunsinnan]: Have you any malice or ill-will against the panel [the accused or defendant] at the bar?

[Aitchison]: No, far from it; I consider him to be as second LYCURGUS; a voluntary exile for the good of his country, and for the same reason too; a wish to give a better code of laws to his countrymen than they have hitherto enjoyed.

Despite Aitchison's testimony, Skirving, Margarot and Gerrald were each sentenced to fourteen years' transportation to Australia. Even more serious was the trial of the Scottish conspirator Robert Watt, like Aitchison a delegate to the British Convention, and a fellow member of the Committee of Union and of the Committee of Ways and Means. Watt was accused of high treason, not sedition, and he was tried by a special commission of Oyer and Terminer, so that English law, considerably harsher with respect to high treason than Scots law, could be applied. The trial, held in Edinburgh, lasted several days (14, 15, 22 and 27 August, and 3 September 1794) with

108 Ibid.

109 Thomas B and Thomas J Howell, *op cit*, see note 100, 23, 1817, pp 529, 531-432.

110 Ibid, 23, pp 656, 658.

111 Ibid., 23, p 923.

112 Ibid, 23, pp 1243-1249 and p 1248.

113 EA, 21-24 October 1794, p 270.

114 See his Testament, registered 14 October 1808; NRS, CC8/11/4, ff 583-584. Henry Stewart Fotheringham kindly communicated this reference.

115 Ibid, ff 583-586.

Aitchison appearing as one of a number of witnesses. Under persistent questioning Aitchison very carefully refused to confirm that Watt had been involved in plans or activities which might have led to violence. He also refused to explain why he had withdrawn from the Committee of Ways and Means after just one meeting, apart from stating that he did not wish to be involved in "secret business".¹¹²

Despite Aitchison's testimony Watt was found guilty and executed on 15 October 1794.

After Watt's trial Alexander Aitchison was sent to London to act as a witness in treason trials there, as the following notice in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* indicates:¹¹³

On Tuesday morning [21 October 1794], Alexander Aitchison, George Ross, and Walter Miller, who have been confined for some time in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, were removed from thence, and took their passage in the Royal Charlotte Coach, escorted by some King's Messengers, for London, where they are to be adduced as evidences against the persons indicted for High Treason, Fairley, Orrock, and some others, who have undergone the like confinement in the Castle and Canongate prison, also set off the same day for London, for the same purpose.

This report reveals that Aitchison had been imprisoned in the Tolbooth, the local Edinburgh jail, while being summoned as a witness. He survived this ordeal and the various trials and presumably subsequently resumed working as a printer's assistant and as a proof reader. He died in Edinburgh on 21 September 1807.¹¹⁴

Aitchison's estate was valued at his death: household furniture £30 18s 9d, books £14 18s 8d, a watch £1 10s, "body Cloaths" £2 10s, and £42 19s 3d owed by Charles Mitchell and Company of Perth. A note with the valuation explained:

As Mr. Aitchison was confined to the house for a considerable time before his death he had but few articles of Apparel.

Books constituted a strikingly high proportion

of the value of his estate. In an accompanying letter, dated Perth 30 August 1797, and addressed to his second wife, Jean Anderson, he left nearly all his estate to her, disinheriting his children because they were

not likely to behave either to you or myself with that respect which they owe to parents.

In particular he disinherited his son Robert Stewart Pringle

on account of his undutiful conduct to me on sundry occasions, but especially for his obstinacy and wickedness in enlisting as a soldier in this unjust war [against revolutionary France].¹¹⁵

Conclusion

Alexander Aitchison I was a fairly typical, moderately successful, eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmith about whom little evidence survives regarding his personality, political opinions or religious beliefs. His son failed as a goldsmith and as a father, but his advertisements and notices in newspapers, his surviving letters, his testimony in various trials and his will, indicate an intelligent, lively and articulate individual, with an enquiring mind and radical views on religion and politics, which he fearlessly expressed even in the course of trials for sedition and high treason. Alexander Aitchison II is also a reminder that the Scottish Enlightenment required foot soldiers, ticket sellers, printers' assistants and proof readers, as well as distinguished philosophers and authors, and that in the heady years of the early 1790s, spurred on by the American War of Independence, the writings of Thomas Paine, the failure of domestic movements for political and constitutional reform, and the influence of revolutionary France, urban craftsmen could succumb to radicalism and even to treason.

Acknowledgements

The assistance of the following is gratefully acknowledged: George Dalgleish, Professor Rodney Dietert, Henry Stewart Fotheringham OBE, Colin Fraser, and Richard Hunter.

ADMIRAL EDWARD RUSSELL'S SILVER ANDIRONS

ANDREW RENTON



Fig 1 Pair of andirons, London, 1680–81.
(© Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum of Wales)



Wynn's late rococo toilet service supplied by Thomas Heming and his neo-Classical table service designed by Robert Adam.

The andirons

The andirons are in wonderful, unaltered condition, complete with their original wrought-iron log-rests. The latter locate with two pegs into an iron frame bolted to the back of the decorative silver guard [Fig 3]. Each silver guard comprises a double volute base supported on cast lion's-paw feet, its front and sides embossed and chased with acanthus and palm leaves. A central convex oval cartouche, framed with laurel and surmounted by a female mask with two long braided pigtails, is engraved with the arms of Russell impaling Russell for Admiral Edward Russell and his second wife, his cousin, Lady Margaret Russell (died 1701) [Fig 4].¹ The metal is of relatively thin gauge, and the back of the Cleopatra andiron is reinforced at its bottom edge and at the lower edge of the cartouche with silver patches which could well be original and reflect the risk inherent in relying on bold repoussé work rather than weight to produce an effect of impressive substance [Fig 5].

Each andiron supports a cast classical female figure in *contrapposto*. One holds an asp to her breast in her left hand and most likely represents Cleopatra, while the other with a short sword in her right hand represents Lucretia. Each figure stands on a plinth constructed from separately cast acanthus leaves, which sits between two groups of three cast acanthus leaves applied to the shoulders of the base section. The upper face of each base section bears London hallmarks for 1680–81 [Fig 6]. On the underside of the plinths, supporting the figures, are the lion passant and the maker's mark IM with three pellets above and below in a dotted circle [Fig 7].² The silver element of each andiron is 44½ in (46.2 cm) high, 9½ in (23.8 cm) wide and 5½ in (13.5 cm) deep.

In 2016 Amgueddfa Cymru, National Museum Wales, succeeded in raising the funds to purchase what is perhaps the finest surviving pair of British silver andirons of the Restoration period [Fig 1]. Bearing the engraved arms of Admiral Edward Russell (1653–1727), 1st Earl of Orford [Fig 2], and with an unbroken provenance of nearly three centuries in the Sandys family of Ombersley Court, Worcestershire, the andirons are among a number of important works of art to have left Ombersley since the death of the 7th Baron Sandys in 2013. Sold to an overseas buyer, they were subject to a temporary export bar, allowing Amgueddfa Cymru to acquire them with the support of substantial grants from the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the Art Fund and generous donations from the Silver Society, the Goldsmiths' Company and numerous private donors. The andirons are a magnificent addition to the museum's outstanding silver collection, a missing link in a chain of exceptional objects that stretches from the Mostyn ewer and dish made in Bruges in 1561, to Edward Feline's Williams centrepiece of 1730, to Sir Watkin Williams-

- 1 Russell (argent, a lion rampant gules with a mullet for difference, on a chief sable three escallops of the first), impaling Russell (argent, a lion rampant gules, on a chief sable three escallops of the first), crest: on a wreath a goat passant argent armed or.
- 2 Ian Pickford (ed), *Jackson's Silver and Gold Marks of England, Scotland and Ireland*, 3rd edition, Woodbridge, 1999, p 137. Philippe Glanville, *Silver in Britain*, London, 1987, p 72, notes that it is unusual for silver andirons to be hallmarked, as they were specially commissioned rather than stock items produced in large numbers for sale.

- 3 Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art and Objects of Cultural Interest, note of case hearing on 18 November 2015: *A Pair of Charles II Silver Andirons* (Case 15, 2015-16); http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/download-file/Nota_of_case_silverandirons.pdf (accessed 31 October 2017); the expert adviser's statement on the same case.
- 4 I am extremely grateful to David Mitchell for sharing his research on this mark prior to publication of his book *Silversmiths in Elizabethan and Stuart London: Their Lives and Their Marks*, Woodbridge, 2017, in which see pp 385-386 and 550-552 for the marks and biographies of Joseph Moore and Thomas Payne; and pp 58-62, 88 and 180 for the campaign against 'stranger' silversmiths. Given Moore's death in February 1690, the use of his mark in 1690-91 may be accounted for by his widow continuing his trade for a short time.
- 5 Goldsmiths' Company Court Book 7, pp 194, 194v, 195, 11 April 1676; I am grateful to David Mitchell for this reference.

The maker

The IM mark has been tentatively identified as that of the London silversmith John Moore but an appealing recent theory suggests that it may be the mark of Jean Henri de Moor (1645-1722), a native of Wageningen near Arnhem in Gelderland, the Netherlands.³ Research by David Mitchell shows, however, that neither of these is likely to be the case given that no plateworker by the name of John Moore can be identified at this period and that the mark was recorded in use between 1679 and 1690, when Jean Henri de Moor is known to have been long established and active in Copenhagen. The London guilds were, furthermore, hostile towards foreign craftsmen

and sought to prevent them from trading independently, by refusing to grant them admission to the freedom and denying 'stranger' silversmiths the right to have their work assayed and hallmarked. Petitions presented to the Goldsmiths' Company by a group of plateworkers in 1664, and again by workmen in 1676, sought to prevent the illegal touching of the wares of 'strangers', after which it would have been extremely difficult for someone like de Moor to get his mark onto the mark plate at Goldsmiths' Hall or to have his wares unlawfully touched. The mark is, therefore, most likely to be that of an English silversmith of uncertain identity but possibly the chaser Joseph Moore, who had been apprenticed to the chaser Thomas Payne, and died in February 1690, the year that the mark is last recorded.⁴

This is not, however, to say that alien craftsmen like Jean Henri de Moor could not have been involved in the manufacture of the Russell andirons; indeed, the high quality of the repoussé work and of the cast figures and other circumstantial evidence suggest that they are very likely to have been the work of one or more leading continental silversmiths. If the IM mark is indeed that of Joseph Moore, it is possible that these objects are the work of 'strangers' which he 'coloured': struck illegally with his own mark, or that he did play a part in their manufacture and so marked them legitimately. The petition of 1676 listed fourteen silversmiths of foreign origin in London: among them such names as Jean Gérard Cooqus and Josias Iback.⁵ It was itinerant specialist craftsmen like these that enabled the courts and nobility of Europe to emulate the famous silver-furnished interiors of Louis XIV at Versailles and, through objects like the Russell andirons, made elite culture in Britain in the reign of Charles II part of an international story.

Whether or not he contributed to the making of these andirons, Jean Henri de Moor's itinerant career offers some insight into the



Fig 2 Godfrey Kneller,
Admiral Edward Russell, 1st
Earl of Orford, oil on canvas,
circa 1693.
(© National Maritime Museum,
Greenwich, London)

Fig 3 Rear view of the Lucretia andiron.
(© Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum of Wales)

- 6 Charles Oman, *Caroline Silver 1625-1688*, London, 1970, p 8; Hugh Tait, 'London Huguenot Silver', Irene Scouloudi (ed), *Huguenots in Britain and their French background, 1550-1800*, London, 1987, p 97.
- 7 David Mitchell, 'Marks, Manwarings and Moore: the use of the "AM in monogram" mark 1650-1700', *Silver Society Journal*, no 11, 1999, p 175; Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, *Les orfèvres et l'orfèvrerie de Paris au XVII^e siècle*, vol 1, Paris, 2002, p 316; id, 'Huguenot goldsmiths in France prior to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes', Tessa Murdoch (ed), *Beyond the Border: Huguenot Goldsmiths in Northern Europe and North America*, Eastbourne, 2008, pp 16-17.
- 8 David Mitchell, op cit see note 7, p 175, with reference to Mogens Bencard, *Silver Furniture*, Copenhagen, 1992, p 62; <http://www.kongernessamling.dk/en/rosenborg/object/chafing-dishes/> (accessed 14 October 2017).
- 9 E Ulrich Leber, 'L'Industrie des glaces, bronzes dorés et laques', Marie-Claude Chaudonneret (ed), *Les artistes étrangers à Paris: de la fin du Moyen Âge aux années 1920*, Bern, 2007, p 115; Jet Pijzel-Dommisse, 'Huguenot goldsmiths and their influence in The Hague in the late 17th century', Tessa Murdoch (ed), op cit see note 7, pl 15 and pp 31-32.



Fig 4 Detail of the Lucretia andiron, showing the arms of Edward and Margaret Russell.
(© Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum of Wales)

possible experience of the craftsmen who did. De Moor came to London from Paris in, or before, 1678 when he worked for the royal household and appeared on a list of craftsmen of the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Arlington, as "Jean Henri Demoor", "silversmith in ordinary".⁶ As one of a small number of Protestant refugees from Paris in London in the 1670s, probably prompted to relocate by the intensification of Louis XIV's persecution of Protestants prior to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, he was, therefore, able to play his own part in disseminating the court style of Louis XIV and current French techniques. He had worked as a silversmith in Paris from at least 1671, although he was never a *maître* of the Paris goldsmiths' guild, perhaps owing to the Catholic prejudice that made it difficult for Protestants to join the guild.⁷ De Moor's sojourn in London was brief, however, as in 1680 he returned to Paris to work for his father-in-law François Lebrét as a chaser and modeller. Perhaps prompted by trouble with the authorities of the Paris goldsmiths' guild over the use of sub-standard metal and the illegal use of Lebrét's punch, de Moor had transferred to Copenhagen by 1683, where until 1696 he worked under the protection of Christian V manufacturing impressive silver furniture which still survives at Rosenborg Castle.⁸ In 1696, at the request of Frederick III Elector of Prussia, he relocated to Neustadt an der Dosse in Brandenburg to set up and direct a mirror manufactory; he died there in 1722.⁹

Another important continental silversmith who illustrates this international cross-fertilisation of practice and ideas is the Amsterdam-born Adam Loofs (1645-1710), whom de Moor may have known in Paris in the 1670s, both professionally and personally. Loofs is recorded in Paris in 1670, working as a journeyman silversmith and with connections to leading master craftsmen such as Pierre Gole, *ébéniste du Roi*. In 1679 he left Paris for The Hague to work as court silversmith to the Stadholder William and his wife Princess Mary. Later, in

10 Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, 'Huguenot goldsmiths', op cit see note 7, pp 27-29.

11 <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/catalogue/2012/dr-hellers-lexicon/lot.134.html> (accessed 30 October 2017).

12 David Mitchell, op cit see note 4, p 62; Sotheby's, *Treasures*, London, 5 July 2017, notes to lot 22, with reference to Major-General H D W Sitwell, 'The Jewel House and the Royal Goldsmiths', *Journal of the Royal Archaeological Institute*, London, 1960, p 151.

13 The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Timothy Schroder, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver*, Los Angeles, 1988, pp 107-11, cat no. 24 (Fig 16); compare the silver andirons with bell finials, shovel and tongs from Bretby with the arms of Philip Stanhope, 2nd Earl of Chesterfield, and with the mark of John Cooqus, 1669: Olga Dmitrieva and Tessa Murdoch (eds), *Treasures of the Royal Courts: Tudors, Stuarts & The Russian Tsars*, exhibition catalogue, London, 2013, p 176, pl 226; on loan at the Victoria and Albert Museum at the time of writing.

14 Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, op cit see note 7, p 196.

1706, his son Pieter married de Moor's daughter.¹⁰ Loofs was one of numerous foreign silversmiths who came to Paris to absorb the latest designs and manufacturing techniques, which he subsequently played a prominent role in disseminating in the Netherlands. In the reigns of both William III and then Queen Anne, Loofs also developed a noble and royal English clientele which embraced William's Dutch-born confidants: the 1st Earl of Portland (1649-1709) and the 1st Earl of Albemarle (1669-1718), and in 1709, the 2nd Viscount Townsend, brother-in-law of the prime minister Sir Robert Walpole.¹¹

The example of John Gérard Cooqus, originally from Liège, shows how alien silversmiths could circumvent the problem of exclusion by the Goldsmiths' Company by receiving a royal appointment. On 5 April 1661, Cooqus was recorded as

Silversmith in Ordinary to His Ma^{tie} for chastwork within His ma^{ties} Closett and Bedchamber, and also the Closett and Bedchamber of the Queen

in place of Christian van Vianen.¹² He made a silver bed for Nell Gwyn in 1674, while a pair of silver andirons of about 1670, bearing his mark, is reputed to have been a gift to her from

Charles II.¹³ There is no known evidence as to who originally ordered the Russell andirons and, while it may well have been Edward Russell himself, he could equally have acquired them second-hand. Their quality is certainly compatible with a royal commission and manufacture by an alien silversmith working for the court, such as de Moor or Cooqus.

It may be impossible to prove who actually modelled the figures of Lucretia and Cleopatra, although Jean Henri de Moor himself is a possible candidate, given that in 1681 he told the authorities of the Paris goldsmiths' guild that he modelled in wax and rarely worked in silver.¹⁴ The andirons would, however, certainly have been produced as a collaboration between several specialist craftsmen: from designers

Fig 6 Top of the base section of the Cleopatra andiron, showing London hallmarks for 1680-81. (© Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum of Wales)

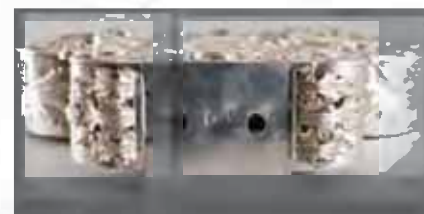


Fig 7 Underside of the plinth of the Cleopatra andiron, showing the lion passant hallmark and the maker's mark 'LM'. (© Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum of Wales)



Fig 9 Detail of the back of the Cleopatra andiron. (© Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum of Wales)

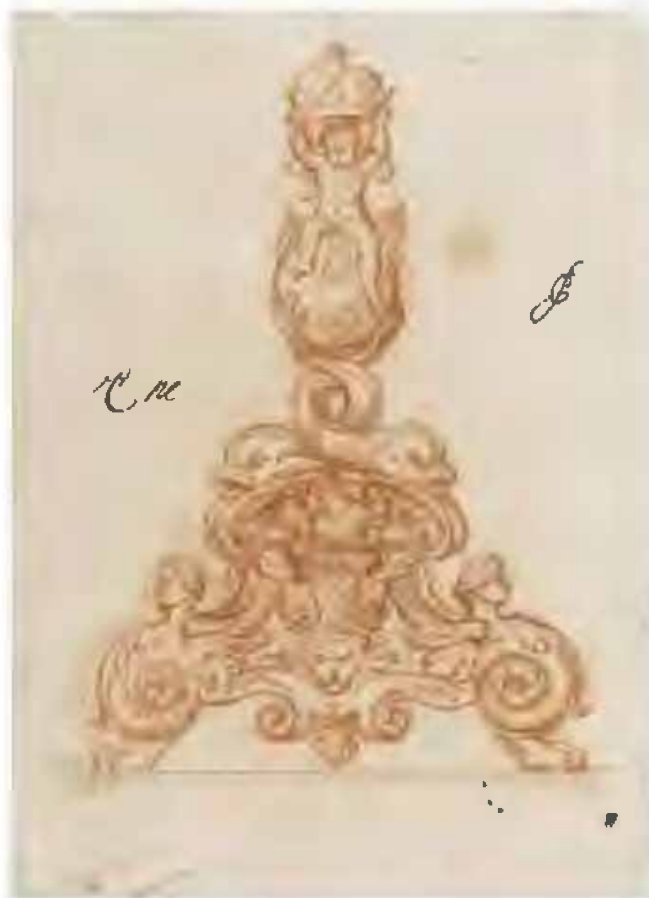


Fig 8 Charles Le Brun, design drawing for an andiron, Paris, about 1667.

(© RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage)

15 Christopher Hartopp, 'Introduction' in Tessa Murdoch, op cit see note 7, pp 3-5.

16 Philipp Glanville, op cit see note 2, p 70.

17 Tessa Murdoch, 'From the gate to the hearth: metalwork at Ham House', Christopher Rowell (ed), *Ham House: 400 Years of Collecting and Patronage*, New Haven and London, 2013, pp 233-234.

18 Examples include two pairs with emblematic figures made in Augsburg, now in the Kremlin, one by Johannes Kilian and Lukas Lang, the other by Abraham I Drentwett; Lorenz Seelig, *Silver and Gold: Courty Splendour from Augsburg*, Munich, 1995, p 27 and pl 22; Reinhold Baumstark and Helmut Seling (eds), *Silber und Gold: Augsburger Goldschmiedekunst für die Höfe Europas*, Munich, 1994, pp 325-326, no 75.

19 J Hardy Beckles, 'Fire-Dogs Part I', *The Connoisseur* XIX, 1907, 151-155.

and modellers to casters and chasers, hammermen and engravers, most likely co-ordinated by an English silversmith who owned the IM mark.¹⁵ Silver hearth furniture was not normally supplied by silversmiths but by specialist retailers of brass, silver and other metal lighting and fireplace equipment.¹⁶ A number of alien silversmiths are, however, recorded as suppliers of andirons, notably to the Lauderdale family at Ham House in 1673.¹⁷ These include the German bronze founder, silversmith and figure maker Josias Iback, who supplied two pairs of silver andirons and other fireplace furniture; Steven Starling, a silversmith probably of Netherlandish origin

who supplied silver-mounted fire furniture including two andirons weighing 59 oz (1,835g); and George Bowers, probably of Flemish origin, supplier of a set of silver andirons, shovel and tongs.

The design of the andirons

The Russell andirons are a rare survival of a short-lived but significant type of British silver object, made in emulation of French counterparts and intended for the wealthiest of patrons. Their uncompromised state and the outstanding condition of their very fine original surface chasing make them an important benchmark for assessing the quality and iconography of silver fireplace furniture produced in London in the reign of Charles II.

Continental silver andirons are now very scarce and no examples from France are known to survive.¹⁸ The earliest French reference to silver andirons appears to be in the 1654 inventory of maréchal de la Milleraye, while forty other pairs are recorded in inventories of the reign of Louis XIV.¹⁹ The probable appearance of such andirons can be inferred from contemporary



Fig 9 Jean Lepautre (1618-82), *Mouvements dessins de Cheminees a l'italienne*, Paris, after 1665. (© Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)



Fig 10 Jean Cotelle (D), *Nouveaux livre de Chenest, et autre ouvrage d'orfèvrerie* [sic], engraving, Paris, 1669-1693.
(© Rijkmuseum, Amsterdam)

20 Musée du Louvre, INV29551; Claude Frégnac (ed), *Les Grands Orfèvres de Louis XIII à Charles X*, Paris, 1965, p 58.

21 Tessa Murdoch, op cit see note 17, p 239, fig 227; National Trust, 1139894.1-2.

22 Charles Oman, op cit see note 6, p 17.

23 Earlier but somewhat different interpretations of the idea appear in Italian bronze andirons, such as the pair at Kingston Lacy attributed to Francesco Segala, Padua, about 1584-92; National Trust, 1255192.

24 Ellenor M Alcorn, *English Silver in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Volume I Silver before 1697*, Boston, 1993, pp 150-151, cat 66 (53.2000a,b).



Fig 11 Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Femme de Qualité en Deshabillé Sortant du Lit*, engraving, Paris, 1688.
(© Bibliothèque nationale de France)

drawn and printed designs, such as the design drawing for an andiron by court painter Charles Le Brun of about 1667 [Fig 8];²⁰ printed designs by artists such as Jean Lepautre

[Fig 9] and Jean Cotelle [Fig 10]; and engraved views of high-status interiors [Fig 11]. Closely similar both to the andirons in de Saint-Jean's engraving of 1688 and to surviving English silver examples is the pair of "French brasse" andirons still at Ham House,²¹ suggesting not only the likely form of French andirons in silver but also another route by which design ideas would have reached London silversmiths.

Engraved and etched designs also provided potential models to the embossers responsible for the fine repoussé decoration of andirons like Russell's. To judge from concerns of

the London trade in the 1650s about the number of

Alien Strangers who work privately in and about London²²

these were quite likely foreign craftsmen who doubtless had to hand such continental print sources as the ornamental etchings of Paul Androuet Du Cerceau: a huge repository of ideas for scrolling foliage, female masks and other motifs [Fig 12].

The surviving British silver and brass andirons, none of which predate the Restoration of 1660, show that the scrolled double-volute base was a standard feature. The concept can be traced back at least as far as the 1630s,²³ when it appears not only in design prints for tables by Paul Vredeman de Vries [Fig 13] but also specifically, in andirons, as seen in etched views of elite French interiors by Abraham Bosse [Fig 14]. Among the earliest securely dated silver andirons of this form is the pair with three bun-shaped sections and flame finial



Fig 12 Paul Androuet Du Carcaeu, *Ormemens et Fleurs pour la Broderie*, engraving, Paris, circa 1670-85. (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

by Jacob Bodendeich of 1671-72, in Boston.²⁴ Other examples with flaming urn finials include a pair, possibly of about 1670, in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch at Bowhill,²⁵ and another of about 1680 at Knole.²⁶

While most late-Stuart andirons follow this standard baroque design of scrollwork topped by a ball finial or a flaming urn, the Russell andirons fall into a small group of figurative examples which comprises those with putti (a pair at Bowhill, which appears to be a later amalgamation of two separate pairs, and a pair at Knole²⁷) and those with classical female figures. In addition to the Ombersley pair, the latter include pairs, conventionally dated to about 1670, at the National Maritime Museum [Fig 15],²⁸ in the Gilbert Collection [Fig 16],²⁹ and in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch at Bowhill [Fig 17].³⁰

The Greenwich and Gilbert andirons were substantially altered in the early nineteenth

century, and adapted for use as sideboard ornaments when (in the words of the Lord Chamberlain in 1808) royal plate of this sort was considered

neither available for service in its present form nor valuable from its antiquity or workmanship.³¹

Engraved inscriptions on the Greenwich pair indicate that the reclining lions and standing female figures were made new and added in 1827 and, most likely, the royal ciphers of CR as well. The Gilbert pair has identical figures and lions, presumably also added in about 1827, and royal ciphers of CR bearing the mark of Edward Farrell. On this evidence, the figurative character and even the royal provenance of these two sets of andirons may not predate the early nineteenth century.³²

The closest comparators to the Russell andirons are, therefore, the pair in the Buccleuch collection. Their double-volute

25 Charles Oman, *op cit* see note 6, pl 83B.

26 National Trust, 130007.1-2, unmarked, circa 1680.

27 National Trust, 130004.1-2; a later pair by Andrew Moore, 1696-97, is in the Royal Collection (RCIN 50273).

28 Royal Museums Greenwich, AAA3474.

29 Timothy Schröder, *op cit* see note 13, pp 107-111, no 24, first recorded in the sale of Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, 1843.

30 Charles Oman, *op cit* see note 6, pl 83A.

31 Timothy Schröder, *op cit* see note 13, p 109; Philippa Glanville, *op cit* see note 2, pp 120-121.

32 Two pairs of silver-gilt andirons in the Royal Collection, one with flaming urn finials made for Charles II in about 1670 (RCIN 50815), the other with putti made by Andrew Moore in 1696-97 probably for William III (RCIN 50273), were also substantially modified in the early nineteenth century but appear to have reliable royal provenance from the seventeenth century.



Fig 13 Paul Vredeman de Vries, *Verscheijden Schrymwerck* engraving, Amsterdam, 1630. (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

33 Tessa Murdoch (ed), *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Houses*, Cambridge, 2006, p 37; Patricia Ferguson, *Newsletter of the Silver Society*, no 94, May/June 2017.

34 RCIN 35301.

35 Inv no IV 305; about 1650.

bases and pedestals for the figures are of different form, but the cast lion's-paw feet and female figures are very similar, the Cleopatra in particular so nearly identical as to suggest a possible common origin [Figs 18 and 19]. The identity of the second female figure, who holds a wreath or large ring, is uncertain but likely to be allegorical of a female virtue. This pair may have come from Montagu House: the 1733 inventory of which records

a pair of Dogs
ornamented with Silver

being moved from a room adjacent to the north hall on the principal storey to the 2nd Duke and Duchess's new house in Whitehall.³³



Fig 15 Pair of andirons, circa 1670 with additions made in 1827, attributed to Jean Gérard Cooques. (© National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London)



The ambitious figurative design of the Russell and Buccleuch andirons demonstrates the connections between silver and sculpture in the late seventeenth century, and specifically the sculptural use of silver as part of domestic furnishings. The sculptor who modelled the figures of Cleopatra and Lucretia was clearly familiar with sophisticated continental sculptural forms and may have emulated prints, drawings or statuettes in bronze or ivory from France, Germany or elsewhere in Europe.

The importance of silver as a sculptural medium for high-status French-style furnishings is nowhere better exemplified than in the magnificent silver side table in the Royal Collection, made by Andrew Moore in 1698-99, its figurative legs cast in solid silver.³⁴ This was also a specialism of Augsburg and silversmiths like Abraham Drentwett the Elder (1614-66), whose silver figures include Pallas Athena in the Grünes Gewölbe in Dresden³⁵ and those of Justice and Prudence on the silver

Fig 14 Abraham Bosse, *Les femmes a table en l'absence de leurs maris*, engraving, Paris, circa 1635. (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)



Fig 16 Pair of andirons, circa 1670 with additions made in about 1825, attributed to Jean Gérard Cooques.
(© The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London)



Fig 17 Pair of andirons, unmarked, circa 1670-80.
(© Buccleuch Living Heritage Trust)

throne he made for the coronation of Queen Kristina of Sweden in 1650. No doubt encouraged by contemporary Parisian designs for torchères by Jean Lepautre and others, this sculptural use of silver extended to the incorporation of caryatid figures as stems for candlesticks. The pair of caryatid candelabra of about 1680 at the Ashmolean Museum³⁶ [Fig 20] indicates that this idea had already crossed the Channel when Princess Mary took two such candlesticks with her to England in 1689, possibly similar to the pair made by Adam Loofs in The Hague in 1687.³⁷

We cannot be certain whether the figures of Lucretia and Cleopatra were the invention of the modeller himself or drew on other sources, given that they use a standard sculptural vocabulary of the period. A typical example of the numerous print sources that would have been available is the series engraved by Jean Lepautre in 1672 depicting statues in the gardens at Versailles; this includes a nymph holding an oak wreath whose posture and drapery correspond quite closely to that of the

figure of Lucretia in particular [Figs 21 and 22]. Italian bronze figures of Lucretia³⁸ and a south Netherlandish drawing³⁹ [Fig 23] demonstrate that a dagger held to her breast in her right hand was a commonly understood way of depicting Lucretia in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Cleopatra is a less common subject, whether in print or sculpture, but her iconography is similar to that of the virtue Prudence, one of whose traditional attributes is one or more snakes [Figs 23 and 18].

In the seventeenth century Lucretia and Cleopatra were familiar exemplars of female virtue from the classical world, their tragic lives and their choice of death over dishonour well known both from ancient sources like Ovid's *Fasti*, Livy's *History of Rome* and Plutarch's *Lives* and from such modern accounts as Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. Three statues of Cleopatra, "A. Moderne. Lucretia" and a plaster head of Lucretia were recorded at Greenwich in the royal inventories of 1649-51.⁴⁰ The antipathetic

36 WA1947.191.153; Timothy Schroder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 2009, vol 1, pp 432-435, no 168.

37 Jet Pijzel-Dommisse, *op cit* see note 9, p 31, pl 15.

38 For example, sale, Christie's, New York, 1-2 July 2008, lot 1366.

39 National Galleries of Scotland, D1506.

40 Oliver Millar, *The inventories and valuations of the King's goods 1649-1651*, *The Walpole Society*, 1970-1972, pp 138-139 and 147.

41 5.1.518-519; David Hopkins and Charles Martindale (eds), *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature Volume 3: 1660-1790*, Oxford, 2012, pp 458-459.

42 See, for example, the ginger jar and cover by Jacob Bodendeich, about 1673-74, at the Fitzwilliam Museum (M.11&A.2005).

43 E S de Beer (ed), *The Diary of John Evelyn*, Oxford, 1955, vol IV, p 343.

44 British Library, Harley MS1419, F500, quoted by N M Penzer, 'The Royal Fire-Dogs', *The Connoisseur*, vol 133, June 1954, pp 9-11.

view of Cleopatra promulgated by Roman poets of the Augustan age: Virgil, most famously, was by no means universally accepted. Shortly before the Russell andirons were made, John Dryden's play *All for Love, or The World Well Lost* (1678) for example, stressed Cleopatra's honour and wifely virtue:

Fame to late posterity shall tell,
No lovers . . . lived so great, or died so well.⁴¹

Cleopatra and Lucretia were, therefore, both appropriate subject matter for the best bedroom of a bride, as well as a vehicle for the ruling class to show off their classical education.

Silver andirons in use

Elaborate andirons like these, whether in brass or more especially in silver, underline the importance of the fireplace as an architectural feature and a vehicle for display. Surviving examples, inventories and contemporary accounts demonstrate that such andirons formed part of rich ensembles comprising silver furniture, wall sconces and jars in the forms of Chinese porcelain.⁴² The bold embossing and sculptural finials of the andirons gleaming in candle, and firelight would contribute to a glitteringly impressive whole, emphasising the hearth as a source of heat and light: the focal point of the room. John Evelyn was taken aback by this effect when visiting the Whitehall Palace rooms of Louise de Keroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, on 4 October 1683, describing in his diary

her prodigal and expensive pleasures
and the

rich & splendid furniture . . . huge Vasas of wrought plate Tables, Stands Chimny furniture, Sconces, branches, Braseras &c they were all of massive silver, & without number.⁴³

Such andirons may in fact always have been purely for show, the job of supporting the burning log being delegated to smaller 'creepers', examples of which are recorded in



Fig 19 Cleopatra figure from the Buccleuch andirons, detail of Fig 17.
(© Buccleuch Living Heritage Trust)

inventories and survive in collections like those at Ham House and Knole.

It is not certain when silver andirons were first introduced but their earliest mention in a royal inventory is that made, on 31 October 1550, of Henry VIII's assets on his death. This records

In the secrete Juelhouse
at Westminster Palace

Item one pair of Aunderons of Iron
garnished with silver parcell gilt with two
forks a paire of tonges a fyre shovel and a
Croke all of yron parcel gilt.⁴⁴



Fig 18 Cleopatra figure from the Ombersley andirons, detail of Fig 1.
(© Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum of Wales)



Fig 20 One of a pair of candelabra, London, circa 1680.
(© Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)

The type must have been familiar in royal and aristocratic settings by the early seventeenth century, to judge from Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (written about 1609-1610), in which Iachimo's description of Imogen's chamber includes

her andirons – /I had forgot them – were
two winking Cupids/Of silver, each on one
foot standing, nicely/Depending on their
brands [ie holding torches].⁴⁵

In December 1613, notable among the wedding gifts to Robert Carr, 1st Earl of Somerset, and Frances Devereux (née Howard) were those of Sir Robert Cary and Sir Robert Mansell, who

lighted upon one invention, which was fire-shovel, tongs, and
irons, creepers, and
all furniture of a
chimney, of silver.
Another gave a
cradle of silver to
burn sea-coal.⁴⁶

Royal examples include the two sets at Somerset House in 1619 owned by Anne of Denmark, one with the arms of Denmark, the other without;⁴⁷ and the pair recorded in inventories of Charles I's goods in 1649-51.⁴⁸

Ostentatious silver andirons enjoyed a particular vogue following the Restoration of 1660, when a desire for extravagance was felt after the austerity of the Commonwealth

and a need for new plate on a large scale. As John Evelyn's daughter Mary wrote satirically in 1685,

The Chimney Furniture of Plate,
(For Iron's now quite out of date:).⁴⁹

Andirons not only formed part of silver hearth sets, complete with tongs, shovel and fire box, but were also made en suite with the French-style triad of console table and pier glass flanked by a pair of torchères, a court fashion of the 1680s and 1690s. Andirons supplied by Andrew Moore to William III, hallmarked 1696-97, have gadrooned bun feet which echo those

Fig 21 Jean Lepautre, *Statue d'une Nymphé tenant une couronne de chêne*, engraving Paris, 1672.
(© RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles)/Gérard Blot)



⁴⁵ Act II, Scene 4; interestingly, the description includes "tapestry of silk and silver; the story,/Proud Cleopatra when she met her Roman".

⁴⁶ John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities, of King James the First, His Royal Consort, Family, and Court*, London, 1828, vol 2, p 726.

⁴⁷ Philippa Glanville, op cit see note 2, p 70.

⁴⁸ Oliver Millar, op cit see note 39, p 274: "A silvr Table. and frame. all laid over wth silvr & a pr of andiernes at li 120", the andirons recorded in copy inventories as garnished with silver with three dolphins.

⁴⁹ *Mundus muliebris: or, The ladies dressing room unlock'd and her toilet spread*, edited by John Evelyn for posthumous publication in 1690.

50 See notes 32 and 34.

51 Peter Thornton and Maurice Tomlin, 'The furnishing and decoration of Ham House', *Furniture History*, no XVI, 1980; a more faithful transcription in Rowell (ed), op cit see note 17, pp 434-465.

52 From notes kindly shared by Philippa Glanville.

Fig 22 Detail of the Lucretia andiron.
(© Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales)



of the splendid silver table also supplied by him and hallmarked 1697-98.⁵⁰

The seventeenth-century inventories from Ham House are instructive in showing how andirons in both silver and brass were distributed in a high-status household of the period, and how their locations could change according to the priority assigned to particular rooms.⁵¹ In the 1654 inventory, pairs of andirons appear in all the principal rooms: the fashionably decorated ground-floor parlour that was the family's main living room, the two principal bedchambers, the great dining room and the drawing room. As none are specified as being of silver, they were probably of brass or iron. The inventories made in 1677, 1679 and 1683 reflect changes made following the marriage in 1672 between Elizabeth Dysart and John Maitland, his creation as Duke of Lauderdale later that same year, and the enlargement and redecoration of Ham between 1672 and 1677. Chimney furniture made in iron, gilt brass or mounted in silver appears in high-status interiors, the material probably chosen to reflect the decorative scheme: brass in the Duke's dressing room, the withdrawing room and the great dining room in the state apartment; iron in the marble dining room; but silver in most of the principal rooms, such as the Duchess's bedchamber, the Duke's closet and the luxuriously furnished white closet. Between 1677 and 1679, a pair of silver andirons in the Volury, the bedchamber used by the Duchess as a young woman, was replaced by more practical iron ones, no doubt reflecting a change in the room's importance.

Inventories and bills reveal the story of a similar transformation at Belvoir Castle in the 1670s and 1680s, when enamelled or gilded brass andirons, fire furniture and sconces from the time of John Manners, 8th Earl of Rutland (1604-79), were replaced by John Manners, 9th Earl and 1st Duke of Rutland (1638-1711), with andirons, fire furniture and light fittings in silver. This was all part of an ambitious



Fig 23 *Lucretia stabbing herself*, black chalk and wash on paper, South Netherlands, seventeenth-century.
(© National Galleries of Scotland)

campaign of furnishing in silver that, by December 1693, in rooms such as the blue drawing room and the Japan room, comprised eight pairs of silver andirons and fire furniture, a silver chandelier, sconces, candelabra, garnitures of vases and jars imitating Chinese porcelain, at least seven suites of silver-plated table, mirror and stands, and in 1682 a massive wine cistern.⁵²

It is apparent that in northern Europe in the mid- to late-seventeenth century silver fire



Fig 24 Philippe Thomassin after Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, *Prudence*, engraving, Rome, circa 1593-1602. (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

furniture (often in tandem with mirrors and candlestands) was specifically made as a status symbol for the apartments of elite women, especially those associated with the Stuart court. Their drawing rooms, bedchambers and closets were often luxuriously furnished with silver in the latest fashion: lighting and fire equipment, silver-trimmed cabinets, tables, stands and mirrors, braziers and perfume burners, fire screens with silver frames. The example of Louise de Keroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, has been

described above. When Mary Bagot, Countess of Dorset, died in childbirth at Copt Hall, Essex, in September 1679, her bedchamber was filled with such fashionable silver furniture as a great looking glass with a table and stand, wall sconces and a pair of silver andirons with shovel and tongs. These may have been wedding gifts in 1674 from her employer, Catherine of Braganza, or from Charles II himself.⁵³ Among the splendid English silver that Princess Mary took to The Hague on her marriage to the Stadholder William in 1677 were a table with mirror, a chandelier and fireplace furniture including silver andirons, shovel and tongs.⁵⁴

Two greate paire of Andirons of silver with shovels tongs & pincers

were among the possessions of the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, on her death in Paris in September 1669, having been taken there by her from London in 1665. Ralph Montagu, Charles II's ambassador in Paris and one of the inventory's commissioners, recommended that the king appropriate these andirons to himself. Along with a silver looking glass and six silver sconces these were all returned to Somerset House in 1670, as part of an ensemble of the kind that was becoming *de rigueur* for the bedchambers of the wealthiest women. It is indicative of this association with female luxury that the sculptural figures on the Russell andirons should be two heroic women from Roman history.

By 1700 silver andirons were falling out of fashion, marginalised by the growing preference for coal in wealthy houses and, in the words of Randle Holme, used

for ornament more than profit.⁵⁵

This change in practice was already under way at Ham House in 1677, when an inventory recorded that Lady Maynard's chamber was set up to burn coal.⁵⁶ Among the latest recorded British silver andirons is a pair in restrained late baroque style in the Portland collection at Welbeck (Philip Rollos, 1704)⁵⁷ and another made by Lewis Mettayer in 1715.⁵⁸ It is to be expected that at this point many were melted down, but the survival of a significant number of silver andirons indicates that they retained an enduring decorative or heirloom value. Royal inventories support this story: the inventory made for George I in 1721 lists twenty-one pairs of silver andirons at St James's Palace, Kensington Palace and Windsor Castle: a number that reduced to nine pairs in Rundell Bridge & Co's printed inventory of 1832 and to only two pairs in the 1872 Garrard inventory. The missing pairs were, however, not melted down but sent to Hanover, where in 1747 an inventory listed eighteen pairs.⁵⁹

⁵³ Gordon Glenville, 'In My Lady's Chamber': the provenance of the Parisian mirror sconces at Knole, *Burlington Magazine*, vol 144, no 1191, June 2002, pp 338-344.

⁵⁴ Jec Pijzel-Dommissa, *op cit* see note 9, p 28.

⁵⁵ Philippe Glenville, *op cit* see note 2, p 70.

⁵⁶ See note 51.

⁵⁷ <http://www.harleygallery.co.uk/portland-collection/silver/fire-dog/> (accessed 15 October 2017)

⁵⁸ Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 17 June 1981, lot 41; Vanessa Brett, *The Sotheby's Directory of Silver 1600-1940*, London, 1986, p 169, no 676.

⁵⁹ N M Penzer, *op cit* see note 44.

⁶⁰ Timothy Schröder, *op cit* see note 13, p 109.

⁶¹ D D Aldridge, 'Russell, Edward, earl of Orford (1652–1727)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004; online edition, January 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24304> (accessed 5 May 2016).

⁶² Royal Bank of Scotland archives, CH 194/9 1682–1709: from notes kindly shared by Philippa Glanville.

⁶³ James Rothwell, *Silver for Entertaining: The Ickworth Collection*, London, 2017, p 227.

⁶⁴ Gordon Glanville, *op cit* see note 53, p 342.

⁶⁵ Christopher Morris (ed), *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, London, 1982, pp 140–141.

Fig 25 Russell House, Covent Garden, John Stowe, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark*, 6th edition, 1754–55. (© RIBA Collections)



The provenance of the andirons

In the absence of any evidence, whether documentary or intrinsic to the objects, it is impossible to be sure for whom the Russell andirons were originally made, although their exceptional quality and ambitious sculptural character make them worthy of a royal commission. As has been seen, the superficially similar Greenwich and Gilbert andirons have no reliable seventeenth-century royal provenance but, even in their altered condition, their bases are broadly comparable and, bearing a mark ascribed to Jean Gérard Cooqus, give a hint of what royal silver andirons of about 1680 may have looked like. Furthermore, the fact that the Duke of Buccleuch was a buyer at the sale of royal plate in 1808,⁶⁰ makes it feasible that the silver andirons with female figures at Bowhill, the closest comparators to the Russell andirons, were acquired in that context and were originally royal commissions in about 1680. Edward Russell, too, could have acquired his andirons on the second-hand market at the time of his second marriage in 1691.

Nonetheless, in 1680 Russell may well have had the ambition to commission the andirons

himself, not simply as a nephew of William Russell, 5th Earl and later 1st Duke of Bedford, but also as a naval officer whose career was taking off and who, while in command of HMS *Newcastle* that year on the Tangier station, had just acquired a substantial fortune through illicit trading.⁶¹ If so, Russell no doubt gave them as a wedding present in the early 1680s to his first (unidentified) wife, who died after December 1688. When, in 1691, he married his second wife, his cousin Lady Margaret Russell, daughter of the 5th Earl of Bedford, and certainly no later than 1697, when he was created Earl of Orford, Russell had the andirons re-engraved with their arms. The figures of Cleopatra and Lucretia make it probable that these andirons were the possessions of Margaret Russell and testify to her status as the daughter of an earl and wife of a wealthy naval hero soon to be ennobled himself.

We get some idea of the possible cost of the andirons from the customer ledgers of Francis Child which, in 1687, record a pair of silver andirons supplied to the Earl of Cavendish at a total cost of £51 9s (143 oz (4,447g) silver at 7s 2d per ounce, 12s for the ironwork).⁶² Less costly was the pair of silver andirons bought in 1690 by John Hervey, Earl of Bristol,

for my dear wife her Closett Chimney for £13 5s,⁶³ and the pair bought in 1675 by Mary Bagot, Countess of Dorset, for £10 5s.⁶⁴

Given that the armorials predate Russell's other houses, in Covent Garden in London and Orford House at Ugley, Essex, these are probably the andirons noted by Celia Fiennes at Russell's country home, Chippenham Park near Newmarket, Cambridgeshire. Recording her visit in 1698, Fiennes emphasised the ostentation of the furnishings, highlighting the quality of the wainscoting and the variety of woods used, the different coloured damasks and velvets used to furnish the whole house, the large panels of mirror glass set into the wainscoting, and the fine and extensive wood carving. She added that

there is very fine China and silver things andirons and jarrs and perfume pots of silver.⁶⁵

Russell paid £16,250 for Chippenham Park in 1689. His lavish expenditure on rebuilding the house and creating its park reflects the blossoming of his career and his wealth in the late 1680s and 1690s. Alienated from the court of Charles II by the execution of his cousin William, Lord Russell, in 1683, Edward Russell was one of the 'Immortal Seven', the group of peers who invited William of Orange to depose James II in June 1688. Serving as William's secretary during the planning of his invasion, Russell was rewarded by rapid political and naval preferment. In 1689 he was appointed to the Privy Council and the lucrative post of Treasurer of the Navy, and promoted to full admiral. He was Admiral of the Fleet from 1690 to 1697 and served as First Lord of the Admiralty from 1694 to 1699. In 1692, as Commander-in-Chief of the Anglo-Dutch force that fought the French fleet at Barfleur and destroyed much of it at La Hogue, he effectively ended James's hopes of regaining the throne. From 1689 he sat as an MP, first for Launceston, then for Portsmouth (1690-95) and Cambridgeshire (1695-97). Russell exerted great political influence as a member of the first Whig Junto, the handful of leading Whig peers that included John Somers (later Baron Somers), Charles Montagu (later Earl of Halifax) and Thomas Wharton (later Marquess of Wharton), and which controlled the government from 1694 to 1699. Russell himself was raised to the peerage as Earl of Orford in 1697.

Russell regularly pleaded financial hardship, writing in disgruntled vein to the Earl of Nottingham in 1692 that

I assure you I am considerably a worse man in my own fortune than when the King came into England.⁶⁶

His conspicuous consumption drew attention to his acquisitive and unprincipled behaviour while holding in tandem several offices: Lord of the Admiralty, Admiral at Sea, Purser General in the Straits, and Treasurer of the Navy, which presented significant conflicts of interest. In

1699 he narrowly avoided strong censure from the Navy Board investigation into problems with the building of the new docks in Portsmouth, but resigned as First Lord of the Admiralty and Treasurer of the Navy. Again, in 1701, he survived impeachment on charges of mismanagement and embezzlement.⁶⁷

The Russell andirons can also be identified with the

2 Red Leather cases with andirons in

which Lord Orford instructed his butler to deposit with Hoare's Bank on 6 June 1699,⁶⁸ perhaps a response to the political pressures on him that year. It was customary to provide leather cases to protect valuable silver when in transit between country house and town house. This would explain the excellent state of preservation of these andirons, and suggests that they may have been moved from Chippenham Park to furnish Russell's London house on the north side of Covent Garden Piazza, on which he took a new twenty-one-year lease from his father-in-law, the Duke of Bedford, in 1697.

Covent Garden was a prestigious address and the further lease obtained by Russell in 1716 required him to pull down the existing property and rebuild it. The new house was built in 1716-17 in a baroque style featuring a brick and stone façade with Corinthian columns, probably to designs by Thomas Archer, who most likely also designed the rebuilt Chippenham Park [Fig 25]. Described by Batty Langley in 1734 as

certainly one of the most expensive and worst buildings about London,

the house survives as 43 King Street.⁶⁹

The house in Covent Garden is where Russell died on 26 November 1727, having served again twice as First Lord of the Admiralty in the reigns of Anne (1709-10) and George I (1714-17). He bequeathed his collection and his Chippenham Park estate to his niece Anne Tipping. She was, however, soon dead herself (1728) and the inheritance reverted to her

66 <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/russell-edward-1652-1727> (accessed 31 October 2017).

67 Celina Fox, 'The Ingenious Mr Dummer: Rationalizing the Royal Navy in Late Seventeenth-Century England', 2667 *Electronic British Library Journal Article* no 10, 2007, 1-58: <https://www.bl.uk/ebli/2007/articles/pdf/ebliarticle102007.pdf> (accessed 31 October 2017).

68 Hoare's Bank archives, quoted in the expert adviser's statement to the Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art, Case 15 (2015-16).

69 'King Street and Floral Street Area: King Street', in F H W Sheppard (ed), *Survey of London: Volume 36, Covent Garden*, London, 1970, pp 151-178: British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol36/pp151-178> (accessed 30 September 2017).

70 Arthur Oswald, 'Ombersley Court, Worcestershire – I' and 'Ombersley Court, Worcestershire – II', *Country Life*, CXIII, 1953; the andirons are illustrated p 96, fig 5.

71 *Ibid*, part I, pp 36–37 and fig 6.

72 *Ibid*, part II, pp 95, fig 4.

73 *Ibid*, part II, pp 94–97, figs 6–12.

74 Noted by Celia Fiennes on the staircase at Chippenham Park in 1698, "a large sea piece with an inscription of the Admirals valour": Christopher Morris, *op cit* see note 65, p 141.

75 <http://treasurehouses.co.uk/2017/04/large-scale-landscape-painting-of-chatsworth/> (accessed 15 October 2017).

76 <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/aboutus/support/admiral-russells-frame> (accessed 15 October 2017).

daughter and Russell's great-niece Letitia Tipping (circa 1704–79), who had married Samuel (later 1st Lord) Sandys (1695–1770) of Ombersley Court, Worcestershire, in 1725. Thus Russell's silver andirons, paintings and other chattels moved to Ombersley. The collection was recorded there by *Country Life* in 1953 and the andirons photographed in situ in the library.⁷⁰

Edward Russell's importance as a sophisticated and extravagant patron of the arts is not nearly as well understood as his prominence in politics and the navy. The subject merits further research, for which the Ombersley collection provides crucial evidence. In addition to the ambitious silver andirons, the collection includes other possible wedding gifts for Margaret Russell: a pair of silver candlesticks of 1690–91 and a silver-mounted floral marquetry lace box with matching toilet looking glass.⁷¹

Of particular importance is the group of paintings: the most imposing of which is a large conversation piece signed by John James Baker (circa 1648– circa 1712) and dated 1710, the year the Junto fell from power. It depicts the six Whig peers who formed the first Junto: the 3rd Earl of Sunderland, the 4th Baron Wharton, the 1st Baron Somers, the 1st Earl of Halifax, the 1st Duke of Devonshire and Russell himself, 1st Earl of Orford. The emblazoned arms of each man are attached to the frame, and the painting alludes to the Junto's success in the war of the Spanish Succession of 1710.⁷² There is also an important group of six naval paintings commissioned from Willem van de Velde the Elder (1611–93) and Younger (1633–1707),⁷³ who by 1674 were both working for Charles II, and the latter of whom was the leading Dutch marine painter of the late seventeenth century. The van de Veldes commemorated Russell's naval exploits: *the burning of the French fleet off La Hogue in May 1692* (by the Elder),⁷⁴ *the English fleet with prizes captured from the French, Admiral Russell joining his flagship* (probably), *an English two-decker saluting the Admiral, an English ship running before a gale, and a man-of-war in calm water*

(probably HMS *Britannia*, Russell's flagship at Barfleur) (the last four by the Younger).

The van de Veldes reinforce a story that the andirons probably also tell, that of a patron who often placed prestigious commissions with foreign-born practitioners. This is seen in other paintings Russell commissioned, such as portraits of himself by Godfrey Kneller (one about 1693 [Fig 2], another about 1710, both at the Royal Museums Greenwich; and another at Ombersley). Russell was also the original owner of *A view of Chatsworth* painted in about 1703 by Jan Siberechts, a large bird's-eye panorama which was recently acquired from Ombersley for Chatsworth, the home of Russell's political colleagues, the 1st and 2nd Dukes of Devonshire.⁷⁵

An interesting further dimension to Russell's patronage is illustrated by the spectacular carved giltwood frame acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum in 2016.⁷⁶ It is carved with a personification of Fame and is flanked by Mercury, representing trade, commerce and financial gain, and Hercules, symbolising heroic endeavour, military strength and triumph. It may, therefore, celebrate Russell's victory at La Hogue and subsequent appointment as Admiral of the Fleet and First Lord of the Admiralty. It was possibly made in the royal dockyards at Chatham by carpenters of French or Dutch Huguenot origin more used to carving decorated ships' prows.

While further research is required to develop a fuller understanding of Russell's artistic patronage and the place within it of his silver andirons, the survival of the latter in such exceptional condition offers a vivid insight into his ambitions. The quality of their design and execution underlines why objects of this type were such eloquent vehicles for the expression of status and fashionable taste, while their iconography places them securely within the elite intellectual culture of Russell's age.

I owe thanks to David Mitchell, Tessa Murdoch, Philippa Glanville and Tim Knox for their generous help in the writing of this article.

ALEXANDER CRICHTON, A SCOTTISH SILVERSMITH AND THE SAILING MARQUESS

LYNDSAY MCGILL



Fig 1 The *Bloodhound*, the 3rd Marquess of Ailsa's 40-ton racing cutter at Cowes.

the Royal Alfred Yacht Club, the Royal Thames Yacht Club, the Royal St George's Yacht Club and the Royal Southampton Yacht Club, of which he was commodore.¹

On succeeding to the title of 3rd Marquess of Ailsa in 1870, he did so at a time when yachting as a sport was moving away from the amateur and into the realms of the wealthy and elite. The new Marquess was thus in a position to indulge his passions. While many different boats, including steamships, were constructed to his order, he was famous for three racing yachts in particular: the *Foxhound*, the *Bloodhound* and the *Sleuthound*.

The Marquess's *Bloodhound* [Fig 1] was built in 1874 by William Fife of Fairlie. She was a 40-ton cutter with no cabin fittings except a seat on either side of the cabin sole, designed in such a way as to enhance her speed. The Marquess was a regular customer and great patron of Fife's boats, eventually employing Fife's son in his own boat yard, the Culzean Ship & Boatbuilding Company. His commissions and support must have been greatly welcomed by the Fifes whose yachts competed in many of the most prestigious boats races in Britain over several decades and are still famous today.² After a successful career, the *Bloodhound* was replaced in 1881 with the *Sleuthound*, another 40-ton cutter from the Fairlie yard. However, the *Bloodhound*'s racing career continued through different owners until she was eventually sent back to Fife's yard to be broken up in 1907. At this point the Marquess bought her back which reveals how much affection he must have had for this yacht. Unluckily the following year there was an incident in which his beloved *Bloodhound* was sunk, but undeterred, she was sailing again a short time later. In total this yacht had a lifespan of forty eight years, which came to an unfortunate end in 1922 when a fire broke out in the Southampton shipyard where she was docked.³ Today her mast can still be seen at the Royal Yacht Squadron headquarters

In the dining room at Culzean Castle, situated on a William IV mahogany sideboard, under a Mather Brown portrait of Anne Watts, second wife of the 11th Earl of Cassillis, resides a silver mantle clock. It is a fitting place for the timepiece since both the clock and the dining room were commissioned by the 3rd Marquess of Ailsa in 1877, the latter from the Edinburgh firm Wardrop & Reid, the former from an exceptional Scottish silversmith, Alexander Crichton. The clock is a testament of the silversmith's remarkable talent and reveals his pull towards the romantic and mythical through the influence of art and literature. At the same time it also highlights the extravagance and passions of a Marquess.

The 14th Earl of Cassillis, Archibald Kennedy, was a talented yachting enthusiast. At one stage he was a

member of nine yacht clubs on the south coast including the Royal Yacht Squadron,

1 Michael Moss, *The "Magnificent Castle" of Culzean and the Kennedy Family*, Edinburgh, 2002, p 191.

2 Ibid and May Fife McCallum, *Fast and Bonnie: A History of William Fife and Son Yachtbuilders*, Edinburgh, 2002.

3 Moss, *ibid* and McCallum, *ibid*.

4 Moss, *ibid.*

5 *The Field: The Country Gentleman's Newspaper*, 1877, p 501.

6 John Hawkins, *Alexander Crichton Through the Drinking Glass*, 2009. <https://www.jbhawkinsantiques.com/uploads/articles/AlexanderCrichtonArticleforwww.pdf> [accessed August 2015].

at Cowes, standing as their flagpole while the tiller hangs on their function room wall.

Competitive sport such as this resulted in numerous prizes and it was common for the Marquess to commission his own trophy at the end of each yachting season to celebrate his achievements. A number were commissioned from

Stephen Smith & Sons, Hancocks & Co., Elkington & Co., R. & S. Gunard [sic Garrard] & Co., and S. J. Phillips.⁴

On at least two occasions, however, he turned to Alexander Crichton, a Scottish goldsmith working in London, to produce his high-end reward. The *Bloodhound* clock [Fig 2] was commissioned by the 3rd Marquess in order to commemorate his successful 1877 yachting season in the *Bloodhound*.

Listed on two silver plaques on the front are inscribed the races and dates, the winning position and the prizes won in pounds. The prizes range from £10 to £60 depending on the race and the *Bloodhound's* position. However, not all the winnings were in sterling: on at least one occasion the prize was a cup at the value of £60.⁵ Winning a piece of plate equivalent to a cash sum was not unusual in the sporting world and the Marquess was known to have a large collection of such prizes. It is, therefore, possible that when he had this clock commissioned, in order to pay for it, he used a combination of his prize money, but instead of melting down the silver from his prize cups and using the proceedings, he used his own money and retained the cups.

The movement itself was produced by Lund and Blockley, London clockmakers to Queen Victoria. It is an eight-day clock that plays part of a tune on the quarters, eventually playing the full piece on the hour accompanied with a gong. The neo-Classical fretwork at the sides, now decorated with red material [Fig 3], and the openwork to the top, were previously backed with a blue cloth, a suitable colour for a



Fig 2 The *Bloodhound* clock, the movement by Lund & Blockley, the case by Alexander Crichton.

sailing prize. It could be argued that Crichton deliberately created this openwork, as opposed to using a solid sheet of silver, in order to help the sound escape from the clock: a technique sometime used on longcase and bracket clocks.

The iconography of this clock is highly decorative and it gives a strong insight into the imagination of the maker. Alexander Crichton appears to have been inspired by the work of artists like Sir John Tenniel, the illustrator of the Lewis Carroll books *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Alice Through the Looking Glass* [Fig 4]. At Brodick Castle there is a collection of six glass claret jugs in various animal forms with silver mounts produced by Crichton. It has been suggested that the dodo was inspired by Tenniel's dodo in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and that the others, a male and a female walrus, two seals and a fish, are also influenced by the artist's imaginative work⁶ [Fig 5].

Another source of influence were the works of Sir Joseph Noel Paton, famous for his mythological, historical and religious scenes. According to John Hawkins, in 1878 Crichton

Fig 3 The *Bloodhound* clock, detail of fretwork of side panel.





Fig 4 Sir John Tenniel, illustration to *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll, depicting Alice and the Dodo.

produced a pair of parcel-gilt shields,

... based on the story from Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* bearing many similarities to the two great paintings by Sir Joseph Noel Paton, now in the National Gallery of Scotland, *The Quarrel* and *The Reconciliation of Oberon and Titania*.⁷

It is interesting to note that around the same time as he was producing the *Bloodhound* clock, Crichton was already using Noel Paton's and Shakespeare's work as creative sources. The menacing-looking figure situated at the front of the clock is the character Caliban

from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. This likeness is taken from Paton's 1868 painting, now owned by Glasgow Museums [Figs 6 and 7].

The theme of *The Tempest* is repeated again, below the dial. Here we see Prospero conjuring the storm, Miranda lying at his feet and Ariel flying above [Fig 8].

The main iconography appears to be inspired by the sea, which is appropriate for a yachting prize. In addition to *The Tempest*, at the top of the clock Venus is positioned on a wave, riding on the back of a dolphin (or mythical sea creature) and there are four graduated borders of clam shells radiating out from beneath her. To the sides are scallop shells and in the clock spandrels are chased and engraved crabs and lobsters. At the front, two vertical dolphins resembling the Kennedy crest support a medieval knight and fair maiden.

The water theme is balanced by more earth-like concepts. Snails out of their shells look poised to move down the clock case and squirrels eating nuts sit inconspicuously in the openwork. Next to the squirrels are, what look like, tree nymphs. It is possible that these figures are also inspired from the works of Shakespeare and represent Robin Goodfellow, more commonly referred to as Puck, from *A Midsummer's Night's*

Fig 5 Group of claret jugs, silver and glass by Alexander Crichton. (Courtesy of the National Trust for Scotland)



⁷ Ibid, p 1.

8 John Culme, *The Directory of Gold & Silversmiths Jewellers & Allied traders 1838-1914*. From the *London Assay Office Registers*, Suffolk, 1987, vol 1, p 102.

9 *Ibid*, p 1.



Fig 8 The Bloodhound clock, detail of Prospero, Miranda and Ariel.

Dream. There is a strong resemblance between these tree-spirits and the depiction of Puck taken from the 1847 Collier's edition of the *Roxburghe Ballads*; note the long ears, the prominent horns and the full beard with a handlebar moustache [Figs 9 and 10].

The creative inspiration of this clock leans towards the literary and the two medieval figures flanking the clock dial could also be characters from a novel or poem, such as Hotspur and Lady Percy from Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, or perhaps taken from Arthurian legend. It is interesting to note that there are two spoons by Crichton with cast terminals in the form of Macbeth and his lady made one year after the clock was hallmarked.⁸



Fig 6 The Bloodhound clock, detail of Caliban



Considering Crichton's work as a whole and the Marquess's other collections, it seems unlikely that Archibald Kennedy would have stipulated this particular design for his clock. It is, therefore, more probable that he gave Crichton free reign to produce a fitting and elaborate design for his 1877 *Bloodhound* prize.

Nevertheless, there is one last decorative element of this clock that may have been at the request of the Marquess and that is the addition of two silver Bloodhounds. Both hounds are very different in style from the rest of the piece albeit they are mounted on the same type of wooden base. They take their place at either side of the prize and are 7¼ in (18.5cm) in height. These dogs are a playful pun on the name of the cutter, *Bloodhound*, and interestingly Crichton has given both a distinctive personality. They are individually life-like and express a naturalistic quality unlike the rest of the clock and perhaps it is not too farfetched to suggest that Crichton based them on two of the Marquess's own hounds [Fig 11].

Hawkins wrote that

Alexander Crichton is a shadowy figure, whose place and date of birth or death has proved impossible to trace.⁹

More recent research has revealed that Crichton was born in Edinburgh on 22 November 1839 and that his birth was

Fig 7 Sir Joseph Noel Paton, *Caliban*, 1868, oil on canvas. (Courtesy of Glasgow Museums)



Fig 9 The Bloodhound clock, detail of mask, possibly Puck or Robin Goodfellow.

registered alongside his brother John's in 1841. In the Old Parish Registers it is recorded that he was the son of Walker Crichton, silversmith, and Jessie Selater [sic] (Slater), residing at 6 Leopold Place.¹⁰ Both Alexander and John were apprenticed to their father on 18 October 1854.¹¹ It was not until 8 December 1874 that Alexander became a freeman of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh having delayed applying until 7 December of that same year. With his petition to join, he submitted his indenture, his birth certificate, his new wife's birth certificate (Amy Marion Wilkie born 2 August 1851 her certificate being issued on the 1 December 1874 from the Regent's Park district of St Pancras, in the county of Middlesex), their marriage certificate dated 19 August 1874 (from the parish of St George's, Bloomsbury in the county of Middlesex) his burgess ticket and a payment of £41 3s 6d. He was assigned an assay piece consisting of a silver cup and a plain gold ring, to be made in Messrs Crichton and Co.'s shop, which he appears to have completed within one day.¹²

Crichton became an exceptional silversmith with a notable list of clients including the 3rd Marquess of Ailsa and the 12th Duke of Hamilton. It was the latter who acquired the whimsical claret jugs hallmarked 1881-2 which can now be seen at Brodick Castle.¹³ In 1870 he was presented with an award of £25 from the Goldsmiths' Company for a repoussé decorated cup displayed at the Society of Arts Exhibition;¹⁴ for the *Bloodhound* clock he was awarded £50

for the design and erection of/ THIS CLOCK/DECr/1878

which is proudly engraved on the side of the prize.

By the early 1880s Crichton had however run into financial difficulties. Hawkins writes:

Crichton registered his first mark at Goldsmiths' Hall in November 1872 giving his working address as 47 Great Russell Street, London. He would seem to have been continually on the move and is impossible to trace from the census but by 1880 he had settled at 45 Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, in partnership with Charles John Curry. They traded as Crichton and Curry and were listed as designers, modellers and silversmiths. Like many other employed in the luxury goods business, the short-lived partnership did not survive the severe recession of the early 1880s and had been dissolved by October 1884. Crichton was declared bankrupt in December 1886



Fig 10 Puck, illustration from J P Collier (ed), *A Book of Roxburghe Ballads*, London, 1847.

10 Old Parish Registers, 1841, National Records of Scotland.

11 The Incorporation of Goldsmiths of the City of Edinburgh Database [Online]. <http://incorporationofgoldsmiths.co.uk> [Accessed: August 2015]

12 Goldsmiths' Hall Minutes, 1874, the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of the City of Edinburgh, pp 125-127.

13 *Argenteries: le trésor du National Trust for Scotland*, Brussels, 1992.

14 John Culme, op cit, see note 8.

15 John Hawkins, 'Alexander Crichton and Through the Looking Glass', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 27, 2011, p107.

with unsecured creditors owed £1,846; he then moved to Sheffield applying for a discharge from bankruptcy in 1899.¹⁵

The Edinburgh Incorporation of Goldsmiths Minutes dated 7 April 1884 support Hawkins's research. Crichton had written to them in March and April of that year:

The which day prayers being said and the Roll called the Deacon laid before the meeting a letter from Mr. Alexander Crichton in the following terms – "54 Whittington Road, Bowes Park, Wood Green, London, N. March 31/8 – Gentlemen, I being a member of the Goldsmiths Incorporation of Edinburgh, beg to submit to my brother members, for their kind consideration my present unfortunate position, and pray for their sympathy and generous assistance. I am in the best of health, willing and anxious to use my abilities for the benefit of myself and the trade, which I much regret to say has been so bad lately as to reduce me to the dire necessity of asking assistance from

your Incorporation, the only source left me. I am willing to give all necessary information explanation regarding my present position.

The principal cause is the small demand for articles in high class work lately – a work I have always been accustomed to in designing, modelling & execution.

I may also state to you that I am a widower left with five children – the eldest having just been admitted into the Trades Maiden Hospital, makes one less to provide for.

Hoping you will give my application your kind consideration for which I will ever feel grateful – Yours obediently,

(Signed) alexr. Crichton.

The deacon stated that he had written to Mr Crichton asking for a more detailed statement which he now submitted in following terms

London, April 4/84, – 54 Whittington Road, Bowes Park, N.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of yesterday's date, I beg to state my present unfortunate condition is entirely owing to the stagnation of business over which of course I have no control. –

I have never been able to sufficiently recover recover [sic] myself from the serious losses we sustained through the failure of Messrs Mackay Cunningham & Co., White & Campbell, &c. We have only been struggling on from hand to mouth although working hard late and early - our endeavours have been fruitless chiefly through want of capital. We also sustained considerable loss by the premises in Rathbone Place and our removal to [?]

Fig 11 Bloodhounds, Alexander Crichton.



Sutton St in hope of having cheaper premises we thought would have enabled us to carry on more successfully. This has only proved another fruitless expense and now that business has actually collapsed my source of income is totally gone for the present. So, my dear Mr. Hutton you can readily understand my position as it is, and the reason I applied to the Goldsmiths Incorporation for their kindly assistance to relieve me from my present difficulties. I can assure you I have been most unwilling to make this request – it is only the urgency of my position has compelled me to do it, and I hope it will not be looked at in any other light. It will take about thirty pounds to relieve me from my present difficulties. – Hoping this will receive your kind consideration, yours obediently

(Signed) alexr. Crichton.

P.S. I have seen Mr. J. M. Hunt and Mr. Stewart principal partner of Hancocks & Co. – they also find that fine work has utterly collapsed, otherwise I could have found employment from them.

The deacon proposed, in view of this application and Crichton's special circumstances that he be allowed a sum of £15. This motion was seconded by the Assay Master and unanimously passed after a statement by the Clerk that this grant was under the laws *ultra vires* of the Incorporation.¹⁶

The letters make sad reading but they do, however, help to tie the Scottish born Alexander Crichton with the London-based Alexander Crichton of an unknown origin, written about by John Culme and John Hawkins. Crichton writes that he had

sustained considerable loss by the premises in Rathbone Place

while Culme notes that the London Crichton was at 45 Rathbone Place and that by 1880 he was in

partnership with Charles John Curry trading as Crichton and Curry.¹⁷

In Crichton's letters he continually refers to "we" and states that, after Rathbone Place, *they* moved to Sutton Street, as if he is referring to a partner. According to Hawkins, Sutton Street was where the Curry family had a silversmithing and modelling firm.¹⁸ Crichton was clearly in dire straits by the time he wrote to the Edinburgh Incorporation of Goldsmiths in April 1884 and, according to Culme, Crichton's partnership was "dissolved before 22nd October 1884" and he was declared bankrupt two years later.¹⁹ It is, therefore, highly unlikely there were two Alexander Crichtons working as silversmiths, in a partnership, based in Rathbone Place between 1880-1884, with connections to the Currys and struggling financially. The most solid piece of evidence that proves these two men are one and the same, is that the address on the letters to the Incorporation.

54 Whittington Road, Bowes Park, Wood Green, London

is the same address as that of the 'London' Alexander Crichton during 1883-4.²⁰ It is also interesting to note that Culme, under the private addresses, lists "7 Little Russell Street" as an early address for Crichton in 1872.²¹ This street is in the parish of St George's, Bloomsbury, which also happens to be the area where Crichton married his wife, Amy Marion Wilkie. The last mention of Crichton in the Incorporation's records is on 21 November 1899 when the Deacon announced that he had just received notice of Alexander Crichton's death:

The deacon spoke very highly of his attainments as a member of the craft and

¹⁶ Goldsmiths' Hall Minutes, 1884, the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of the City of Edinburgh, pp 19-20.

¹⁷ John Culme, *op cit*, see note 13, p 102.

¹⁸ John Hawkins, *op cit*, see note 15, p 107.

¹⁹ John Culme, *op cit*, see note 13, p 102.

²⁰ *Ibid*.

²¹ *Ibid*.

22 Goldsmiths Hall Minutes 1899, the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of the City of Edinburgh, p 126.

moved that they record in the minutes of the Incorporation, an appreciation of the loss they have sustained in the death of their late member, and that a letter of condolence be sent to his widow, conveying the sympathy of the members in her sad bereavement.²²

Culme's *Directory*, which contains information from the registers at Goldsmiths' Hall in London, and the Edinburgh Incorporation of Goldsmiths' Minutes, are invaluable sources and have helped prove that the two Alexander Crichtons are one and the same person. Crichton is no longer a 'shadowy figure', but can be considered a remarkable goldsmith with a long history in the trade, working with eminent clients such as the 3rd Marquess of Ailsa and potentially the 12th Duke of Hamilton, the latter's family being the premier peers of Scotland. This emphasises Crichton's reference to

the small demand for articles in high class work lately – a work I have always been accustomed to in designing, modelling & execution.

He was certainly working at an exceptionally high level to acquire these sorts of customers and it would be fascinating to find out who else was on his books. His financial demise does not appear to be because his talent had slipped but more an effect of the 1870s depression, something felt by many including Hancocks & Co (as seen in Crichton's letter) and which gripped much of Western Europe and North America. However, the depression aside, the surviving work of this exceptional silversmith reveals someone deeply inspired by literature and art, with an enigmatic mind; someone a Marquess was happy to commission work from. Today the *Bloodhound* clock is viewed by approximately 70,000 people each year and is a special highlight in the Culzean Castle

tours; a legacy worthy of this Scottish silversmith.

Note

The *Bloodhound* clock is on permanent loan from the 9th Marquess of Ailsa and family to the National Trust for Scotland. The hounds reside with the family.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank for their help and assistance; the 9th Marquess of Ailsa and family; Gordon Nelson, Collections Officer Culzean Castle; Elspeth Morrison, Archivist at the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh and Marcin Klimek photographer at the National Trust for Scotland.

THE MYSTERY OF DUTCH RAISING

SANDRA WILSON

A few English language books on silversmithing refer to *Dutch raising*.¹ Very little is, however, known about this technique. The majority of historical reviews of silversmithing tend to address cultural influences and discuss form, surface treatment or decoration but rarely talk about technique.² As Gans laments,

There is regrettably little published about the history of the techniques and methods employed in the silversmith's craft.³

Many contemporary silversmiths prefer to allow their work to speak for them and consequently do not talk or write about their techniques. Traditionally silversmithing knowledge was passed from master to apprentice and this was protected by the guild system. Since silversmithing is now a subject taught within universities we have seen a growth in the number of instructional books on the subject, particularly since the 1960s. In academia, however, there exists a clear separation between knowledge and practice that stems from Platonic and Aristotelian dialogues; that distinguishes between *epistēmē* and *technē* or between knowledge and what is craft or art. Consequently, whilst there has been a growth in instructional books, there exists a lack of scholarship into the value of different techniques and their application.

Introduction

Raising is a central technique in silversmithing and is a process for making vessels out of a single sheet of metal by forming on stakes with hammers. The process has ancient roots. The most common technique today is to start raising from the outside at the centre/baseline of a vessel and work towards the edge. This is often referred to as "angle raising". Untracht defines angle raising as deriving its name from the series of angles created to arrive at the desired final angle [Fig 1].⁴ There is, however, another approach.

Review of instructional books

Around eighteen different instructional books were examined and only three specifically mention "Dutch raising".⁵ Three further books appear to advocate "Dutch raising" although this is described as just raising or perhaps more obliquely as "method 2".⁶ Some more recent books refer to other methods without specifying what these are.⁷

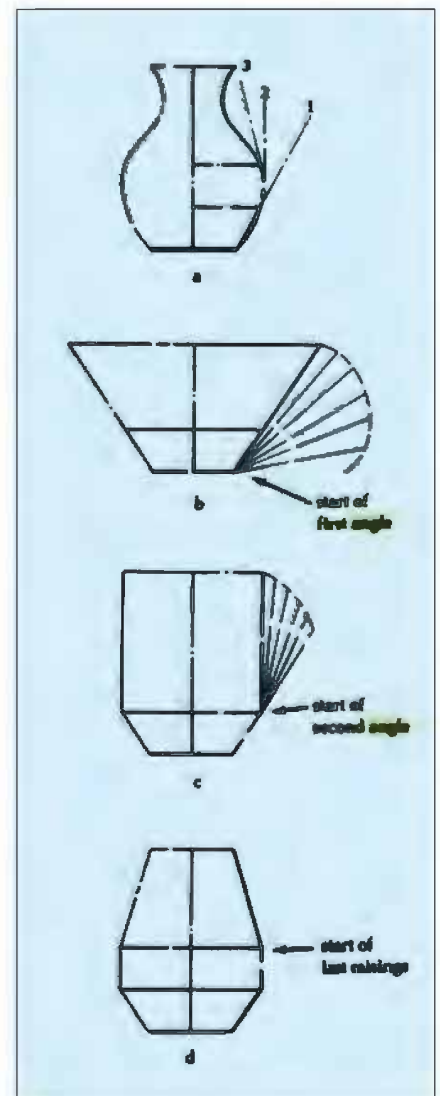


Fig 1 Angle raising, illustration from Rupert Finegold & William Seitz, *Silversmithing*, 1983.

- 1 Richard Thomas, *Metalsmithing for the Artist Craftsmen*, Philadelphia, 1960; Opi Untracht, *Metal Techniques for Craftsmen on the Methods of Forming and Decorating Metals*, New York, 1968. Heikki Seppä, *Form Emphasis for Metalsmiths*, Ohio, 1978
- 2 Sandra Van Berlaum, *Silver Art in the Netherlands*, Amersfoort, 2016.
- 3 Mozes Heiman Gans and Th M Duyvene De Witte-Klinkhamer, *Dutch Silver*, London, 1961, p 49.
- 4 Opi Untracht, 1968
- 5 Richard Thomas, op cit, see note 1, Opi Untracht, 1968; Heikki Seppä, op cit, see note 1
- 6 Robert Goodden & Miller, 1948; Popham, 1971; Keith Smith, *Silversmithing: A Manual of Design Techniques*, Marlborough, 2000
- 7 Tim McCreight, *The Complete Metalsmith*, London, 2004; Erhard Brepohl (ed), Tim McCreight, *The Theory and Practice of Goldsmithing*, Maine, 2001.

8 Richard Thomas, *op cit*, see note 1.

9 *Ibid*, p 23.

10 Robert Judson Clark and Andrea P A Belloli, *Design in America: The Cranbrook Vision 1925-1950*, 1983, p 167.

11 Paul Tarantino, Masters paper, 'Metal working techniques – A visual aid for the teaching of raising and forming methods', Cranbrook Academy of Art, Cranbrook Archive.

12 Mary Beth Van Eenwyk, 1966, Masters paper, Cranbrook Academy of Art, Cranbrook Archive.

Richard Thomas is the first author to specifically mention Dutch raising as a method.⁸ He suggests that Dutch raising is

so called because of the craftsman who developed the process

and that

all raising methods require the blows to be directed to the outer or convex surface and that the metal must be held at an angle against the stake.⁹

It is important to recognise here that holding the work at an angle is not the same as angle raising, where the metal moves in a series of angles, although it is easy to see how other authors who have followed Thomas may have interpreted this comment in this way. He begins his description of the different raising methods by outlining what he describes as “a simple mechanical factor” that demonstrates both why raising is most effective when the

hammer blows are directed towards the edge of the stake and by how much the metal will move depending on its position against the stake. In his description of the process he uses a cross-peen hammer weighing 1½ lb (680g) and a T Stake [Fig 2] to make a simple bowl form.

Thomas (1917–88) was a painter and designer. Largely self-taught as a silversmith, he acquired as much technical information as he could on his own. “His insistence on the primacy of technical skills has led him to codify in publications that are now standard texts for the student.”¹⁰ He was well known for making his students write master’s papers and from the Cranbrook archives I have been able to find two that discuss Dutch raising. The first is by Paul Tarantino¹¹ (1956) who explored a visual aid for the teaching of raising and forming methods, and the second is by Mary Beth Van Eenwyk¹² (1966) who raised an asymmetric piece. Tarantino discussed the tools needed:

Fig 2 Dutch raising process, illustration from Richard Thomas, *Metalworking for the Artist Craftsman*, Philadelphia, 1960.



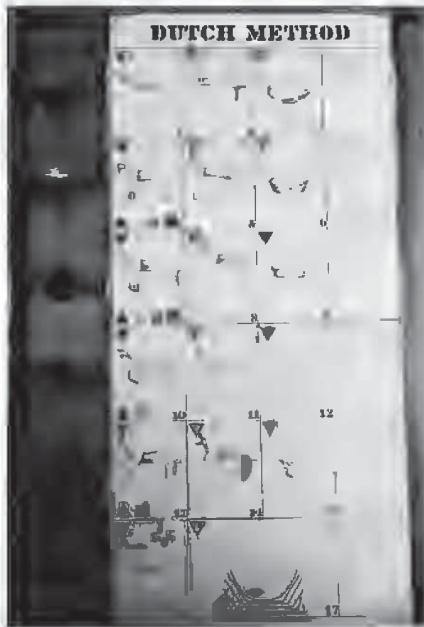


Fig 3 'Dutch method' from Paul Terrantino, Masters paper, 'Metal working techniques - A visual aid for the teaching of raising and forming methods', 1956. (© Cranbrook Academy of Art, Cranbrook Archive)

specifically a cross-peen raising hammer, a T stake and a raw-hide mallet. He concluded that this is an excellent method

for raising tall cylindrical forms from light gauge metal 18-22 gauge (approx. 0.7mm-1.02mm). Rather than forcing the metal to a 90 degree angle on its axis, I found it more logical to repeat the entire process after all the short angles are formed over the first time through. In this manner, severe distortion is kept to the minimum.¹³

He also presents us with a helpful diagram [Fig 3]. Van Eenwyk also discussed her creation of four asymmetrical vessels using a mixture of Angle raising and Dutch raising [Fig 4]. She highlights how the Dutch method is

known for its rapidity in moving the metal from a flat sheet to a cylindrical form.¹⁴

She also worked with a light gauge of metal (16-20 gauge {0.81mm-1.29mm}). In her description of trying to raise this asymmetrical piece she talked about abandoning the Dutch method as she was not proficient enough, to make it profitable to her and she subsequently reverted back to Angle raising.

Oppi Untracht, another American metalsmith, informs us that Dutch raising

is a process for shaping open pieces such as bowls. The work progresses from the outer edge of the disc on the convex side in spiralling blows toward the centre of the piece. A heavy cross-peen hammer is used followed by a rawhide mallet to help form the piece and even out irregularities. Instead of a series of angles being pursued, as is done in Angle raising, the piece is annealed, bouged, and shaped directly in several stages.¹⁵

It is interesting to note that Untracht uses a heavy cross-peen hammer as Thomas did (see above) but does not appear to add much more information.

The Finnish-American metalsmith Heikki Seppä, in his book, *Form Emphasis for Metalsmiths* defines Dutch Raising as:

This process begins at the edge and progresses towards the kernel.¹⁶

Using the abbreviation q.v., he suggests further information will be available in another part of the book; however, there is no further mention of this process.

The English silversmiths, Robert Goodden and Philip Popham, appear to describe Dutch raising but simply describe their approach as raising although this is different from the more common Angle raising. They suggest that their approach avoids thinning and weakening the silver.

One could start each course of raising from the line where the bottom edge of the cylinder would begin, but this would mean a



Fig 4 Asymmetrical vessel silver, parcel-gilt, by Mary Beth Van Eenwyk, 1966.

¹³ Paul Terrantino, op cit, see note 11

¹⁴ Mary Beth Van Eenwyk, op cit, see note 12

¹⁵ Heikki Seppä, op cit, see note 1, 249

17 Robert Goodden and Philip Popham, *Silversmithing*, London, 1971, p 33

18 *Ibid*, pp 30-40.

19 Keith Smith, *op cit*, see note 6

20 *Ibid*, p 70

21 *Ibid*, p 73

22 *Ibid*, p 74

23 *Ibid*, p 74

24 Frances Loyer, *The Thames and Hudson Manual of Silversmithing*, London 1980

25 Robert Goodden and Philip Popham, *op cit*, see note 15.

good deal more strain on the silver at this point, with consequent thinning and weakening of the metal.¹⁷

While the section on raising in many books is brief, only a paragraph or two, Goodden and Popham devote around ten pages to this process¹⁸, taking the reader through how to make three basic forms: a cylindrical vessel, a cone shaped vessel and a bowl form. The process starts with sinking on the inside of a disk, then proceeds by scribing a line on the outside about "2.5cm from the edge" where the first course of raising starts [Fig 5].

Having annealed and pickled the silver, scribe a pencil line 5mm below the point where the first raising was commenced and then start another course taking this right to the edge of what has now become a shallow dish.¹⁹

In this example a raising hammer is used and no advice for choosing a particular stake is given.

Fig 5 Starting to raise, from Robert Goodden and Philip Popham, *Silversmithing*, London, 1971.



Keith Smith, who taught silversmithing at Loughborough College of Art & Design for over thirty years, discusses two distinct methods of raising in his book, *Silversmithing : A Manual of Design and Techniques*.²⁰ The first method he describes as raising from near the centre and the second involves a gradual working back towards the centre. He does not ascribe names to these techniques but simply refers to them as method 1 and 2. He further adds that

The author was taught to work with the first method but many people use the second method, or even a combination of the two.²¹

His description and illustration of Method 2 appears to match that of Dutch raising [Fig 6]. For example,

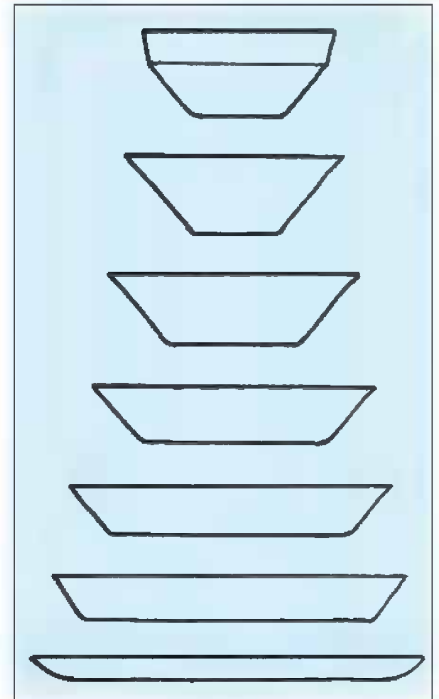


Fig 6 Method 2, from Keith Smith, *Silversmithing: A Manual of Design and Techniques*, 2000.

he discusses how a scribed line should be on the outside surface of the sunken form about 1 in (2.5cm) from the outer edge.

The metal should be raised from this point and the final edge should be malletted onto the stake. After annealing and pickling, a new line should be scribed about 6mm closer to the centre of the vessel, and another complete course of raising to the outer edge undertaken. This procedure should be repeated until you have worked back to the vicinity of the base of your design.²²

Smith also briefly discusses another process used in silversmithing that he describes as

thickening the bottom of a raised form to make it strong enough for a base.²³

This technique is also called "back raising"²⁴ [Fig 7] or "raising in"²⁵ and can also be used to



Fig 7 Back raising, from Frances Loyer, *The Thames and Hudson Manual of Silversmithing*, London, 1980.

reduce the height of a vessel. In my discussions with contemporary silversmiths Dutch raising was frequently mistaken for “back raising”. The latter is where you scribe from the base line and work facing towards the centre:

raising the metal in towards the centre.

Close to the centre a pimple will be formed and it will need some force to drive it down to the stake.²⁶

Back raising then is a technique used most commonly at the end of the process to thicken a base or reduce the height of a vessel whereas Dutch raising is a complete process from start to finish for forming a vessel. Another key difference between Dutch raising and back raising is the position of the vessel on the stake and the direction of the blows: with Dutch raising the blows are directed towards the outside edge, in contrast to back raising where the blows are directed towards the centre.

John G Miller, in *Metal Art Crafts*,²⁷ also talks about raising a shallow bowl after blocking

begin raising along the outer edge . . . working in concentric circles towards the centre of the disc,

which suggests Dutch raising. This also appears to be consistent with the advice given by Untracht that Dutch raising is suited to open pieces such as bowls.²⁸ Martin also uses this expression of “concentric circles” in outlining his approach to raising, which also starts raising at the outside edge.²⁹

More recently in *H21: Handouts for the 21st Century*, a collection of handouts and teaching aids collated by the Society of North American Goldsmiths (SNAG) in honour of J Fred Woell, there is a reference to Dutch raising in a handout by Randy Long from Indiana University. This handout refers to “Dutch angle raising”, seemingly suggesting that Dutch raising is another type of Angle raising. Long however, discusses a key difference from angle raising:

Fig 8 Adrian Hope, silversmith. (Photo: Shannon Tofa)



²⁶ Keith Smith, *op cit*, see note 6, p 74

²⁷ John G Miller, *Metal Art Crafts*, New York, 1948, p 87

²⁸ Opi Untracht, *op cit*, see note 1, 249

²⁹ Robert J Martin, *Working with Silver – The Story of a Practical Chemist's Adventures*, New South Wales, 1996, pp 9 and 10.

30 Randy Long, *Metasmithing in Handouts for the 21st Century: A collection of handouts and teaching aids*, SNAG, 2016, p 69

31 Tim McCreight, *op cit*, see note 7, p 58

32 *Ibid*, p 58

33 Erhard Brepohl (ed), Tim McCreight, *The Theory and Practice of Goldsmithing*, Maine, 2001, p 247

that the metal is raised from the outer edge towards the centre. All other procedures being the same as previously noted in angle raising. The reason for this seemingly backward approach is the shape of the piece to be raised, personal preference and/or training. The outer edge in both angle raising techniques invariably thickens, by starting from the outer edge, it is said that it is easier to control any warping that may occur and the diameter of the opening because the outer edge is work hardened in the beginning of the coursing.³⁰

Other authors allude to different methods of raising without naming them or specifying any differences. McCreight,³¹ for example, suggests that

methods will differ depending on the size and shape of the piece, the tool available and the metal being raised,

but he does not elaborate further. Ultimately, he suggests

There is only one way to raise – the way that works.³²

Brepohl suggests that

Readers who go on to pursue silversmithing will discover other methods both in their experimentation and continued reading, and are encouraged to try every possible technique before settling on a favourite.³³

He also suggests that different methods have their advantages and proponents. Unfortunately, he does not specify what these advantages might be. The justification he gives for this is that he does not wish to not to confuse the reader! Both focus on the more common method of angle raising.

A defining feature of Dutch raising appears to be starting to raise from the outside edge and adding additional courses behind the previous ones, working backwards to the centre whilst the hammer blows are directed to the outside edge. It is not, however, always ascribed this name and is often simply described as just raising. So far we have considered references to Dutch raising in books, but is there any evidence today of Dutch raising being practised by contemporary silversmiths?

Contemporary Silversmiths

Adrian Hope [Fig 8] is a contemporary British silversmith, based in the Borders, who raises from the outside edge, working backwards towards the centre. Hope trained in both Sheffield and Edinburgh and spent time with the Danish silversmith Mogens Bjørn-Andersen (1911–2014), adopting his approach to raising. Andersen was apprenticed to Georg Jensen (1866–1935), who had established the renowned Danish Silverware company. Andersen graduated from Jensen in 1934. Hope describes his way of working as “an alternative approach”, as it differs from the more common approach adopted by the majority of UK silversmiths. Hope met Andersen in 1992, following an exhibition in Edinburgh at the Danish Institute, where the work of various Danish silversmiths was on display. After spending time with Andersen in Copenhagen, Hope’s work took a different direction. He also commented on how

Fig 9 Raising stakes in Adrian Hope’s workshop.
(Photo: Sandra Wilson)



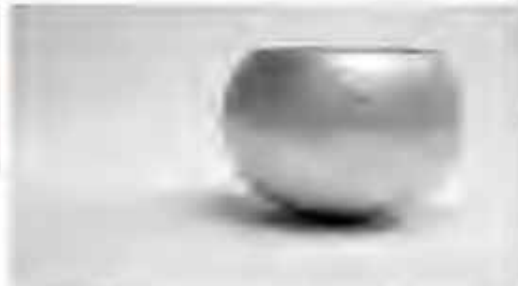


Fig 10 Whisky tumbler, round bowl and open bowl, Sandra Wilson, 2016. (Photo: Sandra Wilson)

the stakes were completely different shapes. They had long arms so that you could get right down inside the pieces.³⁴

This is also supported by a comment from Andrea Harvin-Kennington in the US, who originally trained in Sweden in 1982.³⁵ This stake [Fig 9] is longer than traditional British stakes and also appears to support Tarantino's conclusion that Dutch raising is especially suited to tall cylindrical forms.

I was fortunate enough to learn Hope's approach to raising while taking his weekend workshop three times over the course of two years. During this time I created a whisky

tumbler, a small bowl and a larger round bowl [Fig 10]. In the small open bowl (right) I was able to create the form relatively quickly compared to angle raising and using wooden hammers and mallets meant I could achieve a good matt finish without the need for any planishing. On this piece I was also able to experience back raising in order to create the foot of the vessel and understand the key differences between the two techniques. The forms of the whisky tumbler and round bowl could also be better controlled as you are focusing more on achieving the final diameter of the work. As a maker myself, learning the technique was an important aspect of this

Fig 11 Jan van Nouhuys, silversmith. (Photo: Frank Peters)



³⁴ John Andrew and Derek Styles, *British Designer Silver from Studios established 1930-1985*, Woodbridge, 2015, p 264

³⁵ Andrea Harvin-Kennington, *Creative Metal Forming Group*, post 7 September 2017 see <http://bit.ly/2gDgrOU>

36 J W Frederiks, *Dutch Silver: Embossed Ecclesiastical and Secular Plate from the Renaissance until the End of the Eighteenth Century*, The Hague, 1961, p 37

37 Ibid, p 39

38 Ibid, p 50

Fig 12 Covered ewer, Adam van Vianen, Utrecht, 1614.
(© The Rijksmuseum)



Fig 13 Ewer and basin, Christian van Vianen.
(© The Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport)

research. Knowing where to stand in relation to the stake, the position of my elbow tight against my body, the relationship of my hammer blows relative to the stake all had to be learned through repeated actions until it started to feel less forced and more natural.

Contemporary silversmith, Jan van Nouhuys [Fig 11], based in Schoonhoven in the Netherlands, also found a reference to Dutch raising in an English book about silver when working at the English company Wakely and Wheeler in the 1970s and was intrigued. He spent around two years conducting research into what this could be referring to and in particular studied the work of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century silversmiths, the Van Vianens.

Adam van Vianen was born in 1565 a son of the Utrecht silversmith Willem Eerstensz van Vianen. His work went through several different periods and it is his later “auricular” style, (named after its organic and flowing style) that is of interest here [Fig 12].³⁶ Considered by many to be the Rembrandt of

silversmithing, Adam, together with his younger brother Paulus and his son Christiaen, produced a considerable body of work. Adam stayed at Utrecht while Paulus lived abroad for the greater part of his life: working initially for the Bavarian Court in Munich and then in Prague for Emperor Rudolph II.

He used the same mollusk style as his brother, but probably started several years earlier.³⁷

Adam’s son Christiaen worked in Utrecht and then in 1635 he entered the service of Charles I of England who ordered him to make a series of seventeen pieces for St George’s Chapel at Windsor Castle.³⁸ In 2012, a temporary export ban was placed on a silver ewer and basin [Fig 13] by Christiaen van Vianen, with his mark for 1632, to stop the work from leaving the UK. It was argued that:

The ewer and basin are superb examples of a rare moment in the history of art when a branch of decorative arts developed a striking and innovative style. The auricular



Fig 14 Pair of candlesticks by Jan van Nouhuys, Schoonhoven, 1999.
(© The Victoria and Albert Museum)

style – so called by modern art historians because it was thought to resemble the fleshy curves of a human ear – was pioneered by the Van Vianens. They came from an established family of Utrecht goldsmiths and were famed for their innovative pieces which explored the possibilities of rendering the liquid properties of metal in sculptural form.³⁹

Philippa Glanville, a member of the Reviewing Committee, said:

The ewer and basin are stunning objects that were made with extraordinary technical skill. The influence of the Van Vianens' works on their contemporaries and future generations of silversmiths are important elements in the study of European decorative arts.⁴⁰

The suggested purchase price was £7,500,000 and, unfortunately, a buyer could not be found and so the ban on exporting the work to the USA was lifted.

Following Van Nouhuys's period of research into the Van Vianens he spent a number of years playing with this technique and continued to learn more about it through making. During this period, he produced a set of candlesticks [Fig 14], which are in the collection of the V&A and shows the influence of his study of the Van Vianens. Van Nouhuys distinguishes between what he calls "treating metal as sheet and treating metal as clay". He believes that the term Dutch raising in books could more appropriately be described as working with thicker metal sheet "as clay" up to as much as 5mm thick, as in the work of the Van Vianens. Contemporary silversmith Brian Clarke has also heard of people describing what he knows as peening as being Dutch raising.

In America during the 1950s this method of working with a thick ingot of metal that is hammered on the inside and thinned was described as stretching. The method is also referred to as peening,⁴¹ or pressing⁴², or dishing.⁴³ Several older books also refer to this method,⁴⁴ in the case of Cellini dating from the sixteenth century, where he suggests that stretching was encountered in Paris by Theophilus as early as the tenth century. Thomas describes pressing as

probably the oldest method of raising metals

and yet most practitioners and authors would agree this is not a raising method related to compressing the metal but rather a separate method in its own right because of the way the metal thins rather than thickens. Frederick Miller [Fig 15], who taught at the Cleveland Institute of Art, is worth examining here as he practised and published on this technique.⁴⁵ Miller describes it as

a forming method particularly well-suited to the development of contemporary designs of irregular or free shapes that call for unbroken lines and yet have the strength and richness of a thick edge.⁴⁶

39 Department for Culture, Media and Sport 2012/13, p 25

40 Ibid

41 Brian Hill and Andrew Putland, *Silversmithing: A Contemporary Guide to Making*, Marlborough, 2014

42 Richard Thomas, *op cit*, see note 1

43 Robert Goodden and Philip Popham, *op cit*, see note 15

44 C R Aahbea (translator), *The Treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on Goldsmithing and Sculpture*, USA, 1967

45 Frederick Miller, *Contemporary Silversmithing: The Stretching Method*, film and accompanying booklet, Handy & Harman, 1952.
http://library.clevelandart.org/museum_archives/audio_visual/contemporary-silversmithing-stretching-method

46 Ibid, p 4

47 Ibid; and Rupert Finegold and William Seitz, *Silversmithing*, Krause, 1983, p 416

48 Miller, *ibid*, p 4

49 'Silversmith to His Majesty the King', *The Rotarian*, 1949, <http://www.smpub.com/ubb/Forum12/HTML/000294.html> accessed on 6 September 2017

50 Dennis Dooley, *Frederick A Miller, Silversmith 1913-2000*, http://clevelandartspize.org/awardees/frederick_miller.html accessed 9 August 2017

51 Ibid

It is quite instructive to watch the video that Miller produced for Handy & Harman. He starts with a thick ingot of metal approximately 3.5mm thick and strikes the metal on the inside with a ball peen hammer on a flat metal stake. Eventually when he can no longer stretch the metal from the inside he moves to raising around the outside edge to shrink the diameter of the design and give shape to the piece. This technique is sometimes referred to as "shrinking" as it reduces the diameter of the work⁴⁷ Miller describes stretching as follows:

The stretching method allows for great freedom of design. It takes advantage of one of silver's most important characteristics – malleability. It enables you to start work in the material immediately, with only a general design for the piece you want to make. As you work the thick silver your understanding of it will grow and you will often find that the silver assumes a shape during stretching that will suggest

Fig 16 Fruit bowl by Frederick Miller, Cleveland, 1955
(© The Cleveland Museum of Art).

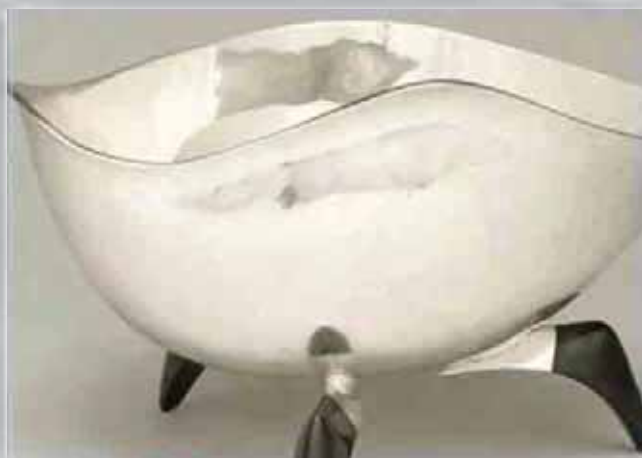


Fig 15 Frederick Miller, silversmith.
(Photo: John Paul Miller)

improvements over your original design.

This is more characteristic of the stretching method than of any other methods of forming.⁴⁸

The stretching method was introduced to Miller by Baron Erik Fleming at the 1948 National Silversmithing Workshop Conference in Rhode Island. Fleming was court silversmith to the King of Sweden.⁴⁹

Stretching was a novel method of thinning a disc of metal into the desired shape . . . whereas the time honoured way was to hammer a thin piece of metal into shape by striking primarily the outside surface of the cup or the bowl coming into existence, stretching began with a relatively thick disc and most of the hammering was done on the interior of the emerging form.⁵⁰

The workshop organiser argued that this method

was ideal for irregular shapes, since it permits the smith to vary his form easily as he goes along, combining in a free form a freely flowing design idea

and that

the metal actually flows under the blows of the hammer.⁵¹

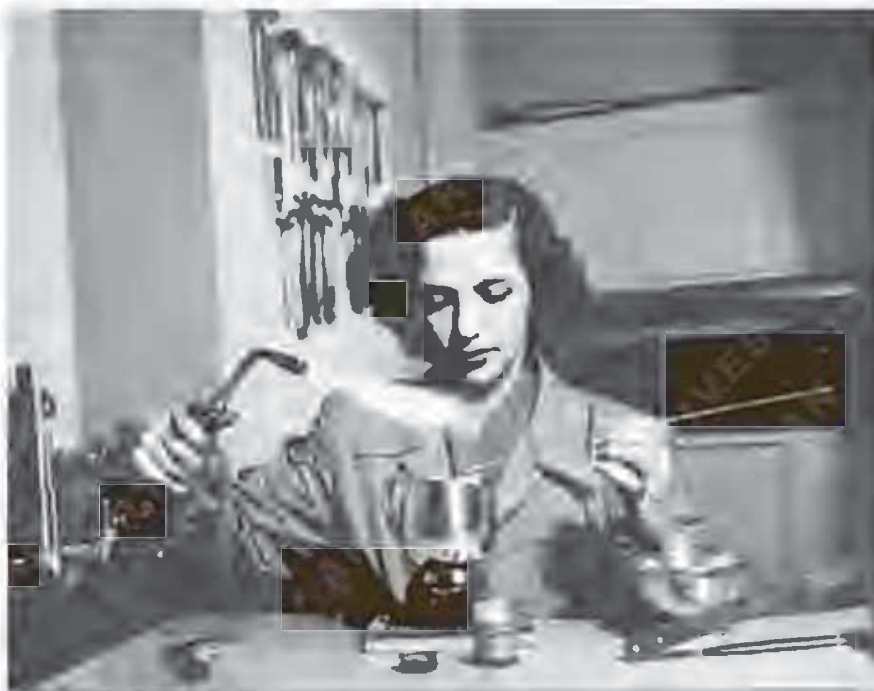


Fig 17 Margaret Craver, silversmith (1907-2010)
(Photo: Silver Salon Forum)

Elizabeth Nutt, a student of Miller's at the Cleveland Institute, has a vivid memory of his raising a large piece

while squatting on top of the studio's center table, a position that seemed to defy gravity.⁵²

You can see in his *Free Form Fruit Bowl* [Fig 16] the thick edge associated with stretching. It is observed by Maryon⁵³ and Van Nieuhuys⁵⁴ how with this method you canpeen a coin into a little bowl and the text around the edge will still be intact.

This renewed attention for stretching came out of a series of summer workshops run from 1947-51 by Handy & Harman and organised by the silversmith Margret Craver (1907-2010) [Fig 17]. The advertisements used to promote the workshops in *Craft Horizons* magazine [Fig 18] appear to demonstrate angle raising and stretching. During the Second World War, Craver entered into a partnership with the leading metal refinery Handy & Harman in

order to offer metalsmithing to wounded veterans as a means of occupational therapy.

What started out as a therapeutic endeavour, however, would ultimately have a significant impact on the field of American silver.⁵⁵

Many of the participants at these workshops went on to found their own metalsmithing programmes in the USA that still exist today.

Interestingly Craver was invited by George Ravensworth Hughes, a member of the

Fig 18 Advertisements for the Handy & Harman workshops 3-5 from *Craft Horizons*.



52 Ibid

53 Herbert Maryon, *Metalsmithing and Enamelling*, London, 1954, p 92

54 Jan Nieuhuys, Interview with the author in Schoonhoven, 31 July 2017

55 Elisabeth McGahey, *American Silver in the Art Institute of Chicago*, New Haven, 2016, pp 227-228

56 Vicki Halper and Diane Douglas, *Choosing Craft: The Artists Viewpoint*, 2009, p 115.

57 Margret Craver, 'An Ancient Method goes Modern', *Craft Horizons*, Winter 1949, pp 15 – 18. See <https://digital.craftcouncil.org/digital/collection/p15785coll2/id/2237/rac/>

58 Elisabeth McGee, *op cit*, see note 52, p 226.

59 Bruce Metcalf, correspondence with the author, 5 September 2017.

60 John Andrew and Derek Styles, *op cit*, see note 31, p 506.

61 William E Bennett, Ralph Graeter; Margret Craver Withers and Paul Kiliam, *Handwrought Silver. A Silver Bowl – Part one –* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DQoMhYYnjs> and *Part two –* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TehpuTltuM4> accessed 7 September 2017. Science Pictures for Handy & Harman, 1948.

Goldsmiths' Company to talk about her work with various British government departments who were interested in doing something to support their veterans.⁵⁶ She spoke to them in 1946 around the same time that she participated in a two-week refresher course at the Central School of Art in London for British silver and goldsmiths. These two events were a key influence for her in starting the series of workshops in the USA that took place between 1947 and 1951. Around forty-five people applied for twelve places available at these workshops. The first three workshops were held at the Rhode Island School for Design and the latter two at the Rochester Institute of Technology.

Craver, covering the third workshop for *Craft Horizons* magazine in 1949, lists

four methods by which nearly all raising is done – wrinkling, angle, stretching, and Dutch (so-called for want of a better name and because it is being used in Amsterdam).⁵⁷

So Craver appears to have been responsible for the term Dutch raising in 1949 and her justification for doing this is because a silversmith in Amsterdam was using this technique. It is not clear whether she knew someone personally who was using this technique as there is no reference to this. Alternatively she could have heard about this from someone else when she worked at Stone Associates in Massachusetts or Wilson Weir at Tiffany & Company or even Arthur Nevill Kirk (1881-1958) at Cranbrook.⁵⁸ For a teapot made by Craver under Kirk's instruction see Fig 19. This Cranbrook connection also gives us a link to Richard Thomas, although the two men never met. Kirk was taught silversmithing at the London School of Arts & Crafts in the 1920s and was subsequently invited to come to Detroit and teach at the Detroit Society of Arts and Crafts. In 1929 he was appointed head of the Silver Shop at the Cranbrook Academy of Art: a position that he held until 1933. Stone (1847-1938) was born and trained in Sheffield before moving to Massachusetts in 1896, although it is unlikely that he and Craver ever met.

Bruce Metcalf, an American contemporary jeweller and author remembers Dutch raising being mentioned in passing during his training at Syracuse University under Michael Jerry (b 1937) and believes it was known as an English technique.⁵⁹ Two English silversmiths were involved with the Handy & Harman Craft Service series sponsored summer workshops. William E Bennett (1906-67), who taught at the first workshop in 1947, began his training at the Sheffield School of Art and then continued at the London School of Arts and Crafts, under the guidance of Omar Ramsden. Following this training it is known that he travelled to Europe.⁶⁰ In 1948 Bennett was involved in making a film on handwrought silver with Craver and others.⁶¹ This film is also said to have influenced Fred Miller when he made his film on the stretching method. Bennett may

Fig 19 Teapot by Margaret Craver, Wichita, Kansas circa 1936. (© Museum of Fine Arts Boston)



have been involved with the 1946 refresher course, as Craver talks about how, later, one of the teachers would become directly involved with Handy & Harman.⁶² She also talks about how Bennett became the first teacher and opened the first Handy & Harman workshop:

Mr Bennett gave a blocking demonstration and twenty minutes later twelve hammers were at work, miracles beginning.⁶³

Another English silversmith Reginald H. Hill (1914-75) taught at the 1950 workshop. He was a design instructor in silver and jewellery at the Central School of Arts & Crafts in London and he was also a design advisor to the Design and Research Centre at Goldsmiths' Hall in London.

Craver's decision to settle on the term Dutch raising may have come from the time that she trained under Fleming in 1938 in his Atila Borgila workshop in Stockholm. Fleming was also known as an authority on working with gold and silver.⁶⁴ With Fleming Craver learned the traditional techniques for creating silver hollowware as can be seen in the muffineer of 1946 in Fig 20.

Lois Etherington Betteridge (b 1928) is a Canadian metalsmith who trained at the University of Kansas under Carlyle H Smith (1912-2004) who attended the first Handy & Harman workshop series where Bennett had delivered a workshop.⁶⁵ She was also subsequently mentored by Thomas at Cranbrook, where she remembers trying the "outside edge" method. In addition, she took an

evening class in chasing with the master jeweller and silversmith, Hero Kielman (1919-2008). Kielman had just arrived from the Netherlands, where he had studied at the Vakschool voor Goud en Zilvermeden (Vocational School for Gold and Silversmiths) in Schoonhoven. Betteridge thinks that Kielman may have coined the term Dutch raising.⁶⁶ Anne Barros (b 1939), another North American metalworker also recalls Kielman talking about the Dutch method, although she does not think it was too different from the Scandinavian method employed by Hans Christiansen.⁶⁷ Hans Christensen (1924-83), a Danish silversmith,

Fig 20 Muffineer by Margaret Craver, 1946.
(© Smithsonian American Art Museum)



⁶² Vicki Halper and Diane Douglas, op cit, see note 56, p 116

⁶³ Ibid, p 118

⁶⁴ Op cit, see note 50.

⁶⁵ Ross Fox, 'Lois Etherington Betteridge. Pioneer of a Craft Revival in Canada', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, No 25, 2009, pp 5-13. See http://www.loisbetteridge.com/images/LoisBetteridge_RossFox.pdf

⁶⁶ Lois Etherington Betteridge, e-mail correspondence with the author, 2017

⁶⁷ Anne Barros, e-mail correspondence with the author, 2017

68 Janet Koplos and Bruce Metcalf, *Makers: A History of American Studio Craft*, North Carolina, 2010, p 243.

trained at the School of Arts & Crafts in Copenhagen and the School for Arts & Crafts in Oslo and worked for ten years with Georg Jensen, the famous Danish silversmith. On emigrating to the USA, he taught at the Rochester Institute of Technology. So, perhaps there is another connection here to Georg Jensen? Interestingly, Bruce Metcalf's teacher, Michael Jerry, studied under Hans Christensen at Rochester and briefly with Richard Thomas at Cranbrook before going on to teach metals himself at Syracuse University.

Conclusion

In trying to unravel the mystery of Dutch raising, books on silversmithing have been considered as well as the practice of contemporary silversmiths. From books we can see that some ascribe the term Dutch raising and others do not, although it is clear that, regardless of how they describe it there is a specific technique here that appears to share many common features. A defining characteristic of Dutch raising as described in books is starting to raise from the outside edge, adding further courses behind this until the centre is reached. Hammer blows are all the time directed towards the outside edge. In this way an entire vessel form can be raised. This approach is distinct from "back raising", in which the hammer blows are directed towards the centre and aimed at thickening the base or reducing the height of a vessel. In America, a cross-peen hammer is used whilst English books advocate a raising hammer although in practice these are virtually the same. Only a T stake is discussed and the silver sheet used is between 0.7mm and 1.29mm. Some books also suggest the method is more suited to open pieces such as bowls, although Tarantino suggests tall cylindrical forms.

Amongst contemporary silversmiths I have been unable to find anyone who describes this technique as "Dutch". There are around twenty

contemporary silversmiths in the Netherlands today and I have been unable to find one using this technique. This search has included a visit to the silver museum in Schoonhoven and discussions with contemporary practitioners at Hammerclub, the annual gathering of European silversmiths. Whilst in America "Dutch" is often used to describe those from Germanic countries, as in the Pennsylvania Dutch; Craver's reference to Amsterdam suggests this is not the case here.

All of the references to Dutch raising have emerged from a rich and vibrant silversmithing scene in 1950s America; a movement that was initiated by Margret Craver and supported by her organization and co-ordination with the Handy & Harman silversmithing workshops that subsequently spawned a wealth of silversmiths who established themselves in academia. We can conclude that Margret Craver in 1949 was the first to use the term Dutch raising in print, although it is not clear whether she had personal contact with a silversmith in Amsterdam using this technique or heard about the practice from someone else. This could have been through her contact with William E Bennett, Reginald Hill or Arthur Nevill Kirk, all of whom were associated with the London School of Arts & Crafts, or from Baron Erik Fleming, who considered himself an authority on working with gold and silver and taught at the Stockholm Arts & Crafts School. Hero Keilman and Hans Christiansen are also two North American Silversmiths who may have influenced the use of the term. There is a historical connection to Georg Jensen's workshop in Copenhagen and certainly many American silversmiths looked to Scandinavian silver

in which smooth, soft, biomorphic forms predominated.⁶⁸

Amongst contemporary practitioners only British Silversmith Adrian Hope appears to use Dutch raising although he does not use that label and describes it as an alternative approach. Jan van Nouhuys argues that “treating metal as clay” working with a thick ingot of metal and stretching it should more appropriately be described as Dutch. This is perhaps one of the oldest methods known to us for creating vessel forms in metal. Regardless of the origins of the term Dutch raising the silversmithing field may in time come to identify a better and more appropriate descriptor for this valuable method.

There appears therefore to be four distinct methods for creating vessels or hollow forms; angle raising, Dutch raising, stretching and a fourth method which this article has not touched on: creasing.⁶⁹ Creasing is also known as crimping,⁷⁰ and wrinkling.⁷¹ Some authors also distinguish between raising that compresses and thickens the metal and blocking, pressing or sinking that stretches and thins the metal, although these are contested terms.⁷² The desired diameter and controlling the diameter appears to be a key decision when considering which method to choose. In stretching, the diameter of the disc chosen determines the final diameter of the work and in Dutch raising it is suggested that the diameter of the final design can be more easily controlled.

Over time we can see how silversmithing as a practice has become more differentiated and we can only speculate as to when techniques such as angle raising or Dutch raising became identified as separate approaches in their own right. Perhaps it was as silversmithing entered academia in both America and Britain and there was a growth in instructional books that this differentiation has increased.

It is difficult however, for us to study the objects themselves to determine by which method they were created. Gans has suggested there is no way to tell if a piece has been raised or cast and similarly, there is no way to tell if a piece has been raised using angle raising or Dutch raising,⁷³ especially if it has been planished. It is perhaps easier to identify if a piece has been created through stretching as the rim will be quite thick. With both angle raising and Dutch raising the thickness of a piece should remain relatively consistent with stretching, however, the thickness of the metal will vary across the piece depending on where it has been stretched.

Ultimately, a practice seeks embodied knowledge and does not necessarily ascribe names or titles to techniques. Embodied knowledge is built up over time with repeated actions, and habits until the body knows how to act and lives the practice. Embodied knowledge also has a lineage, where techniques have been passed on from one practitioner to the next through the generations. Within academia *a priori* and *a posteriori* knowledge are emphasised. *A priori* can be considered as knowledge that is independent of experience for example as in mathematics and is based on pure reason and *a posteriori* which depends on experience and in particular empirical evidence. Academic knowledge, therefore, is largely based on the reasoning of the mind and is written down. Traditionally silversmithing techniques are not written down, perhaps because it is very difficult to translate the knowledge of the body into the knowledge of the mind. These different types of knowledge however should not be viewed in competition with each other but rather seen as complementary and mutually enhancing.

This research has highlighted a problem with nomenclature. Dutch raising is referred to as a method, a technique, method 2 or simply just

69 Brian Hill and Andrew Putland, *op cit*, see note 41, 2014

70 Rupert Finegold and William Seitz, *op cit*, see note 47

71 Margret Craver, *op cit*, see note 57.

72 Bonnie Gallacher, *Treatise on combined metalworking techniques: paged elements and chased raised shapes*, Thesis, Rochester Institute of Technology 1972: 27 and Opi Untracht, *op cit*, see note 1, p 240

73 Mozes Heiman Gans and Th M Duyvene De Witte-Klinkhammer, *op cit*, see note 3

74 Smith, 2000

75 Ulrich Lehmann, 'Making as Knowing: Epistemology and Technique in Craft', 2012
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.2752/174967812X13346796877950?needAccess=true&instName=University+of+Dundee>
accessed 17 August 2017

76 Tim Ingold, 'Knowing from the Inside', 2017, correspondences.
<https://knowingfromtheinside.org/files/correspondences.pdf> accessed September 2017

77 Van Nouhuys 2017

as raising. Several different expressions are also used to describe stretching (peening, pressing, dishing) and creasing (crimping and wrinkling). Likewise, thickening the bottom of a vessel is also referred to as "back raising" or "raising in". It may greatly assist the discipline if there was more general agreement on language and key terms.

It is particularly frustrating that, in the process of this research, I found very few of these instructional and educational books contained bibliographies (eg Smith⁷⁴). Some chapters read, therefore, as if the author is describing a technique they themselves use. There are, however, apparent connections between the language used in the books that suggest they are in fact referencing a technique identified by another author without this being acknowledged.

As a way of learning more about, and understanding historical and technical approaches, practice-based research is a growing area that is particularly valuable when considering embodied knowledge. Practice-based research can be defined as seeking to create new knowledge through the generation of creative artefacts. Dutch raising would, therefore, benefit from a more thorough practice-based research study with established practitioners that can identify the appropriate hammers, stakes and benefits of this approach for different vessel forms. This would also go some way towards demonstrating the value of embodied knowledge to academia and add to the recent attempts to argue for "making as knowing"⁷⁵ and "knowing from the inside".⁷⁶

Acquiring embodied knowledge and learning traditional raising takes a great deal of time and patience. As university-trained designers and makers focus more on the contemporary and pushing boundaries with technology, they are

exploring and exploiting new methods such as scoring and folding or tig welding to create new forms.

Raising as a technique is not in its own right enough to justify its continued use; an expanded knowledge and practice of different raising methods can, however, only enhance the field and expand the range of forms achievable. As Van Nouhuys notes, as the emphasis has shifted from

production to artisan we should really promote that every design is asking for its specific technique. This emphasis on design dictating the technique can only enrich the discipline.⁷⁷

Acknowledgements

Special thanks to the following who provided invaluable information and assistance with this research: Sophia Tobin at the Goldsmiths' Company Library; silversmiths Adrian Hope, Jan van Nouhuys, Keith Tyssen, Georges Cuyvers, Maja Houtman, Lois Betteridge and Anne Barros; Paul Derrez at Gallerie Ra; Nicole Jacquard, Randy Long and Molly Wittenberg for access to the Eikerman Archive at Indiana University; Jeannine Falino, RSID; Bruce Metcalf; Judy Dyki, the Academy of Art Library and Leslie Edwards, Cranbrook Archives, Cranbrook Center for Collections and Research; Beth Goodrich, Librarian American Craft Council; Callie Stacey and Janjaap Luijt.

ROBERT MITCHELL: A BIRMINGHAM SILVERSMITH IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

BRIAN MAY, RICHARD PHILLIPS, LEE HARRIS, RACHEL JOY and CRAIG O'DONNELL

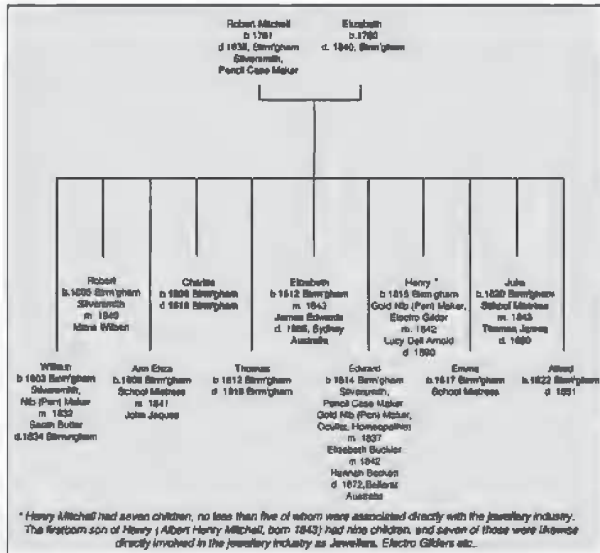


Fig1 Family tree showing Robert and Elizabeth Mitchell and their children.

The production of toys in Birmingham began in the late eighteenth century and its heyday lasted until approximately the middle of the nineteenth century. During this period there were in the city only a few large manufacturers and many smaller specialist firms. The largest companies were those of Samuel Pemberton and Joseph Willmore (later Yapp and Woodward), although other significant businesses at the time were those of Nathaniel Mills, Joseph

in Birmingham was operated by Samuel Pemberton I from some time prior to 1770 until 1784, by Samuel Pemberton II from 1784 until 1803 and then Thomas Pemberton from 1803 until 1830.

Background

Hereford parish records show that Robert Mitchell of St Philip's Church, Birmingham married Elizabeth Pritchard at the church of St John the Baptist, Hereford on 22 August 1802; she was the eldest daughter of William Pritchard of Hereford. In 1812 Robert and his wife Elizabeth were witnesses to the marriage of Thomas Bishop and Ann Pritchard, Elizabeth's sister, at St Martin's Church, Birmingham (as shown in records on findmypast.co.uk). Ann was described as a spinster of the parish of St John the Baptist, Hereford and Bishop, aged twenty-one, was a dealer and chapman and his new brother-in-law Robert Mitchell, a jeweller. As will be seen below Mitchell and Bishop were partners.

Mitchell's parents were probably Robert and Susannah (née Morgan) Mitchell who married in 1780 at St Peter's Church, Hereford and their son was born in 1781 in Hereford. It seems that the family moved to Birmingham where Robert Mitchell I died in 1789; in 1790 his wife remarried a widower, William Bosworth, who was listed from 1800 to 1815 as a toymaker and silversmith in Mary Ann Street, Birmingham.

At the time of Robert Mitchell II's marriage in 1802, he was probably working with his stepfather, William Bosworth, in Mary Ann Street; he was listed in Chapman's Birmingham Directory at this address in 1803. When William Bosworth died in 1817 Robert Mitchell was his sole executor, with the proceeds of Bosworth's will directed solely to his daughter Caroline.

Robert and Elizabeth Mitchell had eleven children, nine of whom survived into adulthood [Fig 1]. Their first son, William, was baptised in Birmingham on 14 July 1803; the

Taylor (later Taylor and Perry), Matthew Linwood and John Bettridge.

During the nineteenth century the Pembertons' business was located on two adjacent sites on Snow Hill with shops or houses at the front and workshops at the back.¹ The Willmore business was located in Bread Street where it had a warehouse and shops.² The larger firms also had outlets in London notably at Thavies Inn and Bouverie Street.

Previously published histories of the Pemberton³ and Willmore⁴ families expanded on the findings of Eric Delieb;⁵ in this article we have specifically focussed on the Birmingham silversmith Robert Mitchell, who was a partner of Thomas Pemberton for about nine years. Two of the authors, Lee Harris, from Bathurst, Australia and Rachel Joy from Birmingham are both descendants of Robert Mitchell. We look into the life of Robert Mitchell in some detail, both as a partner of Thomas Pemberton and then later after he had left the partnership. We have also briefly investigated the lives of Mitchell's four sons. Further details of his descendants may be found on a family blog.⁶

It should be noted that the Pemberton business

- 1 Brian May, Richard Phillips, Mandy Pemberton and Craig O'Donnell, "New Light on Samuel Pemberton I and his descendants: Birmingham toy makers, jewellers and silversmiths", *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 29, 2013.
- 2 Brian May, Richard Phillips and Craig O'Donnell, "Thomas and Joseph Willmore and James Alston, John Yapp and John Woodward: silversmiths of Birmingham", *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 31, 2014.
- 3 Op cit, see note 1.
- 4 Op cit, see note 2.
- 5 Eric Delieb, *Silver Boxes*, London, 1968 and Eric Delieb, *Silver Boxes*, Woodbridge, 2002.
- 6 Joyneology blog.

7 Op cit, see note 5.

remaining children were also born in Birmingham, with the four sons entering the silver trade and three daughters becoming schoolmistresses.

It is important to note that the family was not related, as far as may be ascertained, to the giant steel pen nib makers John Mitchell (1796-1854) and his brother William Mitchell (1806-1845) both of whom were born in Sheffield. They initially worked together in Birmingham but in

about 1825 William set up his own business which was to become one of the largest manufacturers of steel pen nibs in the city.

Location of streets

A sketch of Birmingham [Fig 2] shows the streets mentioned in this article. St Paul's Square is about half a mile from St Philip's Church, now Birmingham Cathedral, and is at the heart of what is now known as the Jewellery Quarter.

Fig 2 Sketch of Birmingham showing the streets mentioned in this article and with the Jewellery Quarter outline.



Built Street Quarter			
Occupier	House No	Annual Value	Rate
Snow Hill			
J Pemberton	14	45	1/6
James Luckock	16	10	6/

Fig 3 Land Tax record for 1807-9 from the Parish of Birmingham Levy Book. (Courtesy of the Library of Birmingham)

Mitchell's early skills

In 1803 Robert Mitchell appeared in a Birmingham trade catalogue listed as a toymaker and watch chain maker in Mary Ann Street. Eric Delieb⁷ stated that Mitchell was apprenticed to Samuel Pemberton II on Snow Hill which would have been between about 1793 and 1800. The record does not appear in the online resources for "All UK Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures, 1710-1811" and we have previously noted records missing from this register for reasons which are unclear so it has not been possible to confirm this statement.

Mitchell moved from Mary Ann Street to Snow Hill. Land Tax records from the Parish of Birmingham Levy Book for 1807-09 [Fig 3] show Robert Mitchell as newly occupying the premises of James Luckock on Snow Hill; although the latter's name has been crossed



Fig 4 Snuffbox, Birmingham, 1811-12 by Robert Mitchell and Company.
(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)

out. Luckcock was the manager of the jewellery branch of Samuel Pemberton's business and, as the bookkeeper in Pemberton's counting-house, assisted him in amassing a considerable fortune.⁸ The Pemberton firm had adjacent premises at 103 and 104 Snow Hill at this time. Luckcock, therefore, occupied one site with other site still under the name of the deceased proprietor Samuel Pemberton (as clarified below). After Luckcock left his premises, at some time between 1807 and 1809, Robert Mitchell and his family became the occupants and it was at around this time that Mitchell joined Thomas Pemberton in business. A later Land Tax record of 1809-1810 shows S Pemberton as the proprietor of both premises (the firm was still trading under his name after his death) with Thomas Pemberton and Robert Mitchell as the occupiers.

Fig 5 Snuffbox, Birmingham, 1811-12 by Robert Mitchell and Company, detail of hallmarks.
(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)



Although Mitchell was listed in Holden's *Directory* of 1808 as a

Silver box, Pencil, Spectacles & Toymaker in General, Snowhill

this entry was probably made before he moved to Snow Hill and joined Thomas Pemberton in business.

Mitchell and Co

After about four years, Mitchell left the Pemberton and, on 6 May 1812, entered his first mark at the Birmingham Assay Office as Robert Mitchell & Co, with the mark M & Co in a rectangular punch. The registration was made with the comment "late of Pemberton & Son" referring to the business of Samuel Pemberton II now under the management of Thomas Pemberton but still trading as Samuel Pemberton & Son.

Items marked M & Co, for Mitchell & Co, are rare because the company lasted only a few months. Two examples are shown: a silver snuffbox with the cover engraved with a hound in a landscape against a dotted ground [Figs 4 and 5] and a silver chain link purse [Fig 6 and 7].

Fig 6 Silver chain link purse, Birmingham, 1811-12 by Robert Mitchell and Company.
(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)



⁸ Edwin Chapman (ed), *Unitarian Magazine and Chronicle*, vol II, p186, London, 1835: James Luckcock was a button maker, then manager of the jewellery branch for Samuel Pemberton and a bookkeeper and after leaving the firm started his own jewellery business in St Paul's Square.

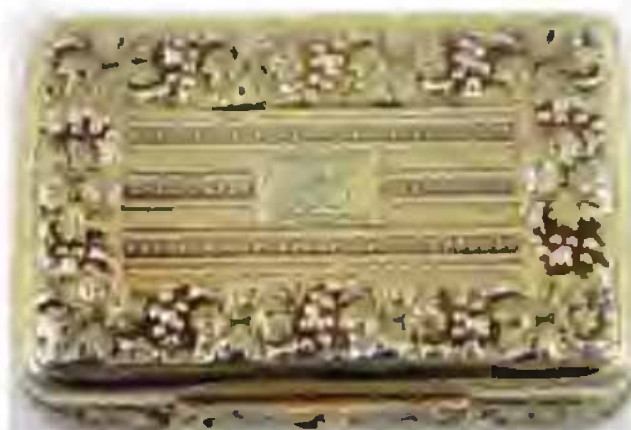


Fig 7 Chain link purse, Birmingham, 1811-12 by Robert Mitchell and Company, detail of hallmarks.
(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)



Fig 9 Snuffbox, silver-gilt, London, 1813-14, London by Samuel Pemberton, Son and Mitchell, detail of interior.
(Courtesy of www.silverperfect.com)



Fig 10 Snuffbox, silver-gilt, London, 1813-14, London by Samuel Pemberton, Son and Mitchell, detail of marks.
(Courtesy of www.silverperfect.com)

9 www.west-penn-families.com: Western Pennsylvania Genealogy.

10 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837: Their Marks and Lives*, London, 1976, p 244.

Mitchell rejoined Thomas Pemberton on 14 October 1812, and there is an entry in the Birmingham Maker's Register A for Samuel Pemberton Son & Mitchell, followed by two marks of SP in an oval punch. The marks of Samuel Pemberton were retained by Thomas Pemberton and reflected the status of

the company under Samuel Pemberton II. Below this registration on 14 October was entered:

punch for watch cases P&M.

On 18 December 1816 Pemberton and Mitchell entered the following in the Maker's Register A:

Pemberton and Mitchell for watch cases and etc . . . ditto.

This was followed by two P & M marks, an SP mark, and TP over RM mark.

Trade listings in between 1818 and 1820

The Pemberton and Mitchell firm was listed in the *Commercial Directory* for 1818-19-20 by J Pigot and Co under several trade headings: Jewellers, Silversmiths, Goldsmiths, Gilt toy makers, Thimble Makers, Watch and Clock Makers, (gold and silver), Factors and Merchants.

Of the many silversmiths listed at this time, Pemberton and Mitchell, with one exception, was the only company also listed as "watch and clockmakers". The firm would have made watch cases out of gold or silver; the mechanisms were probably assembled elsewhere. It was reported by the *Northampton Mercury* of 17 April 1819, that three watchcases, the property of Thomas Pemberton and Robert Mitchell of Birmingham, were stolen by one John Hawkesford who was imprisoned in the county gaol.



Fig 8 Snuffbox, silver-gilt, London, 1813-14, London by Samuel Pemberton, Son and Mitchell.
(Courtesy of www.silverperfect.com)

Under the trade heading of "Merchants" in Pigot's *Directory* the firm was listed as

Pemberton, Mitchell, & Allport, Snowhill.

At the time of the termination of the partnership on 9 February 1821, it was described as

Pemberton Thomas, Robert Mitchell, and James Allport, Birmingham, of New York, America, merchants and glass button manufacturers.

James Allport⁹ may be identified as James Allport who was probably born in Worcestershire in 1799 and was then looked after by his uncle Charles and in 1816 travelled to New York where he was an "importer of hardware". There were several Allports in Birmingham at this period who were probably related to to him, for example, Samuel Allport a watch and clockmaker who had premises in Bull Street, close to Pemberton's premises. It is not known who manufactured the glass bead buttons for export to New York, nor in fact, why this export item was highlighted when the partnership was terminated.

London marked snuffboxes for the period 1813 to 1819

On 21 July 1813 Pemberton and Mitchell, as small workers of Snow Hill, entered the mark T P over R M mark at Goldsmiths' Hall in London.¹⁰ During the duration of their partnership which lasted from 1813 to 1819, they produced a range of London-marked, superbly crafted silver-gilt snuffboxes bearing this maker's mark. Two examples are shown: the cover and sides of the first example [Figs 8-10] are decorated with trailing vines and



Fig 11 Snuffbox, silver-gilt, London, 1817-18 by Samuel Pemberton, Son and Mitchell.
(Courtesy Antique Silver Spoons)

¹¹ An inscription inside the London marked box of 1816-17 by Pemberton and Mitchell box reads: "This SNUFF BOX is presented to ALEXANDER GRAY ESQRE by M. Genl Macquarie as a small token of his sincere esteem and friendship 22 May 1824". Macquarie had left his position as Governor of the colony of New South Wales in 1821 but in 1824 was in dire financial circumstances; he was in London on 24 April 1824 fighting for a pension. The pension was granted but he died on July 1 of the same year. Gray was a friend and earlier, a fellow officer with Macquarie. The box sold for \$A28,680.

¹² Robert Mitchell was still on Snow Hill on 9 June 1820, when his daughter Julia was born: *Birmingham, England, Baptisms, 1813-1912*; his partnership with Pemberton ceased on 9 February 1821.



Fig 12 Snuffbox, London, 1817-18 by Samuel Pemberton, Son and Mitchell, detail of gilt interior.
(Courtesy Antique Silver Spoons)

fruit while the cover is engine turned, with a central cartouche. The second example [Figs 11 and 12] has a cast classical battle scene on the cover and the sides are cast with vines. Two other silver-gilt snuffboxes which are not illustrated have been noted: the first is a silver-gilt musical snuffbox at the Victoria & Albert Museum. It is marked for London, 1818-19 with the maker's mark of Pemberton & Mitchell; it has a cast vine border to the engine turned cover and the winding mechanism is probably Swiss. The second is a rectangular silver-gilt snuffbox of curved outline marked for London



Fig 13 Snuffbox, silver-gilt, Birmingham, 1820-21 by Samuel Pemberton and Son.
(Courtesy of Peter Cameron Antiques)

1816-17 and with the same maker's mark; this piece was sold for a large sum in auction at Christie's Melbourne, Australia in 2005.¹¹ As far as it is possible to ascertain, after Mitchell left Pemberton's business in 1821, the firm produced very few snuffboxes with London hallmarks.

During the period during which Pemberton and Mitchell were marketing their high quality snuffboxes with London hallmarks and the T P over R M maker's mark, an online search has indicated that their snuffboxes with Birmingham hallmarks and the maker's mark of SP only, were often of lesser quality and mostly not gilded. Snuffboxes of this latter type would have been for the lower end of the market.

Some snuffboxes marked SP were of significantly higher quality: Figs 13 and 14 show a substantial silver-gilt presentation snuffbox marked for Birmingham, 1820-21, with the maker's mark SP. It bears a coat of arms on the cover and an engraved inscription to the interior. It must have been made just before Mitchell left the business or shortly afterwards.¹²



Fig 14 Snuffbox, Birmingham, 1820-21 by Samuel Pemberton and Son, detail of hallmarks.
(Courtesy of Peter Cameron Antiques)

Fig 15 Vinaigrette, silver-gilt, Birmingham, 1817-18 by Samuel Pemberton, Son and Mitchell. (Private collection)



Fig 16 Vinaigrette, Birmingham, 1817-18, by Samuel Pemberton, Son and Mitchell, gilt interior. (Private collection)

As well as snuffboxes, other Birmingham-made items with the SP mark produced during the period 1813 to 1819 included caddy spoons and nutmeg graters. Vinaigrettes were, however, the item produced in the largest quantities and were made in a wide variety of shapes and designs: a silver-gilt vinaigrette of 1817-18, for

instance, is in the form of a pocket watch [Figs 15 and 16]. The cover has concentric bands of engine turning surrounded by a chased band of leaves, flowers and fruit and the body is bordered with cable moulding.



Sheffield Plate

On 17 November 1817, Pemberton and Mitchell decided to enter a different market: that of Old Sheffield Plate for which they used the mark of PEMBERTON with a baron's coronet.

London wholesale outlets

In 1812 Pemberton and Mitchell took Mitchell's brother-in-law Thomas Bishop as a partner. He was their representative in London and was located first at 98 Hatton-Garden, Holborn, and then at

6 Thavies Inn, Holborn. The partnership lasted for only a few years and terminated on 10 February 1815 [Fig 17] although Pemberton's company continued to trade from Thavies Inn for a number of years. These silver-gilt snuffboxes which were hallmarked for London and which date from between 1813 and 1819 were probably first sold from 98 Hatton Garden for a brief period and then from

Fig 17 Notice of the dissolution of the partnership between Thomas Pemberton, Robert Mitchell and Thomas Bishop, London Gazette, 13 February 1821.

Birmingham, February 10, 1815.
Notice is hereby given, that the Partnership lately subsisting between Thomas Pemberton, Robert Mitchell, and Thomas Bishop, Jewellers and Silversmiths, carrying on trade at No. 98, Hatton-Garden, Holborn, London, and afterwards at No. 6, Thavies-Inn, Holborn, London, was dissolved this day by mutual consent, as far as regards the said Thomas Bishop: As witness the hands of the parties this 10th day of February 1815.
Thomas Pemberton.
Robt. Mitchell.
Thomas Bishop.



Fig 18 Vinaigrette, Birmingham, 1821-22, by Robert Mitchell.
(Courtesy of Woolley and Wallis)



Fig 19 Snuffbox, silver-gilt, Birmingham, 1822-23 by Robert Mitchell.
(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)



Fig 20 Snuffbox, Birmingham, 1822-23 by Robert Mitchell, detail of hallmarks with an incised RM mark.
(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)

Thavies Inn. It is safe to assume that these snuffboxes were made in Birmingham at the Pemberton's Snow Hill factory and sent to London for hallmarking.

Research show has shown that several Birmingham silversmiths employed agents, often other silversmiths, at their Thavies Inn outlets, and these agents then took orders and sold the goods on to retailers. Joseph Willmore had premises at 11 Thavies Inn, with A J Huntington acting as his agent; for several years he overlapped with Pemberton at Thavies Inn although the agent employed by Pemberton and Mitchell is not known.

The termination of the partnership in 1821

The partnership between Thomas Pemberton and Robert Mitchell terminated on 9 February 1821.¹³ As discussed earlier the partnership with James Allport was also terminated and further, the partnership established Birmingham between Pemberton, Mitchell and George Ellis Cooke, was also terminated at this time.

On 23 May 1821 Mitchell entered his own maker's marks at the Birmingham Assay Office as a silversmith at St Paul's Square, with the comment

late Pemberton, son and Mitchell.

The marks were an incuse RM mark and RM in a rectangular punch; on 4 September he also entered his marks at Goldsmiths' Hall in London. On 27 March 1822, Mitchell entered a note at the Birmingham Assay Office indicating that he had "Removed to Bishopsgate Street." In a Directory of 1823 he was listed as a jeweller and silversmith at Bath Row which intersected with Bishopsgate

Street, about a mile south of St Paul's Square and outside the Jewellery Quarter.

Items produced by Robert Mitchell after 1821

After Mitchell had left the partnership the Pemberton business continued to be listed as jewellers, silversmiths, and watch and clockmakers¹⁴ but their output was dwindling. The production of all items by the firm under Thomas Pemberton decreased from about 1821 and had essentially ceased by 1825 and he died in 1830.

In 1823 Robert Mitchell was listed as a jeweller at 30 Bath Row. His workshop made a diverse range of unusual, good quality items although, it would seem, not in large numbers, except, perhaps, for vinaigrettes. The diversity of his output may be seen in the following examples: a silver-gilt vinaigrette [Fig 18] marked for Birmingham, 1821-22, with an engine turned cover, cast floral borders, reeded sides and a grille pierced with scrollwork. Figs 19 and 20 are of a snuffbox marked for Birmingham 1822-23 and Fig 21 is a silver-gilt vinaigrette marked for Birmingham 1823-24; it is in the form of a heart, the cover decorated with a die-struck panel of shells in a conforming surround, and is

Fig 21 Vinaigrette, silver-gilt, Birmingham, 1823-2, by Robert Mitchell.
(Courtesy of Mary Cooke Antiques)



¹³ *London Gazette*, 13 February 1821.

¹⁴ *Wrightson's Triennial Directory*, 1823.

15 We have seen silver spectacles with extending arms made by the Pemberton and Mitchell firm and dated 1807, 1810 and 1817 with hallmarks for Birmingham and the maker's mark SP.

16 Jennifer Tenn, *Birmingham Assay Office 1773-1993*, Birmingham, 1993.

17 John Norie, *Caddy Spoons: An Illustrated Supplement*, London, 1998.

18 Peter Cameron, "The first 'castle tops'. A short examination of some Birmingham topographical souvenirs and their makers 1825-38", *Silver Studies*, the *Journal of the Silver Society*, no 12, 2000, page 65.

19 Examples of card cases embellished with the Brighton Pavilion are by Nathaniel Mills, Birmingham, 1837-38, Alfred Taylor, Birmingham, 1854-55, Yapp and Woodward, Birmingham, 1844-45.

20 Op cit, see note 19.

Fig 23 Bottle ticket, Birmingham, 1823-24 by Robert Mitchell.

(Victoria & Albert Museum, London)



Fig 22 Christening knife and spoon, Birmingham, 1823-24 by Robert Mitchell. (Private collection)

bordered by scrolling foliage. A christening knife and spoon [Fig 22] have intricate die-struck hollow handles and are marked Birmingham, 1823-24; a bottle ticket for "Whiskey" [Fig 23] dates from 1823-24 and a pair of silver framed spectacles [Figs 24 and 25] has a Birmingham hallmark and maker's mark but no date letter. The spectacles have corrective lenses and extendable slide arms with loops for tying a cord behind the head. Similar silver glasses with extending arms were made earlier by the Pemberton and Mitchell partnership.¹⁵ Mitchell also produced cheese scoops and caddy spoons; the latter are discussed below.

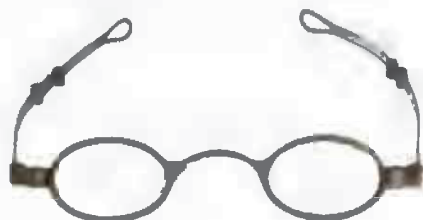
We have not located any article made by Mitchell after 1826, the year in which he was declared bankrupt.

Guardian of Assay Office

Robert Mitchell was clearly a well-respected silversmith. In 1815, two years after rejoining Pemberton, he was made a Guardian of the

Fig 24 Silver framed spectacles, Birmingham, circa 1826 by Robert Mitchell.

(© BCMA: Doctors of British Columbia Medical Museum)



Birmingham Assay Office, a position he held until his death. Thomas Pemberton had been made a Guardian in 1808. In 1824, Mitchell was one of four Guardians from Birmingham who

went to London to pave the way for the right of Birmingham to mark gold items manufactured in Birmingham.¹⁶

Caddy spoons by Robert Mitchell

In addition to the London hallmarked silver-gilt snuffboxes made in partnership with Pemberton, Robert Mitchell should also be remembered for a fine caddy spoon made four years after the partnership had ended. This spoon, marked for Birmingham, 1825-26, was described by John Norie¹⁷ and discussed by Peter Cameron¹⁸ The caddy spoon, in the form of a shovel, was die-struck with an image of the



Fig 25 Silver spectacles, Birmingham, circa 1826 by Robert Mitchell, detail of hallmarks.

(© BCMA: Doctors of British Columbia Medical Museum)

Royal Pavilion, Brighton viewed from the east, both on the bowl of the spoon and across the back. Images of the Brighton Pavilion are not otherwise known on caddy spoons as far as we can tell and Norie described the spoon as "extremely rare, presently unique". The Brighton Pavilion has only been seen on vinaigrettes by John Lawrence and Co, dating from 1829-30 and on three card cases dating from 1837 to 1844.¹⁹ The caddy spoon by Mitchell was, it seems, one of the earliest examples of silver pieces embellished with this view. The view appears on earlier silver thimbles²⁰ and it is possible that Mitchell, a recorded thimble maker, made thimbles before then using the die on caddy spoons but this is



Fig 26 Caddy spoon, Birmingham, 1825-26 by Robert Mitchell.
(Courtesy of Antique Silver Spoons)

Fig 27 (Inset above) Caddy spoon, Birmingham, 1825-26 by Robert Mitchell, detail of hallmarks.
(Courtesy of Antique Silver Spoons)

speculative. *Figs 26-28* show images of a Mitchell caddy spoon identical to, and probably the same as the one published by John Norie. The spoon, with two embossed scenes and an ebony handle, was sold by Woolley and Wallis, Salisbury on 25 July 2007. A second similar

Fig 28 Caddy spoon, Birmingham, 1825-26 by Robert Mitchell, detail of reverse.
(Courtesy of Antique Silver Spoons)



caddy spoon with two embossed Brighton Pavilion scenes has been identified by Peter Cameron;²¹ it is of the same date, has a foliate silver handle and was sold by Bonham's Knightsbridge on 3 March 1999.

While the Mitchell caddy spoon may or may not have been a commercial success it certainly is a fine piece of historical significance: Mitchell was operating in a crowded and competitive field, where novelty was important but costs had to be kept low. The manufacturing cost of the Pavilion spoon would have been comparatively high (the die would have been expensive and fitting the back of the bowl would not have been straightforward). He may have lost access to the die or it may have broken in use.

We have located two other completely different caddy spoons with Mitchell's mark; each dated 1823-24. One, sold by Morphets of Harrogate, had a foliate pierced bowl with a mother-of-pearl handle and the other was sold by Gorrings of Lewes and had a repousse bat's wing bowl bordered by flowers and a foliate handle [*Fig 29*].

Robert Mitchell's London hallmarks

On 4 September 1821, seven months after terminating his partnership with Pemberton, Mitchell entered his RM mark at Goldsmiths' Hall.²² He was shown as a smallworker with the address 5 Jewin Street, Aldersgate Street; he

Fig 29 Caddy spoon, Birmingham, 1823-24 by Robert Mitchell.



²¹ *Op cit*, see note 19.

²² Arthur Grimwade, *op cit*, see note 10, p 171.

23 Arthur Grimwade, *ibid*, see note 10, p 171.

24 *London Gazette*, 13 February 1821.



Fig 30 Snuffbox, silver-gilt, London, 1822-23 by Robert Mitchell.

(Courtesy J H Tee Antiques, Vancouver)



Fig 31 Snuffbox, London, 1822-23 by Robert Mitchell, detail of hallmarks.

(Courtesy J H Tee Antiques, Vancouver)

also entered a smaller version of this mark in London on 22 May 1823.²³ London marked items with Mitchell's mark are very rare but we have located a silver-gilt snuffbox marked of 1822-23 [Figs 30 and 31]. It has raised borders surrounding a chased scene of two goats within a scroll cartouche.

Mitchell's partnership with George Cooke

As mentioned above, on 9 February 1821, the partnership between Thomas Pemberton, Robert Mitchell, and the Birmingham jeweller,

George Ellis Cooke, was terminated.²⁴ Only one item made by Pemberton, Mitchell and Cooke has been identified: a fiddle pattern salt spoon [Figs 32 and 33]; it is marked for London 1817-18 although no record of this mark appears at Goldsmiths' Hall. Mitchell formed a partnership on his own with Cooke, as a wholesale jeweller but this was dissolved on 7 January 1825.

Pencil case makers

By this date Mitchell had entered a new trade which was just emerging in Birmingham: that of making pencil cases. Only a few pencil case makers were listed in Birmingham at the time but, ten years later there were over forty,

Fig 32 Salt spoon, London, 1817-18: unrecorded mark for Thomas Pemberton, Robert Mitchell and George Cooke. (Private collection)



Fig 33 Salt spoon, London, 1817-18: unrecorded mark for Thomas Pemberton, Robert Mitchell and George Cooke, detail of hallmarks. (Private collection)



ROBERT MITCHELL'S DIVIDEND.
THE Creditors who have proved their debts under a Commission of Bankrupt against ROBERT MITCHELL, of Birmingham, Jeweller and Silversmith, may receive a dividend of one shilling in the pound on application to Mr. Christopher Roberts, Accountant, 18, Easy-row, on Wednesdays and Thursdays, between the hours of ten and three o'clock.
SPURRIER and INGLEBY,
Solicitors to the Commission.

Fig 34 Notice of dividend, *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 18 February 1828.

including Willmore and Woodward. It seems that silver pencil case makers made both pencil holders and the more complicated ever pointed pencil cases also known as propelling pencils. Gold or silver pencil cases were expensive and were made for the pockets of the middle and upper classes.

Mitchell's bankruptcy

After his financial situation was exposed Robert Mitchell,

Jeweller, Silversmith, Dealer and Chapman of Birmingham was declared bankrupt on 25 February 1826.²⁵ Two years later, on 18 February 1828, it was announced that his creditors would receive a dividend of one shilling in the pound [Fig 34].

Mitchell continued to be listed in Birmingham Directories from 1828 to 1830 as a jeweller and silversmith at 80 Bath Street but on 30 November 1831 he was in the Court for Insolvent Debtors.²⁶ Prior to 1860, the law of bankruptcy applied to "traders" (shown as dealers or factors); insolvent debtors were subject to the long established remedy of imprisonment, usually for a few months, before they could apply to the court for release, following arrangements for debt repayment.²⁷ The 1831 insolvency entry stated that Robert Mitchell was a jeweller and silversmith, as well as a silver and mosaic pencil case maker at St Paul's Square, then Bath Street and Whittall Street. The final outcome of the insolvency is

not known although Mitchell was listed in Wrightson's triennial *Directory* of 1833 as a manufacturing jeweller and silversmith at 56 Howard Street.

A further indication of Mitchell's plight was revealed on 16 September 1833, when he advertised in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, the sale of two Rose engines by Hulot, Paris together with various chucks

suitable for jeweller and silversmiths' work, Watch Cases, Dials, &c.

The Rose engine and chucks produced decorative repeat engraved patterns on gold or silver. The address given was Howard Street, Constitutional Hill.

In 1835 Mitchell was listed as Robert Mitchell and Co of 24 Frederick Street²⁸ with Charles Berry,²⁹ a stationer and silversmith as a partner, but he was declared bankrupt in 1836 which must have further damaged his precarious financial situation.

Just before his death in 1838, Mitchell was listed in Pigot and Co's *National Commercial Directory* of 1837 as a pencil case maker at 12 Court, Bread Street (now Cornwall Street).

The deaths of Robert and Elizabeth Mitchell

The death certificate for Robert Mitchell, silversmith, stated that he died from consumption on 12 August 1838 at age of fifty-seven; Elizabeth was shown on her death certificate as the "widow of Robert Mitchell jeweller" and she died in 1840 aged sixty. Both husband and wife were buried in the chapel of St Paul's Church.

Surprisingly, four years after his death and for reasons which are not clear, notices appeared based on Robert Mitchell's bankruptcy of 28 January 1826, for creditors to pursue debts against Mitchell with a view to issuing a dividend.³⁰ We have no information on the outcome.

²⁵ George Elwick, *The Bankrupt Directory: Being a complete register of all bankrupts; with their residences, trades and dates when they appeared in the London Gazette; from December 1820 to April 1843*, London 1843.

²⁶ *The Law Advertiser*, 1831, vol 9, p 423.

²⁷ Allyson Nancy May, *The Bar and the Old Bailey 1750-1850*, Chapel Hill and London.

²⁸ Wrightson's *Triennial Directory*, 1835.

²⁹ *The London Gazette*, 3 May 1836.

³⁰ *The London Gazette*, 20 September, 1842.

31 *The Low Advertiser*, 1831, vol 9, p 118.

32 Personal communication from Chris Birch.

The sons of Robert Mitchell

William was the only one of Robert Mitchell's sons to register a mark although Robert and Edward followed in their father's later footsteps and became silver pencil case makers; Henry worked as a gilder for many years in Birmingham and Handsworth (see Appendix).

William was born in Birmingham in 1803 and records show that a William Mitchell of Livery Street registered his mark as a silversmith at the Birmingham Assay Office on 1 February 1826 with the mark WM in a rectangle. Is this the son of the Robert Mitchell? On 15 March 1831 a William Mitchell applied to the Court for Insolvent Debtors³¹ and the insolvency document reveals that he had been a silversmith in Livery Street, also Great Hampton Street and St Paul's Square where he was also a pin maker. In London he had been a silversmith and jeweller in Blackfriar's Road and then Finsbury Pavement. Back in Birmingham he was a shopkeeper in Bath Street, then a

silversmith in North Wood Street, and then a silversmith and pencil case manufacturer at Constitutional Hill. Bath Street, North Wood Street and Constitutional Hill were named in the 1826 bankruptcy of Robert Mitchell³² and on this basis it seems highly likely that the William Mitchell of Livery Street, who entered his mark in 1826, was the son of Robert Mitchell, the silversmith. William Mitchell married in 1832 but died at a young age in his father's house in Howard Street in 1834. He was buried on 21 March 1834 in St Paul's Church. We have located a vinaigrette made by William Mitchell and marked for 1825-26 [Fig 35]; it has engine turned decoration, a fluted beaded border and a hinged cover but no image of the hallmark is available.

Final comments

After a partnership of nearly ten years Robert Mitchell, at the age of about forty, left Thomas Pemberton, to start his own business. Initially he had premises in St Paul's Square, Birmingham but he then moved to various other locations around the city. Within five years of leaving Pemberton, he was bankrupt. When he first started he had of course the problem of financing a new workshop, but a much greater problem was competition from other well-established silversmithing businesses which included the noted silversmiths, John Bettridge, John Lawrence, Joseph Taylor, Nathaniel Mills, and Joseph Willmore. It would also seem that Mitchell was too diverse in the toys that he was manufacturing, which ranged from christening spoons to spectacles; none of them seem to have been produced in large numbers. From 1821 to 1823 he manufactured fine vinaigrettes, often with exquisite detail, but he does not appear to have made significant numbers of snuffboxes in the face of strong competition from the box makers, Lawrence, Willmore and Mills. As has been described, he will be best known for the quality of the London-marked silver-gilt snuffboxes made while in partnership with Pemberton from

Fig 35 Vinaigrette, Birmingham, 1825-26 by William Mitchell.

(Courtesy of Woolley and Wallis)



approximately 1813 to 1819 and also for the caddy spoons he made in 1825-26 after leaving Pemberton. His London marked snuffboxes rarely appear for sale but when they do, they command a high price.

After his bankruptcy in 1826, Robert Mitchell's name continued to appear in directories but in 1831 he was noted as insolvent. His son William was also declared insolvent at the same time as his father (see Appendix) and it seems that they may have worked together on Constitution Hill in a new venture: as pencil case makers.

Mitchell's son Robert was a pencil case maker and later a commercial traveler, while his son Edward, also a pencil case maker, was declared insolvent in 1840 (see Appendix) and ten years later sailed to Australia. Henry, a gilder, was the most successful of Mitchell's sons and his business traded for over thirty years.

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank Peter Cameron for his comments during the early preparation of this manuscript and, in particular, for his assistance with the section on the caddy spoons. The authors especially thank the owner of a quasi-one-name study who thoroughly examined the Mitchell name in the West Midlands and made this information available. We also want to thank the descendants of Robert Mitchell in the United Kingdom, Leigh Taylor, John Mitchell and Chris Birch, for their interest and comments. We acknowledge the generosity of the Birmingham Assay Office and various antique silver businesses who kindly gave permission for the use of images.

APPENDIX

Robert Mitchell Junior

Robert Mitchell Junior was first listed in Pigot and Co's *National Commercial Directory* of 1837 as a pencil case maker at 10 Court,

Edmund Street. In 1839 he was at the same address as an "ever pointed pencil case maker" and ten years later he was located at 258 New John Street West and continued to make gold and silver ever pointed pencil cases as well as penholders and gold pens (nibs). Curiously, in the 1851 census he was shown still at the same address but now was described as a "commercial traveller". He must have travelled far and wide since there is no further trace of him. A possibility is that he left with his brother Edward for Australia (see below) or worked for his father-in-law who was a merchant.

Edward Mitchell

Edward Mitchell appeared in the 1837 trade directory for Birmingham as a silversmith, located at 217 New John Street West. He was a partner with John Buckler, his brother-in-law, in the firm of Mitchell and Buckler at 32½ Constitution Hill, just over a mile south of New John Street West. The partnership ceased in 1840 when Edward Mitchell appeared in the Court for Insolvent Debtors. In the 1841 census Edward was shown as a pencil case maker at Sherlock Street, St Martin, three miles south-east from St Paul's Square. By the time of the 1851 census he was lodging with his family in Sutton Street, Finsbury, London and was listed as a gold pen maker, jeweller and silversmith. The following year the family left for Australia perhaps lured by gold fever.

In Melbourne, Edward surprisingly practiced as an oculist and homeopath. His skills as an oculist may have been learnt from his father Robert who was a spectacle maker. Times for Edward in Melbourne were not good: he was accused of producing counterfeit half sovereigns by electroplating sixpences but somehow escaped being charged. He spent time in gaol for unspecified reasons and eventually the family moved to Ballarat. In Ballarat Edward continued to practice as an

oculist and homeopathist. He must have had a drink problem as he signed the pledge with the Gospel Temperance Movement and remained sober for the next six years before dying in Ballarat in 1872 at the age of fifty-eight.

Henry Mitchell

In the 1841 census Henry Mitchell appeared as a silversmith in Soho Street (now Soho Road), Handsworth which lies just to the north of St Paul's Square. In the 1851 census Henry was listed as a gold pen maker and journeyman living in Tenby Street, Birmingham, a few streets east of St Paul's Square. As a journeyman he was fully qualified in the trade but still working for an employer. The term gold pen refers to gold pen nibs. He had probably learnt to coat pen nibs with gold by the new process of electrolysis. Indeed, in the 1861 census, he described himself as an electro-gilder living in Augusta Street and ten years later again was an electro-gilder in Handsworth. He did not advertise in Birmingham directories relying it seems on "word of mouth." When he appeared as a witness in a court case he said that he

gilded both rings and gilt toys for other people besides the defendant.

The procedure of electrolysis was introduced to Birmingham in the mid nineteenth century by Frederick Elkington and it was subsequently employed by the large pen nib making factories. The equipment required was not complicated and a small worker could easily set up electro-plating in his workshop. Henry established a partnership with Alexander Hidson trading as Hidson and Mitchell but this was dissolved on 28 September 1876. By the time of 1881 census Henry was living in Handsworth and he probably died there in 1890 at the age of seventy-five. Henry Mitchell and his wife Lucy had five sons all of whom were jewellers.

JOHN SCOFIELD – A GLIMPSE OF HIS FAMILY HISTORY, AND SILVERSMITHS IN BELL YARD

USHIO ITAKURA



Fig 1 A part of candlestick, London, 1780-81 by John Scofield.

John Scofield was arguably was one of the finest silversmiths of the later neo-Classical period during the reign of George III. As is often quoted, Arthur Grimwade described his work in the following terms, that it

displays a high degree of elegant design executed with impeccable craftsmanship, which rivals at best the contemporary French goldsmith Henri Auguste. It was perhaps the restrained taste of the period that prevented Scofield from displaying a virtuosity which might well have given him a reputation equal with Lamerie or Storr'.¹

Despite being such a preeminent silversmith who created a large number of pieces that bear his mark which exhibit exceptionally high standards of design and craftsmanship during a career which spanned over twenty years, his birth, parents, apprenticeship and freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company have been buried in history and have long been left undiscovered.

Marks and signatures at Goldsmiths' Hall

In the registers at Goldsmiths' Hall, two types of marks for Scofield are recorded. The first mark was entered on 10 February 1776 in partnership with Robert Jones (Grimwade no 2349) at 40 Bartholomew Close. They dissolved their partnership [Fig 2]² and his second mark was entered on 13 January 1778 with his initials alone; a third mark of the same design as the second, but smaller, was entered on 1 October 1787 (Grimwade no 1670), in both cases at 29 Bell Yard, Temple Bar.

In addition to the above marks recorded in the existing registers, there are two other recorded marks that have been attributed to John Scofield. These marks would have appeared in the missing largeworkers' register. Grimwade attributed the mark [J*S] (Grimwade no 3709)

DRO: Derbyshire Record Office.
LMA: London Metropolitan Archives.
NA: National Archives.
PRO: Public Record Office.
WCA: Westminster City Archives.

- 1 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837, their marks and lives*, London 1990, pp 653 and 766.
- 2 Published in the *London Gazette*, 7 March 1778, p 3.

WHereas the late Copartnership between Mess. Robert Jones and John Scofield; of Little Bartholomew-close, London, Silversmiths, hath been dissolved by mutual Consent, therefore all Persons concerned are hereby required to take Notice thereof.

*Rob. Jones.
John Scofield.*

Fig 2 Notice of the dissolution of the partnership between Robert Jones and John Scofield, the *London Gazette*, 7 March 1778.

- 3 Sir Charles Jackson, Ian Pickford (ed) *Jackson's Silver & Gold Marks of England, Scotland & Ireland*, London 1989, p 215.
- 4 For example sale, Bonhams London, 25 July 2003, lot 174, a George III bright-engraved soup ladle, maker's mark JS (Grimwade no 3709), 1779.
- 5 Sir Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths, 1200-1800*, London 1972 reprint, p 239.
- 6 Guildhall, St Dunstan in the West, Register of Burials, 1739-1791, P69/DUN2/A/O19/MS010353.

to him, and Sir Charles Jackson attributed the mark with a small R above I•S in trefoil-shaped punch (Grimwade no 3779) to Robert and John Schofield giving an example on a standing cup of the year 1771-72.³

There is however a discrepancy in design, quality and execution between silver struck with the mark that would have been in the missing register (Grimwade no 3709) and John Scofield's work with recorded marks (Grimwade nos 1670 and 2349), and it is strange that we can find only serving flatware with this mark. Items bearing this mark were made up until 1779-80⁴ when John Scofield has already been using his solo mark. James Stamp would be a more likely attribution.

With regard to the last mark (Grimwade no 3779), although Sir Ambrose Heal also recorded Robert and John Schofield (sic) as goldsmiths who worked in London during the period 1772-1776,⁵ Grimwade cast doubt on this attribution as there is no other evidence of the silversmith Robert Schofield, presumed that it may have been an alternative mark for Robert Jones and John Scofield.

As Grimwade pointed out, John Scofield's surname is often spelt as "Schofield" but he always signed his name as Scofield and most contemporary documents show his name as Scofield. The main interest of Sir Ambrose Heal was shop signs and trade cards, and I

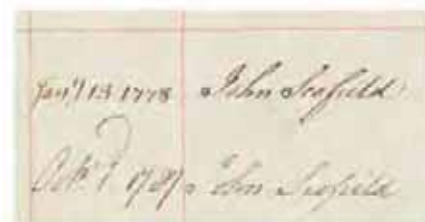


Fig 4 John Scofield's signature in the Assay Office Register, Goldsmiths' Hall.
(Courtesy of The Goldsmiths' Company)

assume he probably took the name from merchants' and tradesmen's directories such as Baldwin's or Kelly's, both published in this period where the name were listed as Schofield. It is interesting to note that the spelling of Ann Scofield, John's first wife, in the burial register of the church of St Dunstan in the West was originally written as "Scholefield" but has been corrected by crossing out the h and l [Fig 3].⁶ There was definitely someone who cared about spelling of family name and perhaps it was her husband John Scofield.

There are unique features to Scofield's signature. His capital J and S have distinctive scrolls that form a small circle at the bottom tip of each letter, and the capital J for John does not go beyond a ruled line on the form. It is noticeable in the Goldsmith's Company's Assay Office Register as compared with the Clerk's handwriting on his entries [Fig 4]. These features make it easy to identify his signature on contemporary documents.

January 1789		Where buried	From whence
3	Robert Stenton	St. Dunst. Ch. York	St. Dunst. Lane
4	John Scofield	St. Dunst. Ch. York	Whitefriars
5	John Silver	St. Dunst. Ch. York	St. Dunst. Ch. York
5	Ann Scofield	St. Dunst. Ch. York	St. Dunst. Ch. York
6	William Scofield	St. Dunst. Ch. York	St. Dunst. Ch. York

Fig 3 Burial record of Ann Scofield, Parish Register of St Dunstan in the West, with correction to spelling, 5 January 1789.

This 26th day of Nov. 1790
 by me John Scofield
 This marriage was solemnized
 between us
 John Scofield
 Mary X Harcourt
 of Mrs + Harfield

Fig 5 John Scofield's signature on his second marriage in 1790, Parish Register, St Dunstan in the West.

The will of John Scofield

Today the main source of information regarding John Scofield's his life and family is his will. It is dated 7 May 1798 and the witnesses were George Whittingham and John Adams. Several of the names of relatives and friends who appear in the will cast some light on his life. He died in 1799 and was buried in the east vault of St Dunstan in the West in Fleet Street on 27 May.⁸

At the time that Scofield's will was made he had two daughters, Dorothy and Eliza, the former was a child of his first marriage, and the latter by his current wife Mary: he in fact married three times. In his will he mentioned first his sister Dorothy Adams, formerly Dorothy Martin, a widow, and her marriage settlement, rather than the names of his wife or daughters. As will be shown Dorothy was an influential person and important in the monetary affairs of his family. He also mentioned his nephew George Higginbotham which would suggest that he had another

sister who had married a William Higginbotham.

William Bird of the Strand, a hardwareman, and William Constable of Sackville Street, a jeweller, are described as his friends and beneficiaries. Bird was actually a silversmith and entered his marks as a small worker and buckle maker in 1769 and 1788 (Grimwade no 3021), giving his address in 1788 as 219 Temple Bar, very close to Scofield's house in Bell Yard. Constable must have been the partner of Thomas Gray who had a jewellery shop, Gray and Constable, at 42 Sackville Street during the 1790s. It seems that they were retailers rather than working goldsmiths as there are no entries for them in the Goldsmiths' Hall register. Constable's shop is mentioned in Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*. In 1794 both John Scofield and William Bird were listed as governors of the public dispensary in Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn for the relief of the sick poor, established in 1783, in a small booklet published on the tenth anniversary of the institution.⁹

With regard to Scofield's own family, his "present" wife Mary (née Lee), as she was described in his will, had been a spinster of the parish of Christ Church, Surrey whom he had married at St Dunstan in the West on 26 May 1792 [Fig 6];¹⁰ she was his third wife. They had a daughter Eliza who was baptised on 29 April 1795 at the same parish church.¹¹ His second

This 26th day of May 1792 John Moir
 by me
 This marriage was solemnized
 between us
 John Scofield
 Mary Lee

Fig 6 John Scofield's signature on his third marriage in 1792, Parish Register, St Dunstan in the West; note the distinctive signature in the style as that in the Assay Office Register.

7 NA, PRO Prob 11/1327.

8 LMA, St Dunstan in the West, Register of burials, 1791-1812, P69/DUN2/A/Q20/MS010356, item 001.

9 Plan of the public (sic.) dispensary in Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn; instituted 1783, for the sick poor with advice, medicines, and attendance when necessary, at their own habitations, London 1794.

10 Guildhall, St Dunstan in the West, Register of Marriages, 1779-1796, P69/DUN2/A/Q1/MS 10354/3.

11 LMA, St Dunstan in the West, Register of Baptisms, 1795-1812, P69/DUN2/A/Q11/MS 10355, item 002.

12 Op cit, see note 10.

13 LMA, St Dunstan in the West, Register of Burials, 1739-1791, P69/DUN2/A/019/MS010353.

14 Guildhall, St Andrew Holborn, Register of Marriages by licence, 1768-1774, P69/AND2/A/01/Ms 6671/4.

15 LMA, St Andrew Holborn, Register of Baptisms, 1771-1780, P82/AND2/A/001/Ms 06667, Item 012.

16 LMA, London Land Tax Records, Farringdon Within, MS 11316/224, Farringdon Without, MS 11316/227, 230, 233, and 236.

17 LMA, Metropolitan Prints Collection, cat no: SC_PZ_WE_01.0917. This engraving appeared in the *Illustrated Times*, 18 May 1867 as one of portions of the site of the proposed new Law Courts. See Heal, Topography 328, Department of Prints & Drawings, the British Museum.

18 Richard Horwood's maps of London published between 1795 and 1799 do not indicate the street numbers of the west side of Bell Yard. The street numbers shown in Fig 8 of this article are, therefore, an inference based on the Land Tax records and other information such as fire insurance policies and contemporary directories. William Faden added the street numbers in the third edition of Horwood's map in 1813. However, he left three (or four) houses blank without street numbers between nos 28 and 29, and other numbers do not match with the Land Tax records of the late 1790s.

19 LMA, Records of Sun Fire Office, MS 11936/424/732140.

20 Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 1, p 727.

21 Arthur Grimwade, *ibid*, p 549.

wife was Ann Oldfield, a widow of the same parish, whom he had married on 26 November 1790 [Fig 5].¹² Their marital life was very short as she died February 1791.¹³

His first wife, and mother of Dorothy, was Ann (née Siddall) of St Andrew's, Holborn and they were married at this church on 8 October 1772. Witnesses of their marriage were Thomas Martin and his wife Dorothy, Scofield's sister.¹⁴ Their surviving daughter Dorothy, probably named after Scofield's paternal grandmother, was baptized at St Andrew's, Holborn on 25 July 1773. According to the parish register of baptism, their address at this date was King's Head Court off Holborn.¹⁵

The Land Tax assessments list John Scofield as a tax payer for the premises in King's Head Court, in the ward of Farringdon Without from 1773 to 1777.¹⁶ He had probably moved into this address when he married Ann Siddall. This period overlaps with

the duration of his partnership with Robert Jones. From 1776 to 1778 John Scofield worked at Jones's premises at 40 Bartholomew Close but resided in Holborn. He must have moved to 29 Bell Yard near Temple Bar by 13 January 1778 when he entered his second mark.

Bell Yard, Temple Bar

After 1778, the residence and workshop of John Scofield was located on the west side of Bell Yard, Temple Bar near Carey Street; this was an area where a number of people working on the book trade such as printers, bookbinders, booksellers and stationers had premises. Some leading makers of fishing tackle also had premises in this street: Chevarier at 12, Bowness at 14, and Ustonson at 48, at the south end of Bell Yard [Fig 7].¹⁷

John Scofield was, during most of his career, the only silversmith in this street although two other silversmiths moved into Bell Yard in 1797 and 1798 [Fig 8].¹⁸ One was Thomas Flower, goldsmith and jeweller at 1 Pope's Head Court, Bell Yard, and the other was Thomas Holland, a silversmith at 21 Bell Yard which was diagonally opposite to Scofield's workshop.

Thomas Flower is not listed by Grimwade but he described himself as a working goldsmith and jeweller at the address above in a Sun Fire Office insurance policy dated 26 May 1802;¹⁹ he was probably a relative of Edward Flower, the jeweller and toyman of Chancery Lane.²⁰ His name appears in the Land Tax assessment records from 1797 through to 1803. Thomas Holland entered his mark (Grimwade no 2789) as a plateworker at the address above in 1798.²¹

Dorothy Martin (née Scofield)

Dorothy Martin was probably the older sister of John Scofield. Although the parish records of



Fig 7 Bell Yard, looking south towards Fleet Street, shortly before its demolition, circa 1867, depicting Soyer's Coffee Room at no 30 next to no 29 where John Scofield once worked.
(Collage, London Metropolitan Archives ©City of London Corporation)

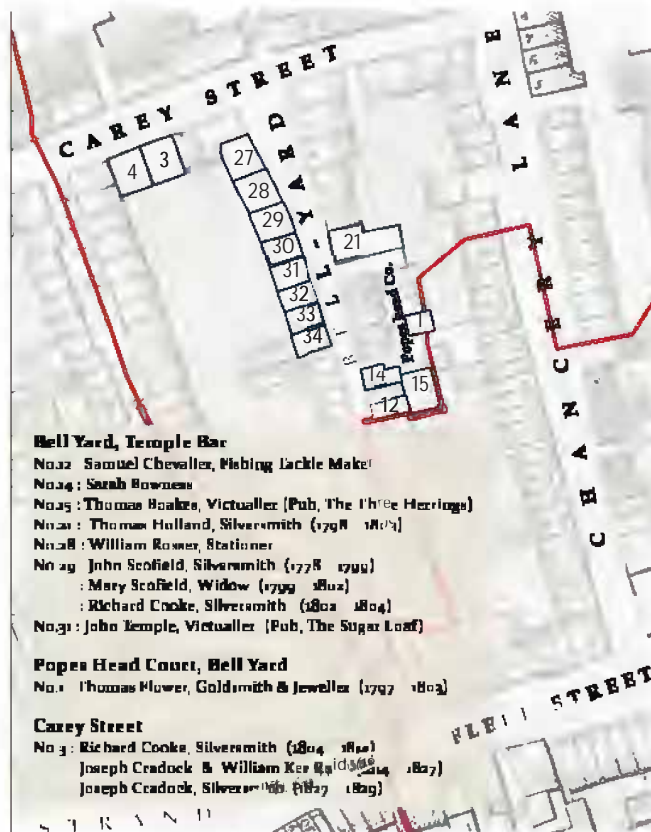


Fig 8 Map of Bell Yard, Temple Bar, circa 1799.

her baptism do not survive,²² the burial record states that she died at the age of seventy-three and was buried at St Peter's Church, Alresford in Essex on 2 March 1812.²³ She married Thomas Martin KC (1710-76) at St Luke's, Chelsea on 3 January 1771; it was his second marriage and he was sixty-one. Witnesses of this marriage were her brother John Scofield and his future wife Ann Siddall.²⁴

Thomas Martin was a barrister and King's Counsel who resided in Chelsea. He was the second son of Captain Matthew Martin (1676-1749) of Wivenhoe House and Alresford Hall in Essex [Fig 9]. Matthew Martin was a captain in the service of the East India Company and he made his name commanding the *Marlborough*, a 480 ton merchant ship with thirty-two guns. In 1712, when he was sailing from India with a full cargo valued at £200,000; he was attacked by three French ships but successfully escaped and brought the ship and her cargo to safety in Fort St George.²⁵ He was

Fig 9 Alresford Hall, Essex.



²² The baptism record of Dorothy Scofield could not be located because the parish registers of St Michael's Church, Taddington, in the collection of DRO are in poor condition and parts are illegible. There are Bishop's Transcripts of the parish registers of Taddington in the Lichfield Record Office, Staffordshire but the entries between 1730 and 1738 are missing. B/V/7/1/652/3a and B/V/7/2/652/3b.

²³ Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials 1742-1812, St Peter's Church, Alresford, Essex Record Office D/P336/1/1-3.

²⁴ LMA, Saint Luke's Church, Chelsea, Register of Marriages, P74/LUK, item 199.

²⁵ Pet Marsden, *Wivenhoe House: A tale of Two Lost 18th Century Mansions and the Sea-Captains who Built Them*, the Essex Society for Archaeology and History, Transactions, vol 1 Fourth Series, 2010.



Fig 10 John Constable, *Wivenhoe Park*, oil on canvas 1806.²⁶
(The National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC)

M P for Colchester from 1722 to 1727 and became Mayor of Colchester in 1726. His son Thomas Martin inherited the family properties in Wivenhoe and Alresford in 1765 on the death of his elder brother Samuel.

It would seem that Thomas Martin prepared his second marriage to Dorothy Scofield secretly, even keeping it from his daughters. He had two surviving daughters at that time and the younger, Mary, (1738-1804) wrote frequently to her first cousin Isaac Martin Rebow (1731-81) of Wivenhoe Park [Fig 10] between 1767 and 1772; they eventually married on 27 August 1772.²⁶ Her father's second marriage very much surprised her as she wrote at 8.00 pm on the very same day:

...that my father was this morning married to Dorothy Scofield at Chelsea Church; where he is at present I cannot say, for

without giving me ye least hint or leaving any message, he went out before I was out of bed, dressed very smart, and I have not seen or heard anything from him since.²⁷

Her family was not rich but she was well educated for those days, she read daily newspapers and some poetry, played the harpsichord and guitar and enjoyed Handel's works Drury Lane. It is obvious that she considered that Dorothy was from lower social class and had a bitter opinion of her new stepmother's behaviour.

...for it is by no means the thing to make us appear in public with such kind of people, though we must with her, however I shall take care for the future, not to be so caught, for I cannot have any connection with her relations, and friends, whatever I have with her.²⁸

After twelve months, however, Mary admitted

²⁶ Washington State University Libraries, Pullman, Washington, USA, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, *Mary Martin Rebow Papers, 1767-1779*, page 134.

²⁷ *Ibid*, Mary Martin's letter to Isaac Martin Rebow, 3 January 1771.

²⁸ *Ibid*, Mary Martin's letter to Isaac Martin Rebow, 8 March 1771.

Fig 11 Letter from Mary Martin mentioning Scofield's premises in Maiden Lane, dated 13 March 1771.

(Courtesy of Washington State University Libraries, Pullman, Washington, U.S.A., Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections)

that the marriage to Dorothy made her father very happy.

...we have made our visit to Knightsbridge, ...and I shall hold my opinion, that he is perfectly happy, for though we are a great check upon them, yet they are both amazing fond, and play together all day long, like a couple of kittens.²⁹

Robert Scofield

One of Mary Martin's letters gives us a hint of the activity of John Scofield in London. She wrote to her fiancé that her father proposed to move his family silver that was in Alresford to London.

...He made an odd proposal the other day of having the plat from Wivenhoe up by the wagon, and send to Scofield's in Maiden Lane, now that is a scheme, we can by no means approve of, and the same time we are afraid we shall have none of it [Fig 11].³⁰

Mr Martin's plan was never executed because his daughters were very much concerned about losing the family silver and they begged Isaac Martin Rebow to persuade her father to change his mind. According to the following letter, it sounds as if they were successful in this and his plate was instead sent to Rebow's town house in Duke Street.

There is another important section in the will of Thomas Martin of 28 July 1772; he bequeathed all his estates and properties to his

dearly beloved wife Dorothy Martin

except for those estates in Alresford and Wivenhoe left to his nephew Isaac Martin Rebow. As for the executors of his will;

...and I do hereby make ordain and appoint my said dear Wife and her Brothers Robert and John Scofield Executors of this my will and for the Trouble they may have in the Execution hereof I give and bequeath to each of them one hundred Pounds...

John Scofield had a brother named Robert and the ordering of the two in the will suggests that Robert was the elder. Martin died in April 1776 after five years of marriage and his will was proved on 27 April 1776.³¹ Although it is not known when the money bequeathed to them was paid to the brothers, £100 would probably have been sufficient capital to allow the Scofield brothers to prepare the establishment of their own silver workshop within two years.

Based on the information from Mary's letter and Thomas Martin's will, it may be suggested that Robert and John Scofield had premises selling silver in Maiden Lane at least by 1770 or 1771 and that they remained there until late 1775 when John entered his new mark in partnership with Robert Jones in February 1776 at 40 Bartholomew Close.

The name of Robert Scofield of Maiden Lane can be found in the Westminster Rate Book (Tax assessment) for the year 1771, where he is described as a jeweller,³² and in the section of St Paul's, Covent Garden in the Westminster

²⁹ Ibid, Mary Martin's letter to Isaac Martin Rebow, 1 January 1772.

³⁰ Ibid, Mary Martin's letter to Isaac Martin Rebow, 13 March 1771.

³¹ NA, PRO Prob11/1019.

³² Poor Rate Book 1769-1778, St Paul's Church, Covent Garden, Westminster Middlesex, WCA.

33 A correct copy of the poll, for electing two representatives in Parliament, for the City and Liberty of Westminster 1774, LMA and Guildhall Library.

34 Arthur Grimwade, *op cit*, see note 1, p 727.

35 *Op cit*, see note 26, Mary Martin's letter to Isaac Martin Rabow, 15 October 1771.

36 Rev William H Hunt (ed), *The Registers of St Paul's Church, Covent Garden, London, Vol. II Christenings, 1752-1837, 1906.*

Name	Residence	Occupation	Poll
Robert Scofield	Maiden Lane South	Jeweller	10

Fig 12 Robert Scofield, Jeweller of Maiden Lane in the Westminster Poll Book for 14-15 October 1774. (Courtesy of London Metropolitan and Guildhall Library)

Poll Book for 1774 [Fig 12].³³ Although the number of his premises is not shown in these documents, the Westminster Rate Book gives his address as Maiden Lane South [Fig 13]. William Turner (1745–1829), a barber and wig-maker lived at 21 Maiden Lane from about 1773 and the Scofield brothers must have known him: he was the father of the artist Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851) born at this house on 23 April 1775.

Others employed in working with precious metals also lived in Maiden Lane at this time. John Ireland, the watchmaker and biographer

of Hogarth, lived there from 1769 to 1780, as did Humphrey Tomkins, a jeweller – Both men were listed in the Poll Book of 1774. Aaron Bourne, a goldsmith, also appears in a contemporary directory at this address in 1770.³⁴

There is a description of Dorothy Martin's jewellery in the letters of Mary Martin. Although it does not mention where Thomas Martin purchased the pieces for his wife, it may be that some were acquired from Scofield's shop in Maiden Lane.

I suppose Mrs. Martin will be monstrous fine indeed, for my father asked us the other day what he could buy her for a handsome necklace, and earrings, answerable to the watch and diamond rings she had, and came here yesterday on purpose for a direction to our hair dresser, at which I had much ado to refrain from laughing.³⁵

Although it is not known when Robert settled in Maiden Lane, he married to Sarah Mitchell on 26 December 1754 at St Paul's Church Covent Garden, and five of their children were baptized at the same church.³⁶

Fig 13 Maiden Lane, Covent Garden from Richard Horwood's map. 1792-1799.

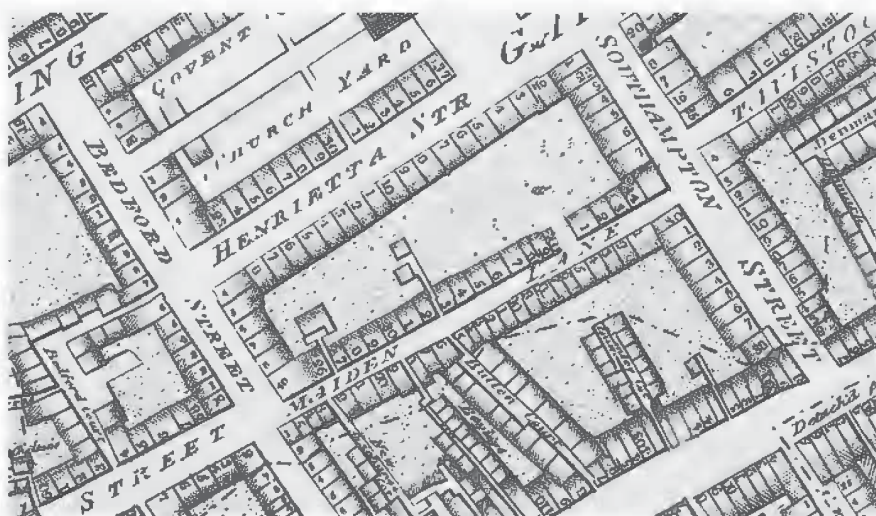




Fig 14 High Peak Hundred, Derbyshire, showing Taddington and Chelmorton at lower centre, to the west of Bakewell, from Emanuel Bowen's map published by Sayer & Bennett, 1777.

Elizabeth Scofield

As mentioned earlier, Scofield had another sister, Elizabeth, who married William Higginbotham, a baker of Taddington,

Derbyshire at St John the Baptist, Chelmorton, Derbyshire on 8 December 1767.³⁷ The couple lived in Taddington [Fig 14] and had seven children but Higginbotham died in 1789 at the age of thirty and she died two years later and was buried in May 1791.³⁸ Since John included only his nephew George Higginbotham as a beneficiary of this will, from his many other his nephews and nieces, George may have lived with John and helped in the workshop after his parents had died. Their daughters may possibly have been taken in by Dorothy after her sister's death.

Chelmorton and Taddington are small villages in the High Peak district of Derbyshire, about six miles west-northwest of Bakewell. If Elizabeth had lived in London like her siblings Robert, Dorothy and John who were all living there by the 1770s it is curious as to how she met her future husband. Taddington was, however, her home village and the Scofields were a local family:³⁹ Elizabeth would have known William from childhood in such a small village.

Elizabeth and her brothers were the children of William Scofield of Taddington who married Jane Heyward in 1726. They had five (possibly six) sons and two daughters. John Scofield was youngest and was baptised on 6 October 1747 at St Michael and All Angels Church, Taddington [Fig 15].⁴⁰ His father William was

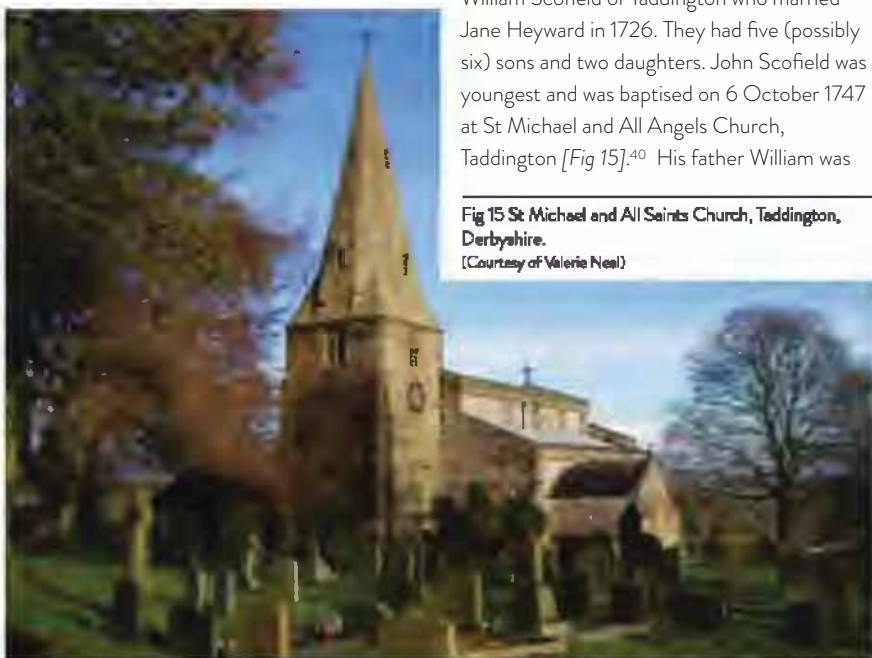


Fig 15 St Michael and All Saints Church, Taddington, Derbyshire.
[Courtesy of Valerie Neal]

³⁷ DRO, Parish Registers of Marriages 1754-1778, St John the Baptist Church, Chelmorton, doc ref M69 vol 4.

³⁸ DRO, Parish Registers of Baptisms and Burials 1766-1812, St Michael's Church, Taddington, doc ref M445 vol 13.

³⁹ Transcriptions of parish registers of St Michael's Church, Taddington in DRO at Matlock, by Valerie Neal in the form of CD 2008, contains records of Baptism 1642-1841, Marriages 1642-1860, and Burials 1642-1900.

⁴⁰ DRO, Parish Registers of 1711-1766, St Michael's Church, Taddington, doc ref M445 vol 12. Lichfield Record Office, Staffordshire, Bishop's Transcripts of Parish Registers of Taddington, ref BN/71/652/3a and BN/71/652/3b.

41 Ibid.

42 Op cit, see note 37, John Scofield's brother Henry signed "Henry Scofield" in the register as a witness of marriage of his sister Elizabeth and William Higginbotham, 8 December 1767.

43 LMA, Kensington and Chelsea, 1816, DL/7/471.

44 LMA, Saint Marylebone, Registrar of Marriages, P89/MRY1, item 181.

45 *The London Gazette*, 22 March 1842, pp 812.

46 Ibid, 26 July 1850, p 2098.

47 Guildhall Library, St Andrew Holborn, Register of Marriages, 1813 - 1815, P69/AND2/A/01/Ms 6672/1.

48 NA, PRO, Census Returns of England and Wales, 1841, HO107/1075/11, Civil Parish: Richmond; County: Surrey; Enumeration District: 5; F13, p 19, line 12, GSU roll: 474663.

49 NA, PRO, Census Returns of England and Wales, 1851, Kew, Surrey, HO107/1698/123/37; GSU roll 193606.

50 Ibid, HO107/1469/268/5; GSU roll: 87792.

probably the son of James and Dorothy Scofield, also of Taddington.⁴¹ It seems that the other brothers, Richard, William, and Henry remained in the village and they were buried there. Parish registers spell Scofield in a variety of ways: Skofield, Scowfield, Schofield, Scholfield, and Scofield. One of their handwritten signatures is Scofield which seems to be, therefore, what became the correct spelling.⁴² Siddall and Oldfield, the family names of John Scofield's first and second wives respectively also appear in the parish registers of Taddington and surrounding hamlets. Appendix I gives John Scofield's family tree.

Subsequent Generations

Dorothy Scofield, John Scofield's eldest daughter, married Daniel Oathwaite Blyth at St Mary Abbot, Kensington on 8 November 1804; the marriage was witnessed by Martha Herbst, Thomas F Blyth and her mother Mary Scofield.⁴³ Daniel Blyth was described as coming from the parish of St Leonard's, Colchester, Essex, and Dorothy Scofield was noted as a spinster of St Mary Abbot. Dorothy presumably moved to Kensington which is where her aunt Dorothy Adams lived, after her father's death, and she would probably have visited her aunt's country estates in Alresford and Wivenhoe only a few miles away from Colchester. The marriage did not last long: Blyth's second marriage to Charlotte Harper⁴⁴

took place in June 1807 suggesting that Dorothy was dead by 1806 or earlier.

Blyth was a merchant in Colchester, but it seems that he was not an astute businessman as he was declared bankrupt in January 1833. With regard to this bankruptcy, a call for a meeting in order to negotiate claims was published in the *London Gazette* in 1842, and the name of John Scofield was given in the notice as the testator that the trustees were acting for [Fig 16].⁴⁵ Notices of dividends for creditors were published up until 1850.⁴⁶

Scofield's younger daughter Eliza was only four when her father died. When she was nineteen, she married Philip Lugar of Richmond, Surrey at St Andrew's, Holborn on 6 June 1814.⁴⁷ As she was still a minor, the marriage required her mother's consent and Mary signed the register. Lugar was born in 1789, the fourth son of the Rev Marshall Lugar of Ardleigh Park, Essex. Ardleigh is a village only a few miles away from Wivenhoe and, like her sister, it would seem probable that Eliza met Philip while she was staying at her aunt's house in Alresford. His name appears in Pigot's Directory of Surrey, 1839 as a surgeon and the 1841 census shows Philip Lugar, surgeon and Eliza Lugar living at Church Row, Richmond, Surrey.⁴⁸ The couple may have had children but no evidence has been found.

By 1851, however, Philip was living alone with a housekeeper at Lavender Cottage, Bath Road, Hounslow, Middlesex,⁴⁹ while Eliza was lodging at Thurloe Square, Brompton⁵⁰ where her aunts Mary and Harriet Higginbotham both lived. They continued to live apart from each other the rest of their lives.

After Thomas Martin's death in 1776, his widow Dorothy Martin married John Adams of Bartlets Buildings, Holborn in 1777; it was probable that this was the John Adams who witnessed Scofield's will. She made a settlement prior to this marriage which secured the inheritance of the major portion of her

THE creditors who have proved their debts under a Fiat in Bankruptcy awarded and issued forth against Daniel Oathwaite Blyth, of Colchester, in the county of Essex, Merchant, are desired to meet on the 14th day of April next at twelve o'clock at noon precisely, at the Court of Bankruptcy, in Basinghall-street, in the city of London, in order to assent to or dissent from the assignees compounding, settling, and adjusting a claim due to the estate of the said bankrupt, from the trustees acting under the will of John Scofield, late of the liberty of the Rolls, in the county of Middlesex, Silversmith, deceased.

Fig 16 Notice of bankruptcy of Daniel Oathwaite Blyth, *London Gazette*, 1842.

estate and properties to her Scofield descendants.⁵¹ Adams died in 1809 and Dorothy outlived her second husband by three years. She had no issue from either marriage and made a lengthy will that was proved in London on 22 April 1812, witnessed by her niece Mary Higginbotham, her nephew Robert Scofield (the third son of her brother Robert), and George Whittingham.⁵² She included six nieces and nephews and one nephew-in-law in her will: George Higginbotham, Mary Higginbotham, Dorothy Higginbotham, Harriet Higginbotham, Robert Scofield, Eliza Scofield (John Scofield's second daughter) and Daniel Oathwaite Blyth (husband of John Scofield's deceased daughter Dorothy). The major part of Dorothy's estate and properties in Alresford and Wivenhoe was bequeathed to Mary Higginbotham and subsequently passed to her younger sister Harriet Higginbotham by Mary's will which was proved on 5 November 1856.⁵³ In this will, Mary's address was given 2 Thurloe Square, Brompton and presumably Harriet continued to reside there as a Miss Higginbotham was listed at this address in the *Boyle's Town Visiting Guide* for 1860.⁵⁴

George Higginbotham, one of beneficiaries of the will of John Scofield, became a scissor maker in Sheffield. Although the path he took to become a cutler is not known, he was listed as a fine scissor manufacturer in Wicker, Sheffield in various directories after 1818.⁵⁵ He died of bilious fever on 7 January 1838.⁵⁶ After his death, George and William, presumably his sons, took over the company and ran George and William Higginbotham Co until October 1856 when they dissolved their partnership.⁵⁷ They exhibited various products at the Great Exhibition of 1851 together with those of many other cutlers from Sheffield.⁵⁸ They exhibited gold and silver mounted scissors and razors that were awarded prize medal but they were not goldsmiths.

The succession of John Scofield's business

Mary, the widow of John Scofield stayed at 29 Bell Yard for three years after he died at the age

of fifty-two. She insured her household goods, printed books, wearing apparel and plate in the dwelling house on 27 July 1799, precisely three weeks after her husband's will was proved. In this insurance policy, the other occupier of the premises was noted as "Silversmith"⁵⁹ presumably one of the silversmiths who had worked for Scofield in this workshop. It suggests that silversmithing continued to be carried on at the same premises even after their master's death. She did not, however, enter her own mark at Goldsmiths' Hall.

In the same year, a Land Tax assessment took place in August and the records still give John Scofield as a tax payer although his name had disappeared by the next year and Richard Cook (sic) was listed at the address instead of Mary Scofield: this Richard "Cook" would probably be the silversmith, Richard Cooke.

Land Tax assessors nearly always took the same route from one street to another every year, at least in the Westminster, and although street numbers were not given in the registers, the position of each house (i.e. the name of proprietor or occupier) normally appears in the same order in the register every year and the name of John Scofield appeared at the same place in the order which enables us to assume that location of his premises was 29 Bell Yard.

Richard Cooke entered his first mark (Grimwade no 2289) at Goldsmiths' Hall on 28 June 1799,⁶⁰ one month after John Scofield was buried at St Dunstan in the West. Cooke's address was given as "No 29 Carey St Bell Yard" but it almost certainly meant 29 Bell Yard near Carey Street.⁶¹ He was thirty-four years old when he took over Scofield's workshop but his apprenticeship or freedom have not yet come to light. Grimwade mentioned that plate bearing the mark of John Scofield was supplied to Wakelin and Garrard until 15 June 1799 and that a final payment was made to "Mr. Cook" on 25 July of that year.⁶²

Richard Cooke was probably the son of Thomas Cooke of Bisley, Gloucestershire and born in

51 Prenuptial Settlement (Lease and Release) between (i) John Adams of Bartlets Buildings, Holborn, London, gent (ii) Dorothy Martin widow of Thomas Martin of Knights bridge (co Middlesex), (iii) Thomas Adams of Rye (co Sussex) esq (iv) Richard Oldfield of St Paul, Covent Garden (co. Middlesex), grocer in consideration of intended marriage between John Adams and Dorothy Martin, 12 May 1777, Essex Record Office D/DU 381/40 and 41.

52 NA, PRO, Prob 11/1532.

53 NA, PRO, Prob.11/2241.

54 *Boyle's Fashionable Court and Country Guide and Town Visiting Directory for January 1860*, London, p 236.

55 James Pigot, *The Commercial Directory for 1818-19-20, containing the names, trades, and situations of the Merchants, Manufacturers, Tradesman, &c.*, Manchester 1818, p 426.

56 NA, General Register Office: Registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths surrendered to the Non-parochial Registers Commissions of 1837 and 1857, RG4/ 3750.

57 *The London Gazette*, 21 November 1865, p 5651.

58 *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851, Class XXII*, no 188.

59 LMA, Records of Sun Fire Office MS 11936/413/692516.

60 Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 1, pp 166 and 470.

61 LMA, London Land Tax Records, St Clement Danes and St Mary-le-Strand, 1798 indicates John Clarke at 29 Carey Street; the record of 1801 shows Home as occupier of the same premises.

62 Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 1, p 766.

63 Gloucestershire Anglican Parish Registers. Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucestershire, GDR/V/36.

64 Ibid, PB6/1 IN 1/3.

65

➤ Richard, born 10 July 1791 baptised 27 May 1792

➤ Nathaniel, born 15 December 1793, baptised 25 December 1794,

both above at Cirencester, Gloucestershire, Gloucestershire Archives, PB6/1 IN 1/3

➤ Richard Nethercoat, baptised 30 August 1795,

➤ Harriet, baptised 2 July 1797,

➤ George Nethercoat, born 12 January 1802, baptised 7 February 1802

LMA, St Dunstan in the West, Register of baptisms, P69/DUN2/A/011/MS010355/002.

66 LMA, UK and London Poll Books. *The Poll for the City of London 1796*, p 20.

67 A pair of candlesticks, by Richard Cooke, London, 1800, one nozzle with mark of John Scofield, sale, Christie's London, 25-26 November 2014, lot 581 and a pair of four light candelabra, 1800, sale, Christie's London, 1-2 December 2015, lot 681.

68 Kenneth Quickenden, 'Lyon-faced' candlesticks and candelabra', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 11, 1999, p 208.

69 LMA, Records of Sun Fire Office, MS 11936/423/732350.

70 LMA, London Land Tax Records, Liberty of the Rolls, Westminster, 1802.

1766.⁶³ He married Jane Longford at Cirencester parish church, Gloucestershire in May 1789⁶⁴ and they had had four sons and one daughter by 1802.⁶⁵ They probably moved to London early in 1795 as their son Richard Nethercoat was born and baptised at St Dunstan in the West in August 1795. It seems that Cooke went to live at Bell Yard, Temple Bar soon after he arrived at London as his name appears in the Poll Book of the City of London for 1796 as a resident of Bell Yard, Temple Bar, and interestingly his occupation was described as that of a skinner.⁶⁶ He was possibly made free from Skinner's Company but no record has been found.

The work of Richard Cooke from the early years of his career exhibits many similarities to that of John Scofield's, especially candlesticks, candelabra, cruet frames and tea sets and some of his candlesticks even have nozzles with the mark of John Scofield.⁶⁷ Cooke evidently used the tools and dies that Scofield had used.

Cooke's early silver lacks some of the elegance of Scofield's and, perhaps due to changes in popular taste or the demands of clients, this

plate shows a mixture of the restrained neo-Classical designs of John Scofield's time and more boldly designed features in the latest Regency taste and the results sometimes give a somewhat odd or imbalanced impression.

Clients of John Scofield would have been informed that his business had been succeeded by that of Richard Cooke. The Earl of Harwood commissioned candelabra in the late 1790s to match a set made by Thomas Hemming in the 1770s; he went first to John Scofield and then, five years later, to Richard Cooke for another pair.⁶⁸ The commissions to these two silversmiths would not seem to be a coincidence.

In 1802, Mary Scofield, a widow, moved to 20 Giltspur Street near St Bartholomew's Hospital and insured her household goods at this address in June of that year.⁶⁹ Land Tax assessments for the year 1802 were conducted in July and the record book still shows the name of Richard Cooke as the occupier of 29 Bell Yard but the proprietor's name has been changed to that of Miss Chandler [Fig 17].⁷⁰

List of 29 Bell Yard, Temple Bar, 1780 to 1829			
Year	Resident	Occupation	Proprietor
1780	John Scofield	Silversmith	Edward Chandler, Esq.
1787	John Scofield	ditto	Edward Chandler, Esq.
1788	John Scofield	ditto	No Record
1789	John Scofield	ditto	John Scofield
1799	John Scofield	ditto	John Scofield
1800	Mary Scofield / Richard Cooke	Widow / Silversmith	Not discribed
1801	Mary Scofield / Richard Cooke	ditto	Not discribed
1802	Mary Scofield / Richard Cooke	ditto	Miss Chandler
1803	Richard Cooke	Silversmith	Miss Chandler
1804	Richard Cooke	ditto	Kensey
1805	James Melhuish	Boot & Shoe Maker	Richard Cooke
1806	James Melhuish	ditto	Richard Cooke
1807	No Record		Richard Cooke
1808	No Record		Richard Cooke
1809	Ralph Cantwell	Printer	Richard Cooke
1816	Ralph Cantwell	ditto	Richard Cooke
1828	Ralph Cantwell	ditto	Richard Cooke
1829	Charles Reader / James Hutton	unkown	Richard Cooke

Fig 17 List of residents and proprietors of 29 Bell Yard, Temple Bar from 1780 to 1829.

Richard Cooke moved to 3 Carey Street, just around the corner at the north end of Bell Yard, in late 1803 [Fig 7], and he changed his address in the Goldsmiths' Hall Register to the new address on 14 January 1804. Although his name appears in the Land Tax record of 1804 at 3 Carey Street as proprietor, the occupation is described "E" for empty, and his name was still given as the occupier of 29 Bell Yard. The tax assessment of this year was conducted on 17 July so it would seem that he did not actually move into new his premises in Carey Street until later that year, as he insured property at both addresses with the Sun Fire Office on 4 December of the same year, and then changed his contract to remove 29 Bell Yard two weeks later.⁷¹ By July 1805, he acquired the premises at 28 and 29 Bell Yard and leased these premises to other occupants although not silversmiths. Until 1811 the tenant of 29 Bell Yard was James Melhuish, a boot and shoe maker⁷² and subsequently it was rented to Ralph Cantwell, a printer.

Richard Cooke continued silversmithing at Carey Street and supplied massive silver in the

fashionable Regency style to leading retailers such as Rundell, Bridge and Rundell until around 1813 but silver marked by him with a date letter after 1811 is rarely seen. By this time he had probably retired and moved to Dartford, Kent. He insured properties in Spital Street in Dartford in addition to 3 Carey Street, 28 and 29 Bell Yard, and 21 Chapel Street, Grosvenor, Pimlico in February 1814 with the Sun Fire Office.⁷³ The premises in Carey Street had been leased to Joseph Cradock and William Ker Reid, silversmiths, and both Richard Cooke and Cradock & Reid supplied silver to Vulliamy in the early 1810s.⁷⁴ One of the reasons for this would be that the latter succeeded Cooke as the occupier of the premises in Carey Street.

Richard Cooke died at Dartford, Kent in 1840 at the age of 74 and his will was proved on 6 April of the same year.⁷⁵ He was buried at All Saints Church, Swanscombe near Dartford, in the same grave as his granddaughter Harriet who had died earlier that year; she was the only child of his daughter Harriet and her husband the Rev Robert Cobb, vicar of Detling, Kent.⁷⁶

71 LMA, Records of Sun Fire Office, MS 11936/431/769T14, and 769T157.

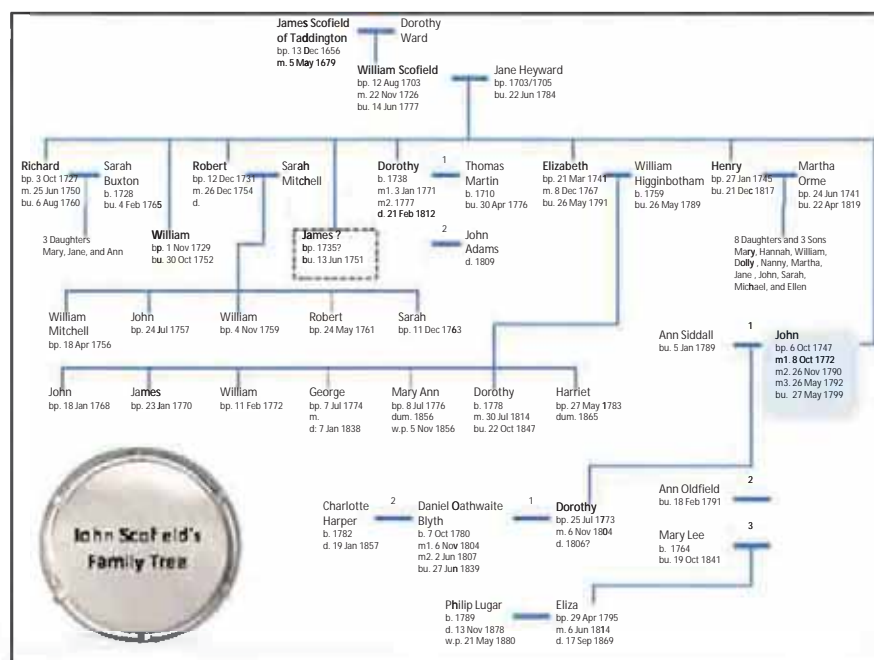
72 *Holden's Triennial Directory for 1805, 1806, 1807, London 1805.*

73 LMA, Records of Sun Fire Office MS 11936/465/889749, 889750, and 889751.

74 Helen Clifford, 'The Vulliamys and the silversmiths 1793-1817', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 10, 1998, pp 98-101.

75 NA, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PROB 11/1925/248.

76 I Cave-Browne, *Detling in days gone by, or the History of the Parish, London, 1880*, pp 33.



77 Principal Probate Registry. *Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration made in the Probate Registries of the High Court of Justice in England, Labon-Lyttelton, Wills 1870* p 224.

78 Proceedings of the Old Bailey, reference no t18681026-941, 26 October 1868.

79 Op cit, see note 77, p 563.

80 Constable also painted the *Quarters behind Alresford Hall*, in 1816 which is in the collection of National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.

In the church of St Martin of Tours, Detling, there is a memorial tablet inserted in the south wall near the pulpit; the inscription reads;

*Sacred
to the memory of
Harriet,
The only child of the Rev. Robert Cobb,
Vicar of this Parish,
and Harriet his wife.
She died 30 January, 1840, aged nine years;
And was buried at Swanscombe,
on the same day and in the same grave
with her grandfather,
Richard Cooke, of Dartford, Esquire, aged 74.
"It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him
good."*

After leaving Bell Yard, Temple Bar, Mary Scofield changed her address several times around Holborn and the City and finally resided in East Street, Red Lion Square. She died in 1841 at the age of seventy-seven and was buried on 19 October 1841 at St Mary Magdalene near the home of Philip and Eliza Lugar at Church Row, Richmond. She wrote a first will on 24 November 1824, and amended it in November 1837, but there was no witness to either document. Her will was made valid by oath of her niece Mary Higginbotham and her grandniece Jane Massey as the relatives who knew her and were well acquainted with her. The will was proved on 3 November 1841 by her daughter Eliza Lugar and there was no executor or other residuary legatee.

Eliza died on 17 September 1869 at age of seventy-four, at 11 Arbour Terrace, Commercial Road East in Stepney, on the east side of the City, and her will was proved by her grandnephew Charles Massey on 11 March 1870.⁷⁷ Two years before her death, Philip Lugar had been found guilty of unlawfully wounding his neighbour, a young lady, in Haydon Villas, Hounslow by feloniously shooting with intent to do her grievous bodily harm.⁷⁸ This criminal case suggests an aspect of

his character which could possibly be one of the causes that Eliza left him. He died at the age of eighty-eight on 13 November 1878 in Laurie Square, Romford, Essex. His will was not proved until 1880.⁷⁹

Summary

John Scofield was born in 1747, a son of William Scofield, of Taddington, Derbyshire. He had at least four elder brothers and two sisters and his brother Robert was a jeweller by the early 1770s and he and John probably worked together. His sister Dorothy married a gentleman of Alresford, Essex and inherited properties there. It would seem probable that John's two daughters met their husbands through local connections in Essex which Dorothy had established. However, neither of their married lives resulted in a happy ending as Dorothy died soon after her marriage and Eliza lived apart from her husband for the last twenty years of her life. Since John did not have a surviving son, and there was no successor from his brothers' families, the business at Bell Yard passed into others' hands.

This study is a work in progress as there are many questions yet to be answered and most of the early life and career, including the apprenticeship and freedom of John Scofield remain undiscovered. Although it was confirmed that John Scofield had a brother called Robert, further study is required to identify whether the makers' mark (Grimwade no 3779) was actually his.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Cheryl Gunselman, Librarian of Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections at Washington State University Libraries and to Sophia Tobin at the Goldsmiths' Company Library, for their help and assistance to accessing indispensable information for this study.

SILVER AS ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE 1578-1776: SOME RECENT ACQUISITIONS AT TEMPLE NEWSAM¹

JAMES LOMAX

The connection between architecture, sculpture and goldsmiths' work might seem to be so obvious as not to be worth mentioning or labouring. From time immemorial craftsmen in precious metals have relied on architectural principles including mathematics, geometry and proportion, not to mention the use of decorative motifs from classical and gothic styles. Similarly they have used many of the same methods and techniques employed by sculptors: modelling, casting, in lost wax or sand casting, chasing, embossing, hammering and soldering. These connections are sometimes overlooked by scholars of the different disciplines² but some recent acquisitions at Temple Newsam usefully demonstrate how some of the principles and practices which underpin these three plastic arts are so closely related.

In the great age of the Renaissance there was little distinction between these artistic roles: Brunelleschi considered himself equally an architect, a sculptor and a goldsmith; while Ghiberti and Cellini considered themselves as much sculptors as goldsmiths, and Juan de Arfe regarded his great silver *custodias* to be works of architecture.

From the earliest days of antiquity goldsmiths are recorded creating sculptural, even architectural ensembles. Thus for example Bezalel, perhaps the earliest known named goldsmith in history, was summoned by Moses to make the Ark of the Covenant to be

overlaid with gold and made with a gold moulding to go round it

the Seat of Mercy which surmounted the Ark was modelled with two great winged creatures of beaten gold.³

By the Middle Ages goldsmiths, working with expensive materials for an elite clientele, had become highly valued and educated craftsmen for whom knowledge of mathematics and Euclidian geometry was essential. The use of geometric shapes such as polygons, trefoils,

hexafoils and ogees was widespread, echoing architectural shapes and forms. Sets of dividers and callipers were to be found among the tools in goldsmiths' workshops: instruments as essential for these craftsmen as much as for masons, architects or sculptors. Decorative details such as crocketing and shafted columns have scaled-up counterparts in Gothic architecture and decorative sculpture.

With the Renaissance came a deeper fascination with the place of geometry in art and space and the rediscovery of the harmonic proportions of Vitruvian classicism. Early and high Renaissance works of art are characterised by a harmonious balance between the different parts which make the whole so completely satisfying. In northern Europe, Durer's *Underwaysung der Messung* [Treatise on Measurement] (Nuremberg 1525) showed his deep interest in perspective and proportion; while Wenzel Jamnitzer's *Perspectiva Corporum Regularium* [Perspective of Regular Solids] (1568) explored complex geometric shapes further: the famous portrait, by Nicolas de Neuchatel, shows him with callipers, a calibrating instrument as well as a drawing for a figure and an exquisitely cast figure.⁴

In England the publication of two books within seven years was to prove highly significant for the course of architecture and its associated arts: John Shute's *First and Chief Grounds of Architecture*, much influenced by Serlio, came out in 1563, the first book to illustrate the classical orders, and John Dee's translation of Euclid in 1570, provided, as E G R Taylor pointed out,

a magnificent exposition of the relationship and application of mathematics, especially arithmetic and geometry, to the practice of various skilled arts and crafts.⁵

Knowledge of these treatises and their successors well into the eighteenth century became, to a greater and lesser degree, part

¹ This paper was first delivered as a lecture to the Silver Society at a meeting at Temple Newsam on 12 May 2014.

² A notable exception being Jennifer Montagu: see *Roman Baroque Sculpture, The Industry of Art*, New Haven and London, 1989; *Gold, Silver and Bronze, Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque*, New Haven and London, 1996; 'The Practice of Roman Baroque Silver Sculpture', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 12, 2000, pp 18-25.

³ Exodus, Chapter 37, vv 1-16.

⁴ John F Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths 1540-1620*, London, 1976, pp 64-65.

⁵ Christopher Hartop, *Geometry and the Silversmith: the Domcho Collection*, Cambridge, 2008, p 16.

- 6 Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, London, 1747, (Whitefish, Montana, reprint, 2009), pp 141–7.
- 7 Charles Oman, *The Golden Age of Hispanic Silver 1400–1665*, London, 1968, p xci, note 1.
- 8 Named after Lt Col Henry and Mrs Patricia Hurst whose generous bequest enabled the cup to be bought for Temple Newsam in 2013. The cup was exhibited at the Victoria & Albert Museum in the 1960s and 1870s when it was owned by William Maskell (1814 – 90); it was sold from the collection of T W Waller, sale, Christie's, 7 June 1910; bought by J Pierpont Morgan and retained by his family until 2010.
- 9 Timothy Schröder, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver*, London, 1988, pp 48–53.

and parcel of the education of accomplished gentlemen, as much as part of the training for apprentices in the leading mechanical trades.⁶ As the century advanced forms and decoration in architecture, sculpture and goldsmiths' work became profoundly imbued with the exaggerated and complex language of Northern mannerism.

Perhaps it was in Spain that the direct connection between high Renaissance

architectural principles and goldsmiths' work was most graphically demonstrated. Juan de Arfe's *De Varia Commensuracion* (1585) was closely concerned with geometry and the proportions of the human body, while his fourth book dealt with classical architecture and the relationship of ratios and proportions to the main types of church goldsmiths' work: chalices, processional crosses and above all the *custodias* with which he and his family were so

associated. He claimed that these fantastical monstrances were really architecture in miniature.⁷

The Hurst cup attributed to Affabel Partridge, London 1578–79⁸

The silver-gilt cup and cover was purchased in 2013 from the heirs of the great American collector J Pierpont Morgan [Fig 1]. Since 1988 its maker's mark, a bird, has been attributed to Affabel Partridge (fl circa 1550–80), the royal goldsmith.⁹ Much of its attraction derives from its scale and ideal proportions: its height is almost exactly 10 in (25.4 cm), while the three elements, foot and stem, bowl, and cover, all measure $3\frac{1}{3}$ in (8.45 cm) each. Indeed this feature of divisions into thirds continues elsewhere on this cup: for example the bowl has three horizontal bands dividing it into divisions of 1 in (2.54 cm), $1\frac{1}{2}$ in (3.81 cm), and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in (4.44 cm); the diameter of the bowl is $3\frac{1}{2}$ in (16.91 cm), while the diameter of the



Fig 1 The Hurst cup, silver gilt, London, 1578, maker's mark attributed to Affabel Partridge.
(Bought by Leeds Museums and Galleries 2013 from the bequest of Colonel Henry and Mrs Patricia Hurst.
Photo Norman Taylor © Leeds Museums and Galleries).

Fig 2 The Hurst cup, silver gilt, London, 1578, maker's mark attributed to Affabel Partridge, detail of female mask on bowl. (Bought by Leeds Museums and Galleries 2013 from the bequest of Colonel Henry and Mrs Patricia Hurst. Photo Norman Taylor © Leeds Museums and Galleries)



foot is 3 in (7.62 cm). The masks, which are such a feature of this piece (and of this goldsmith's work), appear three times on the foot, on the stem, on the bowl and on the cover.

Is there an identifiable iconography behind this? Threes are symbolic of many things, notably the Trinity, or the Theological Virtues,

yet there is absolutely no suggestion that this cup has a sacred purpose. Can it just be that this is just a pleasing proportion which works well and satisfactorily for this object? It is curious that the same feature of divisions into thirds also occurs on the Draper's Company cup, also by Partridge from 1578-79, with which it also shares other affinities including fine engraving.¹⁰ Clearly the principles of ratio and proportion, fundamental architectural principles, have been successfully brought to bear on these objects. In addition they have the underlying aesthetic of Renaissance design of a balanced tension between vertical and horizontal elements, and a clear sense of structure. They also have a remarkably controlled rhythm of ornament with a careful alternation of flat and relief surfaces, so very different to the *horror vacui* [fear of the empty space] of most surviving late Elizabethan silver.

Indeed Affabel Partridge, the maker of this cup, was a remarkable craftsman, one of Queen Elizabeth's goldsmiths and a Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company, with premises on Cheapside where Lady Jane Grey lodged prior to being proclaimed Queen in 1553.¹¹ To date some twenty works with his mark have been identified and these include some of the most celebrated English plate from the third quarter of the sixteenth century.¹² Although his

10 Philippa Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and early Stuart England*, London, 1990, pp 254-5, fig 145. She suggests (p 163) that the engraved fish-tailed figures are derived from Etienne Delaune's *Grottesco* (1574).

11 Sir William Pridesaux, *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, London, 1896, p 70; British Library, Harleian MSS, no 194. Manuscript notes of Gerald Taylor and T.F Reddaway at Goldsmiths' Hall reveal his apprenticeships in 1538: first to Robert Grampton, then to Mr Horton and, after "disobedience and mislanguage towards the wardens" to Edward Gylbert. He was called to the Livery in 1555, served as Warden in 1569, 1572 and 1578 and signed his will in 1601 which was proved the following year. My thanks to David Beasley for access to these sources.

12 Among them are the Browne reliquary on loan to the V&A Museum (1551); a mounted rock crystal cup and

cover in the Schroder Collection (1554) (Timothy Schroder, *Renaissance Silver from the Schroder Collection*, London, 2007, pp 139-41); the Trenchard nautilus cup in the V&A Museum (1557) (Philippa Glanville, *op cit*, see note 10, pp 398-9); the Goodricke cup in the British Museum (1563) (Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, New Haven and London, 1997, p 202); the twelve Labours of Hercules engraved plates, also once owned by J Pierpont Morgan (1567) (Timothy Schroder, *The Francis E Fowler Jr Collection of Silver*, Los Angeles, 1991, pp 15-16); the Vintners' Company salt (1569) (Sophia Lee, *The Worshipful Company of Vintners, a Catalogue of Plate*, London, 1996, pp 24-25); Archbishop Parker's tankard at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (1572) (Oliver Rackham, *Treasures of Silver at Corpus Christi College*, Cambridge, 2002, pp 87-88 (and possibly its

apparent 'twin' in the Schroder Collection (Timothy Schroder, *ibid*, pp 13-14); 'Queen Elizabeth's Salt' among the royal regalia in the Tower of London (1572) (Arthur Grimwade, 'The Plate Catalogue', Claude Blair (ed), *The Crown Jewels*, London, 1998); the Bacon cups in the British Museum (1574) (Philippa Glanville, *op cit*, see note 10, pp 52-53); a mounted rock crystal salt at the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (1577) (Ellenor Alcorn, *English Silver in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, 1993, vol 1, pp 58-60); the Drapery Company cup (1578) (Philippa Glanville, *op cit*, see note 10, pp 254-5); and the Glynne cup (1579) (Philippa Glanville, *op cit*, see note 10, p 167). Post Script: Timothy Schroder has reported a fine mounted stoneware tankard with characteristic Partridge features, circa 1558, at the Middle Temple *Silver Society Newsletter* no 86, September 2014, p 4.

- 13 Sophia Lee, *op cit*, see note 10, pp 24–5.
 14 Arthur Grimwade, *op cit*, see note 10, pp 283–93.
 15 Philippa Glanville, *op cit*, see note 10, p163.
 16 Lien Bich Luu, 'Aliens and their impact on the goldsmiths' craft in London in the sixteenth century', David Mitchell (ed.), *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers: innovation and the transfer of skill 1550 to 1750*, London, Centre for Metropolitan History Working Papers Series, no 2, 1995, pp 43–52, esp p 45.
 17 Christopher Harrop, 'German Silver in England', Patrick Eyres and James Lomax (eds), *Diplomats, Goldsmiths and Baroque Court Culture: Lord Raby in Berlin, The Hague and Wentworth Castle*, Barnsley, 2014, pp159–171.
 18 C R Ashbee (trans), *The Treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on Goldsmithing and Sculpture*, London, 1888, (Whitefish, Montana reprint, 2006), ch XXII, pp 87–88

surviving work is quite diverse it is characterised not only by a sense of proportion and scale, fine engraving by independent masters based on grotesque and narrative sources, but also a remarkably sophisticated use of sculptural ornament including cast masks. In at least two additional cases, the Vintners' Company salt (1569–70),¹³ and 'Queen Elizabeth's salt' from the coronation and banqueting regalia in the Tower of London (1572–73),¹⁴ he incorporates chased figurative panels taken directly from plaquettes carved in boxwood or honestone or modelled as lead patterns by the Augsburg sculptor and designer Pieter Flotner (1485–1546). For the Vintners' salt they represent the four Cardinal Virtues: Justice, Fortitude, Temperance and Chastity, and for 'Queen Elizabeth's salt' the three Theological Virtues: Faith, Hope and Charity.

All this suggests that this goldsmith must have had a close association with the Continent, possibly employing journeymen from centres of fine craftsmanship in France, Germany or

the Low Countries, or importing significant plate which may have influenced his workshop style.¹⁵ The numbers of alien goldsmiths working in London in Elizabeth's reign were considerable: it has been estimated that there were at least 500 active between 1558 and 1598.¹⁶ In addition, the custom for foreign goldsmiths to gain experience through their *wanderjahre* [year of travel abroad] encouraged many from the Protestant centres to come to London for varying periods. The wars in the Netherlands produced religious and economic refugees who brought with them new ideas in design and technical accomplishment. At the same time there was a thriving market for sophisticated 'Almain' plate from Germany,¹⁷ as well as from Flanders and France.

In the case of the Hurst cup at Temple Newsam one of the most distinctive features is the use of cast grotesque masks, both male and female, bearded and clean shaven, human and mythological, applied sequentially on the foot, stem, bowl and cover. Very similar but not identical masks appear on a number of Partridge's objects (and also possibly on other pieces apparently marked by different makers). In this case they are contained within consistent chased strapwork cartouches on the foot and cover, engraved roundels on the bowl and further strapwork cartouches on the stem. If they are indeed unique it would follow that each mask would have been individually modelled in wax, and then cast by *cire-perdue* [lost wax process] and without the use of an intermediary mould.¹⁸ In other words, because the masks are so small and not difficult to model, and because no more than a single one was ever going to be required, they were probably cast directly from the unique wax model which would have been destroyed in the process.

The cast masks on the bowl in particular are exceptionally well modelled, ultimately deriving from Renaissance grotesques. In this case



Fig 3 The Hurst cup, silver gilt, London, 1578, maker's mark attributed to Affabel Partridge, detail of wild man mask on bowl. (Bought by Leeds Museums and Galleries 2013 from the bequest of Colonel Henry and Mrs Patricia Hurst. Photo Norman Taylor © Leeds Museums and Galleries.)



Fig 4 The Hurst cup, silver gilt, London, 1578, maker's mark attributed to Affabel Partridge, detail of cover. (Bought by Leeds Museums and Galleries 2018 from the bequest of Colonel Henry and Mrs Patricia Hurst. Photo Norman Taylor © Leeds Museums and Galleries.)

there are perhaps some affinities with designs by Erasmus Hornick (d1583) or Matthias Zundt (1498-1586), both associated with the workshop of Wenzel Jamnitzer (1507/8-1585).

The exquisite and subtly delicate engraving on this cup is equally remarkable. It consists of an interweaving rhythm of shaded and hatched scrolls, recalling the moresques or arabesques engraved by Thomas Geminus (1510-62), and Peter Flotner (1485-1546) but with additional exotic chimeras, winged horses, birds and insects more akin to the grotesques of Etienne Delaune (1518-95). Indeed since Flotner's plaquettes were evidently circulating in Partridge's workshop in the 1560s and 1570s it can be assumed his engraved designs could

have been found there also. The same engraver may well have worked under Partridge to decorate the Drapers' cup for it shows the same delicate use of the burin. Partridge also used the highly skilled but still-unidentified foreign engraver known by his initials P over M signed on three of the twelve plates depicting the Labours of Hercules in the Fowler Collection (1567-68) (based on prints by Heinrich Aldegrever).¹⁹

Indeed the identity of the many foreign craftsmen, including modeller-sculptors and engravers, working in London at this time, is almost impossible to establish. Nicaise Roussel, a migrant craftsman from Bruges from at least 1573, whose grotesque designs were published as late as 1623, has been credited both as the source and as the artist responsible for a number of engraved pieces, including the Mostyn flagon at Temple Newsam, on the basis of his distinctive style, but it would be hazardous to make an attribution to him in this case.²⁰ Clearly there is a distinct hand at work on a number of pieces such as the Magdalen cup at Manchester Art Gallery²¹ and the tankard in the Schroder Collection,²² but it was not the same engraver working on the Hurst or the Drapers' cups. It is remarkable that this delicate engraving style, often entirely enveloping a silver object, is without parallel elsewhere in Europe at this time when three dimensional chased or cast decoration was ubiquitous.²³

The cast masks on the bowl appear to represent a serene goddess-like female head with bunched earpieces and ringlets [Fig 2]; followed by an aggressive 'wild man', or satyr; and then a devilish he-goat [Fig 3]. On the cover there are three human masks, of indeterminate but perhaps feminine gender; one with a slender face; the second with a fuller more middle-aged face; and the third with a balding head with pouched cheeks and pouting lips [Fig 4]. On the foot one of the heads is a naïf young male; the second a hirsute half

¹⁹ Charles Oman, *English Engraved Silver 1150-1900*, London, 1978; Ellenor Alcorn, *op cit*, see note 10, pp 48-52.

²⁰ Charles Oman, 'Nicaise Roussel and the Mostyn Flagons', *Leeds Arts Calendar*, no 83, 1978, pp 4-8. Recent opinion has discounted some of Oman's attributions on the basis of considerable differences in style and handling among the different examples (Philippe Glanville, *op cit*, see note 8, p 166).

²¹ Philippe Glanville, *op cit*, see note 10, p 272, fig 159.

²² Timothy Schroder, *op cit*, see note 12, p 77, no 13.

²³ John Hayward, *op cit*, see note 2, pp 304-5.

24 Ellenor Alcorn, *op cit*, see note 16, pp 58-60. I am grateful to Tom Michie for inspecting and photographing the masks. Similar small-scale masks, perhaps from the same modeller, are found on other fine plate not marked by Partridge: for example the Waterbeach Cup at Manchester Art Gallery (1557) with maker's mark W over a crescent. They should be distinguished from the large number of fine masks of a different scale and character which become ubiquitous on later Elizabethan plate.

25 John Hayward, *op cit*, see note 2, pp 59-61.

26 T M Fallow and H B McCall, *Yorkshire Church Plate*, Leeds, 1912, vol 1, pl VII.

27 Timothy Schroder, *op cit*, see note 7, pp 48-53; see note 10, p 139; also 'Sixteenth-century English Silver: some problems of attribution', *Proceedings of the Silver Society*, vol III, nos 1 and 2, 1983, pp 42-46.

28 British Library Add. MS 5751.A.f.206. Cited by Arthur Collins, *The Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I; the inventory of 1574*, London, 1955, p 60.

man-half lion; and the third an elderly male with a double-forked beard, somewhat resembling a pagan river god.

Is there a secular or pagan iconography behind this imagery? Is it too fanciful to suggest a coded anti-Dionysiac tract, describing the effects of excessive wine? If this is the interpretation, the serene mask on the bowl might represent the human spirit before drinking; the lion mask might suggest the aggression which comes from excessive alcohol; and the devilish he-goat the hellish addiction into which a drinker finally lapses. On the cover the three degrees of drunkenness on women might be discerned in the increasing bloatedness of the masks. On the foot there are again three 'deteriorating' male heads: from the ingénue youth, to the hirsute wildman to the devilish pagan figure. On the stem the three scull-like masks appear to be grimacing in horror at the metamorphosis occurring above and below them.

The only other object marked by Partridge which is similarly clad with masks, with which it is possible to make a comparison at this present time, is the 1577-78 salt at the Museum of Fine Boston.²⁴ Here a figure of Venus holding a wreath, accompanied by two putti, is enclosed in a rock crystal cylinder. She is protected by four female caryatid figures, while on the foot are four mask heads again; and another four on the cover. These are all individually modelled and, although they appear to correspond in type, they are all different. Hence there are two bearded males, one crowned and one bare-headed, and two females, one with a wimple, the other bare-headed. They all appear to display different emotions: some are happy, even laughing, and others sad. Are they commenting on the scene of Venus entrapped within her rock crystal cage? At all events they appear to be different models to those seen on the Temple Newsam cup.

This might suggest that there were a number of freelance modellers and craftsmen perhaps working primarily for one master goldsmith, but also sometimes for others, providing either cast masks, or at least models, and indeed other sculptural elements, which may also have included figures and caryatids, even apostles for spoon terminals, as required? If so, their names and their working methods are unknown although some of their source material can be surmised. For larger scale work, and if they were following Continental working practices, they would have used lead casting patterns or carved wood plaquettes for sand casting or even for hammering from sheet silver. These survive in considerable quantities in Europe but must surely have been used in England too.²⁵

There are other cast elements too which appear to be repeated on Partridge's work and that of other fine goldsmiths, not least elements of the stem and foot. The concave fluting and overhanging lobes in the Hurst cup are found again on Partridge's Glynne cup (1579-80), and his Goodricke cup (1563-64); a variation of it is found on the St Michael-le-Belfry cup of 1558-59 (maker's mark: indecipherable).²⁶ The possibility that a Continental journeyman craftsman may be responsible for these, and other elements such as the bulbous stems, has been suggested by the very similar designs which appear on a serpentine cup from Frankfurt circa 1580 and a gilt cup from Strasbourg circa 1555.²⁷

Turning from the questions of style and authorship it is interesting to speculate on the possible early provenance of this piece. Partridge was a royal goldsmith supplying plate to the Jewel House and its Keeper John Astley, from at least 1560, when he and another goldsmith Robert Brandon received 4,000 oz (124.44 kg) of old and unserviceable plate for making into New Year or diplomatic gifts over the next few years.²⁸ The complexities of this transaction are difficult to follow but it is clear that both Brandon and Partridge had ceased to

be royal goldsmiths by July 1579 and that all the bullion from the 1560 transfer had been used, perhaps much of it in the previous three years.²⁹ The documents are entirely between Brandon and the Jewel House, perhaps implying that Partridge was either dead or in retirement by this date. Partridge is referred to elsewhere in the Jewel House records: his delivery of three gilt salts “of French making” in 1575/6 indicates he also dealt in high quality imported plate.³⁰

It would be tempting to think the Hurst cup might have been a New Year’s gift to a courtier but unfortunately the records cannot substantiate this. Assuming that the date letter A found here came into effect when the new Goldsmiths’ Company Wardens were elected on 19 May 1578 (St Dunstan’s day) and remained in force for the following twelve months one might attempt to find a gift of a cup weighing 16 oz (497 g) during that period. The New Year gifts for 1578 are generally unspecific, merely recording quantities “in guilt plate”, sometimes “from our store”, to courtiers. Many of them state “Brandon” implying they had been made by the other royal goldsmith, and there is no mention of Partridge. In August the Queen went on a progress to Norfolk when she would have expected to receive gifts, and in return bestow knighthoods rather than gifts of plate. In total she distributed 5,738 oz (178.47 kg) of plate during the course of this year.³¹ Certainly the relative lightness of the cup would not make it conspicuous among the lists of plate, but its high quality might have been indicated as being for example a ‘fair cup’ or ‘finely wrought’. Sometimes indeed highly personal plate was small but exquisite: “my Ladies Cup” belonging to Bess of Hardwick in 1601 weighed just 13 oz (404 g).³²

Lord Raby’s cistern by Phillip Rollos, London, 1705-6

This celebrated object, part of the ambassadorial plate given to Thomas Wentworth Lord Raby (later Earl of Strafford) (1672-1739) from the Jewel House in

1705-6 for his embassy to Berlin [Fig 5], was acquired for Temple Newsam in 2011 after an export licence deferral and a major appeal, and has been much published.³³ Marked by Phillip Rollos senior (circa 1650-1711), the construction of such a massive piece marks it out as a remarkable work of sculpture: the raising of the basin from a single sheet of silver, ensuring the pressure was kept even throughout, was a truly remarkable feat. Indeed it seems likely that this part of its construction was in part due to coppersmiths whose heavier tools and hammers were more suitable for raising the metal. Certainly Henry Jernegan and his silversmith Charles Kandler had to resort to them when supervising the making of the Jernegan cistern in 1734, weighing over 9,000 oz (279.93 kg), “the largest and finest ever made”, since

the Silversmiths Hamers not having weight sufficient to make any Impression on it.³⁴

John Culme has suggested there were coppersmiths operating in Wandsworth, Surrey, where the elder Philip Rollos was living by 1711,³⁵ including one Adolphus Rachon, possibly a fellow German expatriate.

The other sculptural elements of this object are of course its lion head handles; magnificent feats of sand casting from moulds taken from sculptured models giving a lively naturalistic effect [Fig 6]. Interestingly they do not represent Raby’s heraldic supporters which are a wyvern and a lion rampant (Wentworth) for here the lions are ‘salient’ or apparently ‘leaping’ with their forelegs together. Among other armigerous families, however, they represent the heraldic supporters of the Pierreponts, Dukes of Kingston, and are the principal sculptural feature on the cistern made for the second Duke by Philip Rollos in 1699 now in the Hermitage. Their manes of hair and the expressions in their faces appear to be identical on both, although the Kingston lions have garlands of oak leaves in their mouths. As the Kingston cistern pre-dates Lord Raby’s by five

²⁹ Arthur Collins, *ibid*, pp 160-1 and 549-50.

³⁰ Arthur Collins, *ibid*, p 553

³¹ John Nichols, *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 2nd ed, London, 1821-3, vol 1, pp xix, xxvii; vol 2, pp 137-178 and 264-85.

³² Lindsay Boynton (ed), *The Hardwick Hall Inventories of 1601*, London, 1971, p 35.

³³ John Culme’s masterly sale catalogue footnote for *Treasures: aristocratic heirlooms*, sale Sotheby’s, 6 July 2010, lot VIII, pp 70-83; Patrick Eyres and James Lomax, *Diplomats, Goldsmiths and Baroque Court Culture: Lord Raby in Berlin, The Hague and Wentworth Castle*, 1996, pp 68-74 and 149-51 and *passim*.

³⁴ Peter Cameron, ‘Henry Jernegan, the Kanders and the client who changed his mind’, *The Silver Society Journal*, no 8, 1996, p 488.

³⁵ Unpublished presentation at 2012 Wentworth Castle conference.

- 36 Jorgen Hein, 'Au chateau de Rosenberg', Catherine Arminjon (ed), *Quand Versailles étoit meuble d'argent* (exhibition catalogue), Versailles, 2007-8, pp 100-123. I Kings, Chapter 10: vv 19-21 "The throne had six steps, a back with a rounded top, and arms on each side of the seat; two lions stood beside the arms, and twelve lions stood on each side of the six steps".
- 37 Timothy Schroder, 'The Silver at Osterley', *Apollo*, vol CXL, no 398 (NS), April 1995, pp 24-25.
- 38 Alfred Hagemann and Matthew Winterbottom, 'New Discoveries concerning the Berlin silver buffet', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 22, 2007, pp 116-122.
- 39 John Culme, *op cit*, see note 33, pp 79-80.



Fig 5 Cistern, London, 1705 by Philip Rollos I, engraved with the royal arms for Queen Anna.
(Bought by Leeds Museums and Galleries 2011 with contributions from the Heritage Memorial Fund, the Arts Fund, the Monument Trust, the Leeds Arts Fund and many others. Photo Norman Taylor © Leeds Museums and Galleries)

years it seems highly probable that the original moulds were probably made for the Duke and were re-used by Rollos for his work for Lord Raby at the Jewel House. Lions are symbolic not only of strength, giving the impression that they are lifting the cistern, but also of royalty, being the kings of the animal world, and so very suitable for an object intended to represent the power of the British monarchy. This symbolism is echoed by the King of Denmark's three lions guarding the throne at Rosenberg, in its turn evoking King Solomon's in Jerusalem.³⁶

It is difficult to find examples of such ambitious three-dimensional casting of silver heraldic figures in England before this date: the famous and massive silver-gilt leopards from 1600-01 (maker's mark: a triangle and two crosses) now in the Kremlin are exceptional. Elements such as massive lions' paw feet only enter the repertoire of English goldsmiths' work at about this date: they appear in Marot's engravings, and heraldic lions are found on the Osterley cistern of 1695-96.³⁷ The huge pair of cisterns weighing over 10,000 oz (311.03 kg) and sent



Fig 6 Cistern, London, 1703 by Philip Rollos senior, London 1705-6, detail of handle.
(Bought by Leeds Museums and Galleries 2011 with contributions from the Heritage Memorial Fund, the Arts Fund, the Monument Trust, the Leeds Arts Fund and many others. Photo Norman Taylor © Leeds Museums and Galleries)

by William III from his Jewel House to Frederick I of Prussia in 1694 (melted down in 1745) were replete with cast lions' paw feet, masks and heraldic shields. Tellingly though, the more three-dimensional fountains which accompanied them, and which sported the Prussian eagle as finials, were apparently made in Holland perhaps by more sculpturally-aware goldsmiths, and sent to Berlin separately.³⁸ Lord Raby's cistern was intended in part to show off the skill of the English craftsmen to the Berlin courtiers who were well acquainted with the highly sculptural Augsburg silver of the *Rittersaal* or Throne Room. It seems ironic, therefore, that Philip Rollos may originally have come from Brandenburg.³⁹

40 Peter Cameron, *op cit*, see note 29, *passim*.

41 Marina Lopato, 'Notes on some celebrated pieces of English silver in the Hermitage Collection', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 28, 2012, pp 34-42.

42 The sculptor Caius Gabriel Cibber (1630-1700) not only worked extensively for the Crown (and therefore potentially for the Jewel House) but also on ornamental sculpture for the Duke of Kingston at Thoresby 1685-7, suggesting a potential link with the Duke's cistern and its heraldic lions. Cibber was also active in the German Lutheran church in London with which the family of Philip Rollos was associated. Alternatively, Grinling Gibbons (1648-1721) is recorded as making a "model for a marble bathing cistern with wainscot border, with copper water pipes". John Nost the elder (d 1710) also worked for the Crown (including a clay model for a fountain) and for the Duke of Kingston in 1686 (Ingrid Roscoe, *A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660-1851*, New Haven and London, 2009, *passim*)

43 The architectural setting for such cisterns is seen again in a drawing by John Talman (who once owned the de Bodt drawing for Wentworth Castle, see *supra*) for a sideboard buffet complete with a huge shell cistern from which a merman lifts up a basket laden with delicacies. This drawing, which also includes candle-bearing epergnes, is associated with his famous *St Luke's feast for the Academy of Virtuosi* in Rome in 1711, just at the time when Raby was moving from Berlin and about to take up his new appointment as ambassador at The Hague (Terry Friedman, 'The English Appreciation of Italian Decorations', *Burlington Magazine*, December 1975, pp 84-5. Fountains with basins or cisterns in the form of shells can be seen as part of the architectural arrangement for Foggini's statue of Queen Anne (Terry Friedman, 'Foggini's Statue of Queen Anne', *Kunst des Barock in der Toscano: Studien zur Kunst unter der letzten Medici*, Munich, 1976).

44 James Lomax, 'The Ambassador's Plate Revisited', Patrick Eyres and James Lomax, *op cit*, see note 33, pp 65-87

45 The crest is that of Jodrell, probably for Gilbert Jodrell (circa 1714-72) of Duffield, Derbyshire, a lawyer with city interests. Jodrell and his wife were keen buyers of rococo silver: examples of their plate are found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Sarah Jodrell (1742-93) daughter of Gilbert Jodrell of Ankerwyke, Bucks, married Robert Child of Osterley in 1763 and a set of dinner plates by George Hindmarsh, 1740, re-engraved with their arms is at Osterley (*National Trust Historic Houses & Collections Annual 2014*, published in association with *Apollo Magazine*, July 2014 p 65).

46 P A S Phillips, *Poul de Lomerie, Citizen and Goldsmith of London. A Study of his Life and Work 1688-1751*, London, 1935, p 109.

All the cast elements on the Raby cistern including the stylised shells, the gadrooned border and even the lobes are repeated again on a smaller scale on the 1701-2 small cistern "to wash glasses in" at Dunham Massey. Clearly there was a master modeller at work providing Rollos with moulds from which casts could be made. The fact that he may have been a leading sculptor is suggested by the evidence given at the trial *Henry Jernegan v Littleton Poyntz Meynell* of 1738.⁴⁰ Here the patron

commissioned several curious Draftsmen and consulted with them and others in order to procure Drafts of proper subjects and then

applied to one of the best statuary to make a model in clay and wax.

This turned out to be John Michael Rysbrack (1694-1770) from whom Jernegan was involved

at very great Expense in procuring proper Moulds for casting the many and varied figures.

Thereafter

he employ'd many curious hands in making and finishing ye said cistern,

referring to the craftsmen employed in the casting and chasing processes. At one point a major disaster occurred when a mould, which was not properly dry, had burst endangering the lives of several people.

The spectacular sculptural character of the Jernegan cistern (now in the Hermitage, St Petersburg) has many affinities with Paul de Lamerie's cistern for Lord Scarsdale of 1726-27 (also in the Hermitage), by which it was inspired, and which was probably also modelled by Rysbrack.⁴¹ But these examples belong to the next generation of silver cisterns and the question still remains, who was the sculptor capable of making models for the Rollos workshop in 1705?⁴²

Whoever he was, he was certainly a pioneer: by the time the Burghley cistern came to be made

just a very few years later by Philip Rollos junior; there is no hesitancy in the modelling or casting: the massive scrolling feet with their wyvern terminals are tours-de-force of near-abstract sculpture, and the lion supporters are full grown and fully salient now. There is an assurance and skill which has reached maturity.

All these massive cisterns have architectural qualities too.⁴³ They were always intended to be static and in the nature of a fixture or fitting. The proposed location of Lord Raby's at Wentworth Castle is indicated in a detail of Jan de Bodt's famous sectional elevation (not entirely executed), at the base of a great pyramid of plate. Indeed the architectural quality of silver furniture (which includes cisterns) which was intended to be placed in a particular location in a state room is found again with Raby's silver 'triad' of table, mirror and two candlestands which he acquired in Holland when he was ambassador at the time of the Peace of Utrecht. Originally this was placed in the pier of the State Bedroom in his London house but was re-located to Wentworth in 1748 when it was placed in the pier of the Yellow Bedroom until its sale in 1919.⁴⁴

A shell basket by Phillips Garden, London, 1754-55⁴⁵

The shell basket whose obscured mark is attributed to Phillips Garden (fl 1730-after 1773) is a brilliant and witty object representing a uniquely English contribution to rococo silver design [Fig 7]. The shell form prompted P A S Phillips to write

nothing more successful as table ornaments ever emanated from the goldsmith's workshop.⁴⁶

All the different elements which make up these objects had been used before this date by London goldsmiths: scallop shells as sugar boxes and as ornaments on flagons and standing cups from the early seventeenth century; dolphins on salts by Johan Lutma in

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- 47 *Rococo Art and Design in Hogarth's England* (exhibition catalogue), Victoria of Albert Museum, London, 1984, pp 115-6.
- 48 Peter Fühning, *Juste-Aurèle Meissonier*, Turin and London, 1999, p 346.
- 49 Leonor d'Orey, 'L'histoire des services d'orfèvrerie française à la cour de Portugal, Versailles et les tables royales en Europe' (exhibition catalogue), Versailles, 1993-4, pp 165-170.
- 50 Christopher Hartop, *The Huguenot Legacy: English Silver 1680-1760 from the Alan and Simone Hartman Collection*, London, 1996, pp 234-5.
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Fig 7 Shell basket, London, 1754 by Phillips Garden. (Bought by Leeds Museums and Galleries 2013 with grants from the V&A Purchase Grant Fund, the Art Fund and the Colonel Henry and Mrs Patricia Hurst Bequest Fund. Photo Norman Taylor © Leeds Museums and Galleries).

the mid seventeenth century; and mermaid handles which had come into vogue on ewers at the turn of the century.⁴⁷ But their combination here, together with the decorative piercing, is entirely rococo [Fig 8].

Shells and crustaceous forms are the very essence of the rococo style, appearing in some of the earliest fully rococo designs for silver salts by Meissonier from the 1730s⁴⁸ and in the silver dinner service provided for the King of Portugal by Thomas Germain and they are entirely appropriate for dining.⁴⁹ As Christopher Hartop has pointed out these 'Venus' baskets, complete with mermaid handles, dolphin feet and borders of encrusted shells, seaweed and sea foam, illustrate the Latin poet Terence's line "Sine Cerere et Tempero friget Venus" [Without grain or grape love withers].⁵⁰ Although no doubt they could



Fig 8 Shell basket, London, 1754 by Phillips Garden, detail of handle. (Bought by Leeds Museums and Galleries 2013 with grants from the V&A Purchase Grant Fund, the Art Fund and the Colonel Henry and Mrs Patricia Hurst Bequest Fund. Photo Norman Taylor © Leeds Museums and Galleries).

Fig 9 Epergne, London, 1759 by Thomas Pitts.
(Bought by Leeds Museums and Galleries 2011 with grants from
the V&A Purchase Grant Fund and the Heritage Lottery Fund.
Photo Norman Taylor © Leeds Museums and Galleries)



have been used for bread or fruit, they would surely have been most appropriate when filled with oysters, an aphrodisiac being offered here, so to speak, from the emblem of the goddess of Love herself.

The cast borders of shells, seaweed and foam strongly recall the same features on the shell shaped sauce boats and stands, some of which are marked by Nicolas Sprimont, circa 1746-7, made for the 1st Marquess of Rockingham of Wentworth Woodhouse, and now in the Museum of Fine Art Boston and the Hartman Collection.⁵¹ At first glance one might be forgiven for thinking that the shell baskets were part of the same dinner service. Not surprisingly they were highly popular in ceramics, at Sprimont's Chelsea and at Bow and elsewhere. Merfolk handles are much less easy to model for ceramics and are rarely found. Dolphins are of course another staple of the rococo style and can be seen carved in furniture and modelled in creamware at Temple Newsam.

Silver shell baskets are associated with Paul de Lamerie's workshop from about 1743 and the design may well have originated in his circle, although a drawn or engraved design has not

been found.⁵² They very clearly post-date the years when the master modeller and chaser known as the Maynard master was working for him. Very similar models are found by other makers, particularly, as here, by Phillips Garden.⁵³ A theory once circulated that the moulds for these baskets were acquired by Phillips Garden after Lamerie's death but as Timothy Schroder has pointed out, this should now be discounted, not least because several have come to light which were made by Garden before Lamerie's death. There are considerable differences between the Lamerie and Garden models: in this instance the rocaille borders contrast with the plain gadrooning on the Lamerie pair in the Ashmolean Museum. Not surprisingly the patterns of the piercing, perhaps imitating lace, are very different. It has also been noted that the piercing on the Ashmolean baskets is similar to the painted diaper border of a Meissen scallop dish from about 1728, and Philippa Glanville has suggested a French version may have existed.⁵⁴ When looking at Garden's well known trade card it might even be possible to identify a group of them on the middle shelves of the press slightly to the left of the lady's head.

⁵¹ Christopher Harrop, *ibid*, pp 216-9.

⁵² Timothy Schroder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 2009, vol 2, pp 690-3.

⁵³ Timothy Schroder, *ibid*, where a list is supplied.

⁵⁴ *Rococo*, *op cit*, see note 47, pp 115-6.

55 Formerly in the collection of the Hon Mrs Daisy Fellowes.

56 Patrick Conner, 'Chinese Themes in 18th century Gardens', David Beevers (ed), *Chinese Whispers: chinoiserie in Britain 1650-1930* (exhibition catalogue), Brighton & Hove, 2008, pp 55-64.

57 Sale, Christie's London, 4 July 2013, lot 4

A chinoiserie epergne by Thomas Pitts, London, 1759-60⁵⁵

The chinoiserie epergne probably comes closest to a piece of architecture, albeit merely an ephemeral and fantastical 'structure' [Fig 9]. With its canopied pagoda and entwined columns from which spring the baskets and small dishes it surely evokes a 'Chinese house' or garden pavilion or gazebo. Such buildings became highly fashionable as part of the move towards informal landscape design and the cult of 'sharawadgi' or beautiful disorder which travellers such as Fr Jean Attiret reported from the East. Possibly the first of these was erected at Stowe in 1738 and often they were built in ponds or lakes where they evoked the buildings often seen on imported coromandel screens.⁵⁶ As well as being decorative eye catchers in the landscape, they would have been used in the same tradition of 'banqueting houses', as places for informal retirement, where desserts and wine might be served after dinner.

There were innumerable designs for these in the rococo architectural manuals of the mid century of which William Halfpenny's *New Designs for Chinese temples, triumphal arches, garden seats, palings etc* of 1750 can serve as an example. Even the pierced work of the baskets and canopy can suggest Chinese lattice work to be found in windows, doors and balustrades. These prints equally served as inspiration for furniture designers such as Thomas Chippendale who devoted many plates to Chinese style beds, china cases and shelves of an architectural character.

From here it is but a short transposition to silver (or indeed porcelain) epergnes as centrepieces for the dining table. Generally their appearance evokes a garden arbour, with a trellised canopy supported by flower entwined columns. An extremely rare gilt bronze example signed by Denis Rene Gastecloux and dated 1768 appeared on the art market in 2013; this was a true architectural model of a

fantastical building, such as might have been made for an elaborate national festival, complete with domes, balconies, balustrades and flights of steps.⁵⁷ It echoes the examples seen in the caterer Negri and Wettin's trade card, which also included a Chinese centrepiece in the background. The lack of an engraved coat of arms on the Temple Newsam example is possibly explained by the fact that it may originally have belonged to a caterer to hire out to clients.

For all its rococo frivolity the epergne is most carefully considered. Its proportions are those of a double cube; while many of its features are repeated in rhythms of fours: it rests on four feet, with four columns which support the canopy of sixteen upturned eaves and eight bells. There are four baskets with twelve ogee points each, four dishes with eight ogee points each and the large basket at the bottom has sixteen similar points. Finally the whole ensemble is united with beading which runs down the creases in the canopy, around the borders of the baskets and dishes, all the way to the tips of the feet.

A pair of ewers by Matthew Boulton and John Fothergill, Birmingham, 1776

In 1768 James Wyatt (1746-1813) returned from Italy and almost immediately threatened the pre-eminence of Robert Adam (1728-92) as the most fashionable architect in town. His Oxford Street Pantheon, the main Assembly Rooms for London, opened in 1772; it was a brilliant conflation of the Pantheon in Rome with Santa Sophia in Istanbul, and, in the tradition of neo-Classical architects, Wyatt designed many of its internal fittings: furniture, stoves, candelabra. All this can be seen in Hodges' and Pars' famous painting now at Temple Newsam.

It was not surprising that the precocious and versatile young architect should team up with the most adventurous entrepreneur of the day, Matthew Boulton (1728-1809) in Birmingham,



Fig 10 Pair of ewers, Birmingham, 1776 by Matthew Boulton and John Fothergill.
(Bought Leeds Museums and Galleries 2010 in memory of Robert Rowe with grants from the Art Fund, the V&A Purchase Grant Fund and a number of well wishers. Photo Norman Taylor © Leeds Museums and Galleries)

decorated surfaces in a perfect balance which Boulton well understood his clients wanted.

A Wyatt interior, such as the dining room at Heaton Hall, with its subtle shapes and proportions, decorated sparsely but elegantly with plasterwork grotesques, shares much the same refined aesthetic as the ewers.⁶⁰ The integration of architecture, sculpture and the decorative arts at this moment is almost total. John Martin Robinson has pointed out that the design of these ewers is identical to examples in stucco seen at Wyatt's houses of Crichel and Nuttall.⁶¹

Boulton's success lay in taking generic motifs or features from the Wyatt drawings and re-assembling them as he saw fit. In these examples the alternating fluted and plain surfaces of the jugs are found on designs for ewers, while the guilloché pattern on the foot emanates from a candlestick design. The tall sweeping handles and the use of beading are all characteristic of Wyatt's vocabulary of ornament which Boulton made use of, depending on his clients' requirements and ability to pay the additional 'fashion'.

As a coda it is pleasing to recall that Lord Irwin employed James Wyatt to build a new neo-Classical staircase at Temple Newsam in the 1770s, using his favourite Imperial design rising in a single flight, returning in two. Although this was replaced by C E Kempe's new antiquarian oak staircase in the 1890s, Wyatt's wrought iron balustrade, an elegant grotesque design of three reducing ovals containing paterae and anthemias, supplied by the whitesmith Maurice Tobin of Leeds, was saved and installed in the north west staircase.

since the Wyatt family's connections with the Boulton firm were already close.⁵⁸ Many of Wyatt's original designs for Boulton are found in the Noailles Sketchbook, for which certain versions were replicated in the Boulton Pattern Books now at Birmingham Reference Library.⁵⁹

The drawings and the finished objects, such as the pair of ewers from 1776 [Fig 10], bought in 2009 in memory of the late Robert Rowe, Director of Leeds Art Galleries from 1958 to 1983 and a renowned silver scholar, display much the same architectural vocabulary as Adam but avoid his over-elaboration and deliberate 'learnedness'. Possibly under Boulton's supervision Wyatt showed a respect for the intrinsic qualities of the material for which he was designing: whereas Adam appears to have ignored the fact that too much relief ornament can cause visual confusion on an object made from a reflective material like silver. Wyatt was able to contrast plain and

58 John Martin Robinson, *James Wyatt, Architect to George III*, New Haven and London, 2011, pp 131-4.

59 Frances Fergusson, 'Wyatt Silver', *Burlington Magazine*, vol 116, December 1974, pp 751-6; Nicholas Goodison, *Matthew Boulton: Ormolu*, London, 2002, passim; 'The Context of Neo Classicism', hena Mason (ed), *Matthew Boulton: selling what all the world desires* (exhibition catalogue), New Haven and London, 2009, pp 39-40; Kenneth Quickenden, 'Boulton and Fothergill Silver: an openigne designed by James Wyatt', *Burlington Magazine*, vol 128, June 1986, pp 417-21.

60 Interestingly, James Wyatt's client, Sir Thomas Egerton of Heaton Hall, Lancs, bought silver including candlesticks from Boulton in 1775 '16 March 1775 To Messrs Boulton & Co for some candlesticks £4-15-0d' (Greater Manchester Record Office, Earl of Wilton's archives, E4/99, Accounts vols 1-4).

61 John Martin Robinson, *op cit*, see note 58, p 137. For the Nuttall plasterwork see *Country Life* 28 April 1923, p 573, fig 9.

APPENDIX

Silver and Gold bought for Temple Newsam and Lotherton Hall since 1992

Cagework cup and cover, silver, parcel-gilt, maker's mark only RC in a dotted circle (possibly Robert Cooper), circa 1670. Ex Rocke Collection; bought from Partridge Fine Art PLC with grants from the V&A/MGC Purchase Grant Fund, the Art Fund, and the Goldsmiths' Company. 1994.0014.

Tumbler cup, silver, maker's mark only of Arthur Mangy, Leeds, circa 1690; bought from Barry W Brook with a grant from the Leeds Art Collections Fund. 1995.0024.

Claret jug, in the form of a fantastic bird, silver-gilt with garnets, maker's mark of George Fox, London, 1886-87; bought from Partridge Fine Art PLC with grants from the V&A/MGC Purchase Grant Fund, the Art Fund and the Lotherton Endowment Fund. 1996.0008.

Sixteen candlesticks, maker's mark of William Lukin, London, 1717. Engraved with the crest and coronet of Rich 5th Viscount Irwin. See *Silver Society Journal* no 9 (1997), p 611. Temple Newsam heirlooms. Allocated to Temple Newsam by HM Treasury in lieu of taxes. 1996.0027.

Cup and cover, silver-gilt, with transposed marks of William Lukin, London, 1709 (made in 1717). Engraved by Joseph Sympton with the arms of Rich, 5th Viscount Irwin quartering his wife neé Anne Howard. See *Silver Society Journal* no 9 (1997), pp 610-11. Temple Newsam heirloom. Allocated to Temple Newsam by HM Treasury in lieu of taxes. 1996.0028.

Three vase casters, silver, maker's mark of Edward Wakelin, London, 1759-60. See *Silver Society Journal* no 9 (1997), p 612. Engraved with the arms of Charles, 9th Viscount Irwin.

Temple Newsam heirlooms. Allocated to Temple Newsam by HM Treasury in lieu of taxes. 1996.0029.

Peg tankard, silver, probably Baltic, struck three times HS, circa 1750s. See *Silver Society Journal* no 9 (1997), p 612. Temple Newsam heirloom. Allocated to Temple Newsam by HM Treasury in lieu of taxes. 1996.0030.

Tankard, silver, illegible marks, probably Danish, late nineteenth-century. See *Silver Society Journal* no 9 (1997), p 612. Temple Newsam heirloom. Allocated to Temple Newsam by HM Treasury in lieu of taxes. 1996.0031.

Chocolate cup and cover, gold, maker's mark only of Ralph Leake struck three times, circa 1690. Ex Earls of Derby Collection. Allocated to Temple Newsam by HM Treasury in lieu of taxes. 2002.0082.

Steeple cup, silver-gilt, maker's mark CB conjoined, London, 1607-8. Ex Cassell Collection. Bought with grants from the V&A/MLA Purchase Grant Fund and the Art Fund. 2005.0004.

Tea canister, silver, makers' marks of William and Aaron Lestourgeon, 1768-69, engraved with the arms of Col Sir Paul Pechell and his wife *en accolé*. Bought from Marks Antiques with grants from the V&A/MLA Purchase Grant Fund and the Art Fund. 2007.0068.

Cup, silver gilt, maker's mark of John Figg, London 1842-43. Given by Lady Marjorie Gilbert through the American Friends of the Art Fund. 2009.0034

Ewer, Chinese porcelain, with unmarked niello and silver mounts, circa 1600. Given by Lady Marjorie Gilbert through the American Friends of the Art Fund. 2009.0035.

Pair of ewers, silver, from a design by James Wyatt, makers' marks of Matthew Bolton and John Fothergill, Birmingham, 1776. Engraved with the arms of Tighe, Co Kilkenny. Bought from Christopher Hartop in memory of Robert

Rowe, with grants from the V&A/MLA Purchase Grant Fund, the Art Fund, the Leeds Art Collections Fund and private contributions. 2009.0107.

Epergne, silver, maker's mark for Thomas Pitts, 1759-60. Bought from Kenneth Neame with grants from the Heritage Lottery Fund, the V&A/MLA Purchase Grant Fund and Arnold Burton. 2011.0321.

Wine cooler or cistern (the Raby cistern), silver, maker's mark of Philip Rollos, London, 1705-6. Engraved with the royal arms of Queen Anne and made for Lord Raby's embassy to Berlin. Bought after an Export Licence deferral with grants from the National Heritage Memorial Fund, the Art Fund, the Leeds Art Fund, the J Paul Getty Charitable Trust, the Monument Trust, the Jacob Rothschild Foundation, the Goldsmiths' Company, Tomasso Brothers, Arnold Burton and Patrick Walker and other private donations. 2011.0321.

Cup and cover (the Hurst cup), silver-gilt, maker's mark of Affabel Partridge, London, 1578-79. Ex Pierpont Morgan Collection.

Bought from Koopman Rare Art from the bequest of Lt Col Henry and Marjorie Hurst. 20012.0317.

Shell basket, silver, maker's mark of Phillips Garden, London, 1754-55. Engraved with the arms of Jodrell of Duffield, Derbyshire. Bought from Christopher Hartop with grants from the Hurst Bequest Fund, the V&A Purchase Grant Fund, the Art Fund, and the Leeds Art Fund.

Workbox, ebony etc and silver, makers' marks of Reily and Storer, London, 1828-29. Inlaid in silver with the cypher and coronet of Frances Baroness Muncaster (née Ramsden). Bought from Peter Cameron from the Hurst Bequest. 2012.0472.

Porringer (or quaich), silver, maker's mark of George Lawrence Connell, Birmingham, 1924. Bequeathed by Dr Terry Friedman. 2014.0065.

Nine dinner plates, silver, maker's mark for Edward Wakelin, London, 1758-59. Engraved with the arms of Charles, 9th Viscount Irwin.

Temple Newsam heirloom. Bought from Thomas Coulborn & Son with a grant from the Leeds Art Fund. 2016.0009.

THE V O C AND THE CHINESE WHO WORKED IN SILVER AND GOLD AT NAGASAKI AND BATAVIA BETWEEN 1660 AND 1700

JOHN HAWKINS

The V O C and the Chinese who worked in silver and gold at Nagasaki and Batavia between 1660 and 1700

This article will be published in two parts: the first considers Chinese silversmiths working in Japan and selling via the Dutch island of Deshima (now Dejima), the small artificial island built in the bay of Nagasaki, to the employees of the VOC [Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or United East India Company] and thence to Batavia in Java (present day Jakarta) for export to the Netherlands. The second part relates to Chinese silversmiths working in Batavia in the manufacture of silver filigree objects of Dutch form, after the Dutch blockaded Goa from 1636, when the VOC was used to obtain orders from Europe for pieces to be transhipped to the Netherlands. An approximate cut-off date of 1700 has been chosen to allow for the rise in importance, during the eighteenth century, of other centres such as Canton and Tonkin where Chinese silversmiths catered for European, as distinct from Dutch, markets.

In 1601, the Dutch United Zeeland Company sent four ships to treat with the Sultan of Aceh, taking with them 450,000 Spanish *reals* to purchase pepper and the release of Dutch sailors confined by the sultan. The voyage was a success: the prisoners were released and a further result was that the Sultan then sent an embassy to the Netherlands with reciprocal gifts and the intention of negotiating with Prince Maurice of Orange (1567-1625) over future joint trading.

The embassy from Aceh brought as gifts a small dagger with a sheath of *suasa*, the Javanese name for the Japanese metal *shakudo*, an alloy of copper and gold, decorated with rubies, a golden bowl containing a lidded *suasa* beaker filled with camphor and a red parrot.¹ A letter from the Sultan refers to other gifts including a *suasa* water pot, a *gendi* silver-gilt

pot and two Malay-speaking parrots attached to a silver chain. It was agreed that Batavia would become the headquarters of a new trading company, the United East Indies Company, which was granted its charter on 20 March 1602.

The cultural interests of Amalia van Solms (1602-75), wife of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange (1584-1647), who had succeeded his half-brother Prince Maurice, were further enhanced by the death of their son, William II, just before the birth of her grandson, William III: Amalia became both his guardian and Regent during his long minority. This position gave her the money, the influence and the power to create a number of important collections which included Japanese and Chinese lacquer, ebony furniture,² porcelain and gold and silver wares, much of which must have come from, or passed through, the VOC headquarters in Batavia. On her death in 1675 the collections were dispersed to her married daughters and their descendants: inheritance laws at the time excluded sons from inheriting maternal estates.³

Amalia's son, William II (1625-50), had married Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I of England, whilst her grandson, William III (1650-1702), married Princess Mary, daughter of the Catholic convert James II of England, brother of Charles II, a marriage that eventually brought William III to the throne of England.

Oliver Impey and Christian Jorg in their great work on Japanese export lacquer state:⁴

... when considering lacquer requested by Batavia and destined for the Netherlands, one must bear in mind that there was no direct communication between the merchants in Japan and the Heren Zeventien [the V O C Board] in the Netherlands. All orders and letters to Japan and all reports and cargoes from Japan were relayed via Batavia, where relevant documents were copied and where

THIS ARTICLE TO BE MADE UP WHEN CAPTIONS AND IMAGES ARE SORTED.

merchandise to and from Japan was reloaded.

These procedures would only have applied to the legal, as distinct from the smuggled, trade in worked *shakudo* and silver when it was shipped through Deshima, the trading island that gave the Dutch access to Nagasaki and thence to Japan.

The key to Deshima/Nagasaki cast silver and Batavian silver filigree, both produced for the European market between 1660 and 1700, were the Chinese silversmiths resident in both places. The Chinese working in Nagasaki used silver as their metal of choice and they created a market in silver wares for tea and tobacco which complimented but did not compete with the output of the Japanese whose metalworking skills had created a specific European clientele for such items in *shakudo*.

The Dutch encouraged the Chinese to settle in Batavia on account of their industry as well the access which they gave to their trade networks in the region.⁵ Leonard Blusse calculated that in 1699 3,679 Chinese and 1,783 Europeans lived in the city; their houses and businesses being intermingled.

I suspect that in both Nagasaki and Batavia only a few Chinese silversmiths, with small workshops employing a limited numbers of craftsmen, practiced their different crafts. As a result, more than 300 years later, their few surviving, unmarked products can only be identified stylistically or through personal associations.

The Dutch were dependent upon Japan to obtain silver and copper, vital to facilitating trade, particularly the spice trade, in the rest of East Asia. By the beginning of the seventeenth century Japan was producing one third of the world's silver from its mine at Iwami Ginzan (literally the 'Iwami silver mountain') near the city of Ōda, the output of which rivalled that of the mines in Spanish America. Initially the

Dutch had traded with the Japanese from the port of Hirado but were moved further south along the coast of Kyushu to Deshima in 1641⁶ [Fig 1] after the Catholic Portuguese were banished from Japan under the policy of sakudo, or isolation, to prevent the spread of Christianity. The Calvinist Dutch were not seen as a threat in this regard but all the same, they were confined to the 394 by 246 foot (120 by 75m) island. The small Dutch population of about twenty families was supplied by Dutch and Chinese ships sailing into the bay. By 1700, some 15% of the population of Nagasaki was Chinese who came initially as welcome visitors, rather than craftsmen, building their own temples and promoting Chinese art, architecture and religion.

The first Chinese temple in Nagasaki, the Kofukuji or Nankin dera,⁷ was built in 1629 for, and by, Chinese settlers from Nanking or those who shared their language [Fig 2]. It is illustrated in a woodblock map by Hassendo [Fig 3] of 1745 with another Chinese temple, the Fukuji, built by the Chinese from Amoy circa 1650 according to Englebert Kaempfer. It is shown with two triumphal banners or flags flying within the grounds [Fig 4]. The Chinese Ming priest Lung-Chi (1592-1673) settled in Nagasaki with some twenty followers in 1654: a move that made these Chinese temples famous throughout Japan.⁸ Many Chinese also came for recreation and as a result Nagasaki had the largest 'Pleasure Quarter' in Japan, a pastime prohibited in China. In 1686, the Japanese decided that, as with the Dutch, the Chinese trade should be regulated and by 1689 the Japanese had created another island cut out from dry land, the Osni Yaciki, some 164 feet (50m) from Deshima [Fig 5], for the exclusive use of the Chinese traders; as a result they were theoretically banished from the mainland. In 1700, the Dutch director of trade at Deshima, Pieter de Vos, complained that although the Chinese smuggled, they were still allowed to move freely around the town of

Nagasaki.

The Chinese silversmiths would have learned from the Japanese the skills involved in the making of cast silver objects intended for export and made in a metal that seemingly did not conflict with the local Japanese export business in *shakudo*. The apparent lack of eighteenth-century silver teapots for the European market, sourced by their construction and design to Nagasaki, may be a result of the closure of the Chinese workshops within the city from 1688.

The Chinese who had left China to settle in the trading ports throughout the China Seas in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were allowed to sail under the Chinese flag; the Chinese ships that entered bay of Nagasaki came from all over the Chinese archipelago. The Dutch at this time used Chinese junks as a shipping service and some even sailed under the Dutch flag, laden to Dutch account. The Dutch, therefore, traded from Batavia with all of China by means of the Chinese themselves, thereby obtaining items of the finest quality and the rarest kind at the cheapest rate without the problems experienced by other Europeans at the ports of entry into the Chinese or Japanese Empires.

Those Chinese closely involved with the Dutch gave security over trading advances by drawing upon the rich and powerful Chinese community in Batavia. It was, therefore, possible that Chinese junks were importing worked *shakudo* and silver items from Nagasaki into Batavia to sell. It is, however, more likely that in this peculiarly specific, bespoke trade the Dutch were personally bringing silver and *shakudo* purchases from Nagasaki into Batavia as smuggled goods.

The Dutch also had a factory at Tonkin (Vietnam) established in 1637. From 1672 to 1697 two Tonkinese junks sailed to and from Nagasaki annually under the Chinese flag. Towards the end of the seventeenth century

the Chinese may have been supplying other nations with so called Tonkin wares which had been brought from the Chinese trading island at Nagasaki. It should be noted that until recently in Britain *shakudo* objects made for the European market were often described and sold as Tonkin ware.

Little is known, however, about the Japanese metal workers other than those who became famous at the time. Kawamura Jakushi (1630-1707) who was both a painter and a metal caster, was born in the Saga prefecture north of Nagasaki and moved to Nagasaki where he perfected the art of casting censers. He is also recognised for his inlay work on iron and copper to decorate sword furniture and his exquisite work with gold and silver dust. He may have worked on the street of the metalworkers in Nagasaki, the Ryuyakincho, translated as 'the street of the legal blacksmith'. It was possibly in this street that the *shakudo* sword hilts copied for the Dutch, using Dutch models, were made: in the Deshima Museum at Nagasaki there is a wooden model of a European sword possibly imported to be copied by a Japanese metalworker. A substantial number of *shakudo*-mounted sword hilts and hangers of European form exist in private collections and museums in the west, all of which have European blades, suggesting that only the sword hilts were exported to Europe and were then bladed later in Europe. The decoration on these European-style hilts is of Chinese inspiration, a key pointer to the expectations or demands of the market.

At this time, the Japanese valued their creations in *shakudo* more highly than those in silver, a metal they seem to have rarely used. *Shakudo* is created by blending up to 5% gold with copper and small amounts of silver, antimony and arsenic.⁹ The amalgam is treated in an acidic solution by pickling to give the metal its characteristic deep blue/black colour, a process thought to have originated in Japan as early as 1350. A comprehensive exhibition

of Japanese work in *shakudo* was held at the Rijksmuseum in 1998. The exhibition catalogue, *Sawassa Japanese Export Art in Black and Gold 1650-1800*, illustrates a large and important selection of Japanese *shakudo* work which allows design comparison between contemporary works in Japanese *shakudo* and Chinese silver.

Following another thread, the spread of design via access to different materials can be seen in a small pottery teapot with panels of cast clay in the Victoria & Albert Museum. This is of Chinese Yixing form but was made in England by the brothers David and John Elers with its imitation *shakudo* gilt-matted panels [Fig 6]. The brothers were Dutch by birth and silversmiths by trade, an occupation that may have brought them into contact with imported silver Chinese teapots of this type. They were working as potters in London by 169 but were bankrupt by 1700, giving a probable terminal date to this design. It is of note that the British East India Company decreed in 1694 that in future any teapot made for them should always have a "grate to be made before the spout."¹⁰

In a dictionary compiled as late as 1830 by a W H Medhurst in Batavia,¹¹ the Javanese word for *shakudo* was still *swasa*, the name by which it was referred to in 1602 in the earliest of Dutch accounts.¹²

Engelbert Kaempfer, physician to the Dutch factory on Deshima between his arrival on 29 November 1690 and 1692 noted¹³

Sowaas is one of the items exported . . . an artificial metal, composed of copper, silver and gold and esteemed equal in value to silver if not superior . . . No Eastern nation is that skilled and able in working, sculpting, cutting and gilding of Sowaas, which is a special kind of precious blackish metal, artificially made of copper and some gold . . . However those things worked in Gold Silver and Sowaas, being wares which are more suitable for Foreign than

Domestic Trade, are much better here and of finer and more beautiful art, than I believe is made anywhere else.

The seventeenth-century products of Nagasaki made for the Dutch in *shakudo*, gold or silver are cast, chased and, by 1690, deeply carved with parcel gilding to the relief. A painting by the Dutch still life artist Pieter G van Roestraeten,¹⁴ who died in 1700, illustrated in the 1998 Rijksmuseum exhibition catalogue mentioned above, depicts three *shakudo* relief decorated cups on saucers, confirming that objects of this form existed before 1700 and were of such interest as to be considered exotic and hence worthy of illustration. His numerous paintings portray accurately, and with pride, specific items in family collections in the smallest detail, in some cases even down to the hallmarks.

Was it this skilful casting technique in silver that attracted the historicist eye of William Beckford (1760-1844), a collector who understood the difference between silver raised from the flat and these most interesting examples of casting, chasing and undercut carving? Horace Walpole and Beckford, two of the greatest aesthetes and connoisseurs of their time, created unusual houses with gothic interiors, furnished with rare objects and curiosities. It is of interest that both men owned Nagasaki/Deshima cast Chinese silver tea wares and sets of Batavian ebony chairs.¹⁵

It is the shape and the decorative cast panels which are a feature of the first group of silver teapots, created by European demand yet based on hexagonal, Chinese Yixing cast pottery patterns, using Japanese *shakudo* casting techniques, that led me to Deshima/Nagasaki as the source of production by local Chinese silversmiths from circa 1670.

Timothy Schroder¹⁶ draws attention to two early references to teapots: a teapot in the collection of Queen Henrietta Maria in 1669 and another, of 24 oz (746.4g), in the Lord

Chamberlain's Books of 1679. The weight of the latter suggests that it was a cast, Chinese silver example from Deshima/Nagasaki. Tea became fashionable in England as a result of the marriage of Charles II to the Portuguese, tea-drinking Catherine of Braganza in 1660. The first written notice of the leaf in England was in 1664 when 2lbs 2oz (907g) of tea was bought by the Directors of the British East India Company at a cost of £4 5s to be presented to the king. Two years later, again in 1666, 22lbs 12oz (9.79kg) was purchased for £56 17s 6d: both purchases were presumably sourced from Holland¹⁷ (Appendix II). The rarity of the leaf, royal patronage and the enormous prime cost would suggest a European requirement for a silver container of a yet unknown form, pottery being considered unacceptable. The Chinese, always willing to oblige, commenced production of silver teapots for this new market: a market that had no understanding of the tea ceremony. The brewing of tea in stoneware pots allowed the tea to steep and infuse, thereby maintaining and improving its colour, flavour and bouquet. I suggest that silver vessels were ordered from the suppliers of the tea, the Dutch, via Batavia, the local authorities sourcing this new, bespoke product from Nagasaki. Later, with a deeper understanding of the tea ceremony, the Chinese clay teapot promoted by the likes of the Elers soon reclaimed its rightful place.

The earliest surviving, silver version of a hexagonal, Yixing clay Chinese teapot bears London hallmarks for 1682, giving a date of manufacture of circa 1680 or earlier [Fig 7]. A further example of this first type of export teapot is illustrated in Fig 8; it is also cast, of Chinese manufacture and predates 1680. The insulators to the handle are a later addition.

A Christie's 1817 sale catalogue¹⁸ of the auction at the Beckford family home in Harley Street, London refers to:

Teapot silver gilt hexagonal, with chased

landscapes in compartments, in Chinese taste, of very fine workmanship, 27oz 12dwt.

The next two lots may have been en-suite with this teapot

Sugar basin silver gilt hexagonal, 22oz 5dwt and a Tea Cannister silver gilt to correspond with above 126oz 18dwt.¹⁹

The ownership of this probably seventeenth-century Chinese suite of a teapot, sugar basin and tea canister (the weight is probably a misprint), may have caused Beckford to commission, from Storr in 1812, a silver- gilt octagonal slop bowl to match [Figs 9 and 10],²⁰ which is engraved with Beckford's crest. Is it possible to see Beckford creating a fashion for drinking Chinese tea from original Chinese silver vessels nearly 150 years after the event? If Beckford owned a set of the extremely rare originals, others had to ask Rundell, Bridge and Rundell or their circle of silversmiths to provide them with replicas, hence the number of surviving copies [Figs 11 and 12]. Was the assembly of this exotic suite, unsold in 1817, an academic interest resulting in an understanding, now lost in the mists of time, of its Deshima/Batavian origin? Beckford's interest in, and knowledge of, seventeenth-century Japanese porcelain and lacquer, obtained originally from Batavia via Deshima, may have led him to the source of his Chinese silver. Beckford also owned a Mazarin lacquer chest (1630-50), a van Diemen box (1636-39), purchased in 1797, and a Buys box (1636-39): three major examples of Japanese art produced for the Dutch market and sourced through Batavia.

A second group of Chinese silver teapots, of a slightly later and a more complex design, provide a more luxurious and exotic form specifically created for the European market. The example in Fig 13 was once in the collection of the Aberdeen dealer John Bell,²¹ who gave the provenance as the Earl of

Berkeley. It is unmarked, parcel-gilt, 6½ in (17cm) high and weighs 25oz (777g).²² The Victoria & Albert Museum has a nearly identical example²³ [Fig 14] and another is in a private collection [Fig 15]. These three stylistically associated teapots are of a crossover design, between the Chinese clay teapot and the Japanese *shakudo* wine pot, making them a later, grander and more exotic development of the first hexagonal silver versions taken from the clay Yixing teapot.

The Japanese *shakudo* wine or teapot [Fig 16] leads towards a third refinement; a taller and, probably, slightly later form of teapot with rapidly evolving changes of design to the spout, external flutes to internal flutes and the final and cheaper versions with engraved lines disguising the joins to the panels which reduce in number from six to four.

A silver version of circular form with four individual panels with single line engraved borders is possibly the last of the panelled type made shortly after 1700,²⁴ as evidenced by the simple round body with circular engraved neck supporting a lid topped with an Elers-type clay lion or Dog of Fo finial [Fig 17]. The handles to these slightly taller pots, with their virtually circular bodies, have no insulators but they may have been originally fitted with cane covers [Figs 17-19]. This later type of teapot of a taller shape can be further documented by the inscription on a four-panel example, with a stand, weighing 36oz (1,119g) [Fig 19] purchased by Crichton's at Christie's on 8 December 1948 from the collection of the Earls of Strathmore. It is later engraved on the spout:

Lady Eliz. Stanhope, Countess of Strathmore, this lady the daughter of Philip, 2nd Earl of Chesterfield married John, 4th Earl of Strathmore and died in 1723.

Another slightly earlier six-panel teapot in this group with internal fluted panel dividers survives [Fig 16]. This fluted form of teapot

probably dates to circa 1690 when compared with the simpler *shakudo* wine or teapot of circa 1700-1710,²⁵ a key example of this rapidly evolving design.

A *shakudo* cup and saucer with no flutes and two handles [Fig 20] should be compared with a pair of silver gilt tea cups and saucers possibly used to compliment a silver teapot [Fig 21]. An English silver-gilt copy, with the maker's mark of David Willaume of London 1705, weighing just over 4 oz (124g) [Fig 22] is a somewhat poor and lifeless interpretation of the Chinese original.

Impey and Jorg note a smuggled silver box among other items of lacquer, porcelain, canes and textiles confiscated in 1658 from the widow of Hendrik van Zeelst on arrival in Holland. This is the earliest reference to a Deshima silver snuff or tobacco box. The most common object to survive in *shakudo* is the snuff/tobacco box, followed by sword hilts and incense burners. The decoration to the majority of these cast and chased utilitarian boxes is Chinese, be it trees, fruits and flowers or animals, birds and insects. The Amoy Chinese temple with its flags at Nagasaki may have been a source for the decoration to many of the boxes illustrated here, thereby conforming to the expectations of the European client who regarded temples as both Chinese and exotic.

The depiction of Japanese interiors in *shakudo* is very rare, which helps to date a early, very small, Japanese double-sided *shakudo* box to circa 1660 and suggests that it was made for local consumption in Nagasaki before the bespoke export market had taken off. The Japanese, suitably attired, are attending a tea ceremony [Fig 23] in the pleasure quarters for which Nagasaki was renowned; the decoration depicts a Japanese or Chinese Yixing clay teapot of simple early shape minutely and carefully portrayed. The smoking scene to the reverse [Fig 24] illustrates smoking using the Japanese pipe, the *kiseru*, inspired by the clay

pipes of the Dutch but made of an unbreakable two pieces of metal joined by bamboo. Very small portions of a fine stringy tobacco preparation, *kizami*, were smoked as an adjunct to the tea ceremony using the traditional incense tray and burner.

The rarest Chinese tobacco or snuff box of almost exactly this shape and size must be the illustrated double-sided gold box [Figs 25 and 26]. This is possibly the earliest known gold box associated with the use of tobacco, constructed for any culture, Eastern or European, and from its small size, made between 1650-1660. The decoration is sharp and precise and is contained in a simple oval as in the case of the Japanese *shakudo* box. The technique is slightly different as the gold box is, in part, embossed from the inside [Fig 27]. Importantly for a Chinese attribution, the centre of the lid is decorated with the Amoy Chinese temple with its banners, replacing the Japanese scenes on the *shakudo* box.

The oval, domed-lid, hinged, silver snuff box in the Chait Collection dates from circa 1685 and bears a mark I O in a shaped reserve struck twice in the lid [Fig 28]. It is of cast construction, carved in the round in high relief, it bears many design similarities to an oval *shakudo* box also decorated in relief, both with the Amoy Chinese temple and flags [Fig 29].²⁶

A later press-sided, domed, silver Chinese snuff box with deep relief undercut and carved decoration to all sides is the classic example of its type [Fig 30]. This type of box was replaced in about 1700 with top only decoration, a flat bottom and panelled sides [Figs 31-33]. The small hinge operates a lifting lid, the press-spring opening being outmoded by 1700.

The famous Nell Gwyn box [Figs 34 and 35] in the Victoria & Albert Museum is possibly incorrectly inscribed as a gift from Charles II:

The Gift of Charles II to Mrs Gwin: Her Son Charles Duke of St Albans Gave this to me Lawrence Answorth 1720 Who had then the Honour to be Head Butler to Him.

The shape and form of the external hinge makes it later than the push-end, spring-opening boxes, an important indicator as to origin and date, a fact confirmed by the flat, engraved base which would give a date closer to 1700.

A very rare Chinese Deshima inkwell of circa 1680²⁷ [Fig 36] bearing only the London maker's mark I B, 7 in (18 cm) wide, weighing 20 oz 10 dwt (637g) is unusual as most known surviving items seem to be associated with smoking or tea. There is a silver-gilt bowl in the Royal Collection which is described as Chinese, dating from the late seventeenth century,²⁸ which should be compared to a similar bowl without handles copied to make a pair then put on stands by Paul Storr in 1810 [Fig 37].²⁹ The purpose of these lidded bowls is unknown but they may have been made as bespoke items for the Indian, as distinct to the Dutch, market.

I have been unable to discover a *shakudo* rosewater sprinkler to compare with a magnificent pair of seventeenth-century rosewater sprinklers [Fig 38], possibly from an early toilet service, which incorporate cast, undercut and parcel-gilt decoration of the finest quality. The dating of this pair is helped by the survival of a similar sprinkler in the Victoria & Albert Museum made for the Indian market and bearing the coat of arms of William, 2nd Earl of Desmond and 3rd Earl of Denbigh, thereby giving a date between 1669 and 1685. The lack of a *shakudo* example poses the question: were these sprinklers sold through the Chinese island at Nagasaki? A contemporary drawing of a mixed marriage in Batavia before 1700 has an illustrative sketch of just such a sprinkler in use at a wedding.

Also for dispensing scent, I illustrate a pair of cast panel, internally-fluted, unmarked silver scent bottles, one of which is Chinese and inscribed, the other appears to be a cast copy. They are fitted with screw-in, reversible

stoppers [Fig 39]. The inscription helps with the date:

This was given me to keep in memory of my dear friend my Lady Holmes.

Admiral Sir John Holmes (circa 1640-1683) married Margaret Lowther (1648-1694) at St Martin-in-the-Fields in 1668, an event remarked upon by Pepys:

she a mighty pretty well disposed lady and [of] good fortune

he “an idle rascal proud and with little”.

The pair of scent bottles, the Nell Gwyn box and the Strathmore teapot bear inscriptions that suggest that these cast Chinese objects from Deshima were considered as valued curios by the late seventeenth century.

APPENDIX I:

A list of recorded or surviving silver or silver gilt teapots and associated tea wares based on Chinese clay hexagonal Yixing originals:

1. Beckford sale, Christie's, 9 November 2012. May 1817, at 6 Upper Harley Street, the family's London town house. A silver gilt, six-sided, “hexagonal teapot”, unusually with no marks, stated “weight 27 oz 12 dwt.” This may have remained with Beckford until his death. In the 1844 Lansdown House Inventory under silver gilt are listed, “G25 Tea pot Chinese pattern, G26 Teapot Chinese pattern, G27 Tea caddy China pattern and G28 Tea Cup and saucer Chinese pattern . . .” One of these teapots may be an unmarked silver-gilt teapot with later insulators catalogued as English, sold at Sotheby's, 1 February 1969 and again on 22 October 1970 (lot 95). When sold at Christie's on 20 October 1998 (lot 420) it was catalogued as Chinese but bears no Beckford crests, counting against a Beckford provenance. Now with the possible addition of the missing (?) chain to the lid, it weighs 28 oz 10 dwt. (Plate 2b)
2. Beckford, 6 Harley Street sale, May 1817, silver-gilt sugar basin, six-sided, described as hexagonal with no marks given, 22 oz 5 dwt.
3. An silver-gilt octagonal slop bowl, possibly designed by Beckford to match 1 above and made by Paul Storr, 1812, 22 oz. (Plate 4) from the collection of Sir John Noble, sale, Christie's, 13 December 1967 (lot 21). The interior engraved in the centre with the Hamilton cinquefoil ermine (Plate 4a)
4. “A teakettle of Chinese silver richly chased”, this explicit description is in Horace Walpole's personal listing of his collection at Strawberry Hill and would suggest that it was Chinese not English. It is of interest that a tea kettle stand, 25.5 cm wide, is known, sale, Sotheby's, 25 October 1973 (lot 168), 71 oz 10 dwt, illustrated in the catalogue. It appears to be a marriage of a Chinese bowl and an English stand by David Willaume, hallmarked for 1698. This should be compared with the kettle on stand in the Roestraeten painting previously noted.
5. A bowl and stand by John Terrey, London 1816 or 1817, sale, Sotheby's, 6 March 1969 (lot 146) and subsequently the Reksten sale, Christie's, 22 May 1991 (lot 24), 46 oz. (Plate 2c)
6. A six-sided, silver teapot with indistinct marks, the Reksten sale, Christie's, 10 July 1991 (lot 34) 26 oz (Plate 2d)
7. A six-sided, silver teapot that seems to be nearly identical to 9 below, Joseph Preedy, London 1819, advertised by Garrards, *Country Life*, 11 April 1968, p 933 (Plate 2e)
8. A six-sided, silver-gilt teapot by Paul Storr for Storr and Mortimer, London 1825, sale, Sotheby's, 13 October 1983 (lot 523), 25 oz 3 dwt. Also sale, Bonhams Sydney, the Owston Collection, June 2010 (lot 416). Private collection. (Plate 2f)

- 9 A six-sided, silver teapot by Paul Storr, London 1828, sale, Christie's, 27 November 1974 (lot 830, 24 oz).

APPENDIX II:

Oriental Commerce Containing A Geographical Description of the Principal Places in The East Indies, China, and Japan, William Milburn, 1813, vol II, p 531

Present State of the Tea Trade . . .

In the general books the following entry appears:

30 September, 1664,
Sundry accounts oweth to John Stannion, Secretary,
Presents – For a case containing six China bottles, headed with silver £13 0d 0s
More for 2 lbs 2 oz of thea, for His Majesty £4 5d 0s

Are 'the six China bottles,' clay Yixing tea caddies mounted with silver?

There is a similar entry for 'raretyes', chiefly the productions of China, provided by the Secretary for His Majesty, among which are:

June 30, 1666,
22¾ lbs. of 'thea', at 50 shillings per lb £56 17s 6d

For the two 'cheefe' persons that attended His Majesty, 'thea' £6 15s 0d

At about the same period there are various entries of small purchases of 6lb-8lb of tea at one time for the use of the Court of Committees which were bought from the coffee house keepers. At this period the [British] Company held no trading intercourse with China.

The East India Company's first order for imported tea was issued to their agent at Bantam,

1667 to send home by these ships 100lbs. waight of the best tey that you can get.

and it was contained in:

1669 when two canisters were received from Bantam, weighing 143 lbs 8 oz

1670 Four pots were imported, weighing 79 lbs 6 oz

1671 There was received from Bantam part of the Tywan present, 66 lbs 10oz

1672 There were no imports or purchases

1673-4 It appears that the Company bought of several persons 55 lbs 10 oz

one of whom was Thom as Garraway (the master of the coffee house that still retains his name) some of which appears to have been distributed as presents; the rest was consumed by the Court of Committees

The following are the quantities of tea imported or purchased in the years 1675 to 1686 inclusive:

1675 There were no imports or purchases to 1677

1678 Imported from Ganjam and Bantam 4717 lbs

1679 Imported from Bantam 197 lbs

1680 Imported from Surat 143 lbs

1681 There were no imports or purchases

1682 Imported from India 70 lbs

1683 There were no imports or purchases to 1684

1685 Imported from Madras and Surat 12,070 lbs

1686 The imports were 65 lbs

most of which appears to have been sold at different periods from 11s 6d to 12s 4d per lb.

- 1 Rita Wassing-Visser, *Royal Gifts from Indonesia, Historical bonds with the House of Orange-Nassau (1600-1938)*, The Hague, 1995, pp 32-33. Suasa/Sawasa/Sowaas and various other phonetic spelling is the Javanese language name for the Japanese metal shakudo.
- 2 Clive Wainright, 'Only the True Black Blood', *Studies in the History of Furniture and Design, the Furniture History Society Journal*, 1985, vol XXI, notes 'Ebony chairs are of uncertain origin date and nationality the earliest of these chairs date from the first half of the 17th Century. They may have been made in Ceylon and/or Batavia.'
- 3 Rita Wassing-Visser, op cit, see note 1, p 40, lists an important partial inventory of the collection taken in 1673. I agree that the objects in precious metals mentioned and described as Indian are, in fact, from the Dutch East Indies if only as a result of the family's connections. Amalia's daughter, Louise Henriette, married Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, whose son became Frederick I of Prussia, and whose direct descendant, Princess Charlotte of Prussia, married Tsar Nicholas I, possibly taking some of the Orange collections into Russia.
- 4 Oliver Impey and Christian Jorg, *Japanese Export Lacquer 1580-1850*, Leiden, 20015.
- 5 Leonard Blusse, *Strange Company, Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in V O C Batavia*, Dordrecht, 1986. This book provides an excellent background to the subject of the Chinese diaspora as the powerhouse behind European settlement at Batavia.
- 6 The island was created by cutting a channel or canal through the neck of a natural promontory and thereby separating it from the mainland; a bridge was built to allow access to the new island but the Dutch were not allowed to cross it.
- 7 Engelbert Kaempfer's original manuscripts for his *History of Japan*, London, 1727, are in the British Library. A modern translation using this original source, with index, has been published by Beatrice M Bodart-Bailey. Hawaii, 1999. The temple is noted on p 436 with two further temples maintained and built by the Chinese from Amoy and Hokushu.
- 8 *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-164*, New York, 1986, vol I.
- 9 Sowassa *Japanese Export Art in Black and Gold 1650-1800*, exhibition catalogue, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1998, Appendix II, p117 gives a breakdown of the alloy.
- 10 Geoffrey Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain, 1979, London, 1979*, p 28. This provides another possible method for dating cast, Chinese panel silver or clay teapots to the seventeenth century.
- 11 W H Medhurst, *An English, Japanese and Japanese, English Vocabulary compiled from native words*, 2010
- 12 RitaWassing-Visser, op cit, see note 1, p33.
- 13 Engelbert Kaempfer, op cit, see note 7.
- 14 Born in Haarlem in 1630, Roestraeten came to England, working in London from 1663. He illustrated an incense burner of Dutch form in two of his still life paintings.
- 15 Horace Walpole, *A Description of Strawberry Hill*, facsimile, London, 2013, p 63, in the Tribune, "A tea-kettle of Chinese silver, richly chased".
- 16 Timothy Schröder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 2009, vol 2, p 706.
- 17 H B Morse, *Chronicles of the East India Company*, Leiden, 2007, vol I, p 9 sourced from William Millburn Oriental Commerce, London, 1813.
- 18 Appendix I, item no1
- 19 Michael Snodin and Malcolm Baker, 'William Beckford's silver Part II', *The Burlington Magazine*, December 1980, p 827, all three items appear to have been unsold.
- 20 Sale, Christie's, 13 December 1967, lot 21. The subject of the Harley Street sale was addressed in the *Burlington Magazine* but no conclusion drawn over the dating of D2 and D4. I do not agree that D3 is the sugar basin by Paul Storr of 1812 at A43 as this survives and is octagonal.
- 21 Edward Wenham, 'The John Bell Collection of Teapots', *Antique Collector*, March-April 1951, pp 57-59.
- 22 The earliest known teapot is a hallmarked English silver teapot of 1670 now in the Victoria & Albert Museum which was presented by the Earl of Berkeley. It is 13 in (33.5 cm) high, weighs in excess of 48 oz (1,492g) and is engraved with the arms of the British East India Company. The size of the pot and the inscription would suggest a communal drinking vessel, 'This Siluer tea Pott was presented to ye Comtte of ye East India Cumpany...1670.'
- 23 Victoria & Albert Museum, M.69:1, 2-1955. The museum notes that the teapot assays up to 921 parts per thousand, just below sterling standard, and gives a date circa 1680. The lid is from a different grade of silver and the museum suggests that it may be a replacement although design-wise it is a perfect match.
- 24 Peter Kaeligern, 'Chinese Yixing stoneware teapots as a source of English silver design 1675-1830', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 26, 2010, p 52. The teapot shown as Fig 6 in this article is a final version of this form with no panels, circa 1720.
- 25 Sale, Christie's Paris, 16 October 2013, lot 318.
- 26 Rijksmuseum, exhibition catalogue 1998, op cit, see

note 9, no 8,18.3.

27 Sale, Sotheby's, 20 April 1972.

28 Canton House, *The Past Glories of George IV's Palace*,
The Queen's Gallery Buckingham Palace, exhibition
catalogue, 1991, p 197, no 174 discusses this item
described as a, "Cover, Porringer and Stand", its
possible history in the Royal Collection and the cost of
its purchase and restoration.

29 Sale, Christie's, 7 October 1959, lot 77 and again
23 January 1964, lot 63, purchased by Lumley for
£2,800.



FIG ????



FIG 1



FIG 2



FIG 3

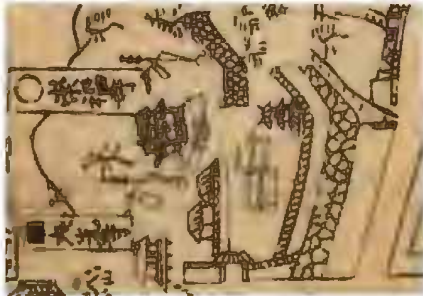


FIG 5

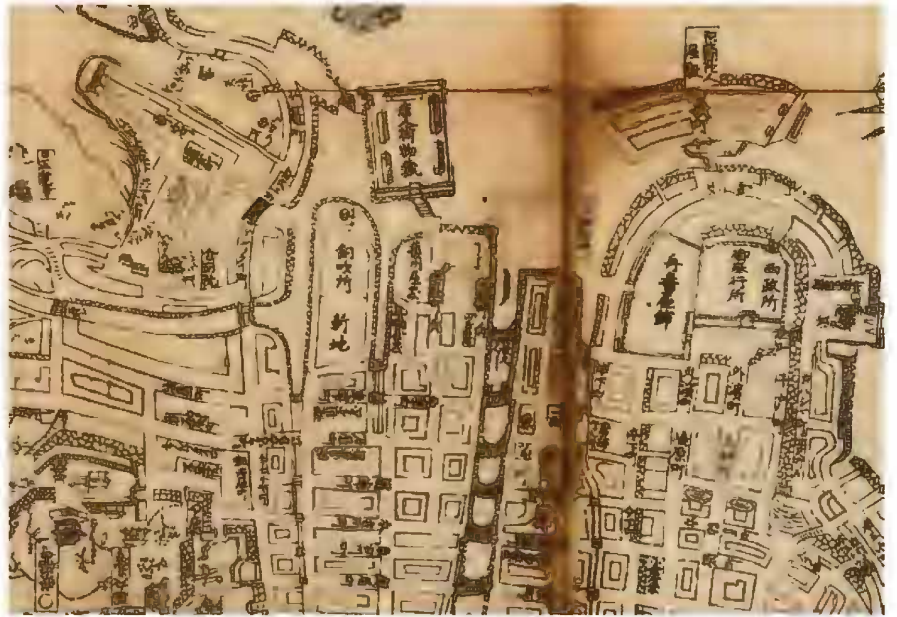


FIG 4

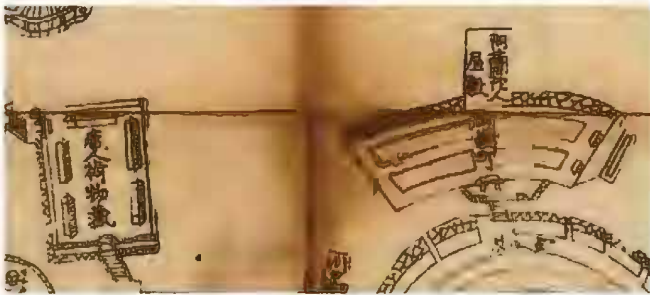


FIG 6



FIG 6???????



FIG 7



FIG 8



FIG 9



FIG 10



FIG 11



FIG 12

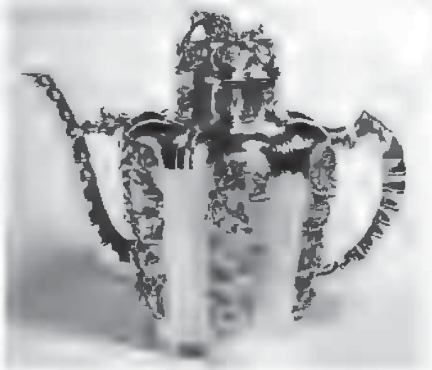


FIG 13



FIG 16



FIG 17 **MISSING**



FIG 14



FIG 18



FIG 15 **MISSING!**



FIG 19



FIG 22



FIG 20



FIG 23



FIG 21



FIG 24



FIG 25



FIG 26



FIG 27



FIG 28



FIG 29



FIG 30



FIG 32



FIG 31



FIG 33



FIG 34

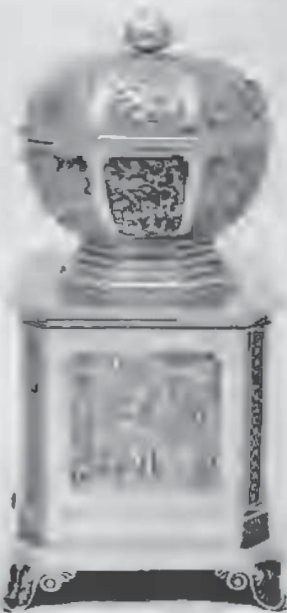


FIG 35



FIG 36



FIG 37 ??????? 39



FIG 38 MISSING

CHARLES HENRY TRUMAN (1949-2017)



The world of decorative arts could surely benefit from more experts who have had the experiences of being a museum specialist, auctioneer, working for a luxury retailer and running their own business. With his knowledge of silver, glass, ceramics, Renaissance jewellery and gold boxes Charlie Truman's connoisseurship was testament to the benefits such a broad background can give. With his death in February, at the age of sixty-seven, we have lost not only a leading authority in the study of Renaissance jewellery and silver but, above all, in the field of gold boxes.

The son of a solicitor, Kenneth Truman and his wife Dorothy (née Harris), Charlie was born on 5 April 1949 in South Audley, Oxfordshire. Educated at Marlborough, Charlie eventually abandoned any idea of joining the family

business and in 1969 volunteered to work in the V&A's Department of Furniture and Woodwork. Shortly afterwards he was appointed Museum Assistant to the Metalwork Department and, as a result, worked with Sir Anthony Blunt and Serge Grandjean in cataloguing the gold boxes at Waddesdon Manor¹ and with Ronald Lightbown on his catalogue of French silver at the V&A². While at the V&A he helped Kenneth Snowman of Wartski with the hugely popular Fabergé exhibition, held to celebrate the Queen's Silver Jubilee in 1977, although this was clearly a field that held little interest for him in later years. From 1977 to 1984 Charlie was Assistant Keeper of Ceramics writing, in his last year at the museum, on English glass³.

It was in March 1979 that Charlie stunned the art world. The publication in *Connoisseur* of his article, 'Reinhold Vasters – the last of the goldsmiths?' was an absolute sensation. He disclosed for the first time the existence, in the V&A collection, of roughly a 1,000 designs by the nineteenth-century Aachen goldsmith Reinhold Vasters for 'Renaissance' jewellery, mounted hardstones and silver objects. It has to be remembered that, at that time, as every museum and auction catalogue of the period attests, the vast majority of what we now know to be Renaissance-style jewellery and mounted hardstones were accepted as period. Indeed his article was published in the same year as Yvonne Hackenbroch's⁴ magnum opus, *Renaissance Jewellery*⁵ which, to Charlie's somewhat sardonic amusement included, among the illustrations, numerous examples of Vasters's works from the world's leading museums and private collections.

Charlie's willingness to discuss objects with the trade was to prove mutually beneficial. For instance, his article included two pages of illustrations of the Vasters designs for a magnificent jewelled and enamelled gold-mounted agate bowl alongside the finished

1 Serge Grandjean, Kirsten Aschengreen Piacenti, Charles Truman and Anthony Blunt, *The James A de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor. Gold Boxes and Miniatures of the Eighteenth-century*, Fribourg, 1975

2 Ronald Lightbown, *French Silver*, London, 1978

3 Charles Truman, *Introduction to English Glassware to 1900*, London, 1984

4 For an obituary of Yvonne Hackenbroch see *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, 2012, no 28 pp 180-1

5 Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Renaissance Jewellery*, London, 1979

-
- 6 Anna Somers Cocks and Charles Truman, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Renaissance Jewels, Gold Boxes and Objects of Vertu*, London, 1984
 - 7 *The Glory of the Goldsmith, Magnificent Gold and Silver from the Al-Tajir Collection*, London, 1989
 - 8 Charles Truman (ed), *Sotheby's Concise Encyclopedia of Silver*, London, 1993
-

object: it had surfaced, a few months before, at Christie's New York described by the owner, almost inevitably, as "by Cellini". The bowl appeared at auction in the same month as Charlie's article and, thanks to him, was the first such piece to be correctly attributed. The sale also included a gold-mounted agate *nécessaire* signed in ink on the wooden carcass 'J [?]. Barbot fecit 1765'. A memory of this must surely have led to Charlie discovering, many years later, the similarly placed signature, '1769 Barbot London', on a *nécessaire* in the Ashmolean Museum (WA.1957.111.45).

In 1984, the same year in which he married Laura Green, Head of Events at the V&A, Charlie was lured away from the museum world. He joined Christie's London, becoming the Director in charge of the Departments of Silver and Objects of Vertu. In that year he also completed, with Anna Somers Cocks, a catalogue of the Renaissance jewels, gold boxes and objects in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection⁶.

While at Christie's he organised and catalogued one of the country's most significant silver exhibitions of the latter part of the twentieth-century. The exhibition of the collection of Mahdi Al-Tajir⁷, the first Ambassador of the United Arab Emirates to the United Kingdom, was a revelation of what could be acquired on the international silver market in just a decade or so. As

Philippa Glanville wrote in the catalogue introduction, the collection included

virtually all the peaks of European goldsmithing from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

Christie's silver department worldwide was to benefit for many years to come from the success of this exhibition.

In 1990 Charlie moved to Asprey as Director of the Antiques Department. Whilst there he edited a book on the history of silver objects from ancient Rome to the post-War period containing chapters by leading scholars, most, if not all, well-known to the Silver Society⁸. At the same time as editing this work Charlie pulled off a coup with the sale, for close to £1.75 million, of three British crowns, or rather their frames, and a coronation bible. The frames: of the Imperial state crown of George I (1715) and the coronation crowns of George IV (1821) and of Queen Adelaide (1831), each had a complicated history, the original stones had been removed and, in the case of the last, re-set with new ones. As any auctioneer or dealer will testify objects of great rarity but in far from original condition are difficult both to value and to sell. The coronation bible of George III (1761), bound in red velvet, with engraved silver corner mounts and clasps, was relatively straight-forward in comparison. The crowns were denied export licences but ultimately all four items were generously donated by the purchaser, Prince Jefri Bolkiah of Brunei, to H R H the Prince of Wales for the Royal Collection.

In 1997 Charlie became an independent dealer and art consultant working for ten years in partnership with Lucy Burniston at C & L Burman (Works of Art) Ltd. One of Charlie's most remarkable discoveries in the silver world was, paradoxically, an Old Master painting: a portrait, dated 1657 of a young boy holding a cup by the Amsterdam artist Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613-1670). It was exhibited at



Bartholomeus van der Helst, *A boy with a silver cup*, 1657; oil on canvas. (Rothschild Foundation, Waddesdon; acc. no. 12.2005. Image: © National Trust, Waddesdon Manor)



Standing cup, silver-gilt, 1640-41, maker's mark of Christian van Vianen.
(Waddesdon, Rothschild Collection [Rothschild Family Trust]; acc. no. 39.1997. Image: © National Trust, Waddesdon Manor)

the Maastricht fair in 2005 where it was spotted by Charlie and he immediately recognised that the original of the cup in the painting was on view at Waddesdon Manor. This cup, made in the auricular style, was hallmarked for London 1640-41 and struck with the maker's mark CV above a wheel. Given the unusual initials and, very significantly, the fact that the cup was raised from a single sheet of metal, a construction method closely associated with Christian van Vianen's father Adam, Charlie and the Waddesdon Curator, Pippa Shirley, postulated that the otherwise unrecorded mark was indeed that of Christian van Vianen who was known to have been in London at the time when the cup was hallmarked. Thanks to Charlie's eye and memory both cup and painting can now be seen together at Waddesdon.

Charlie's real passion and, along with his unveiling of Vasters, his greatest contributions to the study of the decorative arts in precious metals, were his catalogues of several of the world's most significant collections of gold boxes. In addition to his work on the Waddesdon and Thyssen-Bornemisza boxes, his catalogues

of the boxes from the Gilbert Collection⁹ cover this part of the astonishing gift to the nation by Sir Arthur Gilbert. Originally destined for the Los Angeles County Museum the boxes, silver, mosaics and miniatures that form the collection are, of course, now on view in their own gallery at the V&A.

In addition to his own catalogues Charlie was extraordinarily generous with his knowledge both to younger specialists in the field but also to museum curators. For example Dr Reinier Baarsen, in his catalogue of French decorative arts at the Rijksmuseum¹⁰, writes in the acknowledgements

Charles Truman, the leading expert on snuff-boxes, arrived for three days, hugely enjoyable although largely spent in the Rijksmuseum's temporary storage building, set in an unprepossessing polderscape. He kindly reviewed my findings on our boxes, discovered hidden marks, came up with new suggestions and firmly attributed [one] to Pierre-Francois Drais.

The Metropolitan Museum in New York also benefitted with his contribution to the catalogue of the Robert Lehman collection of decorative arts¹¹. While Charlie had the very difficult and indeed unenviable task of describing the highly problematic "Jewelry and Precious Objects" the late Clare Le Corbeillier (1931-2003) had already catalogued the "European Snuffboxes and Ceramics". Charlie's comments on the boxes are mentioned in the catalogue footnotes and demonstrate how our knowledge has developed in no small way thanks to his work. His remarks, for example, on a Louis XVI enamelled gold snuff box with a probable Russian imperial provenance, by Joseph-Etienne Blerzy, Paris, 1777-78 are typical of his analytical mind. He wrote that

the absence of marks inside the lid [a fact that many cataloguers would put down to an oversight or simply ignore] suggests that the

⁹ Charles Truman, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold Boxes*, Los Angeles, 1991 and Charles Truman, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold Boxes*, vol 2, London, 1999

¹⁰ Dr Reinier Baarsen, *Paris 1650-1900 Decorative Arts in the Rijksmuseum*, London and New Haven, 2013

¹¹ Wolfram Koeppe, Clare Le Corbeillier, Charles Truman et al, *The Robert Lehman Collection, XV Decorative Arts*, Princeton, 2012

¹² Charles Truman, *The Wallace Collection, Catalogue of Gold Boxes*, London, 2013

13 Tessa Murdoch and Heike Zech (eds), Charles Truman, Winfried Baer et al, *Going for Gold: Craftsmanship and Collecting of Gold Boxes*, Eastbourne, 2014

lining is a replacement. This alteration probably occurred when the enamel plaque was set into the box, perhaps taking the place of a miniature of the French or Russian courts (p 169, note 7).

The summation of some forty years of studying gold boxes: the superb catalogue of those in the Wallace Collection, was also published in 2012¹². Its concise introductory essay covers every aspect of the snuff box from the histories of snuff taking and box collecting to their design, construction and decoration. One wonders, given the insightful entries, the brilliant photography of the boxes and their hallmarks, as well as the fascinating illustrations of the design sources, whether it would ever be possible to improve on such a catalogue.

Unsurprisingly Charlie had an abiding fascination with fakes both in jewellery and gold boxes. While we tend to think of fake boxes as a nineteenth-century phenomenon he was very aware that their production and alteration continues even today, indeed rather too close to home for comfort. Several years ago he spotted that the maker's mark of a French eighteenth-century box-maker, Dominique-François Poitreau, which occurs on a number of suspect boxes, was used in the 1930s by a certain Parisian dealer as his logo: maybe this was coincidence, probably not.

Charlie could almost always be guaranteed to give an opinion. Sometimes one disagreed and, like all of us, he was not always right. The questions he raised were invariably thought-provoking and stimulating. While he did not suffer those he felt were wrong easily he was generous to those he felt contributed to the study of gold boxes. It would be difficult to forget his passionate argument with the late Dr Winfried Baer (1933-2011), at the international conference: *Going for Gold: Craftsmanship and Collecting of Gold Boxes*, held at the Wallace Collection and the V&A in 2010, over whether the DB crowned mark

found on very fine German mid-eighteenth-century boxes is that of the Berlin maker, Daniel Baudesson, who supplied Frederick the Great, or not: an issue that is still very far from resolution¹³. He was grateful to Julia Clarke for her studies of Geneva gold boxes and enormously impressed by Lorenz Seelig's remarkable discovery in the Thurn and Taxis archives of the significance of Hanau as a major centre of the production of gold boxes: a discovery that at long last explained the numerous boxes in the Louis XV and XVI style struck with imitation Paris hallmarks or, in Kenneth Snowman's words, "prestige marks", which up till then had almost invariably been catalogued as Swiss.

Charlie had a wonderful sense of humour; while at times undoubtedly acerbic he was always able to laugh at himself. Many years ago, resplendent in black tie, he arrived early for yet another Gilbert gold box opening at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; he was found shortly afterwards crying with laughter having been told by a member of the museum's security department where he could find the rest of the mariachi band!

He was not only a past Chairman and a member of the advisory board of the Silver Society, fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company and past member of the Antique Plate Committee but also a former Chairman of the British Antique Dealers' Association.

He continued to enjoy wine, good food, travel and life to the full, even as he fought his illness over the last five years or so with extraordinary courage and humour. His generosity in the giving of his knowledge to all who asked, his sometimes outrageous wit and his enormous energy and enthusiasm are greatly missed by his many friends. He is survived by Laura and their children, Louise and Harry and an adored grandson, Oscar.

Anthony Phillips

RICHARD VANDERPUMP

(1931-2016)



Richard Vanderpump at the wheel of AX201, the most famous Rolls Royce Silver Ghost.

Richard Vanderpump (known to many in the trade as Vander) was a pillar of the Silver Society, of the trade and of several City livery companies. Our friendship dated from when I was a young specialist in Christie's silver department and he was running C J Vander Ltd. He was an ebullient, life-enhancing and larger-than-life character who enjoyed life to the full and was always enormous fun to be with.

Richard was an early member of the Silver Society and acted as its honorary secretary for many years. He was the Society's 'Sir Humphrey'; he managed most aspects of its business and was the dominant voice at committee meetings and AGMs. I happened to become Chairman in 1992, shortly after he stepped down from the role, and I found there was quite a vacuum to fill.

Born in Kent and educated at Tonbridge School, Richard did his National Service (compulsory in the post-war years) with the RAF before joining the family firm in 1949. In those days C J Vander was the leading manufacturer of hand-forged flatware in the country and Richard spent much of his time travelling abroad trying to build up export markets. During the 1970s and 1980s he found himself making regular trips to places as far afield as the USA, the Middle East and Brunei.

The demands of running a substantial silver manufacturing business in Sheffield and busy antique and modern sales premises in Hatton Garden would have been quite enough responsibility for most people, but Richard managed to find time for dedicated commitment in a number of other areas too. He loved silver and most of his outside interests touched in one way or another on this central lodestone. In addition to this work for the Society, he was a member of the British Hallmarking Council, Vice-Chairman of BADA and served as Prime Warden or Master of no less than three livery companies: the Gold and Silver Wyre Drawers, the Tobacco Pipe Makers, and the Goldsmiths (1998-99). The Goldsmiths seldom allow their past Prime Wardens to retire gracefully and in the years that followed he chaired the Library and Collections Committee and the Assay Office Management Committee, as well as sitting on the Antique Plate Committee. His dedication to the Company was exemplary. He never missed a livery dinner if he could help it and just a month before he died in August of 2016, he and his wife Gail (who sadly died just a fortnight before him) travelled to London to attend a lunch for his contemporary livery Prime Wardens and Masters.

Never short of a firm view on most political issues, Richard was a stalwart and active member of the Conservative Party and, even though you did not always agree with his views, the conviction with which he expressed them made them almost irresistible. But dedicated though he was to his work and his outside interests, Richard was above all a great family man. He was married three times and clocked up an impressive progeny of three children, five step-children, twenty grandchildren and two great grandchildren. The highlight of the family Christmas was always the Boxing Day theatre outing, which involved the hire of a coach.

An extensive interview with Richard, marking the fiftieth anniversary of his life in the trade, and including a very informative account of silver manufacturing in the mid twentieth century, appeared in Silver Studies The Journal of the Silver Society, no 23 (2008), pp 17-20.

Timothy Schroder

A MEMORIAL TO PAUL STORR, 1845

TESSA MURDOCH and JOHN SCHOFIELD



Fig 1 Memorial to Paul Storr, erected by Francis Storr, Otley church, Suffolk.



Fig 2 Communion cup and paten, London, 1841, maker's mark of John Mortimer and John Samuel Hunt.

In his pioneering study of the work of Paul Storr, published in 1954, *Paul Storr 1771-1844 Silversmith and Goldsmith*, Norman Penzer described the memorial erected to the memory of Paul and Elizabeth Storr by their younger son Francis who, from 1836, was vicar of Otley, Suffolk, nine miles north of Ipswich. The plaque, on the south wall of the chancel, is inscribed in Latin and was transcribed and

published by Penzer.¹ During a Furniture History Society visit to Suffolk in October 2016 there was an opportunity to photograph the monument [Fig 1] and to view the silver communion cup and paten which were given to the parish in 1841 [Fig 2].

As Penzer relates, when Francis Storr arrived in his new parish, the communion plate at Otley consisted of an old pewter flagon and an unmarked Elizabethan communion cup dating



Fig 4 Stained glass window, 1839, presented by Paul Storr to Otley church, Suffolk.



Fig 3 Communion paten, London, 1841, maker's mark of John Mortimer and John Samuel Hunt, detail of marks.

from the mid-sixteenth century. Paul Storr presented the parish with an exact copy of the communion cup and a paten to match. These pieces bear the marks IM over ISH for John Mortimer and John Samuel Hunt [Fig 3] although both pieces are inscribed "The Gift of Paul Storr Esq. 1841".² Penzer believed that Paul Storr made the pieces himself but, as he had retired from business in 1838, he used the mark of his successors, Mortimer and Hunt.

Paul Storr also presented the church with the beautiful east window of three lights in yellow, red and blue enamel painting on white glass which is dated 1839 [Fig 4].³

¹ N M Penzer, *Paul Storr 1771-1844 Silversmith and Goldsmith*, London, 1954, p 49.

² Ibid, pp 238-9, pl LXXX.

³ James Bettley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Suffolk: East*, London, 2015, pp 452.

THE SILVER SOCIETY PRIZE FOR SILVERSMITHING 2016

Awarded to Tom Asquith



Covered bowl, silver, parcel-gilt, set with citrine by Tom Asquith

In 2016 the Silver Society prize awarded at *Inspire* was given to Tom Asquith with a second prize going to Juliette Bigley.

Tom presented two hand pierced and engraved gilt bowls and a complex geometrical box, also hand pierced and engraved. The judges were unanimous in their choice based upon the exquisite workmanship, originality of design, evident functionality and tactility displayed in his work. The two bowls that Tom exhibited focussed on surface decoration and were embellished with a multi-layered and intricate hand-pierced cover also engraved and topped with a bezel set gemstone. The box is also multi-layered, hand-pierced and hand-engrave and highly decorated with tiny gemstones adorning the walls of the cylindrical box with a concealed larger gemstone on its base. When looked at from above the interior gold plating is visible, thereby enhancing the visual effect of the reflection in the layers of silver adding depth and curiosity to the piece.



Covered bowl, silver, parcel-gilt, set with topaz by Tom Asquith

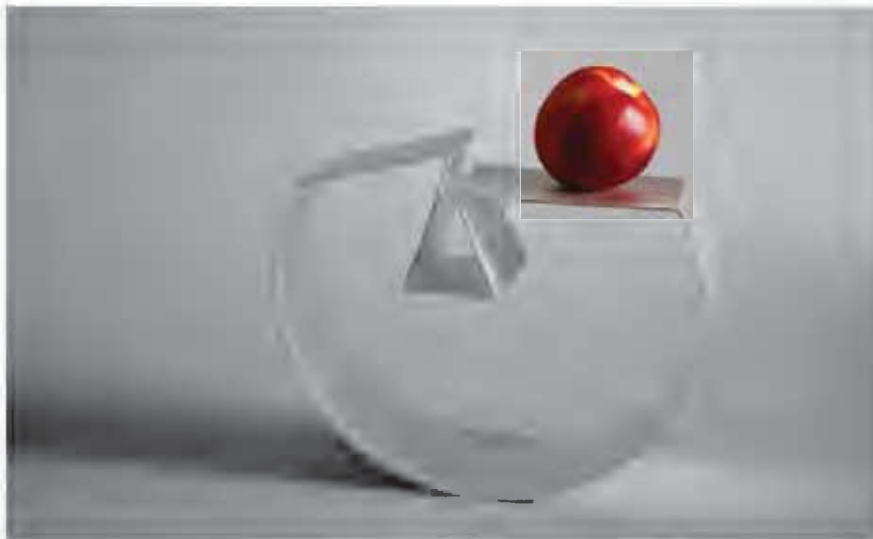
Box, silver, parcel-gilt, set with gems by Tom Asquith



Coming from a creative family Tom was encouraged to sketch and make things from a young age. He focussed on silversmithing and jewellery in his final year at the University of Wolverhampton from which he graduated in 2009 with a BA in 3D Design and Applied Arts. Following this he went on to undertake the year-long postgraduate programme at Bishopsland and it was here that he built on,

and developed, the techniques he had learnt at university as well as taking part in masterclasses with some of the country's finest silversmiths and jewellers including Rod Kelly, Malcolm Appleby and Jacqueline Mina. After leaving Bishopsland in 2011 Tom moved to Birmingham and participated in the Design Space programme funded by Birmingham City Council. Design Space provides free workshop space for up to twenty graduates and gives them intense business training on everything from selling techniques and marketing to writing business plans. Since leaving the programme Tom has been working from his own workshop in Birmingham's historic Jewellery Quarter.

A bowl for fruit, 2015 by Juliette Bigley
(Photo: Alex Brettell)



Initially inspired by elaborate military medals and architectural forms that have both gothic and Celtic influences, Tom produces ranges of functional silverware and jewellery with embellished with pattern, line, repetition and geometry. In exploring the application of surface decoration Tom uses a variety of techniques such as engraving, chasing and piercing, adding gemstones and plating to give

Tall vases, sterling Silver and 18ct gold, 2015 by Juliette Bigley
(Photo: Alex Brettell)



subtle hints of colour and create focal points for the eye.

Juliette Bigley uses the form of vessels as a canvas from which to explore objects, their characters and our relationship with them, especially the ways in which people use objects to structure and explore the world. She focuses in particular on line and form and her vessels: vases, dishes, bowls and spoons, and her interpretations emerge from the context of the domestic and the rituals that characterise them and our interactions with them. Her work is both sculptural as well as functional.

She adds

All of my work involves relationships: within the piece through gestures and the relationship of form between the piece and the viewer or between the pieces themselves.

Her work sometimes takes the form of individual pieces, or pairs or groups which can then be arranged and rearranged to explore different relationships.

Juliette, who works from London, began her career as a classical singer which was followed by a number of years working in healthcare management. She turned to silversmithing after attending evening classes and as she puts it, exchanged designing services for designing objects and trained at the Cass School of Art, Architecture and Design as a silversmith. She studied under Simone ten Hompel, David Clarke and Wayne Meeten amongst others.

She has exhibited extensively both nationally and internationally, including in Ireland, Switzerland, Dubai and Germany as well as at the Goldsmiths' Fair. She was also selected by the Design Council as one of their Ones to Watch, a group of designers selected for having the potential to contribute to the future of Britain as a design nation.

Two bowls, 2015 by Juliette Bigley
(Photo: Alex Brettell)



THE SILVER SOCIETY PRIZE FOR SILVERSMITHING 2017

Awarded to Patrick Davison



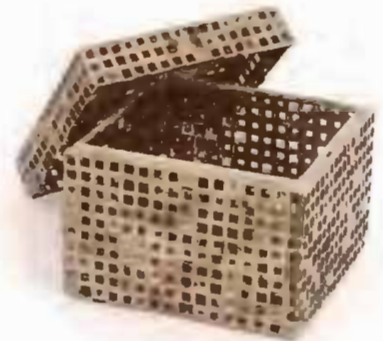
Chalice, silver, 2016 by Patrick Davison
(Photo: Rob Glestra)

Now in its fifth year, the Silver Society Prize is awarded to the best young silversmith to exhibit at "Inspired", held at the Goldsmiths' Centre in Farringdon during the first week of May as part of the Festival of Silver.

The 2017 prize of £500 was awarded to twenty-eight year old Patrick Davison, for his impressive seven sided silver chalice and his two mixed metal rectangular boxes. The judges' criteria for the award were based on outstanding design and execution combined

with functionality, overlaid with the desire to encourage young, emerging talent.

Patrick Davison studied at the Glasgow School of Art and at the Alchimia Contemporary Jewellery School in Florence; after graduation he set up his own workshop in Kent. He began to develop his own work, exploring a variety of gold and silversmithing techniques and complementing this personal practice with work in jewellery workshops and at the Royal College of Art. In 2016, he exhibited for the first time at the Goldsmiths' Fair when he was awarded the Goldsmiths' Fair Best New Design Award for the box he exhibited. Thereafter he was awarded a Goldsmiths' Company Studio Internship Graduate Award, an initiative aimed at training young artist craftsmen silversmiths of the future, and has been learning and widening his silversmithing experience with Rauni Higson and Angus McFadyen in their workshops in Snowdonia and Buxton



Box, silver, fine silver, copper, brass and nickel silver, 2014 by Patrick Davison
(Photo: Patrick Davison)

respectively. He is now concentrating on making pieces from woven wire and other mixed metal techniques including working with *shibuichi*, or patinated alloy. Patrick was recently awarded a Winston Churchill Memorial Trust travel grant and in March and April 2018 will travel to Italy to research ancient Italian goldsmithing techniques.

Arthur Drysdale



Porphyry, silver, fine silver, copper, brass and shibuichi, 2014 by Patrick Davison
(Photo: Patrick Davison)



Box, silver, fine silver, shibuichi, nickel silver, brass, copper and bronze, 2016 by Patrick Davison
(Photo: Patrick Davison)

Book Reviews

ENGLISH SILVER BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR THE DAVID LITTLE COLLECTION

By Timothy Schroder, with a Foreword by David Little

Published by John Adamson, 2015

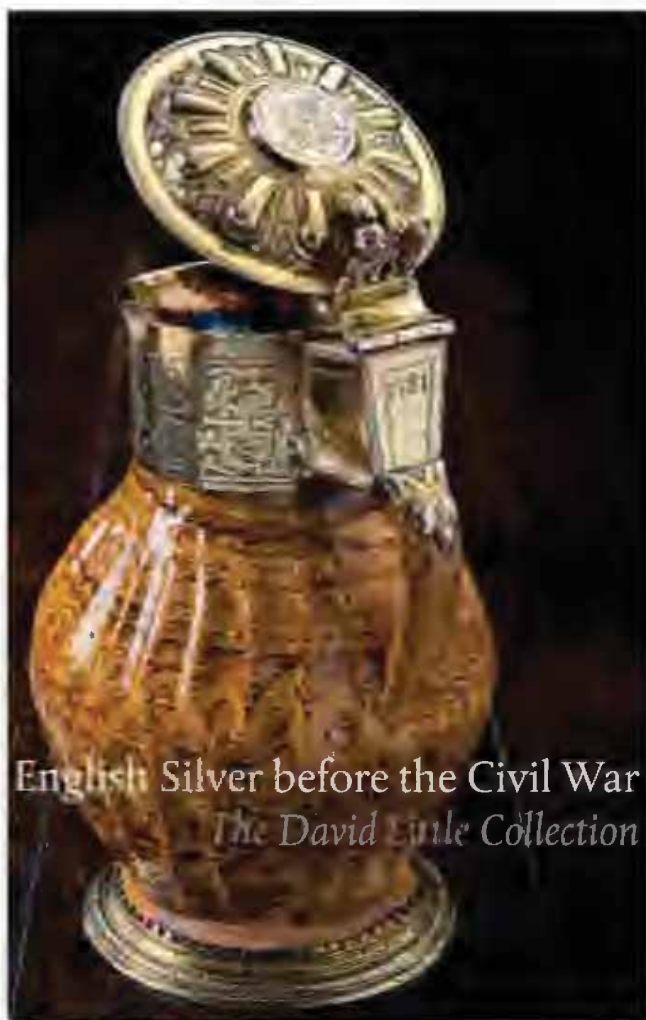
Hard cover, 160 pages ISBN 978 1 898565 15 4

A deeply rooted love of old objects drives some collectors. Others enjoy an approach closer to stamp collecting, originating in the nineteenth-century antiquarian focus on silver marks. For them the urge might be to complete a set, whether it be types of spoon, the products of specific workshops or other categories, such as silver from the Channel Islands, Wessex or Newcastle. This approach gives great satisfaction to those who share those motives and their enthusiasms can fruitfully drive detailed research, as we know from the many articles published in *The Finial*, the Silver Society Journal and regional antiquarian journals over the years and indeed from more substantial catalogues or studies of various aspects of English plate, such as chinoiseries. As well as stimulating competition with other collectors for specific items to fill a gap and fuelling the energy required for the

chase, to build up a larger and more comprehensive assemblage, these publications clearly state the facts about objects for comparison and feed wider research, as will become apparent when David Mitchell's many years of work on the Goldsmiths' Company records appear in print soon.

In the case of David Little's collection, which comprises twenty-five items of Tudor and early Stuart domestic silver, the collector's motives and joy in the material are clear from the first words of his Foreword and indeed from the glowing image on the cover, a lead-glazed and

Fruit dish, London, 1622-23, maker's mark TF probably that of Thomas Francis.
(Photo: A C Cooper. Courtesy of David Little)



English Silver before the Civil War
The David Little Collection

fluted earthenware pot with English mounts of 1558-59. This piece, like the pomander and counter box ornamenting the back cover, survives from a romantic period long dear to those of an antiquarian bent, and also the earliest era from which one can realistically hope occasionally to acquire secular plate.

Initially it was David Little's enthusiasm for the oak furniture and domestic metalware of Tudor and early Stuart England, acquired to furnish his Elizabethan manor house at Bramcote: which was the driver for his collecting. His distinguished pewter collection of 130 rare items, widely acknowledged as of great significance, was generously lent for exhibitions, and ultimately dispersed, largely at auction in 2007. Meanwhile David Little's interests had migrated up the social and economic scale to silver, stimulated both by its rich documentary history and by the curious, to him, similarity of forms between the two materials. Indeed, his first silver purchase, a Jacobean spouted ewer bought in 1991, is almost the same size and form, and certainly had the same function, for serving wine, as a pewter example formerly in his collection.

It is this group of objects which Tim Schroder has so handsomely and enjoyably described and put into context. From the first glance, the book is a celebration of the period, as well as of specific objects, and this shines through in every aspect, from the visual delights of the supporting images and the thoughtful direction of the object photography (colourful and telling details taken by A C Cooper Ltd, such as the crisp pomegranate thumbpiece of the earthenware pot) to the discursive short essays. It concludes with a short piece entitled "The After Life of Early Silver", looking at how attitudes to old plate changed between the late seventeenth and late nineteenth centuries.

For more than thirty years Tim Schroder has been extremely productive as the author of many scholarly silver publications, initially in the Silver Department at Christie's and then

writing his monumental catalogue of the Gilbert Collection (Los Angeles, 1988), through to the even more monumental three volumes of *British and Continental Gold and Silver in the Ashmolean Museum* (2009). This celebration of the Little Collection is his most recent publication. This time, however, Dr Schroder's chosen format, strongly endorsed by the patron, has powered an escape from the detailed physical descriptions which have become de rigueur for major museum catalogues. Here in a pleasantly discursive style, with careful typographical distinctions between comments on objects, set in red italics, and the main text, context is discussed. Possible explanations are put forward for the survival of, for example, the earliest object, a mazer with its mounts engraved with the three Magi: Jasper, Melchior and Balthazar, which would have been already archaic by 1600, or the later disposal by a parish church of a modest Elizabethan communion cup with the NG mark, attributed to Nicholas Gorston of Nottingham. This was perhaps sold by an antiquarian-minded incumbent and replaced with a suitably Gothic cup, spurred on by the liturgical reforms of the nineteenth century.

Silver has only survived in small quantities from the period before the Restoration of 1660 for many reasons; not simply the depredations linked to the two Cromwells, Thomas and Oliver. Fashion has always been a significant factor in the rapid turnover of silver. A slow revolution in dining practices after the 1650s drove the gradual replacement of flagons and drinking bowls or pots for silver plates and the *couvert* and very little 'old family plate' has survived in its original context. Thanks to the rich paper trail left by cautious and silver-proud institutions, families and churches, we can reconstruct terminology, patterns of ownership and other aspects of the social history of silver. This new book shares many of these pleasures.

Philippa Glanville

Spouted ewer, London, 1625-26, maker's mark TH possibly that of Thomas Holland.
(Photo: A C Cooper. Courtesy of David Little)



TREASURES OF FAITH. RELICS AND RELIQUARIES IN THE DIOCESE OF MALTA DURING THE BAROQUE PERIOD 1600-1798

By Edgar Vella

Published by Midsea Books, 2016, 228 pp, 104 colour illustrations (and additional, unnumbered, colour plates pp 122–200)

ISBN 978-99932-7-562-6

Relics and reliquaries have become an important focus of academic study in recent decades. The theological messages transmitted by the materials used to construct reliquaries, the range of different containers used to store and display relics and the sensual engagement of the faithful with relics have been the subject of thought-provoking studies by cultural historians such as Caroline Walker Bynum, Barbara Drake Boehm and Cynthia Hahn. Reliquaries were also the subject of a major exhibition, *Treasures of Heaven*, which opened in the USA and subsequently travelled the British Museum in 2011. Yet the majority of scholars and curators who study relics and reliquaries write from a secular stand-point. Edgar Vella, on the other hand, is both an academic with a doctorate in theology and an ordained priest. In this fascinating study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century relics and reliquaries in Malta, he brings to his analysis the additional dimensions of faith and personal experience, perspectives which illuminate but which are not dogmatic. His account draws on documents and objects, and he anchors his evidence firmly in a living context, detailing the bureaucracy that was required to obtain relics and the symbolism and significance of their display. His book derives from his doctoral thesis and this is apparent from its structure, which errs on the repetitive in the desire to be comprehensive (chapters five and six, for example, would have been better combined). Yet such repetition may be forgiven in the light of the enormous amount of archival material that the Rev Dr Vella brings together to show the ceremony, rivalry and splendour that accompanied the arrival of relics in Malta.

Praise is also due to the photographer, Joe P Borg, whose superb pictures generously illustrate the text. These include numerous

close-ups of the decorative details and coats of arms on silver reliquaries to satisfy anyone interested in their art, and although the marks of makers and assay masters are noted only in the text, it is also the case that, as Vella observes, local goldsmiths who carried out church commissions often left no mark at all (p 91).

Given the two violent events which have profoundly shaken the island in the last 200 years it is remarkable that so many relics and reliquaries survive in Malta today together with documentation about their acquisition and use.

In 1530 the Knights Hospitaller of the Order of St John arrived in Malta from Rhodes and they were to dominate the island for almost three centuries and under their rule Malta became a showcase for some of the most splendid examples of art and architecture in Europe. The knights also brought with them an important collection of relics and subsequently acquired more. As Vella argues (p 25) the enthusiasm of Maltese parish priests to acquire relics for their own churches was almost certainly inspired by the example of the knights, who on occasion, also donated relics to Maltese churches. The parish church of Lija, for example, received the holy body of St Licinius from Grand Master Emanuel De Rohan at the end of the eighteenth century, and it is still venerated there today, at the altar of Our Lady of the Rosary (p 35). In 1798, however, the French invasion and occupation of the island marked the end of the dominance of the Knights Hospitaller and occasioned the theft and alienation of a great many of the island's treasures, including the most important relic of all, the right hand of St John the Baptist. Encased in a gold reliquary and kept in the

co-Cathedral of St John, it was offered to Napoleon by the last Grand Master Ferdinand Hompesch. Napoleon accepted the reliquary but considered the relic worthless, so Hompesch took it with him into exile and instead presented it to Paul I, Emperor of Russia.

The second period of destruction visited on the island began in June 1940, when Mussolini declared war and Malta suffered a heavy and prolonged bombardment. Among the cultural and religious casualties was the chapel of the relics in the Capuchin church at Floriana, destroyed in an air raid in April 1942, which contained a number of reliquaries that a hidden mechanism revealed or concealed (p 96).

Edgar Vella's study methodically surveys the textual and material evidence for the relics acquired by the parish churches of Malta and documents the different types of reliquaries commissioned to display them. The process by which relics were acquired and arrived at a church was sometimes lengthy, at times serendipitous, and always bureaucratic. The parish church of Gudja possesses the holy body of St Sinforianus because in 1789 the Grand Prior of the Order of St John was allowed to remove it from the conventual church at Valetta and give it to a member of the Italian branch of the Hospitallers. An Italian friar then passed the relic to a friend who in 1815 donated it to Gudja (pp 39-40). It soon becomes clear that the actual identity of the saint was less important than the existence of the relics themselves. The Capuchin friars of Kalkara asked the pope for a martyr's body in 1752 and received in return that of St Liberata; in 1770 the parish priest Giorgio Fiteni asked the Inquisitor Giovanni Mancinforte in Rome to acquire on his behalf the holy body of any martyr saint so that his Naxxar parishioners could receive divine

protection (p 70). Mancinforte secured the body of St Victorius. The translation of relics to a parish church was an occasion tightly bound by protocol and freighted with politics. The hymns sung, the number of times incense should be used over the relic, the prayers to be said and the clothes to be worn were only some of the many aspects of the process that needed to be clarified with the church authorities, and Vella provides a fascinating glimpse into this ceremonial minefield in connection with the translation of a relic from Christ's crib which belonged to the Franciscan friars minor of Valetta (appendix VI). The accommodation of the spectators required equal care. At the 1725 ceremony in the church of St Augustine, Valetta, to receive the relic of the Virgin's hair, the prie-dieux set out side by side for the bishop and the Inquisitor were both covered in red fabric, in order to avoid presenting one as superior to the other (p 60).

Vella's examination of the material evidence is similarly revealing. In his final chapter, he provides concrete examples of the twenty-one different types of reliquaries he has identified in Maltese parish churches. Many, but not all, are of silver, among them two unusual reliquaries in Mdina Cathedral which he argues, plausibly, are the reliquaries described as "all gilded silver made as an oval in the antique style with their foot and crystal" in a 1545 inventory of the treasury (p 133). He also vividly documents the fluid aspect of the relationship between relics and the reliquaries that contain them. Relics could be stored in containers specifically made for them, but more usually they were transferred from one container to another according to feast day or fashion (pp 105-7). Sometimes the transfer was motivated by the aesthetic judgment and particular devotional preferences of a parish priest. Michele Grima, a priest of Vittoriosa, carefully arranged his collection of relics relating to Christ's Passion

around an icon of the Volto Santo which he had acquired in Rome in the mid-eighteenth century (p 37).

As the title suggests, Edgar Vella is principally concerned with the spiritual and cultural significance of relics, but his study also makes clear that silver is a metal that embodies and reflects the glory of the divine, illuminates the sanctity of martyrs' remains and inspired knights, bishops, vicars and parishoners to intense devotion. The silver sanctuary lamp Canon Giuseppe Azzopardi donated to Żebbug canonical church may have shed a shimmering glow as he conducted vespers in honour of the translation of the relic of St Blaise in 1725 (p 78), while two silver crowns that graced an icon of the Virgin of the Rosary in Birkirkara were melted down to create a silver reliquary to display one of her relics (p 87). On other occasions silver was exchanged for immutable stone: in 1801 the Discalced Carmelite nuns of Cospicua sought permission to sell the gold and silver ex-voti left by parishoners for St Consolata to raise money to embellish her altar with marble (p 102).

The use of silver in certain situations was, however, also carefully regulated by the Church. Silver medals were specifically presented to members of the council of the Order of St John and the canons of Vittoriosa collegiate church to commemorate the translation of the holy body of St Benignus there in 1726 (p 61). During the translation of the body of St Liberata to the Capuchin church

of Vittoriosa, only three thuribles could be carried during the procession, two in front of the relic and one before the cross (p 63), while the protocol for the translation of St Felicianus to the parish of Żabbar in 1757 stipulated that four silver lanterns carried by four cleric seminarians must flank the canopy which covered the urn containing the saint's remains (p 67).

Vella helpfully provides a glossary of religious and art-historical terms that are potentially obscure to non-specialists, but occasionally his ease with the ecclesiastical world leads him to skip over areas less familiar to secular readers, such as how the church authorities established the genuine nature of relics. Although he scrupulously categorises different types of relic and describes the ceremonies of their translation, these ceremonies differed in scope and organisation, and it would also have been interesting to hear his thoughts on the reasons for those differences. And what was the danger that threatened the parishoners of Naxxar in the 1770s, that prompted Giorgio Fiteni to seek relics from Rome as protection? In his conclusion, Vella observes that despite the ravages of time and war, this is a spiritual and material world that remains very much alive in Malta today. The information and analysis he provides in this book are an invaluable introduction to this enduring and evolving world.

Kirstin Kennedy,
Victoria and Albert Museum

SILVER FOR ENTERTAINING THE ICKWORTH COLLECTION

By James Rothwell

Published by Philip Wilson Publishing, 2017

Hard cover, 251 pages. ISBN: 978178130 042 8

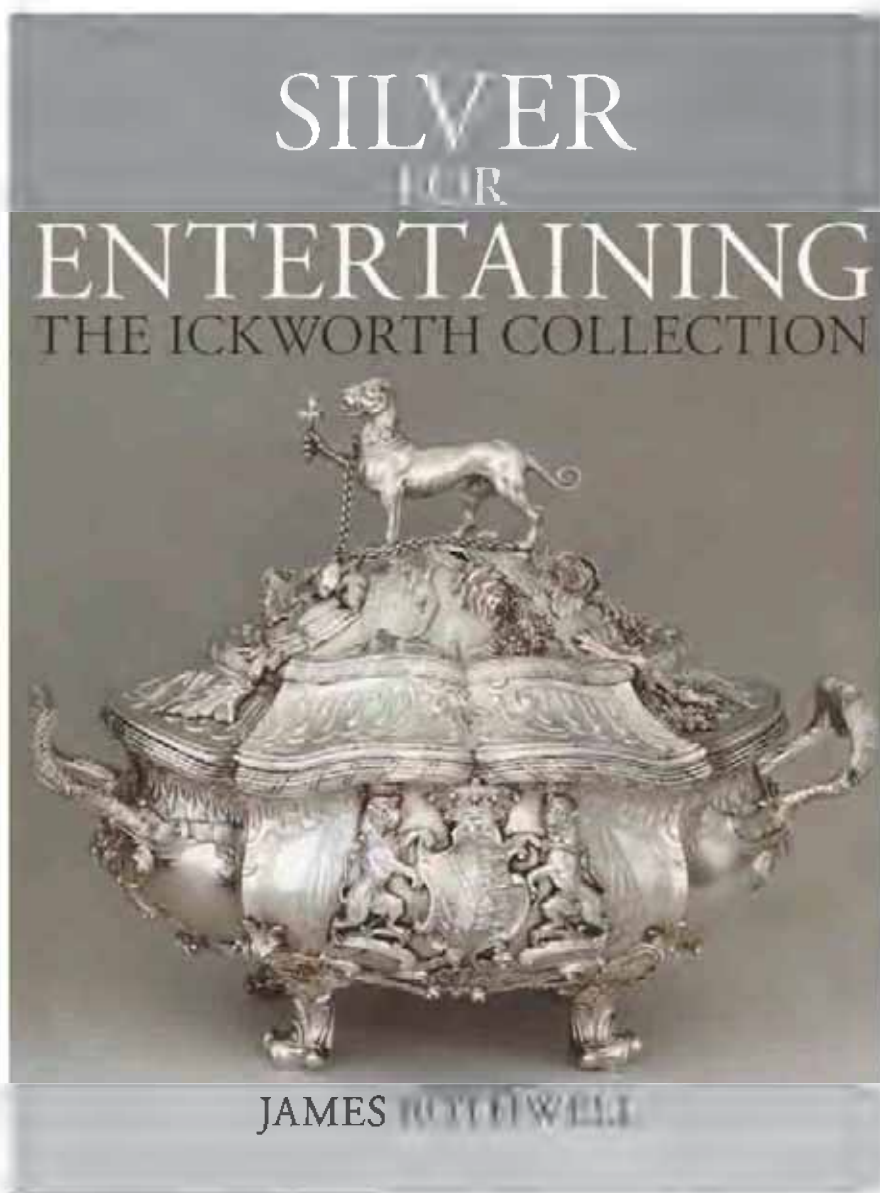
This book has been keenly awaited ever since the appearance of James Rothwell's insightful 2006 account (with James Lomax) of another major National Trust collection, the Warrington silver at Dunham Massey. It does not disappoint.

The book approaches the silver through the story of the Harvey family, who rose from

fifteenth-century Suffolk gentry to eighteenth-century aristocrats and courtiers. Surviving seventeenth-century silver in the collection mirrors the gradual rise of the family, as do archival records of pieces long since melted down or disappeared. At the core of the collection is the spectacular rococo dinner service commissioned by the 2nd Earl of Bristol to support his role as envoy to the court of Turin in 1755. But it also includes impressive material acquired both earlier and later, spanning several generations.

As an envoy, rather than a fully accredited ambassador, Bristol had to support the dignity of his office without the benefit of any official plate. Nothing daunted, he set off for Turin armed with an enviable assemblage of inherited and recently commissioned plate, determined to make a mark within the diplomatic community. But he very soon found that he was in competition and had to invest in yet more plate in order to avoid being up-staged. His diplomatic nemesis was the French ambassador, the marquis de Chauvelin, who was determined to represent France as 'top nation' and whose entertaining was famously lavish. The Earl found not only that, by comparison, he was deficient in the number of tureens he could deploy but also in that they had no stands. What had seemed unnecessary in England was now de rigueur in France (and hence in the British embassy too if it was not to be shown up). Fortunately Turin could boast outstanding silversmiths and the Earl was able to commission Andrea Boucheron to supply his needs.

Three years later Bristol was appointed to the more senior post of ambassador to Spain. As such he was now entitled to receive an issue of nearly 7,000 oz (217.724 kg) of 'indenture plate' from the royal Jewel House. Under a system operated since the reign of Charles II, this was officially a loan but in practise it was usually 'discharged' at the end of the term and the ambassador allowed to retain it as his own.





The Suffolk and Essex tenantry candelabrum, London, 1840-41, maker's mark of Benjamin Smith III. (National Trust Images).

Subsequent generations of the family continued to acquire plate and there were significant additions in the nineteenth century, including two great candelabra of 1826 and 1840 by John Bridge and Benjamin Smith III respectively, presented to the 5th Earl (later 1st Marquess) by his tenants. But this was not a story of endless acquisition; there were depredations too and, of the 2nd Earl's indenture plate, less than 3,000 oz (93.31 kg) survive at Ickworth today. The impression throughout is of the collection evolving like an organism, according to the needs and personalities of its successive owners. They were more concerned with preserving the total weight of their silver than the actual objects and, when he received the 1840 candelabrum, the 1st Marquess was able to note that it finally restored the total weight of the silver to what it had been in 1775.

The collection at Ickworth is exceptional in comprising such a large body of seventeenth-, eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century family plate and were this book no more than a clearly written and well photographed catalogue it would have deserved a warm welcome. But it is much more than this. What sets it apart is the way in which the rich archival records underpin the silver itself. From the seventeenth century these provide insights into the network of London plate retailers. Suppliers such as James Chambers, Richard Hoare and James Seavers are less familiar today than the best-known working silversmiths, but their prominence in the archives shows that they played a critical roll in the chain, influencing the choice of plateworkers and perhaps of styles too. They also greatly enrich our knowledge of the history of the objects, showing us, for example, that the 1st Earl bought the magnificent 1680 wine cistern second-hand from the executors of Baptist May, one of

Charles II's leading courtiers in 1697. This was doubtless engraved with May's arms, to be subsequently replaced by those of the 2nd Earl. The latter, indeed, had a particular penchant for replacing armorials and had much of his grandfather's plate re-engraved the moment he inherited it, thereby covering the tracks that are fortunately still evident in the archives.

Rothwell has mined these for more than just provenance; in several instances they have enabled him to document fascinating pictures of change and evolution. As an example, the 1723-24 casters, cruet frames and four-handled dish, all by Paul de Lamerie, are engraved with the 2nd Earl's arms but we learn from the archives that they did not start life with the Harvey family. Commissioned by the profligate 4th Earl of Scarsdale as part of a complete epergne, they were later bought by the 1st Earl of Bristol, who subsequently had the outmoded and redundant parts melted down. Without the archives this story could never have been told. Similarly, they reveal a practise of refreshing old-fashioned plate which was perhaps more common in the eighteenth century than we realise. An example in the Ickworth collection is the addition of elegant shell handles to a series of meat dishes in order to make them *au current*.

Although there are a few inevitable niggles here and there, such as a claim that gold chains became fashionable under Elizabeth I (the fashion started much earlier), or that the earliest known English tureen is the 1723-24 example at Woburn (the pair in the Gilbert Collection are a year earlier and the Woburn one was anyway part of an epergne), the overwhelming impression of this book is of a uniquely important collection brilliantly served by scrupulous, searching and intelligent research and engaging writing. *Silver for Entertaining* has taken the study of English silver a further step forward.

Timothy Schroder

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Illustrations are not separately identified except under certain headings such as invoices and marks.

Usually only the first entry of an article is indexed so the reader is advised to check the whole article. A complete index of previous issues may be found on the Society's website.

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THE SILVER SOCIETY

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

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

Journal subscription. It is possible to subscribe to *Silver Studies* without being a member of the Silver Society. An annual subscription costs £25 (£32 overseas) including postage and back copies may be ordered via the Society's website.

The Silver Society website www.thesilversociety.org contains a basic introduction to the study of silver, information about the Society's activities, its Newsletter, a cumulative index of *Silver Studies*, application forms for membership, news of exhibitions, seminars and events as well as links to other related sites.

Silver Society Grants. The Silver Society offers grants towards the costs of publications, as well as towards individual research costs or to subsidise course fees or study visits that relate to the study of silver and gold. The society also makes grants towards the costs of museum displays. Please apply to the Secretary with details of any project that you would like to be considered for financial support.