



THE SILVER SOCIETY

P O Box 84, Dartmouth, TQ6 6AX
www.thesilversociety.org

SILVER STUDIES

The Journal of the Silver Society: ISSN 1741-2677



SILVER STUDIES

The Journal of the Silver Society

2018

34



SILVER STUDIES

*The Journal of
the Silver Society*

NUMBER 34

2018

SILVER STUDIES



The Journal of the Silver Society

Number 34

2018

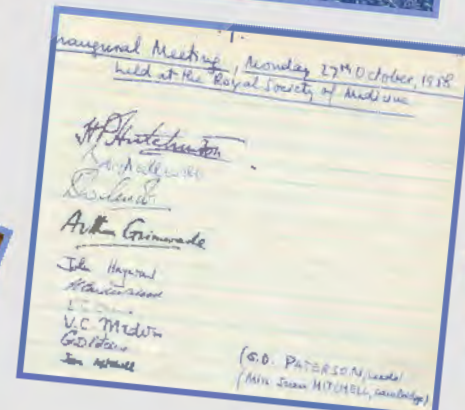


Silver Society's 60th Anniversary

The Silver Society has now been flourishing for sixty years and stands as the foremost membership organisation associated with precious metals. Its journal is the principal means by which scholarship on the subject is disseminated worldwide and I am proud to be able to present to you another rich offering of articles based on the latest research by a wide range of distinguished authors. We are fortunate in our passion for this specialism as it brings us constant new stimulation, through looking at and handling objects in silver, as well as being able to share the discoveries of our colleagues through their lectures and articles. As witnessed in these pages there is no let up after six decades and I am sure there will not be in the years ahead, up to our seventy-fifth anniversary, and our centenary beyond that.

James Rothwell, Chairman





NUMBER 34 – 2018

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

Designed and produced by:

Penrose Group
www.penrosegroup.co.uk

The Silver Society

P O Box 84
Dartmouth
TQ6 6AX
www.thesilversociety.org

THE SILVER SOCIETY 2018

President

TIMOTHY SCHRODER

Chairman

JAMES ROTHWELL

Secretary

MARGARET BROOKS

Email: secretary@thesilversociety.org

Treasurer

JONATHAN ELLIS

Events Secretary

CHIARA SCOTTO PASANISI DEI FOSCARINI

Email: events@thesilversociety.org

Newsletter Editor

EMMA PARAGREEN

Journal Editor

LUCY MORTON

Email: editor@thesilversociety.org

Front cover:

Cup modelled as a stag, silver-gilt, Augsburg, circa 1600.

(Inv no 93/45, photo no D1188, Thurn und Taxis Collection, Thurn und Taxis Museum, Regensburg@Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, München; Photos: Franke, Marianne, Haberland, Walter)

Back cover:

Decanter, glass, silver, hard stones, cloisonné, cameos, ancient coins and ivory, London, 1865-66, makers' marks of Josiah Mendelson and George Angell, designed by William Burges

(© The Fitzwilliam Museum)

Contents

OLGA LOKALOVA

The Orlov Service: Newly Discovered Letters from Jacques and Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers.....	7
---	---

JOSCELYN GODWIN, assisted by E COSTANCE POWELL

Queen Anne's Gift of Silver to the Onodaga Indian Chapel.....	22
---	----

OLIVER FAIRCLOUGH

The Williams Centrepiece.....	39
-------------------------------	----

JOHN HAWKINS

A Siamese Ambassadorial Gift to Louis XIV.....	49
--	----

TESSA MURDOCH

Personal Favourites: a Royal Christening Gift and Other Christening Gifts in the Victoria & Albert Museum Collections.....	52
--	----

JANINE E SKERRY

Beyond the Working Dates: Reconstructing the Life and Career of Elizabeth Pantin Buteux Godfrey.....	75
--	----

LESLIE SOUTHWICK

Jasper Cunst: Goldsmith, Box-maker and Glover and Samuel Cooke: Buckle-maker and Silversmith	89
--	----

BRUCE JONES

A Presentation Silver Nail.....	111
---------------------------------	-----

TIMOTHY SCHRODER

The Silver Society visit to Bavaria – October 2017.....	114
---	-----

CHARLOTTE JOHNSON

Testimonial: The Life Story of a Monumental Vase	123
--	-----

OBITUARIES

John Bartholomew (1932-2018).....	137
Peter Payne (1922-2017).....	141
Stuart Devlin (1931-2018).....	145

BOOK REVIEWS

Carole Devlin and Victoria Kate Simkin, <i>Stuart Devlin: Designer, Goldsmith, Silversmith</i>	151
Helen Ritchie, <i>Designers and Jewellery 1850-1940: Jewellery and Metalwork from the Fitzwilliam</i>	155
Simon Moore, <i>Artists' Spoons & Related Table Cutlery – A British History of Arts & Crafts Flatware</i>	159
Kathryn Jones, <i>European Silver in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen</i>	163

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)

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

Index

A cumulative index for *Silver Studies the Journal of the Silver Society* may be found on the Society's website under the Journal heading.

Journal content

This Journal is not peer-reviewed.

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.

THE ORLOV SERVICE: NEWLY DISCOVERED LETTERS FROM JACQUES AND JACQUES-NICOLAS ROETTIERS

OLGA LOKALOVA



Fig 1 Vigilius Eriksen, *Portrait of Count Grigory Orlov at the Carousel of 1766*, oil on canvas, 1766-72. (© The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

Two internationally renowned ensembles bear the name the Orlov Service, one is silver and one porcelain; both take their name from Count Grigory Grigoryevich Orlov (1734-83) [Fig 1], favourite of Catherine II of Russia [Fig 2]. The porcelain service was made especially for Orlov at Meissen 1763-70¹, the second, the subject of this article, was commissioned by Catherine from the French goldsmiths Jacques Roettiers (1707-84) and his son Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers (1736-88) in 1770 and then presented by her to Orlov when they parted in 1772 [Fig 3]. It was re-acquired by Catherine on Orlov's death and kept in the Winter Palace thereafter. The service was eventually broken up: some pieces were melted down in the nineteenth-century and dozens more were sold abroad by the Soviet state in the 1920s and 1930s, which has served to increase the fame of the service, items from which are today to be found in leading public and private collections around the world. Just forty-six items remain in the Hermitage out of an original body of more than three thousand pieces.

The first to study the history of the silver Orlov Service was the Chief Keeper of the Gallery of the Imperial Hermitage, Baron Armin von Foelkersam (Fölkersam; *Objets de Vertu* 1861-1917). In his inventory of silver in the Russian imperial palaces² he cited letters in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and correspondence between Catherine II and the sculptor Étienne Maurice Falconet (1716-91). This work formed the basis of many subsequent studies by Russian, European and American scholars. Catherine's correspondence with Falconet was published by the

1 On this service, see Tamara Kudriavtseva, 'Орловский сервиз Императорского фарфорового завода в Санкт-Петербурге' ['The Orlov Service of the Imperial Porcelain Manufactory in St Petersburg'], *Сообщения Государственного Эрмитажа* [Reports of the State Hermitage Museum], St Petersburg, XLIX, 1984, pp 23-26.

2 Armin E von Foelkersam [Velkerzam], *Описи серебра Двора Его Императорского Величества. Описи золотых и серебряных вещей хранящихся в кладовых императорских зимняго, аничковского и гатчинского дворцов Inventaire de l'Argenterie conservée dans les Gardes-Meubles des Palais Impériaux: Palais d'Hiver, Palais Anitchkov et Château de Gatchino*, 2 vols, St Petersburg, 1907. He mentioned 1,041 items from the service then in the Winter Palace, although this seemingly included alien objects added later.

3 Jean Babelon, Yves Bottineau, Olivier Lefuel and Jacques Helft, *Les Grands Orfèvres de Louis XIII à Charles X*, Paris, 1965.

4 Clare lè Corbeiller, 'Grace and Favor', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New York, XXVII/6, February 1969, pp 289–98; Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Versailles et les tables royales en Europe: XVIIème–XIXème siècles*, exhibition catalogue, Paris, 1993, pp 315–21.

5 e.g. Auction catalogue, *The Jaime Ortiz-Patiño Collection. 18th Century French and English Silver*, Sotheby's New York, 21 May 1992.

6 e.g. Russian State Historical Archive, St Petersburg, Fund 468, opis 1, delo 3887. Marina N Lopato, 'Серебряный сервиз "против ординарного втрое"' [A Silver Service 'one for three'], *Наше наследие* [Our Heritage], no 95, 2010, pp 21–25.

Fig 2 Unidentified Russian artist, *Catherine the Great*, miniature.

(© The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)



Fig 3 Group of pieces from the Orlov Service, silver and silver-gilt, Paris, 1770–71, by Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers

(© The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

Imperial Russian Historical Society but the complete reorganisation of St Petersburg's archives after the Revolution and the capital's move to Moscow has made it extremely difficult to locate all the original documents cited by von Foelkersam.

Most scholars have, therefore, relied largely on von Foelkersam's publication, whether in wider studies of French silver,³ in museum catalogues,⁴ or in some of the many auction catalogues in which objects from the Orlov Service have featured.⁵

Archival research in recent years has nonetheless brought some new facts to light. In 2010 Marina Lopato published a number of documents regarding payments to French goldsmiths and craftsmen in St Petersburg indicating that some of the pieces were gilded on their arrival in the Russian capital.⁶

Further discoveries in the Russian State Historical Archive in St Petersburg allow us to add more details to the history of the service.

In both artistic and historical terms the Orlov Service is central to the history of the decorative arts in Russia. In size and scope it far surpassed all other services ever made for the Russian, or any other European, court. Count Grigory Orlov, Catherine's lover for eleven years, had played a key role in the palace coup of 1762 that brought her to the throne. Always generous, when they separated in 1772 the Empress presented him with rich gifts, set out in a letter to his brother Ivan Grigoryevich Orlov (since relations with Grigory himself were extremely strained at this time). Declaring magnanimously that

the past should be utterly forgotten, she gave him the Marble Palace in St Petersburg, an annual pension of 150,000 roubles, 100,000 roubles to set up his own home, an extra 6,000 serfs to add to the 4,000 he already owned and

A silver service ordered from France, which is in the Cabinet.⁷

As Victor Friedrich von Solms-Sonnenwalde (1730-83) reported back to his monarch, Frederick II of Prussia (1740-86), the magnificent silver service had only that year arrived from Paris and had never yet been used.⁸ It is surely important that Catherine herself specifically mentioned the service in a letter sent on 4 October 1772⁹ to the "Gazetier du Bas-Rhin" to rectify misinformation about the parting with Orlov.¹⁰

There are so many archival resources at our disposal, including Catherine's decrees and accounts, her letters to

intermediaries and other correspondents and the contracts between the different parties, that it can truly be said that the fascinating history of the Orlov Service is more fully documented than that of any other service created for the Russian court. We can trace it from its inception, through the discussion of its design and certain complex financial negotiations, disagreements between client and craftsmen, the completion of the work and the fate of the finished service.

We first hear of the service in February 1770 when Catherine wrote to the French sculptor Étienne Maurice Falconet, who was in St Petersburg at the time, working on the great equestrian statue of Peter the Great that still stands on Senate Square:

I have heard that you have some drawings for a silver service; I would be most pleased if you could let me see them, for my imagination might lead me then to order one for sixty people or so.¹¹

Not all the discussions are covered by the letters, since Falconet met personally with Catherine quite regularly, but it was surely he who suggested that the order be placed with Jacques Roettiers and his son Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers who had already worked extensively for the French court. Trusting to Falconet's taste, the Empress agreed and in March placed her order with the French goldsmiths.

Over the next few months artistic questions were resolved, the finances and the method of payment established. Catherine employed several intermediaries, not least Falconet and the agents Barral and Chanony, who took responsibility for the insurance, transportation and delivery of the

7 First published in 1866 amidst various letters from Catherine II: *Русский Архив* [Russian Archive], 1866, I, col. 65-67; reprinted by A P Barsukov, *Русский Архив* [Russian Archive], 1873, I, col. 97-99.

8 Ibid, Barsukov 1873, col. 96.

9 Russia was using the Julian calendar, which was eleven days behind the Gregorian calendar in use in Europe. Thus dates that appear on Russian letters given here are according to the Julian calendar but those sent from Paris are dated according to the Gregorian calendar or NS (new style).

10 "Pendant le mois d'octobre S.M.I. lui a donné à vie une pension annuelle de cent cinquante mille roubles, une terre de six mille paysans pour lui et ses descendants, une vaisselle d'argent superbe et une collection de tableaux de différents maîtres." *Сборник Императорского исторического общества* [Miscellany of the Imperial Russian Historical Society], XIII, 1874, p. 276.

11 "Monsieur Falconet, j'ai entendu dire que vous avez des dessins de service d'argent; je les verrais volontiers si vous me les faisiez voir, car la fantaisie pourrait bien me prendre d'en commander un pour une soixantaine de personnes." 13 February 1770. Louis Réau, editor, *Correspondance de Falconet avec Catherine II, 1767-1778*, Paris, 1921, p. 118. Most but not all of the letters included by Réau were published with a Russian translation and notes in 1876: 'Переписка Императрицы Екатерины II с Фальконетом' [The Correspondence between Empress Catherine II and Falconet], *Сборник Императорского исторического общества* [Miscellany of the Imperial Russian Historical Society], XVII, 1876. It is sometimes mistakenly stated in the literature that Falconet was responsible for designing the service but all the documents confirm that the designs came from the Roettiers.

12 Armin E von Foelkersam, *op cit*, see note 2, vol II, pp 92-93.

13 Russian State Historical Archive, St Petersburg, Fund 468, *opis* 1, *delo* 3885, ff 99-100.

14 We should point out that the Russian translation published by von Foelkersam (original: Russian State Historical Archive, St Petersburg, Fund 468, *opis* 1, *delo* 3885, ff 109-10) mistakenly gives the intended sum of the Roettiers' own contribution at this stage as 10,000 livres, rather than the 100,000 livres clearly written in the French.

15 "Je n'entends rien à cette façon de compter: ils disent 25,000 livres par mois et un an et demi de travail font pour dix-huit mois 450,000 livres, qui font, je crois, près de 100,000 roubles. Voilà un ouvrage un peu salé, ou pour mieux dire, un service de soixante personnes un peu cher..." , Louis Réau, *op cit*, see note 11, p 122.

16 "de faire expliquer ces messieurs net et clair, combien de pièces il y aura, qu'est-ce qu'ils comptent pour l'argent comme matière et pour le travail d'icelle; alors nous verrons ce qui nous plaira d'aviser." Ibid.

finished service. Letters between the Roettiers and Barral and Chanony tell us how Catherine wanted her service to look. A letter of 7 April [NS] 1770 from Roettiers in Paris to Barral and Chanony in St Petersburg, published by von Foelkersam,¹² not only tells us the date of the commission from the Empress: 4 March (presumably 15 March NS) but that the Empress had specifically rejected figures and battles. The Roettiers proposed replacing them with

Antique ornament in the best taste

which would also reduce the price without reducing the merit (dignité) of the objects.

Von Foelkersam published only the Russian translation of the first half of this letter of 7 April, of which the original, in French, has now been located in the Russian State Historical Archive [Appendix 1].¹³ The previously unpublished second part provides more detail about this early period in the history of the service, not least that the Roettiers, who were extremely busy making silverware for the forthcoming wedding of the Dauphin to Marie-Antoinette, feared that they had rivals for the commission.

Describing a number of pieces that they had heard were being sent from Paris to the Russian court, among them candlesticks by one "Duet" in the form of three vestals holding bowls with flames, they praised their "great beauty" but hastened to point out the negative aspects:

there is a child on the head of the vestals which seems very thin and spoils the effect.

They stressed that the Empress had particularly said she wanted no figures

or animals and thus suggested that Duet's work would not be pleasing to her. Nonetheless, they felt it sensible to warn Barral and Chanony of the danger that the commission might go elsewhere and of the need for haste in deciding the matter. On their part they promised to send the drawings requested without delay. Clearly the collaboration was to be mutually profitable: the silversmiths would get a large and expensive order and Barral and Chanony would earn their percentage.

In the same letter of 7 April Roettiers gave the approximate cost of the materials, asking for an advance of 50,000 livres a month for the first three months to cover materials, which would enable them to work faster.¹⁴

Catherine was surprised by the large sums and responded in a letter to Falconet on 25 April 1770

I cannot understand their calculations ... it comes out at nearly a hundred thousand roubles... it seems rather expensive for a service for sixty.¹⁵

To avoid misunderstandings, she asked Falconet

to have these gentlemen explain frankly and clearly just how many pieces there will be, how much silver they require to make them and how much for the working thereof; then we will see what it pleases us to decide.¹⁶

The Roettiers' response is set out in another letter never before published and now identified in the Russian State Historical Archive [Appendix 2]. They appended a list of objects,

Etat de la vaisselle pour une table de 50 – à 60 couverts, son poids & prix [State of the table service for 50 to 60 settings]



Fig 4 Candelabrum, drawing appended to letters sent from Paris by Jacques Roettiers and Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers to Catherine II. (Russian State Historical Archive, St Petersburg, Fund 468, opis 1, delo 3885, f. 101)

with the weights, and set out the scale of work and how it would be carried out.¹⁷

You will see a great difference between the price and that we sent you in the first place.

They asked

that you send us back the drawings that H.I.M. chooses...

and that a note be made directly on the designs of anything else that Catherine wished for.

If our little drawings are not as good as we would have wished, the reason is the haste we were in to deliver everything for the future Dauphine and we have had hardly any time even to breathe.

Their detailed estimate clearly convinced the Empress of the need for more money and she was thereafter not to demur further.

The list differs greatly from the service as delivered to the Russian court: it set out only five hundred or so objects and there are many discrepancies in the objects themselves but the list was compiled when work was only just beginning and, at the same time the Roettiers suggested a number of additional objects, asking that the Empress decide whether she wanted to have more or less.

Returning once again to the question of design the Roettiers pointed out that since there were to be no battle scenes or figures they would have to stick with “simple and intelligent forms” which

demand greater perfection of execution: it is vital that purity of form carries all.

And as an example they appended a design for a candelabrum [Fig 4]. Although no such candelabrum is known today, that drawing is marked “NB” and as Catherine’s letter to Falconet of 29 May 1770 makes clear this was her mark of approval for the design.¹⁸ We must conclude, therefore, that such candelabra did indeed form part of the Orlov Service even if none have survived.

¹⁷ Russian State Historical Archive, St Petersburg, Fund 468, opis 1, delo 3885, ff 101-7, including the list. Russian translations follow on ff 108-13v.

¹⁸ “Les dessins que j’ai approuvés, je les ai marqués ains NB...,” Louis Réau, *op cit*, see note 11, p 127.

- 19 "Je crois que si vous conseilliez à M^{rs} Roitiers d'ôter le maigre des chandeliers que j'ai choisis, vous feriez une bonne chose." Ibid, p 131.
- 20 "Je suis bien aise que Mrs Roitiers soient contents; je le suis beaucoup d'une douzaine de pièces de vermeil que j'ai reçues depuis un mois de Paris. Il y a cependant deux chandeliers qui ne sont pas beaux de dessin." Ibid, p 136.
- 21 "suivant leur gout et connoissance" "Notte du supplément à l'argenterie pour Sa Majesté imperalle envoyé à Messieurs Roettiers Pere et fils a Paris le 21 S^{bre} 1771 ...", Armin E von Foelkersam, op cit, see note 2, vol II, p 96.
- 22 With regard to the candelabra sent in July she remarked: "Ces pièces m'ont confirmée dans l'opinion que les figures humaines ne devraient jamais être employées pour du potage", Louis Réau, op cit, see note 11, p 136.
- 23 Armin E von Foelkersam, op cit, see note 2, vol II, pp 94-95.
- 24 Ibid, vol II, p 96.
- 25 Ibid vol II, p 95.
- 26 "au titre ordinaire et marquée au Poinçon de Paris." Ibid, vol II, p 95.
- 27 Von Foelkersam tells us that Orlov signed for the objects in four lots, the first in 1772 and the last in December 1776. Ibid, vol II, p 90.
- 28 Fund 468, *opis* 1, *delo* 3885, f 105.

Other drawings were to be subject to criticism. On 2 June 1770, for instance, Catherine wrote to Falconet:

I think if you were to advise Messrs Roettiers to make the candelabra I have chosen somewhat less skinny, you would be doing the right thing.¹⁹

She continued to keep an eye on the designs for a while and on 18 August 1770 she confirmed to Falconet that she was happy with some of the pieces but that two of the candelabra were "unhandsome in design".²⁰ She was eventually to trust the Roettiers in matters of taste and, when a supplementary contract was drawn up in March 1771, she left the adornment of 170 items utterly

according to their taste and knowledge.²¹

We cannot ignore the fact that despite Catherine's original dislike of human figures, repeated in August 1770,²² thereafter the Orlov Service came to include gilded candelabra with cupids and birds, with three female figures, even terrines with lions hunting although, as we shall see below, these pieces may have in fact been part of another service.

If the main agreement was signed in early June 1770²³ additional clauses were to be added in September 1771.²⁴

The contract was signed on behalf of the Russian court by Secretary of State Adam Vasilyevich Olsufyev (1721-84) who was charge of Catherine II's administrative affairs. It was he who made sure that the Empress's instructions regarding the composition and decoration of the service were observed and made arrangements for the payments to the makers and the agents.

The contract confirmed the payment system proposed by the Roettiers: that it would be in ten tranches and the first was an advance for three months' work. The following nine tranches, covering both the cost of materials and the work in making the objects, were to be of equal size. Barral, Chanony et al assumed the responsibility for direct contact with the Roettiers and their fulfilment of their obligations, for which they were to receive a sum equal to 2.5% of the whole commission.²⁵ One year was allowed for execution of the service, with the final delivery to be made no later than 20 July 1771. The contract also established the quality of, and marks to be struck on, the silver, with a millesimal fineness of 958 and the obligatory striking of the two main marks found on French export silver, those of the city of Paris and the assay master.²⁶

The making of the service was, however, to drag on for nearly four years (between the commission in March 1770 and the despatch of the last group of objects in April 1774). The objects were apparently sent in fourteen lots although the greater part of them, a total of 2,194 items (some of them comprising several pieces, hence the total of more than three thousand), arrived in Russia within the original time frame, and could thus be given to Orlov in 1772.²⁷

As for the financial side, thanks to the newly discovered letters and lists, we know how much the Roettiers originally hoped for. Estimating for a service of fifty to sixty covers, the payment to the Roettiers was to be nearly 510,000 livres, including 202,264 livres for the design and making of the objects.²⁸ With the cost of despatch and



Fig 5 Candelabrum, Paris, 1769–70, maker's mark of Louis-Joseph Lenhendrick.
(© State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

29 Russian State Historical Archive, St Petersburg, Fund 468, opis 1, delo 3886, f 2.

30 Ibid., f 10.

31 Ibid, f 40.

32 Ibid, f 75.

insurance at 5%, commission payments to bankers in Amsterdam and Paris, and export duty of 30 sous per marc [8 oz, 248.8g] of silver, the additional

expenses were to come to nearly 55,000 livres.

From January 1771 the payment of various sums is recorded in archive documents:

January 1771 Transferred to Paris to the goldsmiths Roettiers for the service 20,000 roubles;²⁹

to the merchants Barral and Chanony for transportation from Paris of the second part of the silver service 3,000 roubles;³⁰

Transferred to Paris to Court Counsellor Khotinsky for payment to the local goldsmith Roettiers for the silver service of the 50,000 a further 20,000 roubles;³¹

February 1771 to the merchants Barral and Chanony and Company for insurance in Holland and despatch from Paris to Rouen and thence to here of part of the silver service, 4,000 roubles.³²

Thus if we look at these accounting documents and at those published by von Foelkersam, covering the period 1771 to 1774, it becomes clear that a total sum of 1,009,974 livres (283,293 roubles) was transferred to Paris, twice the amount originally planned.

One question has particularly bothered historians of silver: although only the names of the Roettiers father and son appear in any documents and indeed their marks appear on most of the items, the Orlov Service also includes objects bearing the marks of Edmé-Pierre Balzac, Paul Charvel, Louis-Joseph Lenhendrick and Claude-Pierre Deville. Indeed, the terrines and candlesticks by Lenhendrick [Fig 5] bear the date mark for 1769-70, prior to the

33 *Русский Архив* [Russian Archive], 1866, I, col 66.

commission for the service, and in style they are clearly influenced by his master, the fashionable goldsmith Thomas Germain. As Marina Lopato pointed out in 2010: from a letter to Ivan Orlov we learn that in September 1772 Catherine gave Grigory Orlov not only the French service but

that which was bought for everyday use from the Danish envoy³³ (Baron A T von Asseburg or his successor, Christen Scheel).

All documentary trace of that service, also thought to have been made in Paris, is lost, and it is tempting to suggest that it was simply absorbed into the Orlov Service. The only question is raised by the magnificence of Lenhendrick's work, which is probably too great for something "for everyday use". Perhaps these were the objects being sent to Russia in 1770 that were mentioned in

Roettiers' letter to Barral and Chanony? Documents clarifying this particular mystery are yet to be discovered.

Olga Lokalova has worked in the Department of Western European Applied and Decorative Art of the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg since 2008: from 2010 as Junior Curator of European Metalwork (pewter, plaques and mantle clocks). She has published research articles in the Annual Reports of the State Hermitage Museum on oliphants (ivory hunting horns) with portraits of monarchs, an address by Emperor Wilhelm II in the Hermitage and on print sources for Nuremberg pewter objects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She has contributed to a number of exhibition catalogues.

Translated by
Catherine Phillips

APPENDIX 1

Letter from Jacques Roettiers and Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers in Paris to Barral and Chanony in St Petersburg, 7 April 1779

(Russian State Historical Archive, St Petersburg, Fund 468, opis 1, delo 3885, ff 99–100)

[f 99r]

M^{rs}. Barrals, Chanony & Ce.

S^t. Petersburg

Paris Le 7 avril 1770

[Rec. le 5 may]

Messieurs

Nous avons reçu, avec bien de la satisfaction la lettre que sous nous avés fait l'honneur de nous écrire le 4 mars, ensemble celle y jointe de M^r. de Falconet, linclase [?] que vous trouverés en cachet volant, contient la réponse, que nous vous prions de lui faire parvenir.

Satisfaisant au contenu de la votre, vous ne devés nûlement douter Messieurs, de notre activité pour la suite des ouvrages: en consequence nous allons commencer à faire les éssquisses que l'on désire, et nous y joindrons nôtre état, qui contiendra nos observations, pour vous envoyer le tout par les premiers courriers; et comme S.M.I. veut que l'on supprime toutes sortes de figures et cartels, nous tâcherons de remplacer les objets par les ornemens de l'antique en suivant le meilleur gout suivant ses intentions; cela diminuera aussi le prix et l'on y gagnera de deux manières, puisque toutes ses figures ne servent qu'à augmenter les dépenses, sans donner plus de dignité à la chose.

Payement

Quant à cette partie, vous êtes à portée de nous instruire qu'elle en-sera la marche; il serait bon de nous faire parvenir dans les trois premiers mois 150000 # pour les matières qu'il faudra mettre en oeuvre dans cette intervalle à raison de 50000 # par mois; et par [f. 99v] ce moyen nos propres avances que nous serons dans le cas de pouvoir faire, iront à 100000 # ! Si on éstimait devoir ne nous donner que 25000 # par mois, la conclusion des ouvrages ne pourrait être que dans un an et demi, mais si on veut aller vite, et qu'on nous donne les 50000 # par mois; nous espérons pouvoir remplir dans l'année; mais il ne faudrait pas pour cela, nous exposer à faire de plus fortes avances que le dit 100000 #.

Observation

Il doit être parti du 4. de ce mois pour vôtre Cour, les pots à oilles et terrines dont j'ai eu l'honneur de parler dans mes precedentes, ainsi que les girandoles, qui sont de vermeil; nous les avons vû et, tout ce que nous pouvons en dire, c'est qu'il y a du beau, et même ce que nous avons vû sortir de plus beau de l'orfèvrerie depuis du tems; ce sont même des morceaux capables d'être plutôt mis dans des galeries que sur des tables, entr'autres les girandoles, qui sont trois vestales tenant des vases de feu de la plus grande beauté; elles sont d'un nommé Duet, qui les à composées et executées. Pour le modèles, nos meilleurs cizeleurs y ont travaillé; on n'y à rien négligé pour le porter à leur perfection; Nous vous observerons cependant qu'il y à un enfant sur la tête des vestales, qui nous à paru maigre, et d'un mauvais effet, les

APPENDIX 1 *continued*

trois vestales seules, eussent fait un meilleur ensemble; les girandoles d'enfans, ont aussi un très mauvais pied, et pour les deux autres je les crois manquer: on à seurement eussent qu'il y avait [f.100r] de nouveaux desseins présentés à S.M.I. car on à pressé les ouvrages dans les derniers mois avec la plus grande vigueur, ce qui fait que quelques uns sont d'une exécution inférieure. Pour la dorure, c'est notre doreur, auquel nous avons donné le secret que l'alemant nous a vendu, et qui à doré les susdit pièces. Si S.M.I. ne veut point de figures, ni d'animaux, il nous parait que cela ne la flatera point, cependant nous avons de la peine à croire que cela ne lui fasse impression; vous voyés par la la promptitude qu'il faut mettre pour faire decider cette affaire. Si vous voulés la faire panher de vôtre coté; Pour nous nous ne tarderons certainement point à vous faire parvenir les desseins que vous nous demandés.

Nous aprénons dans ce moment que les terrines et girandoles ont été commandées par S.M.I., pour en faire present au Roy de Pologne, et l'on prétend qu'elle à dit que si elle en était contente, qu'elle commanderait sa vaisselle aux mêmes personnes; vous pouvés vous informer, Messieurs, de ce qui en est au juste, sans faire semblant de rien, et continuer d'agir comme si vous l'ignoriés; Nous avons l'honneur d'être bien veritablement, Messieurs,

Vos tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur
Roëttiers Père et fils

APPENDIX 2

Letter from Jacques Roettiers and Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers in Paris to Barral and Chanony in St Petersburg, May 1779

(Russian State Historical Archive, St Petersburg, Fund 468, opis 1, delo 3885, ff101-8)

[f101r]

M^{rs}. Barrals, Channony & Ce.

S^t. Petersburg

Paris Le may 1770

Messieurs

Par suite à la dernière que nous avons eu l'honneur de nous écrire le 7 du passé, nous avons celui de vous envoyer ci joint l'état de la vaisselle, ainsi que la masse des poids, et les façons. Vous y verrez une grande différence entre les prix de celui que nous avons envoyé en premier lieu. Mais S.M.I. ne désirant ni cartels, ni figures, ni animaux, il a falu se ranger dans la classe des formes simples et sages que l'on employe aujourd'hui, ce qui oblige a un plus grande perfection dans l'exécution; il faut absolument que la pureté de la forme fasse tout. Nous vous envoyons pareillement ci joint de petits croquis, plus ou moins approchés, sur lesquels nous croyons que S.M.I. pourra de décider facilement. Nous vous prions en même tems que vous nous renverriez les desseins que S.M.I. aura choisis, d'y joindre ceux que M. Falconet a bien voulu presenter d'abord. Au surplus M. Falconet désirant, ainsi que vous, nous rendre service. Vous pourriez l'engager de vouloir bien sur nos desseins même, avec un crayon, une plume, n'importe indiquer ce que peut désirer d'avantage S.M.I. Nous le remplirons certainement avec l'exactitude, et par là nous pourrions être assurés de plaire de toute façons.

[f. 101v] Nous joignons à la presente une lettre pour M. Falconet, par laquelle nous le prions de nous rendre encore ce service. Ci joint encore un autre état qui nous parait obmis dans celui que l'on nous avait remis en premier lieu, ainsi que les réflexions sur d'autres objets qui nous paraissent considérables. Au surplus vous aurés la bonté de nous indiquer ce que S.M.I. aura décidé, soit en augmentation, soit en moins, pour nous y conformer: nous nous référons en outre a nôtre dernière sur nos arrangements.

Si nos petits desseins ne sont pas aussi bien que nous le désirerions, c'est à raison de la presse où nous sommes pour livrer au point nommé tout ce qui régarde la future Dauphine, nous avons eu à peine le temps de respirer; ce qui nous a empêchés même d'en faire un plus grand nombre.

Nous venons d'apprendre que la partie de vaisselle dont nous vous avons entretenus dans nôtre l^{re}, n'était point encore partie, et qu'on l'avoit déposée chès M. Jacqmin. On ajoute même qu'ils ont laissé entrevoir; malgré qu'ils continuent à dire, que c'est pour la Cour de Russie; qu'on pourrait la céder si on leur en faisait un bon parti; mais nous ne savons rien au juste de cela.

Nous avons l'honneur d'être avec une parfaite considération Messieurs,

Vos très humbles et très ob^s. serv^s.
Roettiers Père et fils

APPENDIX 2 *continued*

[f 103r]

Etat de la Vaisselle pour une table de 50 – à 60 couverts, son poids & prix

		Premier Service		Prix des façons
		m ^{cs}	on	
8	Pots à oille avec leurs plateaux et cuillieres et doubles fond.	480		32,000
8	Terrines avec leurs plateaux & fourchettes	480		32,000
24	Plats d'entrée grandeur ordinaire de 12 p ^{ces} à 6 ^m l'une	144		
24	Plats hors d'oeuvre de 11 p ^{ces} à 5 ^m	120		
16	Jattes quarrés, ornées à pied avec leurs doubles fonds à 7 ^m l'une	112		9,600
8	Plats de relevé, de 16 p ^{ces} à 9 ^m	72		
4	Feuilles volantes p. les releves à 3 ^m	12		
		1420		73,600
		Second Service		
8	Plats pour les grosses pieces froides de 18 p ^{ces} à 14 ^m	112		
4	Plats ovales de 22 p ^{ces} à 16 ^m	64		
4	Plats ovales de 18 p ^{ces} à 12 ^m	48		
16	Plats ovales de 13 p ^{ces} à 4 ^m	64		
24	Plats ovales d'entremets de 11 p ^{ces} à 5 ^m	120		
8	Caisses quarrées à 5 ^m	40]	
8	Caisses quarrées long à 5 ^m 4 ^{on}	44		640
36	Douz ^{es} d'assiettes à 36 ^m la 12 ^{ne}	1296		
36	12 ^{ns} couverts complets avec les tout. ^s 13 ^m les 12 ^{ne}	468		6,480
		2256		80,720
[f 103v]				
	Montant en l'autre part	2256] 1440	80,720
24	Cuillieres d'entrée 18 ^m	18		288
12	Grandes poivrieres des Salieres à 4 ^m et 600 # l'une, le façon	48]	3,600
24	Petites salieres à 6 ^{on} et 100 # l'une	18		2,400
8	Huilliers à 6 ^m et 400 # l'une	48]	3,200
8	Moutardiers à 2 ^m et 200 # l'une	16		1,600
8	Réchaux à esprit de vin à 6 ^m et 300 #	48]	2,400
8	Tire Moële à 4 ^m	4		80
4	Douz. ^{es} hatelets 5 ^m	5]	36
36	Flambeaux à 4 branches à 160 # l'une dans l'autre, peseront environ	260		28,800
12	Douz. ^{es} cuillieres à caffè à 1 ^m 4 ^o la douz. ^{ne}	18]	360
		m ^s 4179		L 123,484

APPENDIX 2 *continued*

		Troisième Service p. le Fruit Vermeil		Prix des façons
		m ^{cs}	on	
12	Douz ^{ne} d'assiettes à 32 ^m	384		21,000
12	Douz ^{ne} de couverts et couteaux à 11 ^m la douzaine	516 132		17,280
Service des Buffets				
16	Scieaux à 20 ^m l'un	320		32,000
2	Caves à répartition à 40 ^m	80	525	6,000
5	Grands bassins à 25 ^m	125		2,500
Total			5220	202,264
Lesquels 5220 ^m à 54 arg ^t et tiers de droit environ forment le total de-ci				281,880
Total				25,800
Dorure 516 ^m				509,944
Total général				

[f104r]

Observations

Il nous parait que 36. girandoles sont très considerables, 30. nous paraissent suffisante. Il manque d'un côté des flambeaux pour les buffets, à moins que les girandoles n'en tiennent lieu, cela dépend de la maniere dont on fait le service.

Il manque encore

8 saussieres

8 saladiers

8 compotiers

8 sucriers à plateau de vermeil

1 Cadenat, ce morceau ne se fait que pour les souverains, et doit être en vermeil.

Comme sur cette table il faut un dormant [?] et surtout en compartimens de glace, surmontés en porcelaine et des fleurs d'Italie, il faudrait à ce que nous pensons, la bordure, ainsi que nous sommes à en faire une pour les petits appartements du Roy. Cette bordure est de 1 p^{ce} d'elevation, posée sur des petites boules où petits pieds d'un p^{ce}; ce dormant [?], de nécessité doit être de la longueur de 12 p^{ds} au moins, sur 6 p^{ds} de large. Cela se demonte en 20 parties, ou distribuent cela de maniere qu'on peut l'augmenter où le diminuer à volonté. Il n'est pas que vous n'avez vû en cuivre argenté dans une proportion plus petite.

Pour que vous puissiez voir la totalité de la masse de dépence à quoy le total se montera, nous l'avons rapporté à la page suivante.

[note in a different hand, perhaps made by Barral et Chanony: *Dans les dits comptes j'ai prit des prix fixe sans tirer au dessus pour former une somme general dont le memoire a fournis hors de la fourniture donnera un peu plus ou un peu moins*]

APPENDIX 2 *continued*

[f 104v]

Etat du supplement		#
8	saucieres de 24 ^m à 400 # l'une de façon	3,200
8	saladiers de 24 ^m à 80 # l'une de façon	640
8	comptiers de 24 ^m à 80 # l'une de façon	640
8	sucriers à plateau avec leurs cuillieres riches de vermeil de 60 ^m à 800 # environ	6,400
1	Cadenat de 20 ^m	4,000
	Le dormant à compartiment ü aux environs de 200 ^m	12,000
Total des marcs 352 des façons		26,880
Valeur des 352 ^m à 54 # argent et tiers de con. ^{le} compris		19,000
Dorure de 80 ^m		4,000
		49,888

[f 105r – summary by Barral et Chanony ?]

Etat general d'une vaisselle de 50 à 60 couverts vendüe à S^t. Petersbourg

Suivant la notte de Messieurs Roëttiers Pere & fils orfevres du Roy elle montera à 5220 marcs à L54 [#]	L 281,880
Pour les façons des dits ouvrages	202,264
Pour la dorure de 516 marcs	25,800
Total de M ^{rs} Roëttier Pere & f	509,944
Expedition de Paris à Roüen et par mer à S ^t . Petersbourg fret et assurance à cinq pour cent de L 509944	25,497
Comission au banquier d'Amsterdam sur lequel on doit assigner les paiements à demy pour cent	2,549.9
autant au banquier de Paris chargé de payer et recevoir la vaisselle comme d'en faire l'expedition à demy p. cent	2,549.9
Sortie de France de 5220 marcs à 30 sols par marc	7,830
de France	L 548,369 [#] .18

Droits d'antrée en Russie

aux Sieurs Barral Chanony et Comp.^e qui recevront icy chaque trois mois par avance les L 150,000 # et len fairont passer à Messieurs Roëttiers Pere et fils suivant leur condition et qui conduiront cette affaire avec tout le soin et l'exactitude quelle merite et qui offrent de plus pour sureté des sommes avancées par Sa Majeste imperialle une caution suffisante, leur Commission

On observera que dans l'état cy dessus le suplement dont parle Messieurs Roëttiers Pere et fils n'y est pas compris de même que le total sera plus où moins fort suivant les variations des assurances. Cet objet est de petite consequence.

APPENDIX 2 *continued*

[f 106r – notes by Barral et Chanony ?]

Suivant la note de Messieurs Roëttiers Pere et fils la vaisselle d'argent montera environ à marcs 5220. qui font 2610 [#] de France qui reduites en livres russes s'eleveront à 3197 [#] russe

Les droites d'antrée en Russie pour largenterie sont de un rouble 8 copecs de la livre pesant pour largenterie unie et de deux roubles 16 copecs pour celle qui est travaillée.

Le total de cette vaisselle montera à L 550,000 [#] de France environ qui au cours actuel du change fairont en R.^s 130,000

Les assurances de Roüen à S^t. Petersbourg sont ordinairement de 2½ pour cent à 3 pour cent dans le mois de may et juin mais à la fin de juillet on trouve rarement des vaisseaux qui ayent cette destination, où les assurances sont plus cheres en raison de ce que la saison est plus avancé; alors on ne peut expedier que par Hambourg et Lubek. Ce qui fait deux assurances qui montent bien à cinq pour cent environ, sans compter les fraix de transporter par terre en differents endroits et le fret. Cependant, si cela convient à Son Excellence, moyenant cinq pour cent, nous nous chargerons du transport de la ditte vaisselle et des assurances et de tous les autres fraix dependants depuis Paris jusque à S^t. Petersbourg, sans y comprendre les droits du Sund et ceux de sortie de France.

QUEEN ANNE'S GIFT OF SILVER TO THE ONONDAGA INDIAN CHAPEL

JOSCELYN GODWIN,
assisted by E CONSTANCE POWELL



Fig 1 Relevant sites in New York State.
(Map by Ariel Godwin)

Silver Studies, *The Journal of the Silver Society*, no 28 (2012, pp 24–33) carried an article by Lauretta Harris and Tinker McKay: ‘Chapel Plate for Nova Scotia’. Besides its chief subject, it discussed and illustrated the silver communion set given by Queen Anne to the Mohawk Indian chapel in 1712, and mentioned in passing her similar gift to the Onondaga chapel. The present article chiefly concerns the latter.

Background

The geopolitical background essential to this history is as follows [Fig 1]. The Appalachian mountain chain effectively closes the north-east coast of the United States from parts west. The only watercourse through the mountains is the Mohawk River, which begins near Lake Ontario and joins the Hudson River north of Albany, the capital of New York State. Whoever controlled this waterway controlled the flow of

trade and traffic between the hinterland, with its inexhaustible natural resources, and the coastal cities, with their growing populations and potential for transatlantic trade. The main resources at the time were forest products (timber, potash, resin) and animal furs, especially beaver, used throughout Europe for making felt hats. The Mohawk region also separated the British colonies of North America from the French colony of Canada at a time of bitter rivalry between the two empires for control of the New World.

The original inhabitants of the region were the Iroquois, a confederacy of native Americans consisting of five ‘nations’ or tribes. In order from west to east and from Niagara to the Hudson they were the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk; joined in 1722 by the small Tuscarora tribe. The Onondagas occupied a central position, both geographically (near modern Syracuse) and as the seat of the ‘council fire’ at which collective decisions were taken.

Both the French and British vied for the Indian trade, exchanging cheap manufactured goods and alcohol for valuable furs, and for the Indians’ assistance, or at least neutrality, in a long series of wars. For half a century the French had been sending missionaries to convert the Iroquois to the Catholic faith and to ally them with Canada. Faced with the alarming prospect of a chain of French forts across Iroquois country the British called a council with the Five Nations at Onondaga; on 1 and 2 May 1699 they heard their complaints that they neither protected the Indians against the French and rival tribes, nor sent missionaries to them.¹

¹ Joshua V H Clark, *Onondaga; or Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times*, Syracuse, 1849, vol 1, pp 286–96.

-
- 2 The entire text is in John Wolfe Lydekker, *The Faithful Mohawks*, Cambridge, 1938, p 9.
 - 3 Joshua V H Clark, op cit, see note 1, p 212, citing *London Documents*, 1700.
 - 4 Richmond P Bond, *Queen Anne's American Kings*, Oxford, 1952, p 34.
 - 5 The best documented accounts are Lydekker's, op cit, see note 2, based on the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and Bond's, *ibid*, based on government documents.
 - 6 Richmond P Bond, op cit, see note 4, p 39, disposes of the legend that there were originally five chiefs, one of whom died on the voyage.
-

On 25 October 1700 the Earl of Bellamont, Governor of New York, wrote to the Lords of Trade and Plantations about the problem. His proposal was approved and forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he requested

some Ministers of the Church of England to instruct the Five Nations of Indians on the Frontiers of New York and prevent their being practis'd upon by French Priests and Jesuits . . .²

In 1701 William III gave £500 to build a fort in Onondaga country and £800 for presents to the Indians; he is said to have sent over plate and furniture for a chapel but I have not found any corroboration for this.³ The Indians, in return, signed over 800 square miles (2,072 square km) of their hunting grounds but no chapel was built for the Onondagas either then or later. This omission would have consequences that continue to the present day.

In 1708 the colonists set out plans for a major attack on Canada which were sanctioned on 1 March 1709 by the British government who also promised to send a large fleet in their support. As soon as the news arrived in America, forces were gathered and placed strategically, ready to go into action as soon as the fleet appeared. They waited all summer but no fleet came. Finally in October a curt letter arrived. Sorry, it said, but Queen Anne had decided to send the fleet to the Spanish peninsular instead.⁴

The appeal to Queen Anne

After this disappointment the colonial leaders devised a publicity stunt. They would send a representative directly to the Queen, accompanied by Indian

sachems or chiefs. This would show the English that the Indians were their friends and could be counted upon to help beat the French. It would also impress the Indians and sway them toward the English side.

The tale of the Indians' visit in the spring of 1710 has often been told.⁵ Pieter Schuyler, former Mayor of Albany, chose three chiefs from the Mohawks and one from the Mahicans (an Algonquin tribe).⁶ Although the tribes were anything but monarchic and only numbered in the hundreds the chiefs were promoted for the occasion as 'kings'. For all of April and half of May they were fêted by high society, shown Britain's armed might at Greenwich, Woolwich and Spithead, taken to cock-fights and the theatre, and painted by John Verelst. Despite the intrusive curiosity shown by high and low alike, the Indian chiefs conducted themselves with perfect decorum, and on 19 April had an audience with the Queen at her court at St James's Palace.

The Queen was charmed and responded generously: she decreed that the Mohawks and the Onondagas should each have a fort, a well furnished chapel, and a house and stipend for a missionary. The chiefs returned laden with presents including three dozen looking-glasses, one gross of large jew's-harps, 400lb of gunpowder, and a magic lantern. On 7 August 1710 Sir Robert Hunter, the Governor of New York, held a conference in Albany with the chiefs of the Five Nations, including the four sachems, and gave them further presents. A contract for the Mohawks' fort and chapel was signed with five Dutch carpenters from Schenectady and work began towards the end of 1711.

Fig 2 Fort Hunter, enclosing the Mohawk chapel (reconstruction), 1712.
(From display case at Schoharie Crossing State Historic Site)



The Mohawk chapel was situated where the Schoharie creek flows into the Mohawk River. It was surrounded by a fort, at first called the Queen's Fort and later Fort Hunter [Fig 2]. Harris and McKay quote the order of 10 April 1712 for the communion silver that was to be sent to each chapel:

One Silver Chalice, a Patten and a small flagon,

but the gift seems to have multiplied like the loaves and fishes. In the delivery note of 20 May 1712 the Mohawks alone were given six pieces: two flagons, one alms basin, one salver, one chalice, and one paten.⁷ Max Reid, writing in 1901, counted seven: two flagons, two chalices, two patens, and one alms basin.⁸ The corresponding set given to the Onondagas comprised six pieces: two large flagons, one chalice, a large and a small footed paten, and an alms dish. So instead of the intended six there were thirteen pieces of communion plate in all in Queen Anne's gift.

The Mohawk chapel silver

The history of the Mohawk tribe's communion service during the Revolutionary war is worth a short digression. The Rev Henry Stuart, a giant of a man who plays an important part in this story, arrived at Fort Hunter in 1770 to find the chapel in a derelict state of repair. Sir William Johnson, a great landowner and Commissioner for Indian Affairs, paid for a new floor, pulpit, desk, communion table, windows, belfry, and a bell. Stuart held two Sunday services, one for European residents and one for Mohawk converts; by July he could report to his patron in London, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that 100 Indians attended his Sunday evening service (but that he got paid nothing for it as they were very poor), and on Whitsunday there were fourteen Indian and thirteen white communicants,⁹ presumably using Queen Anne's gift.

When the Revolutionary war came to the Mohawk valley legend has it that the

⁷ See both notes in Lauretta Harris and Tinker McKay, 'Chapel Plate for Nova Scotia,' *Silver Studies*, the *Journal of the Silver Society*, no 28, 2012, p 32.

⁸ W Max Reid, *The Mohawk Valley, Its Legends and Its History*, New York, 1901, p 97.

⁹ John Wolfe Lydekker, op cit, see note 2, pp 130-131.

10 Richard Berleth, *Bloody Mohawk: The French & Indian War & American Revolution on New York's Frontier*, Hensonville, 2009, p 243.

11 John Wolfe Lydekker, op cit, see note 2, p 165.

12 Ibid, p 174.

13 Charles M Johnston (ed), *The Valley of the Six Nations. A Collection of Documents on the Indian Lands of the Grand River*, Toronto, 1964, p 235: Abbreviations spelt out.

communion plate was buried beneath the dirt floor [sic] of the Fort Hunter chapel¹⁰ and that, after the war, some Mohawks came secretly to dig it up and bear it back over the Canadian border. It is a good story but open to doubt. During the war Stuart wrote long reports describing the desecration of the chapel, his maltreatment by the 'Patriots' and his perilous journey to safety in Canada. In a letter of 13 October 1781 he wrote from Montreal:

I left the Books belonging to the Mission with a Friend in Schenectady, as also the Church Plate, not thinking it safe to risque it with my own Baggage, not being even under the Protection of a Flag.¹¹

By July 1783, with the war almost at an end, the Society's Journal recorded Stuart's report that:

the Plate belonging to the Mohawk Chapel is yet safe; as also the Furniture of the Reading-Desk and Communion Table. The Pulpit-Covering was stolen, when the Church was plundered. Neither is the Society's Farm at Fort-Hunter considered by the State as forfeited. The Plate and Books belonging to the Mission he has thought proper to order to be sent to Montreal, by the first safe conveyance; and waits for the directions of the Society, as to the rents of the Farm.¹²

Once arrived in Canada John Stuart settled with some of the Mohawk exiles at the Bay of Quinte, on the north shore of Lake Ontario, first called Tyendinaga and now Desoronto, after their chief. A larger party of Mohawks, led by Joseph Brant, settled on Grand River, between Lakes Ontario and Erie in present-day Brantford, and built a

small church. Apparently the Desoronto Mohawks held on to Queen Anne's gift, for we find Danel Claus, Deputy Agent for the Six Nations, writing on 23 April 1787 to Under-Secretary of State Evan Nepean in London:

"Capt" Brant at his Departure from home requested me to represent to you that as Government was graciously disposed to encourage their settlements in religious as well as in other Matters, he could wish to have in his new Church such Ornaments as were over the Altar of the Church of Fort Hunter on the Mohawk River sent there by her Majesty Queen Ann of glorious Memory by the first Indian Missionary part of them were lost or destroyed by the Americans during the Rebellion. The Ornaments consisted of two Tables painted black wrote upon in gold Letters The Lords prayer, Creed & Ten Commandments, a purple Altar or Pulpit Cloth with the usual Embroidery in gold and a Communion Service of solid plate; the two latter articles were saved by the Missionary having them at his house among his Effects. But their having since the peace formed two Settlements as above mentioned and his Brants Settlement having no Claim [to] the Ornaments which belonged to Fort Hunter; His Church which was built at the Expense of Government was entirely destitute of such ornaments And therefore would be extremely happy to have it decently ornamented as it would be greatly pleasing to the Congregation as well as striking the Visiting Neighbouring Indians with awe and respect.¹³



Fig 3 The Mohawk chapel silver.
(From display case at Schoharie Crossing State Historic Site)

The answer was presumably negative. In the summer of 1788 Stuart finally went to Grand River, taking with him at least some of the plate and church furnishings from Fort Hunter.¹⁴ An arrangement was made to divide Queen Anne's gift between the two Mohawk chapels in Canada. In 1836 a visitor reported:

The Mohawk Indians have preserved the communion plate given to them by Queen Anne, part of which is kept at the Mohawk village, and the remaining portion at the Mohawk settlement, in the Bay of Quinte.¹⁵

Max Reid, writing in 1901, is more specific:

To the Grand River band was given the alms basin and one each of the other pieces, also a large Bible. The Indians at the Bay of Quinte have a flagon, paten, and chalice [Fig 3].¹⁶

The chapel at Fort Hunter stood until 1820 when it was demolished to make

way for the Erie canal: the definitive solution to the problem of traffic between the hinterland and the coast. All that remains today of Queen Anne's gifts is the parsonage, built by the Rev William Adams in 1734,¹⁷ and as such the earliest building in the Mohawk valley [Fig 4], and of course the silver which remains in the custody of the Mohawks and is used in their churches in Canada to the present day.

The Onondaga chapel silver

The Onondaga communion service had a very different destiny.

Each piece bears the Royal arms, the cipher AR, and is inscribed:

The Gift of Her Majesty Ann. by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. and of Her Plantations, in North America, Queen to Her Indian Chappel of the Onondawgus.

¹⁴ John Wolfe Lydekker, op cit, see note 2, p 186.

¹⁵ Charles M Johnston, op cit, see note 13, p 263, quoting Thomas Rolph, *A Brief Account of Upper Canada*, Dundas, 1836.

¹⁶ W Max Reid, op cit, see note 8, p 97. Photographs of the Grand Bay/Brantford set of four pieces are in Reid, p 95, and in Lydekker, op cit p 31. The Bay of Quinte/Desoronto set of three pieces is illustrated in a flyer issued in commemoration of Queen Elizabeth II's visit on 9 October, 2002. (Courtesy of St Peter's Church Archives, Albany.)

¹⁷ A New York State historical marker dates the house to 1712. It was possibly built on an earlier foundation as the date 1712 appears on an arch in the basement, according to John J Vrooman, *Forts and Firesides in the Mohawk Country*, Philadelphia, 1943, p 102.

18 Later reports of the inscription do not mention an engraved date. Lacking access to the Mohawk silver or to adequate photographs, the matter remains open.

19 Joshua V H Clark, *op cit*, see note 1, vol I, pp 214-15.

20 Personal communication, 19 October 2017.

21 Joshua V H Clark, *op cit*, see note 1, vol I, p 295.

Joshua Clark, the early historian of Onondaga, wrote:

By this [the inscription on the pieces], it would seem, that the good Queen contemplated the erection of a chapel in the Onondaga country, and the furnishing it with a suitable communion service; and why the plan was broken up, or the valuable plate designed for it, received another destination, is now probably past explanation, unless it be the following, which we have presumed. On the plate presented to the Mohawks, the date is 1712.¹⁸ The two sets were undoubtedly ordered at this time. But as yet, there had been no chapel erected for the Onondagas and the probability is, the date was omitted at the period of its manufacture, to be engraved at the time it should be proper to present it to this people. And it is highly probable that the missionary

intrusted with its care, was instructed also to effect the building of the chapel. Frequent mention is made in the London Documents, of the anxiety of the Home Government to effect that object. St. Peters was organised in 1716, and as the chapel for the Onondagas was not built as was anticipated, this valuable memento of a sovereign's kindness was lost to them and retained at Albany.¹⁹

Evelyn Constance Powell, archivist of St Peter's Church, Albany suggests that it was a mistake on Governor Hunter's part not to have ascertained the monarch's alternative wishes, should no chapel be built for the Onondagas, for this has remained a matter of contention to this day.²⁰ Just as Harris and McKay's article on the Nova Scotia silver sought to clarify a vexed question of ownership, so this study will explain the complex history of claims to the Onondaga communion service. Three entities are involved: St Peter's Church, the Onondaga nation, and the Diocese of Central New York. I will take them in turn.

The Guardians

Whatever the prospects presented to Queen Anne, the hopes of building a chapel and installing a missionary in the Onondagas' territory were not realistic. The tribe was probably chosen because it held the council fire for the whole Iroquois confederacy but, unlike the Mohawk valley, long settled by Dutch, German, and British immigrants, Onondaga was deep in Indian territory and 150 miles (241km) from Albany. A survey of 1700 had already reported that there was no suitable place for a fort there.²¹ This is why, when the

Fig 4 Queen Anne's parsonage, near Fort Hunter, 1734.





Fig 5 The first St Peter's Church, Albany, 1716, with steeple, 1751, and Fort Frederick. From a nineteenth-century engraving in St Peter's Episcopal Church.

Queen's gift arrived, Sir Robert Hunter took it into his care, keeping it at Fort Frederick at Albany.

In 1712 an Anglican congregation was formed in Albany and in 1714 the Crown made a grant of land beneath the fort for a church: the first Anglican church north of New York City and west of the Hudson river. The parchment grant shows Queen Anne holding the orb and sceptre, with two Indians kneeling before her bearing gifts of beaver and wampum. A stone church, funded by Governor Hunter and public subscription, was opened in 1716 and dedicated to St Peter [Fig 5]. For a while the silver dropped out of sight until, on 15 May 1739, the church

requested from the Lieutenant Governor, George Clarke,

several pieces or mensels
[=tableware] of English wrought
plate,

to be delivered on request back to Clarke, his heirs or successors. On 29 August 1740 the Rev Henry Barkley (or Barclay) gave a bond for £150 for its safekeeping and its transfer was authorised.²² In 1768 George III granted a charter of incorporation to the parish of St Peter's: a status confirmed after the American Revolution.

St Peter's Church was rebuilt twice by distinguished American architects: in 1802 by Philip Hooker in Federalist style (American Georgian) and in 1857 by Richard Upjohn, making it one of the first and finest Gothic Revival churches in the USA [Fig 6].²³ The silver has remained in its keeping through all these



Fig 6 The third St Peter's Church, Albany, 1857; the tower 1876.

²² *Syracuse Post Standard*, 22 March 1944.

²³ Its decorations include a window designed by Edward Burne-Jones and made by the William Morris Company in 1880.

24 Richard Berleth, *Bloody Mohawk*, New York, 2010, pp 271-272.

changes and remains the object of considerable pride. After the Second World War a war memorial at the north-west end incorporated a glass-fronted cabinet for its display.

The Claimants

The Onondagas had generally been on the British side during the Revolutionary war and, like the Mohawks, they paid a heavy price for their loyalty. On 19 April 1779 the rebel Colonel Goose van Schaick led a punitive expedition deep into the Iroquois territory and destroyed their village. In his book, *The Bloody Mohawk*, Richard Berleth wrote:

In a few furious moments, one of the most sacred sites of Iroquoian culture was desecrated and ruined.²⁴

The Iroquoian confederacy never recovered its council fire or its integrity. To prevent any future united movement on the part of the Indians those tribes left in New York State were placed in widely separated reservations. The Onondagas now occupy about 7,300 acres (2,954 hectares) south of Syracuse. Since the devastation of 1779 they have never been numerous: the population at the last census (2010) was 468.

In the nineteenth century Christian missionaries had to compete not only with each other but with a resurgence of the native religion. In 1799 a chief of the Seneca tribe named Handsome Lake, whose malaise and alcoholism reflected the depressed state of his people, had a series of visions: he was taken up to heaven where he met Jesus and George Washington, amongst others. The message he brought back was that the Indians should not follow the white man's ways (or drink his liquor) but hold to their own traditions and faith: whereas white men had *their* Gospel, Indians now had the *Gaiwi'io* or 'Good Word.' Handsome Lake's preaching caused a spiritual revival as powerful as that which was simultaneously gripping Christian America. He died in 1815 during a visit to the Onondaga reservation and is buried there.

In view of this it is quite surprising that an Episcopal mission started on the reservation in 1816, apparently with



Fig 7 The Church of the Good Shepherd among the Onondagas, near Syracuse, 1870.

some success.²⁵ When a new diocese was founded for Central New York, the first bishop, Frederic Dan Huntington, immediately turned his attention to the mission. On taking office in 1869 he saw to the repair of its wooden building and added a chancel and a belfry. It was consecrated in 1870 as the Church of the Good Shepherd among the Onondagas, and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places [Fig 7].²⁶ A monthly newsletter dating from the end of the century lists the Sunday services conducted by the Rev William Doane Manross: matins at 10:30, Holy Eucharist at 11:00, Sunday school at 3:30, evensong and address at 4:00. On Rogation Sunday 1899, in proper Anglican style, they 'beat the bounds' of the parish.²⁷

The periodic attempts of the Onondaga Christians to obtain the Queen Anne silver have given rise to the 'tomahawk incident' or legend, as I suspect it to be because of its stereotyping and recurrent character. The plainest version is that sometime after 1740, when a deputation of Onondagas went to Albany to claim the silver,

Crown officials gave them a rather heathenish reception; it enraged the Onondagas to such an extent that one of them made vigorous protest with his tomahawk.²⁸

The *Albany Times Union* twice printed a more colourful version, dating it to 1803:

An unknown Onondaga warrior threw a tomahawk at St Peter's Rector Frederick Beasley 181 years ago, missing the cleric's head.²⁹

Carlyle Adams, a qualified historian, was responsible for the most elaborate version, dating it to 1876:

In that year a party of Onondaga braves from up-state New York came to Albany in full war regalia and entered the rectory of St. Peter's to demand what they believed to be their silver . . . After the request was denied one of the Indians threw a tomahawk which was imbedded in the wall just above the chair where [the rector's wife] Mrs. Battershall sat.³⁰

To return to established facts: in 1896 the Rev Manross petitioned St Peter's to release the communion set for the Indians' use. He was refused, and the arguments continued for several years, although somewhat palliated in 1912 when the Women's Auxiliary of the diocese of Central New York presented the mission with a gilded silver communion set costing \$125.³¹

The Church of the Good Shepherd continued to hold services, perform baptisms, confirmations, marriages and burials up to 1952.³² The mission then lapsed for five years and the building was vandalised. In 1958 the Church Army, an enthusiastic youth organisation, moved in to repair and revitalise it. By the time of its centenary celebrations in 1968, it boasted a choir of thirty-two and seventeen 'acolytes' who read morning and evening prayer in the absence of the priest.³³ Over the next decades membership declined to the point where the church was no longer self-supporting and the need for repairs was overwhelming; in November 2013 the Board of the Diocese decided to end the ministry.³⁴

The Settlement

We turn now to the third player in this drama, the diocese of Central New York. The question of the ownership of Queen Anne's gift resurfaced in the

25 Hugh R Jones, 'Notes on Queen Anne's Gift of a Silver Communion to Her Indian Chappel of the Onondawagus,' 1 December 1988. Jones was a lawyer and Chancellor of the Diocese of Central New York. He does not state his source. Typescript in the archives of the Diocese of Central New York

26 NRHP 97000113, added 8 May 1997.

27 *Te-Ho-Ti-Ka-Lon-Te, Church of the Good Shepherd*, vol 2/3, June 1899. Archives of the Diocese of Central New York.

28 Hugh R Jones, *op cit*, see note 25.

29 *Albany Times Union*, 23 September 1984. The newspaper repeated the story on 29 April 1989.

30 Carlyle Adams, 'Historic Communion Service in Use Today at St. Peter's', *Albany Times Union*, undated clipping in St Peter's Church Archives.

31 Multiply this sum by about 100 to reflect a century's depreciation of the dollar.

32 Register from 1932-1952, in Diocesan Archives.

33 *100th Anniversary 1868-1968 of Church of the Good Shepherd, Onondaga Indian Reservation, Nedrow, New York*. Booklet in Diocesan Archives.

34 Joan Green, Diocesan Archivist, to the author, 4 January 2018. When I visited the church on 25 October 2017 I found it still bearing its nameboard but being used for storage and accommodation. I do not know what has become of the silver-gilt communion set.

35 Bishop Whitaker to Hugh R Jones, attorney and Chancellor of the Diocese of Central New York, 2 January 1985. Diocesan Archives, citing *Albany Times Union*, 23 September 1984.

36 Copy in Diocesan Archives, dated 22 June 1988. *My italics*.

37 *Syracuse Post Standard*, 31 August 1990.

38 Robert E. Eggenschiller to Bishop Whitaker, undated letter received 4 May 1990: "As per our discussion, the replica set will be the one we will bring to Syracuse in September 1990." Diocesan Archives. The reason seems to have been the high cost of security, transportation and insurance of the originals.

39 Walton W Battershall and Joseph Hooper, *A History of St. Peter's Church in the City of Albany*, Albany, 1900, p 493.

1980s in a climate of Indian claims on lands said to have been illegally taken from them in the eighteenth century. In 1984 Bishop O'Kelley Whitaker visited the Church of the Good Shepherd to hear the concerns of the members of the vestry that the silver should be in their hands. He was told that with the growth of a Native American identity, the Longhouse, i.e. the tribe's leaders, looked down on Christian Indians, and that possession of this gift would give the latter needed prestige.³⁵ In the following year, 1985, the Episcopal Church canonised the first Native American in its calendar of saints: David Pendleton Oakerhater (O-kuh-ha-tah) (circa 1847-1931), who had been ordained a deacon in Grace Church, Syracuse in 1881. The idea arose among the church dignitaries that to celebrate his day, the 1 September, the Queen Anne silver should be brought to the Church of the Good Shepherd and then to St Paul's Cathedral, Syracuse. At the Diocesan convention of 1988 it was even resolved:

That the Diocese of Central New York send word to the Diocese of Albany and St. Peter's Church to thank them for their caretaking, and be it further RESOLVED, That this 119th Convention encourage resumption and continuation of conversation between the Bishops of Central New York and Albany with respect to *transfer to the Onondagas of the Communion set intended for them by Queen Anne with delivery to the Diocese of Central New York for safekeeping*.³⁶

This was too much to ask. St Peter's consented in principle to a twenty-four hour loan for the Oakerhater commemoration on 1 September 1990, of the Queen Anne silver 'or the

duplicates' (see below). The communion set would be transported under armed guard from Albany to Syracuse Cathedral, but *not* to the Church of the Good Shepherd.³⁷ Indian reservations have a somewhat special legal status and there was a fear that the silver might never come back.

For a year the arrangements occupied the highest levels of the Episcopal Church, their lawyers, an insurance company (which quoted a value of \$450,000), and the local Sheriff's department. The churches wanted the emphasis to be on the commemoration of David Oakerhater, but naturally the newspapers of both Syracuse and Albany were more taken with the idea of Indians waiting 300 years for their silver. In the event only four pieces were loaned and these were the replicas mentioned below.³⁸ One of the positive results was that the history of the Queen Anne silver was thoroughly researched by the Hon Hugh R Jones, an attorney and Chancellor of the Diocese of Central New York; out of this came the final legal opinion and a sort of quietus on the subject.

The sticking-point was that Queen Anne specifically gave the silver, as the inscriptions state, not to the Onondagas as such but to 'her Indian Chappel of the Onondawgus,' which has never existed. As early as the 1890s the Hon Orlando Meads had written an open letter to the Rector, Walton W Battershall, stating the position:

I make a case that it was never intended as a gift for the Onondagas as a tribe, but part of the necessary outfitting of a Royal chapel.³⁹

In the booklet available in St Peter's, a former Rector concluded:



Fig 8 Replicas of the Onondaga chapel silver, circa 1890.

Originals and replicas

In style the Onondaga chapel silver closely resembles the Nova Scotia plate apart from the fact that the lids of the flagons are more domed and the knops of the chalices more compressed. The originals are not exhibited in St Peter's. The church owns and displays replicas of seven pieces: including a pair of chalices whereas the original gift included only one [Figs 8 and 9]. The church archives hold no record or memorandum of when this replica set was made, by whom, or how it was paid for. They are minutely faithful to the originals both in form and in the engraving of the inscriptions, properly omitting only the English hallmarks; they lack any other marks whatsoever. They are in fact silver-plate and were made by J Wippell & Sons of Exeter. This firm of ecclesiastical outfitters, founded in

Fig 9 Replica of a chalice, circa 1890.



The Queen could not have envisioned the eventual independence of the American colonies and the founding of the Church of the Good Shephard [sic] of the Onondaga in the 1870s can in no way be construed as the rightful heir to a gift given by a foreign monarch some 160 years earlier for the purpose of securing religious and political allegiance to that foreign monarch, now long dead, and the Empire she ruled ... In its early history, and at the time of Queen Anne's sending of the communion silver, St. Peter's was the Royal Chapel to the local inhabitants and to the Onondagas and other Native American tribes who lived and converged on the Albany area.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Rev Canon Robert E. Eggenschiller, 'The Queen Anne Silver Communion Service.' Undated booklet.

41 <https://www.wippell.com/Special-pages/Search-Results.aspx?searchtext=queen+anne&searchmode=anyword> Accessed 6 January 2018.

42 William Nelson Fenton, *Iroquois Journey: An Anthropologist Remembers*, Lincoln, Nebraska, 2007, pp 116-17. Borrowing the pieces at Tyendanegega "proved too complicated even to attempt."

43 *Albany Daily Gazette*, 26 February 2012.

44 Arthur G Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837, their Marks & Lives*, 3rd ed, London, 1990, no 736.

Fig 10 The Onondaga chapel silver, Britannia standard, London, 1711-12, maker's mark of Francis Garthorne.



1789, currently advertises such replicas for sale, illustrating the Onondaga chapel pieces on its website and stating that they were made for St Peter's, adding that there would be an extra charge for engraving.⁴¹

It seems that the originals have never left Albany since they were deposited there, a remarkable feat of preservation on the part of St Peter's Church, although they have occasionally been lent for exhibitions within the city. In 2007 William Nelson Fenton, a member of the church, succeeded in uniting the Onondaga with the Mohawk chapel silver from Brantford, for an exhibition in the New York State Museum on the visit of the Four Chiefs to London.⁴² The Onondaga chapel silver was shown at the Albany Institute



Fig 11 Chalice and flagons from the Onondaga chapel silver, Britannia standard, London, 1711-12, maker's mark of Francis Garthorne.

of History and Art in an exhibition: 'St Peter's Church: 300 Years of History and Art' (3 March- 27 May 2012).⁴³ They otherwise repose in a bank vault.

On 17 May 2018 I had the privilege of viewing and handling the original communion service [Figs 10 to 23]; apart from some wear to the marks due to cleaning, the pieces are in virtually mint condition. There are no dents and the engraving on the alms dish was as crisp as if in 300 years no coins had ever been dropped in it. Since the Britannia standard was in force at the time of their making, the pieces all bear the Britannia mark and the leopard's head erased. The date letter is Q for 1711-12 and the maker's mark is G enclosing A, for Francis Garthorne.⁴⁴ There is also a second, unmarked chalice, engraved 'St Peters Church Albany 1834': evidently an early replica made to match the pair of flagons.



Fig 12 Flagon, from the Onondaga chapel silver, Britannia standard, London, 1711-12, maker's mark of Francis Garthorne.

Chalices and communion cups

The basic communion set of Queen Anne's gifts comprised three pieces: flagon, chalice and paten (see below); the small patens also did duty as covers for the chalices. The Onondaga chapel silver, however, has both a large paten for the host, engraved on the upper surface, and a small one, engraved on what might seem the underside, showing that it was primarily intended to cover a chalice, with its foot uppermost.

Ecclesiologists may have noticed and questioned the word 'chalice' used for what they would term 'communion cup'. Strictly speaking a chalice is a pre-Reformation design with a broad and often sexafoil base, a prominent knop, and a comparatively small bowl for the wine, since only the priest drank from it. These vessels were banished at the Reformation together with the theology that went with them, and the laity was allowed to participate in the 'Lord's Supper' in both kinds. This required larger vessels for wine and water, supplied from the flagons that are the glory of post-Reformation communion silver.

The word 'chalice', present together with 'cup' in the Prayer Book of 1548/49, was absent from the 1552 revision,⁴⁵ only to return in 1662 after the restoration of the monarchy. By 1700, as we have seen from the documents cited above concerning Queen Anne's gift, the once banished word was again in common parlance. The relevance to the Indian silver is that the Anglican Church in New York had to compete with the French Canadian Catholics on the one hand, and the New England Calvinists on the other. Both were eager to draw the Indians into their fold. The silver given to the tribes (and to American churches: see below) was conspicuously Anglican. E Alfred Jones remarked on the uniformity of such communion cups or chalices:

As will be observed, they were all plain and have bell-shaped bodies supported on stems which are in most cases divided by knops or mouldings of different sizes and

Fig 13 Alms dish, from the Onondaga chapel silver, Britannia standard, London, 1711-12, maker's mark of Francis Garthorne.
(Photograph: St Peter's Church Archives)



Fig 14 Detail of the Royal arms on the alms dish [Fig 13].



⁴⁵ See *The Two Liturgies, A.D. 1549, and A.D. 1552, with other Documents*, London, 1844.

46 E Alfred Jones, *The Old Silver of American Churches*, Letchworth, 1913, p xlix.

47 See George Munson Curtis, *Early Silver of Connecticut and Its Makers*, Meriden, 1913, for photographs of some of these remarkable church collections.

48 Arthur G Grimwade, op cit, see note 44, no 3570.

49 See Sir Charles Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, 3rd ed, Woodbridge, 1989, p 139.

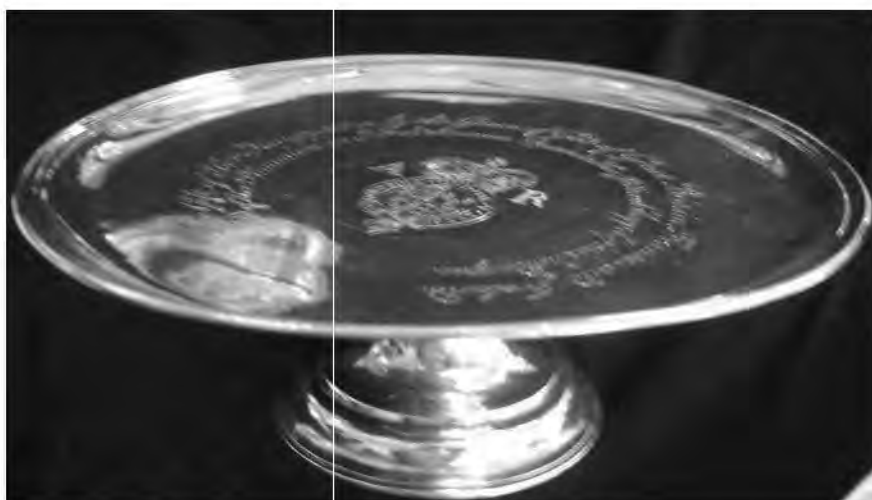


Fig 15 Above: Paten, from the Onondaga chapel silver, Britannia standard, London, 1711-12, maker's mark of Francis Garthorne.

while the inscription and the royal arms advertised the monarch as head of the church.

Comparable vessels in American churches

Francis Garthorne's work, along with that of his relative George Garthorne, is represented in America by other royal gifts. We rely here on the encyclopedic work of E Alfred Jones, already cited.

Annapolis parish, Maryland, has a communion set given by William and Mary. The flagon is marked with Francis Garthorne's sterling mark, FG above a rosette,⁴⁸ with the date mark for 1695-96; the remainder of the service is of the same year, marked GG above a pellet for George Garthorne.⁴⁹

Christ Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts has a chalice, small paten and a flagon presented by the same monarchs, marked by Francis Garthorne in 1694-95.

In Trinity Church, New York City, Francis Garthorne was responsible for both the William and Mary communion service (chalice, paten and flagon of



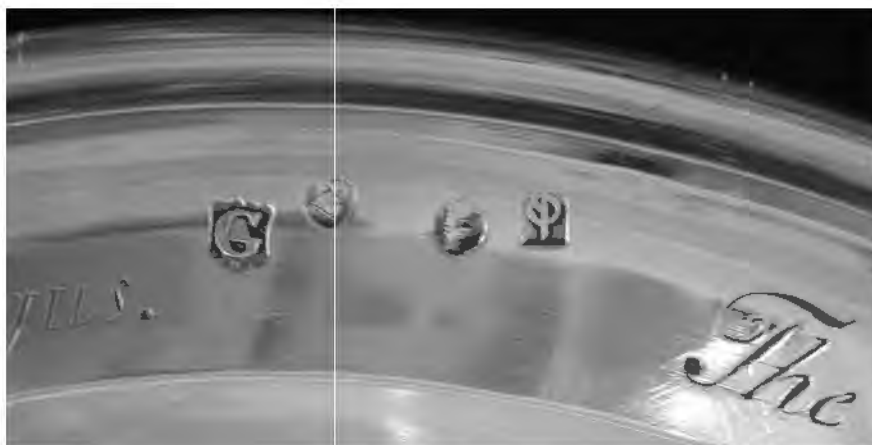
Fig 16 Left: Detail of the engraving of the paten [Fig 15].

width. The numerous silver services of plate given by the English sovereigns, William and Mary, queen Anne, George II and III, to the Colonial churches of America, have chalices of the kind just mentioned.⁴⁶

The standardised vessel exemplified an Anglican compromise: it resembled neither the traditional Catholic form, nor the mish-mash of domestic beakers, mugs, tankards and caudle cups used by the Congregationalists,⁴⁷

50 E Alfred Jones, op cit, see note 46, p xlix.

Fig 21 Detail of the marks on the alms dish
[Fig 13].



their contemporary mission. E Alfred Jones wrote:

In addition to her gifts of silver services to Trinity church, New York, and Trinity church, Newport, queen Anne was the donor of nine chalices, all of one type, to American churches, the nine having been made by two London silversmiths, John Eastt [sic] and William Gibson.⁵⁰

The eleven churches in question are as follows:

New Jersey: St Mary's, Burlington: chalice and small paten, William Gibson, 1705-6; St Peter's, Perth Amboy: chalice and small paten cover, William Gibson, 1705-6.

New York: St George's, Hempstead, Long Island: chalice and small paten, John East, 1708-9; Trinity Church, New York City: two chalices and small patens, two flagons, alms dish, Francis Garthorne, Britannia standard, undated; Christ Church, Rye, Long Island: chalice and small paten, John East, 1708-9;

Fig 22 Detail of the marks on the chalice cover
[Fig 17].



Fig 23 Detail of the marks on the paten
[Fig 15].



St Peter's, Westchester (now Bronx): chalice and small paten, John East, 1708-9.

Pennsylvania: St Paul's, Chester: chalice and small paten, William Gibson, 1705-6; Trinity Church, Oxford: chalice and small paten cover, William Gibson, 1705-6; Christ Church, Philadelphia: chalice, small paten and flagon, John East, 1707-8.

Rhode Island: Trinity Church, Newport: silver-gilt chalice and small paten, John Bodington, 1702-3. Gift of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; St Paul's, Wickford (formerly Old Narragansett church): chalice, small paten and flagon, William Gibson, 1706-7.

To which should be added some unconfirmed claimants:

New Jersey: Christ Church, Shrewsbury: chalice and paten, early eighteenth-century, unmarked. The church's website and other sources attribute them as a gift of Queen Anne of 1708.

New York: Grace Church, Jamaica, Long Island: chalice and small paten, John Wisdom(e), 1704-5. Gift of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Not mentioned in current sources.

St Andrew's, Richmond, Staten Island: two chalices and a paten, not mentioned by E Alfred Jones. The church's website attributes them as a gift of Queen Anne of 1712.

Maryland: Christ Church, Wayside (formerly Piccawaxon, now Newburg): chalice and paten, not mentioned by Jones or on the church's website.

Maryland Historic Sites Inventory, August 1978, states

Still in use by the church is its Queen Anne communion silver.

Of all these gifts from Queen Anne none, but the set at Trinity Church, Wall Street, equalled in generosity the communion services given to her Indian subjects and none, I imagine, carries with it such a fascinating burden of history and controversy as the Onondaga silver, destined for a chapel that was never built. There is something both noble and tragic about it: noble, in the restrained beauty of the articles themselves and their sacred purpose; tragic, as reminders of the cost at which the United States came into being.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to Father Paul Hartt, Rector of St Peter's Episcopal Church, Albany, for granting access to the Queen Anne silver; to E Constance Powell, Archivist of the church, for her invaluable assistance and advice and to Joan Green, Archivist of the Diocese of Central New York, for making it possible to complete the later history of the Onondaga Chapel silver.

All photographs are by the Author unless otherwise credited.

Joscelyn Godwin is Professor of Music Emeritus at Colgate University in New York State. His recent books include Upstate Cauldron: Eccentric Spiritual Movements in Early New York State and The Starlight Years: Love and War at Kelmscott Manor, 1940-1948. He is a member of the Silver Society and an Honorary Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

THE WILLIAMS CENTREPIECE

OLIVER FAIRCLOUGH

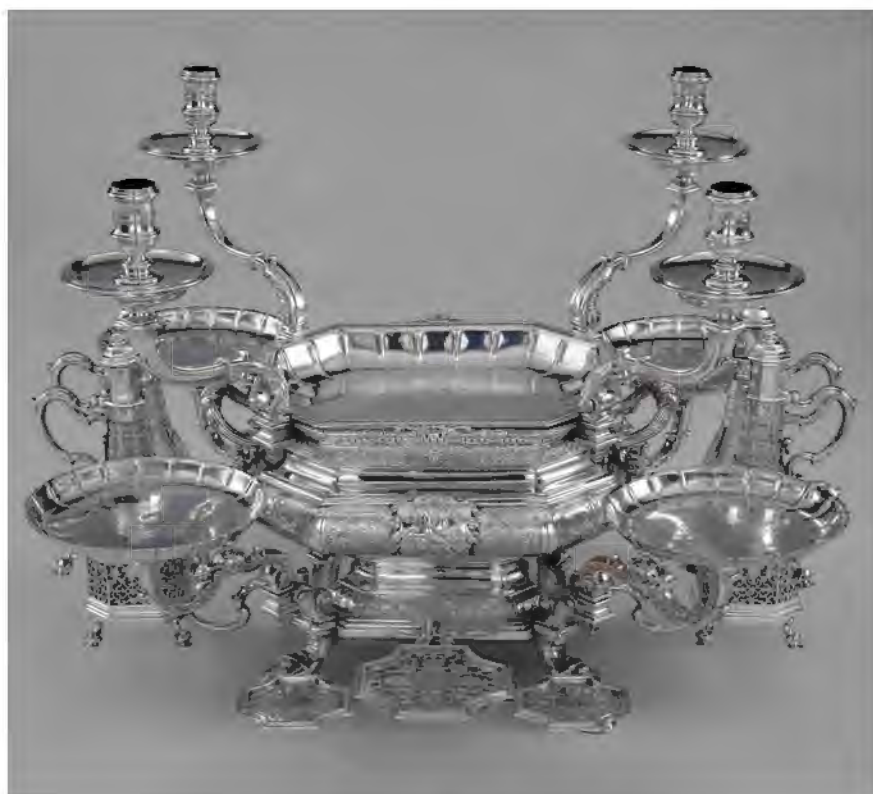


Fig 1. Centrepiece, London, 1730-31, maker's mark of Edward Feline, as acquired in 1995, lacking its six casters.

(Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales; purchased with the assistance of the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the Art Fund, 1995, NMW A 51194).

Introduction

In 1995 the National Museum of Wales bought a silver centrepiece at auction in New York [Fig 1].¹ Bearing the maker's mark of Edward Feline, and with London hallmarks for 1730-31, this object was, and remains, the oldest-surviving British example of these now rare pieces of baroque display plate, antedating by one year the Kirkleatham centrepiece of 1731-32 by David Willaume and Anne Tanqueray, now at Temple Newsam House, Leeds [Fig 2].² It was lacking its six octagonal casters but appeared otherwise to be complete. The central bowl is chased in relief on either side with the coat of arms of two foxes counter-salient in saltire, for Williams.³ It was initially thought that the centrepiece might have been made for

Fig 2. Centrepiece, London, 1731-32, maker's mark of David Willaume and Anne Tanqueray, assembled here for dinner or supper with casters, cruets and branches. (Temple Newsam, Leeds)



1 Auction, Sotheby's, New York, 19 October 1995, lot 454, at a cost of \$323,131. The purchase was supported by the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the Art Fund. Inventory no NMW A 51194.

2 James Lomax, *British Silver at Temple Newsam and Lotherton Hall: A catalogue of the Leeds Collection*, Leeds, 1992, no 81, pp 87-91.

3 Widely used by the descendants of the tenth-century Anglesey chieftain Cadrodd Hardd, and the origin of the pub name, the Cross Foxes, common in north Wales. The same arms are also engraved on the dishes and casters.



Fig 3. Two sugar casters, London, 1730-31, maker's mark of George Wickes, part of the centrepiece in Fig 1.

(Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales; acquired 2015 with the assistance of the Goldsmiths' Company, NMW A 51744-45).

Watkin' owned over 7,400 oz (230,165g) of plate at his death, including a large table service, but no centrepiece.⁴ As the arms appeared to be original and unaltered, for whom had it been made?

The centrepiece had previously appeared at auction at Christie's in London on 5 May 1920. It had then been catalogued as:

Lot 95. A George II centrepiece, chased with foliage and strapwork, with octagonal centre, and branches supporting six octagonal casters, four cut glass ewers, four circular fluted dishes, and four nozzles for lights, by George Wickes and Edward Feline, 1730. 471 [oz]– 5 [dwt].⁵

The seller was recorded as Sir William Willoughby Williams, (1888-1932) 5th

Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn (1693-1749) 3rd Baronet, who assumed the name Wynn in 1719. Celebrated as a country Tory and a neo-Jacobite, 'the great Sir

Fig 4. Four casters for pepper and dry mustard, London, 1730-31, maker's mark of George Wickes, part of the centrepiece in Fig 1.

(Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales; acquired 2012 with the assistance of the Art Fund, NMW A 51709-51713)



⁴ An Inventory of the Plate at Wynnstay, 20 December 1749, National Library of Wales, Wynnstay Mss, misc. vols 11.

⁵ It made the then high price of £848 5s, and the underbidders included Lord Curzon of Kedleston.



Fig 5 Centrepiece in Fig 1, with the casters.
(Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales;
purchased with the assistance of the National
Heritage Memorial Fund and the Art Fund, 1995,
NMW A 51194).

Baronet, of Bodelwyddan, Flintshire, who was descended from a collateral branch of the Williams-Wynn family.⁶ All the elements of the centrepiece bought in 1995 were marked by Edward Feline only; Wickes and Feline were never in partnership together and had not entered a joint mark. Were the six missing casters therefore marked by Wickes, rather than Feline? The purchasers at Christie's in 1920 were Crichton Brothers, the principal London dealers in antique plate, who sold the centrepiece to one of their best clients, the American publisher and collector William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951).⁷ The Hearst Collection of works of art was vast. Some of his silver was displayed in his various homes in the United States and in Britain, including St Donat's Castle, near Cardiff, which he had bought in 1925, but much of it remained in store during his lifetime. Two large sugar casters of 1730, engraved with same coat of arms and marked by George Wickes, were sold by Hearst at Parke-Bernet in 1939 [Fig 3], and his son George R Hearst subsequently sold four matching smaller casters for pepper and dry mustard [Fig 4].⁸ These had, therefore, been part of the centrepiece when it was sold in 1920, but had been detached from it during the period of Hearst's ownership. The rest of the centrepiece had finally

6 For the Williams family and Bodelwyddan, see A S Evans and R F Sandham, *Bodelwyddan Castle: A Brief History*, Bodelwyddan Castle Trust, undated.

7 For the dispersal of silver acquired by Hearst for St Donat's, see auction, Sotheby's, 17 November 1937.

8 Later sold by Mrs L R O'Sullivan, auction, Sotheby's, London, 4 May 1961, lot 75 (bought R Burton, £600).



Fig 6 Bowl for the centrepiece in Fig 1.
(Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales;
purchased with the assistance of the National
Heritage Memorial Fund and the Art Fund, 1995,
NMW A 51194).

Fig 7 Dish for the centrepiece in Fig 1.

(Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales; purchased with the assistance of the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the Art Fund, 1995, NMW A 51194).



Fig 8 Cruet from the centrepiece in Fig 1.

(Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales; purchased with the assistance of the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the Art Fund, 1995, NMW A 51194).



been sold by George Hearst's widow in the 1970s. Knowing that the casters survived, the National Museum of Wales hoped one day to acquire them and this was achieved in 2012 and 2015, with the support of the Art Fund and the Goldsmiths' Company, and the casters were placed back on their stands, where they fitted perfectly, after an interval of nearly a century [Fig 5].

Components and Design

The principal element of the centrepiece is a two-handled octagonal baluster bowl on four large cast double-scroll feet, the sides are chased and applied with coats of arms, and with masks, straps, and trellis on a matted ground [Fig 6]. On this sits an octagonal fluted dish with four cast shell and leaf handles, engraved with the arms and crest of Williams in an architectural cartouche with merfolk fountain supporters, capped by shells and terminating with putti [Fig 7]. The rim of

Fig 9 Caster stand from the centrepiece in Fig 1.

(Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales; purchased with the assistance of the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the Art Fund, 1995, NMW A 51194).



the bowl is fitted at either end with two sockets, each for a scrolling candle branch of square section terminating with a drip-pan and vase-shaped nozzle. Above the feet are four further sockets for scrolling branches carrying circular fluted dishes or saucers, similarly engraved. Also at each end are two projecting cruet frames that slot onto a removable support under the handle; their side panels are pierced and engraved with strapwork, shells and classical medallion heads; they each contain their two original octagonal cut glass bottles⁹, for oil and vinegar, with silver tops and handles [Fig 8]. The caster stands fit into the lower rim of the central bowl, and are similarly pierced and engraved [Fig 9]. The six octagonal vase-shaped casters have a moulded stepped spreading foot and are all engraved with the arms of Williams in strapwork cartouches. Their high domed covers (two of the small ones blind) are made in eight panels, pierced and engraved with alternating designs of floriate scrolls and medallions, and terminate with an octagonal baluster finial. The branches and sockets are marked with nicks to aid assembly, and can only be configured in the manner described above. Assembled it is 16 in (40.6cm) in height and 22¾ in (58cm) long, and now weighs 456 oz 18 dwt (14,195g) without the silver-mounted bottles.¹⁰ The candle branches rising high above the central dish give the design a marked verticality which would have been further exaggerated by the candles themselves and (presumably) a central pyramid of fruit or other food stuffs. The tureen-like central bowl is surprisingly heavy, and almost entirely covered in surface ornament. The design is an interplay between octagonal

forms (the bowl, the casters and stands, and the cruets) and circular ones (the four saucers).

Centrepieces on the baroque table

The evolution of the centrepiece, surtout¹¹ or plat de ménage as an elaborate and eye-catching object dominating the early eighteenth-century dining table is well understood¹² but their development and use prior to 1750 perhaps less so. The first examples were developed for the French court in the 1680s and they served to bring together, in a decorative arrangement, those objects, especially condiment containers, that remained on the table throughout several courses. François Massialot's *La Nouvelle Cuisinier Roial et Bourgeois* (Paris, 1716), illustrates a surtout comprising a central tureen and cover with projecting candle branches located on a plateau together with two casters, two footed oval dishes, four jugs, and four capstan salts. Their use had spread to England by around 1710 and in 1713 the Jewel House issued to Lord Bingley, as part of the plate for his embassy to Spain,

one table basket foot and six castors, four branches four saucers, four salt boxes, four small salts and two cruet frames

weighing 797 oz (24,789g).¹³ A 1727 issue to Lord Chesterfield included an

Aparrn with all the appertinenceys of 820 oz (25,504g).¹⁴ These were clearly larger than either the Williams or Kirkleatham centrepieces which weigh about 470 and 440 oz (14,618g and 13,685g) respectively. By the mid-1720s the surtout had become the principal display element of a dinner service. That acquired by George Treby

⁹ One of these is a replacement.

¹⁰ The silver elements weigh about 15 oz (466.5g), so the overall weight is unchanged since 1920.

¹¹ Contemporary spellings include 'cirtute' and 'sourtoote'. The term was also sometimes used for other types of stand; for example "one large gilt Sartood for Chocolate and Coffee cups" at Montagu House, Bloomsbury, in 1733, Tessa Murdoch (ed), *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Houses*, Cambridge, 2006, p 46.

¹² See Philippa Glanville, *Silver in England*, London, 1987, pp 80-82, 85; James Lomax, 'Silver for the English Dining Room 1700-1820', *A King's Feast*, Copenhagen, 1991, pp 124-26 and Christopher Hartop, *The Huguenot Legacy: English Silver 1680-1760 from the Alan and Simone Hartman Collection*, London, 1996, pp 27-34. See these for the engravings from Massialot and La Chapelle cited below.

¹³ James Lomax, op cit, see note 12, p 124.

¹⁴ Ibid, p 125.

- 15 Treby's service comprised six dozen plates and eighteen dishes, as well as a tureen. The fashioning of his surtout at 3s 6 d an ounce, was more than double that of the tureen. Timothy Schroder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 2009, vol 2, p 552.
- 16 An example of 1733 (Metropolitan Museum of Art), the Brobinski centrepiece, 1734 (Moscow State Historical Museum), the Mountrath centrepiece of 1736-9, and the Newdigate epergne, 1743 (Victoria & Albert Museum).
- 17 James Lomax, op cit, see note 2, suggests that the Kirkleatham centrepiece in its tureen, candles and condiments configuration would also have been used at the more intimate late evening meal of supper
- 18 Philippa Glanville, 'The Newdigate Epergne', *Burlington Magazine*, CXXIX, 1987, p 21-5.

Fig 10. Centrepiece, London, 1741-42, maker's mark of Augustine Courtauld, comprising a stand on wooden base with four wheels, a central bowl and cover, four casters, four bottles, and four shell dishes. The candleholders shown may be replaced by saucers.

(State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, inv no 13429)



from Paul de Lamerie in 1724 included

a fine polished Surtout, Cruets Frames Casters Branches & Saucers, weighing together 505 [oz] 10 [dwt] and costing £259 10s 5d.¹⁵

Both the Williams centrepiece and the Kirkleatham example are still entirely Huguenot in form and ornament, unlike the handful of other surviving centrepieces of circa 1735-45. These include four by Paul de Lamerie,¹⁶ all of which may be incomplete, as well as other examples by Augustine Courtauld and Paul Crespin. Despite their family resemblance, the Williams and Kirkleatham centrepieces are functionally quite different from each other. The Kirkleatham example can either be configured as a tureen, or pot à l'oille and cover, with the four candleholders, the cruet stands, and the casters,¹⁷ or as a fruit or sweetmeat

stand for dessert: the latter by removing the condiments, substituting a flat dish for the domed tureen cover, and fitting saucers to the branches in place of the candle holders. In the second configuration it resembles the Newdigate centrepiece of 1743 in the Victoria & Albert Museum,¹⁸ and the engraving of a

Surtout to be left upon the Table till
Dessert is ser[ve]'d

in the 1736 edition of Vincent La Chapelle's *The Modern Cook*. Eight pegs or stoppers fill the sockets for the absent candle holders, caster stands and cruets when it is in its dessert configuration. The Williams centrepiece lacks this element of adaptability as all the parts can be used together. The four candle branches spring from the rim, not from the feet, and are therefore located above the saucers. They also project over the rim of the fluted dish that covers the central bowl, preventing its removal. It is unclear whether any English centrepiece of the 1730s, other than the Kirkleatham example, had a domed cover for warm food. The Williams centrepiece may, however, originally have been supplied with pegs to fill the sockets for the caster stands and bottle holders if these were removed during the dessert. Otherwise the Williams centrepiece would have remained on the table throughout a dinner, used much as Jassintour Rozea, the Duke of Somerset's French cook, described in 1753:

Middle dishes in courses are greatly out of fashion; their place is generally filled up with a silver machine called a surtout, which is set in the middle of the table, and is something higher



Fig 11 Centrepiece or epergne, London, 1749-50, maker's mark of Paul Crespin. The candleholders shown may be replaced with the four saucers in the foreground.

(© Sotheby's)

than the dishes. The word *surtout* signifies above all: on it are generally put oranges and lemons, garnished with laurel leaves; it holds on the sides several casters for mustard, oil, vinegar, pepper and sugar; between there are salvers for pickles. This machine is called by some an *epergne*, that is to say, a *save dish*. It is generally left on the table, the whole course out.¹⁹

How widespread was the use of the *surtout* in Britain? Functional as well as decorative, it seems to have been an essential element on the grandest dining tables between the 1710s and the 1740s, giving the sense of glamour and lavish consumption previously provided by the buffet of display plate. Outside great houses, individual sets of casters and cruets would have been an

acceptable alternative. *Surtouts* were expensive, costing around £200 to £250, and some seem to have been acquired second-hand: for example a centrepiece weighing 497 oz (15,458g) originally made by Paul de Lamerie for the 4th Earl of Scarsdale in 1723-24, was bought by the 1st Earl of Bristol at auction in 1737.²⁰ Cholmley Turner (1685-1757) of Kirkleatham seems only to have obtained his around 1750. The youthful Thomas Coke (1697-1759) bought a large dinner service including an *epergne* or “*saveall*” weighing 506 oz 10 dwt (15,754g) from de Lamerie in 1719;²¹ they were probably at their most popular around 1730. As their purpose was to bring together disparate elements in a large and impressive display their design was never entirely standardised and there are many variants on the basic form of a central

¹⁹ Jassintour Rozea, *The gift of Comus. Or, practical cookery*, Edinburgh, 1753. I am grateful to Tessa Murdoch and Ann Eatwell for this reference.

²⁰ James Rothwell, *Silver for Entertaining: The Ickworth Collection*, London, 2017, pp 79-86.

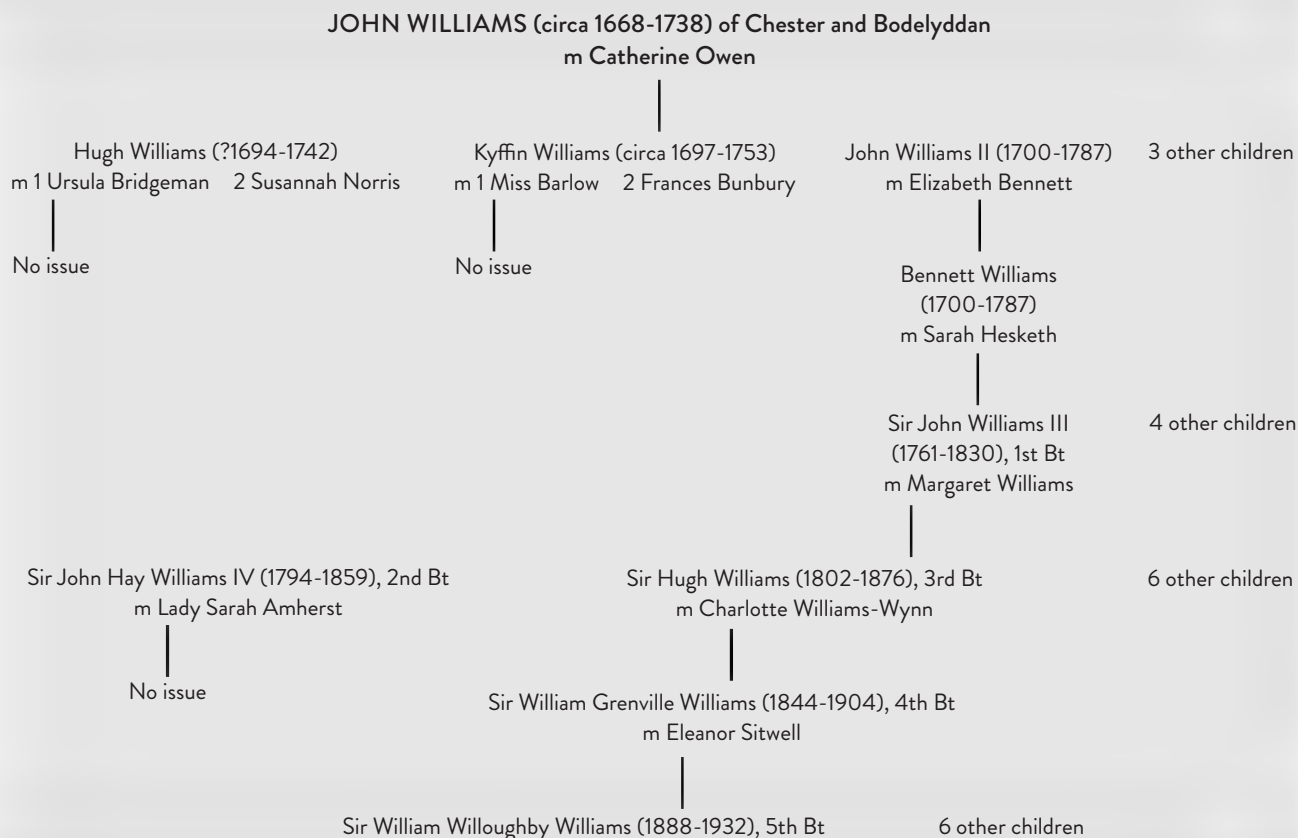
²¹ D P Mortlock, 'Thomas Coke and the Family Silver', *Silver Studies*, no 9, 1997, pp 552-58. Fashioning was again 3s 6d an ounce.

- 22 To a Mr Fry on 4 February 1735 and to Everard Fawkener on 25 September 1735. Stands were sometimes supplied separately or later embellished: four scroll feet being added to the Earl of Malton's surtout de table in June 1736; George Wickes's Gentlemen's Ledger, vol 1 (1735-40). Victoria & Albert Museum AAD/1975/7/1
- 23 Marina Lopato, *State Hermitage Catalogue: British Silver*, London and New Haven, 2015, no 36, pp 126-30.
- 24 The epergne of 1739 made by John Le Sage for the Winns of Nostell Priory comprised a central bowl and dish and four saucers on branches, see auction, Christie's, 22 November 2000, lot 68. It was accompanied by two oil and vinegar frames by the same maker (lot 74) and by four further saucers of 1733.
- 25 <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.109.html/2004/important-silver-gold-boxes-and-portrait-minatures-104765>. Weighing 254 oz 6 dwt (7,909g) this has a central basket, four oval dishes and four circular ones which can be substituted for candleholders.

basin surrounded by saucers, candleholders and condiments; some included a stand or plateau as well as salt containers. Several of those sold by George Wickes between 1735 and 1740 also had a silver plateau or 'table' as in the Massialot engraving.²² A surviving example is the centrepiece of 1741 by Augustine Courtauld, now in the Hermitage. This weighs around 632 oz (19,657g) and may have belonged to the Dukes of Kingston [Fig 10].²³ One wonders whether surtouts were more visually impressive than useful as the condiments would have been out of the reach of most diners. It may be that because pairs of tureens came to be

regarded as the principal elements of a table laid for dinner the surtout began to be used only at the dessert course, shorn of its condiment holders.²⁴ This may, in turn, have been due to the fashion for separate condiment holders, which combined casters and cruets together in separate frames, and the popularity of small, individual salts which were distributed along the table. Some centrepieces made during the 1740s, such as the epergne by Paul Crespin of 1748-49 supplied to the 4th Earl of Dysart,²⁵ comprised only saucers and branches [Fig 12], and by the early 1750s the large multi-purpose surtout was passing out of use. Many seem to

Fig 12 The family tree of the Williams family of Chester and Bodelwyddan



have been melted then, or later in the eighteenth century, although some early Georgian cruets with socket sleeves are evidently the survivors of lost surtouts, as are some sets of saucers and casters.²⁶ These transitional centrepieces were in turn to be superseded in the next decade by the familiar and lighter dessert epergne comprising a large open frame and hanging baskets.²⁷

The maker: Edward Feline (1695-1753)²⁸

Probably of Huguenot descent, Edward Feline was apprenticed to Augustin Courtauld in 1709, and began to work on his own account in the autumn of 1720 at which time he was living in Rose Street, Covent Garden. As well as the usual range of domestic plate, he was responsible for a number of ambitious presentation cups, including the Lennox christening bowl and cover of 1731, now in the Gilbert Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum.²⁹ He also became a member of the livery of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1731 and married Magdalene Montier at Christ Church, Spitalfields in the same year. He entered another mark from King Street, Covent Garden in 1739. His customers during the 1740s included George Booth, 2nd Earl of Warrington, and Henry St John, 1st Viscount

Bolingbroke³⁰. He died on 15 May 1751 and his business was continued into the 1760s by his widow. The Williams centrepiece is one of his principal works and demonstrates his mastery of Régence ornamental design as well as indicating that he had access to highly-skilled engravers and other subcontracted craftsmen. There is no other known connection between Feline and George Wickes,³¹ and the men were not near neighbours, so the casters were probably bought in to complete the centrepiece.³²

The patrons: the Williams family of Chester and Bodelwyddan

In this instance Feline's client was neither an aristocrat nor a great landowner: the centrepiece was commissioned by a family of well-to-do lawyers from Chester. The first record of it appears in the will of Sir John Williams (1761-1830) dated 24 March 1829.³³ This states that

out of affectionate regard to the memory of my late Grandfather John Williams Esquire formerly Chief Justice of the Brecon Glamorgan and Radnor Circuit it is my will and desire and I do hereby direct that my old Epergne and my large silver Waiter in which the Judges Seals of Office are fixed³⁴ be deemed and considered as or in the nature of Heir Looms respectively to be annexed to and go unaltered as by the rules of Law and Equity they can or may be and used with my Mansion House and demesne of Bodelwyddan.

Sir John's grandfather, see *Fig 14* for a family tree, was another John Williams (1700-87), identified here as John II, a barrister who was Chief Justice of the Brecknock circuit from 1755 until his death.³⁵ He is unlikely to have

26 See for example Timothy Schroder, *op cit*, see note 15, vol 1, pp 352-4, cat no 134, oil and vinegar frame probably from a centrepiece, Paul de Lamerie, 1727-28

27 From 1739 Wickes was supplying what are variously described as surtouts, machines or epergnes with branches and saucers only, weighing around 150 oz (4,665g). Excluding the exceptional example made for the Prince of Wales in 1745, the last surtouts of the older heavier type including casters and condiments in his ledgers are those for Viscount Duncannon (May 1740, 781 oz (24,291g) including a stand) and Joseph Leason (August 1742, 764 oz (23,763g) sect, standing on a mahogany board and feet). Gentlemen's Ledger, vol 1 (1735-40) and vol 2 (1740-1745). Victoria & Albert Museum AAD/1975/7/1 and 2. The centrepiece of the Leinster service (1747) was described as "a fine epergne & basket & table" rather than as a surtout. It has no branches or saucers although the cruets and condiment holders could be placed on the plateau, see Elaine Barr, *George Wickes 1698-1761 Royal Goldsmith*, London, 1980, pp 197-205.

28 Tessa Murdoch, 'Edward Feline, Goldsmith', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, XXVIII (3), 2005, pp 316-24.

29 <https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/news/a-royal-christening-gift-comes-home>

30 For Warrington see James Lomax and James Rothwell, *Country House silver from Dunham Massey*, London, 2006, pp 52, 167. "Particulars of my plate & its weight, 1750. An Epergne, consisting of a Table, Basan, Dish, 2 Salt Cellars, 6 casters, and 4 glass cruets with silver Topps 310 oz 19 dwt".

31 The only apparent exception is an inkstand of 1724 by Feline, with later ink and sandpots bearing Wickes's third mark, entered in 1739. <https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/ewbanks/catalogue-id-srew10088/lot-a28ecd5b-0153-48f8-91ff-a5c20094d40d>. auction, Ewbanks, 16 March 2016, lot 28.

32 David Willaume and Anne Tanqueray, whose marks appear on the Kirkleatham centrepiece (her's are on the central bowl, and his on the remaining pieces) were brother and sister, and occasional collaborators, but appear to have run independent and separate businesses.

33 National Archives, PBOB 11-1779-325. Copy, Denbighshire Record Office, D/BD 194

34 The waiter was also sold in May 1920, catalogued as lot 96 "A large circular salver, with scalloped border by John Tuite, 1737, set at a later date with matrices ad chased with a shield ad border of shells". Weighing 160 oz (4,976g), it was bought for £80 and is untraced.

35 The Courts of Great Session tried serious offences, both criminal and civil, in Wales and Cheshire between 1542 and 1830; they were the equivalent of the assize courts in England. The Judges and Attorneys-General of its four circuits were all part-timers who could continue with other legal work. John Williams's legal manuscripts are in the National Library of Wales GB 0210 MSBODEL

36 Subsequently the Oddfellows Hall, and now a hotel. Lavish early Georgian decoration survives, including a marble fireplace bearing the Williams arms.

37 His five younger children received bequests of £4,000 to £5,000 each in his will, National Archives, PROB 11-700-153. John I was a widower by 1730 and the arms of his deceased wife Catherine Owen of Orielton do not appear on the centrepiece.

38 The centrepiece might have been commissioned by Hugh Williams but it lacks the arms of his wife, Susannah Norris, whom he married in 1726.

39 In 1805 he carried out a Greek Revival remodelling of the house. For life at Bodelwyddan between 1803 and 1823, see Alice Fairfax-Lucy (ed), *Mistress of Charlecote: The Memoirs of Mary Elizabeth Lucy*, London, 1983, pp 15-31. Bodelwyddan now houses a museum and a hotel.

40 In June 1825 "two large silver dishes and covers for the top and bottom of the Dinner Table and two wine coolers" were bought by John Hay Williams; Mss diary at Claydon House, Buckinghamshire.

commissioned the centrepiece, as he was a third son who only became the head of his family in 1753. His father John Williams I (circa 1668-1738) was also a lawyer, who held the offices of Attorney General for Denbigh and Montgomery from 29 June 1702 and for Chester and Flint from 9 August 1727. The family came originally from Anglesey but John I's father Sir William Williams (1634-1700) had been an Alderman, Recorder and MP for Chester, as well as Speaker of the House of Commons (1680-1) and Solicitor-General (1687-9). His baronetcy and most of his landed property passed to his elder son William, ancestor of the Williams-Wynn family, but his influence in Chester was inherited by his younger son John I, together with an estate at Bodelwyddan, near St Asaph, Flintshire. The centrepiece may have been made for John I, who was clearly wealthy and owned a large town house in Bridge Street, Chester,³⁶ built in 1676 for Lady Mary Calverley, as well as lands in north Wales³⁷.

Most of John I's property passed in 1738 to his eldest son Hugh Williams (1694-1742) who was MP for Anglesey between 1725 and 1734, and died childless.³⁸ John I's second son Kyffin Williams (circa 1697-1753) was MP for the Flint Boroughs from 1747-53 but he had no direct heir and the family's land and possessions passed to John II, who was appointed a Welsh judge in 1755. All these Williamses are described as "of Chester" until Sir John Williams (John II's grandson) settled permanently at Bodelwyddan following his marriage in 1791.³⁹

Later History

By 1829 the centrepiece was an important symbol of the family's antiquity and wealth. More table plate was bought during the 1820s.⁴⁰ Sir John

Hay Williams (1794-1859), 2nd Baronet, greatly enlarged and gothicised Bodelwyddan, and developed its gardens, as well as those of Rhianfa, a mansion in the style of a French chateau, that he built on the banks of the Menai straits. The lead and zinc mine at Bodelwyddan, a major contributor to his income, was exhausted by the year of his death and, thereafter, the family faced growing financial difficulties. When his brother and heir Sir Hugh Williams died in 1876 the whole of his personal estate was absorbed in the payment of his debts. The Williamses left Bodelwyddan in the 1890s and the house was let to tenants. It was finally sold in 1925 by Sir William Willoughby Williams who had disposed of most of the estate in 1918, two years before the two silver heirlooms, the centrepiece and the salver, appeared at Christie's. Family pride had ensured that the centrepiece had survived, apparently intact and unaltered, for nearly two centuries. Like much important English silver of the early eighteenth century it then went to the United States and was largely forgotten. Happily it has now been reassembled, nearly a century later, in a British public collection.

Oliver Fairclough worked as a curator at Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales between 1986 and 2015, latterly as Keeper of Art. He has a long-standing interest in the silver acquired by Welsh families between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries and is working on a study of the eighteenth-century art collections and cultural patronage of the Williams-Wynn family. He is currently Chairman of the French Porcelain Society and has also published on British and European ceramics.

A SIAMESE AMBASSADORIAL GIFT TO LOUIS XIV

JOHN HAWKINS



Fig 1 Ewer, Nagasaki, silver, parcel-gilt, circa 1685.

(Photo © Château de Versailles. Dist RMN-Grand-Palais/Christophe Fouin)

The *Antiques Trade Gazette* of 6 October 2018 illustrated and described a silver, Nagasaki-made wine pot with an engraved but uninsulated handle. The pot in question was presented to Louis XIV at Versailles as a part of a substantial gift from the Siamese ambassadorial mission of 1686 [Fig 1].

The pot is apparently the only surviving object from a group of eighty pieces of gold and silverware presented by the Siamese Ambassador to the King. It is chased with birds and flowers and on the underside is engraved with the arms of France and the three crowns that indicate that it belonged to the crown. It also bears inventory numbers from the Garde-Meuble de la Couronne [Fig 2]. The number 65 shows that it was registered, together with another similar object, in 1697 and the number 314 dates from 1729 when the numbering of the inventory was altered. The two pots were listed at the Hotel du Garde-Meuble in inventories of 1775 and 1791 where they shown as being in the Salle des Bijoux which was open to the public during the reign of Louis XVI and they were displayed alongside the crown jewels. The pot escaped the mass



Fig 2 Base of ewer [Fig 1], detail showing the Royal arms of France and inventory numbers.

(Photo © Château de Versailles. RMN-Grand-Palais/Christophe Fouin)

¹ John Hawkins, 'Chinese silversmiths working in Nagasaki between 1660 and 1800, Silver Studies The Journal of the Silver Society, No 33, 2016-16, pp 19-158.

melting of plate ordered by the Louis XIV in 1689 and 1709 and that which took place in 1793 and it was sold in the last of the revolutionary sales in January 1797. It is further engraved with the arms of a member of the Terray de Morel-Vinde family into whose ownership it passed.

In 1686 the Siamese embassy to France brought with it a large cache of gifts, including carpets, lacquerware, over 500 pieces of porcelain, rhinoceros horns as well as gold and silverware to present to Louis XIV at Versailles on behalf of King Narai of Siam who was represented by his foreign minister Kosa Pan [Fig 3]. This was the third Siamese diplomatic mission to Versailles to take place during the 1680s and it followed visits in 1681 and 1684. Louis XIV had in turn sent his own diplomatic missions to

Siam for commercial purposes and to try to convert King Narai to Catholicism.

For both countries these missions were underpinned by commercial and political aims. Siam was extending its diplomatic and commercial activities and it sought to interest France in Siam becoming a preferred trading partner in the *Compagnie des Indes* and in sustaining the military assistance that it had already been given by France. France in turn was keen to extend its sphere of influence beyond Europe and in particular to demonstrate to the Netherlands its power and influence in Asia. Ultimately the diplomatic overtures were to prove fruitless: Narai was overthrown in 1688 and replaced by Pitracha who closed Siam to all westerners apart from the Dutch.

My article published in 2017¹ discusses in detail the production of these cast silver objects from Nagasaki as made by Chinese silversmiths for the Dutch. On the evidence of this sake rice wine pot, the Siamese court, using connections from within their resident Japanese community, must have sourced these exotic silver items from Nagasaki. We see here the prototype for a cutting edge design catering for the rich and fashionable in Europe: an exotic silver container that was intended to befit a king and the form of which was adopted for dispensing a drink, coffee, which would have been unknown to the donor.

A European monarch would not have considered drinking tea from a clay teapot, coffee from a copper or brass vessel or chocolate from a gourd so new vessels in silver were being created at the time that these newly fashionable drinks began to be consumed in Europe and, to be authentic, they were

Fig 3 Box, ivory, depicting the visit of the Siamese Ambassador to the court of Louis XIV at Versailles.

(© The Trustees of the British Museum)



obtained from the source of these exotic drinks which royalty was making fashionable through their control of the trade with the East Indies and the associated trading companies.

The Chinese clay teapot developed into a hybrid, Nagasaki-made, cast silver teapot which was created by Chinese workmen, using shakudo designs and techniques to emphasise the oriental nature of the silver panels. The Chinese invented, and the Japanese drank, sake or rice wine. Did this then cause the form of a Chinese wine ewer to be used as a coffee pot? The Japanese dispensed sake from a container with no handle so the form was not one used by them for wine. Aztec two handled silver or gold chocolate cups became the two handled lidded filigree hot chocolate vessels, described in a forthcoming article on New Mexico silver, when they were made for purposes of fashion by the Chinese silversmiths resident in New Mexico.

In the eyes of a Siamese sovereign this pot would have been an appropriate royal gift to a court which could only exist in his imagination and as described to him by previous diplomatic missions. This court would go on to value this exotic object and its form would then be used by those at the court for wine, tea or coffee and, even later, amended with a stirrer through the top for chocolate when copied by an English silversmith to whom the origin of the object and its purpose were unknown.

What was the connection between Japan and Siam and how did this come about?

During the first decades of the seventeenth century a substantial immigrant Japanese community thrived

in the Siamese capital of Ayudhya, now Ayutthaya, in modern day Thailand. A number of Japanese adventurers and Catholic fugitives had settled in Ayudhya and their numbers had grown to some 5,000 by the middle of the century. At the time of his death, circa 1630, the commander of the Siamese army Yamada Nagama, had 600 Japanese samurai followers: a clear illustration of the extent of Japanese influence within Siam at the time.

In 1661 Siamese royal junks were described as 'Chinese' by the port authorities. The Tokugawa dynasty used the incoming ships officers as an important source for news on international politics, these reports (*Tôsen Fusetsu-gaki*) survive from 1644 onwards and give us a considered insight into trade between the two countries. The captains of the junks travelled on different ships over the years, the sailors were Chinese. The junks from Ayudhya, carrying more than 100 people, were the largest to enter Nagasaki and the Japanese court, aware of the provenance of the vessels seemed willing to allow the trade to continue.

According to Dutch data 103 Chinese Junks made the trip from Ayudhya to Nagasaki between 1661 and 1686: an average of three vessels per year although the number diminished in the last decades of the seventeenth century after the Siamese revolution of 1688. This major upheaval within the Siamese Ayutthaya kingdom led to the overthrow of the pro-French Siamese King Narai. The 1688 siege of Bangkok saw tens of thousands of Siamese soldiers spending four months besieging a French fortress within the city. As a consequence Siam immediately severed all ties with the France.

PERSONAL FAVOURITES: A ROYAL CHRISTENING GIFT AND OTHER CHRISTENING GIFTS IN THE VICTORIA & ALBERT MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

TESSA MURDOCH



Fig 1 Cup and cover, London, 1731-32, maker's mark of Edward Feline, engraved with the royal arms and a presentation inscription.

(© The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no: loan, Gilbert 1.1 to 3-2014)

In March 2014 Heike Zech and I attended the preview at TEFAF, the European Fine Art Fair in Maastricht, with the intention of making a significant acquisition for the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection. We had our eye on a micromosaic box which we had viewed at Masterpiece in London in 2013 but, when we arrived in Maastricht, we were surprised to find that the dealer had withdrawn the item from sale. We were aware that Koopman Rare Art planned to display a remarkable royal christening gift [Fig 1] which had formerly been in the Al Tajir Collection¹ so we headed straight to their stand. We had alerted the then Chairman of the Gilbert Trust for the Arts, Sir Paul Ruddock, of our intention.

Fortunately he was also attending the preview so we were able to show him the christening gift and gain his recommendation for its acquisition.

The silver cup and cover was fashioned in the Régence style in the workshop of the second generation Huguenot goldsmith Edward Feline in response to a royal warrant to the 2nd Duke of Richmond from Lord Lynn, the then Master of the Jewel House for

Two Hundred Ounces of gilt plate as a gift from his Majesty at the Christening of his Child to be made into such vessels and after such a fashion as his Grace shall direct.²

The christening gift was intended for Emily, second daughter of the Duke of

1 Charles Truman, *The Glory of the Goldsmith, Magnificent Gold and Silver from the Al-Tajir Collection*, London, 1989, no 66, p 96.

2 Rosemary Baird, *Goodwood: Art and Architecture, Sport and Family*, London, 2007, p 31.

- 3 Compare the silver-gilt cups given by George I and George II to members of the Townsend family, circa 1724 and circa 1757, auction catalogue, Christie's, *The Silver Sale: A Connoisseur's Eye*, 23 November 2015. I am grateful to Mark Ockelton for this reference.
- 4 Sir Bernard Burke, *The General Armoury*, London, 1996, p 601, under Lennox.
- 5 The underside is illustrated in the Victoria & Albert Museum, blog <http://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/network/a-royal-christening-gift-comes-home>
- 6 See Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Westminster*, Yale, 2003.
- 7 Rosemary Baird, op cit, see note 21, p 31 citing manuscript accounts preserved in the Goodwood Archive deposited in the West Sussex Record Office.

Fig 2 Cup and cover in [Fig 1], detail of base and inscription.

(© The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no: loan, Gilbert 1.1 to 3-2014)



Richmond who enjoyed the prestigious role at court of Gentleman of the Bedchamber to George II. The cup and cover was a christening gift from the monarch; the child's other godparents were the King's daughter Princess Amelia, in whose honour the baby was named, and Camilla, Countess of Tankerville (1697-1775) wife of Charles, 2nd Earl of Tankerville who lived at Uppark, Sussex not far from the Duke of Richmond's country home at Goodwood.

Such a large cup and cover was an unusual form for a christening gift although gifts of silver often marked rites of passage such as a christening or marriage. In the Tudor period it became customary for the monarch to buy or commission a piece of plate for the baptism of a godchild; this gift usually took the form of a plain two-handled cup, with a spool shaped cover.³ The elaborate nature of this George II vessel

and cover, with its heraldic ornament, sets it apart from other royal christening gifts. It is distinguished by its two handles formed as the Royal heraldic supporters, the lion and the unicorn, and the finial to the cover which is a crowned lion, the crest of the Dukes of Richmond. The supporters of the Dukes of Richmond's coat of arms are a unicorn and an antelope.⁴ Baby Emily born on 6 October 1731 was baptised three weeks later at St Margaret's, Westminster, the parish church closest to her London home, Richmond House, which overlooked the Thames at Whitehall. As she grew up, little Emily may well have associated the armorial animals on this royal christening gift with the real lions which roamed the menagerie at the family's country home. The cup is inscribed on the underside

Lady Emilia Lenos(sic) Oct.25th 1731

thus recording the actual date of her baptism.⁵ Where each foot is soldered to the vessel there is an adjacent scallop shell motif, symbolic of water [Fig 2]. This feature and the inscription suggests that the bowl was used to contain the holy water used in the sacrament of baptism but it is more likely that for the baptism the 1641 font supplied by the celebrated sculptor Nicholas Stone was used.⁶ After the baptism a christening party was held for which the Duke's steward paid £10 for christening cakes

8 cakes at ye Xning of Lady Amelia.⁷

Emily's elder sister Caroline, the Duke and Duchess's only surviving child, was eight years older so the arrival of a new baby would have been the cause of much celebration.

Such prominent use of heraldic supporters is a feature of royal silver



Fig 3 Cup and cover in Fig 1, detail of marks on liner, Dublin, 1856-57, maker's mark of Robert Smith.

(© The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no: Loan, Gilbert 1.1 to 3-2014)

made for George II's father George I, as Prince-Elector of Hanover, before he acceded to the British throne, and for his younger brother Ernest Augustus, Prince Bishop of Osnabruck. The Frick Collection contains two wine fountains made in Hanover and Osnabruck, circa 1705 and circa 1725 respectively, these are surmounted by the heraldic unicorn and lion respectively.⁸ George II and his daughter Princess Amelia returned to Richmond House, Whitehall in 1749 to enjoy a lavish display of fireworks to celebrate the Peace of Aix La Chapelle; after a concert of music, Horace Walpole reported to his friend Horace Mann

from boats on every side were discharged water rockets and ... then the wheels which were ranged along the rails of the terrace were played off; and the whole concluded with the illumination of a pavilion on the top of the slope. You can't conceive of a prettier sight; the garden filled with everybody of fashion ... The King and Princess Emily were in their barge under the terrace, the river was covered with boats.⁹

Emily cherished her royal present and took it with her to Ireland when in 1747, aged just fifteen, she married James, 20th Earl of Kildare in a magnificent ceremony at Richmond House. Her husband later became Duke of Leinster and they lived at Leinster House, Dublin and at Carton, County Maynooth. The couple had nineteen children, so it is possible that the royal christening vessel

was used again and again for those successive baptisms. Emily lived to a mature age, dying in 1814 aged eighty-three; she had four further children with her second husband, William Ogilvie, who had served as tutor to her first extensive family. Emily and William were married in Toulouse in 1774 and were able to live a secluded family life in the 3rd Duke of Richmond's château at D'Aubigny.¹⁰

Over a hundred years later in 1856 this splendid christening vessel acquired an Irish silver liner made by Robert Smith of Wicklow Street, Dublin [Fig 3] suggesting that it was used on the dining table for serving soup.¹¹ Alison Fitzgerald has demonstrated that the collections of the Dukes of Leinster were documented in a printed catalogue published in 1871 which listed the pictures, silver, antiquities and other items at their Irish country house, Carton, their Dublin town house, Leinster House, Kilkea Castle and their London house in Carlton House Terrace. A revised edition of the list was produced in 1885. The silver chosen for description at Carton was either of historical importance or had close family associations. The christening gift is confusingly listed as

a silver Christening jug, presented by George II to his goddaughter Emily Lennox

and later as

a very beautiful christening vase and cover

valued at almost £480 in the late nineteenth century in 'A List and Receipt for plate lodged in the Northern Bank, Dublin, 1893'.¹² The family had owned impressive silver in the eighteenth century including a wine cistern supplied

8 Information kindly supplied by Charlotte Vignon. See <http://www.frick.org/exhibitions/loans/private-silver> accessed 14 January 2015.

9 *The Correspondence of Horace Walpole*, Yale, 2011, vol 20, p 56, Horace Walpole to Horace Mann.

10 Stella Tillyard, *Aristocrats: Caroline, Emily, Louisa and Sarah Lennox 1740-1832*, London, 1995.

11 Robert W Smith was registered at 33-34 Wicklow Street, Dublin.

12 E-correspondence with Alison Fitzgerald, 20 October 2014; Anon, *Notes on the pictures, plate antiquities &c., at Carton, Kilkea Castle, 13 Dominick Street, Dublin and 6 Carlton House Terrace*, London (privately printed, 1871, revised ed 1885 cites p 4 "a very beautiful christening vase and cover"; Terence Dooley, Patrick Cosgrove and Karol Mullaney-Dignam (Editors) *Aspects of Irish Aristocratic Life*, Essays on the Fitzgeralds and Carton House, Dublin, 2014; See also PRONI (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland) Leinster Papers, D3078/2/10/9.

13 Alison Fitzgerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin, Making, Selling, Consuming*, Abingdon, 2017, p 139.

14 Auction, Christie's London, *Works of Art from Houghton*, 8 December 1994, lot 99.

by the Dublin silversmith Thomas Sutton which, by the late nineteenth century, was being used as a table centrepiece. Similarly a silver bread basket was being used as a “hold all” on a lady’s dressing table. The extensive Leinster dinner service, recently sold at Christie’s, which was bought by Emily’s husband, 20th Duke of Leinster in the mid-eighteenth century for more than £4,000 is not listed. It was certainly used at Leinster House in the eighteenth century and the English playwright, Samuel Foote described the experience of dining there like dining in a silversmiths’ shop.

By the 1870s this extensive service was perhaps deposited in the bank when not in use.¹³

Fig 4 Bowl and cover, silver-gilt, Britannia standard, 1725–26, maker’s mark of John Hugh Le Sage, with applied coat of arms.



Was the nineteenth-century Irish silver liner to Emily’s royal christening gift just a replacement for an earlier liner?

The form of Emily’s christening cup and cover compares with a silver-gilt bowl and cover supplied by John Le Sage in 1725 to celebrate the marriage of Henry Vane, Lord Barnard and his wife Lady Grace Fitzroy of Raby Castle, County Durham, sold from Houghton in 1994.¹⁴ Although export deferred, it was ultimately granted a licence and sold abroad [Fig 4]. This vessel was intended for soup, a relatively new addition to English menus, introduced from France in the 1680s. It is similarly embellished with heraldic supporters, in this case of those of the Vane family; the cover is surmounted by the family crest. John Hugh Le Sage was the son of Hugues Le Sage, gentleman, whose family came from Alençon in southern Normandy, who was established in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields. Le Sage, apprenticed to the fellow Huguenot goldsmith Louis Cuny in 1708, by 1725 had premises at the corner of Great Suffolk Street. He married Judith Decharmes at the Huguenot church of Hungerford Market in April of the same year. He served as a subordinate goldsmith to the king and would have supplied the Jewel House with silver.

Philippa Glanville has demonstrated that in 1678 French royal goldsmiths delivered for the use of Louis XIV when he was travelling

un pot a l’oeil (de vermeil) avec ses deux anses en terme de femmes et son couvercle au-dessus dequel est une fleur de lis [a pot oile (in silver-gilt) with two handles terminating in females, with a cover on top of which is a fleur de lys]



Fig 5 Covered bowl, London, 1720, signed by Paul Crespin.

(Mead Art Museum at Amherst College, bequest of Miss Susan Dwight Bliss)

as a vessel for the royal table. In London 'soupe' dishes were first issued by the Jewel House in the 1690s, their weight ranged between 50oz and 150oz (45.6g to 137g). William III had a

new Terreen or Soupe Dish

delivered in July 1701. The only pre-1720 European example to survive is a small tureen made for Max Emmanuel, Elector of Bavaria in 1712-13.¹⁵

Ellenor Alcorn has drawn my attention to a silver, covered bowl, surmounted by heraldic eagle or swan supporters and a crest, in the collection of the Mead Art Gallery at Amherst College, Massachusetts which is signed in script underneath

Paul Crispin fecit 1720

made, if the inscription can be believed, in the French tradition and supplied by yet another leading Huguenot goldsmith's workshop, the celebrated Paul Crespin who by 1720 had barely completed his apprenticeship with his master Jean Pons [Fig 5]. This piece was bequeathed in 1966 by Miss Susan Dwight Bliss of New York City together with a nineteenth-century copy bearing

Fig 6 Pair of pots à huile, Paris, 1726, maker's mark of Nicolas Besnier, engraved with the arms of Horace Walpole.

(MN-Grand Palais/Harry Bréjat)



15 This is now in the Munich Residenz. Philippa Glanville, 'Setting the Record Straight', *The Art Quarterly of the National Art Collections Fund*, Winter, 1995, pp 31-35.

16 Mead Art Museum, Amhurst College, Massachusetts museum number 50.1.a-b; 50.2. a-b.

17 [http://www.louvre.fr/oeuvre-notices/paire-de-pots-oille-aux-armes-de-georges-ier-d-angleterre-1714-1727-et-de-horatio-walpole-\(1678-1757\)-ambassadeur-d-angleterre-en-france-de-1723-a-1730](http://www.louvre.fr/oeuvre-notices/paire-de-pots-oille-aux-armes-de-georges-ier-d-angleterre-1714-1727-et-de-horatio-walpole-(1678-1757)-ambassadeur-d-angleterre-en-france-de-1723-a-1730).

18 <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436186>

the maker's mark for the London goldsmiths' partnership of J W Story and William Elliott and the date letter for 1810.¹⁶

There is a design for a soup dish with dolphin handles in the National Museum, Stockholm which may have been intended for the Grand Dauphin. Both Horace Walpole, as Ambassador to Paris in 1723-30, and William 1st Viscount Bateman, ordered tableware from the Paris goldsmith Nicholas Besnier. A pair of soup tureens supplied to Walpole has recently been acquired by the Louvre [Fig 6].¹⁷

An even more elaborate tureen with heraldic dragon handles is featured in the still life by Alexandre-François Desportes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, circa 1725 [Fig 7] which indicates that such intricately wrought vessels were certainly intended for display.¹⁸ It is likely that as Aide-de-Camp to George II, and from 1735 Master of the

Horse, the 2nd Duke of Richmond would have proudly displayed the elaborate cup and cover in front of his place at the head of the table in the dining room at Richmond House to emphasise his social standing and his important position at court.

Philippa Glanville has distinguished the high rounded form of tureen, represented by the Vane and Lennox/Leinster examples and intended for soup, from the lower, plainer vessels intended for ragout, olio or other first course dishes. This distinction which was also made by Vincent La Chapelle, French cook to Philip Stanhope 4th Earl of Chesterfield, who served as British Ambassador to The Hague, in the illustrations to his manual *The Modern Cook* first published in English in 1733; a second four volume edition was published in 1736. The second edition was further revised and published in five volumes in French in The Hague in 1742 and was dedicated to George II's son-in-law, the Prince of Orange Nassau. In the illustration for a cover for fifteen/sixteen diners, the pair of tureens illustrated by La Chapelle for olio are oval, with squat feet and boars' head handles; the higher tureens at opposite ends of the table were intended for soup [Fig 8]. La Chapelle's multi-volume cook book included twenty-eight pages of recipes for "des Potages maigres" [thin soups]. George Wickes's trade card of 1736 shows a similar soup tureen, demonstrating that such vessels were still regarded as the latest fashion in London albeit fifty years after they were first introduced in



Fig 7 Alexandre-François Desportes, *Still Life*, oil on canvas, circa 1725 detail.
(© The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

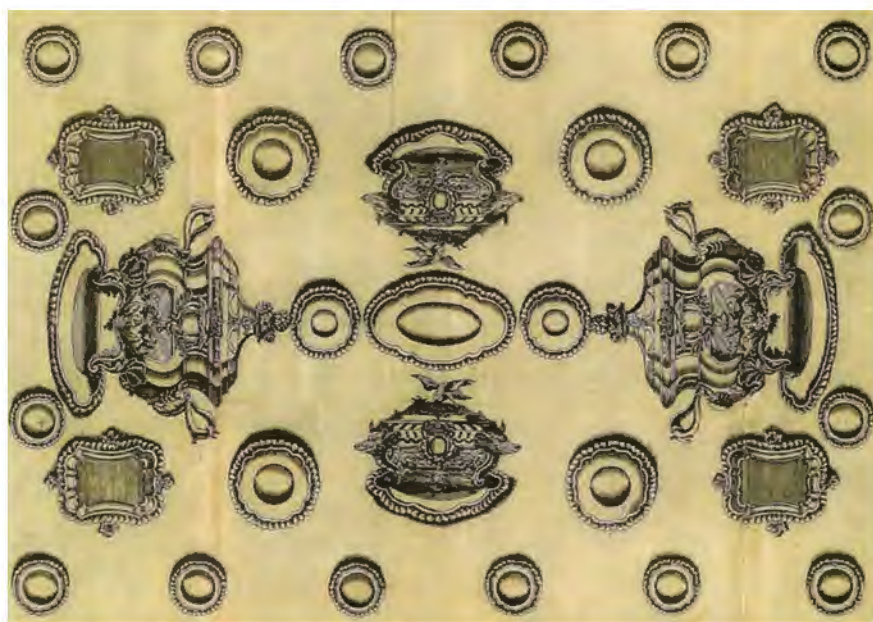


Fig 8 Illustration from Vincent La Chapelle, *The Modern Cook*, 1736.

France.¹⁹ La Chapelle's cookery manual was inspired by the pioneering French cookbook by Massiolot, published in Paris in 1691 which was also illustrated with engravings of the types of silver vessels intended for serving the recipes he described. The influence of French cuisine on English hospitality had a seminal impact on the forms of the silver required to serve such new dishes.

Emily's royal christening gift was sold at auction by the family in 1984 when it was acquired by Mahdi Al Tajir, the first Ambassador of the United Arab Emirates to London.

The supplier, Edward Feline, whose maker's mark it bears, was the son of Peter Fellen of St Martin-in-the-Fields, a tailor, and was apprenticed to Augustin Courtauld in March 1709. In 1713 Feline was joined in Courtauld's workshop by Isaac Riboleau. In September 1720, from an address in Rose Street Covent Garden, Feline entered two maker's marks at

Goldsmiths' Hall: one for the sterling standard, as struck four times on the christening cup and cover and the other was a Britannia standard mark. Feline only obtained his freedom from Goldsmiths' Hall in 1721. On 21 April 1720 the marriage of Edward Feline and Renée Barbut took place in the West Street Huguenot church. Feline took his first apprentice in 1721, Claude Perrier, son of a Huguenot merchant, also of the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields.

Over the next ten years Feline supplied silver for Lord Ashburnham; Dr Richard Mead and a spectacular table centrepiece for the Williams family of Bodelwyddan, Flintshire, which is now in the National Museum of Wales, for which George Wickes, royal goldsmith, supplied the casters (see Oliver Fairclough's article, *The Williams Centrepiece*, on pp 51-60 of this Journal). 1731 was an auspicious year as Edward Feline was admitted to the livery of the Goldsmiths' Company in April. On 5 September he married his second wife Magdalene Montier at Christ Church, Spitalfields, Nicholas Hawksmoor's magnificent church which had only been consecrated in 1729. Magdalen was the daughter of Jacques and Marie Madelaine Montier and was baptised at the Threadneedle Street Huguenot church in February 1706; she was twenty-five when she married. Their three children, Ann, Mary and John born in 1733, 1735 and 1738 respectively, were all baptised at St Paul's Church, Covent Garden. Magdalen Feline took over her husband's business in May 1753 when she entered her own maker's mark because her husband had died.²⁰

¹⁹ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/188551

²⁰ Tessa Murdoch, 'Edward Feline, Goldsmith', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, XXVIII, (3) 2005, pp 316-324.



Fig 9 William Redmore Bigg, *Christening of the Heir*, oil on canvas.

(© The Yale Centre for British Art)

During the 1730s, when Emily Lennox was baptised at St Margaret's Westminster and Edward and Magdalen Feline's children were baptised at St Paul's church, baptism in the home was accepted practice when necessity dictated: particularly when a child was

weak and not expected to live. In addition to "the Ministration of Publick Baptism of Infants to be used in the Church", the Book of Common Prayer includes the order of service for "The Ministration of Private Baptism of Children in Houses". The "Curates of every Parish" were to recommend that the people

defer not the Baptism of their children longer than the first or second Sunday next after their birth or other Holy-day falling between.

William Hogarth's painting *The Christening* (Orator Henley Christening a Child), of circa 1729, features a clergyman, standing at the centre of the composition, who is distracted by the young woman standing next to him in a fashionably furnished bedroom. The mother is seated close to the fire whilst a fop admires himself in the dressing glass to the right and an older child upsets the water from the silver christening bowl on the table.²¹ The scene depicted seventy years later by the artist William Redmore Bigg shows a respectable family assembled in their parlour with the vicar, the Book of Common Prayer on the table before him, making the sign of the cross on the forehead of the baby in his arms [Fig 9].²² The child's parents and elder sibling are grouped to the right; the two godfathers and one godmother standing with the vicar indicate, as confirmed by the title of the painting, that the child is a boy. This reflects the advice given in the Book of Common Prayer that



Fig 10 Basin, London, 1692-93, maker's mark of Anthony Nelme, engraved with the arms of Sir Matthew Featherstonhau and his wife Sarah Lethieullier.

(© Christopher Hartop)

21 There is a preparatory sketch for this composition in the British Museum, see David Bindman, *Hogarth and His Times*, exhibition catalogue, London 1997, p 95, no 35.

22 <http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1669872>

23 <https://nttreasurehunt.wordpress.com/category/va-purchase-grant-fund/>

24 <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O156692/bowl-lamerie-paul-de/>

25 Photograph 58.418.

for every male child to be baptised two Godfathers and one Godmother should be appointed; for every female child, one godfather and two godmothers.

The bowl on the table is probably Chinese export porcelain; the spire of the church visible through the right hand window provides evidence for the officiating vicar's parish.

Fig 11 Bowl, London, 1723-24, makers mark of Paul de Lamerie, engraved with the arms of Spencer and Carteret.

(© The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no: loan, Gilbert 652-2008)



Fig 12 Christening bowl from the Portuguese royal palace of Ajuda, Lisbon. (© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Prints & Drawings, Museum no 58418)



Lethieullier [Fig 10] which remains in the collection at Uppark²³ and the Spencer family's silver christening bowl, bearing Paul de Lamerie's maker's mark, of 1723 [Fig 11] in the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection.²⁴ A photograph in the Victoria & Albert Museum records a Portuguese royal Christening bowl, set with antique Greek and Roman coins [Fig 12].²⁵

Fig 13 Christening cap, bib and mittens, lace, Belgium, 1650-1700.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Given by the Rev R Brooke. Museum no 900-1864)



26 <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O77763/christening-cap-unknown/>

27 <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O85015/christening-blanket-unknown/>

28 J Grahame Long, *Charleston Silver*, the Charleston Museum.



Christening robes and accessories in the Museum's collections include an example embroidered in silk with floral sprays and border and a set of lace bib, cap and mittens with deep cuffs imitating adult styles of dress and carefully stitched to enclose the fingers and thumbs [Fig 13].²⁶ Earlier christening blankets demonstrate the rich colours and materials used, typically red-silk velvet or silk-woven or embroidered with a pattern in gold or silver thread, with elaborate border

Fig 15 Christening cup, circa 1732, by Alexander Kincaid, presented to George Washington.

(© The Charleston Museum)

[Fig 14]. These examples are from Italy and England; the Italian example was used for the christening of first born sons; there was a second blue blanket for younger sons; and apparently a third for daughters, an intriguing example of colour coding for heirs and spares.²⁷

Emily Lennox's elaborate royal christening gift contrasts with the simple mug [Fig 15] presented to George Washington as a baby in April 1732.²⁸ The first child of Augustine Washington (1694–1743) and his second wife, Mary Ball Washington (1708–1789), George Washington was born on their Pope's Creek estate near

Fig 14 Christening blanket, embroidered silk and silver-gilt lace, England, 1651–75).

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no T.122-1977)



Fig 16 Tankard, Britannia standard, 1704-5, maker's mark of Philip Rollos, engraved with the royal arms of Queen Anne.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Bequeathed by Mrs Winifred Hyde. Museum no M.15-1991)

29 Victoria and Albert Museum M.15-1991; <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78453/tankard-rollos-philip/>

present-day Colonial Beach in Westmoreland County, Virginia. According to the Julian calendar and Annunciation style of enumerating years (then in use in the British Empire), Washington was born on 11 February 1731; the Gregorian calendar, adopted later within the British Empire in 1752, renders a birth date of 22 February 1732. Made circa 1723 by the immigrant goldsmith, Alexander Kincaid, it was presented to two-month old future President at the time of his baptism on 3 April 1732. It can be seen in the Charleston Museum, South Carolina.

Emily's royal gift is not the only royal christening gift in the Victoria & Albert Museum's collections.

A silver tankard marked by Philip Rollos, of 1704-5, bears the royal coat of arms of Queen Anne [Fig 16] and was presented to her godson George Proctor.²⁹ Philip Rollos and his eldest son, also named Philip, are regarded as among the finest goldsmiths to work in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

It was stated by Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837, their Marks and Lives* (1990), that the elder Rollos, who may have been born around 1650, is first mentioned in England in a list of denizations dated 5 March 1691, but that his place of origin was unknown. So in the absence of clear evidence, the Rollos family was believed to be of French Huguenot descent. Recent research has proved otherwise.

Records at Goldsmiths' Hall reveal that Philip Rollos senior entered his Britannia mark in 1697, shortly after the first surviving maker's marks register was started. He gave his address as

over against Bull Inn Court, Strand which is confirmed in the Strand and Drury Lane Wards of the St Martin-in-the-Fields Poor Rate Books although only from June 1691. Bull Inn Court survives today: it is a narrow gap between buildings, running north from the Strand to Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, a few doors to the west of Vaudeville Theatre. The location is described in John Strype's *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, published in 1720, as

a good large Place, better built than inhabited, hath a Passage with a

30 Research by John Culme published in *Treasures: Aristocratic Heirlooms*, auction catalogue, Sotheby's London, 6 July 2010, VIII, pp 70-83.

Freestone Pavement into Maiden Lane.

Philip Rollos senior was made free of the Goldsmiths' Company by redemption on 11 August 1697 and was swiftly admitted to the livery in October 1698. He served as subordinate goldsmith to William III and then Queen Anne. It is likely that his son, Philip Rollos the younger, succeeded to the family business between December 1703 and 1705. The Rate Book for 1704 is missing.

It is noted in his will, signed on 23 April and proved in London on 3 May 1711, that the elder Philip Rollos, described as a gentleman, had been living in Wandsworth, Surrey. He bequeathed £20 to his two sons Philip and John Rollos and £25 to his third son, Jacob Rollos. The document indicates that he may have been of German Lutheran origin, not a French Huguenot as once thought.

I do hereby charge my said sons Philip John and Jacob upon my blessing (as having made and provided a competent provision already for them in setting them up at their Trades and Callings) that they shall nor will at any time hinder molest or trouble mine Executrix [his wife Mary] in the due Execution of this my last Will and Testament Item to my loving Grandson Gustav Philip Lightenstone Son of Esdras Marcus Lightenstone late Minister of the Gospell at Aurich in East Freizland Dec[eased] I give devise and bequeath to him all that my Messuage or Tenement Land and premises thereunto belonging situate lying and being in that part of Berlin called Colln in the Street there

known by the name of Domstras in the M[argraviate] of Brandenbourgh and to his Heirs and Assigns for ever.

Philip Rollos's son-in-law, Esdra Lightenstone (Lichtenstein) (born 1660) was chaplain in the 1680s/90s to the Brandenburg regiment in Ireland, where he established the first Lutheran church in Dublin. It is clear that Lichtenstein, whose son Gustav Philip was baptised at the church of St Andrew's, Auckland, near Bishop Auckland, Durham, on 13 December 1695, was well travelled, his last appointment being at Aurich between 1706 and his death in 1710. No record of his son Gustav's mother (née Rollos) has been found but it is likely Lichtenstein married two or three times.³⁰

The younger Philip Rollos was born about 1677, as evidenced in his marriage licence which he applied for and signed in London on 30 July 1703. In the licence he stated that he and Dorothy Hide, a widow, aged thirty-five, both of St Martin-in-the-Fields, were to be married at St Bride's Church, Fleet Street. The marriage took place the next day, as recorded in the Waste Book of Marriages and Baptisms 1695 to 1706 of St. Bride's when his profession of "Silver Smith" and his address

Liveth By ye queens Head By ye New Exchange in the Strand close to his father's workshop

were recorded. Apprenticed to Dallington Ayres, a goldsmith, on 2 December 1692, the younger Rollos appears on a list of denizations dated 22 June 1694. He only received his freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company on 26 July 1705: twelve years later. His first mark was entered on 20 August



Fig 17 Horn book, circa 1705, maker's mark of Thomas Kedder.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no M.2-1995)

Theatre today). It is not therefore certain whether this tankard was made by Philip Rollos senior or junior, although it was before the younger Rollos had registered his Britannia mark at Goldsmiths' Hall. It is distinguished from that of his father by the device of an anchor between the R and O.³¹

Another remarkable survival is the 'horn' book of circa 1705 given by Queen Anne to her godson Master Guy Selbright [Fig 17]. It bears the maker's mark of the London goldsmith Thomas Kedden, the son of Ralph Kedden of the Isle of Wight, gentleman, who was apprenticed to Emmanuel Russell of Bennet Hill, bookbinder of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1682. Thomas Kedden became free of the Merchant Taylors in 1692 and entered his mark as a smallworker in November 1700 with an address in Noble Street. He evidently specialised in silver mounts for prayer books. Selbright's crest is engraved on the back of the handle and the Queen's portrait medallion is on the back. Horn books were usually made of wood, leather, pewter or even gingerbread and examples in silver are very rare. This one is also engraved with versions of the alphabet in both capital and lower-case letters as well as the Lord's Prayer.³²

1705, giving his address as Heathcock Court (opposite the Queen's Head, a public house, and the New Exchange, Strand). According to John Rocque's London, Westminster and Southwark map of 1746, this place was a few yards west of Bull Inn Court (near the Adelphi

Silver has long been associated with childhood. To be born 'with a silver spoon' has a literal meaning. Silver spoons with decorative finials, apostles or lions, were given as christening gifts: a gift of silver for a child was a store of wealth for the future. The type of silver

31 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths, 1697-1837, their Marks and Lives*, 3rd edition, London, 1990, p 646.

32 <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O104945/horn-book-kedder-thomas/>

33 Robert Latham and William Matthews (editors),
The diary of Samuel Pepys, Cambridge, 1970-
1983.

spoon with one of the apostles as a finial might be given to a child named after that apostle. In 1661 Samuel Pepys intended to give silver spoons as a christening gift to a child in his family. Pepys's entry for 29 May 1661, Charles II's birthday, reads

Rose early and having made myself fine, and put six spoons and a porringer of silver in my pocket to give away today, Sir W. Pen and I took coach, and (the weather and ways being foul) went to Walthamstowe; and being come there heard Mr Radcliffe, my former school fellow at St Paul's (who is yet a mere boy) preach upon 'Nay, let him take all since my Lord the King is

returned'. Back to dinner to Sir William Batten's; and then after a walk in the fine gardens, we went to Mrs. Browne's where Sir W. Pen and I were godfathers, and Mrs Jordan, and Shipman godmothers to her boy.

And there before and after the Christening, we were with the woman above in her chamber; but whether we carried ourselves well or ill, I know not but I was directed by young Mrs Batten. I did give the midwife 10s and the nurse 5s and the maid of the house 2s. But for as much as I expected to give the name to the child, but did not (it being called John), I forbore then to give my plate till another time after a little more advice.

Six years later, on 27 August 1667, Pepys recorded seeing the King and Queen at dinner at Whitehall and

heard a little of their viallins' musick, and so home, and there to dinner, and in the afternoon with my Lady Batten, Pen and her daughter and my wife to Mrs Poole's where I mighty merry among the women, and christened the child, a girl Elizabeth, which though a girl, yet my Lady Batten would have me give the name. After christening comes Sr W. Batten, Sir W Pen and Mr Lowther, and mighty merry there, and I forfeited for not kissing the two godmothers presently after the christening, before I kissed the mother, which made good mirth; and so anon away, and my wife and I took coach and went twice round Bartholomew fayre; which I was glad to see again, after two years missing it by the plague, and so home and to my chamber a little, and so to supper and to bed.³³

Fig 18 Beaker, silver, parcel-gilt, Augsburg, circa 1679, maker's mark of Johann Baptist Ernst, with inscription dated 1679.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no 1280-1782)





Fig 19 Tankard, silver, parcel-gilt, Drammen, Norway, circa 1680, maker's mark of Hans Nieman. Engraved with the names *Jens Olufsen Bruun, Anna Dorthea Povelsdatter* and *Olle Jensson Bruun*.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no M.488-1910)



Fig 20 Beaker, silver, parcel-gilt, Norrköping, Sweden, 1748, maker's mark of Nils Orstedt, engraved with presentation inscription.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Given by Col F R Waldo-Sibthorp. Museum no 1886-1898)

Nursery silver equipment such as the porringer Pepys put in his pocket for his godchild in May 1661, or silver pap boats, rattles and saucepans were treasured for their hygienic properties. Pap was a milk based baby food prepared like porridge but with eggs and flour. It was heated in a small saucepan in the nursery. The museum contains a pap boat with the maker's mark of William Woodward who from 1722 trained with George Wickes. He entered his first mark in 1731 with an address in Fenchurch Street.³⁴

Christening gifts in the museum include the earliest dated ceramic mug made in Southwark which bears the inscription

1628 ELIZABETH
BROCKLEFIELD

and was probably made to celebrate a christening³⁵ just as a similarly inscribed example

WILLIAM AND ELIZABETH
BURGES 24th AUGUST 1631

celebrates a marriage.³⁶

A small beaker [Fig 18] made in Augsburg, Germany, circa 1679, by Johann Baptist Ernst is inscribed in Latin with the name of a male child. "Franciscus Joseph Antonius A Burgau" and a date of birth: 14 December 1679. The decoration of tulips embossed on the sides was fashionable throughout Europe in the late seventeenth century.³⁷ Of similar date but more elaborate is a tankard from Drammen, Norway made by Hans Nieman of Stromso [Fig 19] which is exquisitely engraved with tulips and apple trees, roses, exotic birds and the figure of a man in late seventeenth-century costume with a young child. It is inscribed with the names of an ironmaster Jens Olufsen Bruun

34 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O105038/pap-boat-woodward-william/>

35 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O8076/mug-unknown/>

36 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O8072/mug-montague-close-pottery/>

37 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O91461/beaker-ernst-johann-baptist/>

38 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O91588/tankard-nieman-hans-the/>

39 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O91686/beaker-orstedt-nils/>

40 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O96603/spoon-mortimer-and-hunt/>

(d 1707) and his wife Anna Dorthea Povelsdatter (d 1709) and their son Olle Jensson Bruun (purveyor to the silver mines, d 1714) so this may have been his birth or christening present.³⁸ A later beaker made in Norrköping, Sweden, by Nils Orstedt, dated 1748 [Fig 20] is engraved with a Latin inscription in a cartouche which translates as

Andrea Kindahl born 8 December
and christened 10 of the same 1747

on the opposite side is the name of the donor

Petrus/Kindahl/1750.³⁹

Appropriately the Victoria & Albert Museum houses a christening gift given by Queen Victoria in 1841-2 to the Hon Victoria Alexandrina Jocelyn [Fig 21], daughter of Frances Elizabeth, Lady Jocelyn, who was a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen from 1841 to 1867. Victoria Alexandrina was her eldest child; her mother was the youngest daughter of 5th Earl Cowper who had married Viscount Jocelyn on 27 April 1841. The set supplied by Mortimer and Hunt was of a pattern which the Queen gave to her own grandchildren; there is a duplicate set in the collection of the Duke of Beaufort. It is decorated with a growing vine rising from the base and changing to laurel around the body. On the shoulders sit four symbolic putti representing religion, piety, gentleness and humility. Round the base curls a snake; the cover bears a lion and a lamb, also symbolic of the strength and humility needed to overcome evil.⁴⁰

On 22 April 1863 Queen Victoria wrote to her eldest daughter Victoria, Crown Princess of Prussia, about the christening at Windsor Castle of her granddaughter, Victoria Alberta Elisabeth Matilde Marie, Princess Alice Grand-Duchess of Hesse-Darmstadt's child who was born on 5 April and

will be called Victoria...the first of our grandchildren that will be called after



Fig 21 Christening set, silver-gilt, London, 1842-43, maker's mark of John Mortimer & John Samuel Hunt, engraved with the monogram VAJ and the royal cipher.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no M.14B-1965)

41 Roger Fulford, *Dearest Mama: Letters between Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1861-64*, London, 1968, pp 199, 201-2.

Fig 23 Christening set, silver-gilt, London, 1864-65, maker's mark of George Adams, engraved with initials and presentation inscription.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no B.216.1 to 8-1996)



Fig 22 Bowl and dish, London, 1847-48, maker's mark of Edward Barnard & Sons.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no M.22&A-1981)

either of us ... We are much occupied with the christening. It is to be at one on Monday in the Green Drawing-room as (to the Dean's distress, and my infinite disgust and feeling of shame) by the Act of Uniformity no clergyman not of the Church of England can perform any service in any consecrated place!!! Well, the Court Chaplain, Bender from Darmstadt, and Mr Walbaum (Pastor of the German Chapel at St James's) will perform the Service; I shall hold the dear little baby and only our people here, and two of the Ministers, Lord Sydney, Lord St Germans (lord Steward of the Household, 'Laddle' will come for it. (Laddle was Sarah, Lady Lyttleton, former Governess to the elder royal children).⁴¹

A survey of later British silver on display in the Whiteley Silver Galleries includes a bowl and dish engraved with scenes from the fairy tale Red Riding Hood [Fig 22], evidently intended for a child's use, made by the celebrated London

- 42 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O95487/bowl-barnard-sons/>
- 43 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O38593/christening-set-adams-george-w/>
- 44 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O77570/christening-mug-redgrave-richard-cb/>
- 45 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78656/christening-cup-barnard-sons/>



Fig 24 Mug, London, 1865-66, maker's mark of Thomas Francis and Frederick Francis, inscribed on base: *HARY EMANUEL Manufacturer London 1865; CHESNEAU Chaser. Designed by Richard Redgrave RA for FELIX SUMMERLY'S ART MANUFACTURERS 1848.*

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no 371.1865)

silversmiths Edward Barnard & Sons in 1847-48 for which the museum holds the extensive archives. They are both engraved with the name Mary Stuart.⁴² The set is marked for Edward Barnard II who was apprenticed to his father, Edward Barnard, in 1810, and made free of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1817. By 1838 he was working at premises in Angel Street, St Martin's Le Grand. The

Fig 25 Cup, silver-gilt, London, 1868-69, maker's mark of Barnard & Sons, engraved inscription.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no M.97-1984)



story of Red Riding Hood was first published in 1697 in the collection of *Tales and Stories of the Past with Morals* published by Charles Perrault.

Another elaborate christening set in its original case was made in 1864 by George Adams and comprises a matching knife, fork, spoon, cup, plate and bowl [Fig 23]. Adams worked for the silversmiths Chawner & Co (he became Chawner's son-in-law) and exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851. The decoration shows a flower girl, a girl reposing and Sappho, after engravings after Canova published by Henry Moses in 1824. A central cartouche on the mug and on the bowl bears the inscription

Jane Dunlop Best FROM HER
GODFATHER AND HER
FATHER'S FRIEND M.H.S.

Jane Dunlop was born in Bombay but by 1881 was resident in Hampstead.⁴³

A silver child's mug embossed with guardian angels, designed by Richard Redgrave, was intended by Harry Emanuel for Felix Summerly's Art Manufactures but after this enterprise failed in 1865 it was made for the South Kensington Museum [Fig 24]. Although the decorative theme is relevant to its function, the embossed ornament is not part of the construction of the object and the heavily embossed angels make it difficult to drink from the mug, thus interfering with its practicality for use.⁴⁴

Another example supplied by leading retailers Barnard & Sons is a silver gilt cup inscribed

Mary Platt from her GODFATHER
It is dated 1868 [Fig 25].⁴⁵

A bowl and spoon given to Carol Vinson by her grandmother in 1911 [Fig 26] was



Fig 26 Bowl and spoon, London, 1911-12, maker's mark of Omar Ramsden and Alwyn Carr.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Given by Carol M Vinson. Museum no M.19-1973)

the first of three christening presents given over three years. In 1912 Carol received a silver goblet and in 1913 a child's cutlery set, knife, fork and spoon. All three gifts were made by Omar Ramsden and Alwyn Carr. The bowl is

adapted from the Scottish form of a quaich, the Gaelic word for cup.⁴⁶ Ramsden was particularly interested in adapting medieval prototypes: he was encouraged in this by the antiquary St John Hope. Ramsden trained at the Sheffield School of Art and set up in partnership with Alwyn Carr in 1899.

A 1914-15 christening mug was made by R L B Rathbone [Fig 27], a member of a leading Liverpool family who was taught at the Liverpool Academy by Herbert McNair the brother-in-law of Charles Rennie Mackintosh. It was marked in Chester and was given by the maker to his godson George Michael Warr.⁴⁷

Fig 27 Mug, Liverpool, 1914-15, maker's mark of Richard Rathbone, engraved with presentation inscription.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Gift of Michael Warr. Museum no M.87-1984)



⁴⁶ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78469/christening-bowl-ramsdn-omar/>

⁴⁷ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O94618/christening-mug-richard-llewellyn-benson/>

48 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O94602/mug-mosley-kenneth/>

49 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O94653/beaker-quitter-carol/>



A 1935 mug is one of a pair marked by Wakeley and Wheeler, part of the Barnard, Padgett and Braham group; it was probably designed by Kenneth Mosley [Fig 28].⁴⁸ Wakely and Wheeler

Fig 28 Mug, silver and niello, London, 1935-36, maker's mark of Wakely & Wheeler. (© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no M.84-1935)

were then based at 27 Red Lion Square. A E Pitman, Arthur Wakeley's partner and Kenneth Mosley designed most of the company's output.

A beaker made by Carol Quitter in 1982 was engraved by Stanley Reece with a frieze showing a steam locomotive pulling a tender, three carriages and eight wagons across a bridge with trees in the background [Fig 29]. The wheels of the train are set with 18 carat gold rivets and the background to the frieze is acid etched providing a matt surface to contrast with the highly finished surface of the vessel. The museum acquired this piece as a contemporary example of a late twentieth-century christening gift. It is engraved "Matthew's Mug" on the base.⁴⁹

Three further examples of christening gifts in the collections are historic examples of silver presented by their owners at a later date. The silver-gilt mounted, rock crystal cup marked by Affabel Partridge, in the Gilbert Collection, described by Timothy Schroder as one of the most important extant pieces of Elizabethan silver [Fig 30], was given by the 1st Duke of Wellington to his goddaughter, appropriately named after her godfather, Lady Clementina Augusta Wellington Villiers at her christening in 1824 almost three hundred years after



Fig 29 Beaker, silver, parcel-gilt and gold, London, 1982-83, maker's mark of Carol Quitter, engraved inscription.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no M.940.1983)



Fig 30 Cup and cover, silver-gilt and rock crystal, London, 1568-69, maker's mark of Affabel Partridge.

(© The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no: loan, Gilbert 48.1,2-2-8)

it was made.⁵⁰ The standing cup and cover made by Paul Birckenholtz, after 1632, with a bust of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden to commemorate that monarch's death at the Battle of Zutphen [Fig 31] has a slightly later Dutch inscription indicating that by 1644 the cup was in the Netherlands in the ownership of a woman called Leonor who gave it as a christening present to an unknown recipient on 7 February 1644. The inscription describes a cup with the image of John the Baptist and, although the bust of the Swedish King bears no resemblance to that saint, the association suggests that this was intended as a christening gift. After his death in battle Gustavus Adolphus was regarded as the saviour of Protestantism in Germany and a model of virtue. The cup is one of five known versions which high ranking officers would use to drink to the late King's memory. The others are in the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum, in Brunswick, Kassel and Münster.⁵¹

Another German tankard, of circa 1660, was given by the Duke of Hamilton as a christening gift to Allen Douglas MacDonald in 1856. It is embossed with sea creatures, dolphins and botanical ornament [Fig 32]⁵² The oil painting *The Return from the Christening* [Fig 33] dated 1859 makes an appropriate conclusion to this article. Painted in Dusseldorf, Germany in 1859 by Hubert Salentin (1822-1910) it shows a young mother in her traditional dress leaving church after the baptism with her child in her arms.⁵³ Salentin



Fig 31 Cup and cover, silver, parcel-gilt, Germany, after 1632, maker's mark of Paul Birckenholtz.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Given by Col F R Waldo-Sibthorp. Museum no 1885-1898)

50 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O158020/cup-partridge-affabel/>

51 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O322587/standing-cup-and-paul-birckenholtz/>

52 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O91857/tankard-unknown/>

53 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O131312/the-return-from-the-christening-oil-painting-salentin-hubert/>



Fig 32 Tankard, silver-parcel-gilt, northern Germany, circa 1660.
(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Museum no M.3-1912)

produced several versions of this subject, two set in an interior. He worked as a blacksmith for fourteen years and later studied painting at the Dusseldorf Academy. He captured rustic life in Western Germany in the Biedermeier tradition with sentimental and anecdotal subject matter.

The Victoria & Albert Museum collections provide extraordinary opportunities to set a specific type of object or theme in a wider context and to view and study historic silver in conjunction with dress, textiles and contemporary paintings which illustrate the social circumstances of use and function and opens our specialist subject to a wider audience. The collections were and still are formed to inspire contemporary creativity. With this mission in mind, the Gilbert



Fig 33 Hubert Salentin, *The Return from the Christening*, Dusseldorf, 1859.

(© The Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Bequeathed by John M Parsons. Museum no 515-1870)

Fig 34 Tastevin,
Birmingham, 2011-
12, maker's mark of
Theresa Nguyen.

(Courtesy of Theresa
Nguyen. Photograph:
Andra Nelki)



Collection curators worked with the museum to send a small exhibition *Masterpieces of British Silver* to the Liang Yi Museum in Hong Kong in March 2016.⁵⁴ Emily Lennox's royal christening gift was shown alongside silver by some of our leading contemporary goldsmiths. As hoped, this juxtaposition of antique and contemporary inspired new commissions and it is appropriate to end with Teresa Nuygens exquisite tastevin made to celebrate baby Chloe's arrival in 2011 [Fig 34]. Beakers by craftsmen such as Ndidi Ekubia and Miriam Hanid lend themselves well to such gifts and could be personalised for special commemoration. Commissions for christening gifts are personal in nature but it would be interesting to record other examples known to members of this society and it is my hope that this presentation may encourage others to mark and celebrate new life in this exciting, appropriate and traditional manner.

Tessa Murdoch served as Deputy Keeper, Sculpture, Metalwork, Ceramics and Glass at the Victoria & Albert Museum from 2002-2018 having previously worked in the museum's Furniture and Woodwork Department from 1990 and as Senior Assistant Keeper of the Tudor and Stuart Department at the Museum of London from 1981. She has been awarded the prestigious Getty-Rothschild Fellowship for 2019 and will be based at the Getty Research Institute from January to March and at Waddesdon from April to July. She will continue at the Victoria & Albert Museum part-time as Gilbert Research Curator until 2020 and work on the publication of her book on Huguenot Refugee Art and Culture by the museum in association with the Gilbert Trust.

Tessa has published widely on Huguenot history and craftsmanship, Catholic patronage and collecting, gold boxes, furniture, jewellery and silver and the country house collections at Boughton and Ham House. Since 1991 she has served as Expert Adviser to the Reviewing Committee for the Export of Works of Art on Furniture, Silver, Ormolu and Clocks. She is a member of the National Trust Advisory Committee on Curation and Interpretation, on the board of the Idlewild Trust, a Trustee of the Huguenot Museum and a Director of the French Hospital: both in Rochester. She was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1988, is a liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company and has recently joined their Contemporary Craft Committee.

⁵⁴ Eric Turner, Heike Zech, *Masterpieces of British Silver: Highlights from the Victoria and Albert Museum, Liang Yi Museum, Hong Kong*, 2015.

BEYOND THE WORKING DATES: RECONSTRUCTING THE LIFE AND CAREER OF ELIZABETH PANTIN BUTEUX GODFREY

JANINE E SKERRY



Fig 1 Pair of candlesticks, London, 1762-63, maker's mark of Elizabeth Godfrey.

(Private collection, photograph courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)

A.com: <https://www.ancestry.com>

BC: 17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers. <https://www.gale.com/c/17th-and-18th-century-burney-newspapers-collection>

BNA: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>

DA: *The Daily Advertiser*

FMP.com: <https://findmypast.com>

GL: Guildhall Library Manuscripts Section

LL.org: <https://londonlives.org>

LMA: London Metropolitan Archives

NA: National Archives Kew,
<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk>

OB: Old Bailey Proceedings Online,
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org>

PA: *The Public Advertiser*

WA: City of Westminster Archives Centre

1 For the true meaning of makers' marks and the structure of the goldsmiths' trade, see Helen Clifford, *Silver in London: The Parker and Wakelin Partnership, 1760-1776*, New Haven and London, 2004 and Ellenor Alcorn, *Beyond the Maker's Mark: Paul de Lamerie Silver in the Cahn Collection*, Cambridge, 2006.

2 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths, 1697-1837: Their Marks and Lives*, 3rd ed, London, 1990, pp 455-456, 524, 613, 739-740, 749-750, 761.

on 15 November 1731. Soon thereafter, she married Benjamin Godfrey, who is thought to have been a journeyman in her shop. Upon his death sometime prior to 29 June 1741, Elizabeth Godfrey registered yet another mark at Goldsmiths' Hall, with her location as the Hand, Ring & Crown on Norris Street, the shop previously occupied by her second husband; she continued to work at that address until ceasing business in or about 1758.² Eighteenth-century legal documents, trade cards, billheads, and modern scholarly publications contain numerous variations of her name, including, among other renditions, Eliz or Eliza or Elizabeth; Pantin or Panton or Pentin; Buteux or Botow or Betew; and Godfrey or Godfry. For the remainder of this essay, she will be styled as Elizabeth Pantin Buteux Godfrey unless otherwise cited in a directly quoted document or publication.

The recent discovery of a pair of silver candlesticks bearing the maker's mark of Elizabeth Godfrey and the date letter for 1762-63 serves as a reminder that, much as the term 'maker's mark' has been reconsidered in recent decades, it is time to re-evaluate the long-accepted 'working dates' assigned to London goldsmiths.¹

Elizabeth Godfrey is a familiar mystery woman. Prior to the research undertaken in this study her life and career could be briefly summarised as follows: born Elizabeth Pantin, presumably the daughter of the London goldsmith Simon Pantin, she married her father's putative apprentice Abraham Buteux in 1720. Following her first husband's demise, Elizabeth Buteux registered her own mark as a goldsmith

In 2017 the American auctioneer Jeffery S Evans reached out to the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. He sought assistance authenticating a pair of silver candlesticks, each bearing hallmarks for London. The square, shell-based candlesticks were of an unusually low height (4¹⁵/₁₆in, 12.54cm) with a single knop stem [Fig 1]. They had only recently been discovered and had no provenance to document their history of ownership. Checking references on English silver, Mr Evans found the maker's mark was ascribed to Elizabeth Godfrey. However, the date letter on the candlesticks indicated that they were hallmarked for 1762-63. Noting that Godfrey's working period was consistently cited as 1741 to 1758, although sometimes

3 Among the early publications which include silver marked by Elizabeth Godfrey are Thomas Hamilton Ormsbee, 'The Women Silversmiths of England', *American Collector*, vol VII, no 4 (May 1938), pp 8-9 and Edward Wenham, 'Women Recorded as Silversmiths', *The Antique Collector*, vol 17, no 2, March-April 1946, pp 60-65.

4 Sir Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmith, 1200-1800: A Record of the Names and Addresses of the Craftsmen, Their Shop-Signs, and Trade-Cards*, Cambridge, 1935, plates XXXII-XXXIII.

5 Eric J G Smith, 'Women Silversmiths—Part I', *The Antique Dealer and Collectors' Guide*, vol 23, no 10, May 1969, p 69.



Fig 2 Trade card of Elizabeth Godfrey, 'Goldsmith, Silversmith, and Jeweller'.

(© Trustees of the British Museum, Heal 67. 167)

modified with 'circa' or 'flourished', the date letter raised troubling questions about the candlesticks. Mr Evans is the well-regarded owner of a regional auction house but, by his own admission, his areas of specialisation do not extend deeply into antique English silver. He wanted to know if the candlesticks were genuine examples from this renowned silversmith's shop, and if so, why they were four to five years later than the terminus of her published working dates?

As an eighteenth-century English female goldsmith with registered marks and a large body of extant work, Elizabeth Godfrey has been the subject of considerable attention since the early twentieth century.³ The survival of two different lavishly detailed trade cards for her shop on Norris Street off the Haymarket in St James's has furthered the recognition given to Godfrey; both examples from the personal collection of Sir Ambrose Heal were reproduced as full-page plates in his seminal 1935 volume on the trade cards of London goldsmiths [Figs 2 and 3].⁴ In the decades since, numerous authorities have bestowed accolades on the quality of the silver objects which bear her mark. Eric Smith, for example, equated Elizabeth Godfrey's plate with that of Paul de Lamerie's output,⁵ and Philippa Glanville described her as taking



Fig 3 Trade card of Elizabeth Godfrey, 'Goldsmith, Silversmith, and Jeweller to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland'.

(© Trustees of the British Museum, Heal 67. 168)



Fig 4 Pair of tea caddies and sugar box in case, London, 1741-42, maker's mark of Elizabeth Godfrey, engraved with the arms of Gregory as for a spinster.

(Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1937-153)

the crown as the outstanding woman goldsmith of the 18th century.⁶

Thus, Mr Evans's apprehension seemed reasonable. His questions were of particular interest as the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation owns both a fine early specimen of Godfrey's work in the form of a 1741-42 set of two tea caddies and a sugar box contained in a fitted case [Fig 4],⁷ as well as an unusual pair of handsome gilded goblets bearing Godfrey's mark and the date letter for 1765-66 [Fig 5].⁸ Given the late date of the goblets, Mr Evans's query raised pertinent concerns.⁹

Upon examination, the candlesticks proved to be correct. They are of typical construction, each with a cast base soldered to a shaft composed of cast and soldered vertical halves. The

Fig 5 Pair of goblets, silver-gilt, London, 1765-66, maker's mark of Elizabeth Godfrey, engraved with the arms of Bayard, Gates, or Chidelly or Chudleigh as for a spinster.

(Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of John A Hyman: The John A Hyman Collection, 1991-630)



6 Philippa Glanville, 'Women and Goldsmithing,' Philippa Glanville and Jennifer Faulds Goldsborough, *Women Silversmiths, 1685-1845: Works from the Collection of The National Museum of Women in the Arts*, Washington, 1990, p 21.

7 The tea caddy set was purchased in 1937 from the firm of James Robinson Inc of New York. The arms engraved on each piece are those of an unmarried lady of the Gregory family, superimposed on earlier engraving which had been erased. See John D Davis, *English Silver at Williamsburg: Williamsburg and Charlottesville*, 1976, pp 103-104.

8 The beakers were gifted to Colonial Williamsburg in 1991 by John Hyman, who had purchased them through S J Shrubsole at Sotheby's New York. They are engraved with the arms of an unmarried lady of the Bayard, Gates, or Chidelly or Chudleigh families. See John A Hyman, *Silver at Williamsburg: Drinking Vessels*, Williamsburg, 1994, pp 63-64.

9 Another example of 'post period' silver marked by Elizabeth Godfrey is a pair of 1764-65 double-lipped sauceboats (from a set of four), illustrated by Michael Clayton, *The Collector's Dictionary of the Silver and Gold of Great Britain and North America*, 2nd ed, Woodbridge, 1985, p 324.

10 Thomas Hamilton Ormsbee, op cit, see note 2, p 8. See <https://www.collectorsweekly.com/articles/the-women-silversmiths-of-england/>

11 For the Heal collection as a whole, see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?searchText=Sir+Ambrose+Heal; for Heal's 434 trade cards specifically for goldsmiths, see: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?searchText=goldsmith&people=73907



Fig 6 Details of marks on candlesticks [Fig 1], London, 1762-63, maker's mark of Elizabeth Godfrey.

(Private collection, photograph courtesy Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)

expected lion passant, leopard's head crowned, maker's mark, and date letter for 1762-63 are present, having been crisply struck in the typical place on the underside of the base with each mark located at one of the four corners [Fig 6]. Also discernable on both bases are skimming marks on the central bottom from the removal of excess casting material and solder, as well as very faint scratch notations of the type frequently found on old silver that has circulated in the marketplace. The

visible surfaces of the candlesticks show evidence of polishing and wear consistent with eighteenth-century silver, with the small lion passant mark struck on the socket of one stick almost obscured.

A web search for 'Elizabeth Godfrey candlestick' quickly yielded a link to 'The Women Silversmiths of England' by Thomas Hamilton Ormsbee, originally published in the May 1938 issue of *American Collector* magazine. Among a group of five items illustrated in one photograph [Fig 7] is a candlestick of the same pattern but of typical height with a double knob stem; the caption identifies it as the work of "Eliza Godfrey, London, 1762."¹⁰ Further online research led to the British Museum's database of Sir Ambrose Heal's collection. Bequeathed in 1960, the assemblage is comprised of more than 10,000 pieces of printed ephemera, focused primarily on trade cards and billheads from eighteenth-century London businesses.¹¹ Links embedded in many of the entries connect to biographical details derived from Heal's notes about the tradesmen



Fig 7 Illustration from *American Collector* (May 1938) of silver by five women silversmiths, including a candlestick cited as being by Elizabeth Godfrey, London, 1762. (Photograph courtesy Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)



Fig 8 Billhead of Elizabeth Godfrey, "Goldsmith & Jeweller to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland", dated 8 July 1760. (Photograph courtesy Chetham's Library, Halliwell-Phillipps Collection, shelfmark: H P1231)

12 The two Godfrey trade cards at the British Museum are cataloged as Heal, 67.167 and Heal, 67.168. See http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3034821&partId=1&searchText=Godfrey&page=1 and http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3034816&partId=1&searchText=Godfrey&page=1

For biographical details on Godfrey, see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioid=188553

13 The Halliwell-Phillipps Collection at Chetham's Library in Manchester is comprised of approximately 3,100 items presented to the library in 1852; among its diverse holdings, the collection includes trade cards and billheads. With the support of the Arts Council England Designation Fund, the collection has been digitised and is now accessible through the Library's catalogue.

For more information on the collection, see <https://library.chethams.com/collections/printed-books-ephemera/halliwell-phillipps-collection>.

14 John W Clay (ed) *The Registers of St. Paul's Cathedral*, London, 1899, p 58, available on www.archive.org. See also www.freereg.org.uk

expanding the working range for Godfrey by two years, the receipt also documents her use of billhead stationary featuring yet another engraved variant of her shop sign of the Hand, Ring, & Crown.¹³

The prospect of finding additional digitised materials proved irresistible, and what began as an hour-long search soon evolved into evenings and weekends of delving into various databases such as those maintained by the National Archives, Find My Past, Ancestry, London Lives, and the Proceedings of the Old Bailey. While pieces of the puzzle remain elusive, such as the dates of Elizabeth Pantin's birth and baptism, thanks to recent archive and library digitisation projects, the wealth of material now available to researchers around the world is almost inconceivable. What follows here is an overview of information largely gleaned from online resources regarding Godfrey's life among the community of goldsmiths in eighteenth-century London. Working chronologically through familiar and newly-discovered documents yields a fascinating and fulsome picture of an astute business woman.

The earliest recorded mention of Elizabeth Pantin is found in the registration of her marriage by licence to Abraham Buteux on 11 February 1720-21 at St Paul's Cathedral. Both the groom and bride resided in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, with the former being described as a bachelor and the latter as a spinster.¹⁴ While baptism records have not been discovered, Pantin's designation as a spinster in 1720-21 suggests she was born around, or prior to 1700, as the term was typically used in legal documents to denote an unmarried

named on the cards. The oft-illustrated trade cards of Elizabeth Godfrey are familiar to students of English silver, but the annotations written by Sir Heal on the cardstock he used for mounting the collection are not as widely known. Reviewing these notations revealed a significant first clue to expanding Godfrey's working dates. Visible on the full image of the mounted cards and transcribed in Godfrey's online biography on the British Museum website are Heal's remarks that both pre- and post-date his 1935 publication of *London Goldsmiths*. Most important is the statement

A billhead of Eliz. Godfrey at above address [Norris Street] dated 8 July 1760 in Chetham's Library.¹²

This heretofore unpublished billhead for Elizabeth Godfrey [Fig 8] records the 8 July 1760 purchase and payment by an unidentified "Archer Esq" of four tablespoons with engraved crests for a total cost of £2 16s. In addition to

15 Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 2, pp 455-456 and 739-740.

16 Abraham Boteu, Stepney, Middlesex, burial date 10 October 1731. England Deaths & Burials 1538-1991, Parish Burials. FMP.com.

17 Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 2, pp 455-456. See also 'Female Silversmiths', *Manchester Courier and Lancaster General Advertiser*, 14 December 1906, BNA.

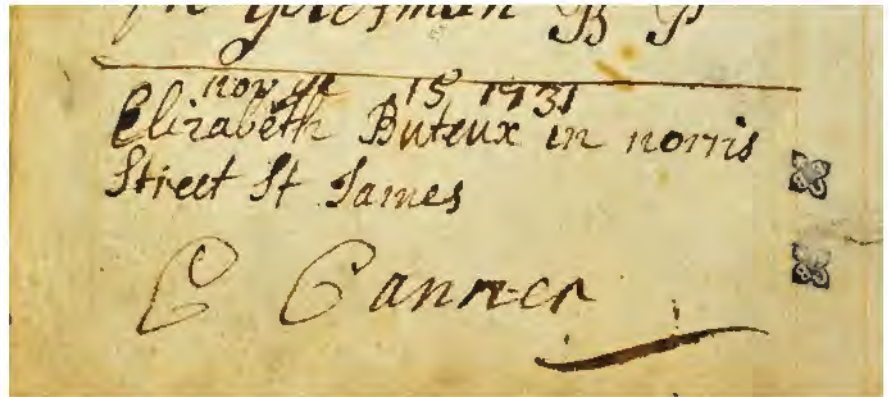
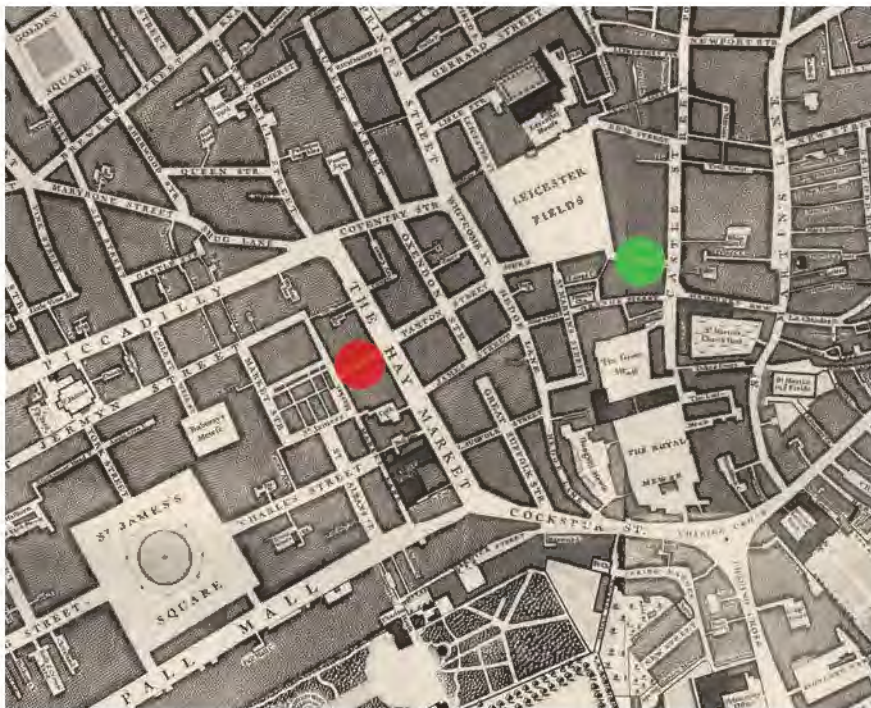


Fig 9 Elizabeth Buteux's entry in the London Assay Office marks register A1, Largeworkers, 15 November 1731.

(Photograph courtesy of the Goldsmiths' Company)

Fig 10 Map showing the location of Norris Street (red) and Green Street (green) taken from John Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark*, 1746.

(Composite map published by the London Topographical Society, 1919. © David Rumsey Historical Map Collection)



adult female. Several months after their marriage Abraham Buteux registered two marks, one for 'new standard' and one for sterling on 13 May 1721, and established his shop at the sign of the Golden Ewer on Green Street in Leicester Fields.¹⁵ No other

documentary evidence for Abraham Buteux's life and work has surfaced thus far, nor has an apprenticeship or working relationship with the Pantin family been substantiated. Surviving silver marked by him ranges from casters and tea caddies to largeworks such as two-handed covered cups and his output is in keeping with the work of his London contemporaries.

Buteux's business survived for a scant decade, however; Abraham "Boteu" was buried at Stepney, Middlesex, on 10 October 1731.¹⁶ His marriage to Elizabeth had produced several children who survived to adulthood (of whom, more later), but who would have been under the age of ten at the time of their father's demise. Not five weeks after the death of her husband, Elizabeth Buteux entered her first mark at Goldsmiths' Hall as a largeworker on 15 November 1731 [Fig 9]. Although her late husband had worked in Green Street, Elizabeth moved to Norris Street, located between the Haymarket and St James's Market [Fig 10].¹⁷ Her ability to relocate may have been engendered at least in part by a legacy

from her father, Simon Pantin I, goldsmith of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex. His will of 3 January 1731/2 confirms that Elizabeth Buteux (née Pantin) was born into the silver trade. In that document, Simon Pantin made specific bequests of £30 to his son Simon, £160 to his son Lewis, and £30 to his sister Anne Bolliash [?] widow of Daniel, as well as directing that his working tools be equally divided between his two sons. He left the residue of his estate to be distributed equally among his children

Simon Pantin, Lewis Pantin, Jane Wife of John Bauman[?], and Elizabeth Widow of Abraham Butu.¹⁸

Elizabeth Buteux was almost certainly a retailing silversmith, as there is no documentary evidence that she served an apprenticeship or worked at the bench. The few examples of silver bearing her mark include a sauceboat dated 1731-32, and a coffee pot, a footed salver, and three candlesticks, all bearing the date letter for 1732-33.¹⁹ The paucity of objects and limited time span of Elizabeth Buteux's production is undoubtedly due to the brevity of her widowhood. At the time of Abraham's death, she had at least three surviving children and was approximately two months pregnant with another. Re-marriage as soon as possible would have been a prudent choice given the maternal mortality rates associated with childbirth and the need to provide for her under-age offspring. A widow such as Elizabeth Buteux, even with young children and another on the way, would have brought much to a new alliance with someone in the precious metals trade. As the daughter, sister, and widow of Huguenot goldsmiths, she was no doubt familiar with key

manufacturing and retailing members of the craft. To date no will has been found for Abraham Buteux, but the extant silver bearing his mark indicates he was a successful and well-connected businessman. And while the actual amount of Elizabeth's legacy from her late father's estate is unknown, his specific bequests totaling £220 suggest she may have entered her own mark as a silversmith with the financial means to continue her late husband's business on a sound footing.

Predictably, Buteux's widowhood was brief. On 3 February 1731/2, it was recorded:

Appeared personally Benjamin Godfrey of the Parish of St James Westminster in the County of Middle[sex] aged upwards of thirty years and a Batchelor and alleged that he intends to intermarry with Elizabeth Bettew of the same Parish Widow.²⁰

It has often been suggested that Benjamin Godfrey was a journeyman working for Buteux but confirmation of this has yet to be found. The bond associated with the marriage allegation identifies Benjamin Godfrey as a "Jeweller", in keeping with his 1716 apprenticeship to John Craig of St James's, Middlesex.²¹ Benjamin and Elizabeth married on 6 February 1731/2 by licence at St Benet's Church, Paul's Wharf, Castle Baynard Street in the City.²² Although Benjamin Godfrey had not yet registered a mark at Goldsmiths' Hall, his legal standing as the proprietor of the business interests of his new wife is documented by a newspaper advertisement that appeared only nine days later. On 15 February 1732, a notice was published in the *Daily Post*

¹⁸ Simon Pantin, goldsmith of St Martin-in-the-Fields, will, 3 January 1731/2. LMA and GL; ref no AM/PW/1733/062. A.com.

¹⁹ J H Bourdon-Smith Ltd, 2018 Spring Collection of Antique Silver including a Private Collection of Cream and Sauceboats, n p; auction, Bonhams London, 2 July 2008, lot 307; auction, Sotheby's London, 27 April 2010, lot 250; and auction Doyle New York, 25 October 2017, lot 208. The three candlesticks, identified as being by Elizabeth 'Buteau', were sold with a matching fourth stick dated 1722/3 and marked by Sarah Holaday.

²⁰ Benjamin Godfrey and Elizabeth Bettew, St James's, Westminster, Allegation, 3 February 1731/2. London and Surrey, England, Marriage Bonds and Allegations, 1597-1921; ref no MS 10091/72. A.com.

²¹ Benjamin Godfrey and Elizabeth Betters, St James's, Westminster, Bond, 3 February 1731/2. London and Surrey, England, Marriage Bonds and Allegations, 1597-1921; ref no MS DL/A/24/Ms 10091E/45. A.com. Regarding Godfrey's apprenticeship, see Arthur Grimwade, *op cit*, see note 2, pp 749-750.

²² Elisabeth Bettew and Benjamin Godfrey, St Benet's, Paul's Wharf, City of London, marriage, 6 February 1731/2. England, Select Marriages, 1583-1973. A.com

23 *The Daily Post* (London, England), Tuesday, 15 February 1732 (Issue 8373), BC. The reference to “Norwich” appears to be a misspelling of “Norris,” as there was no such street in London at this date.

24 Hester Betew, St James, Westminster, Middlesex, baptism, 26 April 1732. WA, Westminster Baptisms. FMP.com.

25 Benjamine or Benjamin Godfrey, Jeweller of Saint James, Westminster, Middlesex, will signed and sealed 12 August 1732; proved 15 May 1741. NA, ref PROB 11/709/329.

26 Benjamin Cartwright I registered his first mark as a smallworker on 22 June 1732, but his address at Pedlars Lane, Cowcross, would have put him at some distance from the Godfrey’s Norris Street shop. See Arthur Grimwade, *op cit*, see note 2, p 460.

27 Arthur Grimwade, *ibid*, p 524.

28 The birth year of 1734 for Elizabeth Grubb (née Godfrey) is noted in her burial record; she married Henry Grubb in May 1761. See Elizabeth Godfrey and Henry Grubb, St Martin-in-the-Fields, Westminster, Middlesex, marriage, 7 May 1761. WA, Westminster Marriages. FMP.com. See also Elizabeth Grubb, St Martin-in-the-Fields, Westminster, Middlesex, burial, 16 August 1763. WA, Westminster Burials. FMP.com.

29 Benjamin Godfrey, St James’s, Westminster, Middlesex, baptism, 15 July 1735. WA, Westminster Baptisms and Benjamin Godfrey, St James’s, Piccadilly, Middlesex, burial, 23 July 1735. WA, Westminster Burials. FMP.com.

offering compensation to anyone who returned a lost gold watch to either Mrs Chenevix’s toy shop at the bottom of the Haymarket

or to Mr. Godfrey, Goldsmith, in Norwich-Street[sic], St. James’s market.²³

Approximately eleven weeks after the Godfreys’ marriage, the parish registers for St James’s Church, Westminster, record the birth and baptism of “Hester Betew of Abraham and Eliz” on 26 April 1732.²⁴ The omission of any reference to Elizabeth’s new status as the wife of Benjamin Godfrey may be attributed to the importance placed on establishing the parentage of the child as a legal heir to the estate of her late father. Less than four months later, “Benjamin Godfrey Jeweller” of the parish of St James’s, within the Liberty of Westminster, dictated his last will and testament on 12 August 1732. The document is surprising in several regards. The writing of a will was considered an essential part of a ‘good death’: it was meant to guarantee the timely settlement of one’s burial costs and debts as well as ensuring the distribution of any real and personal assets in accordance with the wishes of the deceased. Most often the creation of a will was prompted by advanced age or the onset of serious illness or injury; rarely were such documents drawn up and left in place for years before one’s death. Since Benjamin Godfrey was approximately thirty at the time, perhaps he had been taken ill; but if so, he survived and left his will as written until his actual demise more than nine years later. Godfrey’s last will and testament is also remarkable both for its brevity and for the authority it invests exclusively in his wife Elizabeth. Aside

from the standard instructions to pay his just debts and burial costs, he makes only a single bequest of £50 to his “dear Mother Elizabeth Godfrey”. He then stipulates

the Rest Residue and Remainder of my Estate and Effects whether real or personal I give devise and bequeath the same unto Elizabeth Godfrey my dear Wife whom I do hereby nominate constitute and appoint the full and sole executrix of this my last Will and Testament.

The will was witnessed by two individuals: J Cartwright and Paul de Lamerie.²⁵ The identity of Cartwright remains unknown, although he may have been related to the goldsmith Benjamin Cartwright I.²⁶ The signature of the goldsmith Paul de Lamerie on Benjamin Godfrey’s will is especially noteworthy. At the time Godfrey’s will was written, de Lamerie was well established as a leading goldsmith in London. Because Benjamin Godfrey had not yet entered a mark as a goldsmith, an act which did not occur until 3 October 1732,²⁷ it is likely that de Lamerie’s willingness to serve as a witness reflected on Elizabeth Pantin Buteux Godfrey’s standing among the London Huguenot goldsmithing community as established through her father, brothers, first husband, and her own business acumen.

With financial security ensured for the children from her previous marriage as long as she outlived her new husband, Elizabeth and Benjamin Godfrey quickly set about expanding their family: in 1734 a daughter named Elizabeth was born²⁸ and a son named Benjamin followed on 4 July 1735, but he survived only a few weeks.²⁹ Earlier that year on

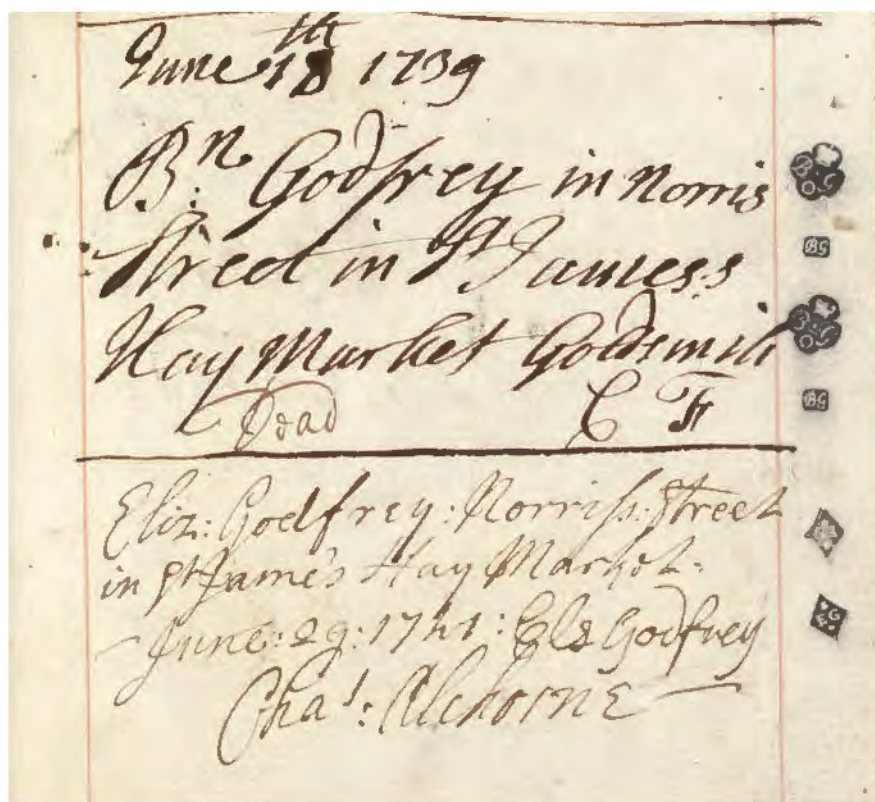


Fig 11 Elizabeth Godfrey's entry in the London Assay Office marks register B2, Largeworkers, 29 June 1741.

(Photograph courtesy of the Goldsmiths' Company)

30 Trial of Hester Barret, shoplifting, 16 April 1735, OB; ref no t17350416-9.

31 Among the most recent items to appear in the marketplace are two sauceboats from a set of four, marked by Benjamin Godfrey, 1735-36, engraved with the crest of Sir Gregory Page, offered by S J Shrubsole in October 2018. For an overview of works marked by Benjamin and Elizabeth Godfrey, as well as pieces marked by Abraham and Elizabeth Buteux, see Michael Clayton, *Christie's Pictorial History of English and American Silver*, Oxford, 1985.

32 Arthur Grimwade, *op cit*, see note 2, p 524.

March 18, Benjamin's testimony in a trial related to the attempted theft of seven gold rings valued at £4 from his shop confirmed his dealings in the jewellery side of the trade, as well as documenting the practice of sewing small items such as rings and buckles on to card stock to both show them to better advantage and to thwart shoplifting. The perpetrator, Hester Barret, was apprehended before leaving Godfrey's shop and the purloined goods were recovered, but she was sentenced to death for this offence. From the Old Bailey court accounts of this case we also learn that a workman named Henry Hobden was employed by Godfrey,

although his role within the shop was not specified.³⁰ Few other records of the Godfreys have been found; nonetheless, the large and diverse array of extant silver hollowware marked by Benjamin Godfrey compares favorably with that of the leading goldsmiths of the second quarter of the eighteenth century.³¹

Benjamin Godfrey registered his second and third marks at Goldsmiths' Hall on 18 June 1739.³² Before two years had passed he was dead and Elizabeth was widowed for a second time, with at least five offspring. The success of both the Godfreys' marriage and

- 33 Benjamin Godfrey, St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, Westminster, burial date 14 May 1741, WA, Westminster Burials. FMP.com and Gillian Butler, Archivist, WA, e-mail to author, 19 September 2018.
- 34 Benjamine or Benjamin Godfrey, Jeweller of St James's, Westminster, Middlesex, will signed and sealed 12 August 1732; proved 15 May 1741. NA, ref PROB 11/709/329.
- 35 Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 2, p 524.
- 36 Benjamin Mildmay, Earl Fitzwalter, account books, Essex Records Office, D/DM A7 Jan 1742-Dec 1752 — London book, 4 May 1745. See also A C Edwards, *The Account Books of Benjamin Mildmay, Earl Fitzwalter*, London and New York, 1977, p 78.
- 37 Ibid, pp 78, 132-134. For *The Daily Post* notice, see footnote 23.
- 38 See DA, 21 April 1743 (issue 3824); 17 June 1743 (issue 3873); 30 August 1743 (issue 3936); 24 December 1743 (issue 4036); 9 January 1744 (Issue 4049); 6 March 1744 (issue 4098); 8 March 1744 (issue 4100); 13 September 1744 (issue 4334); 22 March 1745 (issue 4425); 27 April 1745 (issue 4456); 10 September 1745 (issue 4592); and PA, 13 November 1753. BC. See also Judy Jowett, 'The Warning Carriers: How Messengers of The Goldsmiths' Company Warned the Luxury Trades of Criminal Activities in Eighteenth-century London', *Silver Studies: the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 18, 2005, p 100.
- 39 DA, 20 October 1743 (issue 3980) and 26 April 1745 (issue 4455), BC.
- 40 Sir Ambrose Heal, 67.168. See http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3034816&partId=1&searchText=Godfrey&page=1.
- 41 No billheads for either Benjamin or Elizabeth Godfrey are among the Drake family papers (D/X996; D/X963; and D/DR/5) now held at the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies. Katherine Shackleton, Public Service Officer, Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, e-mail to author, 30 October 2018. Papers of F Tyrwhitt-Drake of Shardeloes-Amersham were also deposited in 1956 at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; these have not been examined.

business endeavors at the sign of the Hand, Ring, & Crown on Norris Street can best be judged by the extravagant sum of £6 14s 6d spent on Benjamin's burial at the church of St Martin-in-the-Fields on 14 May 1741. Sadly, no monument or tomb survives for him in the crypt and in 1820 the churchyard land was required for new roadworks, nor is there a key to deciphering the notations 'Church v 6m/Pr^s L C and GB' beside Godfrey's name in the register.³³

Benjamin Godfrey's will, written nine years earlier, was proved on 15 May 1741, one day after his burial.³⁴ Not six weeks later, Elizabeth Godfrey once again registered a mark at Goldsmiths' Hall [*Fig 11*], indicating by her entry that she would continue working at Norris Street, where she had initially established herself ten years earlier following her first husband's death.³⁵ From 1741-42 onward, the quantity of surviving silver from Elizabeth Godfrey's shop is indicative of a well-established business, not unexpected given the likelihood of longstanding relationships based on both her own connections and those of her two late husbands. Occasional entries in period records help to paint a picture of her shop's output, such as the 1745 notation for

May 4th p^d M^{rs} Godfery Silver-Smith for a large Silver milk-jugg.
2:0:0

in the account books of Benjamin Mildmay, Earl Fitzwalter.³⁶ Interestingly, Earl Fitzwalter also patronised Chenevix's toy shop, the business named in the previously cited 1732 notice in the *Daily Post* as an alternative to Mr. Godfrey's for the return of a lost gold watch.³⁷

Fourteen different notices for misappropriated items were placed by Elizabeth Godfrey on behalf of clients in the *Daily Advertiser* and the *Public Advertiser* between 1741 and 1753; some ran for multiple days. Using bold text and large letters proclaiming "Lost", "Stolen", "Dropt", or "Taken", the advertisements describe a broad assortment of goods including silver spoons and salts, silver and gold coins, a tortoiseshell and gold snuff box, diamond earrings, and more. Rewards ranging from half a guinea to eight guineas were offered, along with the assurance "no Questions ask'd".³⁸ Two of these notices stated that the missing goods could be returned to "Mr." Godfrey, but since these ran in 1743 and 1745, they would appear to have been typesetting errors.³⁹ Another possible explanation exists however: the unpublished notations by Sir Ambrose Heal on the cardstock used to mount Elizabeth Godfrey's trade cards includes the statement

A bill head of Benjamin Godfrey at the Hand, Ring, & Crown, Norris Street dated 1744 is in the Tyrwhitt-Drake family bills at Shardeloes, Amersham.⁴⁰

The current location of this document is unknown,⁴¹ but it seems plausible that Elizabeth Godfrey would have continued to use up such stationery after her husband's death in 1741, as the address of the shop had not changed.

In 1745 seven advertisements were placed by Godfrey, not for stolen or lost goods, but to offer a residence for rent. On Wednesday, 5 June, there first appeared the notice:

To be LETT, A Convenient House, well fitted up and in good Repair,

situate in Leicester-Street, facing Haydon-Street, at the back of Savile-Row. Enquire of Mrs. Godfrey, a Goldsmith, in Norris-Street, the Hay-Market.⁴²

After running in this format three times, Godfrey changed the announcement by adding an additional enticement:

Also a Stable for four Horses, to be lett with or without the said House.

Following the fourth appearance of the notice on 1 August, the properties must have been either rented out or withdrawn from the market.⁴³

When and from whom Elizabeth Godfrey commissioned business stationery remains unknown, but it is reasonable to assume that her more-robustly rococo trade card [Fig 2] preceded the card and billhead proclaiming her appointment to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland [Figs 3 and 8]. Unfortunately, the date when this warrant was awarded also remains unknown.⁴⁴ Once again, however, Sir Ambrose Heal's collection proves useful in narrowing the timeframe. Recorded on the backing for his trade card with the royal warrant is a notation that an

example of that design with the date 1755 survived among the Haymarket materials assembled by A M Broadley.⁴⁵ Alexander Meyrick Broadley's many collections are widely disbursed, but his four scrapbooks entitled *Annals of the Haymarket* (1911) are now held by the City of Westminster Archives Centre. They contain two documents relating to Elizabeth Godfrey: another undated example of the royal warrant trade card and a separate, cropped example of Godfrey's billhead with the date 1755 handwritten in what appears to be iron gall ink in the lower left corner [Fig 12].⁴⁶ That billhead, which lacks any reference to the Duke of Cumberland, appears to be an earlier version of the example dated 1760 now at Chetham's Library [Fig 8]. The rendering of the shop sign, the spacing of the lines, and flourishes of the engraving all suggest the copper plate for Godfrey's earlier billhead was re-engraved to include her status as a royal warrant-holder. Thus, the Duke of Cumberland must have bestowed this perquisite upon Elizabeth Godfrey sometime between 1755 and 1760.

Elizabeth Godfrey, like her late husband Benjamin, was also the victim of a theft at the Hand, Ring & Crown on Norris

42 DA, 5 June 1745 (issue 4489), BC.

43 DA, 29 June 1745 (issue 4530) and 1 August 1745 (Issue 4558), BC.

44 Documentation for royal warrants relating to the Georgian period and most of the reign of Queen Victoria is unavailable. Christopher Johnston, Office & Warrants Administrator, Royal Warrant Holders Association, e-mail to author, 24 October 2018. See also Betty Whittington, *Tradesmen to the Royal Household Past and Present: Some Historical Notes Compiled and Presented to the Royal Warrant Holders Association*, London, 1991, pp 3-12.

45 Sir Ambrose Heal, 67.168. See http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3034816&partId=1&searchText=Godfrey&page=1.

46 No 592, *Annals of Haymarket* vol 1, Broadley, WA.



Fig 12 Billhead of Elizabeth Godfrey, Goldsmith & Jeweller, dated 1755. (Photograph courtesy of City of Westminster Archives Centre, no 592, *Annals of Haymarket* vol 1, Broadley)

-
- 47 Trial of John Smith and John Downs, theft, 14 May 1766, OB, ref no t17660514-30 and Old Bailey Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices' Working Documents, OB/PS, 9 December 1765-23 December 1766; LL ref: LMOBPS450100129, LL.org. See also John Culme, 'Sleight of Hand: Criminality and the Silver and Jewellery Trades in 18th and 19th Century London', posted 18 November 2010. <https://www.myfamily silver.com>
- 48 PA, 23 August 1768 (issue 10551), BC.
- 49 Elizabeth Godfrey, widow of St James's, Westminster, will, signed and sealed 6 September 1770; proved 8 March 1771. NA, ref PROB 11/965/87.
- 50 Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 2, pp 596, 759 and Peter Meure, Livery of London, 1768, p 67, London, England, UK and London Poll Books, London, England: LMA and GL, A.com.
- 51 Lewis Pantin, Goldsmith of Saint Anns [Anne's], Westminster, Middlesex, will, signed and sealed 17 January 1748; proved 8 March 1748. NA, ref PROB 11/768/268.
- 52 Sarah Roome and Panton Beten, St George's chapel, Albemarle Street, Middlesex, marriage 1754. WA, Westminster Marriages, FMP.com and Mary Betew, St Marylebone, Westminster, baptism, 30 November 1755. LMA; Church of England Parish Registers, 1538-1812; ref no: P89/MRY1/004. A.com.
- 53 Panton Betew, 1772, Coroners Inquests, Westminster Coroners, ref no WACWIC65212. LL.org and City of Westminster Coroners: Coroners' Inquests into Suspicious Deaths, CW/IC 4 January 1772 – 30 December 1772, Westminster Abbey Muniment Room, LL ref: WACWIC652120811. LL.org.
- 54 Panton Betew, Westminster Pollbooks: Votes in Westminster Elections, 1749-1820. 1 January 1780 – 31 December 1780. LL ref pollbook_174-17470, LL.org and London, England, UK and London Poll Books. London, England: LMA and GL A.com.
-

Street. In May of 1766 John [Joseph?] Smith and John Downs were tried for stealing a silver fruit basket valued at 20s. Although she was not called to appear, Godfrey was identified as both a widow and a silversmith in the proceedings of the Old Bailey. William Reynaldson, her foreman, gave testimony, as did Markas Garrick who stopped the piece at Cock and Hoop Yard in Houndsditch, near Whitechapel, 2.7 miles (4.4 km) east of the Norris Street shop. Garrick described one of the defendants as pulling the basket out of a pocket and offering it to him for sale. Rather than purchasing the dubious item, Garrick instead turned in the perpetrators, who were convicted and sentenced to transportation. A third individual, "Abraham Botow" (of whom, more later), was also listed in the Old Bailey records along with Reynaldson and Garrick, but he did not testify.⁴⁷ Elizabeth Godfrey's name appears in a newspaper notice for the last time on 23 August 1768, reaffirming both her shop's location and her ongoing role in the luxury goods trade:

LOST last Wednesday Night, betwixt Ranelagh [sic] and St. James's Place, a Velvet Bracelet, with a Hair Locket in Imitation of Moccho [sic]. Whoever brings it to Mrs. Godfrey, in Norris-street, St. James's Market, shall receive Half a Guinea Reward.⁴⁸

Barely two years later, on 6 September 1770,

Elizabeth Godfrey of the parish of Saint James in the abbey of Westminster and the county of Middlesex, widow

dictated her last will and testament.⁴⁹ A succinct yet telling document, her will provides an overview of a life marked by

personal trials and business successes. Her specific bequests total £720, a very impressive amount for a craftsman of the period, and she seemed confident that more would ultimately be available for dispersal after the settlement of her just debts and funeral expenses. To her son Panton Betew (presumably her eldest and certainly most responsible male heir), she left the sum of £100. He was to serve as executor along with Peter Meure of the parish of St James's. Peter Meure had been apprenticed to his uncle, the Huguenot goldsmith Peter Archambo I, and was made free of the Butchers' Company in July 1739. He subsequently worked in partnership with Peter Archambo II at Coventry Street, where he was also listed in the poll books for 1768.⁵⁰

Panton Betew appears multiple times in official records of the third quarter of the eighteenth century, with seemingly endless spelling variations of his first and last names. In 1748 his uncle Lewis Pantin, goldsmith of Leicester Fields, left in his will the sum of £10 to his

Nephew Pantin Bateux of Norris Street Silversmith.⁵¹

In 1754 Panton "Beten" and Sarah Roome, both of St Marylebone, married at St George's Chapel on Albemarle Street, and on 30 November 1755 their daughter Mary Betew was baptised.⁵² Panton Betew was identified again in 1772 as a silversmith residing on Compton Street, when he served as a juror in a coroner's inquest into the accidental death of a chimney sweep.⁵³ Although there is no evidence he ever registered a touchmark at Goldsmiths' Hall, Betew's occupation was still recorded as silversmith at Compton Street when he voted for Fox in the election of 1780.⁵⁴

Both of the executors were charged with purchasing an annuity for £100 to be paid out quarterly for the lifetime maintenance and support of Abraham Betew, the same son named as a witness, but not called to testify, in the 1766 Old Bailey trial for theft from Elizabeth Godfrey's shop.⁵⁵ Godfrey's will stipulated that any attempt on the part of her son Abraham to assign or make over the annuity would render it "utterly void." Her concerns about him were justified: a coroners' inquest found that

Abraham Betew being a Lunatick Hanged himself, on the 25th day of March 1776 at the Parish of St. Martin in the Fields within the Liberty of Westminster.⁵⁶

Godfrey's third-named son, Isaac, was also apparently a source of some distress, but of a different sort. The wording of her bequest to him was brief and direct:

And in regard I have been at very great expenses for and upon account of my son Isaac Betew, I give unto him only twenty pounds to buy mourning for me.

No certain evidence of Isaac can be found in public records, and no confirmation can be discerned that he did indeed buy mourning for his mother as directed.

An unmarried daughter, Hester Betew, was the primary legatee of Elizabeth Godfrey's estate, with a bequest stipulating

three hundred pounds and the furniture of my House in Norris Street.

She was also to receive the residue remaining from the sale of all

stock in trade, personal estate, and chattels of what nature or kind so ever

after the other bequests had been paid out. Hester was born and baptised on 26 April 1732, thus she would have been thirty-eight at the time her mother's will was drawn up. By bestowing such a generous sum on her spinster daughter, Godfrey was helping to guarantee her lifetime financial security. Unfortunately, Hester Betew also died only a few years after the will was recorded: she was buried on 14 October 1774 at St John's Church, Hackney.⁵⁷

Godfrey was also generous to her grandchild, Elizabeth Grubb: leaving her £200 to be paid when she attained the age of twenty-one and with interest of £8 per year until that time. Elizabeth Grubb was the offspring of Godfrey's daughter, Elizabeth Godfrey Grubb, by her second husband Benjamin.

Elizabeth Godfrey Grubb was born in 1734, married a coal merchant named Henry Grubb on 7 May 1761, and was deceased by 16 August 1763.⁵⁸

Although the birth and baptismal dates are not known for their only child, at the age of six or seven the orphaned Elizabeth Grubb had already been given a bequest of £200 in the 1769 will of her father Henry Grubb. This legacy was also modified with the caveat that interest on the amount was to be used for her support and education, with the full bequest being distributed only upon her marriage or when she reached the age of twenty-one.⁵⁹ Sadly, Miss Elizabeth Grubb, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth,

⁵⁵ Trial of John Smith and John Downs, theft, 14 May 1766, OB, ref no t17660514-30 and Old Bailey Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices' Working Documents, OB/PS, 9 December 1765–23 December 1766; LL ref: LMOBPS450100129. LL.org.

⁵⁶ Abraham Betew, 1776, Coroners Inquests, Westminster Coroners, ref no WACWIC65216. LL.com; City of Westminster Coroners: Coroners' Inquests into Suspicious Deaths, CW/IC 11 January 1776 – 30 December 1776, Westminster Abbey Muniment Room, LL ref: WACWIC652160111 and WACWIC652160112. LL.org.

⁵⁷ Hester Betew, St James's, Westminster, Middlesex, baptism, 26 April 1732. WA, Westminster Baptisms. FMP.com and Hester Betew, St John's, Hackney, Middlesex, burial, 14 October 1774. LMA, London, Church of England Parish Registers, 1538-1812; ref no P79/JN1/126. A.com.

⁵⁸ For documentation pertaining to Elizabeth Godfrey Grubb, see footnote 28.

⁵⁹ Henry Grubb, coal merchant of St Martin-in-the-Fields, will, signed and sealed 7 December 1769; proved 29 December 1769, NA ref PROB 11/953/350.

-
- 60 Miss Elizabeth Grubb, Uxbridge, Hillingdon, London, Middlesex Burials, 19 December 1781, Greater London Burial Index, Birth, Marriage & Death (Parish Registers), FMP.com.
- 61 Elizabeth Godfrey, St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, Westminster Burials, 1 March 1771, WA, Birth, Marriage & Death (Parish Registers), FMP.com. For Elizabeth Godfrey's will, see note 49.
- 62 She had the following children by her first husband, Abraham Buteux: Panton, Abraham, Isaac, and Hester Betew, all cited in her will. A fifth child, Martha Betew, also was born to Abraham and Elizabeth; she was baptised on 9 May 1731; see Martha Betew, St James's, Westminster, baptism, 9 May 1731. WA, Westminster Baptisms, FMP.com. No other records have been found for Martha and it is presumed she died in childhood. By her second husband, Benjamin Godfrey, Elizabeth had Elizabeth Godfrey Grubb and Benjamin Godfrey (see notes 28 and 29), who both pre-deceased her.
- 63 The entries in parish rate books, for example, can yield telling information about changes in wealth and status, as well as providing clues to the occupants of a given household. Currently, the digitised rate books available through online sites are limited both to election years and to male heads of household, thus omitting Elizabeth Pantin Buteux Godfrey based on gender and lack of voting rights. See Rate Books, (Parish) <https://www.genguide.co.uk> and LL.org.
-

died of scarlet fever and putrid sore throat, supposed to be infectious

and was buried on 19 December 1781. She would have been eighteen or nineteen years old.⁶⁰

Elizabeth Pantin Buteux Godfrey was buried on 1 March 1771 at the church of St Martin-in-the Fields, presumably with her second husband, and her will was proved one week later.⁶¹ Based on an estimated birth year of 1700, she would have been approximately seventy-one years of age. The daughter and sister of prominent Huguenot goldsmiths working in London, she twice married men who registered marks at Goldsmiths' Hall and, having outlived them both, she herself registered two touchmarks. She gave birth to at least seven children, only four of whom outlived her,⁶² and her career as proprietress of the Hand, Ring & Crown on Norris Street spanned forty years. Elizabeth Pantin Buteux Godfrey's success as a businesswoman is documented by the surviving silverwork bearing her mark and by the very substantial bequests she left to her family members. While her character, personal beliefs, and appearance remain enigmatic, an even fuller picture may yet be revealed as additional objects are discovered and more documents are digitised.⁶³

Acknowledgments

In memory of Helena Casis de Moreno (1926-2018).

The author gratefully acknowledges the invaluable assistance and encouragement of her friend and colleague, Angelika R Kuettner and the support of her husband, Edgard I Moreno. She also wishes to thank Bruce Hubbard; James Lomax; Sandra Rogers; Fergus Wilde of Chetham's Library; Gillian Butler of the City of Westminster Archives Centre; Katherine Shackleton of the Centre of Buckinghamshire Studies; Tara Chicirida, Carl Childs, Jason Copes, Mary Ann Goode, Neal Hurst, Marianne Martin, Kirsten Moffitt, Douglas Mayo, Melissa Schutt, Colleen Sinnott and Kaitlyn Weathers of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Vanda Jeffrey of the Essex Record Office; Jeffery S Evans of Jeffery S Evans & Assoc; Christopher Johnston of the Royal Warrant Holders Association; Timothy Martin and Benjamin Miller of S J Shrubsole; archivists of St Martin-in-the-Fields; and Sophia Tobin of the Goldsmiths' Company.

In 2016 Janine E Skerry PhD became Senior Curator of Metals at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in Williamsburg, Virginia, where she had previously served since 2009 as Curator of Metals and since 1993 as Curator of Ceramics and Glass.

JASPER CUNST: GOLDSMITH, BOX-MAKER AND GLOVER AND SAMUEL COOKE: BUCKLE-MAKER AND SILVERSMITH

LESLIE SOUTHWICK



Fig 1 Freedom box, gold, London, 1740-41, maker's mark of Jasper Cunst; supplied by Charles Gardner.

(National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Inv PLT 0187)



This article provides new information on two prominent 'handicraftsmen' and small-workers of London, information that throws further light on their lives and their achievements; it also offers new details about the work they produced during the eventful years through which they lived.

Jasper Cunst I (circa 1699-1776)

Jasper Cunst, the gifted royal goldsmith and box-maker, was the maker of the historic gold box commissioned by the Court of Common Council of the Corporation of London to contain the Freedom of the City of London awarded to Vice Admiral Edward Vernon for the capture of Porto Bello in 1740 [Figs 1 and 2]. He was first recorded when, at the age of twenty-one,

Jasper Cunst of the parish of St Bride's [Fleet Street] Batch[elor] married Rachael Forcer of Black Fryers Spinst[er]

by Archbishop's licence at St Bride's Church on 15 February 1720/1. A year later their son, Francis Cunst, was born on 31 August and baptised on 6 September 1722; a daughter Ann Cunst was baptised on 27 November 1723; a second son, Jasper II was born on 19 February 1724/5 and christened on 25 February 1724/5; the couple also had another daughter, Rachel¹.

Seven months after the birth of Jasper II, in September 1725, Cunst registered his first maker's mark, IC with pellet between in a rectangle, in the first

¹ For an earlier account of Cunst, see Leslie Southwick, *London Silver-hilted Swords, Their makers, suppliers & allied traders, with directory*, Leeds, 2001, p 113, fig 22.

Fig 2 Vice Admiral Edward Vernon, marble, circa 1744, attributed to Louis François Roubiliac

(National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Inv SCU0057)

2 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837, their marks and lives* (3rd ed), London, 1990, p743. See also Brian Beet 'Foreign snuffbox makers in eighteenth century London', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 14, 2002, pp 57-58.

3 The Sun Insurance Policies, London Metropolitan Archives, MS 11396/34, p 353.

Smallworkers' Book at Goldsmiths' Hall giving his address as "in Salysbury Court" [Fig 3]. Salisbury Court in the parish of St Bride's, Fleet Street, was both a short thoroughfare and also the name of a precinct, a small district, of the parish which contained a number of courts and alleys and formed one of the precincts of the ward of Farringdon Without. This is the largest and most western of all the City wards, ending at the entrance to the City at Temple Bar, Fleet Street, and a district which was populated from the seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century with many prominent silversmiths, toy-men, hilt-makers, sword-cutlers and other manufacturers and sellers of small-wares.

Although Cunst gave Salisbury Court as his address (and used it throughout his career) he does not appear to have actually lived in the court itself, but at various addresses within the precinct. The Land Tax Assessment Book for 1722 records

Jasper Cunst in Sugar Loafe Court (Salisbury Court precinct) and in 1725 he succeeded a Nicholas Le Pollitere in "Crown Alley" (Salisbury Court precinct), the location at which he was to remain for the next nineteen years until 1744. The following year (1744-5) Cunst had left Crown Alley (see below). Although it is known where Cunst lived and worked very little is recorded about his origins and the link, suggested by Grimwade and others, that the name Cunst or Kunst ties our subject to silversmiths in the Low Countries has never been verified.²

One of the purposes in writing these notes is to draw attention to a small but significant detail, found in a Sun Insurance policy (no 56229) dated 8 November 1731, which throws new light on Cunst.³ This policy reads:

Jasper Cunst in Salisbury Court in Fleet Street in the Parish of St Brides Glover on his Household Goods and Stock in Trade in his now Dwelling house only/Brick/Situate as aforesaid and not Elsewhere not exceeding Three Hundred Pounds/£300.

Fig 3 First maker's mark of Jasper Cunst.

(Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

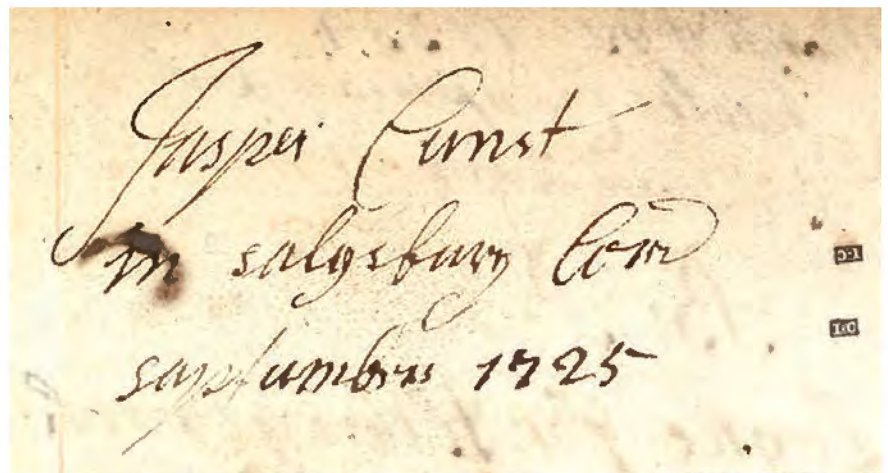




Fig 4a *PLAN of the Harbour, Town and Forts of Porto Bello (Taken by Edward Vernon Esqr Vice Admiral of the Blue on the 22d of November 1739. With Six Men of War only)*, etching, hand-coloured, published London, 1740.

(National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Inv PAF4574)

This entry is of standard form except for the one revealing word: Jasper Cunst of Salisbury Court is described as a “Glover”, a word that shows him to have been a freeman of the Glovers’ Company, a significant detail not known before. This means that Cunst was almost certainly indentured, not to a master-goldsmith to be trained in the skills of that craft, but to a master who was a freeman of the guild of Glovers. Cunst would have been trained in the skills of goldsmithing and fine box-making but would have been sworn free of his actual master’s livery company, the Glovers, the guild that had originally indentured him.

This practice was not unusual at this time: many artificers such as Cunst’s older contemporaries the silver-hilt maker and free Leatherseller, Richard

Fuller (circa 1670-circa 1731) and the royal goldsmith, sword-cutler and free haberdasher, George Moody (1677-1747) are known to have been freeman of different livery companies to that of the trade that they actually practiced.⁴

Many craftsmen of this period (including the two above) stated that they were free of a particular company when they entered their maker’s mark at Goldsmiths’ Hall. For instance:

Thomas Vicaridge in New Street free Cuttler & hilt maker(after 25 March 1697)

Francis Springall Free Leatherseller and Hilt Maker in New Street, 15 December 1698

John Carman in New Street free Cuttler May 4th 1716

⁴ Leslie Southwick, op cit, see note 1, p 113, fig 22.

5 Leselie Southwick, *ibid*, pp22-24.

6 Brian Beet *op cit*, see note 2.

Richard Chapman in Lumbard Street
Cutler June ye 28th 1720

and

Joseph Reason in Burley Street in
the Strand free Cuttler, June ye 19th
1720 old Ster[ling].

Cunst, surprisingly, did not mention the livery company of which he was a freeman when registering his first mark.

Although it is now known which livery company Cunst belonged to and the guild from which he received his freedom (an essential requirement if a man or woman wished to manufacture goods or trade within the Square Mile),⁵ the Glovers' Company Apprentice Bindings, Freedom Books and Court Minutes held in the Guildhall Library are not extant for the period under discussion. Thus, although much effort has been made to research the early life of Cunst and where he came from, it is still not known who his parents were, who he trained under, the actual date of his indenture, the date of his freedom from the Glovers', or how many boys he might later have bound as apprentices, although a number of their names are known.⁶ It is almost certain that he

trained his own son, Jasper II (who later registered two marks at Goldsmiths' Hall), through his own binding company and perhaps admitted all his sons through the Glovers' by patrimony to give them a good start in life.

From the known evidence, and his age at the time of his death, it can therefore be proposed that Cunst was born circa 1699 and was probably bound to a practising goldsmith box-maker, who was a member of the Glovers' Company circa 1713 (when he was fourteen). After his seven-year apprenticeship he would have been sworn free of his binding company, the Glovers', aged twenty-one, in 1720, after which he married. Although apprentices were normally bound at fourteen this did sometimes vary. A candidate did, however, have to be aged twenty-one or above to gain his freedom and this did not vary. Cunst's age at his death supports this chronology of events.

During the next decade Cunst appears in March 1735 in the Household Accounts of Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales, when he supplied a gold snuff box costing £46; his mark appears on a chased gold box of circa 1739-45, signed "A Heckel fecit". In spring 1740 he was sub-contracted to make the important and historic 100-guinea gold freedom box signed "JASPER CUNST. LONDON" and struck with his second mark, IC incuse, a mark that was almost certainly registered in the lost Smallworkers' Book II, following the Plate Act of 1738. The box was a token



Fig 4b *The Taking of Porto Bello by Adml Vernon Novr 22nd*, engraving, 1740 by William Henri Toms, after painting by Samuel Scott. (National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Inv PAH 7667)

presented by the Court of Common Council of the Corporation of the City of London to Vice Admiral Edward Vernon (1684-1757) [Fig 2], Commander-in-Chief His Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the West Indies, for the attack and capture of Porto Bello [Figs 4a and 4b] and is now in the National Maritime Museum [Fig 1].

Chronology of events leading to the presentation of Vice Admiral Vernon's freedom box

Vernon's historic box, the earliest known surviving London example of a token of this kind, is one of only several pieces bearing Cunst's mark and, although it has been discussed by several writers in the past, its chronology, its importance and the name of the commissioned retailer do need to be commented upon again.

The first known freedom of the City of London presented in a gold box was given personally to Charles II by his goldsmith, banker and confidante, Sir Robert Vyner, Bt, Lord Mayor of London, at the Banqueting House, Whitehall, on 18 December 1674.⁷ The scant description we have of the King's

large square Box of massy Gold, the seal of the said Freedom hanging at it enclosed in a Box of Gold set all over with large Diamonds

suggests that it was extremely rich and ornate, but later designs were unlikely to have been similar to it except in their basic form. The King's box was provided by his own goldsmith, a prominent figure who had invited the monarch to take up the freedom, the only known reigning monarch to be actually given this honour by the City. Vyner did not,

however, pay for the box himself but submitted his bill to the City accounts and was paid in two parts: £400 on 19 November 1674 (before the gift was actually presented but after the King had been sworn in as a freeman) and a further £520 on 23 December 1674 (after the ceremony at the Banqueting House); the two payments amounted to the massive sum of £920.⁸

Shortly afterwards, during the same mayoralty, a second gift was offered to the King's younger brother, James Duke of York (later James II). The Duke of York's gift was a

Rich box Embroydered with Gold and Pearle, with his Royal Highness the Duke of Yorkes Armes, the Cittys Armes and the Merchant taylors Armes... Worke done for the Honble City of London by the direction & appointment of the Right Worp Sr Robert Viner Baronet in the time of his Mayoralty in the year 1675 by Mr Charles Pinckney.⁹

This gift was considerably less valuable than the King's but nevertheless amounted to £45 for the box itself and a further £2

for a new Lyneing of it forty shillings

a total of £47 which the Corporation paid to Charles Pinckney on 28 September 1676. If they do still exist the whereabouts of these two royal gifts are not known. The Corporation appears to have been wary of paying out such large amounts again, although the specially-designed freedom box given to Admiral Keppel a hundred years later in 1779 cost considerably more than most.¹⁰

Although certain individuals were admitted to the freedom of the City

7 The *London Gazette*, no 948, 17-21 December 1674. For full details of this event, see also Leslie Southwick 'City of London Freedom Boxes and Caskets', in preparation.

8 London Metropolitan Archives, CLRO MISC MSS 160/7 f. 147. According to a current conversion table £920 in 1674 is worth £121,242.00 today or \$172,144-41.

9 Ibid.

10 Now in the Museum of London. Inv ID 251142.

11 Captain Rentone was probably Flag Captain to Vernon who, as was often the case, was sent to London with the commander's dispatches for the Admiralty. He was probably also the Captain James Rentone, who later returned to the West Indies and was killed at the capture of Port Louis, Hispaniola, on 8 March 1748.

12 The *London Gazette*, no 7892, 11-15 March 1739.

their freedom scrolls were not presented to them in an elaborate box. This is surprising given that heroes like John Churchill 1st Duke of Marlborough and Admiral Sir George Rooke were performing great and distinguished feats in battle in the early eighteenth-century. There was, therefore, a gap of some sixty years before the third known and recorded London freedom in a gold box which was that presented to Vice Admiral Vernon following his outstanding achievement in the capture of Porto Bello, a Spanish silver-exporting town on the coast of Panama at the beginning of the War of Jenkins's Ear (1739-48), actions which established a procedure that has continued on a fairly regular basis down to the present day, especially following individual historic achievements.

The *London Gazette* dated 15 March 1739/40 reported that

On Thursday last (13 March 1739/40) in the evening, Captain

Rentone¹¹ arrived here Express with Letters from Vice Admiral Vernon, dated on board his Majesty's Ship the *Burford* in Porto Bello Harbour, the 12th of December last (1739) to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State.

These dispatches from the Commander-in-Chief Ships and Vessels in the West Indies, having taken about twelve to thirteen weeks to arrive in London, recorded that with six ships and a small contingent of troops, Vernon had attacked the strategic port and harbour of Porto Bello on 21 November 1739 and successfully completed its capture; articles of capitulation were signed the next day, 22 November 1739.¹²

Following the publication of these reports, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament and much resultant public interest, a Court of Common Council held in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London on Lady Day, Tuesday 25 March 1740, before the Lord Mayor Sir John Salter, resolved to

Address His Majesty [George II] to Congratulate Him on the late success of His Arms under the Command of Vice Admiral Vernon in the West Indies the same was resolved in the affirmative . . . (and to) beg leave to Congratulate Your

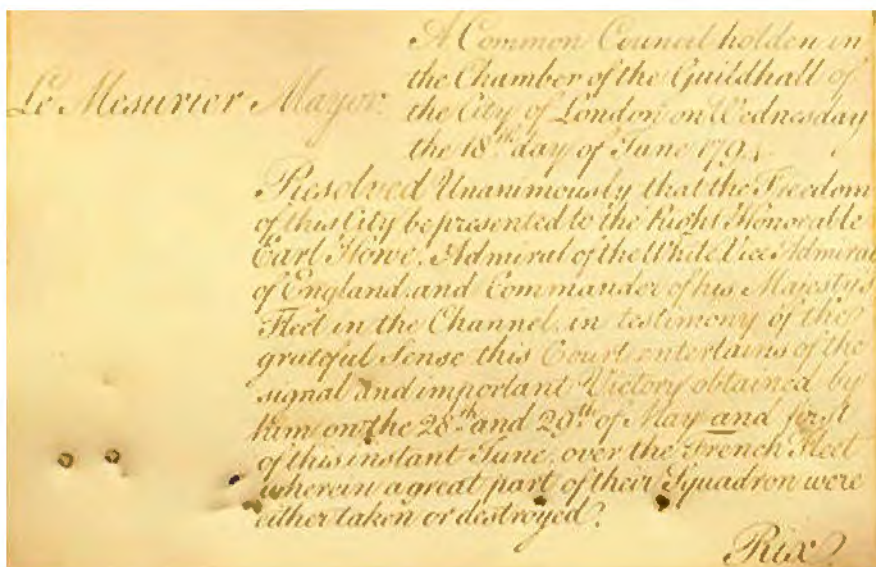


Fig 5 Freedom box, gold, London, 1794-95, maker's mark of James Morisset. Detail of the internal plate, gold, engraved with the Court of Common Council's resolution of 18 June 1794 awarding the freedom of the City of London in a gold box of 100 guineas value to Admiral Earl Howe.

(The Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, Loan Gilbert.387-2008)



Fig 6a Tontine, gold, London, 1764-65, maker's mark of Jasper Cunst, enamels by George Michael Moser.

(© Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, loan Gilbert 389: 1, 2-2008)



Fig 6b Interior of the tontine [Fig 6a].

(© Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, loan Gilbert 389: 1, 2-2008)

Majesty on the Glorious Success of Your Majesty's Fleet in the West Indies, under the Command of Vice Admiral Vernon, who with six Men of Warr only, and the assistance of about two hundred Land Forces from Jamaica, entered the Port, and took the Town of Porto Bello demolishing and levelling all the Forts and Castle thereto belonging, destroying or bringing away all the Gunns and Ordnance with which they were defeated, at the same time treating the inhabitants with the utmost humanity opening their Harbour, and reclaiming from Captivity Your Majesty's subjects in the service of the South Sea Company, unjustly detained at Panama . . . (Therefore) A Motion was made and Question put, that the Freedom of this City be

presented to Vice Admiral Vernon in a Gold Box, in Testimony of the Grateful sense, this City has of His Services to the Nation in America, by Taking Porto Bello, & demolishing the Fortifications thereof; And the same was resolved in the affirmative & ordered accordingly. And it is agreed & ordered the said Gold Box shall be of the Value of One Hundred Guineas.¹³

This entry, recorded in the Court of Common Council's Papers and Journal 58 for 25 March 1740, clearly lays out the resolution of the Court in honour of a particular person and includes information as to why the freedom was being awarded, about the gift of the gold box in which it was to be enclosed and also at what cost.¹⁴ The form of

Fig 6c Interior of the lid of the tontine [Fig 6a].

(© Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, loan Gilbert 389: 1, 2-2008)



13 London Metropolitan Archives: Common Council Papers G CXM/95, box 13; also Common Council Journal 58 (1736-45) ff 167-168v.

14 Ibid.

15 The Freedom box later presented to Admiral Drake in 1782 is also without its engraved plate inside the lid.

16 See Anthony H Sale and Vanessa Brett 'John White: some recent research', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 8, Autumn 1996, p 467. He was, however, commissioned to provide a new mace for the Lord Mayor in 1735, and paid for supplying it, but questioned about his accounting (*ibid*, pp 470-1). See also Brian Beet, *op cit*, see note 2, p 57, who repeats the view that Vernon's box was supplied by White.

resolution has, in effect, remained basically unchanged since this date. Not only is Vernon's Resolution of Freedom the first and fullest example known, but his gold freedom box is extant and the earliest surviving specimen. It is embellished with several features that were to become standard practice on all later London Freedom boxes: most notably the prominent display of the City of London's coat of arms.

Vernon's box is of rectangular form, measuring 5½in (14cm) long by 4in (10cm) wide by 1¼in (3cm) high. The top plate of the hinged lid, with framed borders, is engraved with the full coat of arms, supporters and motto, 'DOMINI DIRIGE NOS', of the City of London. Framing the arms is a border of scrolling acanthus with a scallop shell at each corner and set with an oval at the centre of each side. In the left oval is a cameo engraved with the figure of Hercules and on the right side the figure of Victory (Nike). At the centre of the top frame is an oval enclosing the motto 'NEC PLURIBUS IMPAR' and at the base an oval engraved 'MAJORA MANENT'. The box is signed on the front with the name 'IASPER CUNST LONDON' and struck on the inside of the base-plate with the maker's mark IC incuse, the date letter for 1740-41 and the other London assay marks. The box (like several other early examples) does not carry an engraved inscription of the Common Council's resolution of presentation, as found on many later London freedom boxes [see Fig 5]. The resolution, like several other examples, was almost certainly engraved on a separate gold plate which was then fitted to the inside of the lid of the box

but which in this case now appears to be lost.¹⁵

Major institutions in the City like the Corporation of London, the East India Company or agents of colonial island assemblies, commissioned their gifts through leading retail goldsmiths or jewellers such as James Hunt, Gabriel Leekey, William Moore, Rundell & Bridge, Goodbere, Wigan & Co, Thomas Ayres and Charles Pinckney. The retailer in turn sub-contracted the making of a box or sword to a leading specialist artificer like Cunst, George Michael Moser, James Morisset, Samuel Cooke, John Northam, Alexander Strachan or John Linnit. Major institutions did not deal directly with craftsmen but with prominent retail businessmen who were usually members of the Court of Common Council and representative of all aspects of London trade.

It has been suggested that the supplier commissioned to provide the box for Vernon would have been John White (circa 1697-1764?), a leading London retail goldsmith active off the Strand in Westminster,¹⁶ although at this date this would have been unusual as most major City of London commissions were ordered from leading merchants within the City itself. White was declared bankrupt on 24 April 1740, only a month after the resolution to present Vernon with the freedom of the City and a box (his bankruptcy notice was published in the *London Gazette* of 26-29 April 1740), and the Corporation could have quickly dispensed with his services.

Records show that the man who was actually paid by the City for supplying Vernon's box was Charles Gardner

Fig 7a Box, gold, London, 1765-66, maker's mark of Jasper Cunst.

(© Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, loan Gilbert 385-2008)



Fig 7b Front view of box [Fig 7a].

(© Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, loan Gilbert 385-2008)



Fig 7c Top of box [Fig 7a].

(© Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, loan Gilbert 385-2008)

To Chas Gardiner in full of his Bill for a Gold Box & Shagreen Case¹⁹ to hold the Copy of Admiral Vernon's freedom which is to be presented to him by this City by Order of the Court of Aldren (Aldermen) dat. 25 March 1740

£104-11s-6d

Following the box's manufacture the *Gentleman's Magazine* recorded that Vernon did not return to London until January 1743/4, over four years after the exploits for which the freedom and box were awarded (a familiar story of many military and naval recipients who served abroad for long periods).²⁰ Unlike several other institutions, the Corporation of London did not send its valuable gifts to recipients serving abroad on foreign stations (although Vernon would have been informed by the Lord Mayor of the honour) but, following its manufacture, kept the valuable box "in a place of safety" such as the Lord Chamberlain's office or Gardner's premises to await Vernon's return.²¹

On arriving in the capital on 13 January 1743/4, Vernon was received by George II and on the 19 January

several Alderman waited on him and presented him with the freedom of the City in a Gold Box finely embellished with his Arms, &c. value 100 Guineas. The Admiral expressed his Gratitude for the Honour done to him, and the great Regard he should always have for the Trade and prosperity of this City. The next Day he received the Complements of several of the principal merchants' and on 24 January 1743/4 he went to the Guildhall and took up his Freedom of the City and that of the

17 For other examples of Gardner's works see Anthony H Sale and Vanessa Brett, *ibid*, pp 472-3 and Charles Oman, *English Engraved Silver 1150-1900*, London, 1978, pp 98-9.

18 London Metropolitan Archives, The City of London Cash Accounts for 1740-41 (2/40. 140v).

19 Each gold box awarded was presented in a wooden protective case covered with shagreen (or fish-skin) and often lined with silk. It is probable that several of these cases have not survived. Large pieces of silver were also contained within a special protective case such as the one still with Nelson's Turkey Cup presented for his victory at the Battle of the Nile (1798) and now in the National Maritime Museum; others were made to protect the hilts on presentation swords.

20 The *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol XIII, January 1744, p 50.

21 Boxes and swords were kept in a "place of safety" if the recipient was not immediately available to receive the award. It was intended to keep the gifts away from public gaze and press publicity until the official presentation once the recipient had returned to England.

(circa 1689-1762), a goldsmith and prominent specialist silver and gold engraver active in Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, in the ward of Farringdon Without (the ward in which both he and Cunst operated) (see Appendix I). Gardner was almost certainly the skilled engraver who was responsible for the imagery on Vernon's box as well as on several other prominent works.¹⁷ The City Cash Accounts for 1740-41 record:¹⁸

22 See Kathleen Wilson, 'Admiral Vernon and popular politics in Mid-Hanoverian Britain', *Past & Present*, no 121, November 1988.

23 See Brian Beet, *op cit*, see note 2, p 57. The reference was almost certainly to St Luke's parish, Old Street, Islington, just outside the City's north-east boundary in Middlesex (the old church building still exists today off Old Street in a poor state due to subsidence). St Luke's parish Chelsea, a name drawn on by several commentators, did not replace the parish name of Chelsea Old Church until 1824. This parish was a long way from where Cunst lived and worked.

24 Brian Beet, *ibid*.

Merchant Taylors' Company at the same time, leaving 100 Guineas to be distributed among poor Citizens.

Vernon's success and his return to England with "cart-loads" of gold, which made both him and his men very wealthy and aroused a good deal of public interest and jubilation, was the start of the tradition of the City publicly honouring war heroes which has continued intermittently down to the present day, especially following major battles and campaigns.²²

Cunst's later career

On 24 July 1741, a year after completing Vernon's box and whilst still living in Crown Alley (Salisbury Court precinct), Cunst was described in the Bankruptcy Commission Docket Book as

of the Parish of Saint Brides London
Goldsmith and Snuff Box Maker

was declared bankrupt on the petition of the creditor

William Jackson of Old Street
Square in the Parish of Saint Luke in
the County of Middlesex
Goldsmith.²³

The latter was almost certainly William Jackson (d 1743) citizen and goldsmith of London of the parish of St Luke's Church, Old Street (now Finsbury) (a church consecrated in 1733), a parish just north-east but outside of the City's boundary in Greater Middlesex.

The day after Cunst's bankruptcy was declared the full notice was published in the *London Gazette* (no 8034) for 25 July 1741:

Whereas a Commission of Bankrupt is awarded and issued forth against

Jasper Cunst, of the Parish of St. Bride's, London, Goldsmith and Snuff-box-maker, and he being duly declared a Bankrupt, is hereby required to surrender them, on the 28th of July Instant, on the 4th of August next, and on the 5th of September following, at Three in the Afternoon on each of the said Days, at Guildhall, London, and make a full Discovery and Disclosure of his Estate and Effects; when and where the Creditors are to come prepared to prove their Debts, and at the second Sitting to choose Assignees, and at the last Sitting the said Bankrupt is required to finish his Examination, and the Creditors are to assent to or dissent from the Allowance of his Certificate. All Persons indebted to the said Bankrupt, or that have any of his Effects, are not to pay or deliver the same but to whom the Commissioners shall appoint, but give Notice to Mr. Wm. Gregson, Attorney, in Grace-church street, London (William Jackson's solicitor).

The late Brian Beet suggested that Cunst

reached some accommodation with Jackson because he remained in the rate books at Crown Alley throughout 1742 and 1743, after which he disappears completely from 1744 until 1748, when he surrendered to the Fleet Prison (the prison across from where he lived)

and

petitioned for release under the Insolvency Act on the grounds that his assets did not exceed £10.²⁴

He also listed a number of names of those Cunst did business with and who

25 Ibid.

owed him money including the prominent toyman William Deards I (circa 1703-1761), active in Craven Street off the Strand and later in Dover Street, Piccadilly.²⁵ Cunst's recovery from destitution appears however to have been fairly rapid. He is known to have taken on several more apprentices and the fact that he later made a will indicates that he had clawed himself out of debt and back into credit.

To complete the record of where Cunst actually lived after his bankruptcy and detainment the following has been discovered. His name next appears in the Farringdon Without Land Tax Books of 1750-51 as living in "Bear Alley Ditch Side" (Salisbury Court precinct), where he remained for the next seventeen years until 1766-67. In 1767 he moved to Wilderness Lane (Salisbury Court

precinct) a location where at least one other prominent craftsman lived at the same time, the silver hilt-maker, George Fayle (recorded 1734-d 1786), who was at Wilderness Lane between 1772 and 1779. After spending eight years in Wilderness Lane Cunst is recorded in 1775 occupying a property in Fleet Street itself (this was a small section of the famous thoroughfare, but one again still within the precinct of Salisbury Court, St Bride's) and the place where he is recorded in the Land Tax Books until his death, although he might have actually died at his son's home (see below).

Other known work by Cunst

Twenty-three years after making Vice Admiral Vernon's box Cunst made a splendid tontine gold snuff box,

Fig 8 St Bride's Church, Fleet Street, looking east towards St Paul's Cathedral with Fleet Street on the left, engraving by John Donswell active 1753-86.

(Courtesy of the Guildhall Library, London)



embellished with enamels by George Michael Moser, and marked for 1764-65. This box is now in the Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum [Figs 6a-c] and it is likely that he also made the large gold table snuff box of 1765-66 (also in the Gilbert Collection)

presented on the 1st August 1765 to Robert Alsop Esq Alderman of London and Governor of the Society of the New Plantation in Ulster in the Realm of Ireland by the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of the City of Londonderry in Testimony of the Gratitude and Respect

which bears the maker's mark IC [Figs 7a-c]. He was also listed in *The Parliamentary Report* of 1773 as "Cunst, Jasper, Goldworker, Salisbury Court".

Death of Jasper Cunst

Jasper Cunst died in the spring of 1776, aged seventy-six apparently at [69] Dorset Street, Salisbury Square, St

Bride's, where his son lived (see below) and was buried at St Bride's Church, Fleet Street, on 4 April 1776 [Fig 8]. His will, made eighteen months earlier on 14 October 1774, describes him as a

goldsmith of St Bridget otherwise Bride, London (PROB 11/1018 sig 167, f 197).

It reveals that his wife Rachael had predeceased him and that he had three surviving daughters as well as grandchildren. He bequeathed sums of money to his son

Francis Cunst . . . my daughter Ann Monk (wife of Edward Monk), to my daughter Rachael Spinster, and my daughter, Catherine Bradshaw (wife of Samuel Bradshaw), to my grandson Francis Cunst (son of my said son Francis), to my granddaughter Catherine Cunst (daughter of Francis), to Mr Tobias Anger and to my son, Jasper Cunst.

His will was proved in London two days after his burial on 6 April 1776.

Samuel Cooke (1749-1817)

Samuel Cooke, a productive buckle-maker and silversmith, was active at 2 Crown and Sceptre Court, in the parish of St James's, Piccadilly for most of his working life [Figs 9 and 10a-b]. As well as making buckles [Figs 11a-b] Cooke's maker's mark is also found on two of the most attractive and distinguished gold presentation swords of the late eighteenth century both of which were modelled after Matthew Boulton's cut-steel court sword designs [Fig 12]. The first is a gold-hilted dress small-sword [Fig 13] presented by the then Commodore Horatio Nelson to his ship's captain, George Cockburn, of the frigate *Minerve*, in

commemoration of two gallant actions fought on the 19 & 20 Decembr 1796.

Fig 9 Crown and Sceptre Court off the north-east side of St James's Street, Westminster, detail from Horwood's Map of London, 1799.

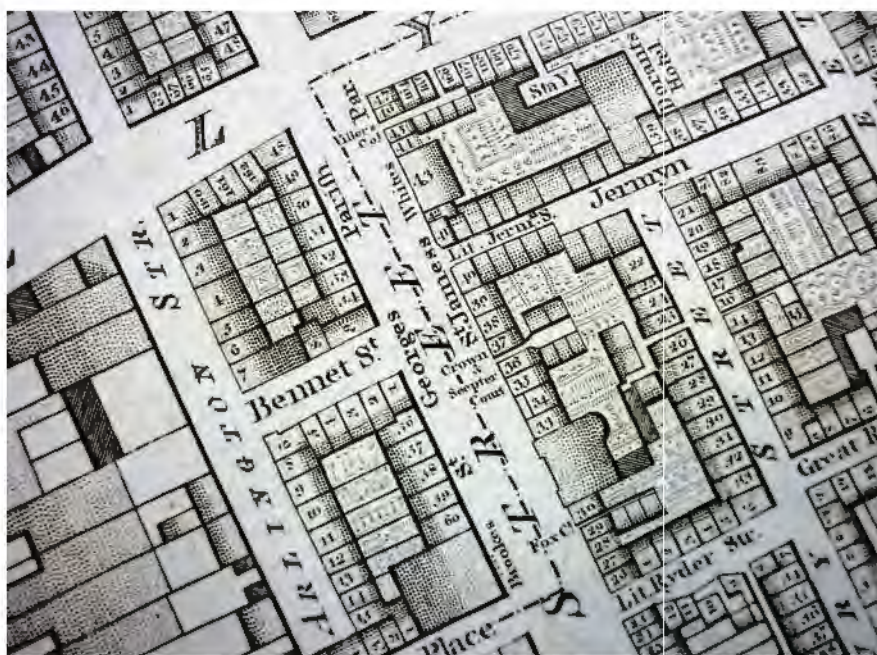




Fig 10a North side of St James's Church, Piccadilly, Westminster.
(Author's image)



Fig 10b South side of St James's Church, Piccadilly, from Jermyn Street.
(Author's image)

The second is a gold, faceted, bead-hilted dress small-sword awarded to Major George Wilson, 39th (or The East Middlesex) Regiment of Foot, by the British colony of Essequibo and Demerara in September 1800 [Figs 14a-d].²⁶

Records reveal that there were many Samuel Cookes in England in this period. The name is not particularly unusual and, because of this, one has had to be cautious with apparent docu-

mentary evidence of family history. The following account does, however, appear to correspond with most of the evidence and a known chronology of events.

Samuel Cooke, the son of Anthony and Jane Cooke, was born on 26 December 1749 in the parish of St Anne's, Soho and baptised in St Anne's Church on 15 January 1749/50 [Fig 15]. He is known to have been indentured as a young apprentice, aged thirteen (but in his fourteenth year) for seven years

Fig 11a-b Buckles by Samuel Cooke.



26 Leslie Southwick, 'New Light on the Gold Sword of Major George Wilson', *Arms & Armour*, vol 12, no 2, October 2015, pp 145-180.

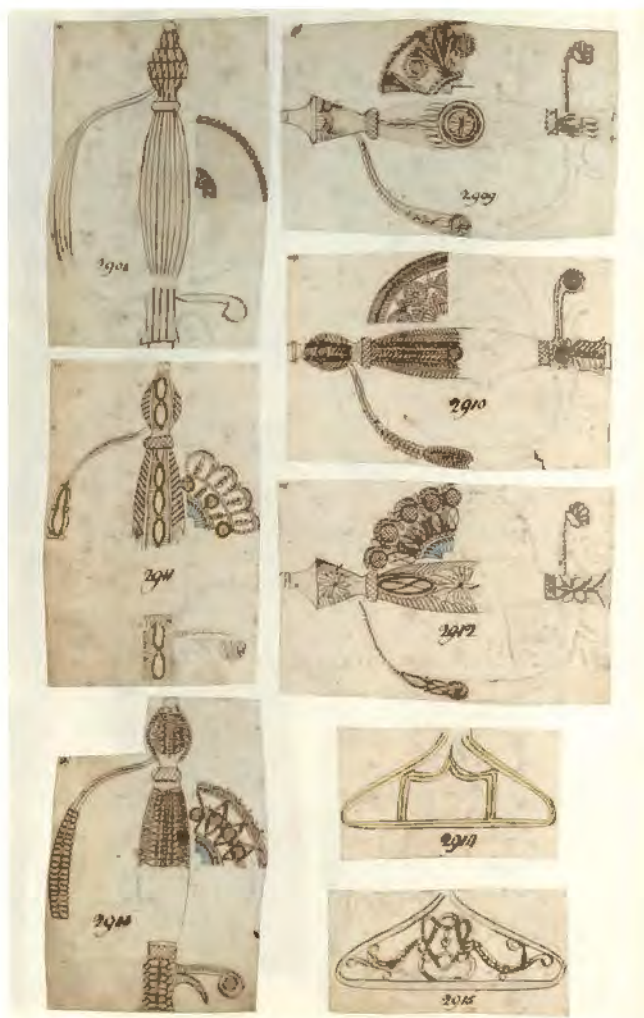


Fig 12 Sword hilt designs matching the Cockburn sword overleaf, in the Boulton & Watt Pattern Book. (Birmingham City Archives MS.2782/21/11)



Fig 13 Dress small-sword, gold hilt, London, 1797-98, maker's mark of Samuel Cooke, commissioned from Richard Clarke & Son. (National Maritime Museum, Greenwich WPN 1167)

("premium five shillings paid") to the silver buckle-maker Thomas Hatton of Frith Street, Soho, in the parish of St Anne's, from 13 December 1762 (registered in the Apprentice Binding Books on 21 January 1763),²⁷ but as Hatton died only fifteen months after this registration (he was buried at St Anne's Church on 11 March 1764), it is almost certain that Cooke would have been turned over to another master to complete his apprenticeship, perhaps to Hatton's brother, Samuel, also a professional silver buckle-maker of St

Anne's (Hatton's Will PROB 11/896/373 proved 15 March 1764).

There is no record of Cooke having become free of a particular master or livery company but this practice was not a requirement of apprentices who had trained or who wished to work in Westminster, as it was of those who wanted to run a workshop or a retail business in the City of London.

²⁷ National Archives, Apprentice Books Bindings of Great Britain, IR1/23 ff 144-5.



Fig 14a Dress small-sword, gold hilt, London, 1801-2, maker's mark of Samuel Cooke, commissioned from Richard Clarke & Son. (Royal Armouries IX 2578)

Fourteen years after being bound Cooke, then aged about twenty-five, succeeded a "Mr La Tour" at 2 Crown and Sceptre Court (Pall Mall division) as recorded in the St James's Parish Rate Books [Fig 9].²⁸ This location, a small courtyard just south of Jermyn Street, consisted of five houses (two on the north side and three on the south) off the upper east side of St James's Street. It was entered via a short alley situated between buildings 36 and 37 St James's Street, an address that no longer exists.

The Paving Rate Book for this location



Fig 14b Detail of engraved inscription on the shell of dress sword [Fig 14a]. (Royal Armouries IX 2578)



Fig 14c Detail of London assay marks and maker's mark of Samuel Cooke on the inside of the quillon of dress sword [Fig 14a]. (Royal Armouries IX 2578)



Fig 14d Detail of top-locket of dress sword [Fig 14a], signed with the name and address of the commissioned retailer and struck with the maker's mark of Samuel Cooke. (Royal Armouries IX 2578)

shows that a "Mr Latour" had succeeded a "John Claris" in 1775, but only remained at this address for less than a year. The Paving Rate Book dated 13 June 1776 reveals that Latour had paid rates for only the spring quarter of 1776, before becoming a "runaway" and being replaced by Cooke.

²⁸ The Westminster Archive Centre holds all the relevant documentation for the parishes of St James's Piccadilly and St Anne's, Soho, and for all other parishes in Westminster.



Fig 16 First maker's mark of Samuel Cooke, 'Buckle Maker', registered 16 December 1776.

(Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths. Photograph: Richard Valencia)

29 For further information on this, see London Metropolitan Archives, Index MS10, 091G/22A, p 27. See also the discussion in Leslie Southwick, *op cit*, see note 26, p 179, note 22.

The five occupiers of the premises in the Court when Cooke took occupancy were

Robert Gorell, Adam Conner, Joseph Dassie, Saml Cooke [and] Richard Hannam.

Shortly after his move to this address in 1776 Cooke registered his first maker's mark as a buckle-maker, SC in a rectangle, at his new address, in the Smallworkers' Book at Goldsmiths' Hall on 16 December 1776 [Fig 16], a legal requirement which confirmed the location from which he planned to trade and one also required by the Assay Office if he wished to have his work assayed and accredited. The dates

above and the registration of his first known mark suggest that Cooke probably worked as a journeyman for several years following his apprenticeship before establishing his own workshop. On 1 January 1777, a few weeks after registering his mark, Cooke took out a Sun Insurance policy (no 388324) on his property in Crown and Sceptre Court (Valued £500) and gave his occupation as "Silversmith".

It is in this period, that difficulties arise as to Cooke's marriage and his children. It is known that his wife's name was Susanna (suggested birth-year circa 1754, see below), but when and where they were married is at present uncertain. Only one intriguing piece of evidence is known from this period that links our subjects: a marriage allegation for a licence to marry and the marriage itself at St Marylebone in 1782, between a Samuel Cooke and a Susanna Haynes of Chiswick, but this evidence, although appealing, raises a number of questions, as to stated locations and the age of the bride.²⁹

Our Samuel Cooke is confirmed as living and working in the parish of St James's Church, Piccadilly, from 1776 and the baptismal registers of that church record the births and christenings of children known to have been born to a Samuel and Susanna Cook(e), names which were recorded after Cooke was established in the parish (Several of the children below are confirmed by later sources, although



Fig 15 St Anne's Church, Soho, Westminster, engraving, circa 1820.

all but one of the surnames are without an 'e').

The St James's Church, Piccadilly, Baptismal Registers, vol 5 (1761 to June 1786), and vol 6 (1786 to 1812), record the following births and baptisms:

12 May 1776 Baptised Susanna Cook
Daur of Samuel & Susanna, Born
May 1;*

31 March 1778 Baptised Samuel
Cook Son of Samuel & Susanna,
Born 13 March;*

3 Sept. 1780 Baptised John Cook
Son of Samuel & Susanna, Born
Aug. 14, 1780;*

1 April 1784 Baptised Maria Cooke
Daur of Samuel & Susanna, Born
March 3;

30 January 1786 Baptised Frances
Cook Daur of Samuel & Susanna,
Born Jan. 3;

27 September 1787 Baptised William
Cook Son of Samuel & Susanna,
Born 1 Sept;

10 May 1789 Baptised Henry Cook
Son of Samuel & Susanna, Born 17
April 1789;*

21 May 1790 Baptised Louisa Cook
Daur of Samuel & Susanna, Born 29
April 1790;

15 April 1792 Baptised Harriett Cook
Daur of Samuel & Susanna, born
12 April;

9 April 1797 Baptised Charlotte
Caroline Cook Daur of Samuel &
Susanna, born 15 March 1797.

Ten children was not a particularly large family at this time, especially as six appear to have died in infancy. The four names marked with an asterix above are the only children of the family who grew to maturity and are mentioned later in Cooke's will. The couple's eldest and

first-born son, Samuel, is known to have survived childhood, married and had children, but died in his early thirties.

On 1 January 1784

Samuel Cooke, Buckle Mkr, Crown
& Sceptre Ct, St James Piccadilly

is recorded in the Westminster Poll Books as having voted for Charles James Fox. A second maker's mark, a smaller stamp registered at the same address, was entered at Goldsmiths' Hall on 27 August 1789, thirteen years after the first above.

On 8 September 1803 Cooke took out another Sun Insurance policy on his St James's property. Other Sun policies reveal that he owned other houses at Grove Place in the parish of Fulham and relevantly, from 2 November 1812, at 21 Sloane Square, Chelsea, the address where he almost certainly actually lived (see below) and these entries show that Cooke had made a very comfortable living from his manufacturing business skills.

Cooke drew up his last will and testament on 24 April 1816, a document that surprisingly tells us little about our subject's standing in society. He did not indicate his profession or where he actually resided. He did, however, list bequests to his surviving relatives: his sons John and Henry and a daughter Susanna; grandsons Samuel, George Henry and Frederick, the children of the late Samuel, junior, (see below) and a sister, Elizabeth Cooke. The will reveals that he was comparatively well-off with shares in various funds. It (PROB 11/1598) reads:

I Samuel Cooke declare this to be my last Will and Testament I do appoint my Son John Cooke and John Humphries to be my joint Executors to whom I instruct the whole

Property I die possessed both in ffunds and in Trade I order an exact amount to be taken and after my debts are discharged the whole to be divided in four following Shares namely to my Son John Cooke one Share, to my daughter Susannah Cooke one Share, to my Son Henry Cooke one Share and to the three Children of my late Son Samuel Cooke, George, Henry and ffrederick one 'Share', I will also that the above 'Share' of my Grand Children be placed in the funds and the interest of which to be at the outright disposal of my Executors for their benefit till they attain the Age of manhood then an equal division of said Share to acquire [?] their own property, I will also that the Share for my Son Henry Cooke be placed in the ffunds and disposed of in the following manner the Interest he is to be allowed to receive as it borrows due saving and — a sufficient Sum to be by my Executors received for the payment of a stipend uninsured in a Bond given to Joseph ffears [Sears]

and at the death of my Son Henry Cooke the above Share to be equally divided amongst my Grand Children above names, I will also that the Sum of Sixty Pounds be paid to my Sister Elizabeth Cooke being Money of hers I had in my possession and likewise that a sufficient Sum be placed in the ffunds for the [sum] of one pound pr month during her life and at her death to be equally divided among the above mentioned Share holders. I likewise give to Mr John Humphries the Sum of twenty Pounds, I bequeath unto my Daughter Susannah Cooke all my ffurniture, Plate & Apparel, due to my Son John Cooke the lease of my house and all the Implements of Trade of every description, to my Son Henry I give my Watch and forty Pounds to be Taken from his Share.

Samuel Cooke, signed and seald [sic] by me this day April 24th 1816,

Witness John Bates, Witness Geo. Wood.³⁰

Samuel Cooke died on 27 October 1817, aged sixty-seven and was buried in the churchyard of the old parish church of St Nicholas, Chiswick, Middlesex, on 2 November 1817 [Fig 17] in the grave of his late wife Susanna ("died 4 April 1811, aged 57") and of his son Samuel who had died on 7 April 1812, aged thirty-three: both of whom had predeceased him.

The burial register of St Nicholas's also reveals that Samuel Cooke senior was not a resident of the parish but had his private "Abode" in Chelsea thereby

Fig 17 Old St Nicholas's Church, Chiswick, Middlesex, with William Hogarth's family grave to the right, 1791.
(Courtesy of the Church of St Nicholas, Chiswick)





Fig 18 The Cooke family headstone (no 60 Churchyard Extension), St Nicholas's churchyard, Chiswick.

(Courtesy of the St Nicholas's Archive Team).

supporting the information contained in the Death Duty Register (Sworn under £7,000), drawn up after the will was proved in London on 15 November 1817,³¹ that Cooke's real and final private address was "[21] Sloane Square, Chelsea" in the parish of Chelsea Old Church, but he was a man who wished to be buried with his late wife and with their son. The inscriptions on the Cooke family headstone [Fig 18] read:

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
MRS SUSANNA COOKE,
LATE OF HAMMERSMITH
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
APRIL 4th, 1811 AGED 57
ALSO THE BODY OF
SAMUEL COOKE, JUNR
SON OF THE ABOVE OF
LAMBETH PARISH, WHO
DEPARTED THIS LIFE
APRIL 7th, 1812 AGED 33,
MARY ANN COOKE³²

died April 4th, 1817: Aged 11 years
Mr SAMUEL COOKE
husband of the above
SUSANNA COOKE
died October 27, 1817 Aged 67
Also MARIA COOKE³³
died October the 6th, 1818
Aged 2 years and [–] months.

The church of St Nicholas, Chiswick, on the north bank of the Thames in west London (rebuilt in 1834 and now in the borough of Hounslow, Middlesex), is a

secluded but notable place of burial. Among those interred in the old graveyard is the painter and engraver, William Hogarth (1697-1764), a resident of the parish [Fig 17] and, in the newer grounds, the artist, James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903). In addition, it is also possible that the Susannah Cooke, "Abode Pimlico" (parish of St George, Hanover Square), who died in January 1839 aged sixty-one, and was buried at St Nicholas's on 25 January 1839, was Cooke's only surviving daughter.

The Cooke family continued to occupy and pay rates on their first known property at 2 Crown and Sceptre Court, St James's for another fourteen years after Samuel's death until the property became vacant in 1831. This probably continued to be an active workshop or business location, as Samuel bequeathed

all the Implements of Trade of every description

to his eldest surviving son John who resided privately at Sloane Square, Chelsea.

Dr Leslie Southwick is an independent scholar and consultant on the applied arts. His specialises in antique arms and armour, silver, military tokens of achievement and freedom boxes. He also writes on the London fine art trade and on the lives of notable craftsmen and retailers.

31 Death Duty Register, National Archives, IR26/704 f.849. Cooke's will was "Proved at London 15th November 1817 before the Worshipful Richard Henry Crosswell, Doctor of Laws, due Surrogate by the Oaths of John Cooke the Son & John Humphris [in the Will written Humphries] the Executors to who Admon was granted having been first sworn duly to administer", National Archives, PROB 11/1598).

32 One of Cooke's granddaughters

33 One of Cooke's granddaughters

Acknowledgements

I should especially like to thank Ian D Campbell and Clive Taylor; Anne Rix, Carolyn Hammond and Peter Hammond of the St Nicholas's Archive Team, St Nicholas's Church, Chiswick; James Marshall, Librarian, and Anne Green, Senior Assistant, Local Studies Department, Hounslow Library. Special thanks also to Eleni Bide, Librarian, the Goldsmiths Company and Sophia Tobin, Assistant Librarian; also to the London Metropolitan Archives, the Westminster Archive Centre, the Guildhall Library, Aldermanbury, the National Archives, Kew; the Trustees of the Royal Armouries, the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, the Gilbert Collection and the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

- 34 Early records of the Playing Card Makers livery company at the Guildhall Library are not complete for this period. There is, however, a reference to a John Gardner being apprenticed to his father, John, on 2 October 1699, names suggesting that they were the older brother and father of Charles.
- 35 Although not unusual, these details reveal that Gardner was a slightly older apprentice who also served a nine-year training and then became free at an older age than usual. It is likely, therefore, that in Starling's busy workshop he continued to work as a journeyman for several years longer than necessary. His master, "William Starling [II] son of Richard (dec'd) ind[entured] to Ben Roades (Rhodes) was sworn free of the Goldsmiths' on 1 June 1698", Goldsmiths' Company, Apprentice Book 3, p 174.
- 36 Goldsmiths' Company, Freedom Book 4, 1694-1741, under date.
- 37 A freeman of a livery company could indenture up to six apprentices at any one time and, if one completed his training and became free, then another candidate could be bound to that master. Apprentices were often known as 'servants' in this period, primarily because of the help they brought to their master's workshop.

APPENDIX I

Charles Gardner (circa 1689-1762)

a renowned heraldic engraver of civic and aristocratic silver and a liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company of London, provided the 100 guinea gold City of London Freedom box in a shagreen case resolved to be awarded by a Court of Common Council of the Corporation of London to Vice Admiral Edward Vernon on 25 March 1740 for the attack and capture of Porto Bello, for which he was paid in total £104 11s 6d (see main text and Fig 1).

Based on his age at death Gardner was born in London circa 1689, the son of John Gardner, a freeman of the Cardmakers' Company.³⁴ After his father's death he was indentured "for seven years" as an apprentice to the goldsmith William Starling II on 17 September 1705, aged probably fifteen.³⁵ The Goldsmiths' Company's Apprentice Book 4, records:

17th September 1705

Memorandum that I Charles Gardiner [sic] the son of John Gardiner late Citizen & Cardmarker of London deced doo put my selfe Apprentice to William Starling Citizen & Goldsmith of London for the terme of seven Yeares from this day

[Signed] Charles Gardner

Nine years later, on

September 1st (1714) Charles Gardner Appr to Wm Starling

was sworn free of the Goldsmiths' by service, aged about twenty-five.³⁶ Four years after becoming free Gardner is recorded living and working at Wine Office Court (New Street precinct, parish of St Bride's, Ward of Farringdon

Without, City) in the Land Tax Assessment Book dated 17 September 1718, a location at which he was to remain for the next forty-four years until his death. Wine Office Court was also where the silver hilt-makers Thomas Vicaridge and George Willcocks lived and worked during this period, a location just a short walk away from Jasper Cunst, George Moody, George Markham and many other skilled artificers and royal suppliers. Seven years after becoming free, Gardner became a liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company on 14 October 1721. Court Book vol 12 records

Court of Wardens held at Goldsmiths Hall on Saturday the 14th of October 1721

Weth Wardens offer'd the Cloathing of this Company to the several persons here after named who accepted thereof and were admitted accordingly

Mr Edward Eden	} New Livery
Mr Joseph Bolsher	
Mr Charles Gardner	

In a career lasting forty-eight years, Gardner is known to have indentured eleven apprentices and also several 'servants' to aid his workshop; his firm was much in demand.³⁷ It is further known that when, on 27 November 1740, the Court of Assistants of the Goldsmiths' Company decided to replace silver which had been sold after the Great Fire of 1666 to enable the Company to buy tickets in the government Classis Lottery of 1711, Gardner was specifically invited to join the venture. This order for a large amount of various designs of plate was



Fig 19 Salver, silver-gilt, London, 1740-41, maker's mark of Thomas Farren, engraved with the arms and motto of the Goldsmiths' Company, engraved by Charles Gardner. (Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, Inv no 127)

Then was reced and inspected a Bill delivered by Charles Gardner for engraving great part of thousand plate amounting to the sume of £29.14s.0d which the Court likewise ordered immediately to be paid to him

Plate engrav:

Cost £29:14s:0d.

He was also appointed by the Corporation of London to be the thirteenth Professor of Music at Gresham College (founded 1597) in the City, from 6 December 1745 until his death.⁴⁰

Following on from Vernon's Freedom box of 1740, the City Cash Accounts for 1756-58 record that Gardner was paid for "drawing and embelleshing" freedoms to accompany the gold boxes presented to the "Rt Honble William Pitt Esqr (later Lord Chatham)" awarded by the Court of Common Council on 17 June 1757, and to the "Rt Honble Henry Bilson Legge Esq" resolved by Common Council the same day. Gardner was paid £21 for this work.

After what appears to have been a distinguished career, Gardner drew up his short and unusual will on 28 December 1762, a will which curiously provides few insights into his life, his existing (if any) family members or specifically acquired wealth or property holdings from his endeavours.⁴¹ The will reads:

In the name of God Amen, I Charles Gardner of Wine Office Court ffilet Street London Engraver do by this my last Will and Testament give and bequeath all the Rest and Residue of my Estate and Effects after payment of my Debts and ffuneral Expences

38 Goldsmiths' Company, Committee Book 8, 1740-41, p 28. Also, Charles Oman, op cit, see note 17, pp 97-8, although the reference to this event in this work is confusing.

39 Goldsmiths' Company, Court Book 14, 1736-1742, p 380. For discussions on examples of this plate and for fine illustrations, see Susan M Hare (ed), *At the Sign of The Golden Ball, An Exhibition of the Work of England's Master Silversmith (1688-1751)*, London, 1990.

40 This is an intriguing appointment and might indicate another skill of Gardner's. It is known that the next Professor of Music at Gresham was actually appointed following Gardner's death in 1763.

41 National Archives, PROB II/883/77. The fact that Gardner did not sign his will but only made his mark suggests that, on the day before his death, he was unable to write his name. He also mentions "thereby revoking all former Wills by me", which suggests that there might have been a falling out or a change of heart by the testator.

initially provided with a budget of £1,870 (one later exceeded) and the commission was given to four major goldsmiths: Paul de Lamerie, Thomas Farren, Richard Bayley and Humphrey Payne, together with the Company's stipulation that the plate was to be engraved by Gardner (one of their own liverymen) [Fig 19].³⁸ A year later, this new plate was completed and viewed by the Court on 9 December 1741 and, at the same meeting, Gardner's invoice for engraving a considerable amount of the order was read and paid immediately.³⁹

At a Court of Assistants held on Wednesday 9 Dec. 1741

unto my two Servants Susanna Blincoe and Sara Worden equally to be divided between them share and share alike and I do appoint the said Susanna Blincoe and Sara Worden Executors of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me made in Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this twenty Eighth day of December one thousand and seven hundred and sixty-two – The Mark of Charles Gardner – Sealed published and declared by the said Testator as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who in his presence and at his Bequest had subscribed our names as Witnesses thereto Timo Matthews and Jno Gwatkin.

The day after making his will Gardner died in London on Wednesday,

29 December 1762, aged seventy-three and was buried at St Bride's church, Fleet Street, on 2 January 1763. Five days later, his will

was proved at London on the seventh day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty three before the Worshipful George Harris doctor of Law and surrogate of the Right Worshipful Sir Edward Simpson Knight also doctor of Laws Master Keeper of Commissary of the prerogative Court of Canterbury lawfully constituted by the oaths of Susanna Blinco otherwise Blincoe and Sarah Worden Spinsters the Executrixes named in the said Will to whom administration of all and singular the Goods and Chattels and Credits of the said deceased was granted they having been first sworn duly to administer.⁴²

APPENDIX II

Jasper Cunst II

The second son of Jasper Cunst I and his wife, Rachel, Jasper II was born on 19 February 1724/5 and was almost certainly trained by his father and sworn free of the Glovers' Company, sometime after he had attained the age of twenty-one, in or about February 1746. Eight years later his marriage, on 21 July 1754, to Judith Heyborne in St Bride's, Fleet Street was recorded.

Following his father's death, Jasper entered his own maker's mark, IC incuse, at Goldsmiths' Hall on 11 May 1776, giving his address as "Salisbury Ct. Fleet St". With this registration, Jasper confirmed, not only that he had succeeded his father, but also that he was a freeman of a London livery company. No doubt this would have been the Glovers', of which he

was entitled to be a freeman by patrimony, but also probably by servitude. The Glovers' Company records for this period are not extant.

Jasper II's second mark, JC incuse, was registered on 21 August 1776 at

69 Dorset Street, St Bride's.

In registering his new mark, he was confirming a change of trading location (an obligation all merchants and craftsmen had to fulfill in order to keep the Assay Office records up to date). The name of Jasper Cunst is also listed in the Land Tax Assessment Books for the ward of

Farringdon Without as being in the precinct of "Salisbury Court, St Bride's" only up until 1779.

A PRESENTATION SILVER NAIL

BRUCE JONES



Fig 1 Presentation nail, Exeter, 1869-70, maker's mark of Thomas Hart Stone.

The presentation of a silver nail to mark the start of a construction project is an unusual variation on the silver trowels involved in the laying of foundation stones, a matter examined in an illuminating article by Anthony Bernbaum in an earlier *Journal*.¹

The silver nail described here was presented to mark the laying of the first plank of the seaside pier at Westward Ho!: a village on the north coast of Devon. The village was, unusually, named after a popular novel of that name by Charles Kingsley, published in 1855, which was set in north Devon. Several entrepreneurs saw the opportunity to develop tourism in an area made famous by the novel. An

hotel was built and the corner-stone was ceremonially laid on 8 February 1864 by the Earl and Countess of Portsmouth who were properly presented with a polished mallet and silver trowel.²

The construction of a pier was later proposed to facilitate the disembarkation of trippers from steamers and to add to the tourist appeal of the area. The construction of the pier was to coincide with that of a short railway, four miles (6.43km) long, linking the village with the nearby small town of Bideford. On 4 August 1870 the cutting of the first sod of the railway and the nailing of the first plank of the pier took place.³ The daughter of Sir

1 Anthony Bernbaum, 'Silver Ceremonial Trowels', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 31, 2014, pp99-116.

2 *North Devon Gazette*, 9 February 1864.

3 *North Devon Journal*, 11 August 1870.

4 Miles Harrison, *Exeter & West Country Silver*, 2014. Thomas Hart Stone was the son of the prominent Exeter silversmith John Stone.

5 *Western Times*, 27 May 1901, as at Minehead where the pier gate was formally opened with a silver-gilt key.

6 *Western Times*, 3 October 1871.

Stafford Northcote, MP for North Devon, cut the first sod for the railway and she was presented with

an exceedingly handsome barrow and spade in Spanish mahogany, mounted with solid silver, and costing upwards of £80.

This was stated to be manufactured by Messrs Mappin [& Webb].

The ceremony of nailing the centre plank of the pier was performed by Mrs Moore-Stevens, wife of the High Sherrieff of the county, and she was

presented by the contractor with a large silver nail, manufactured by Mr A. Oatway of Bideford.

This nail is illustrated in *Fig 1*. It has Exeter assay marks for 1869-70 with the maker's mark of the Exeter silversmith Thomas Hart Stone;⁴ it would seem that Alfred Oatway, a jeweller and watchmaker in the nearby town of Bideford, acted as the retailer rather than manufacturer.

The silver nail is in the style of a contemporary iron cut nail. Such nails were cut from a rolled section of plate iron, cut into strips and tapered down two sides of the shank with the other two sides not tapered but having parallel edges. These features are reproduced on this presentation silver version. The nail is large and solid, 6.125in (15.7cm) in length and weighing 2oz 18dwt (90g). On the four faces of the nail, there is the inscription

IN COMMEMORATION
OF/WESTWARD HO PIER/August
4th 1870/Mrs. Moore Stevens

each part in a different font. A presentation at the commencement of construction of a pier was unusual; celebrations normally took place at the completion and opening of a pier.⁵

Despite this auspicious start, construction of the pier was slow and beset with difficulties. The partially completed pier was largely washed away at the end of September 1871 by a heavy sea.⁶ Construction continued but

Fig 2 Spike, gold, North American, 1869 by William T Garrett Foundry.
(Iris & B Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University: Gift of David Hewes)



in November 1872 in another heavy sea the pier was again partially destroyed, with about 180ft (55m) washed away.⁷ Work nevertheless proceeded and the pier was opened in July 1873,⁸ although the proprietors did not think it desirable to have it formally opened and the planned railway connection to Bideford had not been built.

The financing of the pier had also proved problematic in an uncertain financial climate and in February 1874 the pier company decided to sell it. The new owner, however, did not have lengthy enjoyment of his ownership. In February 1880 it was reported that

The late severe weather has been very disastrous to the Westward Ho! Pier.⁹

and subsequently it was demolished. In August 1886 a portion of the materials such as iron girders and iron brackets was offered for sale by auction.¹⁰ Today at low tide some remnants of the remaining ironwork are visible and some of the pier railings can be seen at the frontage of the North Devon Maritime Museum, Appledore, and this curious silver nail survives.

The closest example of the presentation of a nail or spike occurs with the laying of the final sleeper on a railroad. On 10 May 1869 the completion of the linking of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads was marked by the driving of a ceremonial gold spike [Fig 2]. This spike is in the collection of Cantor Arts Center at Stanford University, California.¹¹ The head is engraved “The LAST SPIKE” and the sides bear the names of the railroad company officers and directors. A ceremonial last spike of gold or silver on completion was normal but the

completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in November 1885 was celebrated with a regular iron final spike;¹² the absence of the Governor General meant that a planned ceremonial silver spike was not employed.

Acknowledgements

My thanks to Peter Cameron for directing me to this nail; to Robert B Barker for drawing my attention to railroad spikes and to Andy Smart of A C Cooper for the images of the silver nail.

Bruce Jones was until retirement an investment analyst in the City of London, leading a highly-rated hotels and leisure sector team. He has since researched the products and connections of eighteenth-century smallworkers, particularly those working in the streets around Goldsmiths' Hall; and he has studied silversmiths associated with wine labels and was for fifteen years Editor of the Wine Label Circle Journal.

⁷ *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 28 November 1872.

⁸ *North Devon Journal*, 31 July 1873.

⁹ *Ibid*, 19 February 1880.

¹⁰ *Western Daily Press*, 24 August 1886.

¹¹ Further details at <http://cantorcollections.stanford.edu/Obj3852>

¹² *Winnipeg Free Press*, 9 November 1885.

THE SILVER SOCIETY VISIT TO BAVARIA – OCTOBER 2017

TIMOTHY SCHRODER

In early October 2017 twenty-five members of the Society met together for a week-long tour of some of the artistic highlights of southern Germany. The timing was partly determined by the Munich Oktoberfest, which books out every hotel in the city and probably every restaurant too. Our trip was set for the following week, when the city had calmed down but when there was still a little beer to be had and the perfect weather lingered on.

evoked thoughts of silver, but the tradition of goldsmiths' work in Germany is so strong and, despite the turmoil of the centuries, the survivals so impressive that the museums and churches around the country still have a wealth of treasures. Many people from a country like the UK would not expect such concentrations of princely patronage in cities so far from the capital. But, until the nineteenth century, Germany was not a single nation but a patchwork of independent states ruled by princes, city councils, prince-bishops or the Holy Roman

Fig 1 The Rieche Kapelle [Ornate Chapel],
Residenz Museum, Munich.





Fig 2 The 'Holbein bowl' (detail of cover), gold, rock crystal, precious stones and enamel, formerly in the collection of Henry VIII, probably south Germany, circa 1540. (Schatzkammer, (Residenz Museum, Munich)

Emperor. They were united only by a shared language and culture; each had its own capital and its own centre of artistic patronage. Bavaria was a princely state, one of the largest in Germany, and was ruled over by the Wittelsbach dynasty, from its capital in Munich, from 1180 until 1918.

This notice focuses on a few of the most outstanding objects or ensembles seen on the trip. For a general account, see Dick Melly's report in the Society's Newsletter (no 96, February 2018).

Our first visit was to the Residenz Museum, one of the most magnificent princely collections in Europe. Highlights within the main museum include the Hofsilber, the bulk of which comprises a huge Neo-classical dinner service by the Parisian goldsmiths Martin-Guillaume Biennais and Jean-Baptiste-Claude Odier. The Rieche Kapelle [Ornate Chapel], the private chapel of the Wittelsbach family, with its

Italianate scagliola walls and its massed collection of reliquaries, is an early seventeenth-century creation [Fig 1]. The reliquaries are mainly by Augsburg silversmiths such as Matthäus Wallbaum. The chapel is closer in spirit to the Schatzkammer, which, for silver aficionados, is the true highlight of the palace and, together with the Kunstkammer in Vienna and the Green Vault in Dresden, one of the greatest collections of princely treasures in the world.

The collection spans the early medieval period through to the eighteenth century and embraces precious sacred and secular objects in materials like rock crystal, lapis lazuli, agate, ivory and exotic sea shells, mostly with gold or silver-gilt mounts. Selecting highlights from upwards of 600 stellar objects is arbitrary, to say the least, but three that might be mentioned are a fourteenth-century gold crown and two objects from the sixteenth century, a gold-mounted rock crystal bowl and an extraordinary ewer made from two turban shells mounted in silver-gilt. The crown is formed of fleurs de lys on high stalks set with sapphires and rubies. It is one of several described in the inventory of the gold and silver of Richard II of England (d 1399) and came to Germany in the fifteenth century. The crystal bowl [Fig 2] also belonged to an English king, Henry VIII; it dates from about 1540 (although the bowl itself was reused and dates from the fourteenth-century); it is enriched with fabulous jewels and enamel inscriptions. Astonishing though it is, it was originally even more sumptuous and a seventeenth-century still-life painting by Willem Kalf in the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen shows a high jewelled finial that has since been



Fig 3 Willem Kalf, *Still Life*, oil on canvas.
(Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen)

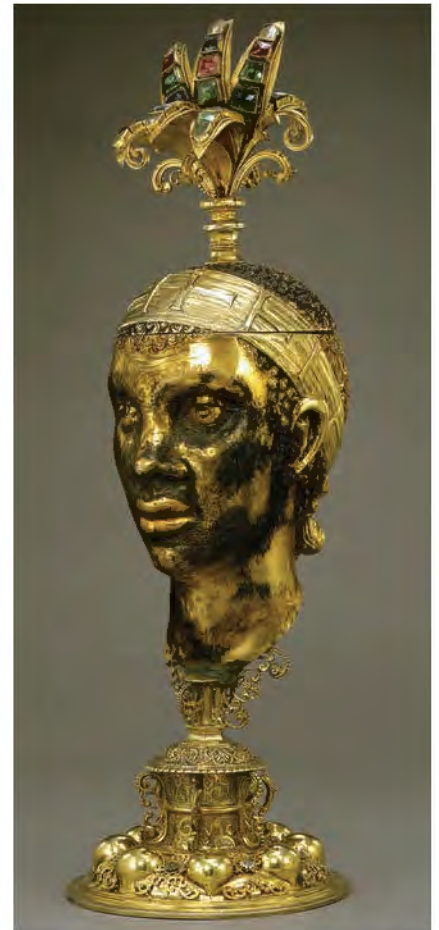
lost [Fig 3]. The ewer is by the famous Nuremberg goldsmith, Wenzel Jamnitzer, and is a tour de force of the mannerist style. Made in about 1570, the twinned shells that form the body are mounted with enamelled cornucopiae; they are supported by a stem modelled as a fearsome eagle attacking a giant snail that in turn sits on a base of writhing snakes. The lip mount is a female torso with an elaborate headdress and the handle a wonderfully abstract, faintly zoomorphic construct.

The Bayerisches National Museum was founded in 1855. It was established on similar principles to the Victoria & Albert Museum and set out to

represent the artistic achievements of the Bavarian state. The collection includes extraordinary and unique objects, such as huge collectors' cabinets set with panels of lapis lazuli or carved ivory from around 1600 and a room of superb silver objects from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among the latter is a large covered cup by Christoph Jamnitzer, son of Wenzel, in the form of a moor's head [Fig 4].

Fig 4 Cup in the shape of a moor's head, silver, parcel-gilt, polychrome and rock crystal, Nuremberg, 1593/1602, Christoph Jamnitzer.

(Inv no 2000/81.1-2, image no D13672/
© Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München; Photos:
Franke, Marianne; Haberland, Walter)



This extraordinary object was thought to have been lost during the Second World War but resurfaced, quite literally, in the 1990s, having been buried in the grounds of Moritzburg Castle in 1945 to conceal it from the advancing Russians.

The visit concluded with an exceptionally privileged handling session in the museum's conservation department. Here a number of objects had been selected for our inspection,

some because of their outstanding quality, some because they are now recognised to be clever fakes of the nineteenth century and some because former, and indeed present, opinions are divided. Needless to say, it was these that generated the keenest interest, even if clear consensus still failed to emerge.

Our final official visit in Munich, whose surface we barely scratched, was to the home of the distinguished silver dealer Helga Matzke who, with her husband Fred Matzke, specialises in German silver of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and the visit enabled us to gain some direct insights into the state of today's market for antique silver. We were especially honoured to receive this invitation as Helga was not well at the time and, indeed, it is sad to report that she died a few months later. The business will continue.

The following morning we boarded a bus and set off on a great circular itinerary that would take us as far north as Nuremberg, by way of Regensburg, and to the other great centre of south German silversmithing, Augsburg.

First on our route was the pilgrimage centre of Altötting. This charming and unspoilt little Bavarian town is home to one of the greatest surviving examples of medieval goldsmiths' work in the world. The so-called Goldenes Rössel (Golden Horse) shrine [Fig 5] was made in Paris in 1404 and presented as a New Year's gift by Isabeau of Bavaria to her husband, Charles VI, King of France; a century later it came to Altötting, where it has been ever since. This is the star of the Schatzkammer und Wallfahrtsmuseum. About 24½in (62cm) high, the shrine is made entirely

Fig 5 The Goldenes Rössel [Golden Horse] shrine, gold, precious stones and enamel, Paris, 1404.
(Wallfahrtsmuseum, Altötting)





Fig 6 Cup modelled as a stag, silver-gilt, Augsburg, circa 1600.

(Inv no 93/45, photo no D1188 Thurn and Taxis Collection, Thurn und Taxis Museum, Regensburg ©Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München; Photos: Franke, Marianne; Haberland, Walter)

of gold, enamel, precious stones and pearls, and is formed in two tiers. On the lower level the golden horse, enamelled in white, stands before the vaulted base of the shrine itself, flanked by two flights of stairs. The upper level is a wonder. It is formed as the seated figure of the Virgin and Child: the Virgin enamelled in brilliant white robes and the Christ child in red. Further figures of John the Baptist, St John, St Catherine and Charles VI kneel before them; behind them is an openwork trellis embellished with jewelled flowers, with angels flying above. It is an utterly wonderful work of art and the entire

group stood before it for several minutes in absolute disbelief. The closest comparable object in the UK is the much smaller Holy Thorn reliquary of about 1400 in the British Museum.

From Altötting we continued towards Regensburg, stopping at Landshutt to visit the Kunst- und Wunderkammer in Trausnitz Castle. Although not in any way comparable to the Munich Schatzkammer for the importance of its contents, the Trausnitz display is of great interest for the insight it gives into the sort of space in which such collections were shown in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is not sumptuous. The collection is arranged across a series of rooms with plain wooden floors and housed in cupboards recessed into the walls and protected by plain painted wooden doors. The material is grouped according to material: so-called artificialia (man-made objects like clocks, glass and ceramics) are in one series of displays and naturalia (hardstones, seashells and other natural objects) in another. One of the most impressive objects in the collection was a huge dish formed of geometrically cut segments of mother-of-pearl which was probably made in Gujarat in the sixteenth century.

The chief attraction of Regensburg is the Thurn und Taxis Museum, opened to the public in 1998, which houses part of the collections formed by the Thurn und Taxis family who acquired great wealth through their monopoly of the postal services throughout the Holy Roman Empire. The silver in the museum is not encyclopaedic but includes some objects of extraordinary quality, such as a silver-gilt drinking vessel modelled as a stag [Fig 6], made in Augsburg about

1600, and a superb rococo ewer and basin, also from Augsburg and dating from around 1740 [Fig 7].

Encyclopaedic, however, is exactly the word to describe the collection of gold boxes [Fig 8]. This was formed by Prince Carl Anselm von Thurn und Taxis (1733-1805). Superficially, the collection is similar to others, such as those in the Louvre, the Wallace Collection or the Victoria & Albert Museum, but the crucial difference is that the Thurn und Taxis boxes were mostly bought new and have remained together ever since; they were not collected as antiquarian objects. This important fact, coupled with the survival of their purchase records, enabled Dr Lorenz Seelig, when he catalogued the collection, correctly to identify the source of a whole swathe of boxes, both in this collection and

elsewhere, which had long mystified specialist historians. These all have marks resembling those of Paris but which are obviously imitations. Clearly coming from a significant centre of production, these had been widely accepted, through a process of elimination, to have emanated from Geneva. Seelig, however, was able to reveal that they were all made in Hanau, a suburb of Frankfurt that was a major centre of the gold and silver trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and whose importance had in the meantime been entirely forgotten.

Thurn und Taxis did not exhaust the resources of Regensburg for the silver enthusiast and our visit to the town continued with the medieval cathedral of St Peter and a tour of its superb treasury, the Domschatz. Like all such



Fig 7 Ewer and basin, silver-gilt, Augsburg, 1739-41, maker's mark of Johann Christoph Stenglin, .

(Inv no 93/56.1-2, image no D49497 Thurn und Taxis Collection, Thurn und Taxis Museum, Regensburg© Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München; Photos: Franke, Marianne; Haberland, Walter)

Fig 8 Group of gold boxes from the Thurn and Taxis Collection.

(Image no D78114 Thurn and Taxis Collection, Thurn und Taxis Museum, Regensburg © Bayerisches National Museum München; Photos: Franke, Marianne; Haberland, Walter)



treasuries, this was of mixed quality but included two extraordinary objects. One was a tiny enamelled box in the shape of a butterfly, dating from the early fifteenth century, the cover of which was decorated in translucent enamel with the crucifixion, flanked by the

figures of Mary and St John. The other was a very remarkable gothic reliquary casket of silver-gilt with rock crystal 'windows' revealing the now lost relic within. Its most remarkable feature, however, is the borders that surround the crystal panels. These are of painted grisaille enamel depicting birds, stags and other animals on a black background picked out with stars. This had been catalogued as Hungarian, but its close stylistic resemblance to the famous 'monkey beaker' in the Metropolitan Museum, which is identified as Burgundian, suggests that that may be its more probable source.

Our penultimate destination was Nuremberg, home of Albrecht Dürer and Wenzel Jamnitzer, and one of the great centres of European art and commerce in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Our first visit was to the Germanisches Nationalmuseum. Founded just three years earlier than the Bayerisches National Museum, it was based on a broader principle, embracing the concept of 'Germania' and looking at the German-speaking lands as essentially a single cultural region. As such, its collections are very broad, both geographically and in terms of media and style, although Nuremberg itself is a powerful beacon.

Perhaps the most breath-taking object of all is the Schlüsselfelder nef [Fig 9]. An extraordinary survival, this is modelled as a great silver-gilt ship. Standing about 39in (100cm) tall, it was made in Nuremberg around 1500 for a member of the Schlüsselfelder family and still belongs to a foundation descended from the original patron. The ship is supported by the figure of a



Fig 9 The Schlüsselfelder nef, silver, parcel-gilt, Nuremberg, circa 1500, with its original leather travelling case.

(©Germanisches National Museum, Nuremberg)

mermaid; the decks and rigging are covered with figures of sailors and the figurehead is in the form of a wyvern. The nef is a high-point of the late gothic style and has been attributed to the workshop of Albrecht Dürer's father, reminding us of yet another great Renaissance artist whose origin lies in the goldsmithing tradition. Another

outstanding object is a cup and cover of similar date modelled as an apple, made in the gothic style and closely related to drawings by the younger Dürer. Moving a generation later, a gold and enamel covered cup of about 1530, designed for the Pfinzing family by Peter Flötner [Fig 10], is the quintessence of northern Renaissance design.

Leaving the museum, the group continued with a walking tour of the city that took in the two great churches of St Lorenz and St Sebaldus, both of which contain outstanding stained glass and sculpture. The chef d'oeuvre of St Lorenz is the monumental tabernacle by Adam Kraft, a late gothic sculptural creation that soars from the floor right up to the vault of the church. At St Sebaldus attention focused on the saint's medieval tomb, which is contained within a remarkable bronze enclosure also by Kraft and which dates from about 1520. Seeing both these works in close proximity made clear the enormous influence Kraft had on the style of the finest Nuremberg silver at the time.

The tour ended with the final visit of the day, to the Tucherschloss at the other end of town from the Germanisches National Museum. Largely escaping the devastating bombing of 1945, this was the home of one of the powerful Nuremberg patrician families in the sixteenth century and is now an interesting small museum. From a silver point of view, the most outstanding objects were both by Wenzel Jamnitzer: a double cup made around 1550 to celebrate a Tucher marriage, and a ewer and basin. Both are very unusual. The double cup is in the gothic style and was probably made to copy another that had been made for the family half a century



Fig 10 The Pfinzing cup, gold and enamel, Nuremberg, circa 1530.

(©Germanisches National Museum, Nuremberg)

earlier. The ewer and basin are part of a larger order placed by the family in Limoges in 1562. They are painted with typical grisaille enamel scenes and were embellished in Nuremberg with an elegant silver-gilt handle and spout by Jamnitzer.

By the early seventeenth century Nuremberg was in decline, even though great silver objects were still being made by later members of the Jamnitzer dynasty. Augsburg, on the other hand, had been in the ascendant since the mid-sixteenth century and eventually took over from Nuremberg as the leading silver-producing centre in southern Germany. In its heyday the city's output was enormous, although

most of its greatest works were made for export and are to be seen in museums all over the continent.

Nonetheless, the collection of the newly restored Maximilian Museum in Augsburg is outstanding and our tour with the museum's Director, Christoph Emmendörfer, was a fitting conclusion to an outstanding tour of the silver highlights of Bavaria. Highlights of the collection included outstandingly displayed secular and church silver from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries [Fig 11].

This was not quite the end, however. The Second World War was less damaging to Augsburg than to Nuremberg and a walking tour of the city took in many outstanding sites, including the great 1596 bronze fountains by Adrian de Vries, the Schänzlerpalais with its wonderful rococo ballroom and the church of St Ulrich and Afra, where the treasury (the Heilumskammer) was specially opened for us. The tour continued with a visit to the Fuggerei, the largest community of almshouses in Europe, and concluded with a visit to a very different church, the Heilig Kreuz Kirche, the oldest Lutheran church in Augsburg. Nor, indeed, was that the end, for Christoph Emmendörfer had laid on a grand finale that, in the spirit of an orchestral encore, that was entirely unexpected. The pastor took us into the sacristy where the altar plate was revealed, including an exceptional object in the form of a pair of silver-gilt altar vases, dating from about 1700 and containing beautiful and remarkably well preserved silver flowers.



Fig 11 A group of seventeenth-century Augsburg display silver.

(Maximilian Museum, Augsburg)

TESTIMONIAL: THE LIFE STORY OF A MONUMENTAL VASE

CHARLOTTE JOHNSON



the design and execution do them [the retailers] equal credit; and, with the exception of the Wellington Shield, we have not seen a work of the description so honourable to the Artists and present state of this Art in England.²

Standing at 34¼in (87cm) tall with its detachable arms, or 30¾in (78cm) tall without them, this bombastic piece of Neo-classical silver, known throughout its life as the Barnard vase, the Piranesi vase, the Barnes memorial, or the Hadrian vase, packs a visual punch. Its polished silver surface, adorned with cast high-relief scenes of frolicking satyrs and framed by fantastical tree branch arms, provides the viewer with an arresting visual encounter. The beauty of the vase led the *Gazette* to comment that

indeed the whole series is delightfully executed; and from the representation of human form in gracefulness and almost repose, to its appearance in muscular excitement and force, we can conceive nothing superior to this Cup.³

In 1983, the promise of possessing an object of such scale and substance, and the value inherent in it, caused Sir Arthur Gilbert (1913-2001) to call Hancock's in the middle of the night demanding it for his collection.⁴ Timothy Schroder was duly despatched to the Army Navy Club, where the vase had been since it was left to the club on the death of the co-founder Sir Edward Barnes (1776-1838), and it was secured for the Gilbert Collection.⁵ The vase was sent to Beverly Hills and took its place amongst other illustrious objects which could claim the same appeal; beautiful in their craftsmanship, and

Fig 1 Vase, London, 1824-25, maker's mark of Rebecca Emes and Edward Barnard.

(© The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, museum no Loan Gilbert 863:1-3-2008)

In 1824 the *Literary Gazette* published a short article entitled 'Chasing in Silver' the subject of which was a monumental silver vase now in the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London [Fig 1].¹ The *Gazette* found the vase to its liking, exclaiming that

1 The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection includes masterpieces from four areas of European and British decorative arts: silver and gold, enamel portrait miniatures, micromosaics and gold boxes. The collection was formed by two Londoners, Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert, who moved to Los Angeles in 1949 for more information see Timothy Schroder (ed), *The Gilbert Collection at the V&A*, London, 2009.

2 *Literary Gazette*, Saturday 18 September 1824, p 604.

3 Ibid.

4 Thank you to Ann Eatwell for sharing her research with me.

5 Thank you to Timothy Schroder for sharing this when I presented the beginnings of this article as a lecture for the Silver Society.

-
- 6 The Gilberts began collecting for their home in Los Angeles before the collection was moved to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, then Somerset House in London and then the Victoria & Albert Museum.
- 7 Ceylon is now known as Sri Lanka, but I will refer to it as Ceylon throughout, as this article is most concerned with the British colonial concepts of the country and its people. After independence in 1948 the island was known as the Dominion of Ceylon. In 1972, this changed to the Free, Sovereign and Independent Republic of Sri Lanka. In 1978 it was changed to the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.
- 8 Timothy Schroder, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver*, London, 1988, cat no 121, pp 446-451.
-



Fig 2 Arthur Gilbert and Eric Shrubsole in the Gilbert's Beverly Hills home: the vase is visible on the right.
(The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum)

aesthetically and historically compelling [Fig 2].⁶ When guests arrived at their house, and the Gilberts apocryphally entertained six nights a week, people would encounter this monumental vase. It, and the objects around it, designated

this home as more than a personal abode; it was also the space of a distinguished collector.

In the Gilbert's home the vase proclaimed its owners' status as collectors par excellence, and it continues to do so now when on display at the museum. Together with its fellow Gilbert objects, particularly those displayed in the eponymous suite of galleries, it acts as a testimonial to the collecting skill and status of the Gilberts as well as their generosity in giving their objects to the nation. But, of course, it was not the first time that the vase had advocated for a powerful man. This huge piece of silver, of such monumental visual impact, was designed and made in testimony to the character of Sir Edward Barnes, Governor of Ceylon, the man for whom it was commissioned [Fig 3].⁷

As befits a monumental piece of silver in a significant collection, the vase has been closely studied. It was published in the Gilbert Collection catalogue⁸ and



Fig 3 William Salter, Sir Edward Barnes, oil on canvas, 1834-1837.
(© National Portrait Gallery, London NPG 3696)

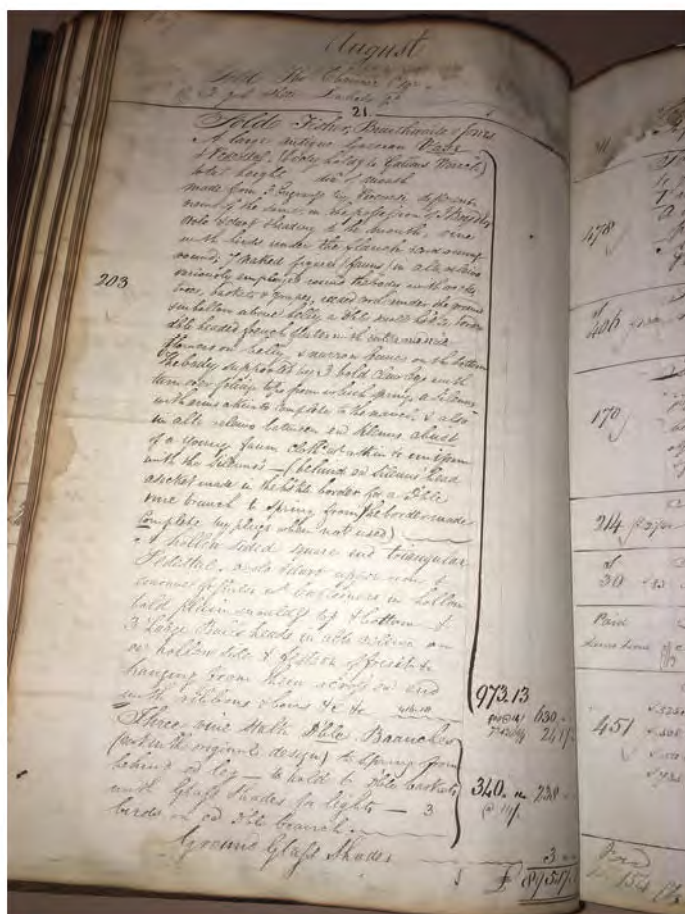


Fig 4 Order for the vase, Emes and Barnard daybook, 1824-26.

(© Victoria and Albert Museum, gift of John Padgett, museum no AAD/1988/5/259)

- 9 The design history of the vase and its relationships to material held in the Barnard archive is set out in Ann Eatwell, 'The Piranesi Vase: The Making and Ancient Sources of a Victorian Silver Masterpiece', *Miraculous Silver: The V&A at Kunstammer Wurth, Künzelsau*, 2015, pp 102-112.
- 10 For an overview of the development of the British Empire and its relationship to metropolitan Britain see Philippa Levine, *The British Empire: Sunrise to Sunset*, London and New York, 2013 and Catherine Hall and Sonya O Rose (eds) *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, Cambridge, 2006.
- 11 Ann Eatwell, op cit, see note 9, pp 102-112.
- 12 Barnard Daybook, 21 August 1824, AAD/1988/5/259 p 147.
- 13 "A large antique Grecian Vase and Pedestal . . . Made from 3 engravings by Piranesi, different views of the same, in the possession of J. Boyd Esq" in AAD/1988/5/259, p 147.

material together with the vase and the print that inspired its design. It also documented the vase's full provenance: from Sir Edward Barnes to Sir Arthur Gilbert via the Army and Navy Club.

Taking its starting point from Ann Eatwell's archival discoveries which formed the basis of her article and the display, this article will now shift the focus from how and why this visually arresting object was made, to its significance in its original context. The vase was made to commemorate a colonial leader at a period when the British Empire was rapidly transforming.¹⁰ Until now the vase's colonial connections have remained secondary to the history of its production but this article will place the vase squarely in its colonial context and seek to explore its place in the landscape of the burgeoning empire.

The vase

The vase was commissioned from the silversmiths Rebecca Emes and Edward Barnard in August 1824 through the retailer Fisher Braithwaite and Jones.¹¹ The detailed and extensive order for the vase is recorded in a daybook from 1824 [Fig 4];¹² it takes up a whole page of the book. In comparison nine orders take up the same amount of space on the facing page. The order specifies that this technically demanding design be taken from three engravings in Giovanni Battista Piranesi's (1720-1778) *Vasi* series, first published in Rome in 1778 [one is shown in Fig 5].¹³ The engravings were made after a marble vase, also by Piranesi, now in the British Museum, originally owned by the sugar merchant, plantation and slave owner and Vice-Chairman of the East India Company,

14 The marble vase entered the British Museum's collection in 1868; in 1824 it was still in Boyd's possession.

15 Ann Eatwell, op cit, see note 9, p 106

16 Ibid, p 108

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.



Fig 5 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, antique vase, engraving from *Vases, Candelabra, Grave Stones, Sarcophagi, Tripods, Lamps and Ornaments*, Paris, 1800-1807 (first published by Francesco and Pietro Piranesi, Rome, 1778).
(© Victoria & Albert Museum, museum no. E.4612-1908)

only the Warwick vase and the Boyd vase are depicted in three engravings, allowing for a 360-degree view of both objects, and consequently making them ideal sources for three dimensional objects.

The Boyd vase opened the second volume of *Vasi*, and the Warwick vase opened the first. The latter became a popular model for presentation silver and sporting trophies up until the end of the twentieth century and was reproduced by a range of companies in different materials [Fig 6].¹⁵ The subject of this article is, however, extremely rare: except for a photograph of a version dated 1911 extant in the Barnard archive,¹⁶ there is no evidence of another version of this vase. This is perhaps due to the complexity and consequent expense of the design.¹⁷ The other surviving traces of the vase's physical history are patterns, held in the Archive of Art and Design [Fig 7]. The patterns which are made of brass rather than pot metal are of higher quality and heavier than most of the other Barnard patterns in the archive.¹⁸ We are not sure if this is because the vase was intended to be made again, the usual reason for investing in higher quality patterns, or because the vase was such a prestigious commission.¹⁹

Sir John Boyd (1718-1800).¹⁴ An architect, engraver and designer, Piranesi was also a restorer and dealer in antiquities; in 1769 he acquired ancient fragments from the excavations at Hadrian's villa at Tivoli and used them as the basis for the marble vase, as well as for the Warwick vase. In the *Vasi* series of engravings

The patterns make it particularly easy to appreciate the detailed cast elements that make up the ornament on the vase (an effect we utilised placing them side by side in the display (for example see Figs 7 and 8). Each cast element is affixed to the raised body of the vase, and the plinth, down to even the tiniest elements, such as hanging ewers and billowing ribbons, giving a crisp, high relief effect across the vase. The bolts



Fig 6 Vase, silver-gilt, after the Warwick vase, London, 1814-15 maker's mark of Paul Storr.

(© The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, museum no Loan:Gilbert 829:1-2-2008)



Fig 7 Pattern, copper alloy, Emes and Barnard, London, 1824.
(© Victoria & Albert Museum, gift of John Padgett. Museum no AAD/2009/8/572)



Fig 8 Vase, London, 1824-25, maker's mark of Rebecca Emes and Edward Barnard, detail.

(© The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, museum no Loan Gilbert 863:1-3-2008)

which hold the cast silver elements onto the body of the vase can be seen under the plinth, but not in the vase, which has a polished liner to hide the intricacies of its construction. The patterns also make it clear how closely the silver vase follows the engravings; the only exception is a missing pillar between the vase and plinth, which exists as a pattern. On close inspection, it appears that this element was in place but was removed; a silver plaque now covers the place where it would have been located.²⁰ The detachable candelabra arms are the only other departure from the Piranesi design; they added a functional domestic element to the design which would have illuminated the vase and those looking at it and perhaps further framed its significance.

Although the *Literary Gazette* did not agree, stating:

There is a contrivance by which six grand lights, in three branches, may be supported on the circumference; but the Vase itself is so very beautiful, that we should be sorry to spoil its effect by using it in this way²¹

the quality of the patterns, the rarity of the model, as well as the scale and detail of the order, all point to this being a significant and meaningful commission. Around the plinth on which the vase rests, in cast letters applied to a slender band, is an inscription that reads

THIS VASE is Presented by the Gentlemen of the Civil and Military Services of Ceylon to M. General Sir Edward Barnes, KCB. In Testimony

²⁰ I would like to express my deepest thanks to Ann Eatwell for spending time with me examining the vase.

²¹ *Literary Gazette*, op cit, see note 2.

22 Although it actually reads “friendship”, there is a spelling mistake. The inscription is cast onto a separate band of silver, so it would have been quite easy to replace. Perhaps this detail was not noticed before it left the workshop.

23 *Literary Gazette*, see note 2.

24 Charles Dalton, *The Waterloo roll call. With biographical notes and anecdotes*, London, 1904, p 29.

25 *England, Select Births and Christenings 1538-1975* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com

26 Records indicate that Barnes was the son of John Barnes, to date I have found no definitive evidence that this was the John Barnes who was Governor of Senegal and testified in 1789 on behalf of the slave trade, although it is certainly possible. See *Abridgment of the Minutes of the Evidence Taken Before a Committee of the Whole House to whom it was referred to consider of the slave trade*, House of Commons, 1789, pp 1-9.

27 “On Saturday at three o’clock his Majesty held a Court at his palace in Pall-mall. His Majesty afterwards held a privy.” *The Times*, 28 April 1823.

28 I would like to express my thanks to Vanessa Brett for suggesting that Barnes’s marriage may have provided the occasion for the commission, and to James Lomax for bringing my attention to the significance of Lady Barnes’ family, when I gave the lecture, that formed the basis for this article, to the Silver Society. For notice of Barnes’ marriage see *The Times*, 11 August 1823, Marriages.

29 Angus Patterson, “A National Art and a National Manufacturer”: Grand Presentation Silver of the Mid-Nineteenth Century, *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850 – the Present*, no 25, Decorative Art: Exhibitions and Celebrations, 2001, p 59.

30 See for example, *Sporting Glory: The Courage Exhibition of National Trophies at the Victoria and Albert Museum*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1991.

31 For a discussion of the Grand Tour as a training ground for elite masculinity, see for example, Sarah Goldsmith, ‘Dogs, Servants and Masculinities: Writing about Danger on the Grand Tour’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, March 2017, vol 40 (1), pp 3-21.

of Friendship and high Regard for his public and private Character.²²

The vase and its inscription celebrate the character of Sir Edward Barnes, Governor of Ceylon. It was commissioned following an incredibly successful subscription which raised the vast sum of £1,500.²³

The Duke of Wellington’s ‘fire-eating’ Adjutant-General at the Battle of Waterloo,²⁴ Barnes, was baptised at St Andrew Undershaft in central London in 1777,²⁵ the son of John Barnes, possibly a former Governor of Senegal.²⁶ His military career saw him travelling the world and rising through the ranks. 1823 was a significant year for Barnes, it was the year he returned to London to be officially sworn in as Governor of Ceylon by George IV,²⁷ and it was also the year he married Maria Sophia Fawkes of Farnley Hall in Otley, West Yorkshire.²⁸ This would surely prove a perfect occasion for the subscription, and perhaps an opportunity to meet with Fisher Braithwaite and Jones, to discuss a potential commission and design, who would have then commissioned the vase from Emes and Barnard the following year. Whether Barnes chose the design or the retailer suggested it, the huge sum raised by the subscription, represented an opportunity to create something spectacular.

Testimonials are presentation pieces that draw attention to the good character of the individual that they celebrate; in the nineteenth century this was often a soldier, a sportsman or a benefactor.²⁹ The vase exists within this idiom of objects that developed from medieval hunting trophies and which originally functioned as part of a gift-

giving culture, serving to cement and celebrate relationships between high ranking men.³⁰ The inscription sets out that the vase was made as testimony of the friendship between Barnes, and the “Gentlemen of the Civil and Military Services of Ceylon”. The vase was made after engravings of a marble vase now in the British Museum, bought by Sir John Boyd in Rome in 1776, following the trail of the Grand Tour. This coming of age ritual saw men from the nobility and gentry touring Europe, experiencing classical sites and the rigours of life on the road. For those who could afford it, a Grand Tour was an ideal training ground for a career in service of the British Empire.³¹ The choice of this model had explicit connections with the practices and values of the British male elite, both in its Classical form, and its exaltation of elite friendship. The vase is an embodiment of the powerful connections between men, forged through military service, which underpinned the growth of the burgeoning British Empire.

Although the object claims to testify to the good character of the individual that it celebrates, the nature of the recipient’s ‘good character’ is defined by the values of the network which presents the object. Throughout the nineteenth century the prevailing value system was one that revolved around patriotism and supremacy of the nation and empire although how this should be achieved was not uncontested. During this period the design of this type of silver became increasingly elaborate, moving beyond more traditional forms of gift or trophy objects, such as cups. As the design of these objects became more elaborate, they also became a flashpoint of public debate about the

quality of national art.³² In 1850 the *Illustrated London News*, reported on the modelling of race cups:

It may indeed be called a national art and a national manufacture by which such beautiful and classic illustrations of ancient fables, and of historical events, have been made the means of decorating vases, cups and such like prizes for the rewards of the successful candidates for honour and victory on the racecourses of these islands.³³

In the same article the author discussed how racing had improved English horses that would serve the cavalry explaining that this had

allowed us to mount our cavalry regiments in a manner superior to the cavalry regiments of the continental nations.³⁴

Even the racehorses that the cups celebrated were a source of national pride and held up as evidence of national superiority. This nationalist tone echoes that of the *Literary Gazette* discussion of the vase, which reads

It is always with pleasure that we find ourselves enabled notice any improvement remarkably beautiful production which connects the Fine Arts with the manufactures of our country.³⁵

The discussion around these objects was part of the wider landscape of nineteenth-century debate about improvement and national character particularly, in this case, the moral value and supremacy found in the production of true 'art'. Presentation silver, representing the skills of the maker and the character of individuals, was a battleground in which these

competitions of national supremacy could be played out. National superiority could be proved through a celebration of design excellence and distinguished men, and even their well bred horses. Until the 1830s the most extravagant gifts of silver were usually testimonials for military or civic duty³⁶ and that is exactly what the subject of this article is and it is exemplary of a discourse that argued for the supremacy of the nation through the materiality of objects.

The nationalist values inscribed on the object, its beautifully rendered scale, lustre, and the choice of classical design combine to create a unique and powerful argument for the moral quality of Barnes, and that of his network of military and colonial associates. We have seen, through the written descriptions of the vase, that this was at the forefront of the interpretation of this type of object. What is not clear, however, is how this object functioned in its day to day reality. Although we know who owned the vase throughout its life and where it was kept following Barnes' death, we do not know definitively what happened to the vase during his lifetime. Did the vase stay in London, awaiting its owner's return, or did it travel to Ceylon? If we assume it did travel, we still, as of yet, have no evidence as to where and how it was displayed and used. The second part of this article will attempt to understand the meaning of the vase through an exploration of colonial Ceylon and imperial London. Through reconstructing the character of these entities as understood when the vase was made and used, we can start to understand the impetus behind the vase's visual power.

32 Angus Patterson, op cit, se note 29, p 59.

33 'The 'Ascot' Race Cups.', *Illustrated London News*, London, 15 June 1850.

34 Ibid.

35 *Literary Gazette* op cit, see note 2.

36 Angus Patterson, op cit, see note 29, p 60.

37 For more information on the history of Sri Lanka see for example, Sujit Sivasundaram, *Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka, and the bounds of an Indian Ocean colony*, Chicago and London, 2013.



Fig 9 James Miller Huggins, *View in Ceylon with Soldiers and Natives on a Road*, oil on canvas, Ceylon, 1834.

(© Government Art Collection GAC 2514)

Fig 10 *The Dead Elephant – Scene in Ceylon*, engraving, published by William Daniell, London, 1827.

(© British Museum object no 1878,0511.851)



Ceylon

Since the sixteenth century parts of Ceylon, now Sri Lanka, had been colonised by Europeans: the Portuguese and then the Dutch. The British took control of the previously colonised coastal territories in 1802, during the Napoleonic wars.³⁷ In 1815, a few years before Barnes arrived on the island, Britain occupied the previously unconquered kingdom of Kandy, a central mountainous region: for the first time a European power controlled the whole island. Ceylon was characterised in the western imagination as a tropical and bounteous jungle, rich in natural materials. Known as 'the cinnamon isle', there was great interest in the island's woods, spices and other natural resources. In 1843 a visitor described how



Fig 11 'Sketches in Ceylon', *Illustrated London News*, 5 July 1851.

Ceylon . . . is pre-eminent in natural resources, and abounds in all the necessities and most of the luxuries that minister to the gratification of human nature.³⁸

We can get a sense of the imagined idyllic tropics in an oil painting by James Millar Huggins, a maritime painter who was in Ceylon around 1834, just after Barnes' governorship [Fig 9]. A winding dirt path curls underneath a picturesque blue sky and landscape beyond. The

road hugs the coast, being trodden by members of the indigenous population carrying what appears to be a palanquin, a kind of litter, watched over by the colonial soldiers in the foreground. A regiment marches ahead of them in the mid-ground of the canvas. We are also shown the deep, exotic jungle that flanks the road which the light does not seem to penetrate.

This atmosphere of darkness is taken even further in a mezzotint by William Daniell, published in 1827 [Fig 10] and entitled *A Dead Elephant – A Scene in Ceylon*. The inscription below the title, which is worth quoting in full, reads:

A party of English Gentlemen on a shooting excursion in the island of Ceylon, arriving at the side of a lake at the dawn of day described a dead elephant of an enormous size near the water's edge. An Alligator had mounted the carcass and kept possession of the prey until he had gorged his fill. The animal next in strength then gained possession, & the weaker creatures came on in succession. Jackalls, Adjutants, Vultures and other predatory birds and beasts, were all on the alert. The astonished beholders ordered a black servant in advance of the party to fire when a scene of confusion ensued which may be imagined but cannot be described.

These images show, but more importantly help to create, a vision of Ceylon. We see chaos and darkness: a land that is abundant, but violent, full of strange unknown exotic creatures, literally beyond description. This attitude is also reflected in two images from the *Illustrated London News*, from 1851 and 1856, respectively. The first

38 Robin Jones, 'Furniture of Plain but Substantial Kind at the British Governors' Houses in Ceylon, c 1830-1860', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, vol 10, no 1, Fall-Winter 2002-3, p 9.

39 Ibid, pp 31-32

40 Nirmala Rao, 'Projections of Empire: India and the Imagined Metropolis', *Asian Affairs*, 41:2, 2010, p 162.

41 Robin Jones, op cit, see note 38.

42 Ibid pp 31-32

43 Ibid p 17

Fig 12 'The Elephant Engineer', *Illustrated London News*, 1 March 1856.



picture shows us an elephant training camp, positioned deep in the dark recesses of the jungle [Fig 11]; the canopy of trees overhead block out the light. In the next image, we see an elephant being put to work in service of the infrastructure of the crown colony [Fig 12]. The elephant is bending down on its knees, whilst being directed by an emaciated figure who is perched atop the animal. Three other shadowy figures to the right of the elephant look on, with their arms raised. In Ceylon at this time, the ownership of elephants was controlled by the colonial government, so this image also speaks more broadly of the power balance and control over labour that was implicit in the colonial economy.³⁹ From the full pages you can

also see that in both instances these images were notably juxtaposed with classicising images: an Italian sculpture and an ordered scene in Bengal, against a backdrop of symmetrical, classical, colonial buildings.

The risk that is implicit in these images is that, without British intervention and support, the serene ordered landscape could always revert to dark dangerous jungle. Nirmala Rao has argued that the British constantly drew upon, and referred to, their vision of what constituted a 'civilized people', providing a rationale for the transformation of these mysterious and exotic foreign lands into to a European image, and consequently justifying their right to rule.⁴⁰ Within this context, a key strategy for maintaining and justifying colonial control was the construction of systems that differentiated the British from the indigenous population which they were ruling over. The difference between the two, physically, socially and culturally was constantly stressed.⁴¹

Asserting constant control was a necessity because of the risk of local rebellion: in Ceylon there were a number during the first half of the nineteenth century. The British had a wide repertoire of strategies for asserting control: military might, and a strict legislative control of everything from cutting down trees, to the sale of forest land, to the ownership of elephants.⁴² Ceylon was an island with a multi layered society made up of sophisticated highly structured cultures. The colonial administrators sought to learn about these cultures, not in order to learn from them, but in order to learn how to most effectively control them. To this end, projects to record and classify peoples, produce and land were



Fig 13 Major General Charles Baillie, engraving, published by William James Bennett, London, 1812 (after Samuel Daniell, Ceylon, 1809).

(© British Museum, object no 1857,0606.15)

Promoting a sense of cultural difference was a key part of the British strategy that sought to establish the primitive nature of colonial subjects, in order to make a clear argument for civilising them.⁴⁶ Architecture, art and social structures, could all be used to this end. An engraving of Major General Charles Baillie [Fig 13], published in 1812 but drawn in 1809, by Samuel Daniell, brother of William Daniell, [see Fig 10] was drawn about ten years before Barnes first arrived on the island. Baillie is dressed in military costume, standing in his upright, classicising *contrapposto* pose. He is holding onto the parts of his costume that define his military identity: his bicorne hat and his sword. He stands solidly within the centre of the composition. Behind him we see, to his right, a classical veranda, with a rusticated Doric column whilst to his left we see his horse, held by a dark-skinned servant dressed in a turban and loincloth. The servant's unclothed and ungainly body serve to heighten the control and power implicit in Baillie's stance emphasising the bodily difference between coloniser and colonised. Difference and supremacy is asserted through the deployment of classical architecture and of an idealised white male body derived from classical art.

During his tenure Barnes, as Governor of Ceylon, had two houses on the island: a house in Colombo built by the Dutch and a pavilion in Kandy, built following the capture of the province in 1815.⁴⁷ Both are Neo-classical in style. These houses, and the objects that would have filled them, were potent symbols of British power on the island.⁴⁸ But these monumental houses were not merely static symbols: they also

44 James Wilson, 'Reappropriation, Resistance and British Autocracy in Sri Lanka', *The Historical Journal*, no 60, 1, 2017, Cambridge, p 59.

45 Ibid.

46 For more on this see Catherine Hall (ed), *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: a Reader*, Manchester, 2000 and Nirmala Rao, op cit, see note 40.

47 Robin Jones, op cit, see note 38, p 3.

48 Ibid, p 7.

initiated.⁴³ For example, the first census of the island's population was carried out under Barnes in 1824.⁴⁴ He was also responsible for the use of forced labour to construct roads and bridges into the island's interior, the rebellious province of Kandy, thereby improving colonial access to the most troublesome areas of the island.⁴⁵

49 Ibid, p 19.

50 Ibid.

51 'Eastern Festivities', *Morning Post*, London, 4 August 1824.



Fig 14 'The Ceylon Court', *Illustrated London News*, 14 June 1851.

reinforced British power by facilitating sociability amongst the British themselves. Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta who toured the island in 1824-25 wrote

we dined again at the King's House and met nearly all European society of the place . . . everything wears a more English aspect than we have been accustomed to in India.⁴⁹

In 1829 Mrs Smith of Baltiboy also described the entertainments given by Sir Edward Barnes:

the doings of Government House were certainly extraordinary. One night there was a ball and making speeches, then more dancing or rather romping, from which we were glad to get away . . . The rooms were

large, numerous and well-lighted; a grand supper and great noise towards the end.⁵⁰

A news report in the *Morning Post* corroborates Mrs Smith's story describing a party given by the officers of the Ceylon Regiment for Barnes and his new wife,

where the lively dance was kept up till six in the morning.⁵¹

The classical frieze of satyrs harvesting and making wine, that wraps around the vase, which itself would easily accommodate a few bottles if it was intended to be used as a wine cooler, are apt. In its form and its ornament the vase anticipates this type of entertaining, that imposes its "English aspect", with its noise, spirit and

splendour. The vase, and other decorative art objects like it, took part in the enactment of British social rituals which worked to reinforce the differences between the English and their colonised subjects. In its Neo-classical form, that refers to and celebrates Roman history and therefore histories of empire, and in its function as a centrepiece of elite sociability, the vase is designed to emphasise the difference between civilised and uncivilised. The inscription then, on behalf of his colleagues also engaged in colonial endeavour, thanks Barnes for his good character and friendship, in publicly and privately working toward the 'civilisation' of Ceylon and its people.

London

In 1824 London was saturated with newly erected statues and monuments, with newspapers reporting on the movement of soldiers, advertisements for ships travelling to new colonial territories and with news of political and military endeavours from across the empire. The burgeoning power of the empire and the urgency of patriotism were ever-present. The visual sources referred to in this article were all made by British citizens. Although Ceylon is central to this story, it is the English vision of Ceylon that we have encountered: the images that show Ceylon as dark, wild and fantastical, ready to be civilised by the British. London also played host to a series of events that that asserted the differences between British and colonial bodies, from great exhibitions of products, to the exhibition of peoples of different races.⁵³

An image of the Ceylon Court at the 1851 Great Exhibition, again from the *Illustrated London News*, shows European visitors inspecting and assessing Ceylonese objects [Fig 14]. Nirmala Rao describes how the 1851 Great Exhibition

portrayed this 'rich and gigantic territory' of India as having the potential to produce everything that "civilized nations" required. Celebrating India in this way, whilst eliding the issue of just what made a civilized nation, was a way of projecting a future for British commerce in the exploitation of Indian manufactures and natural resources.⁵⁴

The same is surely true of Ceylon: the island, packaged to be seen through Eurocentric eyes, could be viewed as something to be consumed for the economic benefit of the British nation, while also confirming and showcasing the differences between 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' nations. The 'positive' qualities of the works could be co-opted by their colonial rulers, but difference could also be reasserted.

When Fisher Braithwaite and Jones put the vase on display in their showrooms in September 1824 it anticipated this form of encounter, looking through the page, or in person, the vase provided the flipside of an encounter with an 'uncivilised' person or product, as reported with great passion by the *Literary Gazette*:

... we have just examined a superb example of this kind in a piece of plate executed for presentation to the Governor of Ceylon, the gallant Sir Edw. Barnes. The Subscriptions for this tribute to his conduct and

⁵² Robin Jones, *op cit*, see note 38, p 19.

⁵³ See, for example, Sadiah Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Chicago and London, 2011.

⁵⁴ Nirmala Rao, *op cit*, see note 40, p 169.

55 Op cit, see note 2.

56 Ibid, p604.

57 Margot Finn and Kate Smith (eds), *The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857*, London, 2018, p1.

character having amounted to a sum which allowed room for the display both of taste and magnificence in the offering, Messrs. Fisher, Braithwaite & Jones, goldsmiths Cockspur street, were employed to make a Vase worthy of the occasion.⁵⁵

Their reading of the vase is one of triumph, in its form they see the supremacy of the “gallant” Barnes, and through him of the empire. They read a celebration of his conduct and character as an occasion worthy of magnificence.⁵⁶ Although the vase does not depict Ceylon, or make any visual reference to it, the vision of Ceylon is key to understanding the power of the vase. In its classicising form so associated with civilisation, it forms part of the mechanics of the naturalisation and propagation of empire, acting as a flashpoint for a circuit of positive feedback to those involved in it, directly and indirectly, from the patriotic makers, to the personnel of Ceylon, to Barnes himself.

In *The East India Company at Home*, Margot Finn and Kate Smith discuss how monuments to Georgian and Victorian imperial power punctuate our

urban, suburban and rural historic sites.⁵⁷

They have become so familiar to us that we hardly ever notice them, let alone analyse them. Today staggeringly few British people (myself included) are well versed in the strategies and ideals that led Britain to obtaining an empire. Much in the same way, the vase’s colonial connections have, thus far, seemed secondary to the history of its production. The nature of the “Civil and Military personnel of Ceylon” and that of Sir Edward Barnes have remained obscured, hidden in plain sight.

Although the vase may not have been made consciously with this intention, it formed part of this landscape and part of the mechanics of colonialism arguing for the superiority of the British. The visual power of the vase, its scale and magnificence should not only be understood in terms of the skill it took to create it. It should also be understood in terms of the effect that this visual impact sought to illicit: to act as a physical agent in the making and remaking of the British empire.

CONCLUSION

Charlotte Johnson is Assistant Curator of the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum. She holds undergraduate and post-graduate degrees from the Courtauld Institute of Art, where she studied eighteenth-century French decorative arts and interiors.

Charlotte has worked at various museums and historic houses, including Museums Sheffield, Vaux-le-Vicomte and Chatsworth House. Since joining the Victoria and Albert Museum in 2016 she has co-curated the displays *Testimonial* and *Visual Feast*, as well as assisting with the redevelopment of the Gilbert galleries. Her current research seeks to examine the powerful relationship between objects and their beholders.

JOHN BARTHOLOMEW (1932-2018)



John Bartholomew receiving his Freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company, 1953.

John was born in Camberwell – a nice South London boy. He was fourteen when he enrolled at the Central School of Arts and Crafts (which later became Central St Martin's). Despite the fact he was only a child during the Second World War he was often heard to say "During the war..." and continue a story until he was shouted down.

At the Central School he trained under Francis Adam and A E Emerson. Each year the college only took the quota of students who could then be found work within the trade; he was one of the lucky ones. In 1949 at the age of seventeen he began his seven year apprenticeship in the trade with Wakeley and Wheeler, working under Frank Beck although he was formally apprenticed to Albert Pitman. He was made free of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1953.

At twenty-one he was called up and joined the RAF with high hopes of travelling and seeing the world. These aspirations were sadly scuppered when the powers that be saw that his greatest potential lay in keeping planes in the air rather than flying them and he worked as an instrument fitter. After his national service he left the RAF and started work at the bench in earnest. He worked for Charles Edwards for three years before joining C J Vander.

I was seventeen when I met John when he was teaching in adult education, otherwise known as night classes: my mother, two sisters and I had all decided that we would try our hands at silver/jewellery making. He was later often heard to tell the story with horror of these four female family members joining his class. He was an amazing teacher who carefully spread his time across all the members of the class and nothing was too much trouble. He was by this time working at the Royal College of Art which he had joined as the silversmith in 1975, the Professor at the time was Gerald Benney. Many of John's students went on to have distinguished careers, notably Rod Kelly, Jane Short, Clive Burr and many, many others I either do not know or cannot

remember. John continued teaching at the Royal College until he moved to Reading when the journey to London became too onerous.

He left the Royal College after about twenty years when he was approached by Royal Selangor, a pewter making company in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, to work for them. They had just bought Comyns lock, stock and barrel, including all their archives, after the company had gone into liquidation. Royal Selangor wanted a goldsmith to teach silversmithing to their pewterers in Malaysia: not an easy task but John rose to the challenge. After five years John's wife, Pauline, wanted to come home to the UK which they then did.

At about this time I had moved into a large industrial space in south London and John would journey up every week to help to build my workshop from all sorts of scrap and continue (or start again) to teach me anything he could.

Shortly after his return Bishopsland came to hear of him and they asked if

he would join them to teach their students, all postgraduates, for one day a week. This he continued to do for several years, as it was only a twenty minute drive from home, until his very ancient car died and he could no longer get there. Again many of his Bishopsland students went on to the Royal College and distinguished careers as goldsmiths.

John was a very humble man and never seemed to rate his many skills above the ordinary. I know his many students would strongly disagree. He would encourage them in everything they wanted to achieve. He was a talented teacher with great skills which are now lost to us. He will be greatly missed by everyone whose life he touched.

Ann Hope

* * *

John Bartholomew was an extraordinarily accomplished silversmith with an unequalled depth and breadth of knowledge in the discipline. His skill levels are best illustrated by the replica of a Paul de Lamerie soup tureen he constructed for the Campbell's soup company which was indistinguishable from the original, owned by the company, but for the hallmarks.

John had a long and distinguished career in the silver industry, and then went on to generously share his acquired techniques and wisdom with an extensive array of students over many decades, including postgraduates at the RCA, the young and inexperienced silversmiths at Royal Selangor in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and the emerging graduates at the Bishopsland Educational Trust.

Flagons, alms dish and wafer box, from a communion service from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, London, 1853-54, silver-gilt, maker's mark of Wakeley & Wheeler. Designed by Alex Styles and made by John Bartholomew. (Image courtesy of Corpus Christi College, Oxford)



John was an absolute natural as a communicator and educator, always an encouraging motivator, who challenged and enabled students to attain levels that would have been impossible without his guidance.

I encountered John in various roles; firstly as a mature student when he was the Silversmithing Technician at the Royal College of Art – where he was known as “the wizard” who could translate a student’s ambitious visions into tangible reality, then later as a friend, colleague and external examiner during his time in Malaysia whilst I was running a jewellery design program for RMIT University, at the LaSalle College of Art in Singapore.

John’s role at Royal Selangor in Malaysia was to take a team of young pewter workers and train them to become production-ready silversmiths. The level of competence achieved in a compressed time frame was truly exceptional, as demonstrated by the silver and pewter replicas from the Victoria & Albert Museum’s collections that were produced for the museum’s shop, and looked identical to the originals.

Royal Selangor identified John’s enthusiasm for his craft, and engaged him to travel to various countries promoting the new line of silver that he had developed for their company.

On one such occasion, he and his wife Pauline stayed with us in Melbourne. Susan Wraight and I had both been students during John’s tenure at the Royal College of Art, and we were able to share many enjoyable memories, and engage in valuable discourse regarding education and training.

Some years later, on his return to the UK, I stayed with him and he introduced me to the new role he had undertaken at the Bishopsland Educational Trust for young jewellers and silversmiths. Yet again, as mentor and educator he was wholeheartedly engaged in helping prepare emerging graduates for their careers as practitioners in precious metal.

Silversmithing was John’s life; he loved the history, especially that of the London silversmiths. He readily embraced the new technologies and design visions, and remained totally committed to contributing his knowledge by way of teaching, and in advisory roles at the Goldsmiths Centre, until the time came when he was physically unable to continue. In terms of competence and confidence he made a momentous difference to so many contemporary British silversmiths, whose careers were launched under his stewardship.

Emeritus Professor Ray Stebbins

Former Head of Gold and Silversmithing, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia

* * *

My first meeting with John was in 1976 on the first day of a three day interview application to the Royal College of Art. I arrived somewhat apprehensively, but John soon quietly made his presence known and put us all at ease, offering friendly encouragement. Later that year I started my three years as a student at the college. John’s humour and ability to put one at one’s ease became more and more apparent. He was an immense fountain of information always available on request; nothing was impossible, every day there was

something new to be learnt. Having left college after those amazing three years, I felt that I had been given the most enormous privilege of a three-year master class with John. Since then I have always been indebted to him for sharing his remarkable skills, love and passion for silversmithing.

In my days at the Royal College there was a certain amount of friction between the trade and the art colleges, John certainly did not have a problem there: he just gave us the insight into alternative ways things could be achieved, taking the mystery away, and showed us how in a production workshop, methods of construction would be different. The most important factor with John was that whatever you made should be made with “excellence please”. As students John was our hero. Since then several generations of silversmiths have passed through those enormous hands of his, all of them conveying the same message: “the supreme master”.

I am convinced that many of the practicing silversmiths today who were taught by John might not have made it into the industry without his help. We all owe John such a huge debt of gratitude. John Bartholomew set the bar high to say the least.

Clive Burr

* * *

John was a truly irreplaceable silversmith who was filled with knowledge and kindness, I still remember his visits to the workshop as he was always cheerful and magically saved me from technical problems. I still remember how he taught me to make my first hinged box, and also the advice

he gave at the time and now I use it all the time. He often used say to us: you are the designer! And now I am. I gained so much confidence through having his help. He always was able to put things right when they went wrong. He was loved and will be remembered by everybody he taught and his great knowledge has certainly passed on to the next generations.

Nan Nan Liu

* * *

It is a great advantage being a silversmith if you have large hands. John had the largest, strongest hands, I have ever seen. He could bend metal, twist metal and hold large heavy pieces of silver ready for hammering with just the power of his hands.

He was also a very sensitive, kind man: he was fatherly to the young silversmiths under his charge as part of our three year post graduate course at the Royal College of Art.

He had a passion to teach silversmithing and saw it as his duty to pass on the skills that he had honed and developed over many years while foreman silversmith at Vander's in London and he was incredibly knowledgeable.

I have so many small nuances that I use as part of my working practice, they were so much an important part of John's teaching. I also have a copy of his favourite raising hammer that I put to good use each and every day. He had a profound effect on so many young silversmiths that his memory will be sounding out in workshops around the country and abroad. He was a true gentleman, albeit one with very big hands.

Rod Kelly

PETER PAYNE – THE GENTLEMAN SILVERSMITH (1922-2017)



Edward Peter Payne, although he was always known as Peter Payne, was born on 7 December 1922. He was from the sixth generation of the Payne family who had retailed jewellery and silver since 1790. John Payne started the business at Wallingford with four additional shops being opened by the family. George Septimus Payne, Peter's grandfather, inherited the Abingdon shop in 1874 but in 1888 moved to 131 High Street, Oxford and the company has been trading there as Payne & Son (Payne's) since 1 January 1889.

Peter was educated at the Dragon School, Oxford, and then became a boarder at Mill Hill School, London. Following the declaration of war on 3 September 1939 the school was evacuated to St Bees, a village on the Cumberland coast, which he found idyllic. In January 1941, having finished his schooling he discovered there was a scheme whereby selected volunteers to become aircrew in the RAF could be awarded a university place before going into uniform. He applied and was offered a place at St Edmund Hall, Oxford. He matriculated in May 1941 and was called up in October of that year.

His time in the RAF took him to South and North Africa, South and North America (in transit), Italy and India. He reached the rank of Flight Lieutenant. At the start of a second bombing mission from Foggia, Italy to Plovdiv in Bulgaria, the tyre of his plane burst just before lift-off. The undercarriage collapsed and the struts pierced the petrol tanks. Peter, his wireless operator and navigator survived, but were badly burnt. His bomb aimer died.

Demobbed in July 1946, he contemplated reading history at St

Fig1 Bowl and cover, London, 1952, maker's mark of Wakeley & Wheeler, engraved with the arms of Merton College, Oxford: designed by Eric Clements, the engraving by T Wise.
(Photograph courtesy of Payne & Son, Oxford)



The Merton Bowl 1952.

Designed by Eric Clements.

Given to the College to commemorate its boat becoming Head of the River; it is the largest covered bowl in Oxford.

This was the first of many fine pieces designed for us by Eric Clements, it was engraved by T. Wise; and Clements, who spent several days in Oxford discussing the design, was able to produce a bowl which blended the traditional with the modern feeling in a highly successful manner.

Edmund Hall but, as his father had died in 1945 and his two brothers were still in the services, he decided to enter the family business. He took the Retail Jewellers' course and although he achieved the highest marks, he was not awarded the coveted Greenough Trophy. His course essay on the history of silversmithing was however awarded a prize in 1949 by the

Goldsmiths' Company. Coincidentally Peter's granddaughter-in-law Anna Coppock, a current director of Payne & Son, won the Greeough Trophy in 2013!

His passion for silver was triggered in the late 1940s when he purchased a large collection of antique silver from a noted Oxford family. He also became interested in contemporary silver. With the eye-watering increase in purchase tax during the late 1940s (up to 133%), he became interested in the government scheme to help craftsmen. If the Assistance to Craftsmen Scheme Committee of the Goldsmiths' Company (the Committee) deemed a handmade piece of silver to be of artistic merit, it could be sold exempt of the tax, provided it bore the designer's name. Five repeats of the same design were permitted although in many cases only one was made.

Peter started an album containing photographs and details of the pieces submitted to the committee by Payne's, beginning with a condiment designed by A E Pittman of Wakeley & Wheeler in 1949. It also contains images of the Royal Ascot gold cup of 1961 designed by Gerald Whiles, who graduated from the Royal College of Art (RCA) in 1960 and became a leading educator in the field of silversmithing in Birmingham. The Committee was wound up and the album finished in 1962 when the scheme ended.

While Peter initially commissioned established designers, by the early 1950s he was on the look-out for rising stars. The first of his protégés was Eric Clements who introduced himself to Payne's on a visit to Oxford. This was to



Fig 2 Tea service, the 'Festival of Britain Tea Service', silver, parcel-gilt, London, 1950-51, maker's mark of Leslie Durbin, designed by Robert Goodden, commissioned by the Royal Pavilion at the Festival of Britain. Engraved with rhyming couplets by Goodden.

(Photograph © the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

prove productive as Peter gave him the commission for the Merton bowl and cover [Fig 1], commissioned to commemorate the college's victory in the 1951 Oxford University Eights Week rowing competition. Peter recorded in the album that the piece "blended tradition with a modern feeling in a highly successful manner". It was the first of many commissions he gave Clements.

In the early 1950s Britain's best-known silversmith was Leslie Durbin. In addition to commissioning him, Payne's tried to help him dispose of the Festival of Britain tea service Durbin had made to Robert Goodden's design [Fig 2]. The Committee did not think it was of artistic merit so it was subject to tax. Durbin placed it with Payne in 1958 for sale for £1,250 but there were no takers and in 1961 Durbin consigned it to

Christie's where Payne's acquired it for £400: a sum that for the trade of the time was outrageously high. In 1970 Payne's managed to find a buyer at a sum just into four figures and six years later the Victoria and Albert Museum acquired it, confirming Peter's view that it was of "quite exceptional artistic merit" and the fact that the Committee did not think so, showed its "prejudice in favour of simple silver at the time".

Although a pioneer of modern silver, a great deal of Peter's time was involved with the antique. The valuations of a college's silver could take weeks and at times he was assisted with these by Michael Clayton. He was also active at the London and provincial auction houses' antique silver sales in the search for interesting stock. He was liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company and served on its Antique Plate Committee for fifteen years. He had ties with the National Association of Goldsmiths, the International Gem Society and the British Antique Dealers Association (BADA).

Commissions were an important element of Payne's business. In addition to the Oxford colleges these were also received from those in Cambridge as well as royalty and dignitaries. From the 1960s Payne's did a great deal to promote the work of Anthony Hawksley which Gerald Benney held in high regard. Peter additionally encouraged competent young silversmiths by buying their work to retail. He also introduced many to the real world of business, which was generally ignored in their studies. Payne's was (and still is) one of the few places where one

could buy contemporary and vintage post World War II silver as well as antique.

Peter kept a Day Journal which makes very interesting reading. Take the entry for 31 January 1964

Business much as usual until a telephone call from 10 Downing Street pm asking for some All Souls tumblers on approval.

On New Year's Eve 1963 there was a "Family party to Wakely & Wheelers": this was one of several such visits with his family. He was a true silver man who counted not only silversmiths, but those who owned the major London workshops, as his friends.

Peter took to retailing jewels and silver and had an enjoyable and fulfilling career. However, there was one a very dark incident. After the shop closed on 19 December 1979 Peter decided to stay on and do some paperwork; he locked the door when the staff left. A little later the glass in a skylight was smashed and a man lowered himself into 131 High Street. His mission was burglary and, while shocked to find Peter there, saw him as a source of the combination for the safe. Peter did not know it, which the criminal did not believe, and consequently Peter

suffered at his hands: he was very shaken and in his daughter's view was never the same again. The burglar was caught and imprisoned and his gun was found on the roof.

Peter ended his prize winning essay written on the Retail Jeweller's course:

Only the future can show whether, given more encouragement, the silversmiths of this country can produce a style to be compared favourably with the great periods in the past. They did not succeed in the 19th century. Their technical knowledge is greater than ever but will the artistic inspiration be forthcoming?

They did and Peter played an important part in their succeeding.

He continued his interest in flying in later life, taking up gliding in his spare time. He flew until his late seventies and he also enjoyed walking and gardening with his wife.

Peter died on 7 July 2017. His wife Daphne, daughter Judy and sons Anthony and Robert survive him and Payne's continues to trade in Oxford into the seventh and eighth generations of the family.

John Andrew

STUART DEVLIN (1931-2018)



Stuart Devlin,
photograph taken by
Patrick Lichfield in the
late 1970s.
(Courtesy of the Stuart
Devlin Archive)

Stuart Leslie Devlin AO, CMG passed away peacefully at his home aged eighty-six on 12 April 2018. The Royal Australian Mint made the announcement and commented

Devlin is the designer of Australia's circulating coins and regarded as one of the finest creative and influential goldsmiths and silversmiths of his time... All Australians will continue to carry a lasting reminder of Stuart Devlin in their pockets for years to come, which is a touching tribute to his masterful designs and extraordinary career.

Readers of this journal will primarily know Stuart Devlin as a designer of silver, precious metal and bejewelled objets d'art as well as gold jewellery. That was just one of his talents; he was a polymath, or

perhaps the only surviving specimen of Renaissance man, sub species Australiasius.

which was how Dr Robin Eaglen introduced Stuart prior to his lecture on coin design to the British Numismatic Society.

Unusually for a creative person Stuart was also a good businessman with a thorough grasp of marketing. This was best demonstrated in the mid-1980s when Argyle Diamonds approached him: an enormous diamond resource in East Kimberley, in the remote north of Western Australia had been discovered. In 1986 it produced nearly thirty-million carats of diamonds but there was a problem in that some of the diamonds were white, a few were pink but the majority were brown and would be difficult to sell. The question to Stuart was simple: how to best exploit the sale of the brown stones? Stuart's response was immediate:

For a start, they are *not* brown but champagne and cognac coloured.

He suggested a touring exhibition of a stunning collection of jewellery using Argyle Diamonds' stones featuring pavé settings on a grand scale using large volumes of small stones. In addition he suggested the idea of surprise eggs to act as show-pullers. He created three of these eggs in 18 carat gold embellished with the Argyle palette of diamonds.

The star of the show was the automated Carousel Egg (the mechanism was hidden in the plinth on which it was exhibited). Just 5in (12.7cm) high it opened to reveal a carousel with eighteen horses which moved up and down as the carousel revolved; when it stopped the egg closed and the cycle was repeated. It was set with 3,039 champagne and cognac diamonds (thirty-nine being 5 carats or more) as well as 600 white ones. With a price tag

of £1.1 million it was sold to Prince Jefri, the playboy brother of the Sultan of Brunei, before the first showing opened in London. Prior to the exhibition it was featured on television in the UK and really whetted people's appetites.

The crowds arrived at Goldsmiths' Hall in their droves on 30 October 1987 for the Private View; for this and the subsequent regular openings throughout the exhibition, the queue of attendees snaked down Foster Lane. Each day Stuart Devlin wove his way along the line of those waiting to enter, to apologise for the delay of up to three hours; the City of London police looked on amused. Visitors left the exhibition excited by what they had seen. Stuart Devlin had worked his magic and shown the power of fabulous design combined with marketing. The exhibition later travelled to other countries. The price of 'brown' diamonds increased by ten-fold.

Stuart was born into a family of modest means, bordering on poverty. Richard, his father, was a master painter and decorator but work was intermittent during the Great Depression of the 1930s. During World War II Richard served in the forces. Stuart's mother, Jessie (née Manly), a former housemaid, maintained a well-run home and encouraged her four boys to work hard while pursuing excellence. Stuart had a particular aptitude for metalwork and geometry at school and at thirteen, when asked what career he wanted to pursue, replied "an art teacher specialising in art metalwork". The following year he secured a three-year scholarship to the Gordon Institute of Technology in Geelong to study art and metalwork; this was followed by two years working as an ecclesiastical brass worker with T Gaunt & Co of

Melbourne. Tragically his father and one of his older twin brothers were drowned in a boating accident in December 1949.

In his final year at Gaunt & Co we see the first of what was to be a series of feats of shrinking the timescale of academic courses: Stuart was to be a consistently high performer throughout his academic studies. During his last year at Gaunt & Co he started studying in the evenings for his teacher training qualifications. He continued full-time during the following year, which was also his first as an educationalist aged nineteen, when he taught metalwork to secondary school teachers. In 1951 he achieved his teenage dream and was appointed as a teacher of art and design at the Technical School at Wangaratta, a town of around 12,000 in north Victoria. This post lasted for five years, which he describes as a period when he was "banished to the bush".

In 1956 he moved to Melbourne to teach at the Prahan Technical College, which was becoming known as an innovative art institution. His lecture series, 'Knowledge of Art', which was specifically designed for teachers while they were still in training, proved so popular that it had to be held in the local assembly hall. Stuart studied part-time at the Royal Melbourne Technical College (now the highly regarded RMIT University) for a Diploma of Art in gold and silversmithing. Having completed the three-year, full-time course in one year, while only studying part-time, with the highest marks ever given, he was awarded a two-year travelling scholarship.

Although he had been seriously thinking of pursuing a career as a fine artist he

decided to study silversmithing. He persuaded the Royal College of Art (RCA) in London to let him study at its School of Silversmithing and Jewellery but to take the course in two years as opposed to three. After one year, having completed his silversmithing course, he moved to the School of Industrial Design (Engineering). In the space of just two years he completed two three-year degree courses. As the cherry on the cake he won the year's thesis prize in his final year.

The news of Stuart's achievements was travelling fast. After a US visitor to the RCA's Senior Common Room had met and spoken to Stuart he was awarded the prestigious Harkness Scholarship, without having to go through the normal selection process. Stuart chose

Columbia University in New York as his base. For the first year he continued with his silversmithing: working on the prototype of what is now the 1965 teapot in the modern collection of the Goldsmith Company. In his second year he focussed on sculpture and had a one-man show at the Thibaut Gallery on Madison Avenue, New York.

Stuart returned to Australia in 1963 to complete his teaching contract with the State of Victoria and was appointed Inspector of Art Schools, a position which he disliked intensely. He resigned after three months to lecture at Melbourne University which commissioned him to design and make its ceremonial mace. During this time he made the silver version of the teapot he had worked on in the USA and also continued with his sculpture. The result was a one-man show at the Harry Clune Gallery in Sydney.

The turning point for Stuart while he was in Melbourne was a telephone call later in 1963 from Professor Joe Bourke. He was asked if he was interested in becoming a member of a group of six designers to compete to design the Australian decimal coinage. He nearly responded in the negative because he considered designing coinage was a graphic design problem, as the relief of a coin is so low whilst his work was three-dimensional. He asked, however, who the other five people were and found that they were all eminent Australians, four of whom were graphic designers while one was a medallist. The Australian government had decided that to get the best, they had to pay for the best and each one of the group earned a handsome fee, regardless of whether their designs were

Fig 2 Stuart Devlin, rough sketch for the 20 cent coin reverse, made during the early stages of the creative process, for the Australian coinage of 1966, featuring a platypus swimming through water.

(Courtesy of the Royal Australian Mint)





Fig 3 Stuart Devlin, Australian 20 cent coin reverse. Stuart Devlin considered that this reverse was the best coin he ever designed: it features a platypus swimming through water: this was achieved by giving the flan a modulated surface.

(Courtesy of the Royal Australian Mint)

chosen. Stuart agreed to the project and broke with tradition by seeking to make his designs for the reverse fill the entire side of the coin, as opposed to placing the emblem centrally and following what had until then been the accepted style of design [Figs 2 and 3]. He won the competition.

Winning the competition changed his life. Not only did it introduce him to the field of coin design, but it also brought him back into the field of design per se. The problem for an individual who is gifted in more than one area of the fine or decorative arts, is deciding the one on which to base their career. From the very beginning his love was for 'art metal

work', but what had made him turn to sculpture while he was in the USA? During the 1950s British silversmiths were greatly influenced by Scandinavian design, which in turn had been derived from Germany's Bauhaus movement. While Stuart's early work had Scandinavian overtones, it had a dynamism and majestic presence which differentiated it from the designs of the Nordic countries and he found this Scandinavian influence alien to his nature. With sculpture he was creating new and exciting shapes and also having to encounter new technical problems during his efforts to translate his visions into metal.

In 1964 Stuart found himself in London supervising the final cutting of the dies for the new Australian coinage and he discovered by this time that British silver was generally shedding its Scandinavian influence and developing a style of its own and he felt in turn that British consumers would accept further changes. He returned to London in 1965, and bought a small house in Clerkenwell with his prize money. It had a basement workshop where he started his goldsmithing and silversmithing business; this was to be the first of seven workshops where he employed and trained many highly skilled craftsmen.

A period of worrying uncertainty followed but Stuart concluded there was still a role for the contemporary silversmith to enrich the way in which people live and work. Much to his surprise he realised that while his past public work had been influenced by Scandinavia, the gifts made for his then American wife, Kim Hose, were more romantic in style. While keeping the basic simple forms of his earlier work,

his objective was to make his pieces rich and romantic.

The traditional way for silversmiths to enrich their work involved time-

Fig 4 The Millennium Dish, silver, parcel-gilt, London, 2000, maker's mark of Stuart Devlin commissioned by the Goldsmiths' Company. Devlin maintained that this dish would not have been possible had he not become involved in coin design "So, all my skills I developed over the years came to bear in doing this digital, interesting, intricate modelling work playing all kinds of perspectives still in relatively low relief. This is possibly one of the most spectacular pieces I have ever designed."
(Courtesy of the Goldsmiths' Company)



consuming techniques which made the finished pieces expensive and not necessarily commercially viable. Stuart, however, was able to draw on his skills working as a sculptor with molten metal and he adapted and refined these techniques enabling him to produce a wide variety of textures on the surface of silver and to make filigree forms of almost any kind.

Stuart's 'out-of-the-box creativity' opened up the world of silver. In 1966 Ford commissioned him to make a silver sculpture to celebrate the Zephyr and Zodiac Mark IV range of saloon cars and a collection of silver shown at Cartier in New York over Christmas and New Year was sell-out. Early in 1968 the writer, actor and columnist Godfrey Winn described Stuart's Clerkenwell workshop as "a veritable Aladdin's cave", adding that the pieces which ranged from cutlery to enormous maces, from ashtrays to candelabra, were "the work of a magician". All went well until the brothers Nelson and Herbert Bunker Hunt attempted to corner silver bullion market.

During the six years up to 1979 the Hunt brothers and their associates had amassed half of the world's silver with the spot price in London increasing nearly six-fold during the last year. Stuart, who had opened a Mayfair showroom that year in partnership with the Duke of Westminster, recalled having to revise his price list practically every day. On Friday 18 January 1980 silver peaked at US\$50, just over £20, a troy ounce in New York. The US authorities closed the market on Monday 21 January and changed the trading rules, effectively banning speculators from trading.

On 27 March 1980, known as 'Silver Thursday', the price of silver fell to under US\$11 while gold increased in price. The Hunts were duly charged with market manipulation and fined. These were hard times for the silver trade as a recession took hold. Stuart survived until 1983 when he had to give up his showroom and also lost his Mayfair mansion as well as his marriage and he moved into the packing room of his workshop in Clerkenwell. The fact that he had to sack nearly all his craftspeople upset him greatly. He did, however, manage to continue to trade and he was still sought after for commissions. This, together with the success of the Argyle Diamonds venture, resulted in a spectacular recovery in his fortunes. Cupid even played a role for in 1986 he married Carole (née Hedley-Saunders), the former manager of his Clerkenwell showroom.

In 1989 he closed his London operation and he and Carole moved to West Sussex, living in various homes which Stuart designed. He concentrated on commissions, having his silver pieces made by his former craftsmen whom he had helped establish their own workshops.

He was appointed a CMG (1980), granted a Royal Warrant (1982) and was Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company (1996-1997). He was also integral to the foundation of the Goldsmiths' Centre which opened in 2012 with the aim of addressing the shortcomings in the creative education and training of goldsmiths.

His influence on British silver will last for generations. He is survived by his wife, Carole.

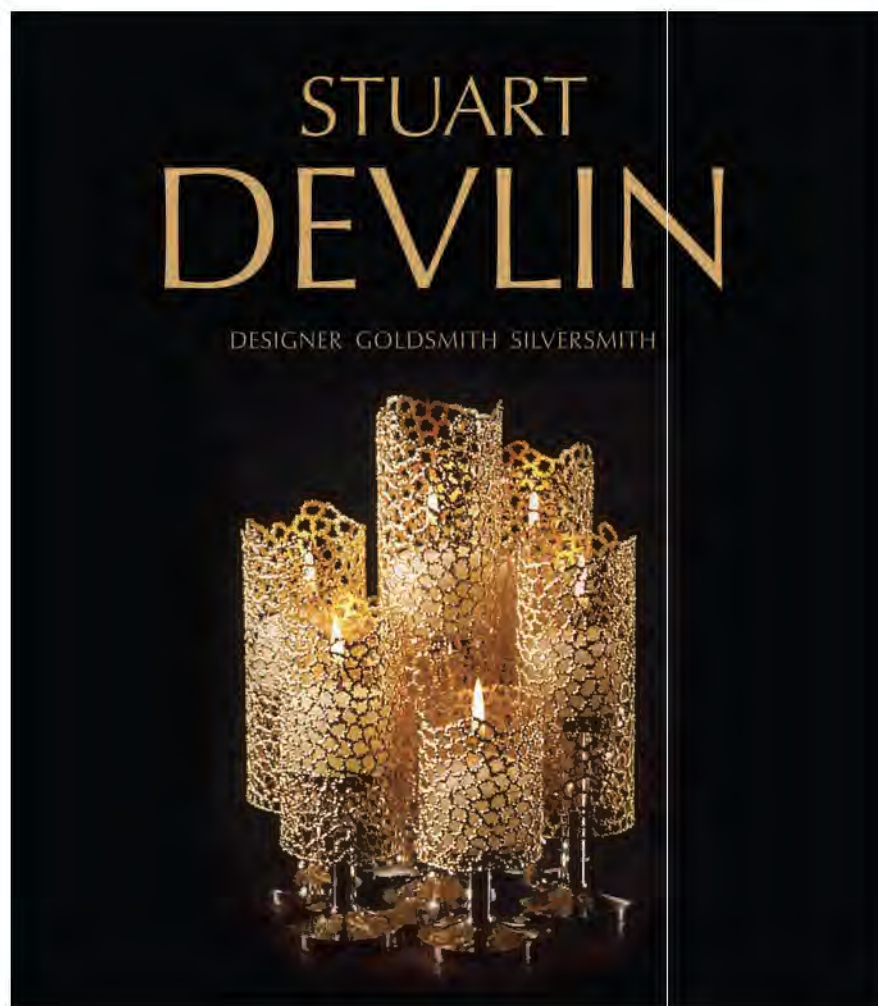
John Andrew

STUART DEVLIN: DESIGNER, GOLDSMITH, SILVERSMITH

By Carole Devlin and Victoria Kate Simkin, with a foreword by HRH the Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh

Published by ACC Art Books

Hardback, 528 pp, ISBN 10 1851498 72 9 ISBN 13 978 1 851498 72 7



In 2012 Stuart Devlin accepted that the major stroke he suffered the previous year, which left him with impaired sight, meant that it was unlikely that he would design again. Periodically I had mentioned to him the need for a publication recording his life and work, adding on one occasion that it would be a fitting memorial to his interesting career and a tribute to the diversity of his output. Stuart was, however, always engaged in other projects. After his stroke Carole, his wife, and her sister Victoria Kate Simkin, wanted to

produce a book about his life and his creations.

From an early age Stuart knew exactly what he wanted and it was not, therefore, surprising that although he was no longer in robust health, he had firm views regarding the proposed volume. His wishes were that it should be image driven and word light. Additionally he requested that the navigation of its pages should be an effortless experience as opposed to a challenge. Stuart had been a designer all his life and had a clear concept for the look and feel of the book. Nevertheless he designed three-dimensional objects, whereas a book is primarily the domain of the graphic designer. So Andrew Milne Design Limited was appointed to design the book within the parameters of Stuart's concept. Andrew Milne is an experienced graphic designer with an expertise in illustrated books with a studio based in West Sussex. Stuart was involved with the development of the book and the team did their utmost to follow his requests.

Publishers generally have an aversion to letting authors, or the subject of a book even if a designer, anywhere near their design studio. An exception is ACC Art Books, which is sympathetic to those working on a volume having an input. James Smith, ACC's publisher, upon seeing the initial ideas for the volume made an instant decision that gave 'team Devlin' the confidence to dedicate a considerable time to the project. The speed with which Andrew Milne translated his ideas into graphics resulted in creating a momentum that encouraged Carole, Victoria and Stuart to approach what was a Herculean task with a considerable level of enthusiasm.

Given the volume as well as the breadth of Stuart's output, the Stuart Devlin archive is vast. As well as silver, his design interests embraced coins, art medals, regalia, jewellery, furniture, houses, sculpture and even surgical instruments for keyhole surgery. However, just over 60% of this book is devoted to his silver and objets d'art in both gold and silver. It begins with a selection of silver inter alia comprising beakers, boxes, brandy warmers, coffee services, condiments, decanters, flatware, goblets, salvers and tea services; a selection of candelabra, candlesticks and centrepieces; together with many of his commissions which range from large maces to small salts, gifts for royalty to altar crosses for

cathedrals, sporting trophies and impressive dishes for ceremonial display. A further section is devoted to jewelled surprise eggs [Fig 5], clocks and objets d'art while the final one is a selection of limited edition and commemorative silver.

The first illustration in the book is a four-piece tea service which Stuart hand-raised from gilding metal (or nickel), together with a tray which he sank. The pieces were silver plated and photo etched and were made in 1944 when Stuart was only thirteen. Mozart may have written his first symphony aged eight, but hand-raising a tea service at thirteen, in my view, falls into the same league as an incredible achievement of a young prodigy. From his early days at the Royal College of Art there are the café au lait jugs with dark green and cream nylon sleeves on the lower half of the body instead of handles: these were designed in 1959 with an accompanying cream jug and sugar bowl. The café au lait jugs are now seen as icons of 1960s design, which is ironic as Stuart moved away from the influence of the Bauhaus movement.

The images that follow indicate that Stuart was thinking about British silver design earlier than the mid-1960s. Illustrated, in mono, are six cylindrical cigarette boxes that he designed and made in 1961 during his Harkness Fellowship. These are machine textured and, therefore, predate his experimentation as a sculptor where he used, as well as other techniques, molten metal to produce textured surfaces on silver. By the mid-1960s what is now accepted as the 'Devlin style' had emerged, with the use of matt textured gilded surfaces (as well as polished gilding), contrasting against the

Fig 5 Surprise Easter egg, silver, parcel-gilt and amethyst, London, 1972, maker's mark of Stuart Devlin.

Although Devlin produced scores of surprise Easter eggs in limited editions of up to 500, he also created unique ones such as this example which has an exterior decorated in relief with stylised silver rabbits and oxidised silver trees against a silver gilt background. It opens to reveal a hedgehog carved from amethyst. (Courtesy of the Pearson Silver Collection)



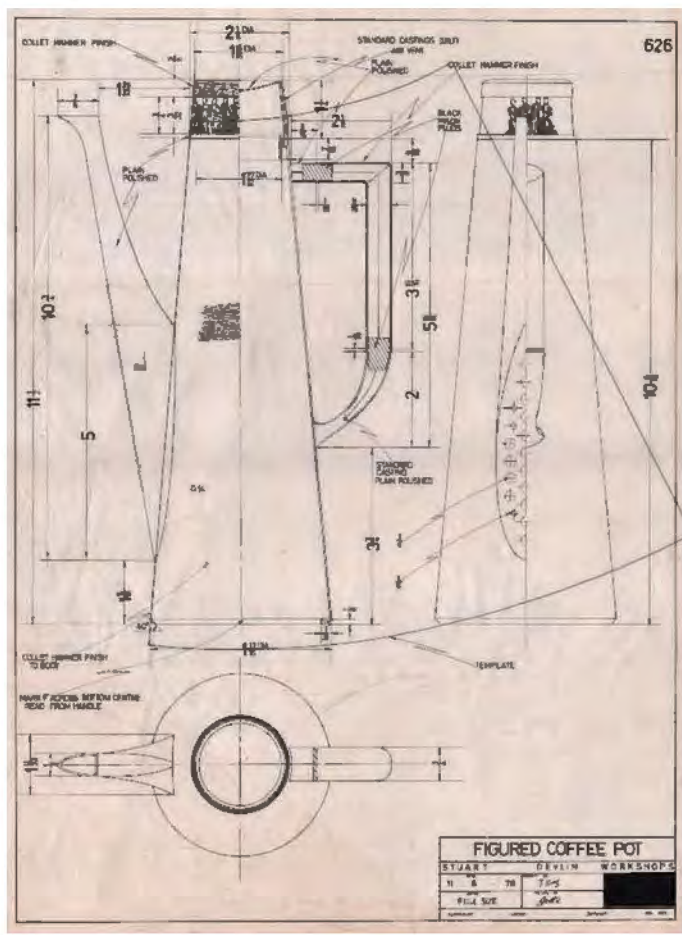


Fig 6 Stuart Devlin, working drawings for the coffee pot in Fig 7.

(Courtesy of the Stuart Devlin Archive)

highly polished silver surfaces to brilliant effect. The textures, most of which were achieved by a welding torch, were enormously varied. There were bold thick vertical striations, a 'honeycomb' effect, delicate horizontal collet texturing, abstract swirls, slanting bold striations and brick-like effects, to name but a few. Interestingly, although he had embellished the objects to make them rich and romantic, their simple forms underlying remained [Fig 7].

Turning the pages in the first silver section is not only a feast for the eye, as Stuart's 'out-of-the-box' creativity leaps from the pages, but it also quenches the thirst for knowledge. The five stages of raising the bowl of a goblet from a flat disc to the desired form with a bright even finish to the surface are shown: a process which takes around eight hours. Raising the bowl of a large centrepiece could take a couple of hundred hours. An equally fascinating image series is the hand forging of a spoon from an ingot to the finished item. There are superb shots of Richard Cook plying his trade in Stuart's workshop in 1968 and in his own premises in 2016 when



Fig 7 Figured coffee service, silver, parcel-gilt and black nylon insulators, London, 1975, maker's mark of Stuart Devlin.

(Courtesy of the Pearson Silver Collection, image SFO Museum, photograph Bill Burnett)



Fig 8 Pair of candelabra with hand-crafted filigree globes, shown in the state closet at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, silver and silver gilt, London, 1968, maker's mark of Stuart Devlin.

(Courtesy of the Pearson Silver Collection, photographer Jerry Lampson)

he was seventy four. Then there is the real treat of the creative process. Stuart favoured A5 notebooks for sketching ideas for shapes of objects ranging from coffee pots to pepper mills, paper knives to place settings, often with a dozen or so small sketches to a page; it is fascinating to see these drawings alongside the finished objects. Seeing the technical drawing given to the craftsman who was to make a piece makes one realise that the designer needs not only creativity, but to give the exact specifications to achieve his or her goal of visual perfection.

Lighting and centrepieces epitomise Stuart's work and the book has a good cross-section. Some of the latter also incorporate candles, often with the

loaded nylon ball sockets he used, that allow for endless configurations (using non-drip candles!). Others frequently feature natural mineral specimens, some of which are sculptural in nature, others which look as if they are exploding from a textured silver-gilt setting while others are purely decorative. Although amethyst was a favourite, he also used white rock crystal, rose quartz, malachite and fluorite. In the 1960s he introduced gilded filigree shades, to his candelabra and candlesticks, that were either spherical or columnar. Initially the filigree was made in the traditional way by soldering endless wires together with this being replaced by a 'filigree effect' by making apertures in a silver sleeve with an acetylene torch. Both result in a beautiful golden light [Fig 8].

On showing the book to a gentleman who collected across the twentieth-century decorative arts, he remarked,

I always thought Devlin was a manufacturer. I did not realise that he produced work like this. I wish I had commissioned him.

Yes, the salerooms are awash with limited edition eggs, but these are only one small part of Stuart Devlin's output. This book is indeed a fitting memorial to an outstanding man. In the foreword, Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh wrote,

Stuart Devlin was probably the most original and creative goldsmith and silversmith of his time, and one of the greats of all time.

He added

I consider myself fortunate to own a number of his works.

So do I!

John Andrew

DESIGNERS AND JEWELLERY 1850-1940: JEWELLERY AND METALWORK FROM THE FITZWILLIAM

By Helen Ritchie

Published by Philip Wilson Publishers, 2018

Paperback, 176pp, ISBN 978 1 78130 0671

A small exhibition of seventy objects has been recently on show at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. In contrast to the overwhelming desire to produce enormous and exhaustive exhibitions, this particular one has been carefully selected from the jewellery and metalware, mostly silver, in the museum's own collection, with the addition of some long-term loans from the Keatley Trust (eleven items) and the Frua-Valsecchi Collection (one item). The subject matter, designers and jewellery of the period 1850-1940, is

not especially novel but the curator, Dr Helen Ritchie, has crafted a most interesting display and compiled an excellent and informative catalogue.

The background to the exhibition was the museum's desire to draw attention to its holdings of important works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, created by recognised designers: be they artists, architects, craftspeople or 'creatives' in the modern idiom.

Shown in the Octagon Gallery on the first floor of the museum, the objects were set in wall-mounted cases with some standing cases placed in the centre of the room. All the exhibits were easily visible and the provision of magnifying glasses enabled the curious visitor a closer inspection. In my eagerness to examine the objects in the standing cases I did come up against the impenetrable barrier of the glass. Luckily no security alarms bells were sounded and my head has since recovered. The information panels gave concise and relevant facts about the exhibits.

The star cast included works by Castellani, William White, William Burges*, Giuliano, Christopher Dresser*, Ernesto Rinzi, Phillips Brothers, the Watherston/ Brodgen firms, Hunt & Roskell, Phoebe Traquair, C F A Voysey*, Gilbert Marks*, C R Ashbee and the Guild of Handicrafts*, Henry Wilson, Archibald Knox*, Charles De Sousy Ricketts, John Paul Cooper*, Omar Ramsden*, Barkentin & Krall, Child & Child, H G Murphy*, Sibyl Dunlop, and the Artificers' Guild*. Those names asterisked indicate metalwork exhibits.

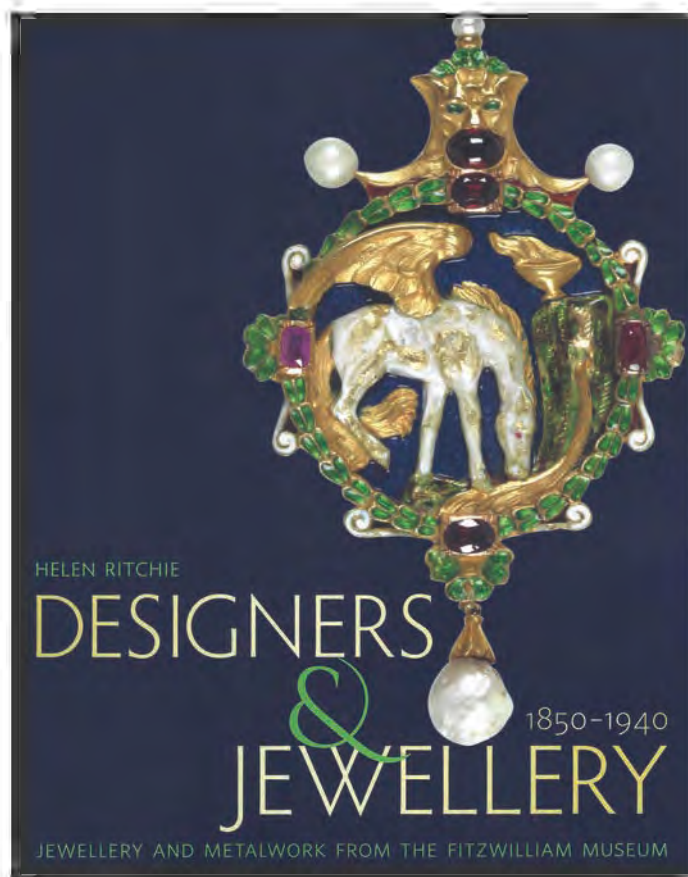




Fig 1 Decanter, glass, silver, hard stones, cloisonné, cameos, ancient coins and ivory, London, 1865-66, makers' marks of Josiah Mendelson and George Angell, designed by William Burges.
(©The Fitzwilliam Museum)

It is not the purpose of this review to include the numerous items of jewellery which were on display: a large number of these were the gift of Mrs Anne Hull Grundy to the museum. The catalogue rightly acknowledges the part played by

her and other generous benefactors, in expanding the museum's collections and enabling it to fill gaps in the history of design in jewellery and metalwork during this period.

The catalogue includes an opening introductory chapter (pp 1-7); the designers' entries which include biographical information (pp 10-143); a catalogue of the seventy exhibits (pp 144-154); a glossary (pp 155-156); notes (pp 155-161); bibliography (pp 162-163); and an index (pp 164-166).

Of the exhibits my particular favourites in silver were the William Burges decanter (cat no 3) [Fig 1], the Gilbert Marks lizard dish (cat no 25) [Fig 2], a bowl with enamelled lid from the Guild of Handicrafts (cat no 37) and the Voysey aluminium clock (cat no 24).

The Burges decanter was one of three that he designed in 1864 but which were actually made in the following year. On first appearance it looks as if a wide-eyed Victorian has thrown Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* at it and that many decorative bits have stuck to it. On a more careful examination, however, it has been precisely designed and, as such, it must count as one of the most distinctive pieces of silver of the nineteenth century. It is visually stunning and the catalogue entry, which covers eight pages, contains well-chosen designs by Burges, photographs which locate the decanters in his house, and a beautifully constructed essay which guides the reader through the story of the design and subsequent history of these remarkable pieces. The two silversmiths whose marks were separately struck on this decanter were George Angell and Josiah Mendelson. The former was from a well-known

family of silversmiths but Mendelson is little known apart from this piece and another which were both exhibited at the Royal Academy as part of the Handley Read Collection in 1972.

Christopher Dresser is represented by three pieces: an electroplated toast rack, circa 1880, by James Dixon & Sons of Sheffield; a Birmingham-made silver letter rack of 1892 by Hukin and Heath; and a silver sugar bowl (with spoon) in the form of a lotus leaf (London, 1884), by Hukin and Heath which is attributed to him. Dresser's importance as one of the first industrial designers cannot be underestimated and these items are typical of his 'products'. On a personal basis I do find the lotus bowl deeply unattractive.

Fig 2 Dish, Britannia standard, London, 1898-99, maker's mark of Gilbert Marks.
(©The Fitzwilliam Museum)



The one piece of metalwork which is not of silver is the aluminium clock designed circa 1896, by Charles Voysey, which is on loan from the Frua-Valsecchi Collection. One of three known, its austere body is made less formal by its copper dial set with letters spelling "Tempus fugit", rather than conventional numerals, and stylised hinges and latch for the back cover. The catalogue entry is full of details concerning the exhibition of the clock, or one similar, in the early 1900s, evidence of the wide-ranging reading and research contained in this catalogue.

The chased work of Gilbert Marks led to the headache referred to earlier. The marvellous Britannia standard silver dish of 1898, with repoussé and chased lizards, eight in total, amongst brambles, draws one in to examine minutely the fine work on the surface. The silver claret jug (cat no 27) of 1898-99, which has repoussé vine leaves and grapes around the body, lacks this vivacity. Although signed it does look dull in comparison. Pewter bowls are also shown but it is noticeable that the chasing is less refined, probably a result of the differing properties of the two metals. Four of the six pieces shown were donated by Miss Ellen Bicknell. The entry on Marks is exemplary: the text includes apposite quotations from contemporary sources, one of which summarises the appeal of his work in which he could, with ease

bring it [his pattern and ornament] up to accents of sharpness or caress it into liquid meltingness.

A long and informative entry on Ashbee and the Guild of Handicrafts includes work designed by Ashbee and made by the Guild's silversmiths, and also by the Hart family who stayed on in Chipping

Campden retaining the Guild's name and hallmark. In regard to the attribution of designs of later Guild work, Victoria Lane, in unpublished research, found a striking similarity to the Royal Ascot Hunt cup, which George Hart submitted to the Goldsmiths' Company's Ascot cups competition in 1926, in a design for a standing cup attributed to Ashbee is in the possession of the Goldsmiths' Company. It is known and, I believe, accepted that the Guild drew on its substantial archive of design drawings which remained in Chipping Campden after the departure of most of the Guildsmen. It is still not known precisely how much input, if any, was made by the Guild silversmiths to Ashbee's designs. The silver bowl, with an enamelled lid depicting a landscape, possibly by William Mark or Fleetwood Varley, has acquired an added interest. It was, at one time, owned by Robert Welch, the silversmith and industrial designer, whose workshop was in the same old mill as the Guild.

John Paul Cooper was a contemporary of Henry Wilson and both are featured with items of jewellery but only Cooper with a silver object: a shagreen casket (cat no 56) of circa 1932. The entries on both show considerable skill in bringing together the information on the emergence of a number of trained architects who, in the late nineteenth century, successfully transferred their skills to the burgeoning Arts and Crafts movement and the market for its products. Throughout the catalogue Dr Ritchie has enriched the entries by illustrating designs relevant to the pieces, none more so than in the case of these two designers. On a minor point, the tortoiseshell hair comb (cat no 45),

with plique-à-jour enamelled plaques, circa 1900-1905, attributed to Wilson, does not appear, to me, to have the fluency of his designs.

The distinctive work of Archibald Knox is represented by a tankard and jewellery made for Liberty and introduces the subject of the commercialisation of the Arts and Crafts movement. London, Birmingham and Sheffield manufacturers took on signature motifs, such as spot hammering, which were added to spun work rather than being the result of handraising flat sheet.

The Artificers' Guild, under Edward Spencer, Omar Ramsden and H G Murphy continued the movement in their own fashion with varying degrees of success. All three maintained relatively large workshops for art workers and, today, all three are well-known twentieth-century designers. Their work is recognised in the salerooms and each item is much sought after. Current research on all three is reflected in their respective entries.

Much of the press coverage for this exhibition centred on the revelations about the jewellery designed by Charles Ricketts for Katherine Bradley and Edith Cooper, aunt and niece, who lived together and wrote together as 'Michael Field'. Their friendship with Ricketts and his partner, Charles Shannon, and the design and gifting of the jewels is sensitively handled and in great detail.

For anyone interested in this period this catalogue is exceptionally well-written and illustrated and is a joy to handle and to read.

David Beasley

ARTISTS' SPOONS & RELATED TABLE CUTLERY – A BRITISH HISTORY OF ARTS & CRAFTS FLATWARE

By Simon Moore

Published by Fast Print Publishing, 2017

Hardback, 508 pp, ISBN: 978 178456 429 2

For the subject of his third book (he has also written three Shire booklets), Simon Moore has moved on from knives and forks to the more endearing topic of spoons. This is a substantial book and, weighing in at 503g, it comprises 500 pages richly illustrated with images of actual spoons, excerpts from advertisements, trade catalogues, original designs and other material from archival sources. The author has drawn on his professional experience as a naturalist, specialising in the conservation and the preservation of collections, to collate his information within this fascinating reference work. Almost all the photographs appear to have been taken by him and the spoons are often contextualised: being shown resting on, or near, appropriate ceramics of the period, or even on a

wooden trencher, a format developed in his previous books.

To those unfamiliar with the period it might seem surprising that a work on “artists” spoons (and related cutlery) made during the period 1870 to 1940 could possibly amount to this number of pages. In fact, the number of designer-silversmiths who chose to express their artistry in spoon-making throughout these years is extraordinary. Simon Moore does not pretend that his is a complete survey but he fully articulates his engaging zest for the subject. To someone with a fondness for the extraordinary variety of patterns produced by specialist flatware makers in the first three quarters of the nineteenth-century, his dismissal of “clumpy Victorian” flatware in favour of



Fig 1 Tablespoon, silver, parcel-gilt, London, 1904-5, designed by Katie Harris, maker's mark of William Hutton & Sons Ltd.

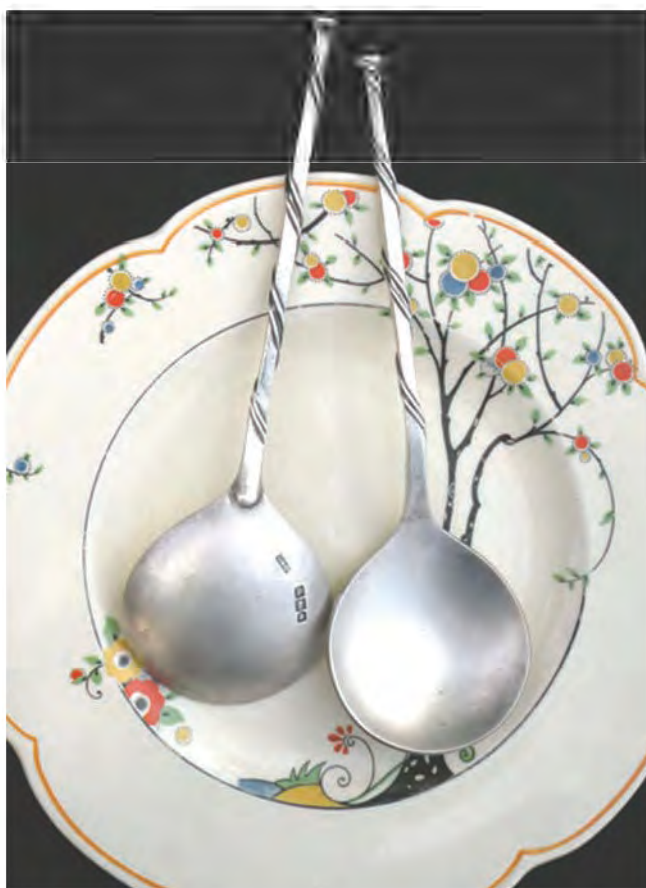


Fig 2 Pair of tablespoons, London, 1899-1900, maker's mark of Liberty & Co.

the "lighter and more tasteful style" introduced at this time seems a little unfair but it doubtless mirrors the thinking of those at the time who were determined to produce silver in a consciously new and smaller scale way. At times, as Moore points out, many of the spoons made in this way were deemed

too fragile or decorous to make use of.

At the back of the book (pp 457-475) there is a section illustrating makers' marks and this section will prove extremely useful to anyone with an interest in Arts and Crafts, Art Nouveau

or Art Deco British silver. Of the marks illustrated nearly a fifth belonged to craftswomen: this being, as Moore states, "a significant era" for those

seeking suffrage and recognition outside the home.

Other marks will be much more familiar and some large scale businesses like the Goldsmiths' & Silversmiths' Company, Francis Higgins and Barker Brothers are included for their attempts to respond to the popular appeal of the Arts and Crafts movement.

John Culme once told me of his disgust that, of the two volumes of his *Directory Gold & Silversmiths, Jewellers & Allied Traders 1838-1914*¹, it is always the one containing images of marks that bears signs of having been read when the book comes up for sale second-hand; the larger volume detailing the lives of the makers is often untouched. Many readers may use Simon Moore's book in the same way but that would be a shame because it is not merely a book of makers' marks but a detailed historical narrative with a chronological structure.

The author begins with a brief examination of the ways in which antique spoons may have influenced the designers of the period: particularly Archibald Knox, Alexander Ritchie, and Omar Ramsden. In Chapter 2 he goes on to discuss the effects of the Aesthetic movement and its connections with the naturalistic revival of the 1840s. In this context he refers to the Fox family of silversmiths as well as John Gilbert of Birmingham and, of course, Christopher Dresser. Various competing strands within the late nineteenth century stylistic debate are examined in turn: a fresh antiquarianism; a simple rejection, as

¹ John Culme, *Directory of Gold & Silversmiths, Jewellers & Allied Traders 1838-1914*, Woodbridge, 1987.

championed by William Morris (who, in turn drew upon the work of Ruskin), of the methods of mass-production; a desire to emulate the changes taking place in Europe; a fascination with eastern design, especially with Japanese taste. Moore refers to the veneration of the designs of Pugin but, if so, Pugin's demand that form and function should be perfectly integrated appears to have been forgotten in the debate: although surely Dresser succeeded in finding the same muscular relationship between the two that Pugin advocated. The on-going tension between the teachings of Ruskin, who desired that

objects of Aesthetic taste should, at least, form part of one's daily living

and those who sought to create admirable objects which were not at all utilitarian is also detailed. There was, too, a conservative reaction by those who preferred "things as they were".

Chapter 3 leads on to the history of Liberty as spoon makers, in particular the difficulties of attributing the various designs to individuals working for the company, whose names Liberty actively sought to conceal. The very commercial success of Liberty ran counter to the 'arts and crafts spirit' upon which Liberty pretended to base his enterprise: for the simple reason that only mass-production methods could satisfy the popular demand he had

created. This chapter is the most penetrating in the book, no surprise when Moore tells us that his interest in the Arts and Crafts movement was catalysed by the purchase of a single Sarepta pattern Liberty teaspoon in the early 1980s. This chapter is divided into three sub-chapters which deal thoroughly with Liberty's production methods and convincingly examines the design contributions made, not only by the famed Archibald Knox, but also by Oliver Baker, Bernard Cuzner and Reginald and Harry Silver, as well as the relationship between Liberty and William Haseler.

In the following chapter [4.1] the author moves on to the output of two workshops which truly embraced the Arts and Crafts ethos: the Guild of Handicraft established by Charles R Ashbee and continued by the Hart family; and the Artificers' Guild under the direction of Edward Spencer and with design contributions from John Bonnor. The latter section makes good use of material from the Artificers' Guild archive held by the Goldsmiths' Company. In the same chapter Moore covers Art Nouveau spoons manufactured by William Hutton & Sons, employing Kate Allen and Katie Harris, and the workshop of Connell & Company. This is followed by a section on Scotland covering the spoon and cutlery designs of Charles



Fig 3 Tablespoon, silver, inlaid with semi-precious stone cabochons, Birmingham, 1936, maker's mark of George Hunt.

Rennie Mackintosh, with a short paragraph on Liberty in Glasgow, and the very idiosyncratic work of Mary Thew.

After two further pages devoted to “unattributed spoons”, Moore [Chapter 4.2] introduces an analysis of makers within loose geographical groupings: London; Birmingham; Sheffield and the north of England; the Home Arts and Industries Association; and Dublin. This arrangement is interesting and allows the examination of a variety of workshops both large and small. Given the slightly odd appendage on Scottish workshops in the previous chapter, it might have been better to have included Scotland in this section. Within these geographical groupings there are paragraphs on some very well-known designer-makers like the partnership of Omar Ramsden and Alwyn Carr, as well as some large commercial enterprises like Joseph Rogers, whose products occasionally show the influence of Art Nouveau design. More significantly there are brief summaries of other makers whose careers are likely to be unknown to all but a very few of the most serious collectors and researchers. Of necessity, such summaries are all-too-brief but invite further work as pieces surface and can be more easily attributed.

Chapter 5 comprises a summary introduction of the development of the Art Deco style during the inter-war years, and further paragraphs on Liberty and Ramsden; the author then returns to his geographical arrangement, this time incorporating a section for Edinburgh. This is followed through alphabetically in Chapter 5.3 and, again, familiar designers such as Sibyl Dunlop and H G (Henry) Murphy are

considered alongside large companies like Mappin & Webb and Walker & Hall, with paragraphs interspersed on tiny individual businesses like that of Enid Kelsey. At times the blending is confusing but actually entirely absorbing: reflecting the complex commercial and design linkages of the period.

The final chapter, 6, which addresses post-war Modernism and a resurgence of the Arts and Crafts tradition, is a little disappointing. A few silversmiths are discussed, but, as Moore remarks, much of the period has been examined recently in *Designer British Silver, from Studios established 1930-1985*², published in 2014. It might have been better to have incorporated the comments on specific workshops in this chapter within the previous chapter, enabling the last chapter to be a more succinct summary of the place of the artist-craftsman spoon-maker in post-war Britain.

Inevitably, as new research is undertaken, small sections of the book have already become out-dated: notably the paragraphs relating to Fernand Hauville, since the FH mark has now been re-attributed and researched by Anthony Bernbaum. This attribution has been corrected in a recent article for *The Final*³. Small quibbles apart an enormous subject has been tackled with extraordinary success. The spoon, we discover, exemplifies a new spirit of design and manufacture which developed from the last decades of the nineteenth century. There has long been a need for a detailed study of British silversmithing of this period and Simon Moore has made a truly admirable contribution to our knowledge.

Peter Cameron

2 John Andrew and Derek Styles, *Designer British Silver, from Studios established 1930-1985*, Woodbridge, 2014.

3 Simon Moore, ‘The Sandheim Family and the mysterious ‘F.H’ mark now correctly identified’, *The Final*, August 2018, no 28, pp 4-5.

Note

A revised version of this book will be shortly available from the publishers and the author and anyone who has already purchased a copy can request a corrections page from Simon Moore (couteaufin@btinternet.com) and it will be sent as an email attachment.

EUROPEAN SILVER IN THE COLLECTION OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

By Kathryn Jones

Published by Royal Collection Trust, 2017, 512pp, 1,262 colour illustrations

ISBN 978-1-909741-37-9



silver-gilt coffee pot of 1780, once belonging to Catherine the Great of Russia [cat no 268], and the Shield of Faith presented as a christening present to the future Edward VII by Frederick William IV of Prussia in 1847 [cat no 86]. The book represents a milestone in the huge task of cataloguing the Royal Collection. Much of the material discussed here has been little known and now is fully catalogued for the first time.

Not untypically the British Royal Family tended to commission plate from native craftsmen, in particular the Hanoverians, who were sensitive about their claim to Britishness. The picture is however slightly skewed by patterns of survival. Archival sources document the taste for imported silver from the Tudor period, although little survives from the extensive collection of Continental silver amassed by Henry VIII which included clocks, clock salts and silver-mounted Venetian glass of the latest design. Rare survivals in England include a medieval treasure, the fourteenth-century Parisian royal gold cup in the British Museum, and the early sixteenth-century Parisian royal clock salt now in the collection of the Goldsmiths' Company. Beyond dazzling displays of Continental plate at court, immigrant goldsmiths and designers were always important to the Crown, from Hans of Antwerp and Hans Holbein to the Huguenots who integrated so rapidly into British society from 1685 onwards. Charles I enticed the famous Dutch goldsmith, Christian Van Vianen, to England and employed the Flemish chaser, Theodore Rogiers; fifty "strangers" were listed by the Goldsmiths' Company as working for the King before the Civil War. When

Kathryn Jones's monumental catalogue of the European silver in the Royal Collection details over 350 pieces with origins from across Europe, from Lisbon to St Petersburg; Stockholm to Messina. It is the first publication for over a century dedicated to the non-British silver in the collection, cataloguing every variety of object: chamber pots and match holders to a

1 Jeremy Warren, *The Wallace Collection. Catalogue of Italian Sculpture*, London, 2016, cat no 116.

Fig 1 Ewer and basin, silver-gilt, The Hague, 1640, attributed to Hans Jacobsz Wesson, engraved with the Prince of Wales's feathers, the basin engraved with ER in monogram and the impaled arms of Frederick V and Elizabeth of Bohemia and with an engraved inscription. (Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty The Queen Elizabeth II 2018)



forced to melt silver in 1626, Charles retained a Nuremberg nef for his own use. An exquisite Parisian ewer and basin survived from the dowry of his Queen, Henrietta Maria, only to end up in Russia as a gift from Charles II to the Tsar. Particularly poignant is the ewer and basin of Elizabeth of Bohemia, which was pawned for her pension in the 1640s, [cat no 111] [Fig 1], and acquired by George IV as Prince Regent in 1817. He had it engraved with a long explanation of the Winter Queen's importance as grandmother to George I, linking the Stuarts and Hanoverians.

It was not until the late eighteenth century that the Royal Family commissioned directly from abroad, from Henri Auguste of Paris, as represented in the collection by a couple of wine coolers which were part

of a service made for George III as Elector of Hanover in 1777. The pieces were later sold with much of the Hanoverian silver, and re-acquired by Her Majesty the Queen in 1979 [cat no 144]. Napoleonic silver found favour with George IV and his brothers, who bought direct from Auguste and Jean-Baptiste Claude Odiot in Paris, or via Rundell, Bridge and Rundell [cat nos 155 and 156]. Victoria and Albert commissioned superb pieces from the Parisian firms of Marrel Frères [cat no 177] and Froment-Meurice [cat no 178], in the Renaissance revival style, which were gifts to each other in 1845 and 1848 [Fig 2]. One exquisite etched and enamelled cup by Froment-Meurice was given to Victoria by the exiled duchesse d'Aumale in 1864. [cat no 183]. Victoria also acquired a Christofle vase and cover at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1855 [cat no 180].

In one or two places where there are cross-overs with other genres, for example the three silver-gilt statuettes by Odiot [cat nos 157-159], acquired by George IV in 1825 and evidently derived from small bronze sculptures, one might have wished for a little more interdisciplinary consultation with specialist colleagues in other fields. The statuette of Hercules defeating Achelous [cat no 157; the title in the catalogue, 'Hercules and the Cretan Bull', is incorrect] clearly shows knowledge of the major model of the subject by Ferdinando Tacca,¹ whilst the Bacchic group [cat no 159] is modelled from a small bronze of this subject known in several versions, including one in the Wallace Collection (S213).



Fig 2 Match holder, silver, parcel-gilt, enamel and rubies, unmarked, Paris, 1848 by François-Désiré Froment-Meurice.

(Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty The Queen Elizabeth II 2018)

Parisian silver made for Napoleon Bonaparte had a special fascination for the British Royal family. Edward VII, along with many British aristocrats, was a great admirer of the Emperor, creating a Napoleon Room at Marlborough House, but it was Queen Mary who energetically curated the Napoleonic items at Windsor, acquiring other pieces at auction in 1934, such as a tea service commissioned by the Emperor from Henri Auguste and Pierre-Benoît Lorillon which he presented to his adopted daughter at her wedding in 1806 [cat no 160], and part of an exquisite travelling service made for Napoleon's personal use [cat no 163].

Queen Mary also promoted the history of the Stuart dynasty and gathered relics for display in a dedicated room at Windsor. These included the finest Italian silver in the collection, a caddinet

by Luigi Valadier which had been commissioned by Cardinal Henry Stuart in Rome in the early 1780s [cat no 205] [Fig 3]. As a Stuart relic it joined a toilet box by Mathäus Wallbaum, made in Augsburg around 1600, which had a good claim to have belonged to Charles I [cat no 6]. This piece once belonged to a London doctor, Baldwin Hamley, who somehow managed to collect relics of Charles I during the Commonwealth period. Ironically, two exceptional gifts made to Charles II at the Restoration in 1660 turn out to be Parliamentary pieces: the Exeter salt made by Johann Hass of Hamburg circa 1630 [cat no 12], and the Plymouth fountain attributed to Peter Ohr of Hamburg, made circa 1640 [cat no 15] [Fig 4], had been carefully chosen by the Commonwealth in 1657 as suitable presents for the Tsar of Russia. When the mission failed the pieces were sold, only to be supplied by the royal goldsmith Sir Thomas Vyner for the coronation of Charles II in 1660. Both pieces were offered to the King by former Parliamentary strongholds in reparation for their disloyalty during the Interregnum.

Of generations of royal collectors who shaped this collection, the hero is George IV. The most opulent and outstanding objects are those collected for his *kunstskammer*, now displayed in the Lantern Lobby at Windsor Castle. Most spectacular is his nautilus cup and cover by Nikolaus Schmidt [cat no 3], which was acquired for 250 guineas in 1823 and thought by Flaxman and other luminaries to be the work of Benvenuto Cellini. The piece quickly became famous. It was published by Henry Shaw in 1843, and lent first to the groundbreaking Exhibition of Ancient and Medieval Art held by the Society of

Arts in London in 1850 and then to the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857. Its marks were however only identified in 1911. George IV's standing cup by Georg Schyrer of Nuremberg, acquired in 1826, is one of only two known by this maker: the other is in the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum. Like many other pieces in the collection, this one bears witness to George IV's enthusiasm for re-gilding: in this case by Rundells in 1828 [cat no 9]. He also had a particular fondness for ivory carvings with silver-gilt mounts; his fourteen examples included the magnificent cup with carving attributed to Johann Gottfried Frisch which had belonged to William Beckford at Fonthill [cat no 37]. Two further ivory masterpieces representing a pronounced antiquarian taste were presented by Lord Stewart, Ambassador to Vienna, in 1814 [cat nos 106 and 107]. For all his aim of creating a royal British *kunstkammer* however, one of the few pieces with a true *kunstkammer* provenance (from Dresden) in the collection is a Gujarati casket of circa

1600, presented to Queen Elizabeth [1900-2002], consort of George VI, in 1938 at the launch of RMS Queen Elizabeth [cat no.4]. Similar surprises are a gift from Clement Attlee to George VI, of 1948, of a finely engraved beaker marked for Bernardus von Asten of Leeuwarden of 1716 [cat no 115] and a gift to the Queen from the Aga Khan of 2002 of a superb *écuelle* and stand marked for Jean-Henri Oertel, Strasbourg, 1754 [cat no 138]. Discoveries of this kind are to be made on every page.

The catalogue entries are arranged by place of origin, then chronologically within each group. The strength of this approach is particularly evident in the section dedicated to Danish silver, much of it associated with Edward VII and his Danish consort, Queen Alexandra, as Prince and Princess of Wales. Anton Michelson [1809-77] and his firm were responsible for many of the pieces, starting with a fascinating beaker commissioned by Christian IX as a christening gift for his grandson, Prince Albert Victor [cat no 229].



Fig 3 Caddinet with two spoons, two forks and two knives, silver-gilt and steel, Rome, circa 1780-85, by Luigi Valadier.

(Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty The Queen Elizabeth II 2018)



Fig 4 The Plymouth fountain, silver-gilt with later copper additions, unmarked, Hamburg, circa 1640, attributed to Peter Ohr (Oehr) I. (Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty The Queen Elizabeth II 2018)

Designed by Heinrich Hansen, who later decorated the Thorvaldsen Museum in Copenhagen, the cup illustrates the historic connection between the royal houses of Denmark and Britain from 1013 to 1864. The silver made by the Michelsen firm under Anton's son in the early 1890s represents the Skønvirke period of

Danish design, with its emphasis on form and restrained decoration inspired by nature and by Japanese prints, which circulated widely in Denmark from the 1880s.

In piecing all this together, Kathryn Jones has built on the work of E Alfred Jones, whose publication *The Gold and Silver of Windsor Castle* of 1911 has been the only catalogue until now. The journey from Jones 1911 to Jones 2018 demonstrates the astonishing quantity of sources which are now available, as the collection across all the fourteen royal residences has been fully catalogued and digitised. A section of the introduction is dedicated to these documents, not just bills, inventories and auction catalogues, but ledgers recording the movement of plate from property to property or sent to repairers; lists of wedding gifts; and notes on provenance compiled by Queen Mary. All these sources are carefully woven together in the catalogue entries, each of which has a section on inventory references and provenance as the spine for a complex and varied collection. Marks are photographed in each entry in black and white so as to be fully legible, while the pieces themselves are represented by superb colour photographs with details showing design or print sources, engraved arms or sculptural elements. Two excellent maps show the places of production mentioned in the text, and the relationships between all the collectors cited in the catalogue are detailed in a genealogical table. The author deserves the highest praise for this publication, as does the Royal Collection Trust. It will be a standard source for at least another century.

Dora Thornton

NOTES