

SILVER STUDIES

*The Journal of  
The Silver Society*

NUMBER 28

2012

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Detail of wine cooler,  
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Kandler  
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(see Marina Lopato, *Notes on some  
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# THE SILVER SOCIETY

## 2012

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

SILVER STUDIES is the Journal of the Silver Society and is recognised as the most valuable specialist publication for the study of silver. It is published annually and contains articles on many aspects of silver, both antique and contemporary; authors include leading authorities, academics and museum experts and individual researchers. Research into silver is very varied and the articles give insight into design

history, social and economic change as well as genealogy and a wide range of other related topics. The Editor, Lucy Morton, welcomes research from authors on all aspects of silver and related subjects and may be contacted at [editor@thesilversociety.org](mailto:editor@thesilversociety.org)

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# Notes

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## Weights

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

1 troy oz = 31.103 g

100g = 3.2 troy oz (approx)

## Monetary values

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

12d pennies = 1 shilling

20s shillings = £1 (pound)

£1 1s = 1 guinea

## Dates

Dates are written in the following styles:

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

Assay year prior to 1975: 1563-64

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All items illustrated are silver unless otherwise stated.

# The Cockayne Cups

TIMOTHY SCHRODER

The extraordinary group of five silver-gilt cockerel-shaped cups that are the subject of this article [Fig 1] was bequeathed to the Worshipful Company of Skinners' in the early seventeenth century. The discussion that follows approaches the subject from several angles. The first part looks at the way in which the cups are made and the second explores the story of the bequest. The third and final part moves into the realm of speculation by attempting to reconstruct from the Company's records its existing collection of plate (long since disappeared) at around the time the cocks made their first appearance in 1606.

The cups themselves, this extraordinary 'Parliament of Fowls', are each about 16½ in (42 cm) tall and formed as a proud cockerel. They stand rather fiercely, head and tail feathers erect, on a base formed as a turtle swimming in water. They are each constructed in several parts: the head lifts off to reveal a plain lip which is struck with London hallmarks for 1605-6 and an unidentified maker's mark, a monogram of C and I [Fig 2]. The body is made in two parts, horizontally seamed around the mid-point and the head is raised as a single piece, with the beak and crest separately cast and soldered on. The base is also raised, with the turtle's head and tail separately cast, and is attached to the bird's legs by screws. Finally, the tail feathers are made from several quite thinly cut sheets which are soldered together and attached to the body by a sort of hook. This rather practical arrangement allows the tail to be removed for cleaning or storage. All the decoration, apart from the castings, is chased or engraved.

The physical condition of the cups is generally good, although it would have been surprising had 400 years of use not resulted in some wear and tear and, indeed, careful inspection reveals a history of minor repairs. Even as early as 1640 the Company's inventory notes

3 feathers and a little peere [or perhaps 'piece'] broken off.

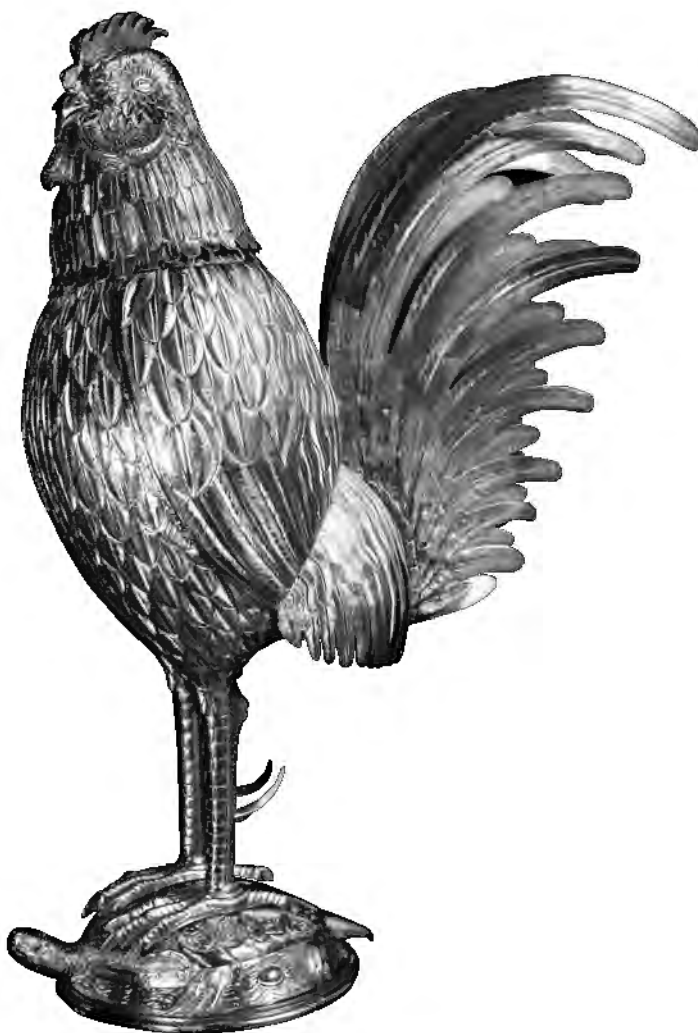


Fig 1 One of the five Cockayne cups, silver-gilt, London, 1605-6, maker's mark CI in monogram  
(Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Skinners)

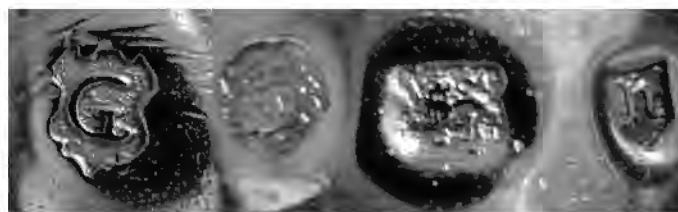


Fig 2 Detail of Fig 1: marks on the Cockayne cups

The story of how the cups came to the Skinners' Company is fascinating. They owe their existence to the bequest of William Cockayne, a wealthy Elizabethan merchant and member of the Company, who drew up his will shortly before his death in 1599. Among its many provisions were two specific bequests to the Company. The first was:

Item, I do give and bequeath to the Master and Wardens and Company of Skinners the sum of twenty pounds of lawful money of England to be bestowed for a dinner for them to be had at Skinners Hall the day of my burial.

This sort of bequest was not uncommon and many such appear in the annals of City livery companies. The second was much more unusual:

Item, I will that five fair cups of the value of six score and ten [i.e. one hundred and thirty] pounds of good and lawful money of England of the form and fashion of a cock be provided and bought by my executor with the advise of my overseers within as convenient time as may be [i.e. as soon as possible] next after my decease. And I do will, give and devise the same five cups to the said Master, Wardens and Company of Skinners and their successors for ever to choose the Masters and Wardens with.

And that is the purpose for which they have been used, true to the terms of the will, for more than 400 years.

It was, of course, not at all unusual to leave plate to your livery company, but the scale of this gift was quite exceptional and resulted, as we shall see, in the largest single item, or set, in the Company's collection by a considerable margin. That may have been part of the explanation as to why the "time after his decease" was not quite as "convenient" as Mr Cockayne had wished. In fact, the cups were not received by the Company for another six years, and thereby hangs another tale. For reasons that are not entirely clear, his sole executor, his son William, raised certain difficulties over the bequest. Raising difficulties may not have been entirely out of character for the younger William Cockayne and his father's will contains a number of provisions that suggest that all may not have been entirely well between father and son. He divided half of his estate between his seven sons and left the other half to be disposed of in various ways. In addition to the Company's legacy, he left monetary bequests of some £2,000, as well as properties in Clapham, Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire. But, interestingly, he appears not to have entirely trusted his son to carry out his instructions and put in place various controls to ensure there were no miscarriages. The clincher, so to

speak, was that he made the Master and Wardens of the Skinners the ultimate arbiters in case of a dispute and required his son to post a bond of £10,000 with the Company to ensure his proper performance. This was a huge sum. Even more extraordinary is the fact that just ten days later Cockayne did a complete *volte face* and signed a codicil cancelling the bond provision altogether, on account of his

assured and undoubted hope... of the just and kind dealings of the said William Cockayne my son.

What can have led him to such a sudden change of heart, just weeks before his death? Had he been got at, one wonders?

To return to the cups, discussions evidently rambled on for some time, and in 1602 a Skinners' Company Court minute records Cockayne junior proposing that the Company wait four more years for the money and add £40 to the bequest from their own funds so that

the cups might be more fairer and bigger.

Negotiations continued, lawyers were consulted, and in the end it was agreed that the bequest should be received in the form of the cups themselves rather than the money. But not until June 1606 were they finally delivered, when the Company drew up an "acquittance", acknowledging their receipt and undertaking

from time to time hereafter [to] use and employ the said five gilt cups to be borne upon Election Day of the Master and Wardens every year... according to the true intent and meaning of the last will and testament of William Cockayne deceased.

The issue about adding £40 to make them "fairer and bigger" seems to have been something of a red herring. They are virtually life size anyway and could hardly have been any 'fairer'. According to the 1606 acquittance, the cups weighed 344 oz (10,698g). This means that at 7s 6d per oz including the gilding, a standard price for the time, they would have cost £129, just inside the original bequest. Even at 8s per oz, the price paid by the King for silver-gilt a few years later, they would only have cost £137 12s, so it seems unlikely that Cockayne ever spent the extra £40 that had been such a sticking point earlier.

Much clearer, of course, is the provision that the purpose of the cups was

for ever to choose the Masters and Wardens with.

The ceremony of 'cocks and caps' takes place in June



every year. The newly elected Liverymen process into the livery hall with the five cups and five caps. The Master elect and his four Wardens are each 'crowned' with one of the caps and drinks from one of the cups [Fig 3].

This ancient ceremony has long roots that reach right back into pre-Reformation England. The proper name of the Company is, or was, the Guild and Fraternity of the Body of Christ of the Skinners of London. This title did not actually appear as such in any of its charters until the reign of Henry VII, although the existence of the religious guild of Corpus Christi and its link with the Company is acknowledged in Richard II's charter. The feast of Corpus Christi began in the thirteenth century and soon became one of the most important in the Christian calendar. Central to the celebration was the procession in which the body of Christ, in the form of the host, was carried around the parish in a monstrance. Richard II's charter allowed the Company to maintain two chaplains and gave it the right to wear livery,

wherein [the members] may yearly make their procession of Corpus Christi [and hold an annual] election feast.

So the two things, the Corpus Christi procession and the election, were linked.

The procession must have been a splendid spectacle. Stow, in his sixteenth-century *Survey of London*, describes it as including:

more than 200 torches of wax, costly garnished, burning bright... and above 200 clerks and priests in surpluses and copes.

He goes on to list a host of officials and functionaries who preceded

the mayor and aldermen in scarlet, and then the skinners in their best liveries.

It was followed on Sunday by a solemn requiem mass for the deceased members of the Company.

All this changed at the time of the Reformation in the middle of the sixteenth century. London was a hot-bed of evangelical radicalism and many would have been pleased to be shot of the hocus-pocus, as they saw it. But others were more conservative and would have been saddened, traumatised even, by the abolition of the old ways. For those of that persuasion, the preservation of some sort of procession, rebranded, as it were, as an innocuously secular event, might have been a way of preserving a memory, clandestinely almost, of a deeply meaningful aspect of their past.

There are many customs and traditions in the City of London to mark the transition from one Master to another. They range from a rather matter-of-fact swearing in at the Goldsmiths' to the elaborately choreographed rituals that take place at the Skinners'. I am not aware of any other livery company whose ceremonies involve drinking from special cups, though they may very well exist. But the idea is not unique and another takes place at Winchester College, one of



Fig 3 The newly elected Master of the Skinners' Company drinking from one of the Cockayne cups in the annual ceremony of 'cocks and caps'





Fig 4 The arms of the Cockayne family displayed in the livery hall at Skinners' Hall



Fig 5 Cup in the form of a cock, silver-gilt, Nuremberg, 1599 by Hans Pezold  
(Courtesy of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg)

1 Philippa Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, London, 1990, p 248, fig 139.

whose treasures is the fifteenth-century so-called Election cup<sup>1</sup>, which was used each year at the election of the new scholars to the College. It was given in 1555, when it was stated that it should "remain as an implement of the election." Since those being elected were all young boys, the serious business of drinking to the occasion was presumably left to the electors rather than the candidates.

No less distinctive than their special use, of course, is the extraordinary form of the Cockayne cups. Obviously enough, they are a pun on the donor's name and as such would have served as a perpetual reminder of their source, despite the fact that, unusually for such a benefaction, they have no inscription. Such puns had long been part of English heraldry and the arms of the Cockayne family, displayed in Skinners' Hall, are *argent three cocks gules* [Fig 4].

'Zoomorphic' vessels seem always to have been unusual in England, although the Cockayne cups are not unparalleled. There is, for example, a sixteenth-century pelican cup of 1579-80, the Glynne cup, in the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>2</sup> and a magnificent Antwerp falcon of 1561-62 at Clare College, Cambridge<sup>3</sup>. On a different scale altogether is the great pair of leopard flagons of 1602-3<sup>4</sup>, which are preserved in the Kremlin and stand about 39 in (98cm) high. But vessels of this sort were very popular in the German-speaking lands and many survive in the form of owls, bulls, lions, bears, stags and so on. Some of these were made for private patrons, but many have inscriptions or enamelled coats of arms linking them to trade guilds. They were sometimes used as 'welcome cups', to toast the principle guest at a feast. The one thing that all these vessels have in common is the fact that the heads are detachable. But some of them are very large and it seems that in such cases it was the head, rather than the body that was used as the drinking vessel.

Quite apart from its personal significance to William Cockayne, the cockerel was a subject with a history. A 1509 woodcut from the guide to the Wittenberg Cathedral treasury shows a silver mounted mother-of-pearl reliquary in the form of a cock. Exactly contemporary with the Cockayne cups is a handsome cock of 1599 by Hans Pezold of Nuremberg in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum [Fig 5]. The latter was made in accordance with a well-established German tradition of presenting drinking vessels of this form at village fairs commemorating the consecration of the parish. Cockayne was a merchant, so he probably travelled to the Continent from time to time, and the form may very well have been familiar to him. Not only that, but he might even have witnessed a cockerel cup being used as a welcome cup. The city of Münster, for example, possesses just such a cup which is still used in this way.

As far as I am aware, the Cockayne cups are unique among cockerel cups in one respect and that is the strange turtle bases on which they stand. But, discordant though it is in this context, this was a known motif. It occurs in various objects of the period and may have been known to our goldsmith from a mid-sixteenth-century ornament print by the Antwerp artist Cornelis Floris [Fig 6].

Two questions remain which I find particularly intriguing: first, what sort of company did the Cockayne cocks find themselves in when

they arrived at Skinners' Hall, and secondly, what - if anything - did the Master and Wardens use to mark their election before that? Today, not only are the cups the greatest treasure of the Skinners' plate collection, but they are the second oldest in date and the oldest in terms of ownership (the Cowell rosewater dish of 1566-67 is older but was not given until 1625). At the time of the birds' arrival, however, the situation was very different and in 1606 the Company already owned an impressive collection, all of which has since disappeared.

But while the plate may have gone, the records remain and thanks to the Company's meticulous archives it is possible to build up quite a full picture of the collection as it existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Among the Skinner's records in the Guildhall Library is a handsomely bound volume entitled *Register Book of Evidences... and Implements appertaining to the Worshipful Company of Skinners*. This was started in 1578 and includes a series of inventories compiled between that year and 1597. The plate lists are all very similar and with a little imagination it is possible to put together a general picture of what it might have looked like.

The 1578 list [Fig 7] comprises just eleven items of silver-gilt, some of which were pairs or sets. The most impressive must have been the pair of

great livery pots with lids... chased in part

which were probably pear-shaped, but might have been cylindrical. Livery pots were large tankard-like vessels used for pouring rather than drinking and they could be very large. There were three pairs in the collection, with capacities of a gallon, four pints and a quart and weighing 183 oz (5,691g), 111 oz (3,452g) and 94 oz (2,923g) respectively. By comparison with other surviving pots, one might guess that the gallon pots were about 15 in (38 cm) high.

Then there was the "great nest of bowls chased", weighing 81 oz (2,519g). These could have been what are now known as stacking beakers, but were more probably broad, shallow vessels with stems, which were known as bowls and were a standard form of wine cup for much of the sixteenth century, such as one of 1583-84 in the Gilbert collection<sup>5</sup>. To judge from their weight there might have been as many as six in the nest, or set.

Next came a "iii neste of salts with one cover" weighing 91 oz (2,830g). These might have been some sort of 'bell salt', although larger than most that survive today or that have been identified in inventories of the period. (The largest surviving is probably the 31 oz (964g) Boston salt of 1600-1 at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, which stands 12 in (32 cm) high).

The largest part of the list is taken up by five various standing cups and covers ranging in weight from 30 to 64 oz (933 to 1,990g). They are not described in much detail and cups came in many shapes and sizes in the sixteenth century; they would anyway not all have been new at the time. Indeed, one was described as "ancient"; another had rock-crystal parts and a third pendant bells; there are other hints here and there of the finials, which were variously formed as a lion, a warrior,

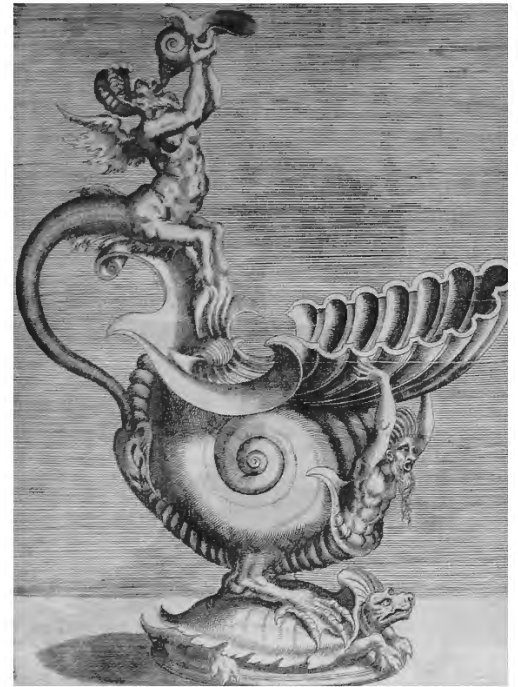


Fig 6 Cornelis Floris, design for an exotic cup, engraving, Antwerp, circa 1545  
(Private collection)



Fig 7 Inventory of the Skinners' Company plate, 1578

(Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Skinners, deposited at the Guildhall Library)

2 Ibid, p 167, fig 88

3 J F Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism*, London, 1976, fig 599

4 Philippa Glanville, *op cit*, see note 1, p 23, fig 5

5 Timothy Schroder, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver*, New York, 1988, pp 62-65, cat 10

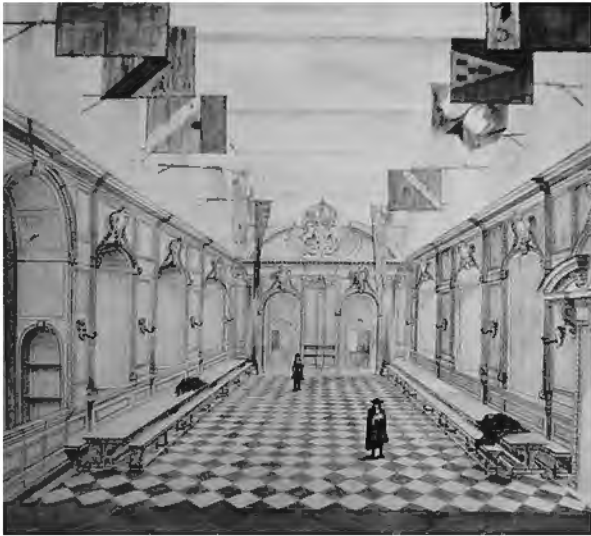


Fig 8 John Ward, View of the interior of Goldsmiths' Hall, watercolour, circa 1692  
(Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

a wildman and a bird. The list finishes with a “garnished nut with a cover,” which must have been a coconut cup.

The subsequent lists from the 1580s are essentially the same, but the one of 1594 records some new arrivals in the form of a further two cups and covers and a parcel-gilt ewer and basin of 83 oz (2,581g).

Collectively this group would have been of the right character and quantity for display on a ‘buffet of plate’. This was a tiered wooden structure with shelves, usually covered with a rich cloth, and was one of the great status symbols of the medieval and Renaissance period. They came in many sizes, depending on who you were. We know that the Skinners’ put on such a display because the inventories all mention

a cupboard [that is, an open display] for plate.

It is not described in any detail but it may have been similar to the very simple pair of shelves at Goldsmiths’ Hall which is known from a seventeenth-century watercolour [Fig 8].

But impressive though this would have been, it cannot have been the whole story, for there must have been plate of a more practical nature for use during banquets rather than for display. The sixteenth-century lists are all headed “in the Armoury”, which was a part of the hall used for storing arms and armour and which we may assume was especially secure. Another inventory, compiled in 1627, claims to list “all the plate” belonging to the Company and includes a good deal that does not appear on the earlier lists. It is also annotated with dates of acquisition, showing that quite a lot was added in the second decade of the century, but some surely went back earlier.

The list is divided into silver and silver-gilt. The latter is basically the 1578 list, with a few additions (including, of course, the cocks and the Cowell basin). The silver (as opposed to gilt) items include twenty “beer bowls”, nineteen wine cups, a second ewer and basin and twenty-four spoons. Altogether the silver items weighed 810 oz (25,191g) and the silver-gilt 1,514 oz (47,085g): 2,300 oz (71,530g) of plate was a good deal by any standards and a measure of the prosperity and standing of the Company at that time.

The remaining question is what, if anything, was used to lubricate the election ceremony before the arrival of the cocks? There is no definitive answer to this, although I can hazard a guess. In 1578 the standing cups and covers in the collection, or at least on the list, happened to number five. This may just be a coincidence and certainly by 1627 the number (apart for the cocks) had increased to seven. But among those described on the first list is one that stands out from the others. It is described as

a great standing cup [of silver-gilt] with a cover having a lion holding a shield and five hanging bells of silver, weighing 64<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> ounces.



It may possibly have looked something like the cup of 1545-46 from the Barber Surgeons' Company, which certainly has bells, and two lions rather than one [Fig 9]. But "five hanging bells of silver": this is a strange motif, and of a number that happens to coincide with the Master and four wardens. Was this, I wonder, the Election cup of former times, made redundant by the gift of the Cockayne five? If so, it is a curious fact that the 1627 inventory, fuller in its descriptions than that of 1578, makes no mention of the bells. Had they been removed now that the cup had lost its original purpose? We will probably never know for sure, but it is possible.

It is sad to reflect that so much that would have been treasured today as a direct and palpable link with the past was so frequently and unsentimentally destroyed in earlier centuries. Much was recycled in the ordinary business of housekeeping as things became worn or fell out of fashion. A good deal: the vast majority - I imagine - of the Skinners' plate would have fallen victim to the enforced royalist or parliamentary 'loans' in the Civil War. Fortunately such plate as they still had was saved from the Fire of London in 1666, but there were sales from time to time in the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the late nineteenth century the entire livery system was subject to worrying parliamentary scrutiny, and had the companies been abolished, as they might have been, it would certainly have resulted in the dispersal, if not the destruction of much historic City plate. Nor was that the last threat faced by the Cockayne cups; as recently as the early 1990s the Company faced serious financial difficulties and consideration was given to disposing of them as one possible solution. But once again they survived. Let us hope that things never come to such a pass again and that they will continue to be with the Company for as long as it survives, as William Cockayne intended when he made his bequest to the Master, Wardens and Company "for ever".

*Timothy Schroder is Chairman of the Silver Society and fourth Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company. His most recent publications are British and Continental Gold and Silver in the Ashmolean Museum (2009) and Renaissance and Baroque: Silver, Mounted Porcelain and Ruby Glass from the Zilkha Collection (2012).*



*Fig 9 The Barber Surgeons' Cup, silver-gilt, London, 1545-46  
(Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Barber Surgeons)*

# The French origins of the Harache, Margas and Pantin families

ALICE BLEUZEN



Fig 1 Nicolaum Visscher, Map of the Kingdom of France, Galliae seu Francia tabula, Amsterdam, circa 1680

The Huguenot goldsmiths who fled from France and its religious persecutions in the 1680s have always been considered pivotal to the history of English silver<sup>1</sup>. The arrival of a large number of highly-skilled craftsmen did indeed have a crucial technical and stylistic influence on English silver production. Of these craftsmen Peter Harache was the first French goldsmith to become a Freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company in July 1682 under the protection of Charles II. He was the first of many French Protestant craftsmen to find refuge in England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and who went on to eventually become members of the company in their own right after working for English goldsmiths.

The purpose of my research has been to understand how and why these goldsmiths played such an important role in London in the eighteenth century. For this purpose it was important to trace their origins and to discover how they

lived and worked in France before they were obliged to flee. The goldsmiths' dynasties of the Harache, Margas and Pantin families, whose members were to become so influential in London, shared a similar background as they all came from the city of Rouen in Normandy and fled to England at roughly the same time during the 1670s and the 1680s.

Records from Rouen are unfortunately scarce: during the First World War a fire burnt the majority of the Goldsmiths' Corporation records in the Archives Départementales. In order to trace the origins of these families, I used Claude-Gérard Cassan's book, *Les orfèvres de Normandie du XVIe au XIXe siècle*<sup>2</sup> as the basis of my research and then tried to add as much information as possible from further sources: inventories after death, wills, contracts, house purchases, etc. My work has focused on the three families but the database includes, of course, other goldsmiths in order to make useful comparisons and to draw as complete a profile as possible. The period covered dates from 1560, when Pierre Harache recorded his maker's mark at the *Corporation des Orfèvres* in Rouen, to 1686 when members of the three families were recorded in Rouen.

1 Huguenots were French Protestants, essentially Calvinists as opposed to Lutherans, who fled from France and its religious persecutions in the 1680s; religious persecutions which ultimately led to the

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

2 Claude-Gérard Cassan, *Les orfèvres de Normandie du XVIe au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1981.

Capital of the Duchy of Normandie, Rouen was, in the sixteenth century, the fourth city in the kingdom of France, after Paris, Marseilles and Lyons [Fig 1]. Very close to the capital, only 135 km from Paris, it was also one of the main ports, with its important commercial routes and strategic position between the Spanish Empire and northern Europe. Interestingly Rouen was fiercely Catholic: the very last city to acknowledge the Protestant Henri IV as King of France and to accept his first major political treaty, the Edict of Nantes<sup>3</sup>. The *Corporation des Orfèvres* in Rouen, however, mainly comprised Protestant members. This is not as surprising as it may seem, as Protestantism in the north of France developed within very close-knit communities of craftsmen and merchants. It is important to understand this in order to imagine the environment in which they lived. France was not as liberal as England: Protestants were tolerated but excluded and any minor problem could cause a crisis, which is how the Edict of Nantes was so easily revoked a hundred years later. A good example of such tension is the complaint from the Bishop of Bayeux in 1665 asserting that the

Reformees are oppressing the catholics in every corporation : they manage to lead the goldsmiths' art so that there are no catholic goldsmiths whom priests can contact to repair church plate<sup>4</sup>.

### Families and Alliances

At this time the *Corporation des Orfèvres* was the fourth most prestigious guild in the kingdom of France. It was among the most privileged of the guilds permitted to precede the King when he entered a town. These guild processions, which retraced the origins and history of the French kingdoms, were important in the life of all cities as a way of demonstrating their wealth and significance. Traditionally, during these entries, presents were given to members of the royal family. An engraving [Fig 2] shows the goldsmiths of Rouen in the parade, dressed as Romans, bearing gifts for Henri II and Catherine de Medici in 1551. This prominent ranking meant that their social and economic position in urban society was high, regardless of their faith.

Within the wider Protestant community, the three families strengthened their position with strategic marriage alliances, following the traditional pattern of the *Ancien Régime*. Pierre Harache for example, the first of that name, married Jeanne Toustain, whose father was Robert Toustain, also a goldsmith; this was an essential step in building a new dynasty of goldsmiths. Later on, the Margas family, who built their dynasty rather late in comparison<sup>5</sup>, formed alliances with two already well-established dynasties of goldsmiths: Samuel Margas married Marthe Harache in 1654, while their son, also Samuel, married Madeleine Pantin.



Fig 2 Parade of goldsmiths dressed as Romans presenting gifts to Henri II and Catherine de Medici on their entry into Rouen. Detail of woodcut, 1551, J le Prest for R Le Hoy and Jean du Gout.

These alliances were, therefore, a strategy to keep their businesses within the same close-knit group; the most common pattern being that an apprentice would marry the master goldsmith's daughter or widow. Such links were essential for a social and professional network as they not only concerned marriages but also friendships: in various wills or other contracts, such as the sale or the purchase of a house, the witnesses are nearly always family or friends from the same professional corporation. Pierre Harache III for example, grandson of the first of that name, married, the widow, Catherine le Tourneur, whose brother, Robert, a goldsmith, married Pierre's sister Elisabeth. When Pierre Harache died, his brothers-in-law, Abraham le Doyen and Jean Lefebvre, not only organised the inventory

3 Rouen recognised the Edict of Nantes in 1610 although it had been passed in 1598.

4 "Les réformés oppriment les catholiques dans tous les corps de métier: ils se sont

tellement rendus maîtres du métiers d'orfèvre qu'il ne se trouve plus de catholiques à qui les prêtres se puissent adresser pour les choses dont l'église a besoin touchant l'or-

févrerie", Claude-Gérard Cassan, *op cit* see note 2, p 10.

5 Jacques was the first goldsmith recorded as late as 1610.



and probate but also took care of Thomas, the orphan grandson of Pierre<sup>6</sup>.

This network included other branches of the trade such as the *joailliers* or *diamantaires*. The three families also established close relationships with other members of the Protestant community, primarily craftsmen, such as printers and merchants: the famous *marchands mercier* who were the most prestigious members of the merchant category and who were allowed to retail some silver objects.

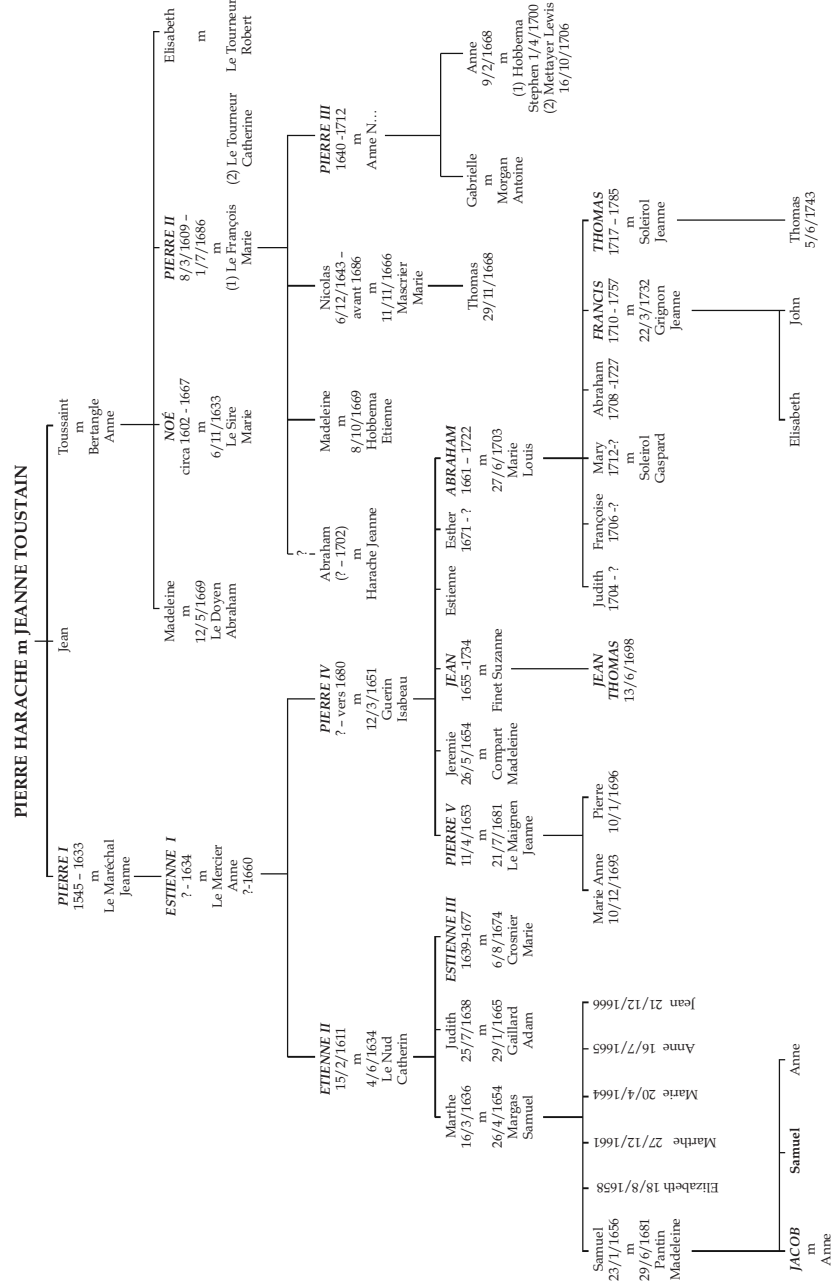
This close community in Rouen was also linked to the larger Protestant network in Normandy which explains why, among the fifty-seven marriages recorded among the members of these three dynasties, 14% were with

someone from another city in Normandy, or even from Paris, like Madeleine Harache who in 1669 married Etienne Hobbema, a goldsmith in Paris<sup>7</sup>.

### Their wealth

To own a house was the first criterion of wealth and most members of the three families purchased and sold houses during their lifetime<sup>8</sup>, usually located near the rest of the Protestant network.

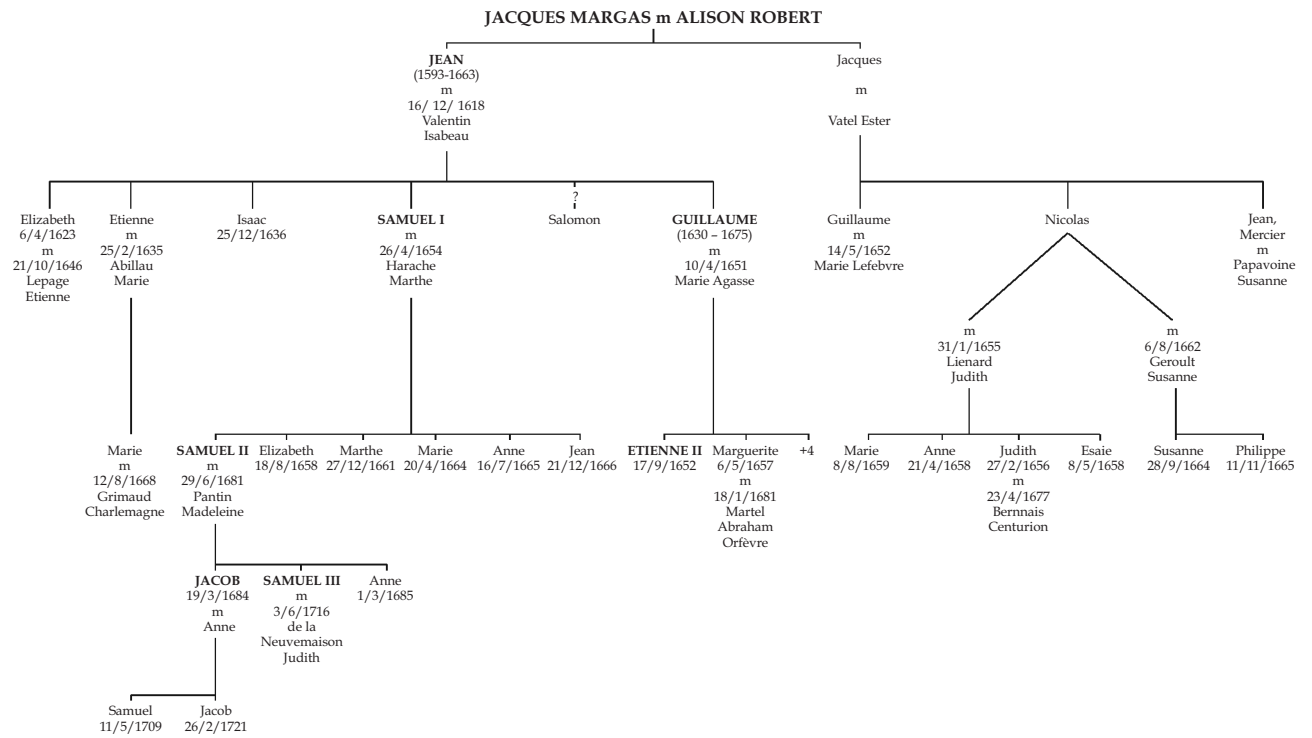
Abraham Pantin lived in the rue aux Ours which was situated within a triangle between the Palais de Justice, la Cour des Monnaies, where the assay touch took place, and the cathedral; in this he was like the majority of goldsmiths<sup>9</sup> [Fig 4].



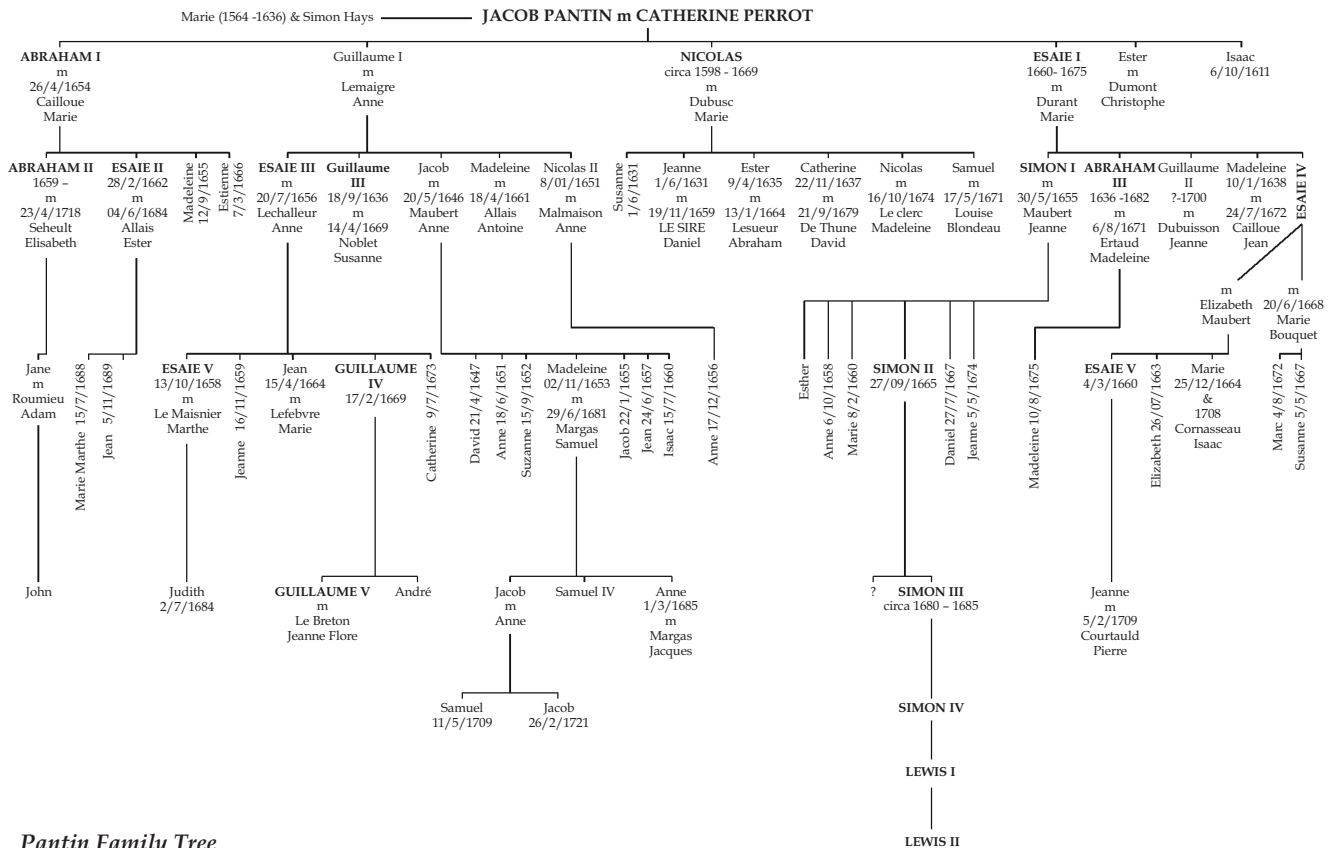
Harache Family Tree

- 6 Archives  
Départementales de  
Seine-Maritime  
(ADSM), 2 E 1/287,  
Inventaire après décès  
de Pierre Harache,  
1 July 1686.
- 9 Among the twenty-  
seven goldsmiths,  
whose addresses were  
recorded, twenty-one  
lived within this  
triangle.

*Family Trees: Please note that these family trees are drawn from the author's research and do not claim to be absolutely correct. Much research still needs to be done to confirm relationships.*



*Margas Family Tree*



*Pantin Family Tree*



Fig 3 Attributed to Joris Hoefnagel, View of Rouen, Civitates Orbis Terrarum I, 1572.



Fig 4 Jacques Gomboust, Map of Rouen, 1657

(© Archives Departementales de Rouen)

33 Huguenot Cemetery  
35 Parish of Saint-Vivien

47 Parish of Saint-Maclou

63 Parish of Saint Cande le Vieil

69 Cathedral of Notre-Dame - Parish of Saint-Etienne-la-Grande-Église  
Noé Harache, goldsmith; Pierre Harache and Marie LeFrançois, goldsmith (? - 1643); Jacob Langlois, goldsmith; Simon Le Plastrier, goldsmith (1685); Isaac Martel, goldsmith; Guillaume Pantin, goldsmith

111 Le Palais  
122 Parish of Notre Dame de la Ronde

124 Parish of Saint-Erblanc (Herbland)

Jean Lefebvre, goldsmith, au Jardin Blanc (39)

Noé Harache, goldsmith; Pierre Harache, goldsmith (1643); Etienne Harache, goldsmith

Jacob Langlois, goldsmith; Jean Lecourt, goldsmith; Nicolas Pantin, goldsmith; David Berthelin, *marchand libraire*, rue aux juifs (305) Jacques Delamare, *marchand mercier*, rue du Gros-Horloge (295 & 296) ; Guillaume Scott, sieur de la Mésangère, Scottish merchant, rue du Gros-Horloge; Etienne Gaillard, goldsmith; Simon Gaillard, goldsmith; Denis Le Plastrier, goldsmith; Guillaume goldsmith; Jean Le Plastrier, goldsmith; Simon Le Plastrier, goldsmith (1638-1639)

125 Goldsmiths' Hall  
126 Cour des Aides

127 Parish of Saint Cande Le Jeune André Le sire, goldsmith; Marie Pantin, widow of Simon Hays, goldsmith; Jeanne Harache, wife of Guillaume, goldsmith; Simon Pantin and Jeanne Maubert, goldsmith

146 The Mint

162 Parish of Saint Sauveur

Marguerite du Moustier, rue des jacobins; Germain Portrait, *marchand bourgeois*

228 Rue des Capucins  
256 and 257 Rue Beauvoisine

290 Rue Cauchoise David l'Esturgeon, clockmaker

306 Rue des Carmes (Parish of Saint-Erblanc)

366 Rue Grand Pont

368 Rue aux Ours Abraham Dumont, goldsmith

(Parish of Saint-Pierre du-Chastel)

380 Rue Massacre

445 Church of Saint-Sever,

faubourg Saint-Sever

Jacques Delamare, a garden



The Goldsmiths' Hall was also situated within this triangle. The goldsmiths were, therefore, living in the commercial and economic heart of the city near other leading merchants. Some however chose to live within the main body of the Protestant community, near the Protestant cemetery or in the parish of St Maclou<sup>10</sup>. Pierre Harache, for example, lived at first within this triangle and then moved to St Maclou.

The interior arrangement of their houses remains almost unknown as only the inventory of Abraham Pantin provides a full description of his home<sup>11</sup>. It comprised a kitchen, a shop, two bedrooms and an attic. In comparison, the house of Jacob Portrait, a wealthy Protestant *marchand bourgeois*, included the same rooms with, in addition; a back-shop, a cellar and a courtyard with an extra room. Abraham Pantin's house was, therefore, reasonably prosperous. The furnishings were quite simple and practical with pewter plates and dishes; the curtains, tapestries and bed curtains were made of white serge. His clothes were listed in detail and include only two sober suits, a rough black wool coat and hat, as well as plain white linen or cotton shirts and underwear including six pairs of drawers, described as "old". His only precious belongings were some silver buttons and a silver walking stick handle.

The comparative simplicity of Abraham Pantin's household could be explained by his religion: the French Protestants adopted an austere way of life and dressed mainly in dark colours [Fig 5]. In comparison with some of the other goldsmiths studied, Abraham Pantin was a reasonably wealthy goldsmith, but some were even wealthier. We can assume that on the whole Rouen goldsmiths seem to have had a fairly good standard of living, especially in comparison to the Parisian goldsmiths, who were, for the most part, crammed into small houses<sup>12</sup>.

In addition to the houses they lived in, several goldsmiths owned further properties such as land, gardens or even other houses that they could rent out. For example: Pierre Harache IV, husband of Marie Le François, earned 3,000 *livres tournoi* in annual rents<sup>13</sup>. In comparison, another goldsmith, Abraham Dumont, owned two flour mills and an oil mill outside Rouen, a portion of land in the suburbs of Rouen (rue du Campherisson in the parish of St Vivien) as well as a large house, most probably where he lived, in the rue Basse, also in the parish of St Vivien<sup>14</sup>.

This financial ease was to be expected for such highly skilled craftsmen and merchants who were also of high status within city society. Some were Wardens within the *Corporation des Orfèvres*, such as Guillaume Pantin<sup>15</sup>; others were even titled *marchands bourgeois*, the equivalent of a Freeman of the City of London, such as Esaie Pantin. A few goldsmiths even rose to the ranks of the aristocracy although this was not the case for any member of the three families in question.

Tax lists [Fig 7] are essential in studying the position of all the goldsmiths. In 1679 and 1683, the *Corporation des Orfèvres* raised a special tax. In 1679 the average tax paid was 14 *livres tournois* but it varied from 2 to 60 *livres* as is shown in the graph [Fig 6]. Some of the lower amounts can be explained by the youth of the goldsmiths, such as



Fig 5 Abraham Bosse, *Benediction de la Table*, engraving, circa 1635  
(© Société Historique du Protestantisme Français)

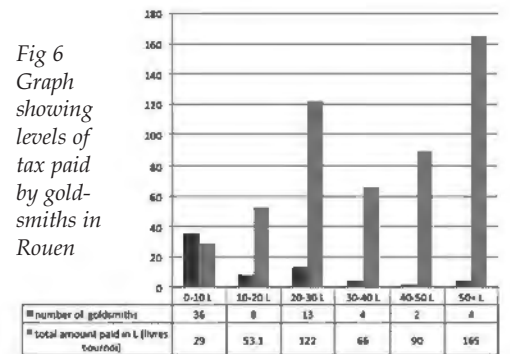


Fig 6 Graph showing levels of tax paid by goldsmiths in Rouen

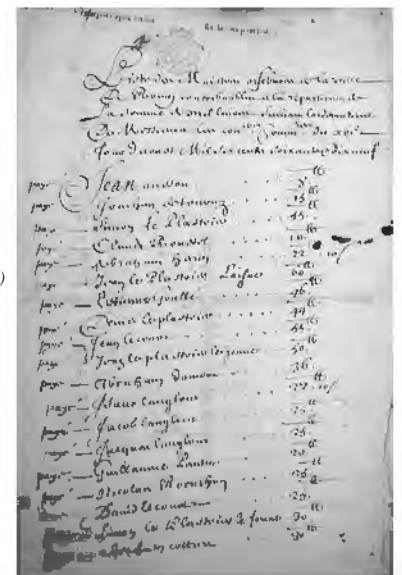


Fig 7 Tax list, 1679  
(Départemental archives, Rouen)

10 Some members of the Harache family bought themselves houses in the parish of St Maclou between 1643 and 1663: Pierre Harache on 24 March 1643, Etienne Harache on 13 May 1650; Noé Harache on 8 June 1654; Noé Harache on 12 December 1663. ADSM, 2 E1/121.

11 ADSM, 2 E 1/2763, Inventaire après décès d'Abraham Pantin, 7 September 1682.

12 Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, *Les orfèvres et l'orfèvrerie de Paris au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 2002, pp 151-164.

13 The equivalent of £24,500 in today's currency. ADSM, 2 E 1/287, 1 July 1686.

14 Archives Nationales (AN) TT 19A, Comptes de la Régie des biens des religieux, 1686-1687.

15 ADSM, 1 B 5529, Tax Lists, 1679 and 1683.



Fig 8 Louis XIV silver-gilt beaker, Paris, 1694  
by Simon Boullanger  
(Christie's Geneva, 13 May 1981, lot 158)



Fig 9 Wine  
taster, Caen,  
1715 by Daniel  
Poullain II  
(Sotheby's London,  
6 July 1981)



Fig 10  
Abraham  
Bosse,  
detail from  
*Disposition  
du festin  
des cheva-  
liers de  
l'Ordre  
du Saint  
Esprit*,  
engraving,  
1633.

Nicolas or Esaie Pantin, who were both in their very early twenties. Esaie, for example, was taxed 3 *livres* in 1679 and 7 *livres* in 1683 which shows how his business was increasing. This is very little, however, in comparison to Guillaume Pantin's tax of 33 *livres*. In total, out of sixty-nine goldsmiths listed; eight are from one of the three families and they contributed only 76 *livres* out of a total of 1,001 *livres*. This means that some members of the Harache, Pantin and Margas families had a comfortable lifestyle but there were some disparities amongst their members and their wealth in general remained somewhat below the largest fortunes recorded.

### Clients and production

In Paris and parts of Normandy some records survive giving descriptions of workshops and tools. The latter, as important as the shops themselves, would often be described at length in the contract by which they were sold to a goldsmith's successor. Surprisingly, no such contract appears to survive for this period in Rouen and again only Abraham Pantin's inventory provides us with relevant information<sup>16</sup>.

In France the shop was also the workshop; in accordance with the law a goldsmith should not be hidden from the street while working on precious metals. The room, centred by a workbench, contained a forge and its bellows, an anvil and iron moulds, as well as a wire-drawing bench and its fittings to produce silver and gold wire. In addition, of course, there were many different tools: nineteen hammers in varying sizes, five *bigornes*<sup>17</sup>, several pairs of scissors and pin-cers of different sizes, scales and their iron weights. There was also a glass cabinet where some silver was displayed, either waiting to be purchased by a passing client or by a connoisseur, awaiting his collection. This proves that the goldsmith at this date was still both a craftsman as well as a retailer.

Interestingly, the workshop did not contain any precious metals but only two iron ingots, most probably for solder. This then leads to the question of the precious metals and their source. Since Rouen received many shipments directly from the Spanish Empire its goldsmiths were lucky to have a direct source of gold and silver. It is known, however, that most of the silver used came from objects that had been melted down in order to follow fashion or at a client's request. It is recorded that Abraham Pantin's bedroom chest contained, together with his money<sup>18</sup>, the precious metal of his stock in

16 ADMS, 2 E 1/2763,  
7 September 1682.

17 Small anvils of various  
shapes and sizes.

18 About 349 *livres tournois*  
in various sorts of coins  
(gold *pistolles*, silver *écus*  
etc).

19 The equivalent of 708 oz  
4 dwt (22,027g).

20 Weighing together 5 *gros*  
*d'or*, i.e. 12 dwt (19.1 g) of  
gold.

21 Estimated at 'sept  
marcs', 55 oz (1,1713g)  
according to his widow.

22 Michel Richard, (editor),  
*Mémoires d'Isaac Dumont de  
Bostaquet, sur les temps qui  
ont précédé et suivi la révoca-  
tion de l'édit de Nantes*,  
Paris, 1963, p 65.

23 ADMS, 2 E 1/2787,  
*Inventaire après décès de  
Jacob Portrait*, 23 July 1686.



Fig 11 Pair of silver-gilt spoons, Rouen, 1676  
by Samuel Margas

(Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, Inv. 2000. 9/1 & 2)



Fig 12 Spoon and fork, Paris, 1675  
(Sotheby's London, 17 October, 1969, lot 140)



Fig 13 Spoon, Poitiers, circa 1620  
by Odart de Marisy,

(Sotheby's Monaco, 5 December 1992, lot 85)

sized ingots as well as old silver plate to a total weight of 90 *marcs*<sup>19</sup> and various rings, probably to be melted<sup>20</sup>. The attic contained a heap of ashes from the forge and a vessel for cleaning them to obtain any residue of precious metal<sup>21</sup>.

A few mentions in various inventories or testimonies of the time can help us to imagine the production of the goldsmiths of Rouen. Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet, a Protestant *seigneur*, for example gave one of his friends a silver basin as a reward for having defended him during a legal dispute<sup>22</sup>. Various merchants in the town are also recorded as selling silver, such as Jacob Portrait, who is listed as having four small silver cups in his shop and Jacques Delamare who offered for sale a pair of silver snuffers, a snuffer tray, and a sword with a silver hilt which were on display in his glass cabinet<sup>23</sup>.

In the twenty-one Rouen inventories studied, which are of people from various social backgrounds, both Protestant and Catholic, the most common silver items listed are cups, either on a foot, which could refer to a

beaker [Fig 8], or '*à oreilles*' which is most likely to be a wine or cider taster, with its traditional ear-like handle [Fig 9]. Wine tasters are frequently to be found in France but those from Normandy have a prominent handle rather than a ring handle as found in the rest of the country.

Spoons were listed almost as often, as a set of six or twelve. In order to follow the fashion in dress of the time, from ruff to lace cravat, the spoon shape evolved considerably during the seventeenth century [Fig 10]; from a short, cast, round or triangular handle to a longer one. The junction with the bowl was then strengthened; hence the rat tail bowl. The handle was then flattened to be lighter and evolved into a trilobed terminal, later chased with ornament. Two silver spoons, now in the Musée des Beaux Arts, Rouen, were made by Samuel Margas in 1672 and give us a good idea of the quality of production at the time [Fig 11]. There is not much difference between Paris production of this time [Fig 12] and that of Rouen although other French cities seem to have adopted this major evolution rather later in the century [Fig 13].



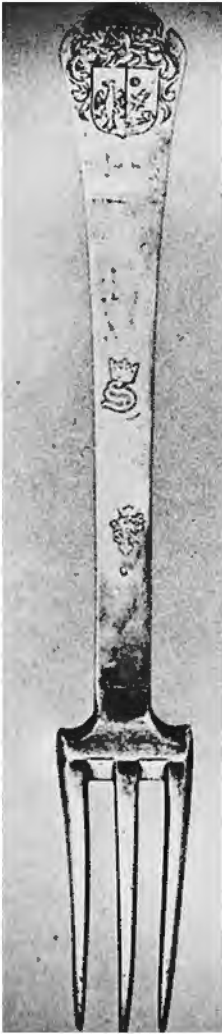


Fig 14  
Fork,  
Rouen,  
1662 by  
Samuel  
Margas



Fig 15 Sugar caster, Rouen, 1656  
by Jacob Margas



Fig 16 Sugar caster, Paris, 1675  
(Sotheby's Geneva, 24 May 1993, lot 172)

Forks were also mentioned together with spoons, again in sets of six or twelve [Fig 14]. Interestingly, the Catholic church first considered the use of forks as immoral. Forks had been in use in Switzerland from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the handles made in the same shape as those of spoons. In France, however, their use remained controversial: while several engravings depict them on the royal table during feasts, it was said Louis XIV did not want his children to be taught how to eat with a fork but with their fingers. From the 1650s however, the aristocracy and bourgeoisie seem to have led a growing trend in using forks<sup>24</sup>. Here again Samuel Margas responded to demand and followed Parisian fashion closely.

Silver for lighting such as candlesticks, snuffers and snuffer-trays, is often to be found in the inventories. These seem to have been rather simple in design as there are no descriptions in the inventories apart from in a few cases: they were sometimes described as engraved with coat-of-arms<sup>25</sup>. No mention of candlesticks *à la financière* has been found although they were highly fashionable from the 1640s onwards. It is known that they were made in Rouen as a pair struck with a maker's mark CC appeared on the art market in 2002<sup>26</sup>.

Condiment sets, or rather silver-gilt salts and mustard pots, appear only a very few times and mainly in aristocratic households; a silver sugar caster made by Jacob Margas in 1658 is, however, illustrated in Cassan [Fig 15]<sup>27</sup>. The similarity with Paris production of the time is again striking, especially the elaborate pierced cover and the cut-card ornament which were to be characteristic of the Huguenot style in England [Fig 16].



Fig 17 Cylindrical pot, soft-paste porcelain, Rouen,  
Louis Poterat workshop, circa 1690  
(Sotheby's Paris, 18 June 2008, lot 501)



Fig 18 Silver and gilt metal oval verge watch with sundial and compass, Rouen, 1630 by Nicolas Cauchoy (Sotheby's Geneva, 14 November 2010, lot 107)



Fig 19 Holy Spirit pendant, Normandy, 1798-1809 (© V&A Museum London)



Fig 20 Jeanne de Genouillac d'Assier, comtesse du Rhin, (d 1567), anonymous, 16th century (© Musée de l'Art et de l'Enfance, Fécamp)

Almost all the silver items mentioned seem to be practical with only one decorative silver vase recorded<sup>28</sup> as well as a tortoiseshell mirror with silver mounts owned by Dame du Moustiers, a Catholic lady.

In the inventories the silver objects were described as on display in rooms and not hidden in chests but the taste in general seems to have been for simplicity. This can most probably be explained as the objects were displayed together with local Rouen faience that would have been richly decorated in blue and white [Fig 17].

Among less frequently mentioned precious objects are jewels; mainly rings inset with black diamonds or rock crystal<sup>29</sup>, and silver watches<sup>30</sup> [Fig 18].

Whether intended for Catholic or Protestant clients, production seems to have been similar when it was for domestic use. Church plate was, of course, a different matter as seen in the previously mentioned protest by the Bishop of Bayeux. Cassan recorded that the city of Rouen presented only once, in 1459, some silver to a representative of the Catholic church<sup>31</sup>. In 1668 the Protestant Pierre Harache was given some candlesticks for repair by the Catholic Dame François Le Normand, Abbess of the Abbaye de Bonville<sup>32</sup>. Although there is no record, it seems highly probable that the Protestant goldsmiths would have been commissioned to produce some church plate for the Temple of Quevilly which was then the largest Protestant church in Normandy.

Besides this, in jewellery, the Huguenot cross had been created by the mid-seventeenth century. Its exact origin

and date remain unknown but its design was developed to resemble the Holy Spirit medal worn by Catholics in Normandy. Even before the design had been established Protestants were wearing a gold jewel as a symbol of their faith; as shown in the portrait of Jeanne de Genouillac, comtesse du Rhin, who was a member of an activist Protestant family in the Quercy in the south of France [Fig 19 and Fig 20]. In his will, Guillaume Scott, a Protestant Scotsman living in Rouen, requested that the chain and gold medal which he had been given by his father were to be particularly looked after. Later on it is known that, in the eighteenth century, some goldsmiths were still producing Huguenot medals in Le Havre. The goldsmiths were themselves Catholic but obviously made the medals for Protestants<sup>33</sup>. Any idea of strict demarcation between Protestant and Catholic church plate has to be considered with caution.

24 Alain Gruber, *L'argenterie de maison du XVIe au XIXe siècle*, Fribourg, 1982, p 189-211.

25 ADSM, 2 E 1/2740, Inventaire après décès de Dame du Moustiers, 23 November 1678.

26 Drouot Boulogne, expert Cabinet Serret-Potier, 5 December 2002. These were made in 1683 which is late for the style.

27 Cassan, *op. cit.* see note 2, p 238.

28 "Ung vase d'argent sans dorez pesant deux marcs cinq once et demye", ADSM, papiers de famille, 1/ER/2057.

29 ADSM, 2 E 1/2781, Inventaire après décès de David Berthelin, 3 July 1685.

30 ADSM, 2 E 1/2787, 23 July 1686, Jacob Portrait.

31 In 1459 the Church offered a gift to the Grand Patriarch of Jerusalem: "une grande coupe vermeillée".

32 AN Z1B, Cour des monnaies de Paris, 517, Affaires Criminelles (1666-1669).

33 Pierre Bourguet, *La Croix Huguenote*, Paris, 1965.



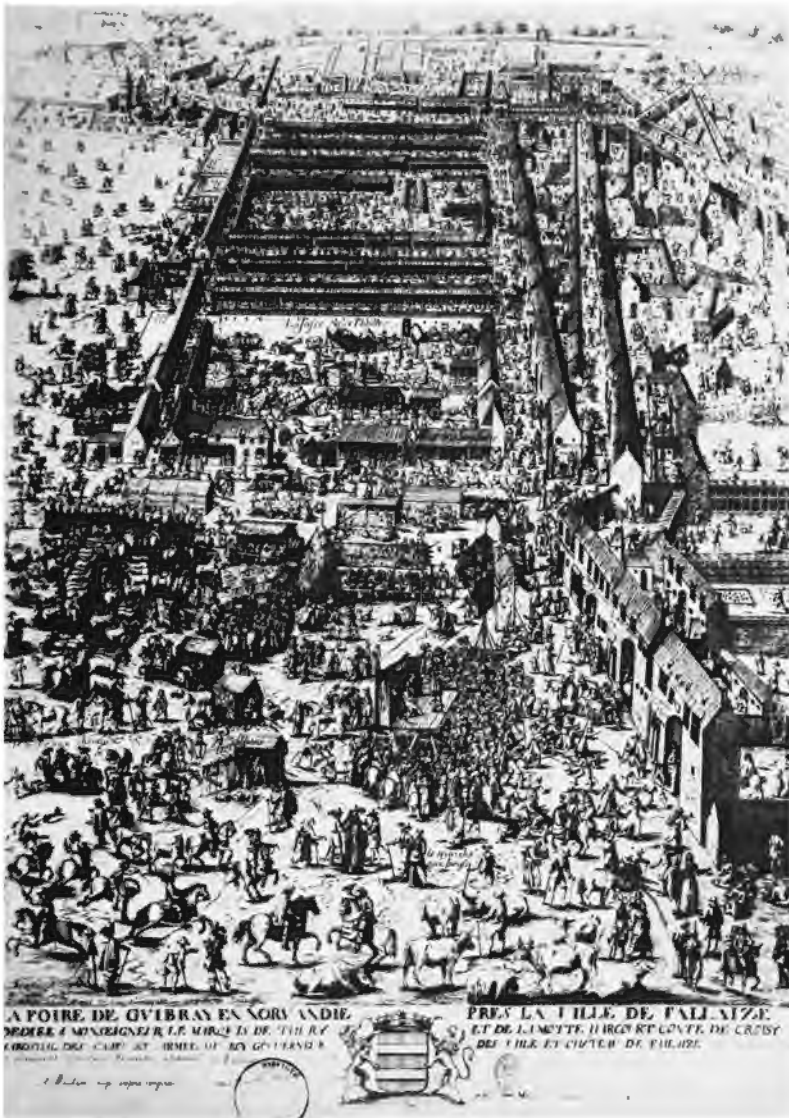


Fig 21 La foire de Guibray, anonymous, seventeenth-century

Considering the important position of Rouen in European commerce, the question of the export of plate must be raised. The number of foreigners resident in the city, especially from the Netherlands, must have had an influence on the silver, both in the objects they would have commissioned and the books of ornament that might have circulated. It is possible to imagine the goldsmiths of Rouen being aware of the van Vianen family and Mannerism, but without any proof or trace of such an idea, we can only consider this hypothesis without taking it any further.

What is certain is the importance of the annual foire [fair] de Guibray which took place some 150 km from Rouen. The fair-ground was so large that it was divided into streets according to the name of the towns that were represented (Rouen, Caen etc) and according to the guilds: ironmongers, silversmiths etc [Fig 21]. One of the most ancient fairs in Normandy, with the first record dating from 1080 and lasting into the nineteenth century, the fair attracted visitors from across the north of France and Europe every year for two weeks. The goldsmiths of Rouen were naturally very well represented; among them Robert Toustain, a relative of the Harache family<sup>34</sup>. Some Parisian goldsmiths were also recorded in the annuals of the fair<sup>35</sup>, such as Claude Crochet, a goldsmith from "Lisle du Pallais a la Teste d'Or"<sup>36</sup>.



Fig 22  
Maker's mark  
of Samuel  
Margas with  
the Holy  
Lamb beneath  
a crown

The fair would have been the main opportunity for Rouen goldsmiths to exchange and absorb technical and artistic influences from Paris and to sell their silver outside Normandy. The arms on Jacob Margas's caster [Fig 17], for example, are those of a noble family from Brittany<sup>37</sup>.

It is known that merchants from England came to the fair in order to buy French goods, very probably including 'Holy Lamb silver'. This designation refers to the distinctive maker's mark used by the goldsmiths of Rouen: the *Agnus Dei* or Lamb of God, the emblem of the town [Fig 22]. It is mentioned, for example, in the 1548 account of Lord Dacre's silver at the Royal Mint<sup>38</sup>. Lord Dacre owned church plate as well as various candlesticks, pots, cups, chargers, forks, trenchers, salts etc. Surprisingly, the origin of specific pieces is rarely mentioned apart from a number of "Spanish or German fashioned" cups and covers. It is only on the last page when the Mint officers calculated the total amount of Lord Dacre's white silver to be melted that they described it as follows [Fig 23]:



Paris plate - 78lbs, better in every Lb, 10 dwt., 13s 1d ; Holy Lamb, 38 Lbs., better 3 1/2 dwts., 22s. 8d. ; London touch, 45lbs, worse 5 1/2 dwts., 41s. 3d. ; Old Touch 39 Lbs., worse 5dwts., 32s. 8d. ; untouched without solder 27lbs., worse 4dwt., 18s; with solder 20lbs., worse 8 1/2 dwts., 28s. 4d.

This implies that the goldsmiths of Rouen were producing silver at a standard of 931, while the Paris standard was 958, and that of London only 925. It was most probably the quality and high standard of the 'Holy Lamb silver' that the English appreciated. A royal inventory of 1521<sup>39</sup> records

XII sawsers white of Rone touch waiyng cxvii oz

each saucer, which was a shallow bowl, weighed 9 oz 15 dwt (303g). Without any further description, one can only assume that what was produced for export was the same type of object as for local customers: somewhat plain but following the latest Parisian fashions and of a very high standard of silver.

As highly skilled craftsmen, the Harache, Margas and Pantin dynasties, members of the *Corporation des Orfèvres*, were comfortably situated in Rouen. They were well established in the city and numbered amongst the merchant elite, despite their religious beliefs. With Rouen so near to Paris and their family alliances in the capital, they could closely follow the Parisian techniques and style.

Their ability to adapt to the newest fashions and to foreign customers' demands, as well as their use of such high standard silver, made their production very desirable. This meant that it was not difficult for them to develop a market for Holy Lamb silver in England. Despite these advantages it is probable that the *Corporation des Orfèvres* had more members than the market could bear; certainly the tax lists suggest that not all the goldsmiths were able to make a good living. It is

34 A complaint exists from 1610 from the goldsmiths of Rouen, that one assayer was constantly coming onto the stands in order to assay the silver offered for sale and that this was preventing them from making sales. The main signatories were: Nicolas Lefebvre, Guillaume Bontemps, Mathieu Viart, Jean Loin, Robert Toustain. Three

were Protestants and it is most likely that the Harache, Margas or Pantin families were also exhibiting during this fair.

35 Compte de Notre Dame de Vire, Claude Crochet marchand orfèvre de Paris, 1658, Claude-Gérard Cassan, *op cit*, see note 2, p 12.

36 That is to say: the Ile de la Cité between Notre Dame de Paris and the Palais de Justice where the Parisian goldsmiths lived.

37 The arms are those of Nau de Villeyrouet (declared nobility on March 21, 1671) and those of La Boulaye.

38 National Archives, Kew.

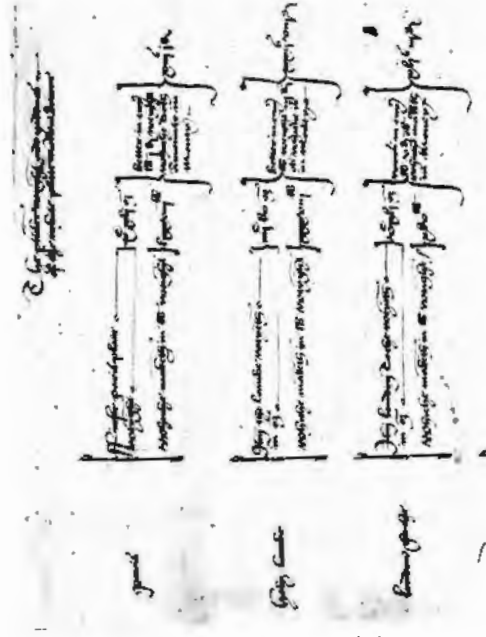


Fig 23 Account of Lord Dacre's silver at the Royal Mint, 1548, (National Archives, Kew, SP 1/239, f 44)

most likely that in the second half of the seventeenth century economic difficulties as well as religious persecutions convinced some Rouen goldsmiths to prepare for a life of exile; Peter Harache, for example, decided to try his luck on London's larger stage which as we know, given his technical skills, was a far better choice.

### Acknowledgements

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Alice Bleuizen first studied the *Huguenot Harache, Pantin and Margas families of goldsmiths for her Masters in History at the Sorbonne in 2005 which was followed in 2009 by a Masters in History of Art under the supervision of Michele Bimbenet-Privat. She now works as a Junior Specialist in the Department of Silver and Vertu at Sotheby's in London.*

SP 1/239, f. 47 *et al*  
William, 4th Earl Dacre (1525-1563) was famously judged, together with his uncle, Sir Christopher Dacre, for treason in 1534.

He was imprisoned and had to pay a fine of £10,000 and spent the rest of the reign in disgrace. When the royal commissioners arrived to seize Dacre's goods they found plate and

money worth altogether over £4,000, £2,668 of it in ready money.

39 Edward Trollope (editor), 'King Henry VIII's Jewel Book', *The Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society*, vol XVII, Part II, 1884, pp 156-229.

# Chapel Plate for Nova Scotia

LAURETTA HARRIS AND TINKER MCKAY



Fig 1 Amelia Almon Ritchie, View of the church of St Paul, Halifax, Nova Scotia from Argyle Street, *watercolour*, 1839, after William Eager  
(St Paul's Church Archive)

Permit me, Sir, under your favour further to represent to the Society, that the Church at Halifax has not yet partaken of the Bounty of Plate, Books and Church Ornaments usually bestowed on Churches in the other Colonies. If this Gift is, or may be procured, thro' the recommendations of the Society, the favor to the Parishioners of Halifax would be most gratefully received<sup>1</sup>.

The above is an extract from a letter of 14 January 1762 from Jonathan Belcher, Lieutenant Governor, Nova Scotia, to the Rev Dr Bancroft of the society for the Propagation of the Gospel in London. In his letter, Belcher requested the assistance of the society in obtaining delivery of the issue of chapel plate for the newly-incorporated church of St Paul, Halifax, Nova Scotia [Fig 1]. His request had no effect but it does provide the

evidence that the church, erected in 1750, some twelve years later, still did not have any communion plate as befitted a church which had been founded by royal proclamation by George II.

The deed of endowment, signed on 4 January 1760, by Governor Charles Lawrence, the clergy of St Paul's: John Breynton and Thomas Wood, and the Church Wardens Richard Bulkeley and William Nesbitt states:

Know all men by these presents that Whereas His Majesty has been graciously pleased to allot a quantity of Ground for the site of a Church on the Parade, in the Town of Halifax, in the Province of Nova Scotia... and to cause a church to be erected thereon at the expense of the Crown by Grants from His Majesty for that purpose, and also by

Moneys Granted to His Majesty in the Province  
for the uses of the Government...

The deed continues at some length, referring to the royal  
founder, and the church

having become a Royal Foundation and of  
Exempt Jurisdiction<sup>2</sup>.

As Lieutenant Governor and Chief Justice of Nova Scotia  
and, because he knew the significance of chapel plate  
that had been officially granted to his father, Governor  
Jonathan Belcher of Massachusetts, Belcher required  
appropriate plate for his church.

This article sets out to describe the history of chapel plate  
in Nova Scotia, to examine the distinction between plate  
warranted to a Governor and plate given by the monarch  
as a gift and to question assumptions made by some  
Nova Scotia historians in the past, who have attempted  
to explain the presence of the plate in the province by  
creating a provenance for what is commonly known as  
the 'Queen Anne' silver.

The provision of plate sprang from the Anglican Canons  
as they existed in the eighteenth century. Canon 10  
stated:

Of the Royal Supremacy: We acknowledge that  
the king's most excellent majesty, acting accord-  
ing to the laws of the realm, is the highest power  
under God in this kingdom, and has supreme  
authority over all persons in all causes, as well  
ecclesiastical as civil<sup>3</sup>.

In the colonies power over civil and ecclesiastical matters  
was vested in the Governor by the monarch who was, by  
Act of Parliament: Head of State, Head of the Church of  
England, and Defender of the Faith. A colonial Governor,  
as the King's representative, received a commission con-  
taining direct instructions for the administration of a  
colony where the Canons of the Church of England were  
to be obeyed. As a symbol and a reminder of the King's  
power over all things ecclesiastical and civil, the crown  
issued the Governors with silver flagons, chalices, patens  
and alms dishes to enhance the celebration of Holy  
Communion in the royal chapel where the Governor  
worshipped.

What was the procedure that executed the requirement  
that appropriate chapel plate should be sent to a royal  
chapel in a colony? A system developed by the Lords of  
the Treasury, the department of the Lord Chamberlain  
and its subsidiary, the Jewel Office or Jewel House,  
controlled the issue of plate to Governors. The Jewel  
Office received plate which had been commissioned

from a silversmith, and oversaw its issue to a Governor  
of a colonial plantation and its subsequent return when  
his tenure ended, or when he was required to return it.  
The weight and value of the plate were recorded in the  
Jewel Office Receipt Ledger and when plate was  
indentured to a newly appointed Governor the Lord  
Chamberlain issued a warrant for it to be issued. After  
such a warrant had been approved by the Treasury, it  
was forwarded to the Master of the Jewel Office and a set  
of chapel plate, usually comprising two flagons, a chalice  
(and occasionally a cover), a paten and a receiver (or  
dish) for alms, was then delivered to the Governor or his  
representative, who signed for it. A list of the elements of  
the set of chapel plate and its total weight and value were  
recorded in the Jewel Office Delivery Ledgers. As the  
weights of church plate issued for the Governor's use in  
the plantation of Nova Scotia differ, it is evident that the  
same pieces of plate were not re-issued each time a new  
Governor was appointed.

The first chapel plate sent to Nova Scotia was granted on  
14 May 1720 to Colonel Richard Phillips:

These are to Signify his Majestys Pleasure that  
you provide and deliver to the order of Coll:  
Phillips Governor of Anapolis Royall two little  
flaggons, one Challice a Patent and a Receiver to  
take the Offerings in, for the use of His Majestys  
Chapell there not exceeding the value of Eighty  
pounds. And for so doing this shall be your  
Warrant.

Given under my hand this 14th day of May 1720  
in the Sixth Year of his Majestys Reign.

Holles Newcastle

To the Hon:ble James Brudenell Esq.r  
Master of his Maties Jewell  
office and in his absence to the  
rest of the officers.

This Warrant will amount  
unto eighty pounds or thereabouts

£80 [signed] Rob.t Sedgwick

1 Society for the  
Propagation of the  
Gospel, correspon-  
dence received B25,  
part one: f 15: Rhodes  
House, Bodleian  
Library, Oxford.

2 R V Harris, *The  
Church of Saint Paul in  
Halifax, Nova Scotia,  
1749 - 1949*, Toronto,  
1949, pp 51 - 52.

3 *The Anglican Canons  
1529 - 1947*, Gerald  
Bray (editor),  
Woodbridge, 1998.



We approve of executing this Warrant, provided the Plate to be delivered by virtue thereof be expressed in the Indenture so that it may be and remain for the use intended, notwithstanding the Removal of the present or any future Governor or Govern'rs of the said Garrison. Whitehall Treasury Chambers the 27 August 1720

[signed] J. Aislabie

Geo. Baille

R: Edgcumbe<sup>4</sup>

No other warrant in this Warrant Book for church plate has a similar proviso. The Treasury clearly understood the precarious foothold of the British in Nova Scotia and could perhaps foresee that the regiment or the Governor might, in future, be based elsewhere other than Annapolis Royal.

The Delivery Books and Receipt Books kept by the Jewel Office confirm absolutely the distinction between silver that was the gift of the monarch, and silver that was on loan to a Governor during his time in a plantation, the latter being returnable to the Jewel Office 'on demand'.

Folio 247      Governors of Plantations

Brot. From Folio 242

July 22      Deliv'd to Coll. Richard Phillips

Govon:r of Anapolis

Royall for the use of His Maj:ties

Chappell there

to be returned unto his Maj:ties

Jewell Office on dem'd

the particulars of plate Following

Itm = Two Silver Flaggons                      w 115 -

Itm = one Chalice patton & Cover w 36 -

Itm = one Bason                                      w 31 -

-----

W 182 = =

Received for the said

Coll. Phillips & to be returned

as above [signed] Gardner<sup>5</sup>

Until the time of its final conquest in 1710, the town of Port-Royal was the capital of a French settlement which had been established in 1605 in the Annapolis area of Nova Scotia, a part of the much larger Acadie region, including part of what is now New Brunswick. The farmers who built dykes around the salt marshes and cultivated the fertile land were known as Acadians. Between 1654 and 1702 Acadie/Acadia changed hands three times from French to British rule. In October 1710 Port-Royal was under French control when a British/New England expedition commanded by Colonel Francis Nicholson succeeded in wresting it from the French; Port-Royal was renamed Annapolis Royal in honour of Queen Anne and a service of thanksgiving

was held in the garrison chapel<sup>6</sup>.

In the summer of 1719 Colonel Phillips was commissioned as

Governor of Placentia in Newfoundland and Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Nova Scotia.

Although France, which retained Ile-Royale (Cape Breton Island), had ceded mainland Nova Scotia to Britain in 1713 under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, Phillips arrived in April 1720 to find a small British garrison in the fort at Annapolis Royal facing a much larger population of Acadians and native people, the Mi'kmaq. The only parts that he could actually govern were Annapolis Royal and the fishing settlement of Canso at the north-east end of the province on the Atlantic coast.

Governor Phillips' instructions, as he informed a group of 150 Acadians three days after his arrival, were to invite them to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King, George I. They refused to do this, preferring to remain Roman Catholic and loyal to the King of France<sup>7</sup>.

Just how precarious the British foothold was would soon become clear to Governor Phillips. Five months after his arrival he wrote to the Commissioner of Trade and Plantations:

I find this Country in no likelihood of being settled to the King's Obedience upon the footing it is and therefore it is necessary that the Government at home exert itself a little for this has been hitherto no more than a Mock Government its Authority having never yet extended itself beyond Canon Reach of this Fort<sup>8</sup>.

In 1721 he wrote again:

The Fort at Anapolis is quite gone to Decay, more than one third of the Ramparts being at this Time level with the Ground and the Garrison exposed to that Danger of being surprised by the Enemy without, and of being buried in the Ruins of their Barracks from within<sup>9</sup>.

In the thirty years of his term of office Phillips actually spent less than five years in the province. After his second brief visit he returned to London leaving the responsibility for the chapel plate to a series of Lieutenant Governors.

From 1738 there were no chaplains to serve the needs of the garrison and the town. Without a priest to officiate communion services could not be held and the plate

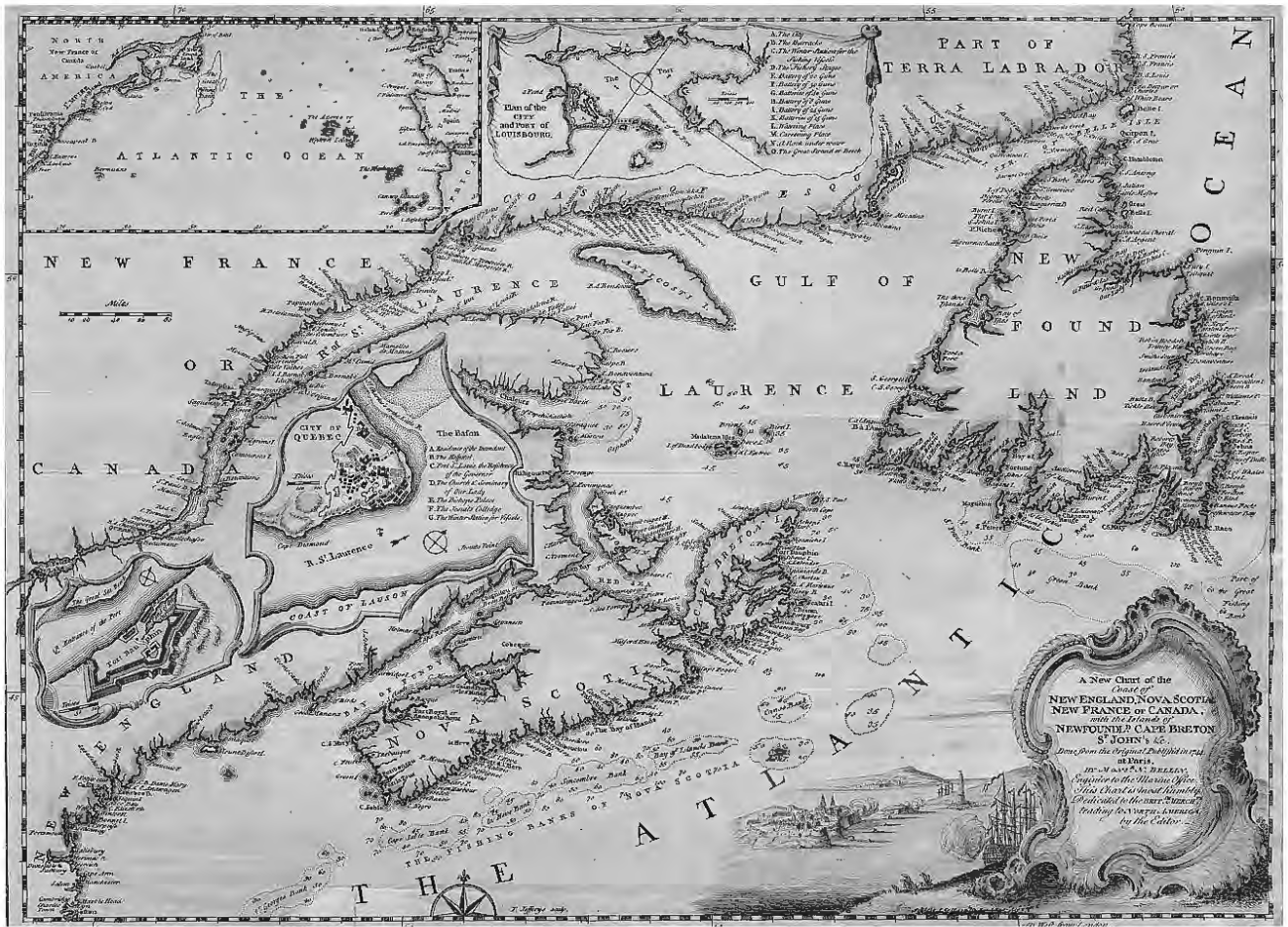


Fig 2 Jacques Nicolas Bellin, A New Chart of the Coast of New England, Nova Scotia, New France or Canada, 1745  
(©The Province of Nova Scotia)

was locked in the fort. John Adams, a former councillor at Annapolis Royal, wrote from Boston on 12 March 1742

I would have returned to Annapolis before now, but there was no chaplain in the garrison to administer God's word and sacrament to the people; but the officers and soldiers in the garrison have profaned the holy sacraments of baptism and ministerial function by presuming to baptise their own children. Why His Majesty's chaplain does not come to his duty, I know not, but am persuaded it is a disservice and dishonour to our religion and

nation; and as I have heard, some have got their children baptised by the Popish priests for there has been no chaplain here for these four years<sup>10</sup>.

In 1748, under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the fortress of Louisbourg on Ile Royale which had been captured by New England and British forces in 1745 was returned to France. The Lords of Trade and Plantations decided that the French menace had to be countered by establishing a British base on the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia and they chose the long, ice-free harbour of Chebucto for this purpose. In June 1749 Colonel Edward Cornwallis, together with 2,576 settlers, founded Halifax.

4 The National Archives (TNA), the Public Record Office (PRO), LC 5/109, p 247r, Lord Chamberlain's Department, Miscellaneous Records, Jewel Office Warrant Book, Series I, 1710 - 1731.

5 TNA, PRO, LC 9/44 Part 1, p 247, Lord Chamberlain's Department, Accounts and Miscellanea, Jewel Office Delivery Book, 1698 September - 1731/2 February.

6 Brenda Dunn, *A History of*

*Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal 1605 - 1800*, Halifax, 2004, pp 83 - 85.

7 Maxwell Sutherland, 'Phillips, Richard', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Toronto, 1974, vol III, p 516.

8 TNA, PRO, CO 217/ 4, p 54r - 54d, Colonial Office and Predecessors, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Original Correspondence, Board of Trade, bundle C, nos 48 - 140, 1721 - 1727.

9 Maxwell Sutherland, *op cit*, see note 8.

10 Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia, or Acadie*, Halifax, 1866.





Fig 3 Set of plate issued to Governor John Parr for use at St Paul's church, Halifax, Nova Scotia in 1783, London, 1711-12 by Francis Garthorne

(St Paul's Church Archive)

Cornwallis read the commission appointing him as Governor of Nova Scotia before a group of officers which included Colonel Paul Mascarene, the administrator of the former capital at Annapolis Royal.

Mascarene would in all probability have told the new Governor of the chapel plate locked in the fort but Cornwallis and his successors from 1749 to 1759 were grappling with more urgent concerns: the laying out the town of Halifax, an epidemic of typhoid fever, problems with the Mi'kmaq and their massacre of settlers across the harbour at Dartmouth, the consistent refusal of the Acadians to sign the Oath of Allegiance which culminated in their expulsion from Nova Scotia between 1755 and 1763, the settling of New England planters on Acadian lands, the preparations for the attack on Louisbourg and the support required in the capture of Quebec.

Either the Provincial Secretary Richard Bulkeley, or Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher and members of his council, pressed the Governor to action or the patience of the Master of the Jewel Office had worn thin. In August 1759 Governor Charles Lawrence moved to recover crown property, the chapel plate at Annapolis Royal which, as the 1720 delivery instructions required, had to be "returned on demand" to the Jewel Office in London.

Lawrence issued two warrants to the commissary and the commanding officer of the fort at Annapolis Royal

Chas. Lawrence, Esqr., Capt.-General and Governor,

TO ERASMUS JAMES PHILLIPS, ESQ.

Greeting,

You are hereby required to deliver unto Jeremiah

Rogers, commanding the Provincial Brigantine Montague, all the Church plate, together with Cushions, Cloths, Surplices, Common Prayer Books, and all manner of utensils now or formerly used for the celebration of Divine Service at Annapolis Royal, taking the receipt of the said Jeremiah Rogers, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand and seal at Halifax this .... day of.....1759

[signed] CHAS LAWRENCE

By His Excellency's command

[signed] RICHARD BULKELEY, Sec'y

TO LIEUTENANT - COLONEL JONATHAN HOAR.

Greeting,

You are hereby required and directed on the receipt hereof to deliver unto Erasmus James Phillips, Esqr., all the Church plate in your possession, together with Cushions, Cloths, Surplices, Bibles, Common Prayer Books, and all manner of utensils now or formerly used for the celebration of Divine Service at Annapolis, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand and seal this ... day of ... 1759

[signed] CHAS. LAWRENCE

By His Excellency's command.

[signed] RICHARD BULKELEY, Secy.<sup>11</sup>

No record exists of the items removed from the fort or of where they were taken by Jeremiah Rogers, a trusted Nova Scotia ship's captain employed by the province. Did he sail out of the Annapolis basin bound for Boston, or did he make for Halifax? The Jewel Office Receipt Book October 1728 - March 1767 does not record the return of 182 oz (5,660g) of chapel plate from Nova Scotia. Was this valuable cargo lost at sea, or was it stolen from a Boston or Halifax wharf to be melted down?

In April 1761 the former Governor of Georgia, Henry Ellis, was appointed Governor of Nova Scotia, succeeding Charles Lawrence who had died unexpectedly in October 1760. Ellis was granted an official issue of chapel plate "for the use of His Majesty's Chapel" on 5 October 1761. The Jewel Office Receipt Book October 1728 - March 1767, folio 202, records on 25 October 1761 the receipt of "Chapele plate, Nova Scotia" weighing 196 oz 10 dwt (6,111g) which was intended for the use of "His Majesty's Chapel at Halifax". Poor health kept Governor Ellis in London and his deputy, Lieutenant Governor/Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher, continued to hope for the delivery of the communion silver for St Paul's church. Governor Ellis never did leave



England; nor apparently did the plate issued to him. In 1763 the Jewel Office recorded the receipt of the plate Ellis could not use which weighed 196 oz 3 dwt (6,100g)<sup>12</sup>.

On 11 October 1763, The *St James Chronicle* reported:

St. James: Monday, October 8, 1763, The King has been pleased to constitute and appoint Montague Wilmot, Esq. to be his Majesty's Captain-General and Governor of Nova Scotia in the room of Henry Ellis Esq. who has requested leave to resign that government<sup>13</sup>.

Wilmot was granted an issue of plate on 4 November 1763 and the Treasury executed the warrant on 9 November

These are to signify unto your Lordship His Majesty's pleasure, that you provide and deliver to His Excellency Montague Wilmot Esq. Governor of Nova Scotia, Two Flaggons, One Chalice, a Patine and a Receiver to take the Offerings in for the Use of His Majesty's Chapel there, not exceeding the Value of Eighty Pounds, AND for so doing this shall be your Warrant. GIVEN under my Hand this 4th Day of November 1763 In the Fourth Year of His Majesty's Reign.  
[signed] Gower<sup>14</sup>

This first chapel plate destined for use in St Paul's church, Halifax probably arrived in the spring or summer of 1764; Chief Justice Belcher's hopes were at last realized.

In an unbroken sequence from Wilmot to Campbell to Legge, chapel plate for Nova Scotia crossed the Atlantic and was returned again to the Jewel Office in London. The last Governor of Nova Scotia to be warranted chapel plate was John Parr:

1782 July 27th...

THESE are to require you to provide and deliver to his Excellency John Parr Esqr Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Nova Scotia, Two Flaggons, one Chalice, a Patine and a Receiver to take the offerings in for the Use of His Majesty's Chapel there, not Exceeding the Value of Eighty Pounds. AND for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given under my Hand this 29th Day of July 1782. In the twenty-Second Year of his Maj:tys Reign.  
[Signed] Manchester

Let this Warrant be executed Whitehall  
Treasury Chambers 10:th Jan:y 1783  
[Signed]  
W: Pitt  
R: Jackson  
Ed.: J:s Eliot<sup>15</sup>

Let this Warrant be executed Whitehall  
Treasury Chambers 10th.  
Jan.y 1783  
To William Egerton Esqr Plate  
& Jewel-Officer to His Majesty.  
This Warrant will amount unto  
Eighty Pounds or thereabouts  
W: Pitt  
R. Jackson  
Ed: J:s Eliot  
£80 [Signed] W: Egerton  
Ed. Js. Eliot

The delivery instructions of 2 January 1783, for Governor Parr's plate, include the weight of the plate, 196 oz 5 dwt (6,103g), and the usual statement "to be returned on demand"<sup>16</sup>.

The particulars of the plate issued to Governor Parr, for use at St Paul's church, Halifax are as follows:

11 Issued between 20 August and 25 August 1759, Commission and Order Book, 1759 - 1766, vol 165, Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax.

12 TNA, PRO, LC 9/48, f 236d, Lord Chamberlain's

Department, Accounts & Miscellanea, Jewel Office Accounts and Receipt Book, 1728 October - 1767 March.

13 The *St James Chronicle* or *The British Paper* (London) Monday 11 October 1763,

issue 406, 17th - 18th Burney Collection Newspapers, shelfmark St James Chronicle 1763: 589 (microfilm reel), the British Library, London.

14 TNA, PRO, LC 5/111, p 259r, Lord Chamberlain's

Department, Miscellaneous Records, Jewel Office, Warrant Books, series I: 1762 - 1782.

15 TNA, PRO, LC 5/111 p 259 right, the Lord Chamberlain's Warrant Book, Warrants of Several

Sorts 1762 - 1782.

16 TNA, PRO, LC 9/45, p 291r, Lord Chamberlain's Department, Accounts & Miscellanea, Jewel Office Delivery Book, 1732 July - 1796 August.



Fig 4a Flagon, London, Britannia standard, 1711-12, by Francis Garthorne

Flagon: London, Britannia standard, 1711-12, maker's mark of Francis Garthorne; marked on the cover and on the side of the body and part marked on handle. Engraved with the royal arms as used between 1707-14 and with the initials G R; the initial A is partially erased and the initial G is superimposed over it [Figs 4a-4c].

Height from base to top of cover: 13 in (33 cm)

Weight: 56 oz (1,742g)

Flagon: maker's mark only of Francis Garthorne, marked inside cover, on the handle and on the side of the flagon. Engraved with the royal arms as used from 1714 to 1801 and with the initials G R on either side [Fig 5].

Height: 13 in (33 cm) Weight: 57 oz 18 dwt (1801g)

Chalice: maker's mark only of Francis Garthorne struck near the rim. Engraved with the royal arms and with the initials G R on either side [Fig 6].

Height: 10 in (25.4 cm) Weight: 22 oz (688g)

Alms receiver or dish: London, Britannia standard, 1711-12, maker's mark of Francis Garthorne, marked on the rim. Engraved with the royal arms as used between 1707 and 1714, and with the initials G R; the initial A is partially erased and the initial G is superimposed over it [Fig 7].

Diameter: 13 in (33 cm) Weight: 29 oz 19 dwt (932g)



Fig 4b Detail of royal arms on flagon

The paten that formed part of this set of chapel plate is missing; it may have been damaged and then discarded when two sterling silver patens made by Joseph Angel and marked for London, 1819 were acquired for the church by Andrew Belcher in April 1820<sup>17</sup>.

Lieutenant Governor Parr, reduced in rank after the appointment in 1786 of Sir Guy Carleton as Captain General and Governor in Chief of Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in America, died at Halifax in November 1791. No demand for the return of the plate came from the Lord Chamberlain or from the Master of the Jewel Office. In a time of austerity, after Britain's defeat in the American Revolutionary War, the Jewel Office was "ruthlessly suppressed"<sup>18</sup>.

The plate issued to Parr remains in St Paul's church, Halifax, where it is often used. During the Second World War worshippers at communion services in the church were so numerous that the Rector relied on both the capacious flagons to hold sufficient wine<sup>19</sup>.



Fig 4c Detail of marks on cover of flagon

In December 2009 a demand arrived from another source, a parish within the diocese of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. In December 2009 letters from the Rector and Wardens of the parish of Annapolis informed the Rector, Church Wardens and the Parish Council of St Paul's church that, as one of the goals of their 300th anniversary, they intended to achieve the possession of

the silver communion set provided by Queen Anne to the people of Annapolis Royal.

This demand was based on the assumption that the Governor, Charles Lawrence, had presented the church of St Paul with the plate

he had ordered to be removed from the fort at Annapolis Royal. They quoted Canadian law concerning the rights of the donor and the donee, and stated that Lawrence had

no right as representative of the crown or otherwise, to divest this community of the Queen's Gift.

In an article of 1908 Judge Alfred William Savary had written:

I have inspected the plate in company with Mr. Harry Piers, Curator of the Nova Scotia Provincial Museum, and found distinct traces of the Royal initials on either side of the arms of Queen Anne were A., R., and that the A has been erased, and G substituted. One can see the feet and the point of the A, on one of the flagons bearing Queen Anne's arms, and notice that the G is slightly smaller than the A. The alms bason not only shows traces of the erased A, but a distinct hollow where an attempt was made to erase it. Thus the anachronism of King George's initials with the arms of his predecessor is explained. Some Halifax silversmith was employed by Governor Lawrence to substitute the G for the A when he took the plate from the church at Annapolis Royal, and in the name of the King gave it to St. Paul's<sup>20</sup>

This view was contradicted in a paper prepared for a meeting of the Royal Society of Canada in 1918 by E Alfred Jones who wrote:

The substitution of one sovereign's arms and cipher, as has been done in this service, for those of another was not unusual in the 17th and 18th centuries. Much of the plate at Windsor Castle was altered in this manner at the succession of successive monarchs<sup>21</sup>.

A history of St Paul's church, *The Church of Saint Paul at Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1749 - 1949* by R V Harris maintained the idea that Colonel Francis Nicholson had brought the chapel plate for the church at Annapolis Royal, "the magnificent gift of Queen Anne" which was then taken to St Paul's Halifax in 1759<sup>22</sup>. It is not surprising, therefore, that the parish of Annapolis should believe the plate at St Paul's church was their property as the idea that the gift was made by the Queen began in the early years of the nineteenth century. For a number of years the church has been receiving complaints from historians and clergy that it has been holding the silver illegally. It is only since the 1960s that the information recorded in the Lord Chamberlain's Warrant Books and the Delivery and Receipt Ledgers of the Jewel Office been available to researchers.

17 Bill of Francis Lambert, Goldsmith and Jeweller, London for "a quart chalice & 2 patens engraved with Glory for Communion Service L23-5-0", Churchwardens' Accounts, 1820 Folder, St Paul's Archives.

18 James Lomax, 'Royalty and silver: The role of the

Jewel House in the eighteenth century', *The Silver Society Journal*, Autumn 1999, p 133.

19 Miss Dorothy Kelly, parishioner of St Paul's church.

20 Alfred William Savary, *Acadiensis*, 1908, vol VIII, No 2, April, David R Jack

(editor), Saint John.

21 E Alfred Jones, 'Old church silver in Canada', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, section II, 1918, p 135.

22 R V Harris, *op cit*, see note 2, p 4.



Fig 5 Flagon, maker's mark only of Francis Garthorne



Fig 6 Chalice, maker's mark only of Francis Garthorne



Fig 7 Alms receiver or dish, London, Britannia standard, 1711-12, by Francis Garthorne





Fig 8a Alms dish, London, 1711-12, by Francis Garthorne. Part of the plate belonging to H M Chapel Royal of the Mohawks, Brantford, Ontario

(Courtesy of the Six Nations Council)

Governor Nicholson was granted an issue of plate but it was not intended for the garrison chapel at Annapolis Royal. In 1694 chapel plate was provided for use in His Majesty's Chapel at Annapolis, Maryland. Judge Savary and R V Harris, amongst others, confused Nicholson's role at Annapolis, Maryland<sup>23</sup> with his military service and brief governorship at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia.

If, in 1710, Queen Anne had made a gift of chapel plate to the people of Annapolis Royal, which is most unlikely as they were Roman Catholic, French speaking, and loyal to the King of France, each piece would probably have been inscribed to that effect. In addition the Lord Chamberlain's Warrant Books and the Jewel Office Delivery Ledgers would hold records of the gift, its value, its weight, and possibly an inscription but no such records exist. A Canadian example of a gift by a monarch does exist. In 1712 Queen Anne gave chapel plate to her two Indian chapels in America, the Mohawks, and the Onondagas:



Fig 8b Detail of inscription on alms dish

(Courtesy of Six Nations Council)

These are to signifie her Ma.'ties Pleasure that you provide and deliver to Coll.l Nicholson for each of the two Chappells of the Indians in America one Silver Chalice, a Patten & a small flagon with her Maj.ties Arms engraved & superscribed The gift of her Maj.ty Anne by the grace of God of Great Brittain France & Ireland and her Plantations in North America Queen to her Indian Chapple of the Onondawyns not exceeding the value of Sixty pounds each and for so doing this shall be your Warr.t given under my hand this 10th day of Aprill 1712 in the eleventh year of her Maj.ties Reign

Shrewsbury

To the Hon.ble Hensage Finch Esq.r  
Master of her Maj.ties Jewell Office  
& in his absence to the rest of the offic.rs

This Warr.t will amount	Whitehall Treasury Chambers
unto one hundred and	Aprill 25:1712
twenty pounds or thereab.t	Let this Warr.t be executed

Rob.t Sedgwick

Oxford<sup>24</sup>

Later in 1712, Colonel Francis Nicholson acted as agent in delivering the chapel plate to the Mohawks

Folio 170

1712

May 20th Deliv'd unto Coll Nickolson as a gift from Her Maj:t: to Her Indian Chappell of the Mohawks in North America as Viz)-  
Itms/Two Sillver Flaggons One:Bason, =  
One: Sallvor, One Challice, & One Patten #  
all weighing One hundred sixty three 15.00  
w. 163=15=oz.

[signed] J. Lay Rec

Fr: Nicholson<sup>25</sup>



Fig 8c Detail of marks on alms dish

(Courtesy of Six Nations Council)

In the middle of the American Revolutionary War, the Mohawks, loyal to the British crown, were forced to move northwards over the border into Canada. To keep their treasured plate safe they buried it at Fort Hunter. When the war ended a group of Mohawks returned to retrieve the silver.

It is tribal tradition that various dents in the pieces were caused by the bayonets of frontier guards when the Indian women conveyed the silver vessels past them hidden in bundles<sup>26</sup>.

The Onondagas never received their plate; it was presented instead by Governor Sir Robert Hunter to St Peter's church, Albany, New York.

Both groups of Mohawks hold the honour of worshipping in a Chapel Royal: the Six Nations at Her Majesty's Chapel Royal of the Mohawks at Brantford, Ontario and the Tyendinaga Mohawks at Her Majesty's Chapel Royal of the Mohawks near Deseronto, Ontario. The Six Nations Elected Council of the Six Nations of the Grand River, Ohsweken, Ontario have not permitted the publication of a photograph of the complete set of the flagon, paten, chalice and alms dish which form their half of the gift of Queen Anne which was divided with the Mohawks at Tyendinaga. They have however generously allowed the publication of photographs of the alms dish, a section of its inscription, and its hallmarks. It is engraved with the royal arms as used between 1707 and 1714 and the initials A and R. The rim of the dish is engraved with the inscription

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 Chappell of the Mohawks.

The dish is marked for London, Britannia standard, 1711-12 and with the maker's mark of Francis Garthorne; the diameter of the dish is 12 in (30.48 cm)<sup>27</sup> [Figs 8a-8c].

The records of the Lord Chamberlain's department, and the records of the Jewel Office show that the chapel plate granted to successive Governors of Nova Scotia from Richard Phillips to John Parr was not intended as a gift, either for the garrison chapel at Annapolis Royal, or for His Majesty's Chapel at St Paul's, Halifax. The words

"to be returned on demand" are used in each set of delivery instructions as is the case with all plate issued to crown representatives. The Jewel Office Receipt Books show that, with the exception of the lost 182 oz (5,660g) of plate retrieved in 1759 by Governor Lawrence from the fort, on the death, recall, or at the end of the tenure of a Governor, the plate was returned to the Jewel Office as required.

The Master of the Jewel Office or his subordinate who selected the plate to be issued to Governor Parr has the gratitude of the present parishioners of Halifax for choosing from the stock on the shelves the work of Francis Garthorne, the creator of royal communion silver. George I, George II, and George III, who followed the example of their predecessors William III and Queen Anne, should also be remembered as it was they who had these beautiful symbols of their connection to the royal chapels in the colonies in America, sent to the chapels which included the church of royal foundation in the plantation of Nova Scotia: St Paul's, Halifax. The chapel plate at St Paul's is not locked in a display case but continues to be used for the purpose that was intended, the celebration of Holy Communion. During this service, some worshippers think of the thousands of times this three hundred year old chalice has been lifted as the Rector says, from the Prayer of Consecration in *The Book of Common Prayer*,

Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

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23 TNA, PRO, T 54/ 15, p 64, Treasury, entry books of Warrants concerning appointments, Crown leases and other matters not relating to Payment of Money, 1695 - 1697.

24 TNA: PRO: LC 5/109, part 1, p 44, Lord Chamberlain's Department, Miscellaneous Records, Jewel Office Delivery Book 1710 - 1731.

25 TNA: PRO: LC 9/44, part 1, p 170.

26 George F Spendlove, 'The Mohawk Silver', *The Connoisseur*, vol CXXVI, October 1950, with thanks

to Dr Ross Fox, Royal Ontario Museum.

27 Michael Eisen, Parks Canada Metals Conservator, 'Recommendations for the

Conservation, Storage and Display of the Queen Anne Silver', 2010, property of the Six Nations of the Grand River.

# Notes on some celebrated pieces of English Silver in the Hermitage Collection

MARINA LOPATO  
TRANSLATED BY CATHERINE PHILLIPS



Fig 1 Gold incense-burner, London, 1680-81  
by Jacob Bodendeich  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

Most of the outstanding works by eighteenth-century London craftsmen in the Hermitage collection have been published by earlier curators and international scholars but a number of interesting points have escaped attention up until now; these are the subject of this article.

## Incense-burners

In 1935 Pavel Derviz (Paul Derwis), Keeper of Silver and *Objets de Vertu* at the Hermitage, published a gold openwork incense-burner; a three-tiered, lidded container standing on three scroll feet decorated with figures of putti amongst large embossed acanthus leaves [Fig 1]. It bears the mark of Jacob Bodendeich (1664-80) and the date letter for 1680-81<sup>1</sup>. Several examples of this type of pyramidal incense-burner are known<sup>2</sup>; the earliest, dated to circa 1675, is in the Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio<sup>3</sup>. Charles Jackson published a incense-burner of similar form and decoration of 1677, with the maker's mark IH, from the collection of the Duke of Rutland<sup>4</sup>. The Gilbert Collection includes a incense-burner of the 1670s by an unidentified London maker, also with similar acanthus scrolls and putti, which is now on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>5</sup> and recently yet another incense-burner has passed through Sotheby's on two occasions<sup>6</sup>.

All of these pieces are in the 'Anglo-Dutch' or 'international' style cultivated at the court of Charles II; the form of some show French decorative influence rather than that of German or Dutch models. Indeed, the silversmiths who came to England from the Netherlands and Germany borrowed ornament from French books of prints but they adapted them to suit their own style. The work of French and Italian engravers includes many ornamental motifs in the form of succulent tendrils and stylised acanthus leaves with playful putti peeping out; garlands of flowers and bunches of berries, all are given a more or less realistic treatment. Particularly close parallels can be found in the prints of Jacques I Androuet Du Cerceau (1510-84) and Stefano della Bella (1610-64).

Such incense-burners would seem to have been so prized that their owners wanted them to be included in paintings: the Dutch artist Pieter Gerritch van Roestraeten (1631/32-1700), the pupil and son-in-law of Frans Hals who worked in London from 1663, frequently included items of silver in his still lifes and just such an English incense-burner appears in *Still Life with Wine Cooler* and *Still Life with Pearl Necklace*<sup>9</sup>.



The general form of the incense-burner developed under the influence of similar vessels brought from India or south-east Asia by the East India Company. One example of such an imported item in the Hermitage is dated to the mid-seventeenth century [Fig 2]<sup>10</sup>. The Hermitage, moreover, has a rare French example of an incense-burner which is close in form to the pieces listed above but was made in France and has been dated by Derviz to 1651–52 [Fig 3]<sup>11</sup>. The inventory of French royal furnishings compiled under Louis XIV lists twenty-seven incense-burners, several of which, judging by the descriptions of them, must have been something like the piece in the Hermitage. In 1673, under number 68, for instance, we read

une cassolette à feuilles de sauge moulées, ouvrage de Roberdet, avec son chaudron posé sur trois consoles, couvertes chacune d'un masque, le tout à jour...[an incense burner with moulded sage leaves, the work of Roberdet, with a heater resting on three legs, the covers each with a mask, all of latest fashion]

Similar objects by the French goldsmith François I Roberday (working 1621–51) intended for incense also feature under numbers 67, 139 and 141<sup>12</sup>. Incense-burners in the manner of Roberday, i.e. with openwork and decorated with sage and laurel leaves, would seem to have been quite popular. The Hermitage piece was published by Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, who attributed it to Roberday himself and dated it to the 1630s or 1640s<sup>13</sup>.



Fig 2 Incense-burner, France, 1630–1640  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

1 Paul Derwis, 'Some English Plate at the Hermitage', *Burlington Magazine*, July 1935, pp 35–36, pl I. London, sterling standard, 1680–81, by Jacob Bodendeich. Provenance unknown, acquired from a private individual in 1937. Inv no E-14784.

2 Sophia Dicks, "'Perfume for a Lady's Chamber'". A Seventeenth-century Perfume Burner', *Silver Studies*, 2008, pp 141–45.

3 Harold Newman, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Silverware*, London, 2000, p 176.

4 Charles James Jackson, *An Illustrated History of English Plate*, London, 1911, vol I, fig 255.

5 V&A, inv no: Gilbert.612:1 to 4–2008.

6 Sotheby's, London, 1 February 1968, lot 100; Vanessa Brett, *The Sotheby's Directory of Silver*, London, 1986, no 465.

7 David Mitchell, 'Dressing Plate by the "Unknown" London Silversmith "WF"', *Burlington Magazine*, June 1993, p 396.

8 Christopher Hartop, *British and Irish Silver in the Fogg Art Museum*, Cambridge, Mass, 2007, p 56.

9 Christie's, London, 27 June 1958, lot 15; Sophia Dicks, *op cit*, see note 2, p 144, fig 5, p 145, fig 6.

10 *Silver Wonders from the East. Filigree of the Tsars*, exhibition catalogue, Hermitage Amsterdam; Amsterdam, 2006, no 67, inv no E-2563.

11 Inv no E-2550. Р Р Девиз, *Парижская серебряная курильница XVII века в Эрмитаже* [A Seventeenth-century Silver Paris Perfume Burner in the Hermitage], *Государственный Эрмитаж. Труды отдела западноевропейского искусства* [The State Hermitage Museum, Papers of the Department of Western European Art], vol II, Leningrad, 1941, pp 167–70.

12 J Guiffrey, *Inventaire général du mobilier de la Couronne sous Louis XIV*, Paris, 1885, p 42.

13 Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, *Les Orfèvres et l'orfèvrerie de Paris au XVIIIe siècle*, vol II, Paris, 2002, pp 62–63, no 7; Carl Hernmarck, *The Art of the European Silversmith, 1430–1830*, London, 1977, vol I, p 224.



Fig 3 Incense-burner, India(?), mid-seventeenth-century  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)



Fig 4a Wine cooler, London, 1699-1700 by Philip Rollos I  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

### The Duchess of Kingston

One of the most frequently discussed items in the Hermitage is the wine cooler (cistern) of 1699-1700 by Philip Rollos I (circa 1660 - after 1715) [Fig 4a] which bears the arms of Evelyn Pierrepont, 5th Earl of Kingston-upon-Hull<sup>14</sup>; yet no attention seems to have been paid to the cartouche on the interior of the base which is engraved with the Pierrepont arms and the motto 'Pie reponete' [Repose with pious confidence] [Fig 4b]. This cartouche occupies almost the whole of the surface: an oval medallion containing the arms is framed by scrolls and leaves, with two lions rampant to the sides and a ducal coronet above. It stands on a profiled console covered with scales; to either side of the cartouche are two male caryatids supporting vases. Running off from them is strapwork with birds' heads; further strapwork is centred by a female mascaron. The composition is enriched with oak garlands, stout acanthus leaves and vines with bunches of grapes.

Although one of the sons of Philip I Rollos, John, was a celebrated engraver of seals and stamps who worked for



Fig 4b Detail of engraving on the base of the wine cooler, the arms of Evelyn Pierrepont, 5th Earl of Kingston-upon-Hull  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

the Stamp Office and was, in 1720, appointed engraver of the royal seal, there is no reason to suggest that it was he who was responsible for the engraved cartouche. Outstanding skill would have been required to produce such superb large-scale engraving, remarkable not just for its clarity and unity of composition but for its application to such a broad, slightly convex surface. A silver table top from the Chatsworth Settlement dated to about this time has engraved decoration also with the arms on a console in the centre of the composition which is signed "B. Gentot in. Fecit". Arthur Grimwade identified the author as George Vertue<sup>15</sup>. Although some details would seem to link the two pieces of engraving that on the table top is more fragmentary and the composition less unified than that on the wine cooler. The style and the ornamental motifs in the cartouche allow us to suggest that it derives from the work of Simon Gribelin (1661-1733), who was much influenced by the engravers Jean Bérain (1637-1711) and Daniel Marot (1661-1752). The muscled caryatids in the cartouche can be associated with figures on the frontispiece of Marot's *Nouveaux Livre d'Orfèverie*<sup>16</sup>. A number of details link the ornament in the base of the wine cooler to the engraved decoration that frames the arms of the 1st Duke of Bridgewater (1688-1744) and his wife engraved on a dish of 1711-12 by Elie Pacot (1657-1721) in the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>17</sup>.

The Hermitage wine cooler was commissioned by Evelyn Pierrepont (circa 1655-1726), 5th Earl of Kingston-upon-Hull, 1st Marquis of Dorchester, and from 1715, 1st Duke of Kingston-on-Hull. The wealthy owner of extensive estates, he played a leading role in the House of Lords and assembled a notable collection of works of art. After his elevation to the dukedom he became Lord Privy Seal and Lord President of the Council. He was succeeded as Duke of Kingston by his grandson Evelyn Pierrepont (1711-73), who continued to collect, describing his extensive collection of silver in a letter to the Abbé Leblanc<sup>18</sup>. In 1734, for instance, the 2nd Duke commissioned a pair of soup tureens from Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier (1695-1750); these also later came into Russian hands: belonging initially to the Counts Kushelev-Bezborodko and then to Nadezhda Mikhaylovna Polovtsova (1843-1908), the illegitimate daughter of Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich and the adopted daughter of the court banker and founder of the Baron A L Stieglitz School for Technical Drawing, which had its own museum. The tureens were sold in Paris in 1909 by her son Alexander Alexandrovich (1867-1944) Polovtsov<sup>19</sup>.

In 1769 the 2nd Duke of Kingston married the notorious Elizabeth Chudleigh, Countess of Bristol (1720-88). Under the terms of the Duke's will, dated 5 July 1770, she was to enjoy use of his property until her own death but it was then to pass to his nephew, Charles Meadows. But the Duchess travelled to Russia, taking with her many of the



most precious items from the collections of both the 1st Duke and her husband; including the Rollos wine cooler<sup>20</sup>. On the basis of information provided by the then Curator at the Hermitage, Baron Foelkersam, E Alfred Jones wrote that the wine cooler was a gift from the Duchess of Kingston to Empress Catherine II (1762–96) who in turn presented it to her favourite Prince Grigory Potemkin (1739–91)<sup>21</sup>; this information was later repeated by successive authors. The inventory of Potemkin's property compiled after his death in 1791, with a total value of 2,611,144 roubles 1 kopek, makes it clear, however, that the cooler, acquired in 1792 for the state together with two vases, had been purchased by Catherine before she presented it to Potemkin. Under item number 6 of the inventory we find:

Silver, presented by HIM to the late Prince Grigory Alexandrovich: Two vases with lids and copper taps on 2 pedestals of different foreign woods plated with silver, with a weight of 1 p[ood] 24 f [pounds] 48 z[olotniks] [i.e. 323 oz or 10,046.94 g]. A large punch bowl of 6 p[oods] 36 f [pounds] 48 z[olotniks] [i.e. 346 oz or 113,201 g]. For which the sum of 28,942 r[oubles] was paid by the Cabinet as per valuation. And for the cleaning of them His Grace was paid 700 r[oubles]. In all 29,642 r[oubles]<sup>22</sup>.

The vases which date from 1771–72 were the work of Andrew Fogelberg and had also come from the 2nd Duke of Kingston [Fig 5]<sup>23</sup>.

In May 1791 several days of festivities were held in the Tauride Palace:

On the first day of the festivities, when Catherine honoured Potemkin with her presence, some three thousand people were invited. The setting and interior of the palace looked like some magical creation from the Thousand and One Nights...



Fig 5 Vase, one of a pair, London 1770–71 by Andrew Fogelberg

(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

14 London, Britannia standard, 1699–1700, Philip Rollos I. On one of four bronze plaques screwed into the base is engraved: "The mjt: of ye bras plates is 55:05". Stamped into the base and on the handles: 86 (the number according to the inventories of the eighteenth-century Winter Palace silver stores). Engraved on the base: oz 3606; 3598: jo [crossed out]. Provenance: 1700–1726 Evelyn, 5th Earl and First Duke of Kingston-upon-Hull; 1726–73 Evelyn, 2nd Duke of Kingston-upon-Hull; 1773–1777 or 1786 Elizabeth, Duchess of Kingston; from 1777 or 1786 Prince Grigory Potemkin; from 1792 in the silver stores in the Hofmarschal's Apartments of the Winter Palace, Inv no 3-7021.

15 Arthur Grimwade, 'The Master of George Vertue: His Identity and Oeuvre', *Apollo*, February 1988, pp 83–84, fig 1 With thanks to Ellenor Alcorn who drew my attention to the table top at Chatsworth.

16 Ernst Wasmuth, *Das Ornamentwerk des Daniel Marot*, Berlin, 1892, pl 163.

17 Tessa Murdoch, 'Ducal Splendour: Silver for a Military Hero. The Elie Pacot Ewer and Basin Made for John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough', *Silver Studies*, 2007, 4 and 5, p 12, fig 8.

18 Unpublished letters of Abbé Leblanc, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Correspondance de Bouhier, IV, lettre du 27 fevr [1737].

19 *Catalogue des très importants bijoux, tableaux anciens et modernes, objets d'art du XVIII-e siècle, etc. Provenant de la collection de M. A. Polovtsoff et dont la vente aura lieu à Paris. 2–4 Decembre 1909*, Paris, 1909 [the initials MA seem to be an error]; *The Thyssen Meissonnier Silver Tureen made for the 2nd Duke of Kingston*, Sotheby's, New York, 13 May 1998, p 56.

20 The Duchess of Kingston was not unknown in St Petersburg even before she arrived there. The young Russian diplomat and statesman Prince Alexander Borisovich Kurakin (1752–1818) visited Thoresby in late 1771 and Count Ivan Grigoryevich Chernyshev (1717 or 1726 – 1797), Field Marshall General of the Navy and

British envoy to London in 1768, enjoyed her friendship 1768–69. Before she travelled to Russia the Duchess sent Catherine a number of paintings from her husband's collection. Wishing to establish herself and be appointed lady-in-waiting, she acquired property in Russia, but Catherine refused her request for a place; the Duchess visited St Petersburg on three more occasions but her reception was cold. On the Duchess of Kingston see: Anthony Cross, 'The Duchess of Kingston in Russia', *History Today*, XXVII, 1977, pp 390–95; C Gervat, *Elizabeth: The Scandalous Life of the Duchess of Kingston*, London, 2003.

21 E Alfred Jones, *The Old English Plate of the Emperor*

*of Russia*, London, 1909, p 70.

22 'Описи домов и движимого имущества князя Потёмкина Таврического, купленных у наследников его императрицею Екатериною II' [Inventories of the Houses and Movable Property of Prince Potemkin of Tauris, Purchased from his Heirs by Empress Catherine II], *Чтения в Императорском Обществе Истории и Древностей Российских* [Readings at the Imperial Society for Russian History and Antiquity], book 4, Moscow, 1891, p 31.

23 Hermitage inv E-7160, E-7161.





Fig 6 Centerpiece, London 1741-42 by Augustine Courtauld  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

In the room before the ballroom was a table on which stood a silver soup bowl of unembracable size, and to either side two more large vases bought from the estate of the Duchess of Kingston.<sup>24</sup>

Of interest here are the words "bought from the estate of the Duchess of Kingston". In the Duchess's will, her gold and silver goods were listed immediately after her buildings and land. The first item is a large wine cooler, with the precise weight

one large cistern with ornaments weighing 3,606 ounces [i.e. 112,146g].<sup>25</sup>

It is this number that is engraved on the underside of the Rollos wine cooler. The will then lists the vases and their stands:

two large silver vessels to put wine in with their pedestals and appurtenances

which are clearly the Fogelberg vases. The soup tureens that follow are surely those by Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier. Not unexpectedly, according to the Duchess's will of 1786 these were to go to her husband's nephew and heir, Charles Meadows, later Baron Pierrepont (1737-1816). It is thus clear that the Duchess neither presented nor sold these objects or others in her possession to Catherine II or to Potemkin, or indeed to any other individual, but at the time of her death still had them in her possession. The question thus arises as to just how the wine cooler and vases came into the Empress' hands.

After the death of the Duchess of Kingston in 1788 all the property that she had brought to Russia came into the hands of Colonel Mikhail Garnovsky (1764 - 1810 or 1817), who had acted as agent for both Potemkin and for the latter's good friend the Duchess. Garnovsky, moreover, had access to the Empress. The historian E P Karnovich wrote that:

through the envoy Prince Vorontsov<sup>26</sup> an extract from the Duchess's will, witnessed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was received. This extract made it clear the executor of the Duchess' will was Sir Pen, who arrived in St Petersburg and with the permission of Catherine II passed on his responsibilities to Colonel Garnovsky.<sup>27</sup>

This was the beginning of a long and difficult resolution of the terms of the will; Garnovsky removed all of the property from the Duchess's estate in Liflandia (now Estonia) and took charge of it, as well as of all her property in St Petersburg. Karnovich also relates that the Colonel asked for the Duchess's house by the Izmailovsky Bridge<sup>28</sup> and "emptied the Tauride Palace", i.e. Potemkin's palace. The palace housed 185 paintings from the Duchess's collection that had supposedly been bought by Mikhail Garnovsky<sup>29</sup>. Later Paul I (1796-1801) started legal proceedings against Garnovsky which lasted until 1798 and at the end of which all of the property

24 M I Pylyayev, *Старый Петербург. Рассказы из былой жизни столицы* [Old St Petersburg. Tales from the Capital's Past Life], St Petersburg, 2010, p 300.

25 *An Authentic Detail of Particulars relative to the late Duchess of Kingston*, London, 1788, p 137.

26 Prince Semyon Romanovich Vorontsov (1744-1832), Russian Ambassador to the court of St James 1785-1806.

27 E P Karnovich, 'Герцогиня Кингстон и дело об имении ея в России. 1777-1798' [The Duchess of Kingston and the Matter of her Estate in

Russia. 1777-98], *Русская старина* [Russian Antiquity], 1877, no 1, pp 79-108.

28 Bridge over the River Fontanka in St Petersburg, then at the edge of the city.

29 There are a number of apparent contradictions in the documents. The list of

paintings in the inventory under no 4 is entitled "Catalogue des tableaux de feu Son Altesse Madame la Duchesse de Kingston appartenant au colonel d'Hornowski et qui sont vendus à Son Altesse Monseigneur le Prince de Potemkin". In the Empress's instructions that

precede the list of objects, mention is made of the payment of 50,000 *roubles* "for paintings purchased from the heirs of the Duchess of Kingston, listed under no. 4 in the attached catalogue". Inventory 1891, see note 22, book 4, pp 2 and 17.

was taken away from Garnovsky. Some of it was simply confiscated and other pieces were put up for sale<sup>30</sup>. During the many years that had passed since the Duchess left Russia Garnovsky had had total control of her property and it seems likely that many of her goods might have found their way into the houses of St Petersburg's aristocracy during this period.

Augustine Courtauld's (1685/86–1751) celebrated centrepiece of 1741–42, for instance, which came from the collection of the Princes Yusupov and is now in the Hermitage, also probably originated from the collection of the 2nd Duke of Kingston [Fig 6]<sup>31</sup>. The Duchess's will mentions "one middle piece weighing 632 oz 5 dwt [19,662 g]" and the Hermitage centrepiece weighs 631 oz 11 dwt (19,642 g), a difference of just 21 g: less than 1 oz. We know, moreover, that the Duchess was on very close terms with Potemkin's niece, Tatyana Engelhardt (1769–1841) who married the famed collector Prince Nikolay Borisovich Yusupov (1751–1831).

Another object that most probably arrived in Russia amongst the Duchess's possessions was a covered vase of 1661–62 by the anonymous master with the maker's mark TF [Fig 7]<sup>32</sup>. This is a 'potiche' vase, with a low neck and domed cover surmounted with a bud of acanthus leaves. The gilding of the cover has a greenish tinge not seen in that of the vase itself and it is possible that the vase was re-gilded in the nineteenth century. Engraved on the base are the arms of Chudleigh, Baronets of Ashton in Devon, impaling Chudleigh; the motto below the arms is that of the Chudleighs: 'Aut vincam aut periso' [I will either conquer or perish].

Such vases are well known in the literature and they feature in van Roestraeten's still lifes painted for the British aristocracy. A pair of vases of a similar form of circa 1675 by Jacob Bodendeich, are in the Huntington Art Gallery in San Marino, California<sup>33</sup>. A well-known chimney garniture of four vases of 1675–76 by Thomas Jenkins (fl 1668–1703) belonged to Partridge & Co in London<sup>34</sup>. There were also similar vases in the collection of the Earls of Yarborough, dated to around 1680<sup>35</sup>.

In this instance, however, we are most concerned with the provenance of the vases. They arrived in the Hermitage after the Second World War amongst 'trophy' items brought from Germany, which meant that any information regarding their provenance was lost. Nonetheless, the catalogue of an exhibition of silver held in 1885 in the museum of the Baron Stieglitz School of Technical Drawing in St Petersburg contains an engraving reproducing this very vase, with the maker's mark of the goldsmith and a London hallmark [Fig 8]. According to the catalogue it was one of a pair of vases, both of



Fig 7 Silver-gilt vase, London, 1661–62, maker's mark TF  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)



Fig 8 Vase, engraving, from Catalogue of a Temporary Exhibition of Old (18th Century) Silver Items in the Museum of the Baron Stieglitz Drawing School, 1885, fig 26.  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

30 Baron Armin von Foelkersam, 'Герцогиня Кингстон и ея пребывание в России' [La duchesse de Kingston et ses séjours en Russie], *Старые годы* [Days of Yore], June 1913, p 29.

31 Inv no 9–13429.

32 London, sterling standard, 1661–62, maker's mark TF with a star below in a heart-shaped shield. Engraved on the base:

42 = 12 [i.e. 42oz 10dwt (1324.2 g)]. Inv no 9–16163. Provenance: 1951, transferred from the State Valuables Store (GoKhran), Moscow.

33 Robert R Wark, *British Silver in the Huntington Collection*, San Marino, California, 1978, no 369.

34 Michael Clayton, *Christie's Pictorial History of*

*English and American Silver*, Oxford, 1985, p 70, ill 2.

35 Jackson 1911, *op cit*, see note 4, p 248, fig 261.



Fig 9 Vase, engraving, from Catalogue of a Temporary Exhibition of Old (18th Century) Silver Items in the Museum of the Baron Stieglitz Drawing School, 1885, fig 31.

(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

which were the property of E A Balasheva. The difference in colour of the cover of the Hermitage vase may be explained if the cover in fact belonged to the second vase<sup>36</sup>.

Ekaterina Andreevna Balasheva (1848–1931), wife of Nikolay Petrovich Balashev, a wealthy landowner and industrialist as well as a member of the State Council and *Ober-Jägermeister* at the imperial court, was well known in St Petersburg aristocratic circles. Her parents were Count Andrey Pavlovich Shuvalov and Countess Sophia Mikhaylovna Vorontsova, daughter of Field Marshall Mikhail Semyonovich Vorontsov (Governor of the Caucasus); she was thus the granddaughter of that same Count Semyon Vorontsov who had facilitated receipt of an extract of the Duchess of Kingston's will. A statesman and diplomat, Vorontsov served as Ambassador to England between 1785 and 1806, with only a brief break in the middle. According to the newspaper *Санкт-Петербургские ведомости* [*St Petersburg Gazette*], when the Duchess of Kingston first arrived in St Petersburg she lived in the house of Count Vorontsov "beyond the Obukhov Bridge" (i.e. south of the River Fontanka near what is now Moskovsky Prospekt, an area that was then just outside the city). It may be that she gave the vases to, or left them with, her hospitable host, and thus they passed through the family to his granddaughter.

The presence on the vase of the double identical arms is evidence of a marriage within the family and indeed, Elizabeth Chudleigh's father, Colonel Thomas Chudleigh of Harford in Devon, married his cousin Harriet, fourth daughter of Hugh Chudleigh of Chalmington in Dorset<sup>37</sup>. Elizabeth's uncle, Sir George Chudleigh, had no direct heir, and thus her brother inherited the title and became 5th Baronet Chudleigh of Ashton in Devon.

At the same exhibition in 1885 Count A A Musin-Pushkin showed two ewers from his collection that Rosenberg called flasks, saying that they bore the maker's mark RC. It seems to this author that these were probably in the same Restoration style as the Balasheva vase.

Other vases from the Musin-Pushkin collection exhibited in 1885 included a pair with a figure of a putto amidst succulent acanthus, the neck adorned with acanthus leaves and the finial of the cover in the form of a pinecone framed with acanthus; they were also illustrated in the catalogue [Fig 9]. Rosenberg reproduced the maker's mark on them, TI, and dated them to 1675–76<sup>38</sup>. These vases are very like those in the celebrated chimney garniture of Thomas Jenkins of 1675–76 belonging to Partridge & Co. One is led to ask if they might be the very same vases.

### Wine Coolers

A wine cooler of 1726–27 by Paul de Lamerie (1688–1751) engraved with the arms of the Earls of Scarsdale was made for Nicholas Leke, Baron Deincourt, 4th Earl of Scarsdale (1682–1736), for his house Sutton Scarsdale Hall [Fig 10a]<sup>39</sup>. It was amongst the many new furnishings ordered for this magnificent house which had been rebuilt in the early Georgian style in 1724 by Francis Smith of Warwick. In 1735, however, the Earl went bankrupt and he died the following year. The contents of his house were sold soon after to cover his debts;

36 Каталог временной выставки старинных (XVIII столетия) серебряных вещей в музее Рисовального Училища барона Штиглица [Catalogue of a Temporary Exhibition of Old (18th Century) Silver Items in the Museum of the Baron Stieglitz Drawing School], St Petersburg, 1885, nos 142, 143, fig 26.

37 *An Authentic Detail...* 1788, see note 25, p 128.

38 *Catalogue of a Temporary Exhibition...* 1885, see note 33, nos 105–106, fig 31; Marc Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*,

Frankfurt am Main, 1925, no 7269. These items came from the collection of 'Professor A A Musin-Pushkin', probably Count Alexander Alexeevich Musin-Pushkin, senator, former tutor and patron of the St Petersburg Educational District.

39 London, sterling standard, 1726–27, Paul de Lamerie. Provenance: 1730s in the collection of Count Ernst-Johann von Biron; from 1741 Russian imperial property, inv no 3–7040.

40 Inv nos M3–1227–1228.



the de Lamerie wine cooler was surely among them. It is probable that two chandeliers of 1724–25 by Paul de Lamerie, both engraved with earls' coronets, now in the Armoury in Moscow, also came from this estate. They include the angels (holding a shield emblem to either side) from the arms of the Earls of Scarsdale and the Scarsdale motto 'Gloria Deo in excelsis' [Glory to God in the Highest]<sup>40</sup>.

At some point an attempt was made to erase the arms and they were so damaged that a plaque was laid over them; this was removed for Baron A E von Foelkersam who identified the arms. He thought that, after the death of the last Earl of Scarsdale in 1736, the cooler had been sold into Germany, since it came to Russia as part of the so-called Augsburg Service that once belonged to Ernst-Johann von Biron (1690-1772), favourite of Empress Anna Ivanovna (reigned 1730-40). In 1740, after Biron's fall from grace and arrest, his possessions were confiscated and transferred to the imperial palace. The names of such services are, however, far from reliable as evidence of their true origins. Indeed, it is hard to imagine just who would have been able to purchase such an expensive object in Augsburg. In 1737, when Biron was at the height of his fame and power, he was elected Grand Duke of Courland (now Latvia), thanks to considerable influence from the Russian imperial court. It seems very likely that Anna Ivanovna made him rich gifts on this occasion, in the form of the toilet set made in London between 1718 and 1738 by Paul de Lamerie, Edward Vincent, Simon Pantin Junior, Augustine Courtauld and Peter Archambo together with this wine cooler by Paul de Lamerie.

It was at around this time that Empress Anna Ivanovna acquired the celebrated wine cooler known today as the Jerningham-Kandler cooler [Fig 11a]. Fate thus brought together these two magnificent pieces, one of which was inspired by the other.

Paul de Lamerie's wine cooler is one of his most monumental and important works. Its most striking elements are the sculptural details: the winged female half-figures



*Fig 10a Wine cooler, London, 1726-27 by Paul de Lamerie*  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)



*Fig 11a Wine cooler, London, 1735-36 by Charles Kandler*  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)



Figs 10b-d Details of the de Lamerie wine cooler  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)



Figs 11b-c Details of the Kandler wine cooler  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

and the female mascaron on the front side [Figs 10b - d]. The craftsman revealed considerable skill in conveying different facial expressions: one figure has an open, smiling face [Fig 10c], another has a slightly pained expression, eyes half closed [Fig 10b], seeming to hide some inner suffering. This ability to capture psychological nuances is evidence of the work of a professional sculptor, a theory confirmed by the confident working up of the three-dimensional figures, which reflect the Classical tradition. In this author's opinion, the author of the models may have been John Michael Rysbrack (1694–1770). We know that he produced the models for both the figures and reliefs on the Jerningham-Kandler wine cooler and there is an undoubted stylistic link between the sculpture on both objects. The client for the Jerningham-Kandler cooler, moreover, was the jeweller and banker Littleton Poyntz Meynell who had seen the cooler belonging to his neighbour Nicholas Leke, 4th Earl of Scarsdale, and specifically wanted something bigger and better than de Lamerie's work. We might suggest that this perhaps prompted Jerningham to turn to Rysbrack himself. Indeed the literature records that all three masters: Kandler, de Lamerie and Rysbrack worked with other silversmiths on a number of occasions and indeed collaborated regularly [Figs 11b and c].

### Imperial Thrones

The throne and footstool of 1732-33 by Nicholas (Nicolaus) Clausen (working England 1709–1730s) are made of wood and the structures are applied with heavy silver-gilt plaques embossed with a trellis pattern and vegetable motifs [Fig 12a]<sup>41</sup>. At the top of the throne is a cartouche with an applied imperial eagle and a crown, attached to the back using a metal plate. Above the crown is a wooden orb with a cross, this in turn is attached to a bar fixed to the reverse of the chair back. Eagles are embroidered on the upholstery of the back and on their wings are the arms, in silver and enamel, of the principal-

41 Throne: wood (walnut and oak), silver, iron, velvet, braid; carved, cast, chased, gilded, enamelled and embroidered.  
Footstool: wood, silver,

horsehair, velvet, braid; carved, chased, gilded.  
Silver: London, Britannia standard, 1732-33, Nicholas Clausen, St Petersburg, 1818-64 (M M Postnikova-

Loseva, *Золотое и серебряное дело XV-XX вв.* [Gold and Silver Work in the Fifteenth to Twentieth Centuries], Moscow, 1983, no 1143). The eagle



ties and kingdoms that formed the Russian Empire in the middle of the nineteenth century. (We should be aware that the upholstery has been replaced on a number of occasions – see below).

The form of the throne is typical of English chairs of the first third of the eighteenth century. Its construction is dominated by straight lines, except for the feet, which are shaped like eagles' claws. The fine silverwork is extremely skilfully executed; the style of the embossed silver decoration suggests a date of the second half of the 1720s. The trellis ornament, large acanthus leaves, tendrils and stylised shells all derive from French prints of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by artists such as Jean Bérain and Daniel Marot. They were widely used by English silversmiths during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, another example being Paul de Lamerie's wine cooler of 1726–27.

The basic idea behind Clausen's throne can already be seen in a throne made in St Petersburg during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, a work that is said to have been commissioned by Peter the Great's right-hand man, Prince Alexander Menshikov (1673–1729), specifically to enable him to receive Peter the Great [Fig 13]. This throne "of his imperial majesty upholstered in red cloth" was, according to an inventory of 1728, in Menshikov's Great Palace at Oranienbaum, south-west of St Petersburg. Since 1951 it has been in the Great Palace at nearby Peterhof. We can only hypothesise as to whether the Russian client had in mind this earlier throne when conveying the commission to Clausen, but there are certainly similarities in some of the details. These can mostly clearly be seen in the relatively simple construction; the presence of the eagles, somewhat reduced in size on the second throne, which shows only their heads, and the use of the cartouche/medallion and crown to decorate the top of the back. Stress is placed on the top of the legs and both thrones have a mascarón on the apron of the front seat rail, with the front legs resting on ball and claw feet. Also of somewhat similar construction is the Admiralty chair of Peter the Great (made in St Petersburg in the first quarter of the eighteenth century) now in the Naval Museum, St Petersburg, where the front legs are similarly curved and rest on just such clawed feet, while the upper part of the legs are adorned with carved broad acanthus leaves. Here too we see the eagles, although here they are on the front seat rail and only the arms, which take the form of human arms, seem out of place.

Clausen's throne for Anna Ivanovna<sup>42</sup> is of course more richly and expensively decorated but there are certain strange elements in the execution of some of the key details, above all the crown, that most

attached to the back of the chair bears the mark of the St Petersburg master Dmitry Andreev (Postnikova-Lebedeva 1983, no 1267). Provenance:

from 1732 Russian imperial property. Inv nos 3-7162, 3-7163.

42 Arthur Grimwade, "'Peter the Great's' Throne. The End of the Legend', *The Connoisseur Year Book*, 1962, pp 93–95.



Fig 12a Throne, wood and silver, London, 1732 by Nicholas Clausen  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)



Fig 13 Throne, wood and silver, Russia, first quarter of the eighteenth century  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)





Fig 14 Russian imperial crown  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

important symbol of imperial status. The craftsman would appear not to have had at his disposal an image of the Russian imperial crown, which consists of two hemispheres divided by broad hoop [Fig 14], surmounted by an orb and cross. On the Clausen throne the crown consists of a horizontal hoop with lilies and an imitation velvet cap within, recalling a princely crown or indeed a West European crown [Fig 12b]. Without the crown the overall composition of the throne is more unified. The wooden orb and cross that sit atop the crown are also somewhat incongruous; to judge by the lack of any signs of attachment, the orb was not originally part of the design. It seems strange to think that the client for such an important commission did not provide the maker with a design for the crown. The Russian individual responsible for the commission and thus for the precise reproduction of the symbols of the state was Prince Antioch Kantemir, first Russian envoy to England after a long break in diplomatic relations between Russia and Britain. He arrived in London at the end of March 1732 and the throne was completed by July. He had, therefore, four months at his disposal in which to deal with the commission.



Fig 12b Detail of throne  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

But just how long did it take to make the throne? If Clausen received the commission immediately Anna Ivanovna [Fig 15] came to the throne in January 1730, it took some two and a half years, perhaps a rather long time for such a task. Nicholas Sprimont (1716–1771), for instance, was prepared to produce a table with a tea and coffee service comprising fifteen pieces for Empress Elizabeth (reigned 1741–61/62) in just six months (see below). It might be possible, therefore, that the throne was commissioned but the work then set aside for some reason. Considering the possibilities, the name of Prince Alexander Menshikov comes to mind. Energetic, talented, enormously wealthy and hugely vain, he regularly commissioned expensive objects abroad and was in close contact with various suppliers. Long before the famous ship of silver arrived from London in September 1726<sup>43</sup> the Prince had commissioned, in 1721, for Peter the Great's wife Catherine, a huge service with twenty-four covers, including a tea and coffee service, from England; it had 989 items in all. The same order included a toilet set of thirty-two pieces. The whole was delivered by a prominent member of the British Factory in St Petersburg, the merchant Henry Hodgkin<sup>44</sup>. After the death of Peter the Great, Menshikov was in essence sole ruler during the reign of his widow, Catherine I (1725–27). In May 1727, after Catherine's death he married his daughter to the young Emperor Peter II in an attempt to retain power in his own hands. His plans were to come to nought, for in the September of that same year, his own ill health and the weakness of his support led to his fall, arrest and, eventual exile to Siberia. We may put forward the theory that it was he who commissioned the silver throne while he was still at the height of his powers, as part of his efforts to reinforce his dominant role. That question remains open, however, since no documents have yet been found to throw light on the details of the commission.

There is, of course, another possibility: that the throne was commissioned only when Anna Ivanovna moved from Moscow back to Peter the Great's new capital, St Petersburg, in January 1732. This would explain the time scale but gives rise to more questions regarding the 'non-imperial' crown.

On 31 July 1732 *The Gentleman's Magazine* published the following announcement

A magnificent Silver Chair of State, adorn'd with an Imperial Crown and a Spread Eagle, gilt with Gold, made here for the Throne of the Empress of Russia, was finish'd this Month. The Work cost near as much as the Metal, which weight 1900 Ounces.<sup>45</sup>

With one troy ounce equal to 31.3 g, that leads us to a weight of 59,090 g. When assay inspectors added up the



Fig 15 Empress Anna Ivanovna  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)



Fig 16 Christian-Albert Wortman, Empress Anna Ivanovna,  
engraving, circa 1730  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

weight of all the silver on the throne and footstool together in 1989 they came up with just 1,222 oz (38,000g). Where could the remaining 678 oz (21,909g) of silver have got to? We must either suspect the jeweller of deceit or the reporter of error, or perhaps suggest that the side panels were also previously covered with silver plaques.

Once in Russia, Clausen's throne had a somewhat unfortunate fate. It does not appear in a single state portrait of any of the Russian Empresses of the eighteenth century. Such portraits usually show large, wide thrones of gilded wood, for the wide dresses of contemporary fashion did not permit them to sit on the relatively narrow throne [Fig 16]. The narrowness might suggest that the throne was made for a man but this still does not resolve the question of the non-imperial crown. We know that during the reign of Anna Ivanovna the throne room of the Winter Palace contained a carved and gilded throne for the Empress to sit on. A new throne, indeed, sometimes more than one, was made for each Empress. For a forthcoming audience with the Turkish envoy, Anna Leopoldovna (1718–46, Regent for the infant Emperor Ivan IV November 1740 – November 1741), ordered from the Kammer-Zalmeister's Office, via Count Löwenwold

the making of three chairs, of which one, which shall be placed on the throne, should be upholstered in crimson velvet, with around the edges one row of broad braid, and one row of narrow...<sup>46</sup>

The first person to use the throne seems, therefore, to have been Paul I who commissioned six wooden copies of it from the workshops of the court furniture maker Christian Meier (arrived St Petersburg 1774 and worked at court for some thirty years). These copies (1799–1800) were set up in the different imperial palaces in each of which Paul had a throne room. One of them was also placed in the throne room of Paul's wife Empress Maria

43 Susan Hare, *Paul de Lamerie. At the Sign of the Golden Ball*, London, 1990, p 10.

44 Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Moscow, Fund 14, opis 1, ed khr 58, ff 19, 21rv.

45 *The Gentleman's Magazine, or Monthly Intelligencer*, for the year

1732, II, p 875; cited in Clayton, 1985, *op cit*, see note 34, p 140.

46 Внутренний быт Русского Государства с 17-го октября 1740 года по 25 ноября 1741 года [Interior Life in the Russia State from 17 October 1740 to 25 November 1741], book 1, Moscow, 1880, p 101.



head of the Department of Heraldry. These were applied after Nicholas' death, by an order of Alexander II (1855–81) dated 11 April 1857. It is to this period that we should date the arms embroidered on the back of Clausen's throne, which show the small state arms. Not only did the new arms come in designs of different size and complexity for different purposes but they included the arms of the Polish kingdom, incorporated into the Russian arms in 1832. In 1857–58 a new set of silver arms was ordered for the throne; these bear the mark of the St Petersburg silversmith Dmitry Andreev, who worked for the imperial court between 1835 and 1860.

Over the course of the nineteenth century the upholstery on the throne and footstool was replaced several times; as is revealed by the numerous nail holes in the frame. The last such renovation before the Revolution of 1917 was apparently undertaken in 1906; major conservation in 2002 revealed two inscriptions on the footstool, "redone 1906 April 16" on the frame and the signature "Efremov 1906" on the fabric.

### The Oranienbaum Service

Today the tea and coffee sets that make up the Oranienbaum Service consist of just six items by London craftsmen of the 1740s and 1750s: Nicholas Sprimont, Fuller White and Thomas Hemming. The service received its name from the fact that before it was transferred to the Winter Palace in 1792 it was kept in the palace at Oranienbaum which was used by Grand Duke Peter, later Emperor Peter III (1762), in the 1750s. At the start of the twentieth century it comprised eight items by London craftsmen and nineteen supplementary pieces made in the 1840s by craftsmen in St Petersburg. All of the objects save the milk jug are engraved with the initials RM or RN to indicate Oranienbaum.

Documents in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts reveal that Empress Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, wished to have a table with a tea and coffee service and in February 1743 the Russian Ambassador to London, Semyon Kirillovich Naryshkin (1710–75), commissioned the service from the silversmith Nicholas Sprimont. Shortly afterwards Sprimont sent him a 'Mémoire' with a list of the items he intended to produce [Fig 17]. According to this summary description he was to make a silver table on which would stand: a coffee pot, chocolate pot, kettle, two teapots (one of them for safe-iron), a burner to keep the vessels warm and a spittoon. The 'Mémoire' also indicates the decorative elements to adorn the objects, i.e. the twigs and flowers of coffee, cocoa, tea and saffron. Since the weight is given separately for these decorative elements, it would seem that they were to be made separately and then attached to the bodies of the vessels, to form an attractive ensemble.

Fyodorovna and it is this one that now stands in the Small Throne Room (also known as the Peter the Great Throne Room) of the Winter Palace. The upholstery of the thrones differ: the imperial arms embroidered on the back of Maria Fyodorovna's throne differ from those now seen on Clausen's throne which was reupholstered in the middle of the nineteenth century. On the back of the throne at the Catchina Palace is a two-headed eagle with St George and a Maltese cross; Paul I, who preferred Gatchina to the other country palaces around St Petersburg, was Grand Master of the Order of St John of Malta.

The reupholstery of Clausen's throne in the middle of the nineteenth century was the result of changes made to the symbols of state<sup>27</sup>. According to a manifesto of Paul I of 16 December 1800, changes were planned to the great Russian arms that had been in use since the time of Peter the Great but this design was not put into effect. It was only much later, by order of Paul's son Nicholas I (1825–55), that new arms were created by Baron Koehne,

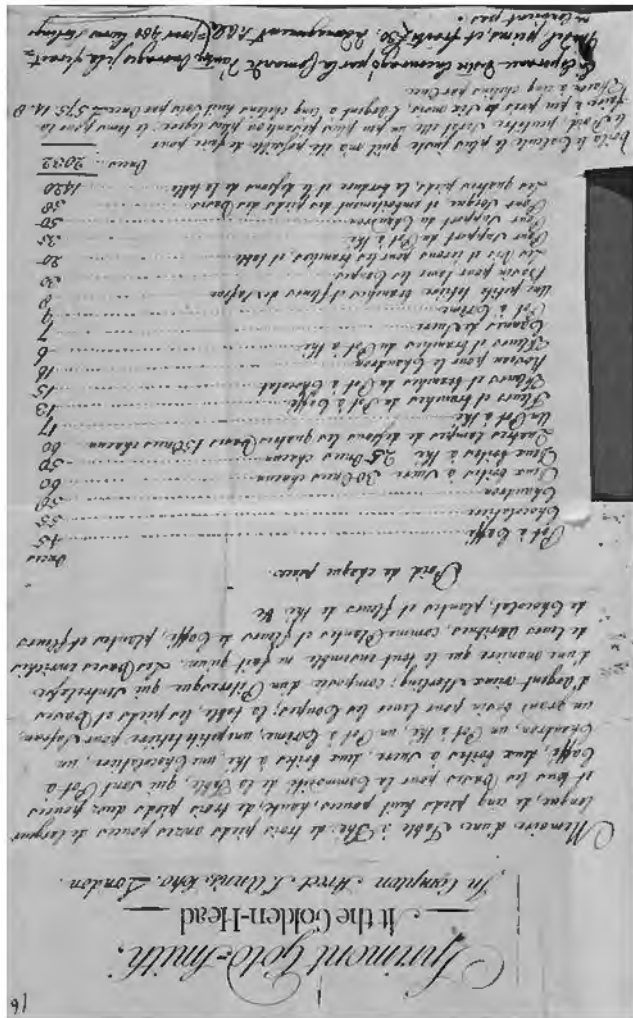


Fig 17 Nicholas Sprimont's 'Mémoire', 1743

(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)



Sprimont added at the end of the 'Mémoire' that if other commissions followed, he would reduce the price of the table and vessels to just £450, instead of the full sum of £575 14 shillings for the total weight of 2,032 oz (63,195g). A letter from Naryshkin of 10 May makes clear that the Empress rejected the idea of the table, either because it would have been too large 50 x 72 x 40 in (127 x 184 x 102 cm) or because it was too expensive. Since the design for the table had already been produced, Naryshkin wrote (referring to himself in the third person):

it may be that it seems expensive to Her Imperial Majesty but he must [add] that in this land, so much more expensive than others, local specialists do not consider it to be so great a price. He, Naryshkin, heard that other craftsmen there do not make such items of such weight and for such a price that are so handsome as is the model drawn up for this.

Thereafter Naryshkin explained to the Head of the Cabinet of Her Imperial Majesty, Baron Alexander Ivanovich Cherkasov, that although he had asked for a reduction in the price, Sprimont would not agree.

As for the service, he, Naryshkin, reports the works of those in the know that he [ie Sprimont - ML] is the individual most worthy of Her Imperial Majesty, and that for his designs alone he takes thirty pounds sterling.<sup>49</sup>

Despite the craftsman's youth, he was just 27 and had arrived in London from Liège only a year previously, Sprimont had already earned the right to set a high price for his work.

It certainly seems that the service did arrive in some form or other but it is hard to judge how this unique 'Mémoire' relates, if at all, to the celebrated kettle from the Oranienbaum Service that is one of Sprimont's most mysterious pieces [Fig 18]<sup>50</sup>. The decoration of the kettle is unusual, with reserved areas containing chased chinoiserie scenes, clearly based on prints. These scenes are given a relatively realistic treatment in flat relief, with fine working up of the planes and numerous details. Such treatment recalls the reliefs on plaques by Paul van Vianen. In contrast the applied decoration is more mas-



Fig 18 Kettle and stand, London, 1742-32 and 1745-46 by Nicholas Sprimont  
(©The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

sive, striking and expressive, incorporating fantastical beasts; the spout and burner are in the shape of a dragon and a moth with wings spread wide, all are modelled with an exaggerated naturalism. The object presents skillfully executed examples of a wide range of artistic devices, although this is in part responsible for the first impression that the object is somewhat heavy and overloaded, over-complex in its composition and insufficiently elegant in its silhouette.

On the base of the kettle is a date letter but this has been damaged and is barely legible. Surviving elements nonetheless give us sufficient reason to suggest that it is the letter G indicating the year 1742-43. On the stand is the clearly stamped date letter K for 1745-46. The stand was thus definitely either made later, specifically for the kettle, or selected from pieces that were available. Ellenor Alcorn published a tray of 1744-45 that once belonged to Sir John Norris (1670/71-1749)<sup>51</sup> with decoration around

47 Tatiana Lekhovich, 'Velvet Wall Coverings in the Peter the Great (Small Throne) Room in the Winter Palace. A Forgotten History', *Proceedings of the State Hermitage Museum*, 2011.

48 Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Moscow, Fund 14, opis 1, ed khr 71, f 16.

49 *Ibid*, ff 42v, 43.

50 Kettle: London, sterling standard, date letter obliterated, Nicholas Sprimont, St Petersburg with the year 1792, St Petersburg assay master Nikifor Moshchalkin (fl 1772-1800), fineness 88; engraved:

61=16 ?. Stand: 1745-46; the rest as for the kettle, engraved: 48=18. All the objects are stamped with the number 284 and RM; the burner is unmarked. Inv no. 3-7125.

51 Ellenor M Alcorn, *English Silver in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Boston, 2000, vol II, no 91, pp 152-53.



the edge in the form of male heads of four broad racial types: Arab, Chinese, African and European, like those on the stand of the Sprimont kettle. Is this simply a repetition of a known motif or were the stand and the tray once part of a single set? Of particular interest is the fact that both Sir John Norris, a celebrated naval commander, and this piece of his property were connected with Russia. Norris met with Peter the Great (1682–1725), “who is said to have held him in high regard”<sup>52</sup>.

Hermitage), which also bears the letters RM<sup>53</sup>. The difference between the weight of the coffee pot referred to in Sprimont's bill and the weight of that in the Armoury is 4 oz 7 dwt (135.5 g). Although stylistically the two objects are not particularly close, both reveal a rich use of naturalistically treated fantastical beings; both are somewhat exaggerated and on both pieces the tail of a dragon or serpent winds around the body of the vessel. The applied vegetable decoration on the coffee pot would seem to be of the same type as Sprimont described in his 'Mémoire' and which he used on the tea caddies and sugar bowl of 1743–44<sup>54</sup>, yet it has no chinoiserie elements and it is less 'busy' than the kettle in both form and decoration.

gathered up by the lieutenant into a single box. The cutlery: knives, forks and spoons also bear the mark of the Pleshcheev Service, although they clearly came from a totally different service.

A document in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts records the delivery of a silver service from England which consisted of toilet, tea and coffee sets. This document is dated 28 September 1759

Regarding the letter of the Head of the Cabinet to the ambassador at the English court Prince Golitsyn on the ordering for the court of a silver toilet and tea sets. Her Imperial Majesty [Empress Elizabeth - ML] has ordered the commissioning from England through Your Grace of one silver toilet service and with it, in a specially made case, a tea and coffee set also of silver and silver cutlery for the service.<sup>55</sup>

The preliminary list of items that the silversmith William Cripps proposed sending in fulfilment of the imperial commission is dated 12 October 1759 [Fig 19]. There then follows a bill in French and the translation into Russian with a more detailed list of items including the weight of each. Lastly comes a bill from Cripps of 4 June 1760 for the items which were supplied. The Russian Ambassador wrote

Service in two crates marked with the letters S.M.I. numbers 1 and 2 despatched on the ship Maria, Captain Jean Mockett, Alexander Golitsyn<sup>56</sup>.

The weights indicated on the bill do not accord with the weights of the objects we know today, with the exception of one or two objects where the difference is just fractions of an ounce. We should, however, be aware that the weights we measure today frequently differ from those given in older sources, for instance by Foelkersam, in pounds or *zolotniki*, at least in part because of the greater accuracy of modern equipment. Not all the items accord with those described in Cripps' bill. In the eighteenth century the Pleshcheev Service included a *plat-de-ménage* by William Cripps and Samuel Wood (1704–94) that bore the date letter 1745–46 and it seems very strange that so striking a piece would have been kept in the master craftsman's stores for eleven or twelve years before it was sold. There must have been more than one delivery of pieces from Cripps, not just the delivery of 1759, but a service of separate pieces, among them the *plat-de-ménage*, in the second half of the 1740s.

English authors have written extensively on the delivery of a different service that was apparently supplied by Samuel Courtauld (1720–65). Helen Clifford, for instance, when discussing commissions carried out by the celebrated craftsmen Parker and Wakelin, wrote

A similar pattern of contracting out work to specialists can be seen in the supply of a toilet service to the Empress Elizabeth of Russia in 1757 by Samuel Courtauld. Only seven from thirty five things listed in 1908 bear Courtauld's mark. Elias Cachet, Daniel Piers and Pierre Gillois were responsible for other articles.<sup>57</sup>

Even though twelve objects bear the mark of Samuel Courtauld, we should ask if it really was he who was responsible for supplying the order or was it Cripps who can be demonstrated to have had an ongoing connection to the Russian court?

To judge from the nature of the items in the Pleshcheev Service it is in fact made up of pieces from two different services, a striking tea and coffee set supplied to the Empress Elizabeth and a man's toilet set of more modest appearance for her heir, Grand Duke Peter (later Peter III).

During research for the full catalogue of British silver dating from the late sixteenth- to early twentieth-centuries in the Hermitage, new light has been cast on the apparently well-known and documented works described above. This catalogue, which includes all of the more than 370 works by British craftsmen, will be published in Russian.

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*Dr Lopato is the author of the catalogues: West European Plaquettes of XV – XVII Centuries (1986); German Silver in the Hermitage (2002); Polish Silver of XVII – XIX Centuries in the Hermitage (2004) as well as the monograph Jewellers of Old St Petersburg (2006) and she has published numerous articles on the Hermitage collections of silver, Fabergé as well as on St Petersburg's goldsmiths and jewellers (some of them published in the Allgemeiner Künstlerlexikon) as well as on contemporary jewellers.*

52 *Ibid*, p 152.

53 Inv no M3– 725/1–2.

54 Ellenor Alcorn, 2000, *op cit*, see note 51, no 92, p 154.

55 Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Moscow, Fund 14, opis 1, ed khr 58, ff 5, 21rv.

56 *Ibid*, f 19. Prince Alexander Mikhailovich Golitsyn, Ambassador to London 1755–61, later Russian Vice-Chancellor.

57 Helen Clifford, *Silver in London: The Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760–1776*, New Haven, 2004, p 113.



# Sandylands Drinkwater:

## The progress of a smallworker establishing a business

BRUCE JONES

Sandylands Drinkwater was a smallworker who rose to become Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1761/62 and died a wealthy man. While no complete explanation of his progress is apparent there are fascinating glimpses that throw some light on his activities.

He was born in 1705<sup>1</sup> and his apprenticeship indenture records his father as William Drinkwater, gentleman, of the parish of St Clement Danes, Westminster, in the West End of London. He was apprenticed as a teenager to Robert White on 19 February 1718/9 on payment of £20 and became free on 22 December 1726<sup>2</sup>. Nearly three years later, in September 1729, he was married at St Clement Danes church, the parish of his bride and of his own father, where the marriage entry in the parish register states

Sandylands Drinkwater of the Parish of Christ Church, London Batchelour and Rebecca Bradley of this Parish Spinster<sup>3</sup>.

Drinkwater was 24 years old, his bride was 19 and marrying with the consent of her mother Mary Drinkwater who was "now the wife of William Drinkwater"<sup>4</sup> that is, Sandylands Drinkwater's father. Whether as a widow she had brought money into the family is not known, although any strengthening of the Drinkwater family finances would have been helpful when Sandylands Drinkwater came to establish his own business. She had married Sandylands Drinkwater's father William in July 1718<sup>5</sup> when Sandylands Drinkwater was 13 and his future bride 8; maybe the marriage of Sandylands and his step-sister in 1729 was a marriage of childhood sweethearts.

The parish of Christ Church, Newgate, where he was recorded as resident in 1729, at the time of his marriage, was close to the Gutter Lane premises of Robert White<sup>6</sup> where he had been an apprentice. Gutter Lane was in an area popular with specialist workers and conveniently close to the Assay Office. In 1731 Sandylands Drinkwater returned to Gutter Lane, appearing there as a taxpayer in his own right in the Land Tax assessments.

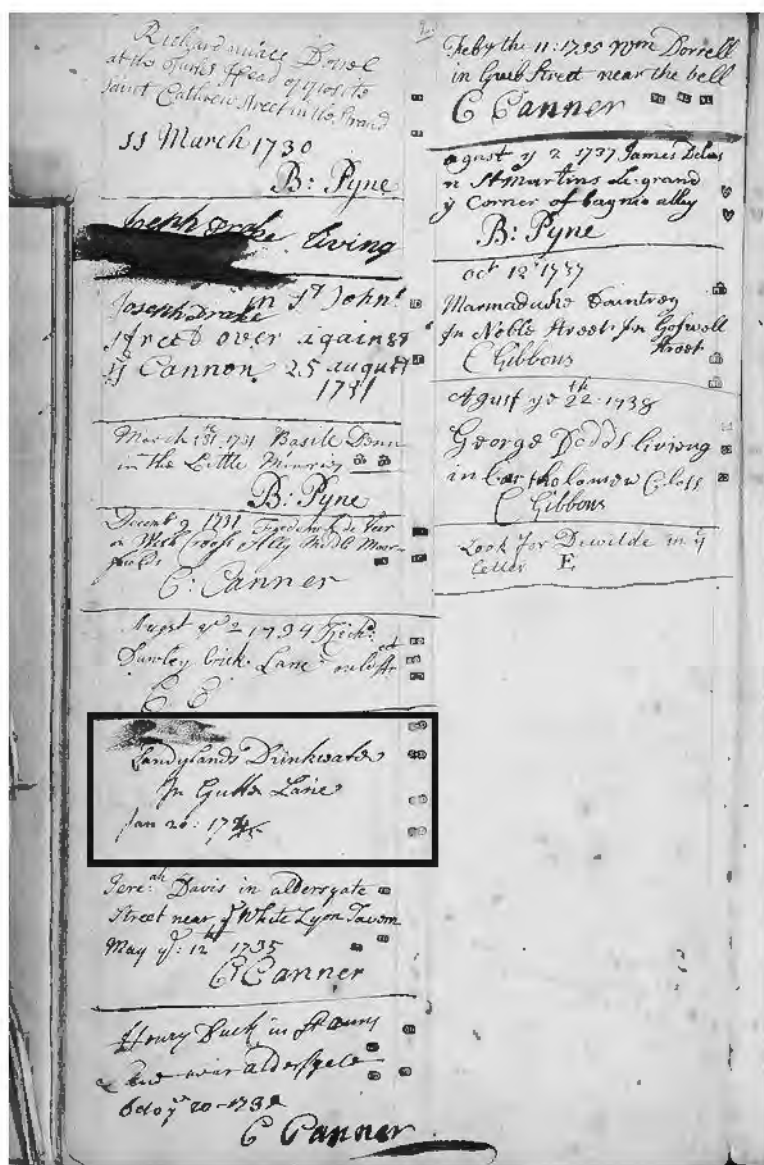


Fig 1a Entry of Sandylands Drinkwater's mark in the Smallworkers' Register at Goldsmiths' Hall, 20 January 1734.

(Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

Horwood's map<sup>7</sup> shows that his premises, at what became 16 Gutter Lane in the numbering of the 1760s, were on the corner of Kings Head Court, close to the back of Goldsmiths' Hall. The timing of his move may well have been related to the death of his father in May 1731<sup>8</sup> for, in his father's will<sup>9</sup>, Sandylands was entitled to one quarter of his father's estate, thereby providing financial resources for the development of his business.

After he had completed his apprenticeship and become free in December 1726 it is most probable that he worked initially as a journeyman. Then from 1731 onwards he not only had his own premises in Gutter Lane but he almost immediately took on his first apprentices, Jeremiah Austin on 15 December 1731 and Richard Binley on 13 January 1731/2<sup>10</sup>, suggesting a more independent mode of operation with sufficient work to occupy himself and his apprentices. In total he took on seven apprentices between 1731 and 1753 and throughout that period he never had less than two apprentices under his control; the consistent employment of apprentices points to an active operation at his premises<sup>11</sup>.

Drinkwater did not register a mark until 20 January 1734/5<sup>12</sup> [Figs 1a and 1b], signing the Smallworker's Register for the mark S \* D [Fig 2]. Not many items are seen today with this first mark and his second mark, script S D crowned [Fig 3], is presumed to have been registered in 1739, as required by the Plate (Offences) Act of 1738<sup>13</sup> and entered in the Smallworkers' Register for 1739 to 1758 which is now missing.

The fact that he did not initially register a mark when he established himself in his own premises indicates that he must have continued to undertake work for other silversmiths or retailers, although certain small items were not required to be hallmarked. We do not have details of his work at that time but an insight into the items with which he became involved can be gleaned from his trade card.



Fig 1b Detail of Drinkwater's entry in the Smallworkers' Register  
(Courtesy of The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)



Fig 2 Sandylands Drinkwater's first mark, registered 20 January 1734/5



Fig 3 Sandylands Drinkwater's second mark, registered in 1739

1 Date of birth based on his being apprenticed at 14 and his age of 24 at the time of his marriage (see note 4). A memorial stone in the floor at St Albans Abbey records his age at the time of his death in October 1776 as 70 which, if correct, would mean he was born in 1706.

2 Goldsmiths' Company Apprentice Book 5, p 194 and, as stated in Arthur Grimwade (Grimwade), *London Goldsmiths, Their Marks & Lives 1697-1837*, London, 1990, p 494.

3 City of Westminster Archives (CWA), St Clement Danes, Westminster Parish Registers, microfilm vol 30, p 267.

4 London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), MS 10091/E/42, marriage bond.

5 LMA, St Clement Eastcheap Parish Registers, MS 4783 20 July 1718.

6 LMA, Land tax assessments for the ward of Farringdon within, Gutter Lane precinct. Robert

White had premises in Kings Head Court, off Gutter Lane. Ambrose Heal (Heal), *The London Goldsmiths 1700-1800*, Cambridge, 1935, shows Robert White in Kings Head Court, Fetter Lane, a misprint for Gutter Lane.

7 Richard Horwood's map of London, reproduced in *The A to Z of Regency London*, London, 1985.

8 CWA, St Clement Danes, Westminster Parish Registers, microfilm vol 8. William Drinkwater was buried on 8 May 1731.

9 LMA, will of William Drinkwater, Archdeaconry Court of Middlesex DL/AM/PW/1731/043 date: 14 July 1730, digitised for LMA by www.ancestry.co.uk

10 Goldsmiths' Company Apprentice Books 6 and 7; see Appendix 1 below.

11 Although not, for instance, as many as Charles Wright who had fifteen between 1761 and 1784. Wright was a sometime partner of Drinkwater's friend Thomas Whigham I.

12 Goldsmiths' Company Registers. Grimwade, *op cit*, see note 2, first mark 2499, the second 3792 most probably in the missing Smallworkers' Register and identified as his due to the similarity of objects with either mark.

13 An Act for the Better Preventing Frauds and Abuses in Gold and Silver Wares, 12 George II 2 Cap 26.

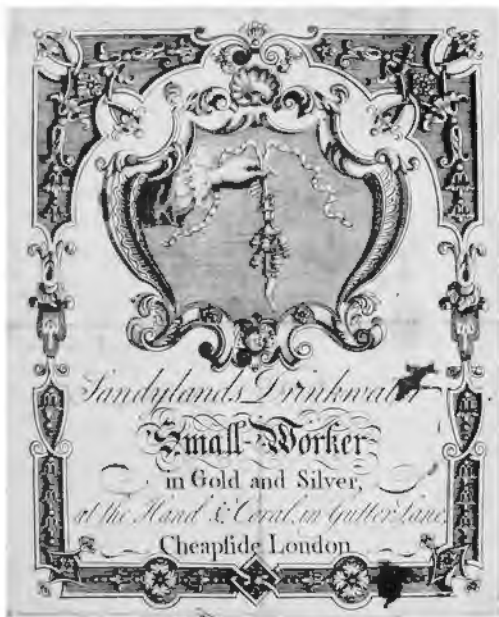


Fig 4a Sandylands Drinkwater's trade card  
(© The Trustees of the British Museum)

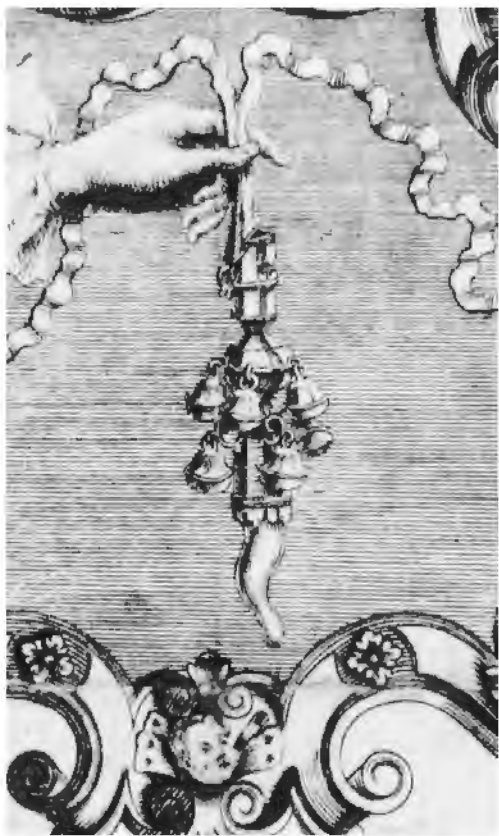


Fig 4b Detail of Drinkwater's trade card showing a baby's coral  
(© The Trustees of the British Museum)

## Drinkwater's trade card and products

His trade card [Figs 4a and 4b] is among those in the Banks collection at the British Museum<sup>14</sup>. The card is undated and may date from any time between 1731 and 1760, but the *Régence* style of the border suggests that it was engraved in the period between 1731 and 1745<sup>15</sup>. The legend reads

Sandylands Drinkwater / Small-Worker / in Gold and Silver,  
/ at the Hand & Coral, in Gutter Lane / Cheapside London.

Unlike some trade cards it does not indicate the items the craftsman could provide but it does give essential information: that he was a smallworker and that he was to be found at the sign of the Hand & Coral in Gutter Lane, off the major thoroughfare of Cheapside in the City of London.

The sign hanging outside his premises is illustrated on his trade card so that callers could readily identify it among the other signs in the street. A coral was a baby's toy, with bells to rattle, a piece of red coral for teething at one end and a whistle to blow at the other end; with an attachment for a ribbon to secure it so that baby did not drop and lose the toy. On the trade card the coral is dangled from a lady's hand, maybe a mother's, with a small baby's face incorporated in the baroque frame immediately below the coral teether.

The coral illustrated here [Fig 5a] is of typical form, of silver equipped with eight bells [Fig 5b] and a whistle at the opposite end to the coral teething piece [Fig 5c]. Sandylands Drinkwater's script S D mark is placed on the whistle end, one of the few undecorated surfaces able to take a mark. Just above the whistle's mouthpiece can be seen the ring through which to thread a ribbon.

While the front of the trade card gives no indication of the items available from Drinkwater apart from corals, on the back is a handwritten price list of the products he offered [Fig 6]. The transcript is shown below, items in brackets are letters omitted due to abbreviation, 's' means shilling and 'd' means pence in the pre-decimal British coinage, while 'pr' is short for per<sup>16</sup>.

14 British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Banks 67.48.

15 This example displays in manuscript on the reverse the price of bottle tickets, which did not appear until the mid-1730s.

16 Robert Barker has greatly assisted me with this listing and on the interpretation of the prices discussed below.





Fig 5a Coral teether, rattle and whistle  
by Sandylands Drinkwater, circa 1750  
(Courtesy of Daniel Bexfield Antiques)



Fig 5b Detail of bells  
(Courtesy of Daniel Bexfield Antiques)



Fig 5c Detail of mouthpiece  
(Courtesy of Daniel Bexfield Antiques)

Sle[e]ve Buttons 1s: & 6d pr Doz  
Thimbles Com[mo]n Sort D[itt]o  
French thimbles 4s pr Doz  
Carved Clasps - 2s pr pair  
plain pol[ishe]d [ditto] - 1[s]: & 3 [d] pr pair  
Com[mo]n [En]Graved [ditto] - 10d pr p[ai]r  
Coral Sockets 8 bells - 3s & 6d each  
D[itt]o - 6 bells - 2s & 6d each  
Bottle Tickets 2 Shill[ings] each

This is a limited selection of goods from a smallworker based in Gutter Lane in the heart of an area inhabited by specialist manufacturers. While the emblem of a coral on his trade card and sign suggests that he wished to be known particularly for that item, at least at the time his trade card was printed, this manuscript list indicates that he did not merely specialise in corals.

Plain buttons bearing his mark have survived [Fig 7a] and occasionally buttons with his mark with engraved decoration are encountered [Fig 7b]. On these buttons, his second mark is also accompanied by a lion mark on each one, indicating that the silver content had been approved by the Assay Office. The buttons illustrated here are large, some 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in (3cm) across, suggesting that they were intended as coat buttons.

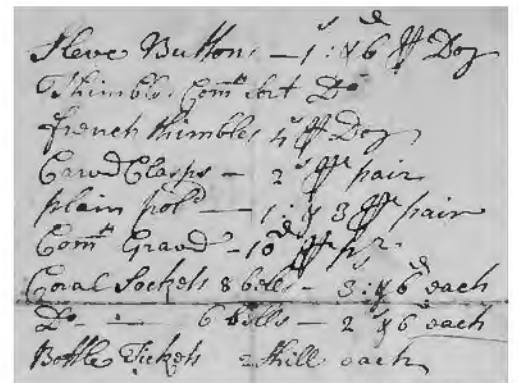


Fig 6 Detail of reverse of Drinkwater's trade card  
(© The Trustees of the British Museum)



Fig 7a Plain buttons, circa 1750 by Sandylands Drinkwater  
(Courtesy of Robyn Caddy)

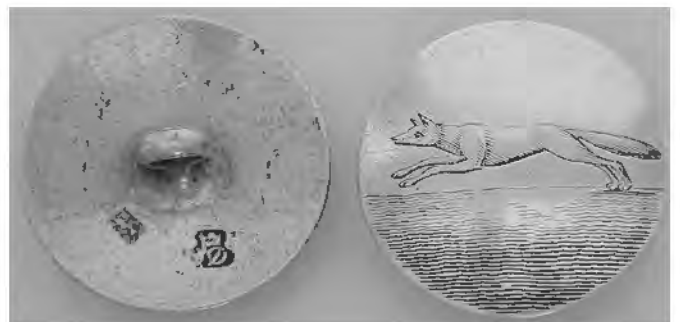


Fig 7b Engraved buttons, circa 1750 by Sandylands Drinkwater



Fig 8 Wine label, circa 1738 by Sandylands Drinkwater



Fig 9 Cast wine label, circa 1750 by Sandylands Drinkwater

He was a leading producer of wine labels, then known as bottle tickets, and due to their survival is best known for these today<sup>17</sup>. The wine labels seen most commonly bearing Drinkwater's mark are escutcheon shaped, one of the earliest designs of labels when they first appeared in the mid-1730s<sup>18</sup>. Some were plain, others delicately flat chased with grapes and vines. The grape and vine motif appears also in different forms on large pieces by other silversmiths of this period. The 'Burgundy' label of circa 1738 illustrated [Fig 8] bears Drinkwater's first mark.

These escutcheon-shaped labels are nearly all of virtually identical size and have chasing that shows only very minor variations such as the number of grapes in a bunch. Such similarity implies some element of a consistent, organised production process. Other designs bearing Drinkwater's mark include those featuring putti and vines and labels in the shape of bold crescents but these are less commonly seen today; there is an attractive set, designed as an armorial crest of a mailed arm holding an arrow, in the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>19</sup>.

No thimbles or clasps bearing his mark have been identified despite enquiries among museums, dealers and collectors. The Plate (Offences) Act of 1738 specifically excluded from marking, among other items,

hollow or raised buttons, sleeve buttons, thimbles, coral sockets and bells... [and] any stock or garter clasps

that is all the items listed on the reverse of his trade card apart from bottle tickets. Silversmiths may have regarded bottle tickets as falling within the exclusion of "not weighing more than ten penny weight". In practice Drinkwater's mark does appear on corals, buttons and bottle tickets. He may have been buying in some items from other silversmiths and mention of French thimbles does suggest such buying in, French thimbles appear to

be thimbles emanating from France rather than a particular type that was made on the English side of the Channel<sup>20</sup>.

All of the products listed were made from flatted silver. Some of the buttons and bottle tickets were then chased or engraved while corals required raising and embossing. Casting does not, however, appear to have been a particular skill of his workshop at the time. A number of cast wine labels bearing his mark are known but the casting is not of great quality judging from the example illustrated here [Fig 9]. This lack of casting expertise may explain why clasps are mentioned but not buckles, the latter required casting skills while clasps did not.

### Position in the trade

Drinkwater was a smallworker involved with small items but these were expensive luxury goods. A coral was a present a prosperous godparent might give to a fortunate godchild; silver buttons and silver clasps for coats and shoes were accessories for the wealthy man about town; silver thimbles were for ladies engaged in needlework and bottle tickets were small decorative items destined to add elegance to the service of wine.

Drinkwater's premises were located in an alley off Cheapside rather than in a fashionable street and he was not positioned to interact with retail customers. He appears instead to have been a wholesale supplier to the retail trade which is indicated by the prices quoted on the handwritten list on the reverse of his card; these prices are for workmanship only and exclude the cost of silver. This is apparent from examination of the price for bottle tickets: 2s or 24d each as quoted in the list on his card. A typical Drinkwater escutcheon bottle ticket weighs about 9 dwt (13.9g), comprising approximately 6½ dwt (10.1g) for the label and 2½ dwt (3.88g) for the

chain. Silver at the time cost approximately 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d per dwt (1.55g)<sup>21</sup>, so the silver content of the label was worth about 30d (2s and 6d) in total or 21<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d for the label itself and 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d for the chain, which would have been bought in from a specialist manufacturer.

The 2s quoted by Sandylands Drinkwater was the price for making the label; the required silver, costing somewhat more than the workmanship, was supplied to Drinkwater or charged separately by him. The total cost of the label was therefore around 54d (4s 6d): 30d for the silver plus 24d for the workmanship. In addition Plate Duty might have been payable at the rate of 6d per ounce (31.1g) or 0.3d per dwt (1.55g), which would have added a further 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d to 3d per label<sup>22</sup>. The final customer would have paid a retailer's mark up as well. Early bottle tickets were not cheap

Details of labels produced by other silversmiths appear in the Garrard Ledgers; the labels mentioned there at a slightly later date had a lower cost of workmanship<sup>23</sup>. Those supplied wholesale to George Wickes and the Wickes and Netherton partnership by Edward Wakelin between 1747 and 1760 weighed an average of 7 dwt (10.88g), for which Wakelin was paid an average price of 1s 3d per label for workmanship, excluding the cost of the silver. Those supplied by Ansill and Gilbert and Margaret Binley between 1766 and 1773 weighed less at an average of 4 dwt (6.22g), for which they received an average of 1s for workmanship<sup>24</sup>. The Gentlemen's Ledgers show an average retail price charged by George Wickes and Wickes and Netherton between 1747 and 1760 of 5s 11d: a price which included the cost of silver.

Another example of retail prices of wine labels appears on the reverse of the trade card of Susanna Passavant dating from the 1750s<sup>25</sup>. She was a retailer, her card read-

Susanna Pafsavant / at the Plume of Feathers on Ludgate / Hill opposite the Old Baily / London / (from the Late Mr WILLDEY, the Corner of St Paul's Church-Yard) / Sells all sorts of Toys, Plate, Jewells & Jewellers Work.

Her description of selling goods, her location in one of the fashionable shopping localities of the time, the wording on the card in both English and French and the fact that she had not registered a mark at Goldsmiths' Hall, all indicate that she was a retailer with a toyshop, then the term for a shop selling luxuries and trifles. Her stock apparently included labels for, on the back of her card, there is a handwritten note as follows:

Silver bottle Tickets work[e]d 5/6 Each  
Plain----- 5s- Each  
Enamel[le]d with gilt Chains 3/6 Each  
Enamel[le]d with metal Chains 2/6 Each

These prices are retail prices, the 5s 6d for "worked", presumably engraved or chased bottle tickets, and the 5s quoted for "plain" silver bottle tickets contrasting with the 2s per label on the reverse of Sandylands Drinkwater's card. Her prices for silver labels are similar, although a little lower, to the retail prices charged to customers by George Wickes.

We do not know for whom Drinkwater was quoting the prices which appear on the back of his trade card, nor the size or credit-worthiness of the recipient; we should not assume that all of Drinkwater's customers were offered the same terms. As they excluded the intrinsic silver value of his products, however, this strongly suggests the list may have been designed for a wholesaling or retailing goldsmith. Furthermore the use of the term "Coral Sockets" on the trade card list may suggest that the buyer inserted the coral teething end, not something that the final purchaser would be expected to accomplish.

17 John Salter (editor), *Wine Labels 1730-2003*, Woodbridge, 2004, pp 139-142.

18 Bottle tickets first recorded in 1735 in the Garrard ledgers, Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library ref AAD/1995/7:

AAD/1996/6.

19 Victoria and Albert Museum, M.1109-1944, illustrated in Jane Stancliffe, *Bottle Tickets*, London, 1986.

20 According to those consulted on the subject of thimbles.

21 Taking the price of silver at an average of 5s 6d per ounce (31.1g) or 3.3d per dwt (1.55g).

22 It was not clear from the Plate Act (Offences) 1738 whether bottle tickets were excluded from hall-marking and duty.

23 John Salter, *op cit*, see note 17, pp 23-26, analysis of details in the Garrard ledgers.

24 This low average weight is skewed by a significant number of 'small' and 'soy' (ie sauce) tickets.

25 British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Heal 67.314. She advertised her move to the Plume of Feathers in 1750, *London Evening Post*, 1 to 3 May 1750, issue 3514.



## Drinkwater's customers: retailing goldsmiths

There is some surviving evidence of Drinkwater's activities as a supplier to retailing goldsmiths although we do not know the full extent of his customer base. In 1746 he was amongst the creditors of the bankrupt John Neville<sup>26</sup>, a retailing goldsmith in the Haymarket in the West End of London. In the auction catalogue of Neville's goods<sup>27</sup>, sold in December 1746, there was a total of twenty-four silver corals with bells and four gilt corals. As we know Drinkwater was a creditor and as the only items in the auction associated with him are corals, these are most likely to have been supplied by him.

Drinkwater was also supplying to a wider geographical area. Thomas Mosley was a retailing silversmith in Liverpool and his letter book<sup>28</sup>, which runs from 1747 to 1750, indicates that he sourced the great majority of his wares in London. Amongst his suppliers was Drinkwater and the letters show that Mosley's orders to Drinkwater cover "currells" (i.e. corals or rattles with coral teethers), buttons, boatswains' calls, shoe clasps, stock clasps and labels for bottles (i.e. bottle tickets). These items were supplied in wholesale quantities and Drinkwater was capitalised in a manner that allowed him to offer credit to this provincial retailing goldsmith. Some of the parcels of work were shipped via Humphrey and John Payne, goldsmiths in Cheapside, London, who appear to have acted as wholesalers to, and co-ordinators for, provincial goldsmiths.

A letter of August 1747 indicates that Mosley had previously made purchases from Drinkwater and the letter was accompanied by a bill drawn by Mosley on Sitwell, Noyes & Bright, Ironmongers in Foster Lane, London; it was payable to "Mr. Sandylands Drinkwater", for £8 19s. A "bill" in this context is an early form of endorsable cheque. The order in this letter was for eighteen corals, six pairs of shoe clasps and three bottle tickets. Drinkwater was encouraged to fulfil the order as soon as possible so that it might be included with goods from the Paynes in a "box"; this appears to have been a locked box which travelled on a wagon or coach between London and Liverpool, with the keys held by Mosley and the Paynes.

1747 My Letter to M<sup>r</sup>. Sand<sup>s</sup>. Drinkwater London

Liverpoole 7 Aug<sup>st</sup> 1747

M<sup>r</sup>. Drinkwater S<sup>r</sup>.

I hope you will Excuse me not mak<sup>e</sup>.

You a return for the Goods I Bo<sup>t</sup>. of you before now – The above Bill is on M<sup>s</sup><sup>rs</sup>. Sitwell & Co and don't doubt but it will meet with honour, I desire you will send me six plain Eight Bell Currell, six with six bells Each, six with 4 Bells Each, six p<sup>r</sup>. of

shoes Clasps & 3 Labells Red & White ports & one for Madeara, I shall have a Box from Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Paynes in Cheapside so that if you send them soon they may Come with it, & I will take Care to make you a return in due time I am w<sup>th</sup>. respects  
Sr. your mo<sup>t</sup>. Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

TM

In November 1747 Mosley wrote to Drinkwater with another order for goods. The letter was again accompanied by a bill, this one drawn by Mosley

on Hump<sup>y</sup>. & John Payne, Goldsmiths in Cheapside, London, payable to Mr. Sandylands Drinkwater, for £15.

Mosley complained that Drinkwater's corals were "very dear" but ordered six more (although three were required to be "somewhat cheaper"), six dozen buttons, six wine labels, four boatswains' calls and six pairs of clasps.

M<sup>r</sup> Drinkwater Liverpoole 24<sup>th</sup>. Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1747

S<sup>r</sup>. the above bill is drawn on Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Paynes which you will please to Credit my acc<sup>t</sup>. the Currells you sent me last was very dear I hope you will make me amends in send<sup>e</sup>. me six Chaist Currells three of them of the best sort & the other three to be some what Cheaper six Dozen of Coat Buttons flatt & of two sizes, six Labells for Bottles, Two of them Red p<sup>t</sup>. Two of them White p<sup>t</sup>. & Two of Clarett, 4 Boatsw<sup>ns</sup>. Calls, six p<sup>r</sup>. of Burnish stock Clasps & desire y<sup>r</sup>. hast by reason M<sup>r</sup>. Payne will have some goods to send Down to me, & you may send these with his, I will send you a Bill soon I am w<sup>th</sup> respects

S<sup>r</sup>. yo<sup>r</sup>. Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>. TM

In these two letters of August and November 1747, Mosley ordered from Drinkwater a total of twenty-four corals, twelve pairs of clasps, nine wine labels, six dozen coat buttons in two sizes and four boatswain's calls. On other occasions Mosley also sent orders to Payne for wine labels which Drinkwater may have supplied. Boatswains' calls are an item not previously associated with Drinkwater and may have been bought in, although the manufacturing techniques required have similarities to corals.

In the case of both these orders, there are references to previous purchases made by Mosley from Drinkwater and payment for these orders. Drinkwater was in a position to supply credit to Mosley, as indeed he had done to John Neville, a prominent West End retailer. This indicates that Drinkwater had a financially well-capitalised business to supply goods to retailing goldsmiths;

the items ordered in these two letters from Mosley bear a close correlation with the product range listed in manuscript on the reverse of Drinkwater's trade card.

Similar details relating to Drinkwater's dealings with other customers have not been discovered. It may, however, be relevant to note that Margaret Binley, widow of his former apprentice Richard Binley and a subsequent occupant of Drinkwater's premises, appears in the Garrard Ledgers as a supplier of buttons, buckles and bottle labels between 1767 and 1770<sup>29</sup>. This raises the possibility that she was continuing a business relationship started by Drinkwater.

Sandylands Drinkwater's contacts spread overseas too. Ledgers at the Bank of England<sup>30</sup> show that in 1756-57 Gerardus Stoutinburgh, a Jamaican retailing jeweller and goldsmith, bought £1,000 nominal of the 3% Annuity Government Stock at a cost of nearly £900; he acquired a further £1,000 of the same stock in 1759-60. Part of this holding was acquired from Drinkwater who acted as his London representative and was authorised to collect the dividends on his behalf. When Stoutinburgh died in 1766, under his will<sup>31</sup>, Drinkwater was appointed administrator of this account and, if he thought fit, the sale or transfer of the £900 of 3% Annuity Stock, then held at his death by Stoutinburgh, for the benefit of Stoutinburgh's widow Ann. A clause in the will also stated

I do hereby give and bequeath to my Worthy Correspondent Sandilands Drinkwater of London Goldsmith four guineas for a ring in remembrance of me .

This bequest exceeds the customary one guinea normally suggested for mourning rings and combined with the description "Worthy Correspondent" indicates an enduring business relationship. Drinkwater was the only London goldsmith mentioned in Stoutinburgh's will, and had been acting as agent for an overseas retailer in

an important and prosperous colony. It raises the possibility that he was also supplying such services to other retailers away from London, both domestically and overseas.

### Contacts with other goldsmiths

There is evidence of considerable contact with other goldsmiths. One example appears in the will of the goldsmith Thomas Cooke, partner of Richard Gurney, who died in 1761<sup>32</sup>. He left to several friends, among them Drinkwater, a gold ring to the value of one guinea. Other friends to be similarly recognised included the goldsmiths: Edward Aldridge, Samuel Bates, Walter Brind, Thomas Gilpin, Samuel Wood and Samuel Eaton.

Samuel Eaton was "an eminent buckle-maker"<sup>33</sup> who had premises in Huggin Lane off Gutter Lane<sup>34</sup>. In 1766 he was an executor of the will of William Taylor<sup>35</sup>, another Huggin Lane buckle-maker; there were local suppliers of clasps and buckles should Drinkwater have needed to buy these in. Eaton died in 1767 and one of the executors of Eaton's will was Drinkwater's friend the goldsmith Thomas Whipham, who earlier had had premises in nearby Foster Lane.

Drinkwater took an active part in the affairs of his parish of St John Zachary, the parish in which his premises were located<sup>36</sup>. He was elected Upper Churchwarden of the parish in 1743, was one of two Elder Auditors in six years and Overseer of the Poor in four years; the last in 1760, the year in which he was last recorded as a taxpayer in Gutter Lane. In 1746 he lent the parish £50 to cover a revenue shortfall, and shrewdly obtained an interest rate of 5%. These parish activities brought him into contact with other goldsmiths holding offices in the parish at this time, they included: Samuel Bates, Walter Brind, Richard Bayley, Edward Aldridge, Gawen Nash, Francis Spilsbury and Joseph Steward. The parish records of the neighbouring church of St Vedast alias Foster<sup>37</sup>,

26 The National Archives, Kew (TNA), Creditors of John Neville.

27 *A Catalogue of all the Genuine Stock in Trade of Mr. John Neville, Goldsmith and Jeweller, late of Norris-street, in the Haymarket, a Bankrupt*. British Library, English Short Title Catalogue, system no 006266592, citation no T171776.

28 Letter book of Thomas Mosley of Liverpool.

29 Helen Clifford, *Silver in London The Parker & Wakelin Partnership 1760-1776*, Yale, 2004, the Binleys are discussed on pp 106 and 127. Margaret Binley is also noted by Clifford as stringing pearls for Parker and Wakelin.

30 Archives of the Bank of England, where the ledgers are labelled by stock and, within stock, by years covered in each ledger. See Appendix 2 below for details of the ledgers in

which Stoutinburgh and Drinkwater's holdings appear.

31 TNA, will of Gerardus Stoutinburgh, PROB 11/95, 1769.

32 TNA, will of Thomas Cooke, PROB 11/871, 1761. This was Thomas Cooke II, partner of Richard Gurney, his death was indicated by a change in the entry in the Land Tax registers, as note 5.

33 *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 4 November 1767, reporting Samuel Eaton's death.

34 Locations from Assay Office registers and Land Tax assessments at the LMA. Samuel Bates, Walter Brind and Samuel Wood had premises in Gutter or Foster Lanes.

35 TNA, will of William Taylor, PROB 11/924, 1766.

36 LMA, St John Zachary Vestry Minutes, MS 00591/1 and 00591/2.

37 LMA, St Vedast and St Michael Le Querne Vestry and Precinct Minute Book, MS00779/001.

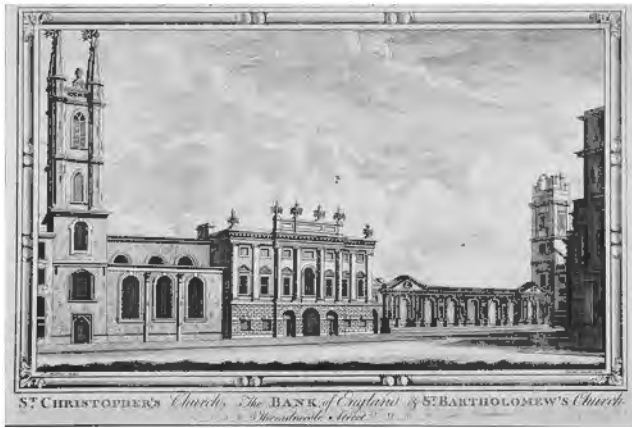


Fig 10 Thomas Malton, engraved by Adam Smith, View of the Bank of England with adjacent churches, circa 1775

(Courtesy of City of London, London Metropolitan Archives)

another church frequented by goldsmiths, also mention in 1740, a Mr Drinkwater of Gutter Lane. Drinkwater may have attended this church as that of his parish of St John Zachary was burnt down in the fire of 1665 and was not rebuilt.

His association with other goldsmiths is reflected in his ascent within the Goldsmiths' Company. Following his freedom in 1726, he was elected to the Livery in 1737 and to the Court of Assistants in 1745; he was an assiduous attendee at their meetings. He became a Warden in 1757 and Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1761/62<sup>38</sup>. Of the Prime Wardens elected in the twenty-five years between 1746/47 and 1770/71 only four were goldsmiths who had registered marks and Drinkwater was the only smallworker among the four, a reflection of his progress in the trade. His election in 1761 happened to be fortunate timing: as a Master of one of the twelve leading livery companies, he was

permitted to serve in the office of Butlership, in aid to the Lord Mayor as Chief Butler of England

at the coronation of George III<sup>39</sup>.

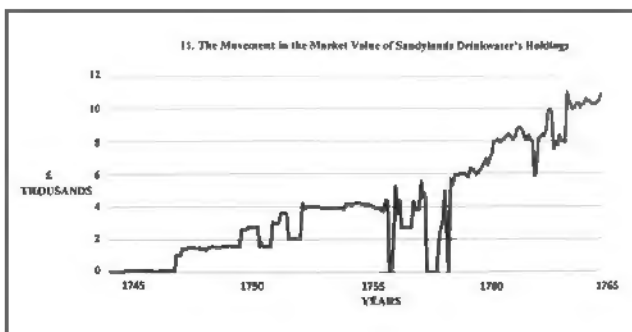


Fig 11 Chart showing the market values of Drinkwater's investments

## Financial activities

Ledgers at the Bank of England [Fig 10] provide information about Drinkwater's finances through his holdings of government stock<sup>40</sup>, bought and sold at the Bank through brokers. He had a number of holdings from the 1740s up until his death thirty years later; in addition he had for a time holdings of East India Company bonds. Examination of the relevant ledgers shows that Drinkwater was investing growing and increasingly substantial sums of money. From an initial investment of under £100 in 1744, the total value had increased to over £10,000 by 1763. We cannot be certain of the sources of this money but there is no evidence that he inherited substantial sums, nor does the pattern of investment suggest that he was acting as a banker. At least a part seems likely to have been derived from his trade as a goldsmith and to reflect his business success.

His balances do show marked fluctuations from time to time; the reasons of this are not known to us today. It may be that he was investing money in these stocks when it was not being used to finance various trading activities. The fluctuations tend, however, to be short term reductions in a long-term upward trend and suggest that at times he was temporarily placing money in other types of financial investments about which we do not have details.

The chart [Fig 11] shows the market value of his holdings between 1744 and 1764 for which we do have details. As noted, the overall trend is of the increasing value of his holdings but this overall trend may be sub-divided into several time periods. The data is based on actual values at the end of each month.

**Accumulation October 1744 – January 1755:** The earliest entry so far found was in 1744, when he bought £105 nominal of the 3% Annuity 1743 at a cost of just over £97. He made further investments in other stocks in late 1746 and early 1747 and again in September 1749 and the market value of his holdings at the end of 1749 amounted to £2,755. Sales in June 1750 reduced the value by over £1,000 but a substantial purchase in December 1750 increased the value to over £3,500. He made some sales in July 1751 which reduced the value to around £2,000 but he then made substantial purchases early in 1752 and the value fluctuated between £3,850 and £4,200 through to early 1755. During the ten years following his initial investment he had built up useful capital but had also reduced his holdings of government stocks for short periods in 1750 and 1751. Such sales may indicate that he was utilising part of his funds to finance the growth of his business.



**Volatility February 1755 - November 1757:** The years of steady accumulation of investments were followed by two years of volatility. In February 1755 he sold half his holdings at the Bank of England and in November 1755 he disposed of the rest. He held no government stocks for little more than two months and early in 1756 he was back in buying mood and his holdings briefly leapt to around £6,000 before settling down in the range of £3,800 to £5,500 until May 1757. Then in June 1757 he again sold all his holdings and there was a period of six months when no holdings are recorded. While this appears as a volatile period, in practice his money must have been located elsewhere, in a form not known to us today, rather than reflecting any financial problems for the upward trend of his known holdings resumed thereafter.

**Steady growth December 1757 onwards:** His next investments were not in government stock but in East India Company bonds which he started buying in December 1757 and his investment increased to nearly £7,000 at the end of 1759. East India Company bonds formed the major part of his holdings for the next five years but to this he also added government stocks and the value of his holdings rose to nearly £10,000 by September 1762. There were some sales later that year but purchases in mid-1763 took the value to over £10,000 and to a peak of some £11,000 by mid-1764.

These were the early years of his retirement and this increase in value points to his withdrawal from trading activities and the consolidation and stabilisation of his wealth. The chart ends in 1764 and thereafter there were few changes in his holdings, although there was a transfer of approximately £1,350 to a joint account held with his nephew in mid-1766, a purchase of some £900 in early 1769, and some re-arrangement in late 1770. At his death in October 1776, the value of his holdings was just under £9,500; prices of government stocks had tended to drift down in the years of his retirement and he had made the transfer of stock to his nephew.

The ledgers in the Bank of England archive also reveal that Drinkwater was involved as a joint holder of government stock with several different parties, suggesting

some financial or entrepreneurial activity. These included: Henry Smith of Oxford, a deceased mercer; Charles Child, an insurance agent and John Kemp, a goldsmith. Kemp had premises in Cary Lane, close to Drinkwater's and he was succeeded there by Francis Ruffin, a maker of chain<sup>41</sup>; chains were required for Drinkwater's bottle tickets.

### Retirement to the country

Drinkwater is recorded in the Land Tax assessments<sup>42</sup> as paying tax at his premises in Gutter Lane until 1760/61, he retired to become Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1761/62. His premises were taken over by his former apprentice Richard Binley, who had become free in 1739 and in 1745 had taken premises further down Gutter Lane, at what became number 11 in the 1760s street numbering<sup>43</sup>. Binley's trade sign there was the 'Crown & Coral'<sup>44</sup>, an interesting variation on Drinkwater's 'Hand & Coral' sign. Drinkwater's last apprentice, Charles Quinney, was turned over to Binley in April 1761, who then registered marks in September and December 1761<sup>45</sup>, having moved into Drinkwater's premises. The similarity of the trade signs, the move to Drinkwater's former premises and the appearance of his mark on items very similar to those bearing Drinkwater's mark indicate a close personal and trade relationship.

Further links between the two were apparent from Richard Binley's will of 1764<sup>46</sup> in which he appointed Sandylands Drinkwater as one of two trustees to assist his widow Margaret: the sole executrix. When the Binley's daughter Margaret married in 1770 Drinkwater and widow Binley were the witnesses to the marriage at St Anne's and St Agnes church, London<sup>47</sup>.

Sandilands Drinkwater, he had in the 1750s tended to replace the y in his name with an i, retired to St Albans, Hertfordshire with his wife Rebecca and he first appears in the Churchwardens' Rates Register there in 1760<sup>48</sup>. St Albans was a small market town some twenty miles north of London. Rebecca died there on 13 December 1762<sup>49</sup>; they had no surviving children though the parish registers of St John Zachary in London<sup>50</sup> record that their

38 Goldsmiths' Company Minute Books and as quoted in Grimwade, *op cit*, see note 2, p 494.

39 *London Evening Post*, 15 to 17 September 1761, issue 5286.

40 Ledgers at the Bank of England Archive.

41 Kemp information from Grimwade, *op cit*, see note 2,

p 569, referring to Heal p 236.

42 LMA, Land Tax assessments for the ward of Farringdon Within, Gutter Lane precinct.

43 Name recorded in the Land Tax assessments (see note 5) as Bindley up to 1759/60, thereafter as Binley.

44 *Daily Advertiser*, issue

4566, p 3, column 1, Saturday 10 August 1745 and F G Hilton-Price, *London Topographical Record*, vol IV, *Signs of Old London*, Guildhall Library, London, p 79: "Crown and Coral, Gutter Lane 1745 Richard Binley".

45 Goldsmiths' Company registers.

46 TNA, will of Richard

Binley, PROB 11/898, date 1764. He was buried on 12 May 1764: LMA St John Zachary Parish Registers, MS 6769.

47 LMA, St John Zachary Parish Registers, MS 6771/1, 22 September 1770.

48 Hertfordshire Archives, Central Library, Hertford (henceforward Herts Archives), St Albans Abbey

and Yard Parish Registers, microfilm D/P90/4/11/3 and 4.

49 *Ibid*, records "Mrs Drinkwater, buried on 18 Dec 1762" microfilm D/P90/4/11/4 46. Memorial stone states death as 13 December 1762.

50 LMA, St John Zachary Parish Registers microfilm MS 6769.

son William was christened on 24 June 1748 but was buried on 3 November of the same year.

A year after his first wife's death, Sandilands Drinkwater married Katherine Copper at St Alban's church, Wood Street, London, the Parish Register<sup>51</sup> stating

9 Dec 1763 Sandilands Drinkwater, of the Parish of St Albans in the County of Hertford Widower and Katherine Copper of the Parish of St Olave Silver Street London Widow were married in this Church by Licence by T Whipps Witnesses: Tho Whipham, Mary Darby.

The parish of St Olave's, Silver Street was a little to the north of Drinkwater's former parish of St John Zachary. Katherine Copper was the widow of Henry Copper, a member of the Goldsmiths' Company, listed by Heal<sup>52</sup> as an assayer and a taxpayer in the 1750s, in Cary Lane which was adjacent to Gutter Lane; his widow was taxpayer there for three years after his death. Thomas Whipham, one of the two witnesses to the marriage, was also a member, and a prominent one, of the Goldsmiths' Company. He too had retired to St Albans<sup>53</sup> and Drinkwater appointed his "worthy friends" Whipham and Whipham's former partner Charles Wright as executors of his will<sup>54</sup>.

Sandilands Drinkwater died in St Albans on 13 October 1765 and was buried in St Albans Abbey<sup>56</sup>. A memorial floor stone inside St Albans Abbey lists, or rather used to list, Elizabeth Drinkwater his sister who had married a Richard Drinkwater and was the mother of his nephew, also named Sandilands; Rebecca Drinkwater his first wife and Sandilands Drinkwater himself.

In his will, Drinkwater left a house in St Albans and property including a library of books<sup>57</sup> and government stocks with a market value at his death of just under £9,500. The principal beneficiaries were his second wife Katherine and his nephew Sandilands Drinkwater.

His widow Katharine was left the household goods and furniture, fifty books of her choice from his library and an annuity of £200 per annum derived from the interest from £6,700 nominal of 3% Consols which were to be held in trust for this purpose by his executors, his "trusty friends" Thomas Whipham and Charles Wright, who each received the substantial sum of £50. His nephew was left his house in St Albans, subject to paying Katharine £20 per annum if he lived in it himself rather than permitting her to remain there, the remaining library and the two bookcases (subject to paying a fair appraisal for them to Katharine) and the rest of his property including £4,500 nominal of government stock and the £6,700 nominal of 3% Consols on Katharine's death.

Furthermore his uncle had, in 1772 transferred to him from a joint account, £1,500 nominal of government stock, worth at then market prices some £1,350<sup>58</sup>.

### The nephew's inheritance

A month after his uncle's death, his nephew Sandilands Drinkwater was elected to the Livery of the Goldsmiths' Company in November 1776; he had become free by redemption in October 1772<sup>59</sup> although he was a hosier by trade<sup>60</sup>. He profited considerably from his uncle's death but had difficulties in persuading his uncle's executors, Whipham and Wright, to release the money willed to him. Indeed in 1777 he brought a case in the Chancery Courts to try to force their hand<sup>61</sup>; subsequently in April 1778 £4,000 of the 4% annuity, worth some £3,500, was transferred to him. He did not, however, live long enough to enjoy this wealth; he was buried in St Albans on 30 September 1781<sup>62</sup>. Among the assets left to his wife in his will<sup>63</sup> was his share in the licensed privateer

Penryn private ship of war whereof Sharron Jenkin is commander now lying in the harbour at Falmouth and also all the share or shares of the prizes she has already taken or may hereafter take during the time I have any property therein.

Maybe those respectable goldsmiths Whipham and Wright regarded the release of money to someone with an inclination to speculative tendencies as unappealing; always assuming the occasionally volatile nature of his uncle's investment holdings did not reflect similar proclivities.

### Appendix 1: Sandylands Drinkwater's apprentices

In total Drinkwater took on eight apprentices between 1731 and 1757 and for the majority of that period had two apprentices working at the same time, even assuming that the two who did not become free did not complete their term. Of Drinkwater's eight apprentices only Richard Binley and maybe Thomas Hall are known to have registered their own marks at Goldsmiths' Hall.

**6 / page 155. Jeremiah Austin.** Son of John Austin of Bunhill Fields, Thread Thrower. 15 December 1731 for 7 years £15. Free 5 July 1739

**6 / page 156. Richard Binley.** Son of William Binley late of Little Wickston in the county of Leicester, Farmer decd. 13 January 1731/2 for 7 years £20. Free 6 December 1739

**6 / page 221. John Newton.** Son of Richard Newton, citizen and Joynor of London. 1st July 1736 for 7 years £21

**6 / page 270. William Gray.** Son of William Gray, City of Canterbury, Tallow Chandler and Grocer. 5 July 1739 for 7 years £30. Free 1 October 1746

7 / **page 28. Thomas Reynolds.** Son of Thomas Reynolds. Late of Chandos Street, Tallow Chandler decd 3 March 1742 for 7 Years £-. Free 4 July 1750

7 / **page 78. Matthew Bagwell.** Son of Jacob Bagwell of the parish of St Leonard Shoreditch in the county of Middlesex, Weaver. 1 October 1746 for 7 years £30

7 / **page 115. Thomas Hall.** Son of Nathaniel Hall, Citizen and Butcher of London. 3 May 1749 [for 7 years] £21. Free 7 November 1759

7 / **page 279. Charles Quinney.** Son of George Quinney of St Albans in the county of Hertford, Taylor 30 May 1757 for 7 years £-. 16 April 1761 [turned over to] to Richard Binley. Free 3 July 1765.

Source: Goldsmiths' Company Apprentice Books 6 and 7 and Freedom Records

## Appendix 2: Investment holdings of Sandylands Drinkwater

Sandylands Drinkwater is recorded in ledgers at the Bank of England as holding the following government stocks:

3% *Annuity* 1726: held January-April 1749. 3% *Annuity* 1731: July 1750. 3% *Annuity* 1750: December 1750-August 1751. 3% *Annuity* 1743: September 1744-May 1749 and September 1749-May 1750. 4% *Annuity* 1746: December 1746-October 1752. 4% *Annuity* 1747 *Lottery*: March 1747-October 1752. 3% *Consols*: March 1754-February 1755, January 1756-June 1757 and November 1760-October 1776. 3% *Reduced Annuity*: November 1752-October 1755, February-April 1756 and November 1756-February 1757. 3% *Reduced Annuity 2nd Subscription*: February-November 1755 and March-June 1757. 3% *Annuity* 1750: December 1750-August 1751. 3.5% *Annuity* 1756: April 1756-June 1757. South Sea Company 3% *Annuity* 1751: February 1751-March 1754. 4% *Annuity* 1760 *conv* 1762: February 1760-October 1776.

He is recorded in the ledgers of the East India Company at the British Library as holding East India Company stock: December 1757-March 1763 [British Library L/AG/14/5/12]

It should be noted that the ledgers record the amount of stock held, showing the par or face value at the time of purchase or sale, par value being the value when the stock was originally issued. The actual market value could subsequently fluctuate according to demand in the marketplace. So, for example, £100 of the stock 3% *Annuity* 1743 was issued at £100 and paid £3 interest per annum. If a purchaser some time later bought £100 nominal of stock when the price had fallen to 90, they paid £90 to acquire the stock and received £3 interest per annum for their £90 investment, giving them an annual yield of 3.33%. The ledgers would show the purchase as the par value £100, not the market value of £90. In practice, the actual prices of the various stocks normally range at various times from about £85 to £105.

In calculating the market value, as opposed to nominal or par values, of Drinkwater's purchases and holdings at the end of each month, prices of each stock have been taken from John Castaing's *The Course of the Exchange*, published in this period by George Shergold, (Guildhall Library, London closed access 1458-1460). Where more than one price was quoted in this publication on the day nearest the end of the month, a middle or average price has been taken.

## Acknowledgements

My grateful thanks to the staff of the Guildhall Library and the London Metropolitan Archives, to Sarah Millard at the Bank of England Archives, to Clive Taylor for guidance on clasps and buckles, to Robyn Caddy for buttons, to David Beasley, Librarian of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, for his valuable advice, suggestions and assistance and to the Goldsmiths' Company for permission to quote from their records and to Robert B Barker for the benefit of his inspiration, deep knowledge of the period and constructive comments.

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

51 LMA, St Albans, Wood Street, London Parish Registers MS 6528. While Katharine Copper was resident in the parish of St Olave, the church had burnt down in the fire of 1666 and was not rebuilt; the parish and St Albans were united in 1670.

52 *Op cit*, see note 6, p 130.

53 Described in Sandilands Drinkwater's will (see note 51) as "of St Albans".

54 TNA, will of Sandilands Drinkwater, PROB 11/1024, 1776.

55 Herts Archives, William Blyth Gerish, *Hertfordshire Monumental Inscriptions: St Albans Abbey & Yard*, microfilm 13, recorded the date on his memorial floor stone in the south transept of St Albans Abbey; his age at death was stated to be 70. The details noted by Gerish in circa 1915 have been worn away; the stone is at

the foot of a relatively modern staircase, with one newel post unfortunately planted on the stone.

56 Herts Archives, buried 20 October 1776, St Albans Abbey and Yard Parish Registers, microfilm D/P90/4/11/4.

57 He was listed as a subscriber to John Baskerville's classic 1758 printing of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (BMus G.11576).

58 Drinkwater transferred stock into a joint account in both their names in 1766 and this was transferred into the nephew's account in 1772.

59 Goldsmiths' Company records.

60 Described as such in his will (see note 63).

61 TNA, Courts of Chancery C, 12/1345/36.

62 Herts Archives, St Albans Abbey and Yard Parish Registers, microfilm D/P90/4/11/4

63 TNA, will of Sandilands Drinkwater, PROB 11/1083, 1781.



# A Magnificent Deception: the re-evaluation of a *pot à oille* from the Parisian Service in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art

DONNA CORBIN AND SALLY MALENKA

## The Service

Sometime prior to the spring of 1757, Elizabeth, Empress of Russia (1741-62) and daughter of Peter (I) the Great (1682-1725), ordered a grand dinner and dessert service from the Parisian silversmith François-Thomas Germain (1726-91)<sup>1</sup>. The service, which originally numbered more than five hundred pieces, inclusive of cutlery, and which was known in Russia as the Parisian Service, was probably intended for use at the nearly completed Winter Palace in St Petersburg, a building Elizabeth had commissioned from the architect Bartolomeo Rastrelli (1700-71) that is today among the most beautiful Baroque buildings in the world. Elizabeth's choice of a Frenchman to produce the silver service no doubt demonstrated her keen desire to align herself and Russia with its more sophisticated and enlightened European neighbours.

At the time of Elizabeth's commission Germain was the head of the most important silver workshop in Paris. A member of a dynasty of Parisian goldsmiths that dated back to the 1640s, François-Thomas was the son of the silversmith Thomas Germain (1673-1748) whom he succeeded as *sculpteur-orfèvre du Roi* in 1748. Along with the title, François-Thomas inherited his father's international reputation as well as the apartment he had occupied in the Galeries du Louvre, a workshop on the rue des Orties, and the contents of the two sites, which included among other things, the important collection of workshop drawings and models in wax, terracotta, wood and lead that the senior Germain had employed during his career. The output of the younger Germain's workshop was substantial particularly by the late 1750s when, despite fewer commissions from the French court, in part a result of France's involvement in the Seven Years' War<sup>2</sup>, it was engaged in the production of the service for Empress Elizabeth as well as an even larger service ordered by Joseph I of Portugal in 1756 to replace the one Germain's father had originally supplied to the Portuguese crown and which had been destroyed in the Lisbon earthquake of 1755<sup>3</sup>.

Although nothing is known about the circumstances of the commission of the Parisian Service, the delivery and

much of its subsequent history is recorded in documents preserved in the Russian Court Ministerial Archives. These documents were published in 1907 by Baron Armin Yevgenyevich von Foelkersam (1861-1917), a senior curator at the Hermitage Museum, in his *Inventaire de l'Argenterie conservée dans les garde-meubles des Palais Impériaux: Palais d'Hiver, Palais Anitchkov et Château Gatchino*<sup>4</sup>.

According to the Russian documents, payments to Germain for the Parisian Service began on 23 April 1757<sup>5</sup>, by which time the design, weight and price had been established<sup>6</sup>, and continued until 7 July 1761<sup>7</sup>; the cost of the entire service was 147,445 *livres*, 15 *sols*, 3 *deniers* of which 6,746 *livres*, 16 *sols* went unpaid<sup>8</sup>. The first shipment included dishes and platters of various sizes and shapes, some of which had covers; ten dozen plates; eight dozen sets of cutlery; four cruet stands; twelve salt cellars; four mustard pots; four pairs of candelabra; four sauce boats and four wine bottle coolers. These were forwarded from Paris to Vienna in the summer of 1761 by the Paris bankers Bouffier and Dangirard and from there to St Petersburg by the Russian Ambassador in Vienna, Count Hermann-Karl Keyserling<sup>9</sup>. The silver was delivered to the Court Office in St Petersburg by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in August of 1761 and subsequently to the Court Silver Steward Andrei Stahlberg and Captain Ivan Chirikov who weighed and recorded the pieces, the Assay Master Ivan Frolov, and George Hintz, Master of the Court Silver, who engraved the individual pieces with inventory numbers<sup>10</sup>.

The first shipment was accompanied by a letter notifying the recipients that the tureens for the service were not yet completed and would be sent at a later date<sup>11</sup>. The second shipment, which consisted of two black suede-lined leather chests and three smaller cases containing the four tureens and stands with their spoons and four *pots à oille* and stands with their spoons along with forty-eight sets of gilded flatware for the dessert course, was received by Stahlberg, Frolov and Hintz beginning in February of 1762<sup>12</sup>, by which

Fig1 Pot à oille  
(Philadelphia  
Museum of Art,  
accession 1954-81-  
1a--c, purchased  
with Museum  
funds, 1954)  
(Photograph by Joe  
Mikuliak)



time Empress Elizabeth had died never having taken possession of the service<sup>13</sup>. Although Elizabeth's successor Peter III (1762) evidently knew and admired the service, it came to be associated with his wife and successor, Catherine (II) the Great (1762-96), who during her long reign imported to Russia not only Western artists and intellectuals but also a staggering amount of Western art including a reported seventeen silver dinner services<sup>14</sup>.

The Parisian Service was used on various state occasions throughout Catherine's reign, and the numerous mentions of it in *Kamerfurerski ceremonialnyj zjurnal* (The Journals of the Gentleman Usher) attest to its popularity in the eighteenth century. One such event cited in *The Journals* took place on 5 February 1786, following the

birth of the Grand Duchess Maria when

Her Imperial Majesty and his Imperial Highness were pleased to give a dinner in the Banqueting Hall for thirty guests [...] the table was set with the silver Parisian service<sup>15</sup>.

Additions to the service were made in the eighteenth century by the St Petersburg silversmith Johan Fredrik Köpping<sup>16</sup>: five salt cellars in 1767; twelve more along with four mustard pots in 1767; four covered dishes, ten ice pails, eight water jugs, 120 sweetmeat dishes, and candelabra in 1770, as well as covers for existing dishes which were modelled on those supplied by Germain as part of the original service<sup>17</sup>. In the course of the nine-

1 For a history of the Parisian Service see Christiane Perrin, *François Thomas Germain Orfèvre des Rois*, Saint-Rémy-en-l'Éau, 1993, p 202ff.

2 In fact, in an effort to fund France's involvement in the Seven Years' War, Louis XV imposed sumptuary laws requiring citizens to surrender their silver to the Mint to be melted down.

3 The service is now in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon. See Isabel de Silveria Godinho (editor), *A Baixela de Sua*

*Majestade Fidelíssima: Uma Obra de François Thomas Germain*, Lisbon, 2002.

4 Baron A de Foelkersam, *Inventaire de l'Argenterie Conservée dans les Garde-Meubles des Palais Impériaux*, vol I (in French); *Palais d'Hiver, Palais Anitchkov et Château de Gatchino*, vol II (catalogue), St Petersburg, 1907. Marino Lopato, Curator of Western Silver at the Hermitage, gives some conflicting information in "Catherine II's Collection of French Silver," *Catherine the Great and Gustav III* (exhibition catalogue),

Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 9 October 1998 – 28 February 1999, pp 579-584.

5 Baron A de Foelkersam, *op cit*, see note 4, p 53.

6 Christiane Perrin, *op cit*, see note 1, p 203.

7 Baron A de Foelkersam, *op cit*, see note 4, p 3.

8 Baron A de Foelkersam, *ibid*, p 53. In order to provide some context for the cost of the service, in the mid-eighteenth century a labourer made between 100 and 300 livres per year;

alternatively it required over 100,000 livres a year to maintain a princely standard of living.

9 *Ibid*, p50.

10 *Ibid*, p 52.

11 Marina Lopato, *op cit*, see note 4, p 579.

12 Baron A de Foelkersam, *op cit*, see note 4, p 54. The tureens and pots were engraved with the inventory numbers 470-477; their stands were engraved with the numbers 478-485.

13 Christiane Perrin, *op cit*, see note 1, pp 204-205, 215.

14 Marina Lopato, *op cit*, see note 4, 1999, p 580.

15 *Ibid*, p 579.

16 Köpping, the son of a Swedish goldsmith who was working in St Petersburg already in 1718, received innumerable commissions from the Imperial court during his long career.

17 Baron A de Foelkersam, *op cit*, see note 4, p 54.

teenth century pieces of the service were dispersed and others were melted down<sup>18</sup>. In addition, a number of pieces, most notably the candelabra<sup>19</sup>, were modified. By the time of de Foelkersam's 1907 publication, there were less than seventy-five pieces of the Parisian Service still in the Imperial Collection. De Foelkersam's designation "in 1904-in the 'museum'," suggests that by the early twentieth century what remained of the service, the four tureens and four *pots à oille* with their stands, twenty-three dishes of various shapes and sizes, thirty-eight platters of various sizes, and three candelabra, had been transferred to the Hermitage Museum<sup>20</sup>.

## The Tureens

In the eighteenth century tureens were important elements of any grand dinner service whether in silver or porcelain and they were often the most spectacular and costly pieces in a service. In France, and in places where the French taste was mimicked, dinner services were generally supplied with tureens in two shapes: oval, which was intended for soup, and round. The round tureens were known as *pots à oille*, their name derived from the fashionable stew they were intended to hold<sup>21</sup>.

Magnificent examples of mid-eighteenth-century Rococo design, the Parisian Service tureens and *pots* are surmounted with finials in the form of putti some of whom are involved in activities relating to the hunt: a putto with a falcon (on two *pots*); a putto with a sling (on two *pots*); two putti with a dog (on two tureens); two putti with a goat (on two tureens). All of the tureens and *pots* bear the applied Russian Imperial arms, a double-headed eagle supporting a crown and a central oval escutcheon depicting St George. The putti on the covers recall the work of such contemporary sculptors as Louis-Félix de la Rue (1731-63) who in the early 1750s provided models for similar groups of putti to the Vincennes porcelain factory<sup>22</sup>.

Evidence provided by an undated drawing of a *pot à oille*

attributed to Thomas Germain<sup>23</sup> suggests that the design for the Parisian Service tureens and *pots* may have relied heavily on models executed by his father. The younger Germain had produced a somewhat less exuberant version of the Parisian Service tureen a few years earlier<sup>24</sup>. The shape and decoration of the tureens were largely duplicated from those in the previously mentioned service Germain's workshop had made for Joseph I<sup>25</sup>. It is also possible that tureens of the same basic model were made in the period for two other French clients, a Minister Berryer and the duc de Chaulnes<sup>26</sup>.

In addition to the Russian documents an undated 'Memoire' signed by Germain provides some insight into the production of the Parisian Service<sup>27</sup>. In this document charges (for the silver, fashioning, etc) relating to two of each of the tureens and *pots* with their spoons were dated 21 May 1759; the charges for the remaining four along with the dessert flatware were dated some two years later on 22 June 1761<sup>28</sup>. Prior to their departure for Russia, Germain showed the tureens and *pots* to the French court at Marly<sup>29</sup>, and a notice in *l'Avant-coureur* on 13 July 1761 records that the tureens and *pots* were exhibited in Germain's apartment at the Louvre. The notice reads

*Six terrines et six pots à oille qui méritent l'attention des connoisseurs. Ces pièces, qui pèsent environ 60 marcs chacune, ont la forme de ces vases ovales antiques destinées aux sacrifices. Chaque vase porte sur un grand plateau chantourné et godronné. Des guirlandes de fleurs tournent autour de ces vases dont les milieux sont chargés de l'écusson de Moscovie en relief...* [The six tureens and six *pots à oille* deserve the attention of connoisseurs. These pieces, which weigh around 60 marks each, take the form of oval antique sacrificial vases. Each vase is carried on a grand shaped and gadrooned plateau. The garland of flowers surrounding the vases is charged in the middle with the Muscovite coat of arms in relief]<sup>30</sup>.

18 *Ibid*, pp 55ff.

19 *Ibid*, p 56. A pair of candelabra, two of the original eight from the Parisian Service, are today in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art. The candelabra have three-branches which suggests that they left the Imperial collection sometime before 1847 when the remaining six candelabra were converted to five branches.

20 *Ibid*, pp 37ff.

21 According to a 1768 definition, *oille* derived from the Spanish *olla* for cooking pot. It defined a stew consisting of a variety of meats and vegetables that was introduced into France from Spain in the seventeenth century, and which was popularised by the Spanish wives of Louis XIII and Louis XIV.

22 Émile Bourgeois and Georges Lechavallier-Chevignard, *Le biscuit de Sèvres, I, recueil des modèles de la Manufacture de Sèvres*

*au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, undated (1913), pls 1, 2.

23 *Designing the Décor: French Drawings from the 18th century* (exhibition catalogue), Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, 19 October 2005 - 15 January 2006, pp 102-3.

24 Christiane Perrin, *op cit*, see note 1, p 149.

25 *Ibid*, p 147.

26 *Ibid*, pp 149, 283 n40.

27 *Ibid*, pp 251-254.

28 According to de Foelkersam, all of the tureens and *pots* are marked with the letter S for 1758-1759 with the exception of one of the *pots* which is marked with the letter T for 1759-1760. Likewise all of the stands are marked with the letter S with the exception of two, which are marked with a V for 1760-61.

29 Christiane Perrin, *op cit* see note 1, p 209.

30 *Ibid*, p 204. Somewhat puzzling is the mention of six of each form. Although no distinction is made in the decoration, including the existence of the Russian arms, Perrin conjectures that the additional tureens were those made for M Berryer or another client.

31 Anne Odom and Wendy R Salmond (editors), *Treasures into Tractors: The Selling of Russia's Cultural History 1918-1938*, Washington, 2009.



## The Sales

For economic as well as political reasons, for a period of more than twenty years following the Revolution of 1917, the Soviet government sold to the West many of the treasures from the magnificent collections formed over centuries by the Russian Imperial family<sup>31</sup>. The sales were both public and private and involved often opaque negotiations with an ever changing cast of government agencies. Among the thousands of objects sold were pieces of the elaborate eighteenth- and nineteenth-century silver dinner services, including the Parisian Service, whose usefulness had come to an abrupt end in 1917.

That pieces of the Parisian Service were sold in this period is documented in an undated annotated inventory of the Hermitage collections that the author was given access to at the museum in 2005. A notation attached to the entries for the *pots à oilles* with Hermitage inventory numbers 7205 (described as decorated with 'a cupid and birds') and 7208 (described as decorated with 'a cupid') record that on 13 July 1930, they were transferred to the Antikvariat, the Central Office for the Purchase and Realisation of Antique Objects, a government agency established in 1925 to oversee the sale of art to the West<sup>32</sup>. One of the *pots* and its stand evidently went unsold and some four years later, on 24 December 1934, it was returned to the Hermitage. However, while they were away from the museum the two stands were switched, and the *pot* bearing the inventory number 7208 was returned with stand 7205<sup>33</sup>. Thus three of the original four Parisian service *pots à oille*, the mismatched *pot* and stand along with two other *pots* (Hermitage inventory numbers 7210 (the mate to 7208) and 7212 (the mate to 7205), remain in the Hermitage collections today<sup>34</sup>.

The Parisian Service *pot à oille* that was removed from the Hermitage in 1930 was not included in the Russian sales that were held at the Lepke auction house in Berlin in the late 1920s and early 1930s. In fact, it is impossible to say at this moment who purchased the *pot à oille*, although there are a number of possibilities, among them Jacques Helft, the French dealer, who is known to have purchased through private sale in Berlin pieces of a silver service made in France for Empress Catherine known as

the Orloff Service<sup>35</sup> and who, beginning in the late 1940s, had a shop in Buenos Aires.

## The Problem

The publication in 1993 of Christiane Perrin's *François Thomas Germain orfèvre des rois* brought to light an issue involving the number of Parisian Service *pots à oille* in collections outside Russia today<sup>36</sup>. These *pots*, which were thought to have come from the service, are identified as such based on their model (the finials are all in the form of a putto and falcon), and also on the various identical French and Russian marks, including the painted Hermitage inventory number and the engraved weight, that appear on all of them. Perrin, who was not aware of a *pot* that at the time was in a private collection, lists three *pots* when in fact there are four known: one in the Philadelphia Museum of Art [Fig 1], one in the Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo, Buenos Aires, one in the Thyssen-Bornemisza family collection<sup>37</sup>, and one in a private collection in Buenos Aires, of which only one can be original.

The *pot* in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum was purchased in 1954 from French & Company. According to the dealer, the *pot* had been acquired by an unidentified dealer through Amtorg, Antikvariat's American contact, in 1930 and subsequently sold to a European collector from whom French & Company acquired it through an agent.

The *pot* in the collection of the Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo in Buenos Aires was, from at least as early as October 1945 when it was exhibited at the Bellas Artes Museum in Buenos Aires, in the collection of Paula de Koenigsberg<sup>38</sup>. In 1963, the Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo acquired the *pot* as the gift of Mercedes Savedra Zelaya.

The *pot* in the Thyssen-Bornemisza family collection was purchased at auction for the not inconsiderable sum of £45,000 from Christie's, London on 30 June 1965 when it was sold as "the property of a lady"<sup>39</sup>. It was reported to the author that an analysis of the metal of this *pot*, conducted sometime around 2003 at the behest of the owner,

32 *Ibid*, pp88ff. The same inventory records that two Parisian Service tureens with the Hermitage inventory numbers 7206 and 7211 were removed by the Antikvariat on 25 February 1930; these are today in the Gulbenkian Collection in Lisbon. Calouste Gulbenkian, the Armenian businessman who was the head of the Iraq Petroleum Company, purchased

numerous pieces of French silver and gold from the Russian collections in the late 1920s. See José de Azeredo Perdigão, *Calouste Gulbenkian*, collector, Lisbon, 1969, pp 101ff.

33 The painted red inventory number on the stand at the Hermitage has been visibly corrected to read 7208.

34 According to Marina Lopato, today there are eighteen pieces of the service in the Hermitage collection. In addition to the three *pots*, there are a pair of tureens, nine covered dishes and four candelabra. (Marina Lopato, *op cit*, see note 4, p 583). This may include several of the Köpping pieces.

35 Jacques Helft, *Treasure*

*Hunt: Memoirs of an Antique Dealer*, London 1957, pp 28-29.

36 Christiane Perrin, *op cit*, see note 1, 289 n51.

37 Hannelore Müller, *European Silver. The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection*, London, 1986, pp 106-111.

38 *Exposición de Obras Maestras Colección Paula de*

Koenigsberg (exhibition catalogue.), Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, October 1945, p 36, no 236.

39 Christie's, London, 30 June 1965, A Highly Important French Silver-Gilt Service and a Superb Louis XV Silver-Gilt Tureen, lot 116 (with colour plates and illustrations in black and white).

suggested that it was of modern manufacture<sup>40</sup>. The *pot* in the private collection in Buenos Aires is probably the one that in 1969 was in the collection Fundação Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva in Lisbon<sup>41</sup>.

Perhaps the earliest post-1930 reference to a Parisian Service *pot* is one featured in an advertisement for the 'Le Passé' Gallery of Art Treasures that appeared in *Antiques* in December 1939<sup>42</sup>; it is impossible to say at this point in which collection this *pot* is today.

In 2005, the authors, along with the Philadelphia Museum of Art's senior scientist Beth Price, travelled to the Hermitage where they were permitted to examine the three Parisian Service *pots à oille* in the collection<sup>43</sup>. One of the more interesting findings that resulted from this examination involved the gilding on the Hermitage *pots*, which was determined to be electroplating rather than mercury gilding, which would have been the method employed in the eighteenth century<sup>44</sup>.

Prior to this, the age of the gilding on the pieces had never been questioned, this despite the fact that it would have been highly unusual for the tureens and *pots à oille* in an eighteenth-century silver service to be gilded. In addition none of the contemporary documents relating to the service indicate that these vessels were gilded<sup>45</sup>. Germain's 'Memoire' includes a charge for gold, but based on the date of the charge, this was clearly a reference to the gilding on the dessert flatware that accompanied the tureens and *pots* to Russia. One mysterious note dated 29 April 1762 in the Russian Archives was thought by Foelkersam to be a reference to the tureens and *pots*. The note reads that on that day Master George Hintz submitted a report to the Court Counting-house that

eight cups were damaged in transit, and the gilt inside the soup cups suffered from the cups without handles packed into them<sup>46</sup>.

In light of the fact that there were no vessels in the second shipment other than the tureens and *pots* it is hard to know to what this note refers. In keeping with the practice of the period, the vessels would probably have had liners although no mention of them is made in the contemporary documents. Again, it is unlikely that the incident records damage to the interior of the vessels since it would have been unusual for either the interior of the silver vessels or the liners to have been gilded.

A search of late nineteenth-century Russian documents may turn up evidence of when the Parisian Service tureens and *pots* were electroplated. One of the tureens was published in an article in *Kunstgewerbeblatt* in 1887; however, even at this date there is no mention of its being gilded<sup>47</sup>.

### Technical examination of the Hermitage and the Philadelphia Museum of Art *pots à oille*

Given the known history of the Parisian Service as described above and the Foelkersam inventory of 1907, there is a persuasive argument that only one of the four known *pots* in collections outside the Hermitage can be original to the Parisian Service<sup>48</sup>. Moreover, identical French and Russian marks and engraved workshop inscriptions and weights strongly argue for the additional *pots* being made as intentional deceptions and not as products of Germain's workshop<sup>49</sup>. To assess the relationship of the *pot* in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA) to those in the Parisian Service, the authors examined the three *pots* from the service that remain in the State Hermitage Museum; a limited technical study was carried out using digital photography, high fidelity impressions of various stamped and engraved marks, x-ray fluorescence analysis, and for the PMA *pot*, x-radiography<sup>50</sup>. For purposes of this study, only the Hermitage *pot à oille* with putto and falcon (*pot* 7212/No 474 and stand 7205/No 485), of which there were originally two, and the PMA version of this

40 E-mail 19 June 2009 from Maria de Peverelli, former Gallery Director of the Villa Favorita to Donna Corbin.

41 René Briat, *L'Orfèverie*, Paris, 1969, p 24. The *pot* in the Espirito Santo collection was exhibited in Les Trésors de l'Orfèverie, du Portugal, Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris 1954-55, cat 373, pl 145.

42 *Antiques*, vol 36, no 61, December 1939, p 274. According to the advertisement, 'Le Passé' had locations at 11-13 East 57th Street, New York; 74 Faubourg St Honoré, Paris

and Hôtel du Parc & Majestic, Vichy.

43 The authors acknowledge the generosity and expertise of Marina Lopato, Curator of Western Silver, and Alexander J. Kossolapov, Head of Department, Scientific Examination of Works of Art, the State Hermitage Museum.

44 A pair of gilded tureens from the so-called Orloff Service that was made in Paris for Catherine II was purchased from the Russians in 1930 by Calouste Gulbenkian;

they are now in the Gulbenkian Collection. The author, Donna Corbin, would suggest that these tureens were electroplated in the nineteenth century.

45 Perrin suggests rather unconvincingly that the tureens and *pots* were gilded by the *fondeur-doreur* Pierre Gouthière after they were exhibited at the Louvre (Christiane Perrin, *op cit*, see note 1, p 212).

46 Baron A de Foelkersam, *op cit*, see note 4, p 54.

47 Marc Rosenberg, "Die Silberausstellung in Petersburg,"

*Kunstgewerbeblatt* 3, Leipzig, 1887, p 63, fig 1.

48 That is to say, only one cover, one vessel and one stand can be original to the service. It is most likely that these parts are together as a single *pot à oille* in a collection outside Russia, but it is possible that they are dispersed among the other versions of the model.

49 Two of the *pots à oille* outside of Russia, the PMA version and the one at the Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo, are known to have almost identical placement of marks. The *pot à oille* at the Museo Nacional

de Arte Decorativo, Buenos Aires, was examined by Sally Malenka through the generosity of Hugo Pontoriero, Head of Department of Museology. The authors did not examine the two other known *pots* from the Parisian Service outside Russia.

50 Overall dimensions were also taken and are reported in Appendix 2, but their value for comparison is limited because of inherent variations from fabrication and assembly of component parts.

model (*pot* 7205/No 477 and stand 7208/No 484) are described and illustrated here. Methods of fabrication, chasing, and gilding are discussed first for the Hermitage *pot*, with the rationale that it is unquestionably an authentic work by François-Thomas Germain and serves as reference for the versions outside Russia. The PMA *pot à oille* is then compared and contrasted with that of the Hermitage with parallel illustrations from the technical examination. Following this fundamental evaluation, stamped and engraved marks for both of the *pots* are compared. Dimensions, weights, and qualitative elemental composition by energy dispersive x-ray fluorescence analysis of the *pots* are included as appendices for reference in future investigations of other versions outside the Hermitage.

Published studies by Ubaldo Vitali (1998, 2000) inform this research by providing a foundation for understanding the construction methods and technical sophistication of eighteenth-century French silver<sup>51,52</sup>. In the first half of the eighteenth century, Thomas Germain developed an innovative alternative to raising a vessel by forming the body in separate sections by lost-wax casting and then soldering the sections together.

[It] allowed the silver to be cast in a much thinner gauge and also made the heat resistant mold size more manageable. Consequently, the burn-out of the wax could be done on the silversmith's furnace...It is from this moment [1727-28] that the method of lost-wax casting of the body in sections will be found in several French silver sculptural objects, especially tureens, such as the Penthievre-Orléans tureens by Germain, Paris 1733-34...[The] interior views clearly show the joining line of soldering of the separate parts of the tureen's body. This particular method of casting tureen bodies in sections remained mostly a French feature and did not spread to other countries<sup>53</sup>.

Lost-wax casting was also used extensively by Germain and other silversmiths for decorative elements, creating or copying models made by hand or from nature, which

were then attached by rivets or pins and solder. A master silversmith was accomplished not only in the design and fabrication of the form but also in finishing and chasing with an almost infinite variety of punches. If an object were then gilded, the typical practice in eighteenth-century France would have been mercury gilding.

### The *pot à oille* in the State Hermitage Museum

François-Thomas Germain worked closely with his father for a number of years, inherited his workshop and models and, by implication, presumably adopted many of his working processes. It is therefore not surprising that the Hermitage *pot à oille* from the Parisian Service was made primarily by lost-wax casting. A vessel of this size and complexity may have been made using the senior Germain's method of casting the body in sections, but vertical lines on the interior, evidence for this fabrication technique that would indicate joins of separately cast sections, could not be confidently discerned because of the presence of gilding. Alternatively, through technological improvements during the eighteenth century and in a large workshop like Germain's, the body may have been cast as one piece. For this *pot* lost-wax casting is suggested by soft drip marks that would have been translated in the mould from wax model to metal cast [Fig 2]<sup>54</sup>. A centre punch on the underside of the main body is not evidence for raising in this context, but rather probably served a different purpose, for example as a guide for symmetrically positioning the feet. The decorative elements on the vessel are cast, held in place using pins (as seen from the interior where they are exposed from wear and deformation over time) and then soldered [Fig 3].

51 Ubaldo Vitali, "Meissonnier's Goldsmith Persona: A sublimation of forms and techniques, Natura ed Invenzione," in *The Thyssen Meissonnier Silver Tureen made for the 2nd Duke of Kingston, Sotheby's*,

New York, 13 May 1998, pp 70-87.

52 Ubaldo Vitali, "Beyond the secret traditions: the evolution of styles and techniques in the art of the goldsmith," *The Silver Society Journal*, 2000, pp 8-17.

53 Ubaldo Vitali, *op cit*, see note 51, 1998, p 75.

54 These drip marks are not characteristic of a raised form, soldering, or gilding.

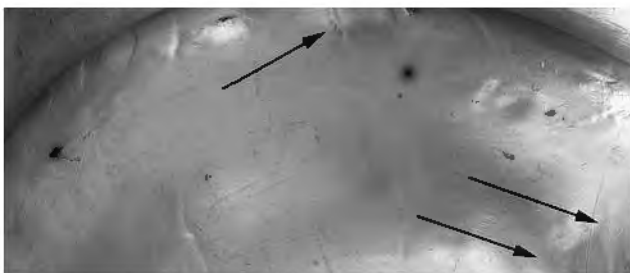


Fig 2 Interior of *pot à oille*, 7212/No 474, State Hermitage Museum. The drip marks seen on the interior may be evidence for lost wax casting of the vessel  
(Photograph by Sally Malenka)



Fig 3 Interior of *pot à oille*, 7212/No 474, State Hermitage Museum, showing exposed pin.  
(Photograph by Sally Malenka)



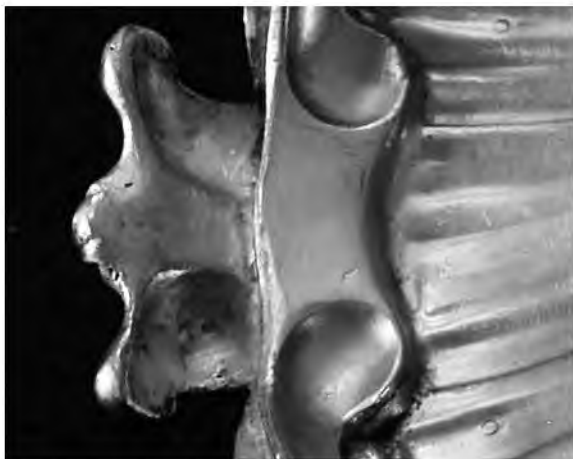


Fig 4 Underside of cover of pot à oille, 7212/No 474, State Hermitage Museum, showing pins for joining the cast lateral leaf extensions  
(Photograph by Sally Malenka)

The cover was also formed by lost-wax casting, with the lateral leaf extensions cast separately, attached with pins, and soldered [Fig 4]. The finial group comprises four discrete elements: the putto and falcon; a duck; a heron; and the rocky ground. The putto and falcon were first made separately and then soldered together at the cheek and falcon breast [Fig 5]. This element, the duck and the heron are attached to the rocky ground with screws and nuts; the rocky ground is attached through the cover with similar fasteners<sup>55</sup>.

The stand is formed of an oval sheet that is soldered to a scrollwork frame. Hammer marks indicate that the oval was not modelled in wax, but rather directly forged [Fig 6]. The scrollwork frame itself is cast in multiple sections and pinned and soldered together. Small circles of cut wire on either side of the joins of the frame above the feet are evidence for the original fabrication: the components would have been held together with silver wire, the join soldered, and then finished by cutting away and filing the wires [Fig 7]<sup>56</sup>.



Fig 5 Detail of finial group of cover of pot à oille, 7212/No 474, State Hermitage Museum, showing joining of putto and falcon from two separately cast components  
(Photograph by Sally Malenka)

The exquisite chasing of the Hermitage *pot à oille* is testimony to the skill of the eighteenth-century silversmith. The silversmith employed a great variety of punches and engraving tools to create a rich play of visual patterns, ranging from simple diagonal rows of circles on the stand [Fig 8], complex textures of feathers on the duck [Fig 9], and well-depicted facial features and billowing garments for the figure of St George [Fig 10].



Fig 6 Underside of stand, 7205/No 485, State Hermitage Museum, showing hammer marks  
(Photograph by Sally Malenka)

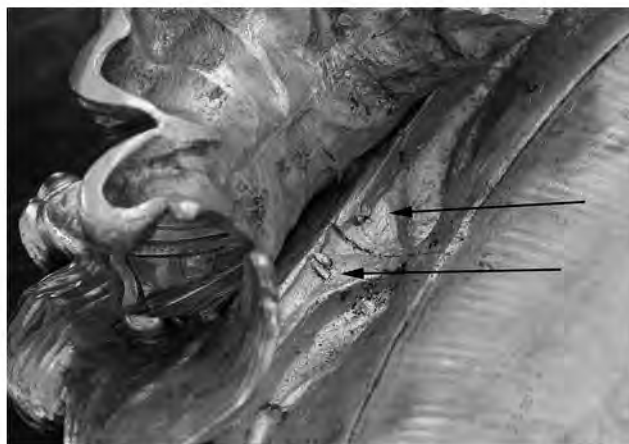


Fig 7 Underside of stand 7205/No 485, State Hermitage Museum, showing remains of wire for assembly at joins.  
(Photograph by Sally Malenka)

Once consideration is given to the quality and extent of the chasing, one recognizes that the reflective gilding overall diminishes the play of light on the textured and smooth surfaces. The technical study supports the historical record in finding that gilding was not part of the original artistic intent, but rather was a later alteration to the *pot* after a period of use. As evidence that the gilding post-dated the receipt and use of the *pot* in Russia, bright gilding is present within engraved lines of the Hermitage inventory numbers and areas of wear [Fig 8]. From visual examination, it was deduced that the surface was gilded by electroplating, a technique first patented in 1839 and widely adopted commercially in the 1840s. The stand provides the clearest visual evidence for gold electroplating: all the surfaces including the interior of the handles are bright gold. Generally with mercury gilding, less visible interior surfaces would not have been brushed with mercury-gold amalgam, in part for economy and in part because they would have required burnishing, virtually impossible in the recessed and rough surfaces of the interior of the handles, to appear bright<sup>57</sup>. Mercury was not detected by x-ray fluorescence analysis, further supporting the conclusion that the *pot* was not originally mercury gilded (Appendix 4)<sup>58</sup>.

All of the Parisian Service *pots* in the Hermitage collection show extensive wear from use, including failed joins on some of the feet of the *pots*, dents, distortions, deep scratches, and loss of gilding.

### The *pot à oille* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art

A comparison of the *pot à oille* in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art with that of the State Hermitage Museum shows that the models for the pots are essentially identical. The shape of the bowl, the position and form of the satyr handles, and the configuration and form of the finial group and cover are examples of the structural similarities. While lost-wax casting was used extensively for the PMA *pot*, closer examination reveals that features characteristic of assembling component parts, such as the method of pinning and soldering described above, are cast-in. That is to say, for the PMA *pot* these features are not evidence for the original technique of joining, but rather are evidence for a copy through a process of moulding and casting from a previously assembled and finished original.

55 Hannelore Müller, *op cit*, see note 37, pp 106-111, fn 11, citing Foelkersam, 1907, p 54, suggests that the covers of the pots were repaired in the "English workshop." However, Grisha Zeitlin (PMA file, unpublished) translates the Foelkersam reference as "lids to platters," which does not correspond to a description of the *pots à oille*.

56 Ubaldo Vitali, *op cit*, see note 52, 2000, p 13, figs 3a, 3b.

57 The interiors of the components of the finial group are not gilded, presumably because they could have been readily masked before submersion in an electroplating bath.

58 XRF analysis was carried out by Dr Alexander

Kossolapov for twenty-two sites on stands, vessels, and covers for the three *pots* in the State Hermitage Museum, 15-16 September 2005; e-mail 29 June 2012, Alexander Kossolapov to Sally Malenka. The interpretation of electroplating based on visual evidence and the absence of mercury is that of the authors.

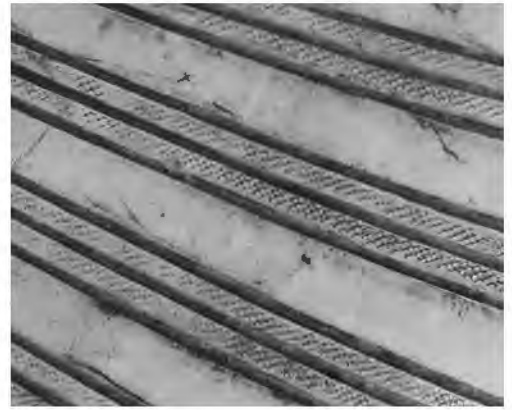


Fig 8 Detail of chasing on stand, 7205/No 485, State Hermitage Museum, showing diagonal rows of circular punch marks and gilding over areas of wear. (Photograph by Sally Malenka)



Fig 9 Detail of duck from finial group of pot à oille, 7212/No 474, State Hermitage Museum, showing chasing (Photograph by Sally Malenka)



Fig 10 Detail of escutcheon of pot à oille, 7212/No 474, State Hermitage Museum, showing engraving and chasing (Photograph by Sally Malenka)



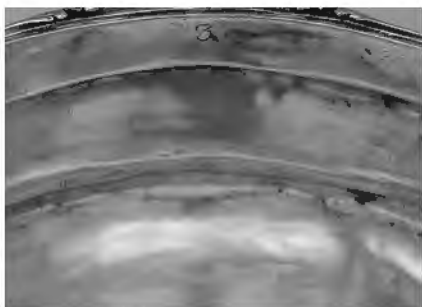


Fig 11 Detail of interior of pot, 7205/No 477, Philadelphia Museum of Art, showing pinholes and voids along horizontal bands  
(Photograph by Joe Mikuliak)



Fig 12 Detail of underside of cover of pot, 7205/No 477, Philadelphia Museum of Art, showing cast-in pins  
(Photograph by Joe Mikuliak)

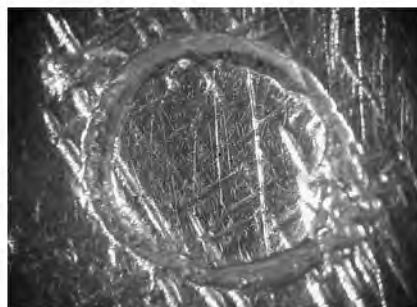


Fig 12a Detail of cast-in pin under low magnification  
(Photograph by Sally Malenka)



Fig 13 Detail of putto and falcon from finial group of pot, 7205/No 477, Philadelphia Museum of Art, showing they are cast together  
(Photograph by Joe Mikuliak)

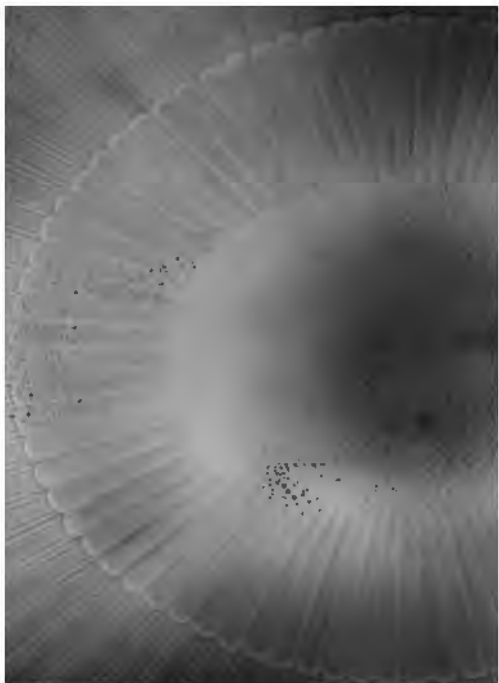


Fig 14 X-radiograph of oval of stand, 7208/No 484, Philadelphia Museum of Art  
(Photograph by Joe Mikuliak)

The method of fabrication of the PMA vessel body was not conclusively determined, because the gilding obscures visual evidence for manufacture. The interior surface is characterised by pinholes overall, but most prominently in three broad horizontal bands following the convex and concave shape of the interior bowl and the top edge [Fig 11]. The pinholes overall suggest casting, but the surface topography, voids, and pinholes along the horizontal bands suggest either casting-on in successive pours, or soldering in assembly or as repairs of casting flaws. These horizontal bands were not observed on any of the Hermitage *pots*. There are some circular marks that suggest outlines of pins to attach the ornament, but unlike the Hermitage *pot*, actual pins have not been revealed through wear and distortion over time.

The cover of the PMA *pot* is cast, with the finial group made of multiple cast elements attached with mechanical fasteners, like that described above for the Hermitage *pot*. While the overall structure is similar at first glance, there are several notable differences. It appears that the lateral leaf extensions and lid itself were cast together as a single piece, which was not the case for the Hermitage *pot*. Outlines of pins are visible, but examination under low magnification indicates that these are cast-in and are not true joins [Figs 12 and 12a]. The attachment of the falcon to the putto is also revealing. The cheek of the putto is elongated into the body of the falcon suggesting that it was cast together as a single element [Fig 13]. In addition, the surface texture on the interior of the finial elements, produced by the core material in lost-wax casting, is coarser than that of the Hermitage finial group, providing further visual evidence that the pieces did not originate in the same workshop at the same time.

The PMA stand is fabricated in a manner different from the one in the Hermitage. By x-radiography it was found that the oval of the PMA stand is cast rather than forged. There are voids from trapped gasses in the casting, but these would have been elongated or absent in a worked and annealed sheet [Fig 14]. Pins, joins, and square metal patches (that may have been repairs to casting flaws, tears, or failed joins in the original version) appear to be cast in, rather than soldered<sup>59</sup>.

Because moulding and casting allow a form to be directly and accurately copied, the PMA *pot* appears a convincing mate to the



Hermitage *pot*. However, what cannot be replicated is the exceptional quality of chasing<sup>60</sup>. This point is immediately illustrated by comparison of chasing on the PMA *pot* with that of the Hermitage *pot* shown in images above. The diagonal rows of simple circular punches used on the Hermitage stand are rendered as indistinct and random x-shapes on the PMA stand [Fig 15]. For the PMA duck there is little attention to the anatomy of the head and eye and little variation in the texture of the feathers of the neck and body [Fig 16]. Most apparently, the chasing and engraving of the PMA escutcheon is less refined than that of the Hermitage, with broader lines, less sensibility to volume and shape, and only a perfunctory depiction of facial features [Fig 17]<sup>61</sup>. While chasing would not necessarily be identical for the matched pair, a uniformly high quality and mastery would be expected.

Although the presence of gilding has disguised techniques of fabrication for both *pots*, it has also provided evidence that the PMA *pot* was not originally part of the Parisian Service. Unlike the Hermitage *pot*, the PMA version was found to be mercury gilded as determined by the detection of mercury by x-ray fluorescence analysis (Appendix 4). The use of this method of gilding, while standard in the eighteenth century, must have been a misinterpretation on the part of the fabricator of the gold electroplated surface of the Parisian Service *pots*.

Finally, evidence for historic use of the PMA *pot* appears superficial. There is little wear to the gilding, and light abrasions to the vessel and stand do not correspond to use.

### Comparison of marks

As stated above, all of the *pots* in collections outside Russia share identical marks. In the case of the PMA *pot*, many of these marks appear cast-in or poorly replicated in some other manner. For example, various marks of the Hermitage *pot* have the sharp edges and crisp lines of a struck mark: the letters FTG that comprise the maker's mark have serifs and the fleece and *fleur-de-lys* are distinct; the date letter, a crowned S, has sharp punch lines and the crown has a relatively complex design; the mark for Assay Master Ivan Frolov

59 Identical square patches were observed in the same locations on the stand in the Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo.

60 If the mould for the PMA *pot* were taken directly from the original object, fine details such as the chasing would not have

been fully replicated. The silversmith would have probably obliterated the cast patterns of chasing in part or entirely by filing and then re-executed or reinforced the chasing as needed.

61 The escutcheon is different on the front and back of

the Hermitage *pot*, showing St George with a crown on one side and with a tasseled cap on the other. On the PMA *pot*, the escutcheon is the same on both sides, showing St George with a tasseled cap.



Fig 15 Detail of stand, 7208/No 484, Philadelphia Museum of Art, showing chasing  
(Photograph by Joe Mikuliak)



Fig 16 Detail of duck from finial group of pot à oille, 7205/No 477, Philadelphia Museum of Art, showing chasing  
(Photograph by Joe Mikuliak)



Fig 17 Detail of escutcheon of pot à oille, 7205/No 477, Philadelphia Museum of Art, showing chasing  
(Photograph by Joe Mikuliak)



Fig 18a Select marks on underside of stand 7205/No 485, State Hermitage Museum  
(Photographs by Sally Malenka)



Fig 18b Select marks on underside of stand, 7208/No 484, Philadelphia Museum of Art



has sharp lines and the crossed anchors of the St Petersburg date letter are similarly crisp and fine [Fig 18a]. In contrast, the marks of the PMA *pot* have soft edges and a textured surface in the recesses that is attributed to casting-in or other means of replication<sup>62</sup>. The marks are consistently less well defined with broader lines and missing details, and the St Petersburg date letter appears to have intentional file marks across one corner to simulate wear [Fig 18b].

Similar observations were made for the engraved inscriptions, including French workshop inscriptions and Russian inventory numbers. For the Hermitage *pot*, many of the letters and numbers are characterised by two parallel grooves that are cut into the metal. For the PMA *pot*, these fine details are not always fully captured in replication; the lines generally have a rough texture suggesting casting rather than engraving [19a, 19b, 19c and 19d].



Fig 19a Detail of impression of No 474, pot, State Hermitage Museum



Fig 19b Detail of impression of No 485, stand, Philadelphia Museum of Art



Fig 19c Detail of impression of N of GERMAIN, State Hermitage Museum



Fig 19d Detail of impression of N of GERMAIN, Philadelphia Museum of Art

<sup>62</sup> Mercury gilding may also contribute to the rough texture in the recesses.



## Conclusion

Scholarship, using the extensive records and historical inventories of the Parisian Service in the Hermitage collection, raised questions of authenticity for the *pot à oille* in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Through study of the archival records of the service and the physical characteristics of the *pots* with observations on fabrication, chasing, gilding, and marks, the preponderance of evidence suggests that the PMA *pot* was a direct copy of the corresponding mate to the Hermitage *pot*. It was an intentional deception, made by a skilled silversmith, rather than an original part of the magnificent Parisian Service. A comprehensive study of the three other *pots à oille* in collections outside of Russia may resolve which of these was originally from the workshop of François-Thomas Germain.

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## Appendix 1: Marks and Inscriptions on PMA *pot à oille*, 1954-81-1a-c

### On underside of pot:

French marks: S (uncrowned): Warden's mark for Paris, 21 July 1758 – 12 July 1759 (Nocq IV, p 217) (Paris standard .958); maker's mark FTG surmounted by *fleur-de-lys* and crown for François-Thomas Germain (Nocq II, pp 243ff); crowned A: charge mark of *fermier* Eloy Brichard, 14 October 1756 – 21 November 1762 (Nocq IV, p 236); discharge mark (for work intended for export) of a small cow; weight: Du N° 39-49<sup>m</sup>-2°-6<sup>s</sup>; assay mark

Russian marks: Inventory number: No. 477; control mark for St Petersburg, 1762; Cyrillic IF for Ivan Frolov; the number 90 registering silver content (this number indicates silver content closer to the sterling standard or .925)

On interior rim of *pot*: French mark: 3

### On underside of stand:

French marks:

FAIT PAR FT GERMAIN SCULP<sup>R</sup> ORF<sup>RE</sup> DU ROY  
AUX GALLERIES DU LOUVRE A PARIS 1759; Crowned

S: Warden's mark for Paris, 21 July – 12 July 1759 (Nocq IV, p 217); maker's mark FTG surmounted by *fleur-de-lys* and crown for François-Thomas Germain (Nocq II, pp 243ff); crowned A: charge mark of *fermier* Eloy Brichard, 14 October 1756 – 21 November 1762 (Nocq IV, p 236); weight: Du N° - 39 -26<sup>m</sup>-4°; assay mark; 7208: Hermitage inventory number (in red paint)

Russian marks: Inventory number: No. 477; control mark for St Petersburg, 1762; Cyrillic IF for Ivan Frolov; the number 90 registering silver content

### On underside of lid:

French marks: maker's mark FTG surmounted by *fleur-de-lys* and crown for François-Thomas Germain (Nocq II, pp 243ff); S (uncrowned): Warden's mark for Paris, 21 July 1758 – 12 July 1759 (Nocq IV, p 217); crowned A: charge mark of *fermier* Eloy Brichard, 14 October 1756 – 21 November 1762 (Nocq IV, p 236); assay mark; 3

Russian marks: Inventory number: No. 477; the number 90 registering silver content



## Appendix 2: Dimensions

Maximum dimensions for the Hermitage and PMA *pots à oille* are reported in Table 1. All measurements were made using the same tools and methodology. The dimensions are provided here for reference, but their

value for this study is minimal, as variations in size would be expected for objects made by lost-wax casting and by joining of separately cast parts. All measurements were made in centimetres (1 cm = 0.39 in).

**Table 1: Maximum dimensions measured for the Hermitage and PMA *pots à oille***

Stand	H (cm)	W (cm)	D (cm)	Pot/vessel with cover	H (cm)	W (cm)	D (cm)
Hermitage 7205/No 485	8.8 cm	59.6 cm	45.3 cm	Hermitage 7212/No 474	34.6 cm	45.4 cm	31.2 cm
PMA 7208/No 484	10.2 cm	58.7 cm	45.0 cm	PMA 7205/No 477	33.3 cm	45.1 cm	30.6 cm
Hermitage 72058/No 479	10.0 cm	59.5 cm	41.9 cm	Hermitage 7208/No 475	31.3 cm	45.4 cm	31.9 cm
Hermitage 7212/No 480	9.8 cm	59.6 cm	42.1 cm	Hermitage 7210/No 476	30.5 cm	46.4 cm	31.4 cm

## Appendix 3: Weight measurements

The weights of the State Hermitage Museum *pots* were measured on a Sartorius F-150S digital balance at the Hermitage. The weights of the PMA *pot* were measured on a Mettler Toledo digital balance in Philadelphia. A reference lead blank was weighed on both balances to assess the comparability of the measurements (Table 2). All measurements were made in kilograms (1kg = 32 troy ounces = 31.0149 dwt).

Weight measurements for the Hermitage and PMA *pots* are reported in Table 3. The comparison of marked to measured weights for the stands is informative. For the

Hermitage stands, the marked weights and actual weights are within 0.03kg whereas the PMA stand is 0.3kg lighter than its marked weight. The reason for this discrepancy may be related to metal composition or changes in overall dimension and mass of metal in the moulding and casting process.

For the vessels and covers, the discrepancy between marked and actual weight suggests that the *pots* originally had liners that were not recorded in the early documentation and which are no longer extant.

**Table 2: Comparison of reference weight on Hermitage and PMA balances**

Balance	Kilogram actual
PMA Mettler Toledo	5.10
Hermitage Sartorius F-150S	5.104

**Table 3: Marked and measured weights of the PMA and Hermitage *pots à oille***

Stand	Marked weight	Kilogram equivalent	Kilogram actual	Pot/vessel with cover	Marked weight	Kilogram equivalent	Kilogram actual
Hermitage 7205/No 485	25m 7o 2 d	6.34	6.31	Hermitage 7212/No 474	49m 6o 6d	12.18	10.59
PMA 7208/No 484	26m 4o	6.48	6.18	PMA 7205/No 477	49m 2o 6d	12.06	10.64
Hermitage 72058/No 479	25m 2o 5d 1/2	6.19	6.20	Hermitage 7208/No 475	49m 1o	12.02	Not weighed
Hermitage 7212/No 480	26m 7o 2d	6.58	6.60	Hermitage 7210/No 476	49m 3o 4d	12.09	Not weighed

#### Appendix 4: X-ray fluorescence analysis of the Hermitage and PMA *pots à oille*

Energy dispersive x-ray fluorescence analysis (XRF) was carried out for the Hermitage *pots* at the State Hermitage Museum, Department of Scientific Examination of Works of Art, using a Bruker ARTAX XRF spectrometer run at 50kV with a molybdenum target<sup>63</sup>. For sample sites with no visible gilding the following elements were reported: silver, copper, gold and lead. For sites with visible gilding, the elements reported were identical, but the gold  $L\alpha_1$  peak was much stronger. Mercury was not reported for any of the sample sites.

XRF was carried out at the PMA using a Bruker TRACeR III-V XRF portable spectrometer run at 40kV with a rhodium target and titanium-aluminum filter<sup>64</sup>. For sites with no visible gilding, the following elements were detected: silver, copper, mercury. A select area on the underside of the finial group was sequentially abraded and analysed; the mercury  $L\alpha_1$  peak diminished indicating that the mercury was associated with the surface layer, rather than the bulk alloy composition. For sites with visible gilding, the following elements were detected: silver, copper, gold and mercury.

One expects eighteenth-century silver to have impurities, such as gold and lead from the ore and from processing<sup>65</sup>. It is only in the late nineteenth century that improvements in refining resulted in relatively pure silver alloy compositions without gold, lead and other associated metals. The detection of gold was not used in this study for interpretive purposes, because of the presence of intentional gilding on the *pots*. Lead  $L\alpha_1$  peaks were present for the Hermitage *pots*, but lead was not detected by or was not within the detection limits of the XRF analysis for the PMA *pot*. This analysis suggests that the alloy of the PMA *pot* is much cleaner and is not consistent with an eighteenth-century silver object.

The absence of mercury for the Hermitage *pots* is consistent with visual evidence for electroplating. The strong  $L\alpha_1$  and  $L\alpha_2$  peaks for mercury for the PMA *pot* is interpreted as evidence for mercury gilding. It is interesting to note that mercury was detected even on the interior of the finial group where the surface was not gilded, a result of volatilisation of the mercury during heating in a furnace.

<sup>63</sup> See footnote 58.

<sup>64</sup> XRF analysis was carried out by Sally Malenka for four sites on the stand, vessel, and cover, 30 July 2012.

<sup>65</sup> Paul Craddock, *Early Metal Mining and Production*, Edinburgh, 1995, p 223.

# The Dinner Service made for George III by Robert-Joseph Auguste and Frantz-Peter Bundsen: neo-Classical goldsmith's work in Paris, London and Hanover

LORENZ SEELIG

TRANSLATED BY DOROTHEA BURSTYN AND WILLIAM P HOOD

**The history of the George III Service: the silver inventory and the melting of obsolete silver at the court of Hanover**

The silver dinner service supplied for George III [Fig 1]: one of the largest and most important table services of the late eighteenth century was, until recently, probably the least well-known and most under-researched group of neo-Classical goldsmiths' work<sup>1</sup>. Detailed information about the origins and ordering of this service was revealed through research into documents from the archives of the royal house of Hanover which are now on permanent loan to the Hanoverian State Archives<sup>2</sup>.

To understand the history of how this service was ordered and how the order was executed it is necessary to look at the history of the state of Hanover during the eighteenth century. In 1714 the Prince Elector, Georg-Ludwig of Hanover (1660-1727) was proclaimed King of Britain and Ireland: George I. From this time onwards the principality of Hanover and the British nation were ruled under a personal union. As the centre of power shifted to London, the Hanoverian royal residences became home to a 'shadow court'. George I, as well as his son, who was to become George II (1683-1760), often travelled to Hanover; George II was to visit twelve times. George II's grandson, George III (1738-1820), who succeeded his grandfather in 1760, never actually visited the lands of his Guelph ancestors.

A consequence of the Seven Years War, which ended in 1763, and the relationship of Hanover with Britain, was that the principality was plunged into an enormous financial and economic crisis. It was in George III's interest to resolve this crisis quickly and the silver inventory at the Hanoverian court was, surprisingly, to supply a solution. The Guelph family owned enormous holdings of silver which were, except for Brandenburg-Prussia, the largest of any German court. These riches had come partly from the mines in the Harz mountains: in the 1770s the Rammelsberg mine was still yielding approximately 29,900 oz (930 kg) of silver a year, most of which was used for coinage. Also the accumulation of silver objects had been a cherished tradition of the Hanoverian princes as well as of the British kings.

1 This is a shortened version of an article originally published in German: 'Das Silberservice König Georgs III. von Robert-Joseph Auguste und Frantz-Peter Bundsen-Zur Goldschmiedekunst des frühen Klassizismus in Paris, London und Hannover', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3rd series, 58, 2007 (printed 2009), pp 141-207. It has been translated by Dr Dorothea Burstyn and Dr William P Hood Jr. The German version contains an extensive catalogue of all the elements of the service and 337 end-notes, which have been shortened but a complimentary pdf file of the complete German article can be obtained from the author by email at [lorenz.seelig@gmx.de](mailto:lorenz.seelig@gmx.de). The English version was first published in the *Silver Society of Canada Journal*, 2010, no 13, pp 44-91. I am grateful to Lord Rothschild for allowing me to publish

the silver objects belonging to Rothschild Family Trust, now at Waddesdon Manor. I would also like to thank many colleagues for their help, especially: Yves Carlier of Versailles; Prof Dr Gordon and Philippa Glanville, London; Catherine Gougeon, Paris; Dr Christine van den Heuvel, Hanover; Prof Dr Marcus Köhler, Berlin/Neubrandenburg; and Pippa Shirley of Waddesdon Manor.

2 I would like to thank the secretary of H R H the Prince of Hanover for use of the files regarding the George III Service in the Archives of Department 103, State Archives of Lower Saxony, Archives Hanover (Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv – Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover).

3 A Cologne silver mark is equivalent to 233.695 g or possibly 233.856 g.



In 1731 George II purchased the Augsburg silver furniture belonging to his uncle Prince Maximilian-Wilhelm of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1666-1726). When these pieces had been ordered in Augsburg in 1725, silver furnishings for buffets and silver chandeliers and sconces were considered appropriate expressions of princely splendour. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century the fashion had changed and the taste for silver furniture and buffets of silver had become outmoded. Orders for silver now concentrated to a greater extent on smaller objects for domestic use, in particular silver dinner services. These services combined function as well as having a high representational value, a concept which Louis-Sebastien Mercier (1740-1814), the critical author of *Tableau de Paris*, expressed shortly before the French Revolution

*Les princes allemands font encore consister leur grandeur domestique dans une vaisselle nombreuse d'or et d'argent qu'ils étalent en spectacle dans certain jours.*  
[The German princes show the grandeur of their household in the numerous gold and silver vessels which shine as a spectacle on certain days].

In November 1767, four years after the end of the Seven Years War, the *Königlich-Kurfürstliche Kammer*, the Electoral Chamber of Hanover proposed that the obsolete silver from the *silberkammer* should be melted in order to provide metal for much-needed coinage. The Mint of even the silver-rich state of Hanover, just like that of many other German states, was suffering from a shortage of precious metal of sufficiently high grade to use for coinage. In July 1768 George III approved the melting of 540 Cologne silver marks<sup>3</sup>, i.e. 4,050 oz (126 kg) of 12 lot, "old fashioned and unused silver objects". In north, west, and middle Germany 12 lot silver with a fineness of 750/1000 was used, whilst in south German, especially in Nuremberg and Augsburg, 13 lot silver with a fineness of 812.5/1000 was obligatory. Due to its common governance, the Electoral Chamber of Hanover had to send submissions to the German chancellery at St James's Palace in London in order to have this measure approved in writing by George III. The correspondence between London and Hanover still exists and is an important source of detailed information.

### The Hanoverian Service project of 1770

The decision of 1767-68 to send the old-fashioned silver from the royal *silberkammer*, now regarded as 'dead capital', to be melted was quickly followed by new initiatives, which would mean a further radical diminution of the silver inventory. In April 1770 the Lord Chamberlain's office, the most important authority of the principality, submitted a detailed plan. The *silberkammer* had an inventory of 23,000 mark, i.e. 172,649 oz (5,370 kg) silver which represented a value of 233,000 reich-



Fig 1 Johann Zoffany, George III, 1771. RCIN 405072  
(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty the Queen)

staler. It was suggested that silver to a value of 80,000 reichstaler should be melted which meant that about a third of the existing silver inventory would go to the melting pot. The Lord Chamberlain's office went on to explain that

even after melting such a quantity of silver, the royal *silberkammer* would still have sufficient silver for the service of His Majesty, should he decide to visit in the next three years, and also enough silver on hand to serve visiting dignitaries at the same time, should this be necessary.

The plan was not to use the melted silver to make new silver pieces immediately but rather to employ it as coinage valued at 80,000 reichstaler; this capital could then be used for loans at a yearly interest of 3%. This would also facilitate the implementation of a social project: the purchase of corn to help the starving population. The yearly interest of 2,400 reichstaler would, however, make the purchase of a new table service possible. This was considered desirable as the existing silver service in the *silberkammer* was deemed "useless" because of

the new manner of service [i.e., service à la française], partly due to the inadequate size of vessels and partly because they did not match.

In about 1770 the court of Hanover did not possess a modern service. The last addition had been the so-called



Fig 2 The Hildesheim Service, Augsburg, circa 1763 by Bernhard Heinrich Weyhe and other Augsburg goldsmiths  
(© Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich)

English Service of 1717, engraved with the coat of arms of the Prince of Wales, which in 1738 had been taken from London to Hanover. The establishment of a silver fund to allow the purchase of a new service was not a unique idea. In 1792 the melting of silver allowed for a 'Court silver fund' to be set up in Vienna and since no expenses were paid from the income from interest, the base capital of the silver fund grew steadily.

In 1770 it was decided that the Hanoverian silver capital should be used for a very large service which was to be stylistically similar to other services of the time and made in the rococo style; foremost amongst these was the Hildesheim Service made in Augsburg around 1763 [Fig 2]. The political power of the court of the Hildesheim Prince Bishops was negligible compared to that of the Hanoverian court but the splendour of this service must have been known to the Hanoverian court. As in the Hildesheim Service a large *plat de ménage* and two smaller *plats d'ornements*, a synonym for a *surtout* or centre-piece, were planned. By the 1770s a *surtout* with a floral pergola, designed to go in the centre of the table, was no longer the height of fashion, even in Germany. The latest examples of Augsburg *surtouts* are from the 1770s but from then on such rococo centrepieces were deemed old-fashioned and dispensable and sent to be melted; according to a statement by Louis-Sebastien Mercier

*On refond la vaisselle comme on change de meubles.*  
[They remodel services as one would change pieces of furniture]

It was intended that the Hanoverian service would have four large and eight smaller tureens, whilst the Hildesheim Service contained two large and four smaller tureens. The former would also contain many more sauceboats, candlesticks and two- and three-branch candelabra. Both services were to have similar oval and round dishes in various sizes, and comparable square and triangular-shaped dishes but the Hanoverian service was to comprise many more pieces. The total of 144 flatware sets indicate that the intention was that the service would be for sixty to seventy-two people, allowing for on two or more sets per person. It was clearly assumed that the service would occasionally be used to serve more guests, since 600 dinner plates were planned in comparison to the 120 plates in the Hildesheim Service. The Hanoverian Service would accordingly have a total weight of 3,500 *mark*, i.e. about 26,202 oz (815 kg), whereas the Hildesheim Service with its thirty to thirty-three place settings had a total weight of 1,500 *mark*, or 11,253 oz (350 kg).

The fact that twenty-four to forty-eight dish covers to keep food warm were included points to a later stage in the planning of the service. Drawings for rococo dish covers do survive but such items are a rarity in eighteenth-century Augsburg silver and are entirely lacking in the Hildesheim Service. In conjunction with the new fashions in the service of food, it was desirable that the dishes should not be allowed to get cold; the Hanoverian service was, therefore, to include eight chafing dishes instead of just two as in the Hildesheim Service. Greater attention was also paid to the comfort of the individual guests: salt cellars were ordered in larger numbers; twenty-four were planned, as they would not be placed on the *surtout*, as had been the case the past, they would be distributed over the table within easy reach of the diners. The same applied to sugar and pepper casters and mustard pots. Whilst the number of practical implements was greater, the 1770 service did not contain large wine fountains or wine cisterns. By this date objects of this kind were considered as old-fashioned as large buffets of silver displayed near the dining table; besides the Hanoverian court had older vessels of this type should they ever be required.

The Hanoverian service was to be made from silver of a standard of 15-*lot* (937.5/1000), slightly higher than English sterling standard. As has already been mentioned, silver of the standard of 12 to 13 *lot* (750/1000 - 812.5/1000) was common in many other German states. The higher silver content resulted in a warmer sheen to the metal as well as less oxidization of the surface. More importantly, the higher standard represented a much higher value which was symbolic of the royal rank of the service. It was intended to order the service not from Augsburg goldsmiths but from the Hanoverian court

silversmith Frantz-Peter Bundsen (circa 1725-95), an enormously talented and diligent goldsmith, although one somewhat lacking in creative artistry. The fee for carrying out this order, usually also known as *façon* (fashioning), was calculated at a total of 8,500 *reichstaler*, which matched the projected interest income from the capital of 80,000 *reichstaler* over several years. The estimated price for making different objects varied widely: the expansive centrepieces with numerous cast parts which necessitated individual models cost 5 *reichstaler* per silver *mark*. Tureens and sauce boats which were mostly embossed were 3 *reichstaler* 20 *groschen*; simple plates cost 2 *reichstaler*. These prices were in line with the fees for fashioning that were generally charged which amounted to about 15% of the total cost. The metal itself was to be provided from further discarded and melted-down silver pieces from the royal *silberkammer* over and above the original capital-building value of 80,000 *reichstaler*. A projected time-scale of three years and nine months for the execution of the order was suggested.

In April 1770 Councillor Burchard-Christian von Behr (1714-1771), a minister in the German Office in London, was asked to seek the King's opinion on the project. For unknown reasons there were several delays but, after having received a further detailed report in October 1771, George III approved the project. The planned service had in the meantime been enlarged by a further 15%. George III also consented, in principal, to give the order to Bundsen but he expected

drawings to show that the service would be made in the latest fashion and would cater to the new way of serving; if there should be anything missing, designs from London would be sent.

This comment documents the King's concern that the service should be made for the new style of dining: *service à la française*, for which a multitude of serving dishes and platters was required to allow for an intricate symmetrical table arrangement. The Hanoverian courtiers were in agreement with George III's intention, from 1766, to cut the expenses of the royal household whilst, at the same time, maintaining an appropriate royal standard at the orphaned court. The execution of an extensive service combined with a very small monetary outlay was, therefore, very welcome to the monarch.

### The first Parisian service project of 1772

The various melting processes, which lasted several months, yielded silver to a value of 85,529 *reichstaler*, over 5,500 *reichstaler* above the original estimates. At the same time a fundamental change of mind with regard to the service had taken place. In 1770 it had been intended that the order should be given to the local silversmith

Bundsen; now, two years later, no Hanoverian or even German silversmith was considered capable of executing such an extensive service in the latest fashion. It is remarkable that established Augsburg silver dealers were not even consulted, pointing to the fact that Augsburg had by this time lost its reputation as being at the forefront of design, as well as its near-monopoly in supplying large services to German courts. The Hanoverian court instead began to approach other European artistic centres. The Lord Chamberlain ordered twenty-one drawings from Paris including detailed descriptions and estimates of costs which were expeditiously submitted to the court the day after their arrival on 22 July 1772. Although the original drawings have been lost, a copy of the accompanying 'specification' survives<sup>4</sup>; it does not, however, give a complete outline or plans for the table arrangement. Various pieces of the service are described but the quantities and dimensions were not yet decided and various alternatives were offered to await the clients's decisions. It is for this reason that, contrary to the 1770 scheme, the exact weight and size of the first Parisian service cannot be determined. The specifications do state the weight of each type of piece and also give the costs for fashioning: which averaged approximately 50 *livres*<sup>5</sup> per Parisian *marc*<sup>6</sup>, which was more than double the amount charged by Augsburg makers. For tureens the cost of fashioning could be as high as 70 *livres* and for salt cellars it could even reach 100 *livres*, while for simpler objects the fashioning was charged at 40 *livres* per Parisian *marc*. The fashioning costs in the estimate of 1772 match those charged for the service which was actually executed by Auguste.

The tureens described in the specification (nos 1 to 4) were of both round and oval form and of two different sizes. The larger ones were of differing design; decorated with figural handles and laurel festoons. The cover of one tureen featured a finial in the form of two turtle doves and one of the two wine coolers (nos 5 and 6) also had figural handles (*deux figures*) and floral festoons; the other had handles in the form of an elaborate dog's head peeping out from rushes and foliage. A sauceboat (no 7)

4 For the original French text of the "specification" see Seelig 2007, *op cit*, see note 1, p 177.

5 The French *livre* can be converted to the *reichstaler*,

depending on the currency fluctuation, in a proportion of 3½ or 4 to 1.

6 The Parisian *marc* is 244,752g; a *marc* contains 8 *onces*; an *once* has 8 *gros*.



had a putti-shaped handle supporting a bowl decorated with floral festoons. The dish covers (nos 12 and 13) were of both round and oval forms and again lavishly decorated with floral festoons and finials in the form of various fish and a dog chasing fowl. The function of a square vessel (no 15) is unknown; estimated by weight its size was rather small. It consisted of a square box raised on a floral-decorated base with four feet; the finial on the cover, also decorated with festoons, was in the shape of a pomegranate together with various vegetables. The Parisian proposal of 1772 also included a cruet stand for oil and vinegar (no 8), a sugar basket with "*plateau*" (no 9), a mustard pot, again with festoons (no 10); salt cellars (nos 11 and 11<sup>1/2</sup>) were offered with either one or two bowls. Plates (nos 16–18), described as "*vaisselle ornée*", were presented in three different drawings, the customer being given a choice of rim decoration; another flat dish (no 20) featured a simpler design. Extensive flatware services (no 14) were also included. Judging from their great weight, the candelabra were intended to take prime position; they were four-branch candelabra (no 18<sup>bis</sup>) featuring figures holding cornucopia and putti bearing flowers. Two smaller candlesticks (nos 19) were probably intended as table candlesticks and featured four figures each.

In contrast to the 1770 project, the 1772 proposal did not include centrepieces but wine coolers for one or two bottles (nos 5 and 6) were included instead. This form was introduced in the early eighteenth century and these were lavish showpieces in French services but not German ones. Further new additions were the cruet stands (no 8), representing a type of utensil intended to make the guests' experience when eating more pleasurable. What is most remarkable is the variety of figural and vegetable motifs employed at a time when several other contemporary services had already stressed a new architectonic style.

The following are some examples of pieces which were actually executed; they incorporate motifs which are related stylistically to the objects described in the Parisian proposal. The finial of a still life-like arrangement of oysters and fish found on a dish cover (no 12), is strikingly similar to one on a dish cover made by Antoine-Sébastien Durand (master 1740) in 1754–55; now in the collection of the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon. The *fruits de mer* are given an astonishingly naturalistic treatment which achieves an effect of almost *trompe l'oeil*. A dish cover with "*un chien sur de volaille*" (no 13) resembles a brilliant *surtout* dish cover made in 1757–58 in the Musée du Louvre. This is part of the famous table service designed in 1756 and made, from 1757 onwards, by François-Thomas Germain (1726–91) for Joseph I of Portugal (1714–77). The wine cooler (no 6), which features hounds and dogs' heads, shows surpris-

ing similarities to a wine cooler made by Thomas Germain (1673–1748) in 1744–45 now in a private collection. The handles of the latter are also in the shape of long-haired hunting dogs amongst rushes. Finials in the form of vegetables as described on the 1772 "*caisse*" (no 15), are often found on silver tureens and *pots à oille* (large covered vessels usually of round form in which the Spanish soup *olla podrida* was served). These motifs originally appeared in the late 1720s; they were very popular used in combination with the heavily curved vessel forms of the 1750s to 1760s and were occasionally used into the 1770s, especially since these sculptural finials indicated the content of the various vessels. The pomegranate finial, also described on the "*caisse*" (no 15), is an often-used feature on French silver of the 1760s and even later, as can be seen on a tureen by Joseph-Pierre-Jacques Duguay (1724–post 1793) now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York which dates from 1771–72, approximately the same date as the Parisian proposal.

A distinguishing feature of the 1772 proposal is the use of human figures. The four-branch candelabra with two putti (no 18<sup>bis</sup>) are related to candelabra made by François-Thomas Germain for Joseph I of Portugal, the stems of which are formed of children entwined around a tree trunk. Contemporary examples of girandoles with four figural branches do not survive. The "*flambeaux composés de 4 figures*" (no 19) could possibly be thought of as having stems formed of figures shaped like herms similar to the three-figures conceived by Robert-Joseph Auguste (1723–1825) (in that case it would hardly have been possible to accommodate four figures on the stem). Exactly as described in the 1772 proposal, other contemporary tureens also feature figural handles and laurel festoons, for example, in the work of François-Thomas Germain and also later in the *oeuvre* of Louis-Joseph Lenhendrick (1710–83). Further evidence that the proposed tureens of 1772 are stylistically related to the rococo is their finials in the shape of turtle doves.

The specification does not describe the smaller items of table silver in detail and, therefore, their form cannot be determined. The "*pot à Sucre*" (no 9) rests on a "*plateau*", a stand, which was a common form in eighteenth-century France. The description of the mustard pot (no 10) is unusual: it states that the vessel rested on a "*plateau de cristal*": a crystal pot rather than a crystal stand would have been more usual.

In summary: the specification-described drawings reflected rococo objects which had been popular in the 1760s. The combined use of vegetable and floral elements, festoons, finials of various vegetable and hunting motifs and other culinary elements are reminiscent

of the service for Louis XV that was ordered in 1766 from Jacques Roëttiers (1707-84) and his son Jacques-Nicolas Roëttiers, which does not survive but which we know from contemporary documents. The 1772 Parisian proposal does not indicate a shift towards the neo-Classical style which had definitely emerged in France by 1770.

The suggestion that the 1772 proposal was made by François-Thomas Germain is possible. A Hanoverian diplomat and courtier, Friedrich-Karl von Hardenberg (1696-1763) purchased two tureens from Germain in 1753-54 which featured similar vegetable decoration. After his financial collapse of 1765 Germain tried to build up a new circle of customers and it is for this reason that he travelled to London in 1770 and attempted to establish court connections there although no orders from George III are known. In about 1773 Germain also travelled to Vienna and it is not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that he might also have tried to secure the order for the Hanoverian service. The assumption that Robert-Joseph Auguste, who in 1776 actually received the order to make the service, was the author of the proposal of 1772 may be dismissed.

### **Drawings of tureens and table services by Ignaz Joseph or Ignaz Sebastian Würth and Luigi Valadier of 1772-73**

The Parisian drawings of 1772 which were sent to Hanover were only the starting point of the discussions. It is possible that the clients were not satisfied with the rococo-influenced designs that had been submitted; in any event, shortly after their receipt, the Parisian designs were forwarded to Vienna where the former envoy to Berlin, *Schlosshauptmann* and later Lord Chamberlain, Heinrich-Julius Baron von Lichtenstein (1723-89), was then resident. Lichtenstein must have shown the drawings to leading Viennese goldsmiths because a member of the famous Viennese dynasty, the Würth family, either Ignaz Joseph (active from circa 1770 d 1792) or Ignaz Sebastian (1747-1834)<sup>7</sup>, was paid 28 *reichstaler* 12 *groschen* by the Hanoverian court for the production of “four large drawings of tureens and stands”. Even though this seems to be a rather small fee it may be assumed that Würth, who had undoubtedly seen the Parisian drawings, submitted his own designs.

Both Ignaz Joseph and Ignaz Sebastian Würth became masters in 1770. In the same year Ignaz Sebastian created the large sanctuary lamp (now in the Freiburg Cathedral treasury) which was donated to the pilgrimage church in Burgau near Günzburg by Marie Antoinette on her bridal journey to Paris. This monumental work is the earliest evidence of the neo-Classical style in German territories. Unfortunately no table service made by either Ignaz Joseph or Ignaz Sebastian Würth from the early 1770s survives. What does survive is Ignaz Joseph’s neo-Classical table service made between 1779 and 1782 for Duke Albert von Sachsen-Teschen (1738-1822), the founder of the Albertina in Vienna. It may be assumed that the four drawings sent from Vienna to Hanover were of pieces in the neo-Classical style. The fact that one of the Würth brothers was asked to send drawings to the Hanoverian court points to their reputation as early proponents of the Classical revivalist style.

<sup>7</sup> For more information about the Würth family of goldsmiths and their consultation by Hanover with regard to the George III service, see Wolfram Koepe, *Vienna circa 1800. An Imperial Silver Service Rediscovered* (exhibition catalogue, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), New Haven and London, 2010, p 17 and Wolfram Koepe, ‘Kaiserliche Ambitionen und

das Goldene Zeitalter des Zeremoniells. Das Zweite Sachsen-Teschen-Service. Eine Wiederentdeckung’, *Das Prunkservice des Herzogs Albert von Sachsen-Teschen. Ein Triumph europäischer Silberschmiedekunst* (exhibition catalogue, Johann Kräftner (editor), Liechtenstein Museum, Vienna), Vienna, 2010, pp 11-113, see especially pp 27-29.



Fig 3 Design for a tureen for the service for Duke Marcantonio Borghese, circa 1770 or circa 1783-84, after Luigi Valadier  
(©Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie, Dessau, drawings collection)

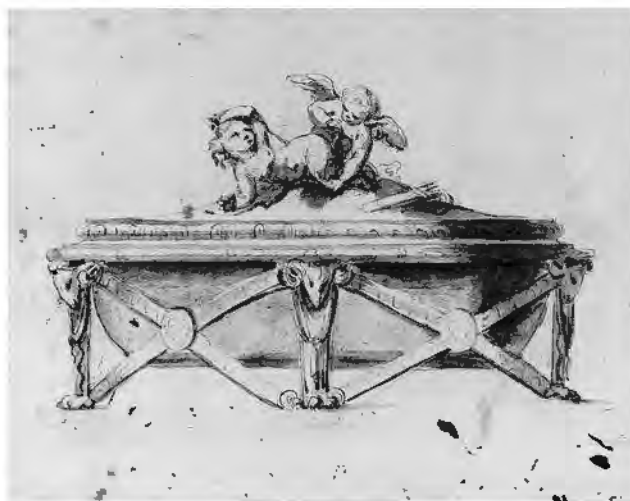


Fig 4 Design for a covered bowl for the service for Duke Marcantonio Borghese, circa 1770 or circa 1783-84, after Luigi Valadier  
(©Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie, Dessau, drawings collection)

The Hanoverian court not only made connections with the artistic centres of Paris and Vienna but also with Rome. Late in 1772 or in 1773 the court paid 17 *reichstaler* 12 *groschen* for

13 small drawings depicting various pieces of the Borghese Vaiselle.

The invoice was settled by Lichtenstein so it is feasible that he requested these drawings or was at least the recipient of them. The fee was as low as that for the Viennese drawings but these were apparently not original designs; they were rather, depictions of parts of the service made for Prince Marcantonio Borghese (1730-1800) executed by Luigi Valadier (1726-85) from about 1768 onwards [Figs 3 and 4]. The most important service for the Dukes of Borghese, known as the Borghese service, was made later and finished by about 1784. There are numerous surviving drawings which show various pieces of the Borghese Service which were later sent to be melted. The drawings sent to Hanover are probably comparable with those bought by the architect Friedrich-Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff (1736-1800) for the Dessau court which are now in the collection of the Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie in Dessau. The literature on Erdmannsdorff dates the purchase of these drawings to 1770-71, during von Erdmannsdorff's third journey to Italy, but it is more likely that he purchased them during his fourth Italian journey (1789-90) since the drawings clearly depict Valadier's work for the Borghese Service of 1783-84<sup>8</sup>. The Borghese Service was neo-Classical especially in regard to its ornamentation and incorporated a lavish use of sculptural figural elements that contrast

strongly with the architectonic creations of French silversmiths.

Today the fact that Valadier was consulted by the Hanoverian court might seem surprising but it probably stemmed from a connection made by Johann-Ludwig von Wallmoden (1736-1811): from 1783 Count von Wallmoden-Gimborn. Von Wallmoden was the son of George II and his favorite paramour Amalie Sophie von Wallmoden, née Wendt, later Countess of Yarmouth (1704-65). He spent his youth at court in London and served from 1766-86 as minister and special envoy for Hanover and Great Britain at the Viennese Imperial court. It is possible that he was involved in the consultation of the Würth brothers. In the 1760s he also spent some time in Rome where he met Johann-Joachim Winckelmann (1717-68) and, maybe, Erdmannsdorff. Von Wallmoden, who was comparatively wealthy on account of an inheritance from his mother, was in Rome to purchase antique sculpture; he was known both as connoisseur and art lover and he would have had close connections with the early proponents of neo-Classicism in Rome. If his special status at the Hanoverian court as son of George II is taken into account it is feasible that it was he who suggested consulting Valadier. It is also, however, possible the Valadier connection was made through London since his studio was on the itinerary of many Englishmen on the Grand Tour.

**The appointment of Robert-Joseph Auguste in 1776 and the copies of pieces from service made by Frantz-Peter Bundsen from 1778**

The inquiries and the drawings dispatched to Hanover had no immediate outcome but, after a four-year hiatus,





Fig 5 Pieces from the George III Service, Paris, 1777-86  
(©Musée du Louvre, Paris)

the service was made in Paris [Fig 5]. This delay may have been related to finances as interest from the 85,529 *reichstaler* had to be accumulated for several years before Hanover was in a position to enter into a contract; no silversmith would have accepted such a large commission without a sizeable down payment which would have mostly been used to buy the silver for making the service.

The Hanoverian court probably gave the commission to Robert-Joseph Auguste in 1776. He was an early proponent of neo-Classicism but would not have been the Parisian silversmith or dealer who made the original proposal of 1772. The court, however, must have had a major change of thought at some stage during the ensuing period after 1772. Baron von Lichtenstein, an avid promoter of the commissioning of the service, confirmed in a letter to Auguste on 9 November 1776, that his drawings of the "*principales pièces*" had been submitted to George III. The drawing with the "*vase*" was approved if the vessel was a tureen if, however, it was a depiction of a *pot à oille* then a larger vessel would be required and Auguste was asked to submit "*un nouveau dessein des*

*grands pots à oille*". This vessel should also have ornamentation matching the chosen drawing no 1; this shows that Auguste had submitted alternative designs to Hanover. Matching ornamentation for the "*plateau*" (stand) for the covered dishes was also ordered. (The aforementioned drawings are probably along the lines of a detailed drawing of a tureen now at the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Paris, which is ascribed to Auguste.) The order included two wine coolers in accordance with drawing no 1, but it specified dec-

8 Alvar González-Palacios, *L'oro di Valadier. Un genio nella Roma del Settecento* (exhibition catalogue, Villa Medici, Rome), Rome, 1997, pp 102-19.



Fig 6 Wine cooler, Paris, circa 1777 and 1838 by Robert-Joseph Auguste and Johann Carl Matthias. RCIN 49036

(The Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen)

oration with heads, maybe similar to that in Fig 6, as shown in drawing no 2 and in addition: two *verrières* (glass coolers) and two *huiliers* (oil and vinegar cruets). Lichtenstein also requested drawings of a dish cover, a double salt cellar, a mustard pot, a sauceboat and stand and candelabra for three or four candles. A later letter from Lichtenstein shows that Auguste had already submitted an estimate for this extensive service and that Lichtenstein had criticised the silver price given in this estimate as being too high. Auguste required 20,000 *livres* as a down payment and he was to receive yearly payments of 10,000 *livres* (an amount matching the interest income of the silver capital of 85,529 *reichstaler*). A detailed accounting of the silver used and the fashioning fee was to be undertaken after each delivery; and overseen by a Parisian banker Tourton, a partner of Tourton and Baur, who had spent some time in Hanover during the autumn of 1776. According to a letter from Lichtenstein, the payments from Hanover to Paris were handled by a Hanoverian wine merchant: Andreas or André Thierry (circa 1740-1789), a scion of a Swiss Huguenot family who also handled other banking affairs for the court. By November 1776 the most important decisions regarding the Hanover service had been made.

Further “drawings of silver utensils” were sent to Hanover in January 1777. These may have included the design for a larger *pot à oille* as requested by George III or, alternatively, were designs for the additional pieces requested by Lichtenstein.

Auguste must have started work almost immediately. On 11 March 1777 the office of the Lord Chamberlain decided to call in a loan due to “the making of silver utensils in Paris” and received the amount of 1,800 *reichstaler*. Between March to May 1777 the Hanoverian court commissioner Moritz-Rudolf Tiling made payments of 4,950 *reichstaler* 12 *groschen* “for the making of silver objects in Paris” to Lichtenstein. The first delivery must have been received in Hanover towards the end of 1777 [Fig 6], and included a pair of wine coolers, a pair of *verrières* [Fig 7] and a pair of *huiliers* [Fig 8]. The delivery date can be ascertained from a payment of 12 *reichstaler* 24 *groschen* to the saddler Ernst-August Leo for a leather case for

some of the Parisian silver objects that were sent January 12th by courier Mummmenthey to our Majesty.

This was without doubt for the design of these pieces to be approved by the King. Further documents show that the leather case accommodated three silver objects; probably one of each pair.

Even though he was mockingly called ‘Farmer George’ because of his interest in agriculture, George III had a high artistic sensitivity. He critically analysed the designs and ornamentation for the service and frequently corrected the drawings and designs. According to a letter from Lichtenstein to Auguste dated 9 November 1776 the King had made the important decisions with regard to the appearance and size of the various components of the service. The same applied to his input over the furnishing of the palace of Herrenhausen in Hanover in 1780; George III approved the renovation in principal but reserved the right to have the last word “in matters of taste”. Similar actions by him were also reported regarding the palace at Osnabrück.

9 Until the collapse of the *Ancien Régime* the fineness of silver in France was 11 *deniers*, 12 *grains* which

corresponded to 15 1/3 *lot* or 958.1 /1000. 15 *lot* corresponds to 937.5/1000.

The silver pieces delivered to Hanover in 1777 (the aforementioned wine coolers, *verrières* and *huiliers*) have Paris marks for 1776-77 and some have those of 1777-78. It is noteworthy that Auguste first delivered the silver objects that had not been mentioned at all or were only partially mentioned in both the 1770 and the 1772 proposal. These pieces all featured architectonic forms and ornamentation and expressed the modernistic principles of neo-Classicism.

Only a few months after the silver objects by Auguste had arrived in Hanover, and shortly after the final approval of the designs by George III, a commission to make two exact copies each of the wine cooler, the glass cooler and the cruet stand, was given to Hanoverian court silversmith Frantz-Peter Bundsen. Bundsen received the first tranche of redundant silver in March 1778 from the Hanover *silberkammer* and was paid 430 *reichstaler* for making these items which took about five or six months. This relatively long time span can be explained by the fact that Bundsen was working on several other orders at this time. The Bundsen copies are of remarkably high quality and there are no discernible differences between them and the Parisian originals.

The ordering of these copies was probably planned from the outset as it permitted enormous savings on costs. Whilst Hanover had to pay Auguste for the silver with a fineness of 15 1/3 *lo<sup>te</sup>* as well as for the fashioning of the pieces, the copies made by Bundsen could be made from the old, unusable silver from the *silberkammer*; the costs, therefore, were limited to the fashioning charges alone. The copying of silver objects was quite common at this time as the silversmithing was considered primarily as a trade and not an art, but the consistency with which Hanover followed to this practice is not been recognised until now.

Auguste, well-versed in dealing with his princely clients and often financially damaged by their practices, soon had his suspicions and conveyed these to Lichtenstein. While the relevant letter from Auguste does not survive, Lichtenstein's answer, probably dating from November 1779, shows that he tried to alleviate Auguste's justifiable concerns. He emphatically declared that Auguste's creations were never thought to be mere models, "*de vouloir les faire servir de modeles*" [to wish to use them as models] and that he had "*des raisons très légitimes*" [very legitimate reasons] for ordering only two examples of each form. He also enclosed a "*devis*" for a service for twenty to twenty-four people which is dated 7 November 1779. He stated that he was aware that this meant a considerable reduction in the original order, probably the one of 1776, but requested that all the objects contained in the *devis* of 7 November should be made by Auguste. This is indeed what happened over the next six and a half years.



Fig 7 Verrière, Paris, circa 1777 by Robert-Joseph Auguste  
(©Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Lichtenstein went on to assure Auguste that the items now deleted from the original order would be ordered at a later date although this never materialised. Several sources show that the Lord Chamberlain was playing a devious game; even before the date of his reassurances to Auguste various copies had already been made by Bundsen.

In 1780, maybe because of nagging suspicions that his silver objects were being copied in Hanover or possibly because of the reduced order, Auguste urged that all parts of the service should be finished during the next year. Lichtenstein declined to agree with this proposal, stating that the decision on which objects were to be executed was his alone; he assured Auguste once more that all objects included in the reduced order of November 1779 would definitely be ordered.



Fig 8 Oil and vinegar frame or huilier, Paris, circa 1777 by Robert-Joseph Auguste  
(©Musée du Louvre, Paris)





Fig 9 Pot à oille, Paris, 1779-80 by Robert-Joseph Auguste  
(©Musée du Louvre, Paris)

It is probably no coincidence that the Hanoverian court, which was always circumspect and ultimately dependent on the King's decisions, had first ordered only a small number of the smaller items. The larger elements of the service only came later. In May 1778 the draftsman Johann-Jakob Appel received 10 *ducates* (26 *reichstaler* 24 *groschen*) for

copying of 10 different designs of vaisselle à l'antique.

The originals for these drawings, or Appel's copies, were probably sent to the king who checked not only the first designs but also had to approve all the subsequent ones.

The drawings received from Paris were probably for the second delivery of two *pots à oille* [Fig 9], two oval tureens [Fig 10] and two candelabra [Fig 11]. According to a letter from Lord Chamberlain Lichtenstein these large elements, which determined the appearance as well as the sizing of the whole ensemble, arrived in Hanover in November 1780. In a letter to Auguste, Lichtenstein criticised the size of the *pots à oille* which was somewhat smaller than had been desired. These should have weighed 50 Parisian *marcs* and have had a greater capacity than the tureens, which were planned to weigh 5 *marcs* less. The *pots à oille* which were delivered weighed even less than 45 *marcs* and there was no discernable difference between them and the tureens. Lichtenstein insisted that a *pot à oille*



Fig 10 Tureen, Paris, 1778-79 by Robert-Joseph Auguste  
(©Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Fig 11 Candelabrum, Paris, 1778-79 by Robert-Joseph Auguste  
(©Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Fig 12 Pair of sauceboats and stands, Paris, 1781-82 by Robert-Joseph Auguste  
(©The Rothschild Family Trust)



Fig 13 Mustard pot, Paris, 1781-82 by Robert-Joseph Auguste  
(© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

*devoit avoir une forme ronde beaucoup plus profonde, attendu que cette pièce devoit dominer sur la terrine tant pour l'usage que pour l'agrément de la table.* [should be of much deeper, circular form, so that this piece should dominate the tureen, as much as for its use as to for the ornament of the table].

He ordered another two *pots à oille* in 1780 but these were now "*plus grands, plus hauts, plus profonds*" [larger, higher and deeper]. These two large *pots à oille* were part of the third delivery which arrived in Hanover in about July 1782. This delivery also included four more cande-

labra, two sauceboats [Fig 12] and two mustard pots [Fig 13] with spoons, as well as eight salt cellars [Fig 14a and 14b] with matching spoons that were made by Antoine Bouillier (active 1774-1801), a goldsmith who often co-operated with Auguste.

#### The purchase of the Hardenberg Service in 1779

Despite the extensive orders given to Auguste, the Hanoverian court purchased yet another, albeit smaller, service from the interest income from the silver capital. Acquired in March 1779 for 7,471 *reichstaler*, 4 *groschen*, 5 *pfennig* it had belonged to the sister-in-law of the



Fig 14a Salt cellar, Paris, 1781-82 by Antoine Bouillier  
(©The Rothschild Family Trust)



Fig 14b Detail of salt cellar showing marks



Fig 15 Johann Georg Ziesenis, Friedrich Karl von Hardenberg, circa 1760  
(Historisches Museum, Hanover)

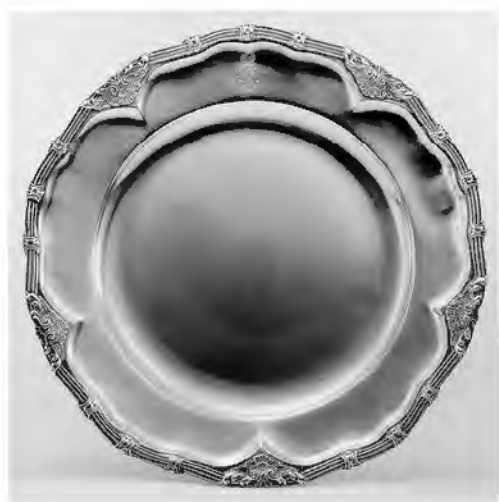


Fig 16a Plate from the Hardenberg Service, Augsburg, 1755-60 by Emanuel-Abraham Drentwett  
(Private collection)



Fig 16b Detail of plate: maker's mark of Emanuel-Abraham Drentwett and engraved standard and scratch weight

Hanoverian courtier Friedrich-Karl von Hardenberg<sup>10</sup> [Fig 15], uncle of the Prussian reformer Karl-August von Hardenberg (1750-1822). The reason for the purchase of this service, which was by both Augsburg and Parisian goldsmiths, was probably to enable the court to accumulate more high-grade silver and also to have a modern, high-quality service available before the Auguste service was completed.

Between 1753 and 1755 the famous architect Jacques-François Blondel (1705-14) had acted as Friedrich-Karl von Hardenberg's agent in the purchase of several important items of domestic silver from the Parisian goldsmith François-Thomas Germain. These included a *surtout* as well as two tureens which, according to Hardenberg's order, were to have finials composed of artichokes, beets, asparagus, cabbage, etc. It is possible, although there is no definite proof, that Blondel was the author of these designs and he obviously hoped that the Hardenberg order would lead to others: that Germain would be able "de faire autre chose pour hanover" [to make other pieces for Hanover], a hope which did not materialise for Germain but was fulfilled for Auguste.

The Hardenberg Service was purchased in 1779 and contained various Parisian-made pieces with a fineness of 15 *lot* and had a total weight of 80 *marcs*, 13 7/8 *lot*. In 1952 it was observed that one plate belonging to the service had Parisian marks for 1744; it must have been purchased, together with other plates, by Hardenberg after his Paris sojourn of 1741 to 1742. The pieces by François-Thomas Germain: the centrepiece and the two tureens which no longer conformed to contemporary taste were not, however, transferred to Guelph ownership in 1779; it is possible that these substantial objects had previously either been sold or sent to be melted down.

The Hardenberg Service was enlarged during Hardenberg's own lifetime and later on by his sister-in-law. These pieces were made in Hanover and Augsburg as local fashioning costs were clearly lower and they show varying levels of purity: 15, 14 and 12 *lot*. The 14 *lot* pieces were made in Augsburg. A set of twelve plates now in a private collection, that formed part of these additions to the Hardenberg service, have the mark of the Augsburg goldsmith Emanuel-Abraham Drentwett (1723-70) [Fig 16]; they lack a town mark but are engraved with "14 Lötig", denoting a fineness of



Fig 16c Detail of plate: cypher of George III, engraved in 1841



875/1000. Twenty-four matching plates now in the stock of a London art dealer include copies by the Hanoverian goldsmith Johann-Christian-Peter Neuthardt (born circa 1782). The Drentwett plates are rococo in style and can be dated to the second half of the 1750s; they are engraved with the same monogram of George III as the table service supplied by Auguste and Bundsen to the King (this engraving dates from 1841).

The Hardenberg Service proved to be too small for the needs of the Hanoverian court. According to records in the State Archives it was extended immediately after its purchase in 1779 and later on in 1780 and 1790. These additions were also financed from the interest income of the silver capital and made by Frantz-Peter Bundsen. An inventory of 1800 of the court *silberkammer* assigned the letter G to the Hardenberg service, which at that time had a total weight of 935 *mark*, 4 1/4 *lot*. The appearance of a “plateau” in the ensemble suggests that the service was probably used at court as the service for a second table.

#### Further deliveries by Robert-Joseph Auguste and Frantz-Peter Bundsen

During this time Auguste’s deliveries from Paris continued. About a month after receiving the third delivery, Lichtenstein inquired, in a letter of 29 August 1782, about an order for plates and flatware. In November 1779 he had requested a

*dessein exact du bord et du contour d’un plat ou d’une assiette* [an accurate drawing for the shape and border of a dish or plate].

and a

*dessein pour les couverts et les couteaux* [drawing for the flatware and the knives].

By the autumn of 1780 he had chosen the pattern for spoons, forks and knives and the border decoration for the plates

*le contour et bord Nro. 2 à baguettes et rubans* [the shape and border no 2 with ribbons and darts].

and had returned the drawings sealed and approved. In a letter of 29 August 1782 Lichtenstein confirmed that he had chosen the border described above for the plates and “*filets*” (fiddle thread pattern) for the flatware.

The fourth, and by far the largest, delivery arrived in Hanover in September 1784. It comprised 216 plates and 144 sets of flatware, the latter probably made by Claude-Auguste Aubry (active 1758-91), who specialized in flatware [Fig 19], as well as various dishes and bowls in graduated sizes and of oval, square and rectangular shape, all required for service *à la française*. A larger number of shallow dishes, “*plats*”, and deeper bowls, “*jattes*”, were for use for the first course which would have included the “*hors d’oeuvres*” and the “*entrées*”. During the first course four circular and four oval dishes were used to serve “*relevés*”, additional dishes, “set on the table to replace an empty dishes”<sup>11</sup>. The second course commenced with mostly roasts (in service *à la française* all the meat dishes were roasts) and various side dishes called “*entremets*”.



Fig 17 Plate, Paris, 1783-84 by Robert-Joseph Auguste  
(©The Rothschild Family Trust)

10 For more information about the Hardenberg service, see Lorenz Seelig, ‘Das Silberservice Friedrich Karl von Hardenberg-zur höfischen Tafelkultur des Rokoko’, *Im Auftrag der Krone. Friedrich Karl von Hardenberg und das Leben in Hannover um 1750*, Wilken von Bothmer and Marcus Köhler (editors), Rostock, 2010, pp 55-61.

11 Hans Ottomeyer, ‘Service à la française und service à la russe. Die Entwicklung der Tafel zwischen dem 18. und 19. Jahrhundert’, *Die öffentliche Tafel, Tafelzeremoniell in Europa 1300-1900* (exhibition catalogue, Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, Hans Ottomeyer and Michaela Völkel (editors), Wolftrathshausen, 2002, pp 94-101, see especially p 94.



Fig 18a Meat dish, Paris, 1783-84 by Robert-Joseph Auguste  
(©The Rothschild Family Trust)



Fig 18b Detail of meat dish: Paris marks and maker's mark



Fig 19 Flatware, Paris, 1783-84 by Claude-Auguste Aubry  
(Present ownership unknown)



Fig 20 Circular dish and cover, Paris, 1783-84 and 1784-85 by Robert-Joseph Auguste  
(©Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Four large [Figs 18] and twelve smaller dishes were employed for the roasts; another four square and four rectangular bowls were used to create the same table arrangement for both courses.

Elements of the fourth delivery were possibly made by either René-Antoine Bailleul (1741-post 1791) or by Antoine Boullier or another unknown goldsmith; all the pieces bear marks for Paris 1783-84.

Just a few months after receipt of the fourth delivery Lichtenstein informed Auguste, in a letter of 14 January 1785, of his intention to order a

*seconde vaiselle à 25 ou à 30 couverts toute unie pour le service journalier* [second service of twenty-five to thirty place settings, all uniform, for the everyday service]

with "*beaux modes, du dernier goût*" [fine models in the latest fashion]; for this he requested drawings of *pots à oille*, tureens, sauceboats, salt cellars, candelabra, candlesticks and dish covers. In a letter of 14 July 1786, Lichtenstein again mentioned the project of yet another service to be supplied by Auguste. Such an order would have considerably enlarged the inventory of French silver at the court of Hanover but in the end this project was never executed.

The fifth and final delivery arrived in Hanover in July 1786 by which time the order was complete. The pieces included the work of another goldsmith, Ballieul (or Boullier?) and comprised: two large dish covers [Fig 20], as well as eighteen smaller dish covers of three different forms. These covers matched the dishes and bowls in the fourth delivery. Four covered pans, twenty-four small covered pots called "*marmites*" and "*cocottes*", as well as two chafing dishes were included in this delivery. These implements helped to keep dishes warm and were intended to facilitate the service of food as well as to enhance the comfort of diners. The payment for this delivery was sent by Thiery in the same month as its delivery. The completion of the order had taken a decade, and its division into five deliveries was due to the manner in which the project was financed which automatically limited the possible financial outlay each year.

In parallel with the deliveries from Paris, Bundsen was busy making further copies to add to the service. Archive sources have revealed the origin of the higher-quality silver that was made available to him; it was in large part from the aforementioned English Service engraved with the coat of arms of the Prince of Wales, which had been sent to Hanover in 1738. This was, without doubt, the service made in 1717 for the then Prince of Wales, later George II, by the London goldsmiths Benjamin Pyne and Pierre Platel. The fineness of this silver service was somewhat higher than 15 *lot* (937.5/1000), since at that time English silver had to be made of Britannia standard silver with a fineness of 958/1000, the same as the standard of French silver. It was, therefore, possible to use pieces from the English Service which were in Hanover to be made into addition to the Paris-made objects.

Using Auguste's patterns, in 1781-82 Bundsen made six "*flambeaux*" or candelabra [Fig 21], a year later, two oval tureens [Fig 22] and in 1783-84 two circular tureens [Fig 23]. In 1783 six sauceboats [Fig 24],

two with stands, and in 1784-86 seventy-two dinner plates and 144 sets of flatware consisting of knives, forks and spoons, as well as in 1789 six salt cellars and six matching salt spoons were all forthcoming. As variations to the round dish covers delivered by Auguste, Bundsen made eight oval dish covers [Fig 25] in 1787-88, four each for dishes for *entrées* and roast *entremets*. The service was further enlarged according to need and was completed by 1790 with the delivery of silver-gilt flatware for dessert and ice cream. Bundsen delivered thirty-six dessert knife handles, some with steel and some with silver-gilt blades, together with thirty-six dessert forks and spoons, as well as thirty-six ice cream spoons and four servers, for which there was no existing Auguste pattern. After Frantz-Peter Bundsen's death in 1795 his son Johann-Daniel-Conrad (1759-1821) was appointed Royal Goldsmith. He was then responsible for any additions to the service and delivered in 1797 an additional dozen sets of dessert flatware: an indication that the service must have been used quite often. In 1820 forty-eight more pieces of dessert flatware were made by Johann-Christian-Peter Neuthardt. Additions



Fig 21 Candelabrum, Hanover, 1781-82 by Frantz-Peter Bundsen  
(©The Rothschild Family Trust)



Fig 22 Oval tureen, Hanover, 1782-83 by Frantz-Peter Bundsen  
(©The Rothschild Family Trust)



Fig 23 Pot à oile, Hanover, 1783-84 by Frantz-Peter Bundsen  
(©The Rothschild Family Trust)



Fig 24 Pair of sauceboats, Hanover, 1783 by Frantz-Peter Bundsen  
(Present ownership unknown)



Fig 25 Pair of oval dish covers, Hanover, 1788 by Frantz-Peter Bundsen  
(Present ownership unknown)





Fig 26 Candlestick,  
Hanover, 1794 or  
1797 by Frantz-  
Peter Bundsen or  
Johann-Daniel-  
Conrad Bundsen  
(©The Rothschild Family  
Trust)

by Frantz-Peter Bundsen in 1794 included twelve single candlesticks [Fig 26], a type not made by Auguste. Only three-branch candelabra had been sent from Paris, a pattern which Bundsen then adapted for the smaller candlesticks. The bases of the candlesticks are identical but the shaft was changed so that it broadens towards the top, and the caryatid-type female figures of the candelabra were omitted. Johann-Daniel-Conrad Bundsen made twelve more candlesticks of this type, for which he received payment in 1797.

### The scale, cost and payments of the Parisian service completed in 1790

The combined Parisian and Hanoverian services had been completed by 1790, except for a few later additions. Various notes by the court steward, Johann-Philipp Tiling, of 7 August 1790, state that the completed service would be used for the first time on that day and would include thirty place settings. From the same source it can be seen that the names for the various elements for the two main courses were simplified and just called "*entrées*" and "*entremets*" (these terms are also used in the inventory of 1800). The two round larger *pots à oille* were to be used for the soup as described in the inventory and used exclusively for the *entrée* course. The table arrangement took the space available and the distribution of items into consideration; for instance, if there were glass coolers on the table, the central plateau had to be shortened.

In 1789 an inventory of the various table services was made. The Auguste service was the largest and most complex ensemble and was assigned the letter A.

This service, as had been planned in the first project, included at that time: 144 sets of flatware for a maximum of seventy-two persons. The service was on an extraordinary scale: the Parisian parts weighed 1,754 Parisian *marcs* i.e. 13,760oz (428 kg). In 1800 the total weight of the service, including the additions from Hanover, was 2,763 Cologne *mark*, 8 lot, i.e. almost 20,770 oz (646 kg) of 15 *lot* silver, and there were other additions in 12 and 13 *lot* silver. The George III Service was one of the largest of its time, the average weight of German court services in the second half of the eighteenth century was between 1,200 (9,580 oz/298 kg) and 1,500 (48,226oz/373kg) Cologne *mark*.

The cost of the Parisian pieces made by Auguste and other silversmiths was extremely high. Given that one Parisian *marc* corresponded to 52 *livres*, an amount of 91,226 *livres*, 13 *sols*, 6 *deniers* (24,006 *reichstaler*, 16 *groschen*, 1 7/16 *pfennig*) was charged for the silver and the charge for fashioning was 40,578 *livres*, 12 *sols*, which meant that the maker's fee was an extremely high percentage of the total price. In German states, for instance in Augsburg, the fashioning charge corresponded to about 15% of the cost of the silver used. Even Catherine the Great (1729-1796) complained in her correspondence with Baron Friedrich-Melchior Grimm (1723-1807) about Auguste's high prices:

*Mr. Auguste est d'une cherté épouvantable; je crois qu'il prendra pour la façon autant qu'il y aura de poids.*  
[Mr Auguste is shockingly expensive, I believe that he will take as much for the making as he will for the weight [of silver]].

The charge for making the George III Service came to about 6 *livres* per Parisian *marc* for plates, dishes and flatware and up to 50 *livres* for tureens, *pots à oille* and candelabra. These charges could be thought of as quite moderate, given the fact that in the eighteenth century leading Parisian goldsmiths often asked 140 *livres*, even up to 190 or 220 *livres*, per Parisian *marc* for more elaborate objects that employed a multitude of cast parts. High-quality Parisian luxury objects could command much higher prices than German wares and there was a willingness, at German courts, to spend enormous sums on these prestigious items. In the case of the George III Service there were considerable additional costs which totalled 6,547 *livres* 13 *sols* 3 *deniers*: for the "*contrôle étranger*", export taxes for silver objects, for the making of travelling cases for the larger vessels and bags for the dishes, bowls and plates, and for packaging and customs costs. The total cost was, therefore, 138,352 *livres* 18 *sols* 9 *deniers*, in German currency ("*Kassenmünzen*"), 33,826 *reichstaler* 3 *groschen* 6 2/3 *pfennig*, and if the additional costs of freight and postage are included the total cost was 34,171 *reichstaler* 6 *groschen* 4 *pfennig*.

It is worth mentioning in this connection that in 1773 Gustav III of Sweden (1746-1792) declined to order a service made by Auguste with an estimated cost of over 77,000 *livres* because it seemed too expensive. An instance that Parisian services could cost much more is the service made for Count Grigori Orloff (1743-1783), which was commissioned by Catherine the Great from Jacques-Nicolas Roëttiers between 1770 and 1773. It was given by the Empress to Orloff in several parts from 1772 to 1776. The cost of the service amounted to some 1,200,000 *livres*.

A comparison between the core French part of the George III service and the Hildesheim Service is also informative. The Hildesheim Service was made in 1763 in Augsburg at a cost of 21,922 *reichstaler* 6 *groschen* 5 *pfennig*, an amount which indebted the Hildesheim chapter for the next few decades. By way of comparison, contemporary porcelain services seem very favorably priced. The French parts of the George III Service, including the subsidiary costs, amounted to nearly 140,000 *livres*; the extensive high quality porcelain services made at Sèvres, which were given by Louis XV (1710-1774) and Louis XVI (1754-1793) to many European sovereigns, cost on average about a fifth to a third of this amount. Examples of porcelain services include the 1771 service given to the future Gustav III of Sweden which cost 46,920 *livres* and the one given to Emperor Joseph II of Austria in 1777 which had a cost of 43,560 *livres*.

Regardless of the enormous costs the financing of the George III Service were handled without Hanover going into debt. The payments were punctual and stand in contrast to the slow-payment practices of other courts, which plunged many a goldsmith into bankruptcy. These payments were possible not only because of the interest income of the silver capital of 85,529 *reichstaler* but because, through the additional sales of silver from the royal *silberkammer*, the court had cash in hand. The first pieces from the *silberkammer* to be sold were those which were outmoded and not used such as the massive fire irons and fire dogs. Another example was the table centrepiece which was considered to be old-fashioned; it had been bought by the Hanoverians in Frankfurt am Main in 1741 during the preparations for the election of the Emperor.

### The potential use of the service by George III

The table service completed in 1790 was, without any doubt, intended for the use of the sovereign. Even though George III never actually visited Hanover the court had to be prepared for the possibility of a visit at any time. From the mid-1770s, due to political difficulties in Britain and the unstable state of his health, George III entertained thoughts of abdicating and retiring to Hanover; several sources suggest that George III did intend to spend time in Hanover even if this did never

happen. In 1785 the theatre in the palace in Hanover was in need of decoration, the King did not approve the expense and stated that it could wait "until we see for ourselves". Four years earlier he had sent several coaches from London to Hanover to serve as models for new ones; the coaches from London were not to be used "because we reserve these until our arrival."

In this connection the royal *residenz* in Hanover, the Leineschloss, had enormous significance and from 1780 onwards it was decided that it should be enlarged. Generally, all the palaces in the electoral lands, as well as the *residenz*, were kept in such a state of upkeep that

they could serve as proper habitat for the sovereign and his family<sup>12</sup>.

Court etiquette and court ceremony were strictly upheld; the courtiers

paid their respect in the palace to honor the sovereign - sometimes in the person of a deputy but mostly just the propped-up portrait of the sovereign<sup>13</sup>

in front of which the guests bowed. After that the courtiers entered the dining hall, where the service was as sumptuous as if the King were present<sup>14</sup> and the King's food was generally praised "as very excellent". The Auguste service undoubtedly had a central role; it was financed out of its own resources of the Guelph court and was able, even without the presence of the monarch, to convey a sense of appropriate royal splendour. It was also used to serve members of the royal family especially George III's three younger sons, who attended the university in Göttingen (at that time the most liberal of all German universities) and who often spent time in Hanover. A high-quality service for the *residenz* in Hanover, as well as for the palace of Herrenhausen, was needed as well, for the use of the military Governor, George III's representative, or for the service of important guests such as Friedrich-Wilhelm II of Prussia (1744 -1797) who visited in 1788.

According to sources, right from the beginning, George III was involved in all the phases of the conception and ordering of the service. He reserved the right of the final decision concerning the fashioning of the silver objects,

12 Georg Schnath, *Das Leineschloß, Kloster, Fürstensitz, Landtagsgebäude*, Hanover, 1962, p 89.

13 Heide Barmeyer, 'Hof und

Hofgesellschaft in Niedersachsen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 61, 1989, pp 87-104, see especially p 92f.

14 Joachim Lampe, *Aristokratie, Hofadel und Staatspatriziat in Kurhannover*, Göttingen, 1963, vol 1, p 136.

and most probably, it was he who made the decision not to order a rococo service as was first planned in 1770 and 1772, but rather to order an ensemble in the neo-Classical style from Paris.

### **The role of the court in London in commissioning Robert-Joseph Auguste; Auguste's reputation in England**

With regard to the question of how much George III influenced the choice of goldsmith and the appearance of the service, it is important to take into account the fact that English goldsmiths' work underwent a stylistic change towards neo-Classicism during the late 1760s<sup>15</sup>; much earlier than in the German states. The service commissioned by George III shortly after his marriage to Charlotte von Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1744-1818), which is still in the Royal Collection, was made by Thomas Heming in 1761 and includes tureens in the French rococo style. From the late 1760s neo-Classical tendencies surfaced, not only in the severely linear and less three-dimensional style of Robert Adam, but also the more sculptural style of figural elements in the work of Charles Frederick Kandler. Especially pronounced variations of neo-Classical forms are found in objects designed by William Chambers, George III's favorite architect; the tureen executed in 1769-70 by John Parker I and Edward Wakelin for George Spencer, 4th Duke of Marlborough, is just one example.

Auguste's skill was recognised in England from the second half of the 1760s. Two Auguste candelabra made in 1766-67 for John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford, now at Woburn Abbey, may have been bought from Parker and Wakelin; they represent the *goût grec*, the early neo-Classical style strongly influenced by antique architecture and decoration. During his short sojourn in Paris as George III's special envoy in 1762-63, the Duke of Bedford had made many contacts with French artists and dealers and purchased an important Sèvres service as well as other objects. The Auguste candelabra bought by the Duke served as models for many London goldsmiths. Copies of 1770 by Parker as well as Wakelin and Andrew Fogelberg of 1774 made the French models well known.

Simon, 1st Earl Harcourt (1714-77), George III's Governor while he was Prince of Wales and later his close friend, purchased candelabra, candlesticks and wine coolers in the "antique style" from Auguste in 1768. The form of these pieces is very similar to the wine coolers in the George III service; they feature not only a basic neo-Classical form but also have rams' head handles. The Earl purchased these with the prospect of his service as Ambassador at the French court, in mind, he had been appointed in 1768. He had a close business relationship

with Auguste from whom he purchased in 1772 a toilet service for his daughter-in-law made in 1770-71. This is just one example of how French objects acquired by various ambassadors shaped the taste of the British aristocracy.

A letter of 1776 from Matthew Boulton (1728-1809) to James Ogilvy, 7th Earl of Findlater (1750-1811), shows that Auguste, as a proponent of the neo-Classical style, enjoyed an excellent reputation in fashionable English circles:

as I have not seen any of the best productions of Monsr August I therefore presume I have seen nothing, His fame I am perswaded is founded in superior Merit because I have heard so many Noblemen of good Tast concur in ye same opinion of him--I therefore am desirious of availing myself of your Lordships good Offices in Paris in ye spring<sup>16</sup>.

It may be assumed that George III's decision, regarding the choice of Auguste, was influenced by various courtiers such as the Earl of Harcourt, and that the King personally directed the Hanoverian court to Auguste. It should also be emphasised that the service was always intended for Hanover and not for London. For political reasons, an order from George III to Auguste in Paris, the capital of a military enemy, would hardly have been acceptable. Besides, George III wished to support local industries and art, especially manufacturing firms such as those run by Boulton and Wedgwood which were oriented towards export. It is unlikely that the initiative for commissioning Auguste originated with the Hanoverian aristocracy whose members were for the most part highly conservative and shied away from such important decisions.

The commissioning of the Auguste service resulted in a somewhat paradoxical situation. The King of Great Britain and Ireland possessed, as Prince Elector in Hanover, an ultra-modern service that could be used for hundreds of guests which he was never to use himself. By comparison, the British court did not have a single modern, neo-Classical piece of silver at its disposal. Only between 1788-90, about the time of the completion of the Auguste and Bundsen service for Hanover, did the London court order a silver-gilt service from John Wakelin and William Taylor which featured the restrained, elegant forms of English neo-Classicism. It was used first on 1 May 1789 in celebration of George III's recovery (that proved to be temporary) from his severe mental illness. This service does not compare in scale or size with the George III Service; this can be explained by financial reasons. The Hanoverian court, with its enormous inventory of old silver to call on,



could only afford to order such an extensive table service “à l’antique” in Paris because it did not involve the expenditure of considerable cash. The British court did not have comparable resources.

### **The stylistic significance of the Robert-Joseph Auguste service made for the Hanoverian court**

Having researched the history of the Auguste service, let us now analyse its stylistic importance. The larger and more expressive elements of the service, the tureens and *pots à oille*, which were delivered after 1780 may be used for this comparison.

The earliest Auguste tureens, made between 1756 and 1760 and sold to Christian VII of Denmark (1749-1808) in 1769, are outstanding examples of the French rococo; only the festoons used on them point towards neo-Classicism, which surfaced in France in the 1750s as the *goût grec*. Only a few Auguste objects dating from the 1760s feature the heavy forms of the Classical revival: for example, the aforementioned candelabra and wine coolers supplied to the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Harcourt. Another example is a three-armed candelabrum of 1767-68 now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The earliest ensemble of truly neo-Classical pieces was made between 1771 and 1772 by Auguste for Otto von Blome; this included a circular tureen, now in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, and an oval *pot à oille*, now in a private collection. These two pieces may have originally been part of a now-lost table service. From 1770 Blome served as Danish Ambassador in Paris and he was yet another diplomat who played an important role in popularising the neo-Classical style. The Hamburg tureen features an extremely compact form, without a central pedestal, standing on four low feet; heavy laurel festoons and rams’ head handles emphasise the clearly defined neo-Classical appearance of this covered vessel. The tureen dates from 1771-72 and corresponds closely to a drawing of 1773-74, from a group by the Swedish architect Jean Eric Rehn (1717-93). These are variations on the designs for the service that Auguste submitted to Gustav III but which was never made. The Rehn drawing served as a model for several tureens in the so-called First Court Service of Gustav III which was made by Anders Stafhell (1730-94) in 1774. In order to save the King money local craftsmen made objects which varied only slightly from Auguste’s creations but were clearly inspired by his designs. Auguste complained bitterly about this practice to the Swedish Ambassador, Gustav-Philip Creutz; as previously noted, Auguste rightly feared similar practices in Hanover. The Swedish actions are proof that the design drawings of Auguste and the copies of his models were known and were popular across Europe.

The next phase of Auguste’s work is represented by a

service ordered in 1775 by the diplomat Gustav-Philip Creutz; following financial difficulties Creutz sold elements of this service to Gustav III in 1781. The King purchased the largest pieces from the service: tureens, *pots à oille*, etc for 34,440 *livres*; they are now in the Kungl. Husgerådskammaren (the Swedish royal treasury). Plates, covered dishes and flatware were bought by the Swedish state and are today in the possession of the Swedish Foreign Ministry. The Creutz Service is characterised by lighter forms; the appearance of the tureens is more elegant, they have a less voluminous but somewhat protruding, almost half-moon-shaped body which rests, not on four feet, but seems to float on a circular central pedestal. Heavy festoons around the sides are replaced by elegant but still pronounced spiral tendrils of the ‘*style arabesque*’, and instead of rams’ head handles, they are formed by two entwined putti, whose origins lie in Roman relief sculptures. The cover appears lighter thanks to a pronounced curvature and a lancet-shaped leaf motif. Special features of this service are the applied gilded reliefs, allegorical compositions celebrating Gustav III and his government, possibly designed by Augustin Pajou. The service that Auguste made in the 1770s for Creutz documents the shift in his style to the ‘*style arabesque*’; it is undoubtedly the highest quality service by Auguste.

The smaller tureens and the *pots à oille* of the George III service stylistically follow the ones in the Creutz Service but their appearance is much heavier and they are less brilliantly executed. The bodies are larger and, like the covers, are less curved towards the upper rim. The upper rim is decorated with a strong laurel branch design instead of the finer laurel-leaf relief and the covers are fluted instead of having the delicate lancet-shaped leaf pattern. The tendency to more sober forms is even more noticeable in the large *pots à oille* of the George III Service, the voluminous bodies of which are shaped almost like a three-quarter circle when seen in profile.

The tureens made in 1776-78 for Catherine II that Auguste made in collaboration with Louis-Joseph Lenhendrick and Charles Spriman (active from 1781-95 or 1796) are yet another variation of the same design. They form part of the so-called Yekaterinoslav Service, one of several services ordered for the state governments

15 Christopher Hartop, *The Classical Ideal. English Silver, 1760-1840*, Cambridge, 2010.

16 Robert Rowe, *Adam Silver 1765-1795*, London, 1965, p 59.

of the Russian Empire. The most discernible difference between the Yekaterinoslav tureen and those of the George III and Creutz Services is that the body rests on four volute feet rather than on a central pedestal. The slightly curved stand features pronounced fluting matching that of the cover, the inner section is concave and decorated with four rosette-filled medallions. The composition is reminiscent of the tureens in the Blome service.

Other pieces of the George III Service are similar (with minor variations) to the corresponding elements of the Yekaterinoslav Service and also to other assemblages by Auguste. Auguste's output was determined by a strict economy of work in that he used identical casts as well as variations of a basic model.

The wine coolers in the George III Service, made at approximately the same time as the Yekaterinoslav Service, have like all other Auguste "*seaux*", rams' head handles. They are, however, more sumptuous than the Russian ones; festoons of vine leaves are combined with a Bacchus head masks. The design can be seen on the wine coolers, now at Waddesdon Manor, which were made by Auguste in 1775-76<sup>17</sup>. The George III Service coolers have a more vigorously ornamented profile; as well as acanthus-leaf decoration to the lower section of the body of the vessel which is very similar to that on the Harcourt wine coolers of 1766-67. The motif of a narrow fluted band towards the upper rim of the coolers is reminiscent of four coolers of 1779-80 in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon.

The George III *verrières*, again dating to about the same period as the Yekaterinoslav Service, 1776-78, feature an ornamental frieze of Vitruvian scrolls rather than festoons. This is combined with a rosette set into a medallion ("*soleil*"), which was also used on the tureens.

The dish covers are almost identical and only differ from those in the Yekaterinoslav Service, made six years earlier, in the appearance of their finials. In 1773-74 Auguste had already made very similar dish covers for the Creutz service although these did not feature vertical divisions.

The candelabra are of the same form as the single candelabrum in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1767-68) and the twelve candelabra of the Creutz Service of 1775-76. The proportions of those in the George III Service are more elongated: the foot is higher and the cylindrical element above the head of the figures of the stem (in the shape of draped herms) is longer.

The form of the sauceboats and stands matches those of the tureens and stands and originated in those in the Creutz Service although the handles are formed as putti, a variation on the tureen handles. The cruets with their

rams' head handles are reminiscent of those in the Creutz Service of 1775-76 and are almost identical to some made in 1775-76 which are now in the Musée du Louvre.

According to extant sources and also in comparison with other services by Auguste, the Parisian service of 1776-86 made for Hanover can be considered a complete service. In scale and the variety of pieces, it was, however, much larger than the service delivered to Creutz. Additions by Bundsen did not mean an automatic doubling up of items; copies seem to have been limited to tureens, *verrières* and cruets; Bundsen also created a new candlestick form. At first no additional dishes or bowls were planned. In comparison with the plan of 1770 it is noteworthy that the Auguste service was intended to permit greater comfort for guests in the service of the food, as well in keeping it warm and drinks cold. The result was a larger number of dish covers, heaters, and casseroles as well as *marmites* and *cocottes*, which were not necessarily included in earlier ensembles.

After taking over the business of Jacques-Nicolas Roëttiers in 1777 and being appointed *orfèvre ordinaire du Roi* [Royal Goldsmith] in the same year, Robert-Joseph Auguste was indisputably the leading Parisian goldsmith. The George III Service is one of his most important creations in the French neo-Classical style; it is characterised by a great homogeneity of composition. The ornamental motifs of the tureens, sauceboats, cruets and mustard pots are matched with those of the stands, so that even the smaller objects of the service share the same distinctive architectonic features; the fluting of covers and dish covers also match. Profiles are emphasised with laurel leaves as well as beaded borders and the finials are either of a flat, button-like form or in the shape of fruit or pine cones emerging from acanthus leaf socles. Three-dimensional ornamentation, like the acanthus tendrils on the tureens and salt cellars and vine festoons on the wine coolers, result in a pronounced restrained style. The figural motifs are limited to the female herms and putti on the candelabra and handles of tureens and sauceboats. The rams' head decoration on the wine coolers is repeated in a smaller version on cruets and mustard pots. The high quality of the modelling and finishing of all the figural parts is particularly notable; this was a skill Auguste acquired as a bronze-founder and chaser. In contrast to the proliferation of pseudo-antique decorative elements of the Orloff Service, we find here a "sophisticated classical elegance"<sup>18</sup> which creates a harmonious unity of the components. The dishes, bowls, plates and flatware also express, in a unified form, the mature Classical canon that developed in France after the first half of the eighteenth century. The sober forms, the severe composition and the excellent proportions of the pieces created by Auguste reach a climax in the George III Service and ideally express its official function as a state service.



Fig 27a Plateau: section of border, Vienna, 1799 by Ignaz Sebastian Würth  
(Historisches Museum, Hanover)



Fig 27b Plateau: section of border, Hanover, 1799-1800 by Johann-Daniel-Conrad Bunsen  
(Historisches Museum, Hanover)

### Additions made to the service from 1790 to 1801

Further additions to the completed 'Service A' were made by Hanoverian and Viennese goldsmiths during the years 1790 to 1801. These additions were necessary because Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge (1774-1850), seventh son of George III, took up residence in Hanover around 1800; he was appointed Military Governor in 1801. Ignaz-Sebastian Würth, mentioned above, who mostly working for the Viennese Imperial court, delivered numerous objects to Hanover in 1799-1800. Of these additions to the service, a mirrored plateau survives which is now on loan to the Historical Museum, Hanover<sup>19</sup> [Fig 27]. The Viennese goldsmiths received these orders because they enjoyed such an excellent reputation throughout Europe for the production of high quality services. Further orders to France were impossible at this time as French luxury industries had declined sharply as a consequence of the French Revolution, as well as the wars between the Holy Roman Empire and France.

This later commission reflected a definite change in the style of table decoration. Mirrored plateaux were known in Hanover and were mostly used for the dessert course.

In contrast to those dating from the second half of the eighteenth century, the plateau of 1799-1800 made by Würth and substantially expanded by Johann-Daniel-Conrad Bunsen, features strong architectonic forms, with a vertical frame with three-dimensional foliate decoration as well as acanthus leaf-decorated feet. The various mirrored sections allowed for the placement of vases, bowls and baskets, as became fashionable for *service à la russe* which was introduced shortly afterwards.

17 The four Guelph wine coolers created by Auguste that were purchased with other parts of the George III service in 2002 have, since 2003, been at Waddesdon Manor, The Rothschild Collection (Rothschild Family Trust), inv-no 8.2003.1-4. They are not part of the original service and

are engraved with a slightly different monogram, GR crowned, which is missing the lower case III, and in contrast to all the other parts of the George III service they bear Parisian import marks for 1864-93.

18 John Fleming and Hugh Honour, *The*

*Penguin Dictionary of Decorative Arts*, Harmondsworth, 1979, p 45.

19 Stefan Körner, "Es mag schon kosten was es will." Fürst Anton Esterházy und das Große Majoratssilber von Ignaz Sebastian Würth', *op cit*, see note 7, pp 123-43, especially p 137.



Fig 27c Plateau, corner section, unmarked  
(Historisches Museum, Hanover)



Fig 27d Plateau: marks for Hanover and maker's mark of Johann-Daniel-Conrad Bunsen  
(Historisches Museum, Hanover)





Fig 28 Circular chafing dish, Hanover, 1824 by Franz Anton-Hans Nübell

(©The Rothschild Family Trust)

### Transportation of the service to safety in England in 1803, its repatriation to Hanover in 1816, and the final additions of 1820

1801 saw the final additions to the service before it was sent to England. In order to save it from the approaching French army, the Hanoverian silver was removed in June 1803 and taken by ship to St Petersburg (the ship ran aground twice off Kronstad) and then on to England. The silver, packed in seventy cases, finally arrived in London in December 1803<sup>20</sup>. This dramatic removal of the silver to England effectively saved it; on the continent it would certainly have been melted to defray the costs of the war. In February 1805 the Hanoverian silver was displayed at a festive ball at Windsor Castle, where the amount of silver from the Guelph ancestral lands made an overwhelming impression.

After the defeat of Napoleon and the liberation of Hanover from the French army, the Guelph silver was sent back to the continent between 1813 and 1816;

the George III service (A) was returned in the summer of 1816. Even if there was no sovereign present, Hanover, which since 1814 had been a kingdom, needed to be appropriately equipped. In 1821 a visit by George IV was anticipated and the neglected palaces were brought up to royal standard within a few months. Additions to the service were ordered and, once again, financed from the interest income of the original silver capital of 85,529 *reichstaler*. As previously mentioned, in 1820 Johann-Christian-Peter Neuthardt supplied forty-eight sets of silver-gilt dessert and ice cream flatware, in addition to the dessert flatware of 1790 by Frantz-Peter Bundsen and 1797 by Johann-Daniel-Conrad Bundsen.

To facilitate serving, several large dishes were now also added. The goldsmith Neuthardt delivered two circular dishes or 'entrée-bowls', in addition to the existing ten made by Auguste in 1783-84, as well as a giant fish dish. The court jeweller Franz-Anton-Hans Nübell (mentioned in contemporary sources from 1819-26) made eight oval and twelve round chafing dishes in 1823-24 [Figs 28 and 29]. These were stylistically different but could be used for the round and oval dishes as well as for the covers of the dishes. The Nübell chafing dishes, equipped with two handles and raised on four lions'-paw feet, echo a type of heater which appeared early in the nineteenth century and was mainly developed by Charles-Nicolas Odier (d 1869). Other Nübell additions of 1825 included twelve oval dishes for roasts and another twenty-four circular dishes or 'entrée-bowls'. In 1825, after the death of the last former Hildesheim Prince Bishop, a further large addition to the Guelph *silberkammer*, the Hildesheim Service, arrived in Hanover. (The secular territory of the Bishop of Hildesheim had been under Hanoverian jurisdiction since 1813.) Now the stylistically very different services of Prince Bishop Friedrich-Wilhelm von Westphalen (1727-1789) and of George III could be used at the same time.



Fig 29 Oval and circular chafing dishes, Hanover, 1824 by Franz Anton-Hans Nübell

(©The Rothschild Family Trust)

The George III Service was in constant use during the reign of Ernst-August of Hanover (1771-1851). Crowned in 1837, he was the first Guelph to reside in Hanover for more than 120 years. An attempt was now to match the wine coolers of the various services. Johann-Carl Matthias (1802-1863) created stylistically matching stands for the four George III wine coolers as well as for those two from the Osnabrück Service (made in Augsburg around 1685-86 for Prince Bishop Ernst-August I of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1629-1698); this service had also been sent to Hanover). Matthias also made rococo-style additions to the four wine coolers of the Hildesheim Service.

The last decades of the kingdom saw an uninterrupted continuity of "appearance, etiquette and ceremony"<sup>21</sup> at an absolutist court. The monarch showed his strong



Fig 30 Part of the George III Service purchased by the Rothschild Family Trust for Waddesdon Manor. The four wine coolers do not belong to the original ensemble  
(©The Rothschild Family Trust)

adherence to tradition by having the monogram of George III engraved on all parts of the service A as well on the Hardenberg Service. The engraving of 2,226 monograms, copied from those of the eighteenth century, was carried out by Matthias in 1841. To further demonstrate the Guelph splendour of the eighteenth century, the late Baroque silver furniture from Augsburg was restored and installed in 1835, in the Leineschloss, and the great hall was extensively renovated in 1834-36.

#### Transportation to Austria in 1867 and the sale of 1924

Prussia annexed Hanover after the war of 1866. The service, together with the other Guelph treasures, was sent into exile in Austria. Georg V (1819-1878), who never renounced the Hanoverian throne, celebrated his Silver Wedding anniversary one year later in Vienna with an anti-Prussian message. He had a giant silver buffet erected using not only the service but all the other Guelph silver; this was the last occasion when the full magnificence of all the Hanoverian silver was on display. He ordered that most of the contents of the Hanoverian *silberkammer* should be sent to London in 1876. After the First World War the financial situation of the Guelph family had changed immensely. The administration was actively seeking the sale of its art treasures to cover household deficits, and between 1923 and 1925 large parts of the Guelph silver was sold. An inventory of the George III Service was made for the last time in 1923<sup>22</sup>. The Viennese art dealer J Glückselig und Sohn purchased large parts of the service in 1924 and resold later it in the very same year to Crichton Brothers of London. It was exhibited and divided into two parts and purchased by the French branch of the Rothschild family and Louis Cartier (1875-1942). In 1975 the Musée du Louvre received a large part

of the service, the property of Baron Robert de Rothschild (1880-1946), in settlement of inheritance taxes. This group contained twenty-three remarkable objects of French origin and in consequence, this relatively obscure service, became much more well-known. Another large part of the service, eighty-two objects that had been sold mostly by the French Rothschilds in 1982, was purchased in 2002 by the Rothschild Family Trust, which lent it to Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury, which belongs to the National Trust [Fig 30]. Louis Cartier's share, which by then belonged to his son Claude, and comprised some 450 pieces, was sold at auction by Sotheby's, Monaco, on 27 November 1979. Certain parts of the George III Service and of the Hardenberg Service which were not sold in 1924, were still in the possession of the family of Hanover; they were exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1952. A number of the additions to the George III Service, mostly made by Hanoverian goldsmiths, were sold at auction by Sotheby's in a sale of the contents of Schloss Marienburg on 7 October 2005; various pieces from the Hardenberg Service probably met with a similar fate.

20 Philippa Glanville, 'Le service de George III, un somptueux ensemble néoclassique', *L'estampille/L'objet d'art*, hors-série, no 14, October 2004, pp 40-45, especially p 42f.

21 Barmeyer 1989, see note 13, *op cit*, p 95.

22 In regard to the inventory of 1923, see Timothy B Schroder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver in the Ashmolean Museum*

*Oxford*, Oxford, 2009, vol 1, pp 339-40, no 129 (with further information on the "Cumberland collection").

Several pieces of the original service are now in various collections as well as in the hands of dealers. A comparison of the known objects from the George III Service with historic inventories shows that the service made by Auguste and Bundsen has, to a great extent, been preserved even though it is now split up and located in many different and, in some cases unknown, places.

**The George III Service: a service commissioned in Paris by an English king for the Hanoverian Royal household**

In the era of the *Ancien Régime*, before the clear demarcation between the possessions of the state and those of the monarch, silver, in contrast to furniture, porcelain or tapestries, was part of the resources of the crown. Despite a high artistic value, it could be melted without great financial loss for coinage. This is exemplified by the George III Service which was produced from melted silver although it did not fall victim to the same fate. More than other comparable services, it reflects the contemporary historical situation and political events; it is probably the foremost artistic creation of the political union between Hanover and Britain of the second half of the eighteenth century. It was made employing the Hanoverian silver inventory but in the English taste, which was in turn heavily influenced by France. It is strongly linked to the personality of George III, who was so often misjudged, and who kept up different appearances in England and far-away Hanover, where this service was used as a substitute for the royal presence.

It should be clear that Hanover had no role in the development or spread of the neo-Classical style in German lands. Hanover, a state without a resident sovereign, generally saw no need for ultra-modern luxury goods. It was, however, for Hanover that this service was created in economically straitened times when few other services of comparable significance were being ordered. Even the Counts Palatine of Zweibrücken who were known for their love of French objects only ordered

a neo-Classical service in about 1780 from the Strasbourg goldsmith, Johann-Jacob Kirstein (1733-1816), which is now in the Munich Residenz, the former Bavarian royal palace.

As far as Hanoverian goldsmiths' work is concerned, the early presence of the neo-Classical service by Auguste, was of no consequence. The export-orientated Augsburg goldsmiths made several services for the Russian state government which had been commissioned by Catherine II, using models by Auguste and other Parisian silversmiths, but in Hanover, apart from Bundsen's additions, the French style generally found no favour. The service was isolated and, after its dispersal, its connection with Hanover was largely forgotten.

**Addendum:** In 2011 the Musée du Louvre acquired two tureens by Robert-Joseph Auguste belonging to the George III Service which have been published by Marc Barscou and Michèle Bimbenet-Privat<sup>23</sup>.

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23 Marc Barscou and Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, 'Deux terrines du service de George III', *La revue des musées de France - Revue du Louvre* 62, Paris, 2012, 3, pp 15-18.



# 'A Superb Service of Toilette Plate': historicist plate in the Royal Collection

HELEN RITCHIE



Fig 1 Silver-gilt toilet service known as 'Queen Mary's' Service, Royal Collection inventory numbers (RCINs) 50478.a-aq  
(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)

The Royal Collection contains a number of toilet services. The most well-known is probably the silver-gilt service made by Thomas Heming in 1758-59 and presented to Queen Charlotte by George III in 1761, pieces of which appeared in the exhibition *George III & Queen Charlotte, Patronage, Collecting and Court Taste* held at the Queen's Gallery, London in 2004<sup>1</sup>. Other services include: a silver and silver-gilt travelling service presented to Stephanie Beauharnais by Napoleon I (her adopted father) on the occasion of her marriage in 1806<sup>2</sup>, a Russian silver toilet service of 1849 purchased by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert<sup>3</sup> and a French silver-gilt travelling service (made between 1788 and 1819), purchased by George IV<sup>4</sup>.

As part of my recent internship at the Royal Collection as Curatorial Intern in the Decorative Arts department, I was asked to carry out some research relating to a silver-gilt toilet service which had been stored for decades at Windsor Castle [Fig 1]<sup>5</sup>. It was catalogued as 'Queen Mary II's' toilet service and as such was being considered for inclusion in a forthcoming exhibition which will examine Tudor and Stuart dress in portraits in the Royal

1 Royal Collection  
Inventory Number  
(RCIN) 100232.1-9.

2 RCIN 43936.a-cc.

3 RCIN 50204.a-bl.

4 RCIN 50467.a-dq.

5 RCIN 50478.a-aq.

Collection<sup>6</sup>. These portraits will be accompanied by works of art including jewellery, items of dress and, perhaps, this toilet service. Further investigation has, however, revealed that the service is not what it purports to be. Analysis of the hallmarks and a range of different stylistic devices show that it is a composite service and although it can tell us little about toilet services dating from the late seventeenth century, it demonstrates a great deal about nineteenth century historicism and the fashion for 'old plate' of the 1820s.

The only assured provenance for the service was that in March 1827, on the fourth day of the Christie's sale of the effects of Frederick, Duke of York, Philip Rundell purchased a number of different lots, either on behalf of George IV, or speculatively, knowing that the king would probably buy them. Amongst them was lot 47

A superb service of toilette plate, which was formerly the property of Her Majesty, Queen Anne.

Rundell paid £500 10s for the service, a substantial sum considering that eight years earlier, at the sale of Queen Charlotte's possessions, Goldney had bought a pair of silver-gilt toilet boxes by Thomas Heming for only £54 (lot 66), while the Earl of Yarmouth bought the matching salver, square box and pincushion for £73 15s 6d (lot 68)<sup>7</sup>.

The silver-gilt service was kept at Windsor Castle and was recorded in the 1832 plate inventory but, by the time an inventory was carried out in 1854, it had been assigned as having originally belonged to Mary II because the ciphers on some of the pieces actually form the letters 'MR', and not 'AR' as interpreted by Christie's at the time of the sale. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards the toilet service, known as 'Queen Mary's' toilet service, has been stored at Windsor.

The service is formed of: one large rectangular jewel casket, two large round boxes with covers, two identical but smaller boxes with covers, an oval box, a clothes brush, a rectangular pincushion, a canister containing two glass bottles with chased tops, two larger round bottles and two oval bottles, all with chased tops, a large and a small beaker, two baskets, a pair of candlesticks and a mirror, all stored in velvet covered trays in a large purplewood box. It is all silver-gilt, and many pieces are chased with the MR cipher. At first glance, most of the service would appear to date from the late seventeenth century. All of the boxes and the casket are chased with the *deutsche blumen* which became so popular in England after the restoration of Charles II until around 1680, when a more simple and restrained style became fashionable. The oval clothes brush and oval box are chased instead with Bacchanalian scenes.

Once laid out, however, the service does not ring true with other services from the period. Magnificent examples of late seventeenth-century services survive including a service in a similar style which *did* belong to Mary II (1662-1694). It is French and was made in the 1670s by Pierre Provost and is now in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire and on display at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire. Other excellent examples include the Calverley Service of 1683-84 by William Fowle in the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>8</sup> and the Lennoxlove Service of 1672-73 by Pierre Flamand of Paris in the collection of National Museums Scotland. Although these complete services have a different aesthetic they all include similar components which were necessary for the dressing ritual or *levée* of wealthy aristocratic women in the late seventeenth century. They usually include tazzas (on which food and sweetmeats could be placed) and very small pots, probably for patches. They often also include a ewer and basin for washing, a pot for coffee or chocolate,



Fig 2 Two small boxes and a pincushion, London, 1699-1700 by John Leach (RCINs 50478.i-m)  
(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)



Fig 3 Jewel casket, maker's mark IR above V, other marks illegible (RCIN 50478.a)  
(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)

and a very small brush known as a whisk for applying wig powder. 'Queen Mary's' Service does not have any of these components but does have others which immediately appear to be later additions including numerous glass bottles and two baskets, which could be sweetmeat baskets, and do not appear in any other toilet service of any date.

It is clear that the service is not a complete one; at the very least it has had pieces added to it but analysis of the hallmarks reveals much more. The oldest components in the service are the two smaller round boxes and the rectangular pincushion [Fig 2]. They are marked with the maker's mark of John Leach and date from 1699-1700, five years after the death of Mary II. The date, however, contrasts with the style of the pieces. The rim of each box cover is chased with restrained dot and dash ornamentation but the centre is filled by a large, blossoming flower; this *deutsche blumen*-style decoration, which originated in Holland, dates from at least ten years earlier. By 1699 the fashionable style for toilet plate had changed a great deal, evolving into a more restrained and clean

aesthetic, as can be seen in services such as the Acton Service of 1699-1700 by Isaac Dighton in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford<sup>9</sup>. Not much of Leach's work remains but that which does tends to be related to toilet-services. Timothy Schroder notes that a pair of casters of 1690-91 in the Ashmolean's collection which are possibly by Leach appear to have originally belonged to a toilet service and were probably converted into casters at a later date<sup>10</sup>. A tazza of 1701-2 also by Leach, which was on the market, could well have come from a toilet service<sup>11</sup>. A dressing table bowl and cover of 1699-1700 made by Leach was sold in 2005 and would almost certainly have been one of a pair and part of a toilet service<sup>12</sup>. Leach's pieces and his style of chasing always seem to be in the restrained and more sober style of the 1690s and 1700s. None of his work displays the highly decorative floral style of the 1670s and 1680s. It is, therefore, highly probable that Leach was responsible only for the dot and dash chasing on the boxes and pincushion. The flower was probably chased much later, perhaps to match the earliest piece in the service: the jewel casket [Fig 3].

<sup>6</sup> 'In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion'. This exhibition will open at the Queen's Gallery, London in May 2013, and the Queen's Gallery, Edinburgh in March 2014.

<sup>7</sup> Jane Roberts (editor), exhibition catalogue, *George III & Queen Charlotte, Patronage, Collecting and Court Taste*, London, 2004, p 335.

<sup>8</sup> V&A no 240&A to M-1879.

<sup>9</sup> Ashmolean no. WA2006.22.1-14.

<sup>10</sup> Timothy Schroder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 2009, vol I, pp 326-7.

<sup>11</sup> On the market as of 3 March 2012 with Eastdale Antiques.

<sup>12</sup> Christie's, King Street, London, 1 December 2005, lot 506.





*Fig 4a Underside of toilet box, showing MR cipher (RCIN 50478.i)*  
(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)

This rectangular jewel casket, the largest component of the service, looks to be of the earliest date and was probably made in the 1660s or 1670s. Most of the hallmarks are illegible but the maker's mark is clear and seems to be an I and an R over a V inside a heart-shaped punch. This maker is currently unidentified but the style of the mark and of the casket points to Germany as its place of origin. It could be that this piece, which seems to be in an entirely original state, is the inspiration for the rest of the service, all of which was chased much later to match.



*Fig 4b Detail of MR cipher, showing engraving beneath (RCIN 50478.i)*

(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)

Next are two larger round boxes which have identical decoration to the smaller boxes but are not marked; they may have been made at the same time as the smaller boxes, and like the 1699 pair, were chased at a later date. It seems unlikely that the MR cipher [Fig 4a] existed at this point. The largest casket is not chased with it and neither is Leach's pincushion. All four round boxes: both the pair hallmarked by Leach and the un-marked pair, have the MR cipher chased on the underside of the box, so the cipher stands in relief *inside* each box. This is very unusual as the ciphers fail to signify the wealth of their owners; instead of being a strong and visible of symbol of power and ancestry, they cannot be seen when a box is sitting on a dressing table, but only if it is picked up and turned over, or the lid removed. The positioning beneath the boxes points to the ciphers being added later to provide a supposed provenance. There is also another reason for this: under very close inspection, the heavy and clumsily embossed MR cipher under the round boxes can be seen to be covering a previously engraved area, most probably a coat of arms. All that can be seen now are some hatched areas and the ends of some foliate scrolls [Fig 4b]. Covering one coat of arms with another is a relatively common practice with toilet services. Every piece of the Philip Rollos service, currently on loan to Belton House from the Victoria and Albert Museum, is engraved with the coat of arms of Brownlow on the most visible side of each box. Under every coat of arms lurks a darker lozenge shape: the remnants of the coat of arms of a spinster or widow and thus very suitable for a toilet service. It is likely that the service was ordered by one client but never collected or paid for, and was simply re-engraved for Lord Brownlow or that it was bought second-hand<sup>13</sup>. In the case of 'Queen Mary's' Service it seems likely, therefore, that Leach produced relatively plain boxes and a pincushion and that the boxes, at least, were engraved with the coat of arms of a client and that the heavy MR cipher and the chased flowers were added much later in order to bring a service of disparate parts together.

After these various early seventeenth-century pieces the other components differ in date, place of origin and maker. The unusual rectangular casket is marked for 1708-9 and with the maker's mark of David Willaume; inside are two small glass bottles with chased tops of 1824-25, marked by Edward Farrell. The pair of candlesticks is marked by David Willaume II and dates from 1738-39. The larger of the two beakers is unmarked and the smaller one has a Paris mark and the maker's mark of Hugues Leclerc, 1732-38. The two baskets, most probably made to hold sweetmeats, are Dutch, marked for Amsterdam and with the maker's mark of Steven Jan van Hengel, 1770-71. All of these pieces, except the baskets, have been chased with similar flowers to the jewel casket, and the MR cipher.

The pair of candlesticks is relatively typical of the era, but the MR cipher has once again been added, squeezed next to a crown and a flower on the central knop. The rectangular casket by David Willaume I is a strange addition to a toilet service [Fig 5]. It now holds two small cut-glass bottles, made later to fit inside it, but its original purpose is unclear. Perhaps it was meant as a large etui, or some tea or coffee accoutrement. It has been chased on one side with flowers sprouting from a basket and on the other with the crowned MR cipher. The two beakers which are of differing sizes also form a part of the service, although they do not match each other; the lower half of the smaller beaker by Hugues Leclerc has been chased in a similar style to the other pieces with the flowers and cipher but the upper half of the beaker displays around the rim what appears to be Leclerc's original engraving [Fig 6], which is similar to that of another beaker by him in the collection of the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, depicting what appear to be tiny birds and flowers in reserves, engraved in a naturalistic style<sup>14</sup>. Once again, the cipher looks squeezed, almost slipping beneath the rounded curve of the beaker. It has not been centred along the vertical axis and is too large and out of proportion to the rest of the beaker.

The larger beaker is unmarked and may well have suffered the same fate as the two larger round boxes, having been chased at a later date thereby obliterating the original hallmarks. The two baskets [Fig 7] are the only components which seem to have been left completely untouched; they have no new chasing or additional cipher. Very little seems to be known about the maker Steven Jan van Hengel; all that seems to remain of his work are similar baskets so it would seem safe to presume that he specialised in making them. According to Karel Citroen<sup>15</sup> van Hengel's mark was used between 1752 and 1767 but these matching baskets date from 1770 and 1771. An almost identical basket to these two, probably cast from the same mould and also with van Hengel's mark and the date letter for 1771 was sold at Christie's, Amsterdam in 2005 and was presumably some of his last work<sup>16</sup>.



Fig 5 Casket, 1708-9 by David Willaume I, containing two glass bottles with tops, 1824-25, by Edward Farrell (RCINs 50478.ae-ak)

(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)



Fig 6 Small beaker, 1732-86 by Hugues Leclerc (RCIN 50478.al)

(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)



Fig 7 One of a pair of baskets, Amsterdam, 1770-71 by Steven Jan van Hengel, containing a bottle with top marked by Edward Farrell, 1824-25 (RCINs 50478.p-s)

(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)

13 Many thanks to Heike Zech at the Victoria and Albert Museum for showing me the Rollos service and pointing out the covered engravings.

14 This beaker can be found in G Mabile, *Orfèvrerie Française des XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1984, p 95.

15 Karel Citroen, *Dutch Goldsmiths' and Silversmiths' Mark and Names prior to 1812*, Leiden, 2008, p 103.

16 Christie's Amsterdam, 10 May 2005, lot 206.



The most recent pieces; the chased bottle tops and oval clothes brush [Fig 8], have the maker's mark of Edward Farrell and date from 1824-25; the oval box [Fig 9] is not marked but is identical to the clothes brush. The bottle tops are chased with a delicate floral pattern, very different from the bold blooms and baskets on the other pieces, while the brush and box are decorated with identical Bacchanalian scenes depicting numerous rambunctious putti frolicking and pouring and drinking wine. Putti were occasionally used as a motif on toilet services throughout the rococo period but these putti were usually depicted as winged: holding swags, angelic and well-behaved. A design for a '*Miroir de Toilette*', by Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier (1695-1750), in the Victoria and Albert Museum, follows this pattern<sup>17</sup>. The putti cast by Farrell are very different. They are unwinged, very chubby, clustered together very tightly and described in the original 1827 auction catalogue as "Bacchanalian Boys". In front of an architectural brick arch, one putto pours the contents of a great wine jug into a basin held by another. One holds aloft a cup of wine while two others scramble for it; another lies asleep or unconscious from the effects of the wine at the foot of the scene, reminiscent of Fiamingo's sleeping boy in some respects, but with his head facing away from the viewer; a scene hardly appropriate for a lady's toilet service<sup>18</sup>. Putti were a common motif in the early nineteenth century. The painter and illustrator Thomas Stothard (1755-1834) included them in the design of his friezes for the interior of Buckingham Palace during the reign of George IV, but they are slimmer, more romantic, frolicking putti, helping with the harvest. Farrell's putti most likely come from much older sources, probably reproduced in print. Although a rather unsuitable topic, it is likely that he looked to the past in order to try and give his new pieces a seventeenth-century aesthetic. His putti are more similar to the 'Five putti at play' depicted in a fifteenth-century Italian bronze plaquette in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where one putti scares another by wearing a mask, causing him to stumble<sup>19</sup> or a late sixteenth-century German bronze plaque in the

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, depicting corpulent putti, lounging around, drinking wine from shallow dishes<sup>20</sup>. Farrell would have also had access to the works of Adam von Bartsch (1757-1821). Between 1803 and his death, Bartsch published twenty-one volumes of *Le Peintre Graveur*, which catalogued prints of old master Dutch, Flemish, German and Italian painter-engravers from the fifteenth to seventeenth century. In volume VIII (p 311, no 35) there is a copy of a design by Raphael by the Master I B (George Pencz), depicting eleven children harvesting grapes and making wine, although one is already lying on the ground while another is being helped out of the wine vat. There is a copy of this image, painted by Nicola Consoni (1814-84), in the Royal Collection [Fig 10]<sup>21</sup>.

The two Bacchanalian scenes in this service are soft and were cast, presumably from an earlier piece, with some chasing around the edges. They do not display the same precise chasing of Farrell's other works, many of which include putti in this more robust style, including a tankard dating from 1819 in the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>22</sup> and a dish sold at Sotheby's in 2003, dating from just one year after this service<sup>23</sup>. In this service, however, Farrell was responsible for much more than just the putti on two pieces; his mark appears on all six chased bottle tops but, as will be seen, his work in fact ranged much further than this.

The toilet service is formed of disparate and random pieces but was clearly brought together by a single hand and chased in an attempt to make it into a matching service. What is more, the MR ciphers have been added, whether in good faith or not, to the pieces, and the whole service was sold, first to the Duke of York, and then to George IV. The clue to this puzzle is the last maker we know to have been involved in the service: Edward Farrell. During the 1820s Farrell worked almost exclusively for Kensington Lewis, a dealer who supplied the Duke of York and who in fact supplied him with this par-



Fig 8 Clothes brush, 1824-25 by Edward Farrell (RCIN 50478.h)  
(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)



Fig 9 Oval box, unmarked (RCIN 50478.o)  
(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)





Fig 10 Nicola Consoni, *The Children's Vintage* (RCIN 450014), watercolour  
(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)

ticular service, as opposed to it perhaps being passed down to him through any familial or royal route. *The Times*, reporting on the Duke of York's auction at which the toilet service was sold to George IV (via Rundell's) for £500 10s, made the point that some pieces, especially old plate, had sold for very good prices

in many instances more than the purchasers would have been required to give, had they stepped in to any respectable silversmith's shop in London.

He commented especially on this toilet service, saying

There was much competition for this lot. It was sold for double what it cost the illustrious possessor about four years ago, who purchased it from his silversmith, Mr Lewis<sup>24</sup>.

This ties in roughly with the 1824 date of Farrell's pieces and also tells us that the Duke of York paid roughly £250

for this service, a great deal of money for a man who was reportedly in debt to the order of £200,000. The auctions of his effects were intended to pay off some of his creditors and remove some of that burden from the crown, although, since George IV bought a great deal of plate from the sale, he ended up paying the debtors anyway. But why should Frederick, Duke of York, a man of 60 who had lived separately from his wife for decades and who had comparatively slender means, be looking to purchase a toilet service? He did not have an official mistress at this time, although he was very close to the Duchess of Rutland, and he was living in South Audley Street in a residence not large or grand enough to entertain officially. But this was about to change.

The Duke of York expected to outlive his older brother and dearly wished to inherit the throne. He spent with this in mind, certain that one day, as King, he would be able to pay off his debts easily. He also required a magnificent palace of his own, one that would rival Carlton House or Buckingham Palace, in which he could live

17 V&A no E.211-1967.

18 Francois Duquesnoy or 'Fiamingo' (1597-1643) sculpted a piece known as *The Sleeping Boy*, which was widely copied by ceramic manufacturers such as

Vincennes and Wedgwood in the late eighteenth century. Many thanks to Ann Eatwell for this comparison.

19 V&A no. 81-1981.

20 Metropolitan Museum of Art no 1985.195.7.

21 RCIN 450014.

22 V&A no M.15-2005.

23 Sotheby's London, 15 May 2003, lot 44.

24 I was directed to this excerpt from *The Times* by John Culme's excellent article 'Kensington Lewis; A Nineteenth Century

Businessman,' *Connoisseur*, September 1975, pp 26-41. I am hugely indebted to John Culme's scholarship on this topic and am grateful for the time he gave to me while researching this article.



Fig 11 Silver-gilt basin (RCIN 51081) and ewer (RCIN 51452) attributed to Hans Jacobsz Wesson

(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)

until his brother's death, but which would be so grand and imposing that he need not move from it when he became King. So in 1824, despite his debt, he had plans drawn up for a new residence in the neo-Classical style in the Stable Yard of St James's Palace. Even in its planning stage the house was heavily mortgaged and, by the time the foundation stone was laid, the Duke's debtors were calling to be paid. The government were forced to provide the money and pay the mortgages, to stop the mortgage lenders gaining the land and building houses up against St James's Palace<sup>25</sup>. Despite this, the Duke carried on spending: buying furniture and silver to furnish his new palace which was to be called York House. The toilet service was probably one of these purchases and intended to fit out the state bedroom. The Duke died before the house was finished but it was completed and exists today as Lancaster House.

Why was George IV so keen to acquire the toilet service, paying twice what his brother had paid for it three years earlier? He had purchased other lots at the sale, amongst them other pieces of historicist plate. As well as buying French furniture and ceramics, he was a keen buyer of objects that had a direct connection with the Stuart dynasty. By the early nineteenth century, the Stuart line had acquired a romanticism that appealed to him greatly. This sensibility continued later into the century; on visiting Scotland in 1873 Queen Victoria wrote in her journal

I feel a sort of reverence in going over these scenes in this most beautiful country, which I am proud to

call my own, where there was such devoted loyalty to the family of my ancestors - for Stuart blood is in my veins and I am now their representative<sup>26</sup>.

George IV acquired a ewer and basin, attributed to Hans Jacobz Wesson (b 1616), from Rundell, Bridge & Rundell [Fig 11] which had been made for Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia (1596-1662) circa 1640<sup>27</sup>. The eldest daughter of James I, her descendants included the Hanoverians, George IV's own line, and she was viewed as the 'missing link' between the Stuarts and the Hanoverians. Although the Hanoverians had been comfortably ensconced on the British throne for over one hundred years, George IV still apparently liked to emphasise this older connection with the throne. The ewer and basin were originally plain, and although he clearly appreciated the antique, he had few qualms about changing or adding to pieces to suit his present needs. He had an inscription detailing the exact genealogy of his Hanoverian descendants from the Queen of Bohemia added to the basin

This Dish and ewer in form of the White and Red Rose / belonged to ELIZABETH, Daughter of JAMES VI King of / Scotland and I of England. Married to FREDERICK Elector / Palatine, and afterwards King of Bohemia, by whom she had / a daughter SOPHIA. Married to ERNESTUS Elector of Hanover / the representative of the House of Brunswick, Hanover, Luneburg / Wolfenbuttel, Zell &c &c and by whom she had a Son GEORGE / who upon the Death of QUEEN ANN in 1714, succeeded to the Crown of GREAT BRITAIN.

Other pieces purchased from the Duke of York's sale included a pair of silver-gilt firedogs (andirons) which cost £118 5s and had belonged to William III<sup>28</sup>. George IV was not concerned about practical and correct usage of items, and viewed these andirons as purely ornamental, placing them on the buffet so that they could be seen. The inventory of royal plate of 1832, carried out by Rundell's at the beginning of the reign of William IV, lists

Two richly chased Ornaments, small Fire Dogs, with Boys, scroll work, &c, and cipher W.R. and Crown. On black marble plinths

under "The Grand Service: Sideboard Plate"<sup>29</sup>. George IV and Rundell's were in almost daily contact by 1827 and it is highly likely that Philip Rundell bought this toilet service speculatively from the Duke of York's sale, knowing that the King would be sure to purchase a grand toilet service with its supposed 'Queen Anne' provenance. He may have been aware that the service had been added

to but was probably more concerned with its provenance than he was with, what were to him, minor details. He had no problem with adding, embellishing and changing historic pieces in order to suit his own more current tastes and was not concerned, as we are today, with objects having been changed or altered from their original state. He was by no means alone in this; fellow art collectors, such as William Beckford (1760-1844), also indulged in this form of antiquarianism.

The Duke of York had patronised the dealer Kensington Lewis for some time. Son of Samuel Solomon, Kensington Lewis (born Lewis Kensington Solomon, he changed his name around 1811) and his brother Simeon Kensington Solomon inherited their father's business after his death in April 1822, although it was Simeon who took over the running of the family business. In 1822 Lewis opened his own retail business at 22 St James's Street and began working with Edward Farrell. It was to be a fruitful partnership as both men were enthusiastic about the imaginative re-working of old and antique plate. As early as 1816 Lewis had begun purchasing older plate; he bought two lots from the Duke of Norfolk's sale which took place at Christie's on 24 and 25 May 1816: a one-handled silver-gilt cup probably dating from the seventeenth century as well as a seventeenth-century German tankard<sup>30</sup>.

Lewis continued to purchase older plate and, according to his trade card, dating from between 1822 and 1827, in the collection of the British Museum, styled himself

Silversmith & Jeweller to His R.H. The Duke of York, St James's St, corner of Rider St, A Large Assortment on Antique & Second Hand Plate in General<sup>31</sup>.

Lewis and Rundell's led the way in this 'antique', especially seventeenth-century style of plate and almost all of the plate made for the Duke of York has a strong element of historicism, whether incorporating elements of much older plate or using designs from centuries past found in print, as mentioned above. For Lewis and for the trade in general, "reproductions, 'recreations' of old models, and refurbished items are unlikely to have been equated... with modern silver"<sup>32</sup>, meaning that 'antique' referred as much to style as it did to age.



Fig 12 One of a pair of silver-gilt sideboard dishes, London, 1819-20 by Edward Farrell, incorporating earlier German plaques (RCIN 49169.1)

(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)

Lewis could only do this with the assistance of Farrell, who clearly had an interest in historic designs although not of one period; he preferred to mix and match various styles. The objects he produced for the Duke of York cover a vast range of styles and subjects but over time his work also varied enormously in quality. The pinnacle of his work is, of course, the Hercules candelabrum made in 1824-25 which incorporates amazing sculptural forms and a remarkable sense of movement, as Hercules prepares to bludgeon the hydra with his club<sup>33</sup>. This work was made new, simply taking its inspiration from historic designs, but other pieces by him incorporated much older works and added to them, in the same manner as this toilet service. A pair of pilgrim bottles, now in the Gilbert collection, is in the style of Huguenot pilgrim flasks of about 1710 but they incorporate much earlier seventeenth-century plaques which are very similar to the work of the Swiss goldsmith Wolfgang Howzer who worked in England from 1658 to 1675<sup>34</sup>. A pair of sideboard dishes by Farrell in the Royal Collection also incorporate much older, seventeenth-century German plaques into the dishes which are hallmarked 1819-20 [Fig 12]<sup>35</sup>. Farrell chased the rims to match the date of the

25 R Fulford, *Royal Dukes, The Father and Uncles of Queen Victoria*, London 1933, pp 71-2.

26 Queen Victoria's Journal, Friday 12 September 1873, [www.queenvictoriasjournals.org](http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org).

27 RCINs 51081 and 51452.

28 RCIN 50273.1-2.

29 *Descriptive Inventories of the various Service of Plate belonging to the Crown, in the several Royal Palaces, and also of plate in the several Royal Chapels, in England.*

Rundell, Bridge & Co., 1832, p 33, RCIN 1114697.a.

30 John Culme, *op cit*, see note 24, pp 26-7.

31 British Museum no. HEAL, 67.261.

32 John Culme, *op cit*, see note 24, p 31.

33 This was formerly in the collection of Audrey B Love and was sold to a private collector at Christie's New York, 19 October 2004.

34 V&A no GILBERT.850:1,2-2008.

Timothy Schroder, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver*, Los Angeles 1988, p 458.

35 RCIN 49169.1-2.





Fig 13 One of a pair of silver-gilt sideboard dishes, London, 1811-12 by William Pitts, incorporating plaques by Jacob Bodendeich, 1678-79, (RCIN 51658.1)

(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)

central plaques with large naturalistic flowers. Another pair of dishes [Fig 13], also in the Royal Collection, made by William Pitts for Rundell's, incorporate plaques of 1678-79 by Jacob Bodendeich, into 1811 dishes which are matched similarly (though less flamboyantly) than those made by Farrell<sup>36</sup>. In incorporating older pieces of plate and combining different styles Farrell's work often sacrificed proportion and a sense of unity in order to achieve his imaginative creations. His monteith of 1820-21, now in the Gilbert Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum depicts a high relief, naturalistic battle scene, but the handles are formed of two soldiers, of significantly larger proportions, climbing trees<sup>37</sup>. The detachable rim is not functional and is stylistically different again; it is in very low relief, almost flat and takes inspiration from naïve stylised medieval figures which appear in different proportions from those elsewhere on the monteith.

Farrell and Lewis worked together throughout the 1820s but, after the Duke of York's death in 1827, Lewis's business declined and the two men parted company. Farrell's work from after this period is distinctly less ambitious and less daring than his work in conjunction with Lewis. This has led to some suspicion that perhaps Farrell was working with person or persons unknown, sculptors or model-makers, in the production of his great sculptural works but this cannot be proven either way. The toilet service described in this article does not compare with his best work; much of the casting and chasing is very soft and somewhat perfunctory. We still know very little about the way in which Farrell worked and where he obtained his inspiration and designs from. Did Lewis supply him with these and if so, where did Lewis get his stock from? Later in life, Edward Farrell's son-in-law, William Weatherhead (1812-1854), was a working silversmith; he was the son of the gilder Henry Weatherhead who was listed as a partner in the firm Storr & Co when it was dissolved in 1819. Later in his career, Farrell may have gained access to other historic stock through his son-in-law's father but in 1824, when Farrell was working on this service, his future son-in-law was only twelve years old<sup>38</sup>. Although Lewis retailed the service, it is impossible to know for certain whether he or Farrell brought it together, although Lewis's access to a range of antique plate and his ambitious connection to the Duke of York, make him the more likely candidate. This service provides an excellent example of his ingenuity and his business acumen in bringing together a range of various components and turning them into a valuable commodity which he then sold to the Duke of York for around £250.

As well as the new components, the matching chasing and the MR ciphers, the service has been imaginatively brought together. Some components have had their purpose altered in order to make the

36 RCIN 51658.1-2.

37 V&A no GILBERT.852.1, 2-2008.

38 For more information about this familial link see John Culme *Nineteenth Century Silver*, London, 1977, p 68.

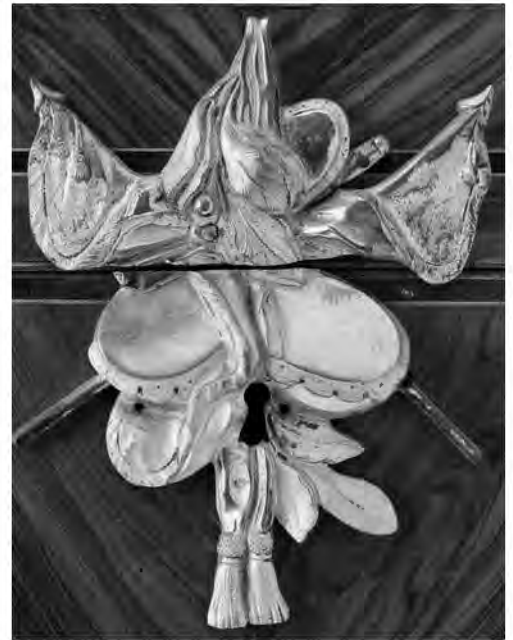
service more elaborate. The casket by David Willaume I, which was probably originally a tea or coffee accoutrement or perhaps an etui, has had a divider (not hallmarked) placed inside it in order to accommodate two small glass bottles, presumably commissioned by Lewis, with Farrell's chased glass bottle tops [Fig 5]. The bottles fit precisely, as do the two oval bottles which sit inside the sweetmeat baskets; this is unique to this service and would seem to be an idea of Lewis's. The bottles have been made to fit the baskets exactly and sitting inside them, they appear to have rococo silver-gilt mounts. This is very out of character with the rest of the service, which tries to replicate a late seventeenth-century aesthetic. But the way in which the bottles fit so precisely and the fact that they sit in the baskets within the purplewood chest, suggests that they are meant to be displayed in this way. The chest itself is clearly a mixture of different, re-used elements, none of the mounts are particularly suitable for a lady's toilet service; the lock plate is formed of a trophy of flags [Fig 14a], while the MR cipher on the cover is surrounded by bunches of grapes possibly adapted from wine labels [Fig 14b].

The service adds to the relatively small list of objects made by Farrell and retailed by Lewis to the Duke of York; it includes the smallest works hallmarked by Farrell yet to have been recorded (the chased bottle tops). It also provides a contrast to the large, sculptural centre-pieces and candelabra for which he is better known and shows that, as well as producing more artistic and original designs for Lewis, he was also willing to produce smaller items and decorate second-hand pieces in order to produce a larger 'whole'. Farrell and Lewis's working relationship may never be entirely understood but with each discovery of their joint work, more can be gleaned about their unique approach to historicist plate.

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Figs 14a and b Details of the mounts on the purplewood chest containing the toilet service (RCIN 50478.a)

(Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty The Queen, 2012)

# A case of late payment

GORDON CROSSKEY

In mid November 1767, Matthew Boulton received a letter from George Paterson<sup>1</sup>, a Freemason and member of the Royal Lodge, ordering

in obedience to the Commands of HRH the Duke of Cumberland... three Great Solomonean Candlesticks,

an order that was to set in train ten years of correspondence and dispute over costs.

The lodge had been formed in 1764 under the title of New Lodge no 313<sup>2</sup>, but the name was changed to Royal Lodge in 1767 when both the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Gloucester were initiated. It was at an early meeting of this newly formed lodge, held at the Thatched House tavern in St James's Street, London, that the Duke of Cumberland commissioned this set of large candlesticks for the temple. Seemingly, Paterson was given the task of contacting Boulton in this regard. In his letter, in addition to regretting that Boulton was not a brother Mason<sup>3</sup>, Paterson referred to a Dr Small<sup>4</sup> and, although this is conjecture, it is very probable that it was Small who recommended that the order should go to Boulton's Soho manufactory, rather than the commission be given to a London firm.

Although Paterson's letter survives amongst the Boulton Papers<sup>5</sup>, the accompanying drawing sent from London, showing the pattern of candlestick required, sadly does not. This is a great pity as it is now impossible to know who designed the candlesticks and there are no records at Freemasons' Hall. It is clear from subsequent corre-

spondence that no particular price was quoted, nor indeed what precisely the candlesticks were to be made of. Hence it must have been Boulton himself, or possibly one of his in-house designers such as Francis or John Egington, who chose to make the large, 10 in (25.4 cm) square stepped bases and the tall fluted columns out of plated metal (i.e. Sheffield plate) but the Corinthian capitals out of silver. The elaborate superstructures which are supported on square platforms bordered by a Greek key pattern (immediately above the Corinthian capitals), are also made of silver. These in turn support the removable silver fluted nozzles that would actually hold the large candles [Fig 1]. These cup-like nozzles, being removable, could of course have been legally hall-marked, but they are not, despite this being about the time that Boulton and Fothergill registered their sponsor's mark at the Chester Assay Office.

A further letter from Paterson, of Marlborough Street, London, dated 1 September (no year, but certainly 1768)<sup>6</sup>, introduces a

Mr. Ripley, also a member of the Royal Lodge,

who was to tell Boulton how pleased the lodge was with the one candlestick which had been sent and to ask why the other two had not yet been delivered. Again, Paterson brought up the matter that Boulton was not a Mason; he wrote

I'm sorry you are not a Mason, because then we could load you with..... a thousand weight heavier than all the three candlesticks.

1 Paterson's name was often incorrectly spelled Patterson in correspondence by other people, e.g. Soho clerks etc.

2 This lodge held its meetings at the Horn tavern.

3 As far as is known Boulton never did become a Mason.

4 Dr William Small was by this time resident in Birmingham and was Matthew Boulton's physician. Paterson's letter would, however, seem to imply that Dr Small was a member of the Royal Lodge. If, as is the case today, the lodge held four meetings a year, this would have been quite feasible. Small was also a member

of the Lunar Society.

5 Old style reference number MBP Letter Box P1, George Paterson to Boulton, 12 November 1767.

6 MS 3782/12/55/69.

7 MS 3782/12/55/70.

8 MBP Letter Book G, the table was ordered by

Samuel Bradley on behalf of a number of ladies from Worcester who had subscribed to the costs. The table was presented to Sir Watkin Lewes (1736-1821) who stood unsuccessfully for the Worcester constituency. Boulton himself gives an excellent account of this table in a letter to Sir Harbord Harbord, Letter Book G, 19 December 1774.

See Helen Clifford, 'Silver in context: The Watkin Lewes silver table', *The Silver Society Journal* No 2, Winter 1991, pp 61-64.





Fig 1 The "three Great Solomonean Candlesticks" made for the Royal Lodge, 1768 by Boulton & Fothergill

The single candlestick had presumably been sent up to London for approval by the Royal Lodge before the other two were actually made up and dispatched. In any event, the remaining pair of candlesticks was delivered in December, probably with the invoice, as this prompted yet another missive from Paterson, dated 26 January (again no year, but almost certainly 1769)<sup>7</sup> in which he complained

They are damnd dear to be sure & most exceedingly go beyond all our former thinking. Had we known all, no such candlesticks had stood....at this day [words indecipherable].

Paterson added that the matter would be put to the next lodge meeting to be held on the first Friday in February.

The invoice would have quoted Boulton's price which was £141 4s. For the time such a sum was enormous; it exceeded the £138 14s paid by the ladies of Worcester for the large silver table made at Soho for Sir Watkin Lewes, which weighed a huge 334 oz (10,387g)<sup>8</sup>. Around this time Boulton received £50 towards the costs but shortly afterwards Paterson left for the East Indies so no further payments were forthcoming for several years. At the beginning of April 1773, Boulton's partner John Fothergill forwarded to Boulton a long "Acc. Of Debts



Fig 2a Sheffield plate candlestick with a silver Corinthian capital, circa 1765 by Thomas Law



Fig 2b Detail of the silver Corinthian capital, die-stamped and partially hand chased

due" which would have been drawn up by Zacheus Walker Sr, the company's senior accountant. Under the sub-heading:

The following are of a long standing on Account of the difficulty to procure them, viz:

is included the entry:

Geo. Patterson for Freemason Candlesticks  
£91-4-0<sup>9</sup>

Nothing further appears to have happened until 10 June 1776 when a Soho clerk wrote to William Matthews, Boulton's London agent, with regard to the candlesticks, saying that Matthew Boulton had never agreed to any particular price and added

for if he had, he certainly would not have made the Capitals of Solid Silver, because they might have been made of plated metal, but they would neither have look'd so well nor answer'd in wearing, on account of the many sharp points which cannot possibly be made perfect in plated metal;<sup>10</sup>

The letter itemised the outstanding balance, which included a 5% interest charge for the intervening eight and a half years that had elapsed since the £50 had been received on account. This worked out at:

Cost of candlesticks	£141-4-0
Less money on account	<u>50-0-0</u>
	91-4-0
Add interest. @ 5% (for 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> yrs)	<u>38-15-0</u>

to which the clerk concluded that this amount:

leaves us out of pocket	129-19-0
-------------------------	----------

Interestingly, the construction method of applying silver Corinthian capitals to plated candlesticks was not new and certainly not confined to Soho. Fig 2 shows an early, large, 14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in (36.83 cm) tall plated candlestick of very high quality made by the Sheffield manufacturer, Thomas Law, dating to around 1765; the Corinthian capital is actually made of die-stamped and hand-chased silver.

Following Paterson's return to England (the exact date is uncertain), Boulton sought his permission to submit Soho's bill directly to the Royal Lodge, and on 14 February 1777 Boulton wrote:

To the Worshipful the Master & the Bretheren of the Royal Lodge of Free & Accepted Masons London

In the year 1768 Geo Patterson Esq (a Brother of your Lodge) ordered three large Candlesticks to be made exactly to a drawing which he delivered us; The Capitals and some few other parts were of solid silver, and the rest was plated with Silver.....the Expense of engraving all the Dyes, making all

the necessary Models & Tools, with the expense of workmanship & materials for them, had cost £141....& as they exceeded our own Ideas of price very much, we did not desire any profit, but hoped that Grand Lodge would indemnify us from loss, as there was no probability of making any more from the same Models, Dyes & Tools. Soon after delivery – Mr. Patterson went to the East Indies....<sup>11</sup>

The matter dragged on throughout 1777 and it is clear from the surviving references that Boulton decided to abandon any idea of adding the 5% interest charge and settled instead for simply recovering his costs, which amounted to £141 4s less the £50 paid on account, i.e. a sum of £91 4s. The last reference seems to be from Matthews and Barton (the London agents) to Boulton & Fothergill dated 30 December 1777:

Mr Patterson was to have paid sometime since £30 on account of the Free Masons Lodge but he has gone from Town so nothing has been done<sup>12</sup>.

There the trail ends as no further references have so far come to light. Whether or not Boulton was ever fully reimbursed for the costs is uncertain. Nevertheless, the whole affair graphically demonstrates Boulton's penchant for accepting potentially prestigious orders that so often turned out to be unprofitable.

I first came across most of these letters well over twenty years ago when undertaking a detailed study of both the incoming and outgoing Boulton correspondence. They surfaced again in late 2008 when re-reading my notes for an article and lecture that I was preparing for the Boulton Bicentenary to be held in Birmingham the following year. Although a member of the Silver Society, I had not been able to attend any of the Society's visits to the Museum of Freemasonry, but understood from fellow members who had been that no such candlesticks were on show. I contacted Mark Dennis, Curator of the museum to see if any archival records were preserved at Freemasons' Hall. On describing the candlesticks, to my enormous surprise and delight, Mark suggested they might be the ones, still in use, belonging to the Royal Alpha Lodge, as these were kept in mahogany boxes and only brought up from the vaults four times a year for the lodge meetings.

I am extremely grateful to Mark Dennis for obtaining permission from the Royal Alpha Lodge for me to view the candlesticks following the next lodge meeting, before they were packed away back in their boxes. This inspection took place in March 2009, and on my first sighting, the three of them were still in position as set out for the lodge ceremony. Each one was raised on a small square wooden plinth, perhaps 12 in (30.48 cm) high [Fig 3]. They were very tarnished and covered here and there with splashes of candle wax but I could see immediately that they conformed exactly to Boulton's description. The bases and fluted columns were of Sheffield plate while the Corinthian capitals and superstructures were silver. For me this outcome was so pleasing as it resulted in the discovery of an important early commission for Boulton that not only still exists but actually continues to serve its original function.



*Fig 3 One of the Masonic candlesticks as set out for a meeting of the Royal Alpha Lodge no 16*

9 Walker Z Sr Box 1, item 12. Walker seems to have been chief accountant for both Soho and the Birmingham warehouse, which at this time was still in Snow Hill.

10 MBP Letter Book G, p 608.

11 MBP Letter Book G, p 827/8.

12 MBP Letter Box Matthews and Barton Matthews, item 32.





Fig 4 The set of three candlesticks in the original mahogany boxes.

I immediately contacted Rita McLean (Head of Birmingham Museums) and Chris Rice (Head of Heritage Services) and it is thanks to their efforts that permission was granted by the Royal Alpha Lodge<sup>13</sup> for the complete set of three candlesticks to be included in the Boulton Bicentenary exhibition later in 2009. I hope some members of the Silver Society managed to visit the exhibition and to see them, as by then the candlesticks had been cleaned and some minor restoration work carried out.

Regarding the candlesticks themselves, the original drawing sent to Boulton may have stipulated the required dimensions. They are certainly monumental in scale, with their large square bases and having a total height of  $36\frac{1}{2}$  in (92.71 cm). Fortunately, they have survived in excellent condition: the Sheffield plate is remarkably unworn and they have definitely not been replated; only very minor glimpses of copper are visible, such as on some of the sharp corners of the stepped bases. For the plating to have survived so well is of course partly due to the fact that they are stored in their boxes and only used briefly four times a year; whether this has been the case since they were originally delivered in 1768 is not known. I think it is also because a very high strength of plating was used, probably somewhere around 40 dwt (62.2g) or more of silver to the pound (avoirdupois) of copper. The standard strength of plating on Boulton & Fothergill candlesticks at this period was 15 dwt (23.2g) to the pound (453g).

Having examined them closely, I have every confidence that the mahogany boxes are original although they do

now have late Victorian drawer type handles screwed to the sides to aid lifting them. As can be seen from Fig 4 the boxes are certainly Masonic in style, being tall gently tapering square pyramids, two of which are surmounted by square pyramidal tops. The single one has a flat top which is not due to damage, it was made like that. It may well have been the box that accompanied the first candlestick sent up to the Royal Lodge in mid 1768. The box maker, I suspect, made the slight alteration to incorporate a square pyramidal top when the remaining pair of candlesticks was dispatched in December of that year.

So much of Boulton's early silver, particularly specially commissioned, important pieces such as

the Admiralty tureen or the silver table for Sir Watkin Lewes no longer exists. That these candlesticks, constituting an unusual combination of Sheffield plate and silver, have survived is an enormous bonus. Being still in use, they are not (as yet) on public view. The whole episode makes one wonder what else lies out there awaiting discovery, perhaps as these were, the result of pure research.

I am most grateful to Kenneth Quickenden and Shena Mason for supplying extra archival information, and to both Mark Dennis, Curator of the Museum of Freemasonry, and his colleague Martin Cherry, Librarian at Freemasons' Hall, who supplied me with the early history of the Royal Lodge.

All photographs of the Masonic candlesticks are reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Alpha Lodge No 16.

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13 The Royal Alpha Lodge no 16, who currently own and use the candlesticks, was formed in 1824 when

the Royal Lodge merged with the Alpha Lodge and two other lodges.

# James Ker and Ker and Dempster, 1745-68

WILLIAM IRVINE FORTESCUE

Before 1745 James Ker had emerged as arguably the most successful of all the Edinburgh goldsmiths of his generation. The ascendancy of a Jacobite faction in the Incorporation of Goldsmiths and, to a lesser extent on Edinburgh Town Council, kept Ker out of public office between 1740 and 1746. The defeat of the Jacobite army at Culloden (16 April 1746) ended Jacobitism as a significant political force in Scotland and created a situation in which Ker was able to gain election, successively, as Deacon of the Goldsmiths (14 November 1746), Convener of the Trades (2 January 1747) and Member of Parliament for Edinburgh (29 July 1747). Until April 1754 Ker served as Edinburgh's sole MP, a quite exceptional situation for any eighteenth-century Scottish, or indeed British, goldsmith and, in addition to his many public duties and commitments, Ker continued to manage a workshop producing and selling jewellery and "all Sorts of Gold and Silver work"<sup>1</sup>. This article focuses on James Ker as a goldsmith from 1745 until his death in 1768 and on his partnership with William Dempster and on the firm of Ker and Dempster<sup>2</sup>.

## The legacy of Culloden

It would be reasonable to assume that James Ker and his fellow Edinburgh goldsmiths made and sold little silver or jewellery during the winter of 1745-46. Surprisingly, during and after the Jacobite Rising of 1745-46 James Ker was working on one of the largest single commissions he ever received; equally surprising was the source of this commission, William Nisbet of Dirleton (East Lothian), a staunch Jacobite, but also a wealthy land-owner and Grand Master of the Grand Masonic Lodge of Scotland (1746-47). Nisbet had previously paid Ker £3 19s 4d for a saucepan on 11 February 1743<sup>3</sup>. His marriage (2 February 1747) to Mary, heiress of both her father, Alexander Hamilton of Pencaitland, and of Lord Belhaven,



Fig 1 Maker's mark of James Ker and William Dempster, Edinburgh, 1765

1 Printed heading for Ker and Dempster bill: National Archives of Scotland (NAS), GD112/21/289/1, GD220/6/1425, f. 13, GD248/935/4.

2 Another article will focus on James Ker as MP for Edinburgh.

3 Ogilvy of Inverquhar Papers, NAS, GD205/48/18/3, f 30. The saucepan weighed 10 oz 4 dwt (317g) and the silver was charged at 7s per oz.

provided the money and the occasion for a lavish and extensive outlay on silver, itemised in the following account<sup>4</sup>:

William Nisbet Esqr of Direlton  
1746

Janr 8

To 24 knife handles 58 oz 12 dw at 5 sh 10 duty included is	£17.2.8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
To the making is	4.4.-
To the Cutler for blades	1.4.-
To the engraver for cristes [crests]	-12.-
To 24 three grained [pronged] silver forks	16.18.3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
To the making	4.4.-
To the engraver for cristes	-12.-
To 24 spoons 67 oz at 5 sh 10 pen	19.10.10
To the making	4.4.-
To the engraver for cristes	-12.-

Mar 5

To a large scalloped salver 65 oz 8 dw at 8 sh	26.4.-
To cash payed the engraver for chesing [chasing] it	2.10.-
To 2 smaller [salvers] 82 oz 12 dw	33.2.-
To the engraver for chesing them	4.4.-
To ditto for 3 coats of arms etc.	1.1.-

Apr 21

To a tea keatle [kettle] and standard [stand] 94 oz at 8 sh	37.12.-
To the engraver for chesing it	1.5.-
To 2 small flats 23 oz 3 dw	9.5.6
To the engraver for chesing them	-10.-
To 2 sass [sauce] boats 30 oz 6 dw at 9 sh chesing included is	13.13.6
To the engraver for arms and cristes	-10.6
To 4 salts with three feet 15 oz 12 dw	4.13.6
To the making	3.3.-
To Cash payed for a porter	-1.2
To a pair gold buttons chesed	1.11.6

May 6

To a pair hollow square candlesticks 32 oz 8 dw at 8 sh is	13.-.-
To 2 fine cases for knives etc.	3.-.-
To ane Egg Coffee pott 46 oz at 8 sh 6 pen	19.11.-
To the engraver for chesing it	-15.-
To ditto for arms	-7.6
To one pair three foetted [footed] salts 8 oz with making is	3.18.2
To 2 big spoons 13 oz 1 dw with making	4.10.3
To the engraver for cristes	-2.-

June 19

To 2 tumblers 13 oz 12 dw at 5 sh 10	4.-.3
To the making	-14.-
To a pair hollow square candlesticks 30 oz 6 dw	12.3.-

Oct 14

To a Cruite [cruet] frame and Casters 72 oz at 9 sh	32.8.-
To a bread basquet [basket] 77 oz 8 dw at ditto	34.17.6
To the engraver for cristes etc.	-7.6
To a pair hunting spurs and leathers	1.-.-
To a pair hand candlesticks 20 oz 12 dw	8.6.-

Novr 18

To a pair fine candlesticks with branches 76 oz 4 dw at 9 sh is	34.6.3
To the engraver for cristes	-2.-

Decr 23

To a single stoned brillian ring [solitaire diamond ring]	70.-.-
To a hoop ring 25 brillians	18.-.-
To a plain gold ring	-15.-
To 6 tea spoons 3 oz 5 dw	1.5.6
To two bottles for the cruite frame	-12.6

1747

To Cash payed for adresting [adjusting] your buckles	-5.-
--	------

1747

Mar 14

To a brillian ring 5 stones	6.6.-
To a piece gold to the back of a watch	-1.-

4 *Ibid*, ff. 34, 35. Their granddaughter Mary Hamilton Nisbet married (11 March 1799) Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin and 11th Earl of Kincardine, the diplomat and purchaser of the Elgin Marbles.

5 Two of the salvers were sold at Christie's and Edmiston's (Glasgow), 29 March 1983, lots 68 and 69 (Shaw Collection) and at Christie's (London), 26 May 1998, lot 63. The cruet stand may be that sold at Christie's (Glasgow), 13 May 1997, lot 174. The bread basket is probably accession no 1.140 in the McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina (*The Baruch Collection Catalogue*, 1988, no 59, pp 68-69).

6 NAS, Minutes of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of the City of Edinburgh (Minutes), 12 September 1745, f 179.

7 NAS, Minutes, 14 November 1746, f 191.

8 Robert Gordon served his apprenticeship under James Tait as did Adam Tait and William Gilchrist. Adam Tait was one of his essay masters and, on qualification as a freeman in 1741, Archibald Stewart one of his cautioners. Gordon was associated with the Jacobite engraver Richard Cooper and one of his servants, Alexander Coutts, joined the Jacobite army and probably died of wounds received at

Culloden. Having been elected on 21 September 1748 as an Ordinary Council Deacon, Gordon at first refused to swear the Oath of Allegiance: Edinburgh City Archives (ECA), Town Council Minutes (TCM), 19 October 1748, f 292, 26 October 1748, f 298. See also J Rock, 'Robert Gordon, Goldsmith and Richard Cooper, Engraver: a glimpse into a Scottish atelier of the eighteenth century', *Silver Studies The Journal of the Silver Society*, no 19, 2005, pp 52-56.

9 TCM, 13 September 1745, f 318; NAS, Minutes, 14 September 1745, f 180.

10 Treasurer: Robert Low; Quartermasters: William Aytoun, William Gilchrist, James Campbell, Hugh Penman, William Dempster, John Welsh; Assay Master: Hugh Gordon.

11 *The Trial of Archibald Stewart Esq; late Lord Provost of Edinburgh, ...*, Edinburgh, 1747, part 2, pp 149-150; NAS, Minutes, 19 November 1745, f 181. Tait remained a charity case: NAS, Minutes, 12 September 1747, f 202.

12 NAS, Minutes, 25 March 1746, f 183. See also Henry Steuart Fotheringham (editor), *Act Book of the Conventry of Deacons of the Trades of Edinburgh, 1577-1755*, Edinburgh, 2011, vol 2, p 451.





*Fig 2 Salver, engraved with the crest and motto of Campbell for the Earls of Breadalbane and the crown, key and purse: the symbols of Lord Chamberlain, Edinburgh, 1750-51 by Ker and Dempster.  
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)*

The main items in this commission were twenty-four place settings of cutlery, plus two serving spoons but no dessert spoons or forks, together with salvers, salt cellars, candlesticks, a pair of sauce boats, and a pair of tumbler cups. Single items included a tea kettle and stand, an egg-shaped coffee pot, a cruet frame, and a bread basket<sup>5</sup>. Buttons, hunting spurs, four rings, and buckle and watch repairs completed the order. All the silver was engraved with a crest and, in some cases, with a coat of arms. James Ker himself may not have made any of the items but he would have supervised their production in his workshop, while outsourcing work to a cutler, an engraver, a porter, a case-maker, and a bottle-maker. The most expensive item was the solitaire diamond ring, followed by the tea kettle and stand. Worked silver was charged at rates varying from 5s 10d to 9s an ounce, the latter being a high rate. The total cost of the order amounted to £479 3s 11d, a very substantial sum. Payment was partly made in 597oz 8 dwt (18,581g) of old silver valued at 5s 4d per oz and worth £159 6s 8d; the balance was paid off on 8 August 1747 and 2 June 1748.

Other Edinburgh goldsmiths were probably not as fortunate but the Incorporation of Goldsmiths remained active. On 12 September 1745, just before the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh, the Incorporation chose its long leet or list for the post of Deacon. Identical to the leet of September 1744, it comprised: James Wemyss, Ebenezer Oliphant, Charles Dickson, Robert Gordon, Robert Low, and William Dempster<sup>6</sup>. The first three subsequently admitted that they had attended an "unqualified Episcopal meeting house" where prayers were not said for George II and the royal family. This was suffi-

cient proof to the authorities of Jacobite sympathies<sup>7</sup>. Robert Gordon also apparently nursed Jacobite sympathies<sup>8</sup>. On 13 September the Town Council, as in the previous year, chose James Wemyss, Ebenezer Oliphant and Charles Dickson to compose the short leet and the following day the Incorporation re-elected James Wemyss as Deacon of the Goldsmiths<sup>9</sup>; all the other office-holders were similarly confirmed in their posts<sup>10</sup>. One goldsmith, did lose his post, namely James Tait, former Keeper of the Netherbow Port, through which the Jacobites had entered Edinburgh on 17 September 1745 but, on account of "the poor condition of Tait and his family", on 19 November the Incorporation granted him "two pounds sterling of supply"<sup>11</sup>.

After their meeting on 19 November 1745 the Incorporation did not meet again until 25 March 1746. By this time the 'Highland Army', having failed to attract any significant support in England, had retreated from Derby back to Scotland, and the Jacobite cause must have seemed doomed. The Incorporation of Goldsmiths evidently adopted this view<sup>12</sup>:

The Incorporation having taken into their Consideration the high Qualities and Eminent Services of his Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland has already done for this City and Kingdom and that it becomes them to shew their gratitude in as far as is in their power and a motion having been made to present his Royal Highness with the freedom of the Corporation, the Corporation did and hereby does elect and charge his Royal Highness William Duke of



Fig 3 Silver-mounted leather blackjack, engraved with the crest and motto of the Earls of Haddington and an inscription: Tyne Siller Tyne little, Tyne friends Tyne Mickle, Tyne heart Tyne A, Edinburgh, 1767-68 by Ker and Dempster (Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

Cumberland to be a freeman member of their Corporation, and to all the privileges and immunities thereof in such manner as any other brother or member of the Incorporation enjoys the same and further the Incorporation empowers their Deacon to meet with the rest of the deacons of the Incorporations of this City and to draw up and signe a Letter to his Royal Highness entreating of him to accept of the fore-said freedom and that this with the other acts of admission of the other Incorporations be all engrossed in one act and signed by the 14 Deacons or in any other method that the deacons think proper and be enclosed in a gold box whereof the Incorporation will bear a part of the charge with the other Corporations.

The initiative for this action did not originate with the Incorporation of Goldsmiths but with the Convenery of Deacons of the Trades of Edinburgh. This body, which consisted of the Deacons of the fourteen Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh and the two Trades Councillors on the Town Council, had met in the Magdalen chapel in Edinburgh, three days previously; the meeting had accepted a proposal that the Duke of Cumberland should be presented with the freedom of all of Edinburgh's Incorporations. As a Trades Councillor, James Ker attended the meeting and may have recommended the honour<sup>13</sup>. On 24 March a meeting of current and former Deacons endorsed the proposal and, the day after the meeting of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths' on 26 March, the Convenery appointed James Wemyss (Deacon of the Goldsmiths) to make a gold box to contain the act of admission. A committee

for adviceing and assisting in the making, contriving and designing the said Gold box

was appointed and the members included four goldsmiths: James Mitchelson, William Aytoun, James Ker, and Edward Lothian<sup>14</sup>. On 2 May this committee reported to the Convenery that James Wemyss had completed the gold box, the lid of which was decorated with the coats of arms of the City of Edinburgh and of the fourteen Incorporations, while the inside of the lid had an enamel plate painted with the coat of arms of the Duke of Cumberland and an engraved inscription in Latin. The Convenery records also provide "Accounts for the Gold Box"<sup>15</sup>:

Sterling  
Lib. Sh. d.

To Deacon James Weemyss for making ane Gold box weighting  
Seventeen Ounces thirteen Drops and Six grains Gold and Chessing, and  
for the enameled Arms Graving and Shaggareen Case 94. 9. 0

Richard Cooper, who engraved the box, was paid £2 12s 6d<sup>16</sup>. The presentation of the freedoms of the Incorporations in a gold box (which, sadly, has almost certainly not survived) is significant in that the act demonstrates that, some three weeks before the decisive defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden, the Incorporation of Goldsmiths, together with the other Incorporations, wished to publicly demonstrate their support for the Duke of Cumberland,

commander of the government army in Scotland and the second son of George II.

### Elections 1746-47

Annual elections for the office-holders in Edinburgh's fourteen Incorporations and for posts on Edinburgh's Town Council, were normally held in September. In 1746, however, on account of the aftermath of the Jacobite Rising, it was not until 30 October that the Privy Council issued an order for the Incorporations to elect their Deacons on 14 November. The Town Council minutes of October 1745 to December 1746 are missing so it is not clear whether or not the Town Council met regularly during this period. Certainly, normal electoral procedures were not followed in 1746. Instead of the Incorporations voting long leets of six members, reduced by the Town Council to short leets of three, one of whom the Incorporations then voted to be their Deacons, the Incorporations elected their Deacons in one vote without any long leets or short leets and without any reference to the Town Council.

The meeting of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths on 14 November 1746 was probably the most divisive and bad-tempered of the entire eighteenth century and it had lasting consequences<sup>17</sup>. James Ker opened the proceedings by reminding the meeting that an act had been passed in the previous parliament debarring anybody from voting in municipal or parliamentary elections who, in the previous twelve months, had twice attended an Episcopal meeting house or chapel where prayers had not been said for the King and the royal family. The purpose of this act was to prevent Jacobites from voting or holding public office as many Jacobites were Episcopalians. Archibald Ure immediately objected to Ebenezer Oliphant having the vote

because he had attended an unqualified Episcopal meeting house<sup>18</sup>.

Ebenezer Oliphant was indeed a member of the congregation of Old St Paul's Episcopal church, Carrubber's Close, where his son James (15 January 1743) and his twins John and Emilia (24 April 1746) had all been baptised<sup>19</sup>. More importantly, Ebenezer Oliphant belonged to a staunchly Jacobite family, the Oliphants of Gask<sup>20</sup>. His brother, Laurence Oliphant of Gask, had fought at Sheriffmuir (13 November 1715) as a Lieutenant in the Perthshire Regiment of Horse. In September 1745 he, together with his son, Laurence Oliphant younger of Gask, had joined Prince Charles at Perth, Laurence senior becoming the Jacobite Governor of Perth, and Laurence junior an *aide-de-camp* to the Prince<sup>21</sup>. Laurence junior fought at Prestonpans (21 September 1745), accompanied Prince Charles to Derby and back, and

fought at Falkirk (17 January 1746). Both Laurences fought at Culloden, survived and, after hiding in Aberdeenshire, escaped to Sweden in November 1746. At least some of this must have been known to the Edinburgh goldsmiths especially as, on 13 May 1746, *The Caledonian Mercury* had reported that, together with prominent Jacobites such as Lord Elcho and George Lockhart younger of Carnwath, "Laurence Oliphant the elder of Gask" and "Laurence Oliphant the younger of Gask" featured on a Bill of Attainder, which resulted in the forfeiture of the family estates in Perthshire<sup>22</sup>.

Ebenezer Oliphant had made a silver travelling canteen of 1740-41 for Prince Charles, almost certainly a twenty-first birthday present<sup>23</sup> and he had intervened to protect his nephew, Laurence Oliphant, from attack by a government soldier after the battle of Prestonpans<sup>24</sup>. Archibald Ure and James Ker had both witnessed the Indenture of 30 August 1727 which contracted Ebenezer Oliphant to serve a seven-year apprenticeship under James Mitchelson<sup>25</sup>. After Ebenezer Oliphant had qualified as a freeman and become a member of the Incorporation (26 August 1737) he had voted against James Ker over the exclusion of Kenneth McKenzie and Thomas Leslie (15 September 1738)<sup>26</sup> and over the use of Incorporation money to pay for legal fees (15 September 1739)<sup>27</sup>. From 1740 James Ker had languished in the political wilderness while Ebenezer Oliphant, a member of the anti-Ker faction, had been chosen Quartermaster in 1742 and 1743 and had been included in the short leet for Deacon in 1744 and 1745.

13 *Ibid*, vol 2, p 447.

14 *Ibid*, vol 2, pp 448-449.

15 *Ibid*, vol 2, pp 462-463.

16 *Ibid*, vol 2, pp 496, 498.

17 NAS, Minutes, 14 November 1746, ff 190-194.

18 *Ibid*, f 191.

19 Old St Paul's church, Carrubber's Close, Register of Baptisms, 1735-1765, ECA, ED10/2/1. See also Ethel Maxtone Graham, *The Oliphants of Gask: records of a Jacobite family*, London, 1910, p 173: "For many years Ebenezer was an Office-bearer in the Episcopal church of Old St. Paul's,

Carrubber's Close".

20 On the Oliphants of Gask, see Thomas L. Kington Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, London, 1870, and Ethel Maxtone Graham, *ibid*.

21 Robert F Bell (editor), *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton*, Edinburgh, 1898, pp 187-188, 230; Walter B. Blaikie, *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart from his Landing in Scotland July 1745 to his Departure in September 1746*, Edinburgh, 1897, pp 11, 22; Murray G. Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans: the Jacobite army in 1745*, Edinburgh, 2009, pp 120-121.

22 *The Caledonian Mercury* (CM), 13 May 1746, p 3.

23 George Dalglish and Henry Steuart Fotheringham (editors), *Silver Made in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 2008, pp 173-174.

24 Kington Oliphant, *op cit*, see note 20, pp 112-113, 126-127; Ethel Maxtone Graham, *op cit*, see note 19, p 188.

25 Oliphant of Gask Papers: National Library of Scotland (NLS), ADV MS 82.2.3, ff 15-16.

26 NAS, Minutes, 15 September 1738, ff 8-9; TCM, 15 September 1738, ff 218-219.

27 NAS, Minutes, 15 September 1739, f 41.





*Fig 4 Teapot, engraved with the arms of Nicholson, Edinburgh, 1749-50 by Ker and Dempster  
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)*



*Fig 5 Teapot, Edinburgh, 1748-49 by Ker and Dempster  
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)*

After Archibald Ure had objected to Ebenezer Oliphant, James Ker proceeded to identify James Wemyss, Dougal Ged, Ebenezer Oliphant, William Gilchrist, Alexander Campbell, Charles Dickson and Robert Craig as Episcopalians and to insist that they should all swear an oath of loyalty to George II; all seven refused. Pandemonium then ensued with numerous objections being made including an objection by Ebenezer Oliphant against William and Archibald Ure and an objection by James Ker against Laurence Oliphant (a cousin of Ebenezer Oliphant)<sup>28</sup>. Eventually Ker and fifteen other members of the Incorporation took the oath<sup>29</sup>. After he had successfully debarred the non-juring seven from voting in the election Ker

was elected and chosen by a great majoritie Deacon.

The seven who had been bebarred asked to have their votes for James Mitchelson to be Deacon to be recorded but this was disallowed. The Minutes then recorded that

a great many members present took the oath of obedience to the deacon

but some did not. Finally, Ker as Deacon, proposed that the choosing of the Treasurer, Quartermasters and Assay Master should be delayed until the next meeting,

as the sederunt [meeting] had been long<sup>30</sup>.

At the next meeting of the Incorporation (25 November 1746) the Minutes record that

Several of the Incorporation who did not last sederunt take the oath of obedience to the deacon desired now to have the oath administered to

them which was accordingly done and they took the said oath<sup>31</sup>.

No names are mentioned but at least one non-juror still refused to take the oath, Ebenezer Oliphant. Oliphant remained faithful to the Jacobite cause until his death and, by his actions, disqualified himself from ever voting in a decanal election and from ever serving as Deacon or as a Town Councillor. He was, however, one of James Ker's three nominees for the post of Treasurer. Ker, in fact, fielded two Jacobite goldsmiths, Charles Dickson and Ebenezer Oliphant, against his preferred candidate, Robert Gordon, thereby splitting the Jacobite vote: four for Oliphant and nine for Dickson, which still totalled thirteen, an equal number of votes to those of Gordon. The Quartermasters, chosen by those who attended the meeting, included one Jacobite, William Gilchrist, along with William Aytoun, Hugh Penman, James Campbell, William Dempster, and John Welsh. Hugh Gordon was confirmed as Assay Master<sup>32</sup>.

In the Town Council elections which followed, the Jacobite faction effectively no longer existed but the Whigs, or supporters of the Hanoverian monarchy, were divided into two groups, each of which circulated printed lists of candidates. The first list, which appeared a day or two before the election, recommended both George Drummond (for the post of Lord Provost) and James Ker (as an Ordinary Council Deacon). The second list, which did not appear until the morning of 24 November (the first day of the elections), repeated the recommendations for Drummond and Ker, and called for James Grant to be Treasurer but in all other candidates it differed completely from the first list. Ker was one of just three candidates considered acceptable to both factions of the deeply divided Edinburgh merchant class<sup>33</sup>.

The elections were held between 24 and 26 November 1746. Printed 'schedules' had been prepared by the clerks and distributed on 22 November; they listed all the vacancies and had a blank opposite each vacancy. Electors had to insert a name in each blank and to sign their schedules; before handing them in they were required to swear an oath affirming their religious conformity and loyalty to the King<sup>34</sup>.

Some were debarred the privilege of voting in consequence of the late act concerning Episcopal meeting-houses,

but there seems to have been a high poll, "Upwards of 600 polled the first day". The elections generated objections and protests but the result seems to have been clear-cut.

On the 2d of December, after hearing parties, the judges declared the Gentlemen in the first list duly elected.

George Drummond became Lord Provost and James Ker an Ordinary Council Deacon<sup>35</sup>.

At the beginning of January 1747 the fourteen Deacons and two Trades Councillors met for their Convenery meeting and elected James Ker Convener of the Trades and thus their spokesman and leader<sup>36</sup>. The Town Council meanwhile was anxious to affirm the city's loyalties to the Hanoverian dynasty and decided to follow Glasgow's example by awarding the freedom of the city of Edinburgh in a gold box presented to the Duke of Cumberland<sup>37</sup>:

Considering the great and signal services Done to His Sacred Majestie and his Kingdom during the late wicked and unnatural Rebellion by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland who by his prudence and valour at the Head of his Majestie's forces did under God give a Total overthrow to the Rebels at the Battle of Culloden and thereby wholly extinguish the Rebellion, Resolved and agreed therefore as a mark of our gratitude without loss of time humbly to make offer to His Royal Highness of the freedom of this City in a Gold Box, which they ordain Conveener Ker to make and execute in the neatest and genteelest manner possible at the sight and by the Direction of the Lord Provost and Magistrates To whom the Council recommend to see such ornaments and Devices putt and engraved upon the said Box as they shall think proper, and when the work is finished to Report.

James Ker may well have suggested this honour; the proposal would have advertised his Hanoverian loyalties. Moreover, as Deacon of the Goldsmiths, he would have known that this valuable and prestigious commission would almost certainly be awarded to him. For most Edinburgh goldsmiths, however, times were still hard. On 7 April 1747 a committee of the Goldsmiths recommended that the rents paid by William Aytoun and Robert Low for their workshops should each be reduced by two pounds,

considering the deadness of Trade occasioned by the Late unhappy Rebellion in this place<sup>38</sup>.

28 Rodney and Janice Dietert, *Scotland's Families and the Edinburgh Goldsmiths*, Lansing, New York, 2008, p 196.

29 The other oath-swearers were Charles Blair, Colin Campbell, Thomas Leslie, William and Archibald Ure, James Campbell, Laurence Oliphant, James Hally, William Davie, Robert Low, William Dempster, James Welsh, Alexander Edmonston, Hugh Penman, and James Mitchell: Minutes, 14 November 1746, f 192. This list may be incomplete (William Aytoun, George Forbes and Patrick Murray do not feature, yet were present), while some goldsmiths, such as Alexander Aitchison, Robert Gordon, James Hill, Edward Lothian, and James Mitchelson, may have been absent.

30 NAS, Minutes, 14 November 1746, ff 193, 194.

31 NAS, Minutes, 25 November 1746, f 195. James Wemyss, Dougal Ged and William Gilchrist subsequently featured on lists of those qualified to vote.

32 NAS, Minutes, 25 November 1746, ff 195, 196.

33 *The Scots Magazine* (SM), 8 (November 1746), pp 545-547.

34 For the texts of these oaths, see SM, 8 (August 1746), pp 362-363.

35 SM, 8 (November 1746), p 546.

36 Henry Steuart Fotheringham, *op cit*, see note 12, vol 2, p 471; TCM, 3 January 1747, f 4; *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* (EEC), 5 January 1747, p 3.

37 TCM, 3 January 1747, ff 16-17. See also Charles B Boog Watson (editor), *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1761-1841*, Edinburgh, 1933, p 3. On 11 June 1746 Glasgow Town Council had admitted the Duke of Cumberland as a burghess and guild brother and presented his burghess ticket to him in a gold box, for which the Edinburgh goldsmith James Mitchelson was paid £56 2s: James R Anderson (editor), *The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow, 1573-1750*, Edinburgh, 1925, p 459; Robert Renwick (editor), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow with Charters and other Documents*, vol 6, 1739-59, Glasgow, 1911, p 240; Ian Finlay, revised Henry Steuart Fotheringham, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, Stevenage, 1991, p 184. On 27 January 1747 William Aytoun was paid £6 0s 3d for a silver box to hold the Glasgow burghess ticket for Sir Everard Falconar (Fawkenner), secretary to the Duke of Cumberland: Robert Renwick, *op cit*, p 250.

38 NAS, Minutes, 7 April 1747, f 199.



Fig 6 Sugar bowl, Edinburgh, 1752-53 by Ker and Dempster  
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

Ker, however, was able to rent for £10 a year

the Shops high and laigh on the east of the Entry  
from the Parliament Closs to the new Church<sup>39</sup>.

The gold box was finished by 8 April 1747; it was described as

Having the City's arms ches'd and raised on the  
Top thereof, with the arms of his Royal Highness  
upon the inner part of the lid thereof and under-  
neath [an inscription in Latin]<sup>40</sup>.

The town's accounts recorded the payment details<sup>41</sup>:

To James Ker Jeweller	
1747 April 10 To a Gold box made by the Council's order weighing	
21 oz 4 dr at £4.12.6 per oz	£98.5.7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
To Cash paid the Case maker	£1.0.0
To Cash paid the Ingraver for the Duke's Arms & Motto	£1.5.0
To Cash paid Mr Welsh for Chasing the Town's Arms etc.	£7.7.0
1747 May 19 Audited by the Committee	£107.17.7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>

The box, containing the Freedom of the city of Edinburgh, was duly sent off to the Duke of Cumberland, then campaigning in the Low Countries. On 23 June, in Herenthout, near Antwerp in what is now Belgium, the Duke took time off from his military duties to send the Lord Provost a gracious letter of thanks, signing himself off as "your affectionate Friend, William"<sup>42</sup>. The box, like its predecessor, does not seem to have survived.

The valuable commission for the Cumberland gold box, together with important orders from William Nisbet of

Dirleton and John Hope, 2nd Earl of Hopetoun, meant James Ker could consider embarking on a parliamentary career. He had been appointed a member of the Town Council's Public Works Committee (5 January) and a commissioner to the General Convention of the Royal Burghs (21 January)<sup>43</sup> but, with a general parliamentary election due in July, a much greater prize beckoned, that of Member of Parliament for the city of Edinburgh<sup>44</sup>. At the Council meeting on 29 July he defended at length the right of the eight Extraordinary Council Deacons to vote in the parliamentary election<sup>45</sup>. This right was acknowledged and the Lord Provost, magistrates and councillors proceeded unanimously to elect James Ker MP for Edinburgh.

Thereafter Mr Ker made his Compliments to the Lord Provost, Magistrates, Council and Deacons of Crafts for the honour they had done him and the Confidence they had reposed in him by the foresaid choice<sup>46</sup>.

The election result may well have been a foregone conclusion, for Ker had his letter of acceptance, addressed to the Lord Provost, all prepared and it was read out at the meeting<sup>47</sup>:

I am very sensible of the great honour your Lordship and Council have done my brethren the Trades and me in so unanimously making choice of one of our number to represent this City in Parliament. I know well how unequal my abilities are for the due Discharge of so high a trust. However under these disadvantages, I shall make it my Endeavour steadily to adhere to that which appears to me most expedient for supporting our present happy Constitution, upon which I take the honour and Interest of ye nation and the prosperity of this City so intirely to depend. – I shall endeavour carefully to attend every session of parliament without any expence to the City and shall at all times show the greatest regard to the sentiments of my fellow Citizens when they shall please take the trouble to acquaint me therewith.

In September 1747 Incorporation and Town Council elections were held as usual. James Ker was unanimously re-elected Deacon of the Goldsmiths on 12 September<sup>48</sup>. He again chose Ebenezer Oliphant, Charles Dickson and Robert Gordon as candidates for the post of Treasurer and Gordon was re-elected, Oliphant and Dickson receiving no votes. All six Quartermasters and the Assay Master (Hugh Gordon) were similarly confirmed in office<sup>49</sup>. In the Town Council elections there was a considerable turnover but among those re-elected were: George Drummond (Lord Provost), Ker's friend William Keir



(Trades Councillor) and Ker himself (Ordinary Council Deacon). On 17 September Ker successfully put himself forward for re-election as Convener of the Trades. The vote of thanks carried after his re-election conveyed the pride of the Trades that one of their number should be MP for Edinburgh<sup>50</sup>:

The Conveenery being highly sensible of the Good Services done by the said Mr James Ker the preceeding year more especially for the remarkable part he acted in at first Complying with the unanimous invitation his Brethren had given him to Stand Candidate for member for this City in the ensuing Parliament and then in so happily procuring such a concurrence in the merchant part of the Council that at Length he was unanimously Elected Member by the whole Council. Do therefore all in one Voice for themselves and in name of all their Incorporations who they Represent Return Conveener Ker their most hearty thanks for this Eminent Service done the whole trades of Edinburgh whereby the Valuable and ancient privilege of a Craftsman representing this City in parliament is of new revived to the Satisfaction of the Inhabitants and that so decently and without the Smallest Expence or trouble to the City or trades.

On 7 October Ker was re-appointed as a member of the Public Works Committee<sup>51</sup>. The previous day, possibly to curry favour with the magistrates, one of whom was the goldsmith James Mitchelson, he had

moved that the Council's Thanks should be given to the late Magistrates for their faithful services during their offices which was unanimously agreed to<sup>52</sup>.

In a more obvious attempt to curry favour, he entertained his fellow councillors at his house<sup>53</sup>.

### The Incorporation of Goldsmiths

From 1747 to 1754 James Ker was, through the various posts he held, a major figure in Edinburgh's public and political life. He served for another year as Deacon in the Incorporation of Goldsmiths, having been re-elected in September 1747 and from September 1750 to September 1752; he was a Quartermaster from September 1752 to September 1754. He was a member of the Town Council continuously from November 1746 to September 1754, either as an Ordinary Council Deacon (November 1746 to September 1748, September 1750 to September 1752) or as a Trades Councillor (September 1748 to September 1750, September 1752 to September 1754). His membership of Town Council committees included Public Works (January 1747 to September 1748, October 1751 to October 1752), Treasurer and Tradesmen's Accounts (October 1751 to October 1754), Poor (October 1751 to October 1752), and College Affairs (October 1752 to October 1754). The Town Council appointed him a commissioner to the General Convention of Royal Scottish Burghs (January 1747, June 1748, June 1749), a member of the management committee of the Charity Workhouse (July 1748 to July 1754), and one of the city's two lay representatives to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (March 1751, March 1752, March 1753, March 1754)<sup>54</sup>. From 1752 until 1754 he was a commissioner or trustee for the construction of a new Exchange and for other improvements to the city. As a Deacon or a Trades Councillor he attended meetings of the Conveenery of the Trades of Edinburgh from January 1747 to October 1753 and was Convener from January 1747 to September 1748 and from September 1750 to September 1752. Above all, from July 1747 until April 1754 he served as Edinburgh's sole MP.

39 TCM, 1 April 1747, f 152. The New Church was one of the four churches into which St Giles was then divided.

40 TCM, 8 April 1747, f 162.

41 ECA, Common Good and Proper Revenue Accounts (hereafter Accounts), 1742-1752, f 206. See also TCM, 20 May 1747, f 197.

42 TCM, 22 July 1747, ff 261-262.

43 TCM, 5 January 1747, f 20, 21 January 1747, f 41.

44 NAS, Minutes, 17 October 1710, f 264, 16 November 1710, f 264, 12 September 1711, f 265.

45 TCM, 29 July 1747, ff 273-280.

46 TCM, 29 July 1747, f 281.

47 *Ibid.*

48 TCM, 12 September 1747, f 68. The long leet included Edward Lothian, James Mitchelson, James Campbell, Thomas Mitchell, and Robert Gordon, and the short leet James Mitchelson and Thomas Mitchell.

49 TCM, 12 September 1747, f 69.

50 Henry Steuart Fotheringham, *op cit*, see note 12, vol 2, p 480.

51 TCM, 7 October 1747, f 7.

52 TCM, 6 October 1747, f 4.

53 See Accounts, 1742-1752, f 231: "31 October 1747. To Mr Ker Member of Parl. His servt: when the Council supped in his House £0.10.6".

54 James Ker was an elder of the Presbyterian church. From January 1753 a "Mr Ker", probably James Ker, rented seat no 21 in Lady Yester's Church (TCM, 24 January 1753, f 34), a fashionable church in High Street Wynd founded in the mid-seventeenth century by Margaret Ker, Lady Yester. William Robertson, brother of the Edinburgh goldsmith Patrick Robertson, served as minister from 1758-61.

Ker's activities as a member of the Incorporation were thus just a small, and subsidiary, part of his public life from 1747 to 1754; yet he by no means neglected the Incorporation during this period. He chaired or attended meetings as often as he could, with first James Wemyss and then Robert Gordon acting as Chairman in his absence<sup>55</sup> and he continued to contribute to the Incorporation's affairs. He persuaded the Incorporation to subscribe three guineas towards the publication of William Maitland's *History of Edinburgh* (1753)<sup>56</sup>; he successfully recommended that James Scot, a freeman of the Incorporation who "had now quite lost the sight of his eyes", should be admitted to the Trinity Hospital and that the Incorporation should purchase "necessaries" for him, and that a grandchild of the Edinburgh goldsmith Charles Dickson, "an helpless orphan", should be admitted to the Trades Maiden Hospital<sup>57</sup>; he proposed that the firm of Stuart and Wallace, having lost their shop "by the late misfortune of a house falling", should be allowed the temporary use of Goldsmiths' Hall<sup>58</sup> and he also proposed that Thomas Mitchell should continue as an overseer or manager of Edinburgh's Poor House, to which Mitchell and an Incorporation meeting agreed<sup>59</sup>.

As MP for Edinburgh, James Ker was responsibly for piloting through the House of Commons a parliamentary bill "for erecting several Publick Buildings in Edinburgh". Central government expenditure was largely restricted to financing the court, the army and navy and the administration of justice and, since Edinburgh Town Council had limited funds, as was usual, a public subscription was to pay for the project. On 27 July 1752 Ker persuaded the Incorporation of Goldsmiths to subscribe £40, subsequently increased to £50 towards it. Of the thirteen other Edinburgh Incorporations, the Tailors also subscribed £50, the Baxters £100 and the Surgeons £105. Subscriptions from individual goldsmiths ranged from one guinea (Alexander Aitchison, Dougal Ged, Robert Gordon, Robert Low, James Mitchell, Ebenezer Oliphant, Laurence Oliphant, James Wemyss), to £2 (John Clark, William Gilchrist, Patrick Robertson), two guineas (William Davie, John Welsh), £3 (James Hill), £5 (William Dempster, James Mitchelson), and five guineas (William Aytoun, Edward Lothian). James Ker subscribed £25<sup>60</sup>.

James Ker did not always prevail. In September 1752 he submitted a long leet of just five names for the post of Deacon (instead of the customary six): James Mitchelson, William Aytoun, Thomas Mitchell, Dougal Ged, and John Welsh. Normally the long leet for Deacon was accepted, but this time, following its rejection, Dougal Ged proposed a different list: Edward Lothian, William Gilchrist, William Aytoun, Robert Gordon, Dougal Ged, and Robert Low. Having accepted this list, the meeting eventually elected William Gilchrist, who in the past had

been identified as a Jacobite sympathiser<sup>61</sup>. Ker was to subsequently take his revenge on Ged; in August 1754 Ged argued that James Somerville should be debarred from submitting his essay because the deadline had expired. Ker counter-argued that the deadline had not been properly recorded and that the Incorporation's regulations were not always strictly applied; when it came to a vote the majority sided with Ker<sup>62</sup>. On 10 September Ged renewed his protests, with the support of Hugh Penman and Patrick Robertson; he claimed that all those who had voted for Somerville's admission, and who had thereby broken their oath of admission to observe all the laws of the Incorporation, should be fined. Ker then proposed,

to prevent divisions and cement all differences in the Trade,

that a lawyer's opinion should be sought. On 14 September Ged, Penman and Robertson eventually withdrew their protest, "to make peace and harmony among the Trade"<sup>63</sup>.

As he was in London during parliamentary sessions James Ker was able to concern himself there with matters of interest to his goldsmith colleagues in Edinburgh. Having had

a long conversation with a very eminent Refiner at London about cleansing the Sweep

(the small particles of silver and gold swept up from floor and bench surfaces in goldsmiths' workshops), he recommended the purchase of a Miln Still and other apparatus for cleansing Sweep to which the Incorporation agreed<sup>64</sup>. In November 1753 the Incorporation became concerned about the high price of silver in London, complaining that

many merchants in this place [Edinburgh] and Glasgow were in use of buying up of silver and sending it to London whereby the trade was greatly straitened for bullion.

Ker was asked to report on how the price of silver was fixed in London; he replied

that as far as he could learn the refiners at London had no legal authority for raising the price of silver but two or three of them met in a coffee house and put what price they thought proper on the silver which price it stood till they again met and altered it<sup>65</sup>.

Ker must have met prominent members of the Scottish community in London such as Andrew Drummond,

whom, he informed an Incorporation meeting on 20 May 1752, was currently in Edinburgh and deserved to be admitted a freeman of the Incorporation,

as by his present situation in life he had been and still might continue to be of singular service to his country in general and to this Incorporation in particular.

The meeting unanimously agreed<sup>66</sup>. The son of Sir John Drummond of Machany, Andrew Drummond was born into a family which was remarkable for its loyalty to the Stuart dynasty. Two surviving brothers, William and Thomas, both fought with the Jacobite army at Sheriffmuir. William, who had become 4th Viscount Strathallan in 1711, subsequently commanded the right wing of the Jacobite army at Culloden, where he was killed. William's eldest son, James, also fought at Culloden but survived to be listed in the Act of Attainder of 4 June 1746. In contrast, Andrew, having been apprenticed to the Edinburgh goldsmith Colin McKenzie (14 November 1705)<sup>67</sup>, settled in London, probably in 1712, without qualifying as a freeman. He nevertheless practiced as a goldsmith, or at least as a retailer of gold and silver articles, at the sign of the Eagle on the east side of Charing Cross, then a residential area favoured by the Scottish gentry in London; his customers included the Duke of Montrose<sup>68</sup>. By 1716 he had also developed a banking business which would soon become more important than his activities as a goldsmith, although as late as March 1740 he was referred to as a "goldsmith at Charing Cross" and asked to value silver owned by the Countess of Wemyss<sup>69</sup>. Drummond's banking customers included many Scottish families as well as the Edinburgh

Exchange (from 1717) and the Edinburgh Infirmary (sporadically from 1739). He evidently visited Edinburgh in May 1752, when he was admitted a burgess and guild-brother of the city of Edinburgh "gratis by act of Council for good services" (27 May)<sup>70</sup>. The following day Ker presented to him the freedom of the Incorporation; he received it

with marks of great affection and desired Mr Kerr to return his thanks in the warmest manner

to the Incorporation's members<sup>71</sup>. In 1753 the Edinburgh Orphan Hospital and the 'Trustees for the Improvements at Edinburgh' both opened accounts with Drummond's bank in London<sup>72</sup>.

### Family life

Little information has survived on the family lives of eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths which is true of even James Ker. By 1728 he was living in the "Westmost tenement in Parliament Close South, 5th Storey", in a property inherited from his father<sup>73</sup>. His widowed mother, Margaret Ker, who had probably lived with her son and his family in their house in the Parliament Close, died during the night of 14-15 October 1742<sup>74</sup>. Less expected was the death on 1 October 1746 of Ker's wife, Jean Thompson, whom he had married over twenty years previously. They had two sons and eight daughters, several of whom had died young<sup>75</sup>. At least one son did reach adulthood: William, who became a Lieutenant in Col Holmes's Regiment of Foot and was admitted an Edinburgh burgess and guild-brother on 16 October 1751<sup>76</sup>. Similarly, at least one daughter sur-

55 NAS, Minutes, 24 November 1747, f 203, 19 November 1751, f 251.

56 NAS, Minutes, 16 September 1749, ff 227-228, 20 November 1750, ff 241-242. See also Henry Steuart Fotheringham, *op cit*, see note 12, vol 2, pp 426, 429.

57 NAS, Minutes, 21 November 1749, ff 228-229; 29 May 1750, f 234; 23 July 1750, f 235; 13 February 1753, f 262; 14 May 1752, f 254; 13 February 1753, f 262.

58 NAS, Minutes, 20 September 1751, f 251; 5 January 1752, ff 252-253.

59 NAS, Minutes, 27 July 1752, f 256. Thomas Mitchell served as an overseer or manager of the

Edinburgh Poor House, July 1745-July 1762.

60 NAS, Minutes, 27 July 1752, f 257: 'List of Subscriptions for Carrying on the Publick Works in the City of Edinburgh, 1753-1758' (ECA, Rm 41, Shelf 12).

61 NAS, Minutes, 14 September 1752, f 259; 16 September 1752, f 259.

62 NAS, Minutes, 20 August 1754, ff 277-279.

63 NAS, Minutes, 10 September 1754, ff 280-281; 14 September 1754, ff 283-284.

64 NAS, Minutes, 5 January 1752, ff 252-253.

65 NAS, Minutes, 20 November 1753, f 268; 1 January 1754, ff 268-269.

66 TCM, 20 May 1752, ff 255-256.

67 Charles B Boog Watson (editor), *Register of Edinburgh Apprentices, 1701-1755*, Edinburgh, 1929, p 27

68 Montrose Papers: NAS GD220/6/1161, 1162, 1168, 1175, 1181, 1208, 1221, 1243.

69 Erskine Papers: NAS, GD124/15/1510.

70 Charles B Boog Watson (editor), *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1701-1760*, Edinburgh, 1930, p 58.

71 TCM, 27 July 1752, f 257.

72 Information kindly supplied by Ruth Reed, Archives Manager of the Royal Bank of Scotland Group plc. See also Hector Bolitho and Derek Peel, *The Drummonds of Charing Cross*, London, 1967, and *Messrs Drummond Bankers: a history*, The Royal Bank of Scotland, 2002.

73 James Gilhooley (editor), *The Edinburgh Recorder Spotlight on the Personalities, Properties and their Life Insurance Policies from 1720 to 1840*, Edinburgh, 1990, p 202. See also ECA, Moses series, no 5023, and TCM, 19 September 1744. The property eventually passed to William Dempster: TCM, 9 May 1770, ff 286-7; James Gilhooley, *op cit*, p 95.

74 George Innes, one of Ker's customers, was invited to attend the funeral on 17 October 1742 in the Greyfriars churchyard: Innes of Stow Papers: NAS, GD113/3/971, f 18.

75 They married on 20 June 1725: Rev Henry Paton (editor), *The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1701-1750*, Edinburgh, 1908, p 296; Rodney and Janice Dietert, *op cit*, see note 28, p 233.

76 TCM, 16 October 1751, f 26. See also Minto Papers, NLS, ADV MS 11008, f 45.



vived, Violet, who married William Dempster, James Ker's former apprentice and current partner, on 6 January 1751<sup>77</sup>. They in turn had a son, James, who was apprenticed to his father (13 September 1757), admitted a freeman of the Incorporation (17 October 1775) and an Edinburgh burgess and guild-brother (19 June 1776) and was elected Deacon (11 September 1788 and 12 September 1789). He died on 23 May 1790<sup>78</sup>.

Family life in the Ker household may have been grim and unhealthy, as the following account suggests<sup>79</sup>:

One of the largest of these booths [around St. Giles], adjacent to the north side of the New or High Church [St. Giles], and having a second story, was occupied, during a great part of the last century, by Messrs. Ker and Dempster, goldsmiths. The first of these gentlemen had been member of parliament for the city, and was the last citizen who ever held that office. Such was the humility of people's wishes, in those days, respecting their houses, that the honourable member for Edinburgh actually lived, and had a great many children, in the small space of the flat over the shop, and the cellar under it, which was lighted by a grating in the pavement of the square. The subterranean part of his house was chiefly devoted to the purposes of a nursery and proved so insalubrious, that all his children died successively at a particular age.

This was published over sixty years after Ker's death, so must be treated with caution but it does indicate how the Ker household was remembered. Ker may well have been excessively 'canny' in financial matters but eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths often had cash-flow problems as they had to buy precious stones and metals in advance of sales. Payments were often late and were sometimes not made at all. In December 1744 Ker instituted legal proceedings against John Main, formerly an Edinburgh goldsmith; his brother Robert Main, a merchant in Cadiz; William Home, 8th Earl of Home, and Home's factor, David Home of Wedderburn. John Main had owed Ker £86 12s 4d since 1733 but had fled to Spain in 1734, while the Earl of Home had owed Ker £57 3s since 1741 "in an accompt of silver work". In Spain John Main presumably remained safe from his creditors, while Ker's widow was still pursuing the Earl of Home's debt in October 1773<sup>80</sup>.

Like his mother, who had remarried after the death of his father, James Ker married a second time, on 6 August 1750, to the Hon Elizabeth (Betty) Ker, daughter of Lord Charles Ker, second son of the first Marquess of Lothian, to whom Ker was distantly related<sup>81</sup>. Director of His Majesty's Chancery in Scotland, Lord Charles Ker was

admitted an Edinburgh burgess and guild-brother on 13 September 1704<sup>82</sup>; he died in 1735, eleven years after his son Robert had been appointed in his place as Director of Chancery (22 June 1724)<sup>83</sup>. Lord Charles Ker and his wife Janet, eldest daughter of Sir David Murray of Stanhope, had another son, William, who died in Ireland on 18 June 1754 while serving as a captain in Colonel Boscawen's Regiment of Foot<sup>84</sup>. They also had, besides Elizabeth, at least four other daughters: Veronica, who died on 16 December 1768<sup>85</sup>; Caroline or Carolina, who married (13 October 1751) Alexander Kincaid, an Edinburgh bookseller and Lord Provost of Edinburgh (1776-1777), and who died on 14 August 1774<sup>86</sup>; Jean Janet, who married (28 September 1760) as his second wife William Henry, 3rd Marquess of Lothian, and who died on 26 December 1787<sup>87</sup>; and Henrietta Ann, who died on 2 October 1794<sup>88</sup>. Janet, Lord Charles Ker's widow, herself died on 26 November 1755<sup>89</sup>.

Through his marriage to Elizabeth James Ker acquired a new set of relations who were to give him many valuable connections. Elizabeth's mother, who before her death had lodgings in Power's Close, Horse Wynd, at the foot of the Canongate, had as neighbours the Earl of Galloway and Sir Gilbert Elliot as well as Lord Minto one of Ker's customers<sup>90</sup>. James Ker's connections with the Marquess of Lothian were, moreover, reinforced by his sister-in-law, Jean Janet's marriage to the 3rd Marquess of Lothian, thereby giving Ker close access to some of the most important members of the Scottish nobility. The 3rd Marquess was a Knight of the Thistle, a Scottish representative peer (1731-1761), a Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and Lord Clerk Register of Scotland. In addition he was related to the Dukes of Argyll, Hamilton and Brandon, and Richmond and Gordon, and to the Earls of Home and Holderness. He had been one of Ker's customers since at least 1728, a prime example of Ker's association of business with his extended family network<sup>91</sup>.

James Ker had another large family with Elizabeth: five sons and two daughters. The most prominent son, later known as Captain Charles Kerr of Calderbank (born 21 May 1753), obtained an officer's commission and served in the 43rd (Monmouthshire) Regiment of Foot; in 1775 he was wounded at Bunker Hill in the American War of Independence. He subsequently became an Edinburgh bookseller, His Majesty's Printer and Stationer for Scotland (1789-94), and an Edinburgh JP. Admitted on 7 July 1788 as an Edinburgh burgess and guild-brother, he was elected a captain in the Edinburgh Trained Bands on 10 March 1790<sup>92</sup>. David Martin painted half-length and three-quarter length portraits of him wearing the uniform of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers<sup>93</sup>. Another son, Robert (born 20 October 1757), qualified as a surgeon at Edinburgh University, was

admitted an Edinburgh burgess and guild-brother (24 January 1782), lost money as the manager of a paper-mill at Ayton, Berwickshire and published several scientific and historical works<sup>94</sup>. Of the daughters, Isabella married (30 September 1794) the Rev William Simpson an Edinburgh minister<sup>95</sup>. By this time he was much better off financially and James Ker seems to have provided rather better for his second family than for his first, which may account for their improved survival rate. He employed a preceptor or tutor, James Dickson, who was allegedly paid “a very small salary”<sup>96</sup>. According to an Edinburgh directory of 1752, James Ker and his family now lived in Allan’s Close, while the firm of Ker and Dempster had a shop in the Luckenbooths beside St Giles<sup>97</sup>.

## Ker and Dempster

James Ker’s election as MP for Edinburgh in July 1747 meant that he had to attend parliamentary sessions in London, which in turn meant that he had to have a business partner to manage his workshop in Edinburgh. The person to whom he turned was his former apprentice, William or Will (as he signed himself) Dempster, the son of an Edinburgh brewer with the same names. Dempster was first apprenticed to the Edinburgh goldsmith Charles Dickson in 1732 but he died in May 1737; it was not until 1739 that the apprenticeship was official-

ly transferred to James Ker. On 6 April 1742 Dempster was assigned as an essay “a sugar box and a plain gold ring”, to be made in Ker’s workshop, with George Forbes and Charles Dickson (son of his former master) essay masters. Dempster’s essays were accepted and he was admitted a freeman on 9 June 1742<sup>98</sup>. Shortly afterwards, on 30 June 1742, he was also admitted a burgess and guild-brother of Edinburgh by right of his father<sup>99</sup>. On 15 September 1744 he was elected a Quartermaster, presumably performing his duties so well that he proceeded to become the longest-serving Quartermaster of the eighteenth century<sup>100</sup>. He may well have joined the Edinburgh Volunteers in September 1745; at any rate, he was elected a captain in the City’s Trained Bands on 14 October 1747<sup>101</sup>. His inclusion on 24 December 1753 in the jury for the trial of Robert MacGregor, son of the notorious Rob Roy MacGregor, indicates his standing with the authorities<sup>102</sup>. In June 1748 he rented from fellow Edinburgh goldsmith, James Tait, a shop owned by the Town Council<sup>103</sup>. The 1752 *Edinburgh Directory* gives his home address as Smith’s, Jackson’s Close, and his shop as Exchange Stairs, Parliament Close<sup>104</sup>.

Recorded silver bearing William Dempster’s maker’s mark can be difficult to distinguish from that of William Davie, another Edinburgh goldsmith. The most remarkable early piece of silver attributed to Dempster is a

77 Francis J Grant (editor), *Register of Marriages of the City of Edinburgh, 1751-1800*, Edinburgh, 1922, p 188

78 EEC, 27 May 1790, p 3. SM, 52 (May 1790), p 259, gives the date of death as 24 May 1790.

79 William Hone, *The Year Book of Daily Recreation and Information*, London, 1832, p 1151.

80 Papers of Hume of Polworth, Earls of Marchmont: NAS, GD158/169, ff 1-7. The 8th Earl of Home was an army officer, who ended his military career as a Lieutenant-General and Governor of Gibraltar (1757-1761). He died on 28 April 1761.

81 Henry Paton, *op cit*, see note 75, pp 73, 296; CM and EEC, 7 August 1750, p 3; SM, 12 (July 1750), p 349.

82 Charles Boog Watson, *op cit*, see note 70, p 112.

83 ECA, Moses series, no 6038.

84 EEC, 8 July 1754, p 3.

85 EEC, 17 December 1768, p 2; SM, 30 (December 1768), p 671.

86 Francis Grant, *op cit*, see note 77, p 401; *The Edinburgh Advertiser* (EA), 12-16 August 1774, p 109; SM, 36 (August 1774), p 447. Alexander Kincaid died on 21 January 1777: SM, 39 (January 1777), p 55.

87 Francis Grant, *op cit*, see note 77, p 434.

88 EA, 30 September – 3 October 1794, p 222.

89 CM, 27 November 1755, p 2; SM, 17 (November 1755), p 564.

90 Dorothy Bell, *Edinburgh Old Town: the forgotten*

*nature of an urban form*, Edinburgh, 2008, pp 177, 178, 391, note 66.

91 NAS, GD40/8/468; Timothy Schroder, *British and Continental Silver in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 2009, vol 2, pp 758-759.

92 Burke’s *Landed Gentry*, vol 2 (1952), p 1430; *Scottish Book Trade Index*; Charles Boog Watson, *op cit*, see note 37, p 88; James Brown, *The Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions of Greyfriars Churchyard*, Edinburgh, 1867, pp 17-18; TCM, 10 March 1790, p 213, 30 March 1791, f 227. He married (8 February 1802) Marion, daughter of Francis Sharp, Comptroller of Customs, Leith, and died 8 July 1813.

93 Sworder’s (Stansted Mountfitchet, Essex), 27 April 2010, lots 660 and 661; *Five Centuries of Scottish Portraiture*, Bourne Fine Art, Edinburgh, 2011, p 9.

94 Charles Boog Watson, *op cit*, see note 37, p 88; Burke’s *Landed Gentry*, vol 2 (1952), p 1430.

95 EA, 30 September – 3 October 1794, p 222; EEC, 2 October 1794, p 3.

96 John Kay, *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings*, Edinburgh, 1838, vol 2, p 104. On 6 May 1765 James Ker wrote to Gilbert Elliot recommending James Dickson “who has these six or seven years attended my children” for a position as a Church of Scotland minister (Minto Papers: NLS, ADV MS 11017).

97 James Gilhooley, *A Directory of Edinburgh in 1752*, Edinburgh, 1988 reprint, p 29.

98 Rodney and Janice Dietert, *op cit*, see note 28, p 187; NAS, Minutes, 6 April 1742, f 137; 9 June 1742, f 142.

99 Charles Boog Watson, *op cit*, see note 70, p 54.

100 1744-51, 1756-58, 1760-64, 1766-68, 1770-72, 1773-82, 1784-86, 1788-92.

101 TCM, 14 October 1747, f 13; William Skinner, *The Society of the Trained Bands of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1889, pp 84, 86, 135.

102 *The Trials of James, Duncan, and Robert McGregor, three sons of the Celebrated Rob Roy, before the High Court of Justiciary, in the years 1752, 1753, and 1754*, Edinburgh, 1818, p 5. Lord Milton was one of the judges.

103 TCM, 15 June 1748, f 185.

104 James Gilhooley, *op cit*, see note 97, p 15.



*Fig 7 Shell-shaped bread basket, Edinburgh, 1747-48 by William Dempster  
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)*

magnificent cake or bread basket of 1747-48 [Fig 7] in the

form of a scallop shell, set on three dolphin legs, with a handle in the form of a sea-horse; the cast rim [is] decorated with sea shells<sup>105</sup>.

This is almost certainly the “bread basket Shell Shape” listed in an inventory of Lord Milton’s silver compiled after his death by William Dempster and Daniel Ker on 11 May 1767. Lord Milton served as the Duke of Argyll’s political agent in Scotland, so, if correctly identified, the bread basket represents a tangible link with James

Ker’s parliamentary career<sup>106</sup>. Another item of William Dempster silver linked to James Ker is a salver of 1743-44, engraved with the crest and motto of the Stewarts of Appin or of Ardsheal, which was associated with a similarly engraved James Ker coffee pot of 1740-41<sup>107</sup>.

Silver marked by Ker and Dempster dates from 1747 onwards, although a pair of candlesticks and a cruet stand by Ker and Dempster have been dated to 1745<sup>108</sup>. James Ker died in January 1768 but at least two recorded items of Ker and Dempster silver have the assay mark for 1768-69, a plain beaker and a bread basket<sup>109</sup> [Fig 8].



*Fig 8 Bread basket, Edinburgh, 1768-69 by Ker and Dempster  
(Courtesy of Lyon and Turnbull, Edinburgh)*



The most common Ker and Dempster items are salvers or waiters followed by teapots, of which at least twenty examples survive of the former and eighteen of the latter<sup>110</sup>. Salt cellars, tablesticks and candlesticks are also quite common. Strikingly, there are at least seven recorded two-handled cups, five recorded coffee pots, and four recorded cruet frames, whereas for James Ker there are no two-handled cups or cruet frames and just one coffee pot. Mugs, porringers, cream boats, sauce boats, sweetmeat baskets, cake or bread baskets, milk jugs, sugar bowls, tumbler cups, beakers, cake slices, and dish rings all survive in small numbers. Single surviving items include a kitchen pepper pot, a breakfast dish and cover, a kettle, a chocolate pot, a quaich, a plate stand, and a leather black jack [Fig 3]. In addition, of course, Ker and Dempster also produced flatware, mostly tablespoons.

An advertisement on the first page of *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 6 June 1754, probably describes a pair of silver salts made by Ker and Dempster in the then fashionable rococo style:

#### STOLEN

From a Gentleman's House in the Country, some few Days ago, a PAIR SILVER SALTS, shell shape, very lately made. Any Person who will discover the Thief, and bring the Salts to Messrs. Ker and Dempster, in the Parliament Close, Edinburgh, shall be handsomely rewarded.

Another advertisement, in *The Edinburgh Chronicle or Universal Intelligencer*, 10-12 May 1759 (p 128), refers to a seal which William Dempster had probably supplied, and is a reminder that he, like James Ker, usually described himself as a jeweller, not a goldsmith:

#### LOST

##### A GOLD SEAL,

With a Coat of Arms, and an Earl's Coronet above the Arms.

The Arms are cut on a Scots Pebble.

Any person who may have found it, and will bring it in to William Dempster Jeweller in the Parliament Close, Edinburgh, shall have a Guinea Reward.

Silver survives with just William Dempster's maker's mark for the period of the partnership (1747-1768), although as noted, William Dempster can be confused with William Davie. Surviving items include: at least four cake or bread baskets, three sugar bowls, several pairs and sets of candlesticks, five casters, two coffee pots, a cruet frame, four tumbler cups, two dish crosses, a snuffer tray, a mug, a quaich, three pairs and a set of four salts, eight salvers or waiters, five sauceboats, five tea caddies, two tea kettles and stands, seven teapots,



Fig 9  
Chocolate pot  
by Ker and  
Dempster  
(Courtesy of Lyon  
and Turnbull,  
Edinburgh)

and a wine goblet<sup>111</sup>. The number of tea caddies is interesting since there are no recorded James Ker or Ker and Dempster tea caddies. Very little William Dempster silver seems to have been produced between 1749 and 1756 although outside these dates some commissions were collaborative. A Ker and Dempster two-handled mug of 1756-57 is matched by an identical William Dempster mug of 1757-58, both mugs being prizes awarded by the Edinburgh Society to Archibald Campbell for "the best porter"<sup>112</sup>. Similarly, a Ker and Dempster cruet set of 1763-64 has the frame marked by Ker and Dempster and two casters marked by William Dempster, while a set of three salts of 1761-62 and 1767-68 has the different makers' marks of Ker and Dempster, William Dempster and a London goldsmith.

London-made silver overstruck with the marks of Ker and Dempster indicates that the firm was involved in retail-

105 George Dalgleish and Henry Steuart Fotheringham, *op cit*, see note 23, pp 70, 73 (4.25).

106 Saltoun Papers: NLS, MS 17080, f 23. Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, died on 13 December 1766. The bread basket was valued at £17 11s.

107 Rodney and Janice Dietert,

*Compendium of Scottish Silver*, vol 2, Cornell, 2006, p 386.

108 Lyon & Turnbull, 20 February 2004, lot 257; Christie's (Glasgow), 13 May 1997, lot 174.

109 John Bourdon-Smith Catalogue, August 2001, p 9; Lyon & Turnbull (Edinburgh), 17 August 2009, lot 323.

110 This discussion is based on Rodney and Janice Dietert, *op cit*, see note 106, and information kindly supplied by George Dalgleish and Colin Fraser.

111 *Ibid*.

112 *Burlington Magazine*, 71 (December 1937), p 283.



Fig 10 Cream boat, engraved with crest and motto of Douglas, Edinburgh, 1767-68 by Ker and Dempster  
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

ing. Two coffee pots by the London goldsmith, Thomas Whipham, of 1747-48 and 1748-49, have the additional marks of Ker and Dempster<sup>113</sup>. A set of four candlesticks of 1747-48 by another London goldsmith, John Cafe, have been overstruck by Ker and Dempster; likewise a pair of casters of 1749-50 by Samuel Wood<sup>114</sup>. Similarly, a kettle and stand of 1753-54 have a London maker's mark overstruck by that of Ker and Dempster<sup>115</sup>. A teapot of 1736-37 by Peze Pilleau, over-struck with James Ker's mark, has also been recorded<sup>116</sup> indicating that before 1747 James Ker must have, at least occasionally, retailed London-made silver. With his periods of time spent in London, where he lodged in Panton Square, close to the premises of several London goldsmiths, this practice may have become more common. The Ker and Dempster bill heading indicates that the firm also sold second-hand jewellery and silver. An Edinburgh sugar bowl of 1727-28 has been overstruck by Ker and Dempster<sup>117</sup>.

From 1603 there was no royal court or seat of government in Scotland and from 1707 and 1708 no parliament or Privy Council respectively. Many Scots moved away to do military service or to serve in India and the colonies; all these factors severely disadvantaged eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths in terms of patronage compared with their London or even their Dublin counterparts. Royal and government commissions, for example for ambassadorial services of plate, went to London goldsmiths; the concentration of wealth in London vastly exceeded that of Edinburgh; and wealthy Scots usually made their major purchases of silver in London or, very occasionally, in Paris<sup>118</sup>. In this context, the prizes awarded annually at the Leith horse races assumed a special significance. The most important prize was the annual hundred-guinea King's Plate, presented by the Crown, but commissioned by Edinburgh Town Council. The Town Councils of Edinburgh and Leith also presented prizes of silver plate, worth between £20 and £50 but with less regularity. The Jacobite Rising of 1745-

46 meant that the Leith races did not take place in those years, although on 4 December 1746 the Earls of Galloway and Eglinton organised a private race for a purse of seventy guineas on Leith sands<sup>119</sup>. In another private race on Leith sands, the Earl of March and the Hon Francis Charteris of Amisfield competed for a purse of a hundred guineas on 10 October 1747<sup>120</sup>. It was not until August 1748 that the official Leith races resumed, to popular enthusiasm.

The Company of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Persons of all Ranks, assembled on that Occasion, was splendid and numerous<sup>121</sup>.

As MP for Edinburgh, James Ker was responsible for ensuring that the relevant royal warrant for the races was issued and sent to Edinburgh, a task which may have required tactful diplomacy, given lingering suspicions of Edinburgh in London. The Town Council had received the warrant by 25 May 1748 when Ker was ordered to make the prize for the race, scheduled for 4 August<sup>122</sup>. The town's accounts recorded the bill<sup>123</sup>:

To Ker & Dempster Jewelers	
1748 July 26 To a Gold Plate run for at Leith 21 Oz 13 Drop 15 Grain	£87.7.6
To making Ditto	£18.0.0
To chasing Ditto	£1.7.6
To engraving Ditto with King & City's Arms	£0.16.0
	£107.11.0
By Cash per King's Warrant after deducting Clerk's Dues	£102.7.6
	Ballance £5.3.6
1750 Oct. 1st Dischd.	

The gold prize, payment for which James Ker evidently had to wait for until October 1750, sadly does not seem to have survived. The following year Ker personally delivered the royal warrant at a Town Council meeting on 28 June<sup>124</sup>. Robert Gordon rather than Ker was now Deacon of the Goldsmiths so he made the prize of a gold cup, the bill for which may be compared with the 1748 Ker and Dempster bill<sup>125</sup>. Robert Gordon, as Deacon, also made the 1750 King's prize. This time the cost of transmitting the royal warrant from London to the Scottish Exchequer and then on to the Town Council was recorded<sup>126</sup>:

To Robt. Gordon Goldsmith	
1750 April 15 To cash to John Dougal for the King's Warrant	£0.10.6
To Cash for [?] of the Lib. deduced at the Exchequer of	£105
	£2.12.6
1750 Sept. 21 Dischd.	£3.3.0

In 1751 Ker handled this transaction, for which he submitted a higher bill<sup>127</sup>:

To Ker & Dempster Jewellers  
 11 May 1751 To Cash paid by Mr Ker at London for Dues in passing the Warrant for his Majesty's plate £4.4.0  
 To Ditto paid by Mr Dempster at Edinburgh for Ditto £0.11.6  
 Discharges 25 November 1751 £4.15.6

The King's Plate for 1751 was, unusually, an epergne, for which the bill survives<sup>128</sup>:

To Ditto Ker & Dempster  
 8 Aug 1751 To an Epran [epergne] with Chaist [chased] Casters two Cruites [cruets] and engraving ditto with a case £105.0.0  
 By Cash received £102.7.6  
 Discharged 25 November 1751 Ballance £2.12.6

The Town's Plate for 1751 cost precisely £30<sup>129</sup>:

To Ditto Ker & Dempster  
 8 August 1751 To a Tea Kettle and Lamp and Ingraving Ditto 67 oz £30.0.0  
 Discharged 26th Novembr. 1751

In 1752 the King's Plate was, more typically, a gold cup, while the Town Council presented a punch bowl, strainer and 'punch spoon' or ladle<sup>130</sup>:

To Messrs. Ker & Dempster Goldsmiths  
 1752 March 23 To Cash paid for passing the King's Warrant at London £4.4.0  
 1752 April 14 To Ditto to Mr Dougal for booking Ditto in the Exchequer here £0.10.6  
 To their Officer for carrying Ditto to be signed £0.2.6  
 Aug. 14 To a Gold Cup 21 oz 11d £105.0.0  
 To Ingraving Ditto £0.10.6

Aug. 17 To a Punch Bowl 66 [oz] 13 [d] £26.14.6  
 To Ingraving the Town's Arms on Ditto £0.10.6  
 To a Punch Drainer £1.9.6  
 To a Punch Spoon £0.15.6  
 £139.17.6  
 April 14th By Cash from the King's Warrant £102.7.6  
 Discharged 2d October 1752 £37.10.0

The punch bowl does not seem to have survived but the 'Punch Drainer' may be the strainer ladle, engraved with a cipher and a baron's coronet and marked only with Ker and Dempster's mark struck four times, which was sold recently at auction<sup>131</sup>. The gold cup has definitely survived, and is now in the collections of National Museums Scotland [Fig 11]. Like the strainer ladle, it is marked four times with the Ker and Dempster's mark, and carries no other mark<sup>132</sup>. Another similarly marked item by Ker and Dempster, a chocolate pot [Fig 9], may also have been a Leith race prize although Ker did not serve as Deacon again after September 1752.

Ecclesiastical patronage of Edinburgh goldsmiths in the 1750s and 1760s was not generally that important. Most Scottish parish churches were by then adequately equipped with communion silver and the big expansion of Scotland's population did not occur until the nineteenth century although Ker and Dempster did make communion cups for Bonkyl (1755-56) and Alveth (1766-67)<sup>133</sup>. As already noted, civic patronage could be significant, for race prizes, boxes to hold burgess tickets and other presentation items. On 6 February 1750, Glasgow recorded a payment of £26 5s to Ker and Dempster for silver boxes engraved with the city's coat of arms to contain burgess tickets for "Messrs. Campbell and Bruce,

113 Woolley and Wallis (Salisbury), 2006, lot 1809; Sotheby's (New York), 23 October 2006, lot 291.

114 Rodney and Janice Dietert, *op cit*, see note 106, vol 1, p 73; sale, Christie's (London), 29 January 2001, lot 113.

115 Sotheby's, 24 April 1975, lot 163.

116 *Connoisseur*, 132 (August 1953), p 23.

117 John Bourdon-Smith, Catalogue 2003, p 15.

118 For instance, Robert Gordon advertised for sale "the compleat set of rich wrought Plate that was lately made for the Earl of

STAIR [died 9 May 1747], in as good Order as when delivered, being made only a very short Time ago by the best Workmen in London": *EEC* and *CM*, 7 September 1747, p 4.

119 *CM*, 4 December 1746, p 2.

120 *CM*, 12 October 1747, p 3.

121 *CM*, 8 August 1748, p 2. See also *EEC*, 4 August 1748, p 2: "There were several Thousands of Spectators present, and very considerable Bates [bets] laid".

122 *TCM*, 25 May 1748, f 177. Lady Somerville's bay mare *Mab* won the race:

*EEC*, 4 August 1748, p 2; *CM*, 8 August 1748, p 2.

123 Accounts, 1742-1752, f. 355.

124 *CM*, 26 June 1749, p 3; *TCM*, 28 June 1749, ff 129-130.

125 Accounts, 1742-1752, f. 304. See also *TCM*, 25 October 1749, f 216; *Silver Studies the Journal of the Silver Society*, 19, 2005, p 63.

126 Accounts, 1742-1752, f 370.

127 *Ibid*, f 426

128 *Ibid*, f 426. On 12 August 1751 *Traveller*, a bay mare owned by William Colesworth from

Wetherby, won the prize: *CM*, 13 August 1751, p 2.

129 Accounts, 1742-1752, f 426. On 15 August 1751 the Town's Plate was won "after severe Running" by *Merry Harry*, owned by the Hon Francis Charteris of Amisfield: *CM*, 19 August 1751, p 3; *EEC*, 19 August 1751, p 3.

130 Accounts, 1742-1752, f 442.

131 Sale, Lawrence's of Crewkerne, 17 April 2012, lot 202. See also sale, Wooley and Wallis, 26 January 2005, lot 742.

132 George Dalgleish and Henry Steuart Fotheringham, *op cit*, see

note 23, no 9.18, p 194. On 15 August 1752 the King's Plate was won by *Camilla*, owned by Sir William Middleton of Belcher, while the following 20 August "the City of Edinburgh's Plate of 30 Pounds" was won by *Merry Harry*, owned by the Hon Francis Charteris of Amisfield: *CM*, 17 August 1752, p 2, 24 August 1752, p 2; *EEC*, 17 August 1752, p 3.

133 Rev Thomas Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, Edinburgh, 1892, p 564.





Fig 11 Gold cup and cover, Leith race prize of 1751 by Ker and Dempster

(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

bankers in London"<sup>134</sup>. Ker and Dempster seem to have relied principally on the patronage of individual members of the land-owning, professional and merchant classes. In a number of cases the firm's customers can be identified, both from engravings on items of silver<sup>135</sup> and from documentary evidence in household accounts.

Ker and Dempster inherited some of their customers from James Ker, notably John Hope, 2nd Earl of Hopetoun; a bread basket of 1748-49, weighing a substantial 68 oz 6 dwt (2,124g) and engraved with the coat of arms of the Earls of Hopetoun, carries the maker's mark of James Ker rather than of Ker and Dempster<sup>136</sup>. Earlier Ker had supplied the Earl with a bread basket of 1745-46, weighing 61 oz (1,897g) and a monteith of 1746-47, weighing 74 oz (2,301g), both of which are now in the possession of Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums. These were probably in addition to sets of candlesticks and tablesticks of 1745-46<sup>137</sup>. Between 1751 and 1753 Ker and Dempster supplied sets of tablespoons, table forks and dessert spoons to Hopetoun House although the Earl turned to a London goldsmith, John Cann for a tea-kettle and stand of 1755-56<sup>138</sup>. Recorded cake or bread baskets with Ker and Dempster's mark include one of 1752-53<sup>139</sup> and another of 1754-55<sup>140</sup> but the Hopetoun cake or bread basket of 1757-58 [Fig 12] has the maker's mark of only William Dempster<sup>141</sup>. In 1766 Dempster also supplied the Earl of Hopetoun with a tobacco box costing two guineas<sup>142</sup>. Previously, on 26 May 1757 he had charged Lady Henrietta Hope, sister of the 2nd Earl of Hopetoun, 4s 6d for a gold earring<sup>143</sup>.

The relationship with the Hope family illustrates how a goldsmith's customers could be families rather than just individuals and how custom might pass from one generation to the next. The Campbells, the Earls of Breadalbane, provide another example. John Campbell, 1st Earl of Breadalbane (1636-1717), and his second wife, Mary, Countess of Caithness, were customers of James Ker's father, Thomas Ker<sup>144</sup>. John Campbell, 3rd Earl of Breadalbane (1696-1782), known as Lord Glenorchy before he succeeded his father in 1752, ordered silver from James Ker and at least one account survives for what was presumably, an urn-shaped coffee pot<sup>145</sup>:

The Right Honble the Lord Glenorchy to James Ker Jeweller

1741

Sept. 18 To silver egg coffe pott weight 38 oz 8 dr at 8 sh. per on. silver duty and making included is	£15.8.-
To the engraver for chassing it	£-.15.-
To the turner for tapine [knob] & packing box	£-.1.6
	£16.4.6

Edr. 8 Oct. 1741 Received the above from Mr John Campbell [Cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland and Lord Glenorchy's agent] and discharges the same and all precidings by me

James Ker

Lord Glenorchy's principal suppliers of plate were London goldsmiths such as Peter Archambo, whose mark appears on a magnificent hot-water urn of 1742-43, decorated with Glenorchy's coat of arms<sup>146</sup>. After 1752 the 3rd Earl ordered more silver from Ker and Dempster but only two bills for minor repairs seem to have survived:

8 May 1754:

To a head for a Sause pan 16 oz 9 dw	£5.10.4 <sup>1/2</sup> .
To Cash paid for a wooden top to Do.	£-.1.6

27 May 1754:

To a Sockat and Nosell for a Candlestick and mending a Syphong	£-.6.- <sup>147</sup>
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Five years later, the 3rd Earl's son, the next Lord Glenorchy (1738-1771), ordered topaz stones from William Dempster<sup>148</sup>:

1759

April 18	To a topas seall block Scots pieble	£-.16.-
	To an Do triangle	£-.14.6
	To four Scots topas sleeve button stones	£2.8.-
	To fourteen vi end [?] Scots pebble vest button stones	£-.3.6
	To four Do for sleeve buttons	£-.-.6
		£4.2.6

Another loyal customer was George Innes, Deputy Receiver of the Land Tax in Scotland, who in 1759 pur-

chased the estate of Stow in Peeblesshire (Midlothian). Four bills survive for the 1730s and 1740s<sup>149</sup>:

Edr. 24 Decr. 1736

To Silver Tea pott 18 oz 13 dr and sugar box 10 oz 4 dr at 5 sh: 4 pen: per on: value is -£7.14.8

Received the above from Mr Geo Innes by me

James Ker

Mr Geo: Innes

To James Ker Jeweller

1741 Ap: 23

To 6 silver spoons 15 oz 10 dr at 5 sh. 10 pen is

£4-11-2

To the making

£-15-

To ingraving the crestes

£-3-

Edr. 24 Apr 1741

£5-9-2

Received the above and all preceedings by me

James Ker

Edr. 13 Au: 1741

Then received from Mr Geo Innes five pound five shillings sterling for ane Emerald ring No. 15 which I promise to take back for four guineas any time after if the stone be whole [?holed] by me

James Ker

28 Novr. 1743

Mr Geo: Innes

1743

Mar 3

To Six Silver Spoons weight 14 oz 11 dr at 5 sh 10 pen: is

£4.5.8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

To the making

£-15-

To 4 Salts weight 10 oz 9 dr

£3.1.8

To the making having three feet

£1.4.-

To 2 jugs weight 11 oz 3 dr

£3.9.-

To the making

£-12.-

To 4 Salt Spoons

£-7.-

£13.14.4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

134 Robert Renwick, *op cit*, see note 37, pp 314, 321. George Campbell (son of the London goldsmith-banker, John Campbell, who was apprenticed to the Edinburgh goldsmith John Threipland on 28 May 1679) and David Bruce (apprenticed to the Edinburgh goldsmith Robert Bruce on 1 September 1705) were the partners in the London bank which became Coutts & Co.

135 See Appendix.

136 Museum of Edinburgh, accession number HH5614/92. Listed in

the 'Inventory of the Silver Plate and Plated Articles in the Plate Room, Hopetoun House, 16 December 1820' (Hopetoun Papers, NRAS 888, vol. 300); *The Hopetoun Plate: a descriptive list, with dates and weights of each article*, privately printed, Edinburgh, R & R Clark, 1883, p 18: 'ARTICLES FOR INDIA': Hopetoun Papers, NRAS 888, file 1468, f 18.

137 Rodney and Janice Dietert, *op cit*, see note 106, vol 1, pp 72-73.

138 Sotheby's, 25 June 1953, lots 118, 119, 121, 125. The John Cann tea-kettle

and stand are in the collections of National Museums Scotland (accession number A.1971.91 and A).

139 Sotheby's, 20 March 1970, lot 85.

140 National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, acc no 2405-D3, gift of E S Makower, 1922.

141 National Museums Scotland, acc no H.MEQ 1204; George Dalgleish and Henry Steuart Fotheringham, *op cit*, see note 23, no 4.39, p 79.

142 "Bot. of William Dempster & Co. 1766 July 9

To a Tobacco box 3. 14 dwt. £2.2.-" (Hopetoun Papers: NRAS 888, 3502).

143 Seafeld Papers: NAS, GD248/900/3. The bill was paid the following day.

144 Breadalbane Papers: NAS, GD112/15/60, f 65, and GD112/15/66, f 50.

145 Breadalbane Papers: NAS, GD112/15/275, f 24.

146 Timothy Schroder, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver*, New York, 1988, pp 265-267 (no 68). The urn weighs 133 oz 15 dwt (4,160g).

147 Breadalbane Papers: NAS, GD112/21/289.

148 Breadalbane Papers: NAS, GD112/15/356, f 30. John Campbell promptly paid the bill on 18 April 1759.

149 Innes of Stow Papers: NAS, GD113/3/901, f 5; GD113/3/953, f 8; GD113/3/957, f 6; GD113/5/397A, f 21.

150 Innes of Stow Papers: NAS, GD113/3/971, f 18.

151 Innes of Stow Papers: NAS, GD113/5/397A, f 43.



Fig 12 Bread basket, engraved with the arms of Hope, Edinburgh, 1757-58 by William Dempster (Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

The invitation from James Ker to George Innes to attend the funeral of his mother on 17 October 1742 indicates that they had more than just a business relationship<sup>150</sup> and Ker rounded down the 1743 bill from £13 14s 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d to £13 10s 0d. It is therefore not surprising that George Innes patronised the firm of Ker and Dempster<sup>151</sup>:

Mr George Innes

Bought of Ker and Dempster Jewelers 1750

March 15 To Six table spoons wht. 15 oz 8 dr £4:10:3

To making £0:15:0

To Ingraving £0:12:0

Edr 15 March 1750 £5:7:5

Received payment of the above

in full of all Demands. Ker & Dempster

Ker and Dempster did, of course, attract new customers. Samuel Dukinfield, an army officer who was presumably



Fig 13 Two-handled cup, inscribed Ex Dono Saml. Dukinfield Esqr. To Col. Jas. Thorne, 4th King's Own Regt. Of Foot, Edinburgh, 1750-5 by Ker and Dempster (Courtesy of the Museum of the King's Own Royal Regiment)

stationed with the 4th Foot (The King's Own Royal Regiment of Foot) at Fort William in 1750, commissioned a cup [Fig 13] from Ker and Dempster to be used at the functions of the 'Loyal and Friendly Society of the Blue and Orange', a society founded by officers of the regiment between 1733 and 1736 to commemorate the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the accession of the House of Hanover to the British throne. Their formal dinners celebrated events such as the battle of the Boyne, the accession of George I and the battle of Culloden<sup>152</sup>. James Ker's well-known Hanoverian loyalties may have prompted this and other commissions. Similarly, his offer to stand as a defence witness in the second trial of Archibald Stewart (21-31 October 1747), Lord Provost during the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh, probably led Stewart to commission Ker and Dempster to make a tea kettle and stand of 1755-56 now in the Museum of Edinburgh.

Some orders placed with Ker and Dempster were strikingly modest. The only surviving bill owed by William Graham, 2nd Duke of Montrose totalled just £1 8s 10d for two pairs of tea tongs, and a further 1s for engraving crests. Even this small amount was largely offset by 13 oz (404g) of old silver<sup>153</sup>. Unfortunately for Ker and Dempster, the Duke of Montrose was already very well equipped with silver, for the tax on silver payable between 5 July 1756 and 5 July 1762 he declared ownership of at least 4,000 oz (124,400g) of silver<sup>154</sup>. Documentary evidence survives of another more modest titled customer, David Melville, 6th Earl of Leven and 5th Earl of Melville. On 24 July 1756 William Dempster wrote to him<sup>155</sup>:

We have fish trowels and chield's spoons ready and they shall be sent to your Lordshipe the first opportunity.

The Earl obviously felt that he needed newly fashionable fish trowels or slices and children's spoons but he already possessed silver weighing a total of 493 oz (15,334g) which may have discouraged him from making any ambitious silver purchases<sup>156</sup>.

### Craftsmen and customers: James Ker and William Dempster, Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant and Lord Deskford

Relations between eighteenth-century goldsmiths and their customers were likely to be a little awkward even though at least an element of friendship might be present as seems to have been the case with James Ker and George Innes of Stow. However, if the

customer were a long-standing MP and if the goldsmith, suddenly and unexpectedly, also became an MP, then relations might become particularly awkward.

Ludovick Grant of Grant (1707-73) was MP for Elgin and Forres for twenty years (1741-61). He succeeded first to the Colquhoun of Luss estates (1729-39) when, confusingly, he was known as Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss and then to Castle Grant and its accompanying estate near Grantown-on-Spey. On 16 January 1747 he also succeeded to the title of 7th Baronet Colquhoun of Luss; a Nova Scotian baronetcy created in 1625.

The first surviving bill owed by Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss, as he then was, to James Ker dates from 1731<sup>157</sup>:

Lewis Colhoun of Luss Esqr. to James Ker Jeweller Edr  
1731

Apr 19	To 12 knife handles weight 23 on 4 dr at 5 sh 10 pen per on duty included is	£6.15.8
	To the making at 2 sh 6 pen per piece	£1.10.-
	To 12 spoons weight 35 on [oz] 2 dr is	£10.5.-
	To the making at 3 sh per piece is	£1.16.-
	To 12 forks weight 28 on is	£8.3.4
	To the making at 3 sh per piece is	£1.16.-
	To 4 salts weight: 14 on 4 dr is	£4.3.2
	To the making at 5 sh per piece	£1.0.0
	To a sett of casters weight 39 on is	£11.7.6
	To the making at 2 sh 8 pen per on is	£5.4.-
May 25	To a big spoon weight 10 on 6 dr is	£3.-.6
	To the making	£-.10.-
	To a mustard spoon weight 8 dr	£-.4.-
	To a Case	£1.6.-



To the cutler for blades	£-.12.-	Two years later James Ker submitted a bill for several substantial pieces of silver including a tea kettle and stand of 110 oz 8 dwt (3,433g), a large salver of 54 oz (1,679g), a coffee pot 61 oz (1,897g), a teapot of 35 oz (1,088g) and a stand for the coffee pot weighing 40 oz (1,244g) <sup>160</sup> :
To the engraver for 46 cristes [crests]	£1.3.-	
To a mustard bottle	£--.4	
	£58.16.6	
To 4 salt spoons	£-.6.6	
	£59.3.-	
Received old silver 191 on 8 dr	£51.1.8	
	Ball is £8.1.4	Lewes Grant of Grant Esqr to James Ker Jeweller Edr
Edr 14 June 1731		1737 Febr. 17
Received the within Actt and all preceding by me	James Ker.	To 1 tea kettle and Standish weighting 110 oz 8 dr at 8 sh per on is
		£44.4.-
This bill is interesting in its own right due to the extent to which old silver was received in part payment: over 191 oz (5,940g) valued at over £50. The next bill was for jewellery, including one very valuable rose diamond buckle, presumably a cloak fastener, the price of which was reduced from £55 to fifty guineas <sup>158</sup> :		To the engraver for chesing the mouth
		£-.15.-
		To the turner for tapine [wooden knob] and handel
		£-.6.-
		Mar. 18
The Honble Lewes Grant of Grant to James Ker Jeweller		To a large salver weight 54 on scoloped at 8 sh
		£21.12.-
		To the engraver for chesing it
		£1.10.-
		To a coffee pott weight 61 on at 8 sh is
1735 Novr 20 To pair shoe buckles to Miss	£-.8.-	£24.8.0
29 To the setting 2 diamonds for a clasp to a necklace	£-.5.-	To the engraver for chesing the mouth
		£-.15.-
1736 Febr 4 To the gold and setting a single stoned ring	£1.1.-	To a tea pott weight 35 on 11 dr at 8 sh
To a large rose diamond buckle 7 car: 3 gr value is		£14.5.6
	£55.--	To a flat for the tea pott weight 20 on
To a Case for holding buckle earrings and rings is		£8.--
	£-.15.-	To the engraver for chesing the mouth of the tea pott and chesing the flat
Edr 27 Febr 1736	£57.9.-	£1.12.-
		To a flat for tea spoons weight 5 on 8 dr
		£2.4.0
		To a sugar box weight 11 on 13 dr is
		£4.14.6
		To the engraver for chesing the sugar box, flat and milk pott
		£-.15.-
		To a pair tea candlesticks weight 8 on 3 dr is
		£3.5.6
		To the engraver for 5 coats of arms with supporters
		£2.12.-
		To ditto for 5 cristes engraving
		£-.2.8
		To the turner for 6 feet to the kettle and coffee pott
		£-.6.-
		May 2
Received the above and all preceeding by me and discharges the same by me		To 12 tea spoons and a pair tea tongs 8 on 4 dr
		£3.6.-
		To the engraver for 13 cristes
		£-.6.6
		July 12
		To a large scoloped flat for the Coffee pott 40 on
		£16.--
		To the engraver for chesing it
		£1.5.-
		To ditto for a coat of arms and supporters
		£-.10.6
		£159.19.6
Another jewellery bill for 1735 survives, separately recorded <sup>159</sup> :		
The Honble Mr Lewes Grant		1737 May 25 Received of the above a tea kettle and standish,
To James Ker		a small tea pott, 2 canesters, a sugar box, 2 small coffee potts and
		small lamp weight 165 on. at 5 sh. 4 pen. : £44.--
Novr 27		To a coffee forgot 16 on
To a seven stoned brilliant ring No. 134	£12.12.-	£4.5.4
To a fancie ring No. 82	£4.4.-	To a chocalat pott weight 34 on
To a syfair [sapphire] ring No. 91	£4.4.-	£9.1.4
		£57.6.8
		Ball is
		£99.12.10
		To money payed the casemaker
		1.5.-
Edr. 3 Decr. 1735	£21.--	Edr. 19 July 1737
		Received the written balance and discharges the same and all preceedings
		James Ker.

152 Information kindly supplied by Peter Donnelly, Curator of the King's Own Royal Regiment Museum, Market Square, Lancaster.

153 Montrose Papers: NAS, GD220/6/1425. James Graham, 4th Marquess of Montrose, created 1st Duke of Montrose in 1707, was a customer of

Thomas Ker: NAS, GD220/6/1096, f 21.

154 'An Alphabetical List of the Persons, Bodies Politic or Corporate who have given Notice of and paid Duty for any Quantity of Silver Plate at the several Excise Offices in Great Britain from 5th July 1756 to 5th July 1762': The National

Archives (TNA), T47/5, f. 214 (hereafter Alphabetical List ... Great Britain).

155 Leven Papers: NAS, GD26/13/644.

156 *Ibid.* William Dempster may have inventoried and weighed the Earl of Leven's silver for the new

tax on silver payable from 5 July 1756. See also 'An Alphabetical List of the Persons, Bodies Politick, or Corporate, in that part of Great Britain, called Scotland, who have given Notice, and paid duty, for Plate, from 5th July 1756 to 5th July 1762', f 34: TNA, T36/8 (hereafter 'Alphabetical List ...

Scotland').

157 Seafeld Papers: NAS, GD248/105/2, f 10.

158 Seafeld Papers: NAS, GD248/102/2, f 8.

159 *Ibid.*, f 125

160 *Ibid.*, f 55.

The coffee pot and stand are almost certainly those by James Ker of 1735-36 now in the collections of National Museums Scotland<sup>161</sup>, while the sugar box or bowl and the salvers can also be identified<sup>162</sup>. The 35 oz (1,088g) teapot was unusually heavy but can be compared to the 37 oz 10 dwt (1,166g) teapot which Ker supplied to the Earl of Hopetoun in February 1735<sup>163</sup>. As in 1731, much of the bill was paid in old silver, £57 6s 8d being deducted from the total of £156 19s 6d, leaving a balance of £99 12s 10d. A "Small Actt [account]" of £3 3s 6d was added giving a final total of £102 16s 4d.

These purchases from James Ker amply equipped Sir Ludovick Grant with silver but a letter to Sir Ludovick, signed "Ker & Dempster" and dated 19 April 1753, mentions candlesticks and implies that bills were enclosed<sup>164</sup>; these bills apparently remained unpaid as James Ker wrote to him on 30 June 1753<sup>165</sup>:

I had the agreeable pleasure of hearing by your friends at ye Assembly that good Lady Margaret you and all the family were well, the continuence of which I most sincerely wish, and hopes see you as you pass earlie this way, shall probably move soon too, as it's the last session and take my leave of our great friends, I wish they have as agreeable work the next parliament, as I persuade my self the Nation suffers by the disagreement and ambition of the great folks.

Mr Dempster tells me he sent your Articles according as you ordered, and doubts not but you'll order the payment when its convenient.

We can only guess what Sir Ludovick made of this letter. The mention of "ye Assembly" was an obvious reminder that Ker had recently attended the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland as one of Edinburgh's two lay representatives. The expression of concern for the good health of Sir Ludovick and his family was conventional enough although perhaps over-familiar, especially the reference to "good Lady Margaret" (Lady Margaret Ogilvy, daughter of James Ogilvy, 5th Earl of Findlater and 2nd Earl of Seafield, whom Sir Ludovick had married as his second wife on 31 October 1735). The allusion to the parliamentary sessions would have reminded Sir Ludovick that Ker was a fellow MP and that they had served on the same House of Commons committee<sup>166</sup>. The phrases "great friends" and "great folks" may have jarred a little particularly as Ker incautiously and simplistically opined that "the Nation suffers by the disagreement and ambition of the great folks". The letter ends with a request for payment of an outstanding bill. Sir Ludovick may have wondered if the communication had come from a fellow MP or from a jeweller and goldsmith.

James Ker's career as an MP ended in April 1754 and as an Edinburgh Town Councillor in the following September and he never held public office again. Did this affect his relationship with Sir Ludovick? Or did Sir Ludovick just have enough silver? For the 1756 silver tax he claimed ownership of at least 2,300 oz (71,538g) of silver<sup>167</sup>. Certainly no bills survive for any further payments to James Ker or to Ker and Dempster; records of payments to William Dempster did survive but these are for alterations, repairs and minor items. On 29 October 1764 Dempster received 9s 1d for four "Salt Shuffles" (small salt spoons)<sup>168</sup>; this bill was paid promptly but others were not. Bills for "mending a pair of Tea Tongs" (6 September 1766, 1s), two shell tureen spoons (30 August 1768, £6 2s 3d), four shell sauce spoons (28 October 1768, £3 2s 8d), mending a pair of spectacle frames (12 December 1768, 6d), and mending a table or dish cross (7 July 1770, 2s 6d) a total of £9 8s 11d, were not paid until 16 January 1771. Payment of another series of bills was delayed even longer. Between May 1766 and December 1771 the miscellaneous items included: a case for a tambour or embroidery needle, a dog collar with a buckle and an engraved plate, "a gold opening locket with hair", a shagreen case for a picture, two amethysts for a hair ring, a new gold tongue or pin for a brooch, altering a pair of diamond earrings into bracelets, new stones for buckles, mending a table or dish cross, and cutting an amethyst ring. The total for all this amounted to just £2 9s 6d but remained unpaid at Sir Ludovick's death; Dempster felt obliged to write pathetically to Sir Ludovick's son and heir on 20 December 1775<sup>169</sup>:

To Sir James Grant Mr Dempster most respectfull Compliments has enclosed a small account due by Sir Ludovick will take it as a particular favour if he'll be kind enough to order payment.

While Ker and Dempster effectively lost Sir Ludovick Grant as a customer, a new customer emerged, the brother of Lady Margaret Ogilvy Sir Ludovick's second wife. He was James Ogilvy, 6th Earl of Findlater and 3rd Earl of Seafield (c1714-70), who before succeeding his father in 1764, was known as Lord Deskford. The first surviving bill from Ker and Dempster to Lord Deskford dates from 1749<sup>170</sup>:

The Rt Honble my Lord Deskford Bought of Ker and Dempster Jewellers

1749

June 2	To a pair Silver Spurs 5 : 2	2.4.2
	Paid for a Sword Belt	-10.-

Edinr 1 Janr. 1750	£2.14.2
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Received payment of the above by the hands of Mr Samson Ker & Dempster

The next surviving bill was more substantial although there was an interval of more than five years between the two<sup>171</sup>:

The Right Honble Lord Deskford

1754

Novr. 4	To twelve silver forks 27oz 4dr	£7.19.-
	To making Do	£1.16.-
6	To twelve knives 13 5	£3.17.8
	To making Do	£2.2.-
	To blades to Do	£-.10.-
	To a three dozen Case	£1.3.-
13	To four tea spoons 1 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	£-.12.3
	To a mustard spoon 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	£-.2.6
	To engraving five Coronets	£-.1.8
	To three bottle badges [wine labels]	£-.18.-
28	To twelve table spoons 29 2	£8.9.10
	To making Do	£1.10.-
29	To twelve forks 27	£7.17.6
	To making Do	£1.16.-
	To twelve knife handles 14 5	£4.3.6
	To making Do	£2.2.-
		£45.0.11
	To twelve blades for knives	£-.10.-
	To a three dozen Case	£1.3.-
	To engraving 36 Crests	£-.18.-
	To setting a Large Seall in gold 5dr	£6.2.10
	To cutting your arms on Do	£3.-.-
		£53.1.11
	To a bottle bugge [?]	£-.6.-
		£53.7.11

Received payment of the above accompt in full of all Demands, Ker & Dempster

Dedused [deducted] for prompt payment seven shillings and eleven pence K : D

The following bills indicate further purchases by Lord Deskford from Ker and Dempster over the next two years<sup>172</sup>:

1755

Janr. 20	To two pudding spoons 10oz 6dr	£3.12.8
	To a fish trowell 5 11	£2.18.-
	To ingraving three Crests	£-.1.6

Edinburgh 8 Febr. 1755

£6.12.2

Received payment of the above in full of all Demands, Ker & Dempster.

1755 Decr. 25 To two Claret Cupps 12 12 £3.14.4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

To making Do £-.12.-

Paid for chasing £-.6.-

1756 Febr. 20 To a Porter Cupp 13 13 £4.-.7

To making Do £-.14.-

Paid for plating [?plating] Do £-.3.6

To three Bottle Bages [wine labels] £-.18.-

Edinburgh 12 March 1756

£10.8.5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

Received payment of the above in full of all Demands by Ker & Dempster

After his father's death, Lord Deskford, now the Earl of Findlater, purchased in October 1764, four "Salt Shuffles" or small salt spoons for 9s 1d<sup>173</sup> but significantly, "Will Dempster & Co." presented the bill, indicating that James Ker had retired from an active business role. It may also be significant that in November 1764 the Countess of Findlater paid another Edinburgh goldsmith, James Welsh, for a pair of tea tongs, a sugar box and a milk pot as well as for various jewellery alterations and purchases (including a mourning ring)<sup>174</sup>; Ker and Dempster and William Dempster seem to have received no further patronage from the Earl and Countess. They too may have felt, like other established Scottish land-owning families, that they suffered from a surfeit of silver: at least 2,300 oz (71,538g) according to silver tax declarations<sup>175</sup>.

161 George Dagleish and Henry Steuart Fotheringham, *op cit*, see note 23, pp 83-84 (4.43), 82 (illustration).

162 Wilfrid Joseph Cripps, *Old English Plate: ecclesiastical, decorative and domestic: its makers and marks*, London, 1906, p 150.

163 Hopetoun Papers: NRAS 888, 3032.

164 Seafeld Papers: NAS, GD248/176/1, f 36.

165 *Ibid*, f 63.

166 On 27 February 1750 they were both appointed members of a House of Commons committee to

draw up a bill to improve Kingston-upon-Hull: *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol 25, p 1019.

167 'Alphabetical List ... Scotland', *op cit*, see note 154, f 24.

168 Seafeld Papers: GD248/645/8, f 2.

169 *Ibid*, f 1.

170 Seafeld Papers: NAS, GD248/905/3.

171 Seafeld Papers: NAS, GD248/935/4.

172 *Ibid*.

173 Seafeld Papers: NAS, GD248/645/8, f 2. The bill,

dated 27 October 1764, was settled two days later.

174 *Ibid*, f 4.

175 'Alphabetical List ... Scotland', *op cit*, see note 154, f 20.



## Listing the family silver

The listing of family silver often occurred after the owner's death and honest owners of silver had their plate listed and weighed for the tax on silver of 1756. The preparation of such lists was a responsible task and it is an indication of Ker and Dempster's reputation that they carried out at least three of them. Some of the silver listed may have been made by James Ker, Ker and Dempster, or William Dempster, but except in the case of Lord Milton's 'bread basket Shell Shape' by William Dempster, this has not been confirmed.

The death of Francis Scott, 2nd Duke of Buccleuch, on 22 April 1751 presumably prompted the first list, an inventory of the silver at Dalkeith Palace, Midlothian<sup>176</sup>

	oz	dr	
Twelve knives twelve forks twelve spoons in a case at 5 sh 4d per oz weighing	79	2	£21.2.-
Ditto in a case at 5 sh 4d	79		£21.1.4
Ditto in a case at 5 4	80		£21.6.8
Three big Spoons at 5	24	10	£6.9.3
One Marrow Spoon 6	1	4	£-.7.6
Six Silver Salts Square at 5 sh 3d	27	8	£7.4.4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Two Square Casters 5 4	35	4	£9.8.-
Twelve Desert Knives 12 forks 12 spoons gilt in a case at	5	6	
	43		£11.16.6
Six three footed salts at 5 6	40	12	£11.4.1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Twelve silver scuers [skewers] at 5 3	8	3	£2.3.-
Two punch Drainers at 6	5	10	£1.13.9
A tea kettle Lamp and Stand and a plate at 6	109		£32.14.-
A coffee pot at 5 4	31	8	£8.8.-
One fish plate at 5 2	35	8	£9.3.5
Two big servers at 5 4	146	12	£39.2.8
Six sauce boats 6 4	116		£36.14.8
A Cruite [cruet] frame two Castors two Crystall Cruites with silver			
Heads and a little spoon at 5 4	88	8	£22.12.-
A Ring [?dish ring] at 5 2	28	4	£7.5.11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
A pepper box and punch ladle at 6 4	4		£1.5.4
Thirty six bottle badges [wine labels] at 5 6	10		£4.5.11
Mounting for a glass [mirror] at 5 2	51		£13.3.6
Twelve gilt spoons and strainer with tongs at 5 4	6	11	£1.15.8

Edinr. the [blank] day of Novr. 1751. The above plate was weighted and valued by Will Dempster.

An accompanying list indicates that the thirty-six wine labels included twelve for claret, six for burgundy, six for champagne, six for white wine and six for cider<sup>177</sup>

The second list of a Mr Whiteford's silver was for the 1756 silver tax and only the weights were given<sup>178</sup>

October 1756

	oz	dr
A Tea pot & flat	32	
2 Sauce Boats	28	6
2 Candlesticks, a pair snuffers, snuff dish & Tea Candlestick	44	4
a Sugar Box & Milk pot	26	8
a pair Juggs	9	
4 Salts	14	
a Square Flatt	11	
a Cruite frame & 3 Casters	40	4
a Punch Bowl	52	
19 Teaspoons & a pair tea Tongs	9	
22 Tablespoons	53	8
a Big Spoon	7	12
6 Table Spoons in the Country	13	
a Punch Spoon	1	4
12 three pronged forks	28	8
4 Bottle Labells [wine labels]	2	
18 Knives & forks in a Case	28	
6 Knives 6 forks in a Case	12	
12 Knives in a Case	13	
	425	6

The third list was compiled by William Dempster and another Edinburgh goldsmith, Daniel Ker<sup>179</sup>. Dempster was asked to divide the silver of Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, "into three parts of equal value" on the latter's death (13 December 1766):

Division first	
Twelve knives and twelve three grained [pronged] silver forks with twelve desert spoons in a Case @ 6 sh 6 51oz	£16:11:16d
Twelve three grained Silver Table forks @ 5 sh 7 22oz 5	£6:4:6d
Twelve Table spoons @ 6 sh 28oz 14	£8:13:3d
Two Salts @ 5 sh 8 4oz 12	£1:6:11d
A Square flatt @ 5 sh 7 17oz	£4:14:11d
Twelve plain old knife handles @ 5 sh 6 20oz	£5:10:0d
A big flat @ 5 sh 10 40oz 10	£11:17:0d
Twelve China knives and twelve forks in a Case	£1:11:6d
A knife and fork	£1:11:6d
A small leather Mugg	£0:16:0d
A punch Spoon and handle	£0:6:0d
	£59:3:1d

Division Second	
Twelve Table spoons and fifteen three grained forks @ 5 sh 7 54oz 2	£15:2:2d
Eight Table spoons @ 5 sh 7 17oz 14	£4:19:9d
A small round flat with a foot @ 5 sh 6 15oz 10	£4:5:11d
A porringer @ 5 sh 6 8oz 6	£2:6:0d
A square flat @ 5 sh 7 17oz 14	£4:18:3d
A pair Candlesticks @ 5 sh 6 21oz	£5:15:6d
A funnel and sieve @ 7 sh 6 4oz 10	£1:14:6d
Three pair of Square Salts @ 5 sh 15oz	£3:15:0d

A plain Tea pott, flat, milk pott and Sugar box @ 5 sh 6 45oz	£12:7:6d
An old Jugg and three old knives @ 5 sh 6 12oz	£3:6:0d
A large leather Mugg mounted with silver	£0:10:0d
Six Tea Spoons 30oz	£0:16:6d
	£59:17:1d

#### Division Third

A bread basket Shell Shape @ 6 sh 58oz 8	£17:11:0d
Three old Square Casters @ 5 sh 6 41oz 8	£11:8:3d
A Coffie pott and flatt @ 5 sh 6 29oz	£7:19:6d
Two Tea Candlesticks @ 5 sh 6 7oz 8	£2:1:3d
A Small pott, a pair Candlesticks, a pair snuffers and snuff dish, a small Jugg, two salt spoons and a Scoop Spoon @ 5 sh 6 40oz	£11:0:0
A big Spoon @ 5 sh 7 8oz 6	£2:6:8d
	£59:8:3d

These lists illustrate the range and quantity of silver likely to be found in a substantial Scottish household in the 1750s and 1760s; they also illustrate attitudes towards silver at this time. What mattered were weights and values with silver usually worth 5s 6d an ounce. On some occasions, although not in these lists, crests and coats of arms are mentioned to help identify items, as are shapes and designs. Any provenance or makers' marks are hardly ever recorded. All this suggests an unsentimental attitude towards silver and helps to explain why old silver was often sold in part exchange or even melted down.

#### The final years

While James Ker never held any public office after September 1754 he remained a member of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths in which he continued to be an influential figure. In November 1754 he successfully proposed that Thomasa Aytoun, widow of William Aytoun (who had died on 12 October 1754), should be allowed to keep her husband's shop for a year and that the shop should then be rented to the Edinburgh goldsmith Robert Low on condition that he bought "the furniture, goods and tools in the shop" at an agreed price. This may be an example of Ker's benevolence as



Fig 14 Chafing dish and cover, engraved with the badge of John Leslie, 10th Earl of Rothes, Edinburgh, 1753-54 by Ker and Dempster (Courtesy of Lyon and Turnbull, Edinburgh)

Thomasa Aytoun must have wished for this arrangement but at the same time he managed to thwart his old opponent Dougal Ged who had applied to rent the shop and who protested that he had offered a higher rent<sup>180</sup>. Ged was thwarted again on 11 September 1755 when a long leet for Deacon featuring his name was rejected and replaced by a long leet excluding him and including James Ker and William Dempster<sup>181</sup>. The following year the Deacon's long leet was again rejected in favour of a long leet proposed by Ker and once more featuring himself and Dempster<sup>182</sup>. In the event the vote for Deacon was split evenly with sixteen for James Mitchelson and sixteen for James Welsh, with the Deacon's casting vote going to Welsh. Ker still claimed Mitchelson should be Deacon but Ged maintained Welsh "was duly elected by the Deacon's casting vote". This time Ged prevailed over Ker who reluctantly accepted defeat<sup>183</sup>.

Mr Ker protested that his and the other members who shall adhere to him their taking the oath of obedience [to the newly-elected deacon] is only for the regularity of the Trade and that their taking that oath shall not prejudice them from having recourse at Law if they think proper.

176 'Inventory & Valuation of the Plate in the Palace of Dalkeith, 1751': Buccleuch Papers: NAS, GD224/379/4, f 3.

177 *Ibid*, f 2.

178 'Copy of the Note of Mr Whiteford's Silver Plate weighted by Messrs Ker &

Dempster': Innes of Stow Papers: NAS, GD113/3/1136, f 9. Mr Whiteford was probably Allan Whiteford, the Receiver General in Scotland and Cashier of Funds for Encouraging Fisheries and Manufactures..

179 Saltoun Papers: NLS, MS 17080, ff 21-23. The list is dated 11 May 1767.

180 NAS, Minutes, 19 November 1754, ff 287-289; 17 December 1754, ff 290-296. Thomasa, daughter of Thomas Wemyss, advocate, and sister of the Edinburgh goldsmith

James Wemyss, had married William Aytoun on 7 April 1741: Old St Paul's church, Carrubber's Close, Register of Marriages, 1736-63, Edinburgh City Archives, ED10/2/1.

181 NAS, Minutes, 11 September 1755, f 301.

182 NAS, Minutes, 10 September 1756, f 313.

183 NAS, Minutes, 11 September 1756, ff 315-316; 15 September 1756, ff 316-317.

The long leet for Deacon in September 1758 again included James Ker and William Dempster and again they were not short-listed. Ker was, however, appointed one of the six Quartermasters, an appointment which was renewed in September 1759<sup>184</sup>. He was also appointed a member of the committee to examine a scheme for "a Fund for support of the widows and children of Freeman Goldsmiths"<sup>185</sup>. The quarrel with Dougal Ged continued with Ker complaining on 12 February 1760 about "unjust and injurious reflections against him" and successfully insisting that Ged and Hugh Penman should testify that he "had not used any threatnings"<sup>186</sup>. The politics of the Incorporation often seem confusing. At a meeting on 11 September 1760 John Edmonston complained that James Ker had tried to fix the ensuing election for Deacon at meetings in John's Coffee House. A minority of ten goldsmiths supported Edmonston although curiously, not Ged or Penman<sup>187</sup>. Ged went on to be elected Deacon and Ker was again appointed a Quartermaster (13 September 1760). Interpreting this dispute is difficult although it could be that some of the younger goldsmiths were challenging the old guard.

James Ker, who had been re-appointed a Quartermaster in September 1761 and September 1762, in 1763 ceased practicing as a goldsmith and moved to a house in Drumsheugh near Edinburgh. In September 1763 Patrick Robertson, one of the supporters of John Edmonston in 1760, argued that Ker was disqualified from voting in the election of Deacon because he had

given over the practice and exercise of his trade and occupation within the City of Edinburgh and liberties thereof

and did "not reside within the said Town or Liberties" or pay city property taxes. Ker countered that he was still "in the exercise and practice of his business", was "joined in partnership with Mr William Dempster", that he had "a particular share of the profits of their Trade", and that his name was "still on their shop door" and stood "entered in the Excise books". He also said that he might be "said to reside in Edinburgh" as he had "a share of the house of Mr Dempster". A majority of just twelve to ten confirmed Ker's right to vote. The same twelve voted down the Deacon's long leet and passed another long leet which included Ker and Dempster. Again the Town Council and magistrates did not short-list them but they were appointed Quartermasters once more<sup>188</sup>. Thereafter James Ker's name fades from the minutes of the Incorporation although he was a member of a committee established to consider the Incorporation's investments in the British Linen Company<sup>189</sup>.

While he was active in the Incorporation's affairs for some ten years after 1754 James Ker was clearly hoping

for public office or government sinecure. He failed to appreciate that such patronage usually rewarded present and future, not past, political services. On 4 September 1754 he even wrote to Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle and Prime Minister, offering to exercise his influence in the forthcoming Edinburgh Incorporation and Town Council elections:

should be glad to conduct myself and use my little interest that is still left me, in such manner as would be most acceptable to your Grace.

He did have to admit that his "interest here is lessened by the arts of those has thrown me out of parliament" but he immediately qualified himself saying "yet flatters myself can be of some use to my friends"<sup>190</sup>.

The task facing James Ker was to defend what little patronage he still enjoyed rather than to solicit for any new post or pension. On 1 February 1757 he again wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, who was no longer Prime Minister, complaining that William Dempster was threatened with the loss of his position as a Collector of Stamp Duties. He reminded the Duke that he had

been ready to obey your orders upon every occasion, and has had repeated assurances given me, of having your Grace's favour and protection, which encourages me now in this time of my distress to lay my case at your Grace's feet, earnestly begging your assistance<sup>191</sup>.

He also evidently approached Gilbert Elliot, MP for Selkirkshire from 1753, and eldest son of one of Ker's customers, the Scottish judge Lord Minto, as Elliot indicated in a letter to his father (February 1757)<sup>192</sup>

I have had a letter from Mr Ker the Jewler. I am affraid there is at present no doing any thing for him, tho it be a difficult advice, I believe it would be prudent for him to be quiet for a little time, & let the storm blow over, it is possible he may recover his ground again.

Elliot seems to have attempted to restore Ker's standing with his former political patron, the Duke of Argyll, prompting a letter from Ker thanking Gilbert for his "good offices".

The same letter also broached a delicate subject, that of Ker's eldest son, William, who had "been a most unworthy lad". An officer's commission in a regiment had been purchased for him but

his vicious course of life occasioned him to con-



tract diseases and by the frequent recourse to Mercury without care or regularity in the application he rendered himself almost useless for duty, and was obliged to seek out.

Having allegedly reformed himself William obtained a new commission in General Anstruther's Regiment but, when he reported for duty at Fort William, his commanding officer refused to accept him without an official explanation of his departure from his former regiment. Ker asked Elliott if he would help his son secure another commission, perhaps in the Royal Marines, explaining:

I want greatly ane occasion to make ane other tryall of him to see if possible he would doe well and procure his own bread, without being a continuall charge & expence to me, little able to support my own numerous family without ane addition so disagreeable<sup>193</sup>.

After a period out of office the Duke of Newcastle was appointed First Lord of the Treasury on 29 June 1757. Presumably believing that he once again had a patron in high places Ker complained to him in a letter of 5 September 1757 that William Dempster had indeed lost his post as a Collector of Stamp Duties. He also complained of plans to deprive him of being Assay Master to the Scottish Mint<sup>194</sup>. According to the Act of Union (1707), Scotland was supposed to retain its Mint but in the event only the Scottish banks retained the right to issue their own notes. After the Mint had ceased producing coins in 1709 various salaried posts associated it survived including that of Assay Master. Following the death of the Edinburgh goldsmith James Penman in 1733 Ker had, on 25 April 1734, been appointed to this post which was worth £100 a year<sup>195</sup>. For once his lobbying seems to have succeeded for he continued to be Assay Master to the Mint for nearly seven years.

Ker's importuning of the Duke of Newcastle continued with a letter of 1 October 1758 reminding the Duke of the "hardships" of his "fate" and of his past political

loyalties, and another of 9 December 1758, which began<sup>196</sup>

I am really ashamed at being obliged to remember your Grace again of me, would hope as there are daily imployments falling his Grace of Newcastle would remember poor Ker - and find some comfortable place to put him in.

A postscript contained a none-too-subtle hint that "Mr James Nimo Cashier of the Excise dyed this morning". Newcastle evidently failed Ker who on 2 May 1759 asked the Earl of Findlater to "mention" him to the Duke; he continued<sup>197</sup>:

there are daily offices vacating which I could execute with honour and honesty, and although I have reason to be thankfull my circumstances are not despicable, yet must take the liberty to own, they are rather narrow for ane idle man and so large a family as it has pleased God to bestow upon us, and would fain pass the few remaining years of my life with a little ease and quiet.

The letter forms part of the Newcastle Correspondence so was presumably passed on to the Duke but again it would seem that he took no action. On 26 May 1762 Newcastle resigned as First Lord of the Treasury and never held ministerial office again.

James Ker did not give up. A certain Thomas Turnbull wrote to Lord Minto on 5 July 1762<sup>198</sup>:

I forgot to tell your Lordship last week that James Ker has been once again asking me if you had not given him a line, and still insists that you should tell in it, the reason of turning him from your service, it is reported that he is going to England to commence preacher (how truly I cannot say) you may say he is a good plowman but you will hardly I believe vouch for his preaching, I really wish your Lordship would send him a line.

184 NAS, Minutes, 13 September 1757, f 323; 16 September 1758, f 19; 13 September 1759, f 41.

185 NAS, Minutes, 30 October 1759, f 42.

186 NAS, Minutes, 12 February 1760, f 56.

187 NAS, Minutes, 11 September 1760, ff 76-85. The ten goldsmiths were Robert Gordon, William

Gilchrist, William Davie, Patrick Robertson, Alexander Gardner, James Reid, James Gillieland, John Clark, William Ker, and William Drummond.

188 NAS, Minutes, 15 September 1763, ff 157-162; 17 September 1763, f 164.

189 NAS, Minutes, 6 February 1766, f 214.

190 Newcastle Correspondence: British Library (BL), Add MS 32858, ff 436-437.

191 Newcastle Correspondence: BL, Add MS 32870, f 142.

192 Minto Papers: NLS, ADV MS 11001, f 31.

193 James Ker to Gilbert Elliot, 23 March 1757 (Minto Papers: NLS, ADV

MS 11008, f 45).

194 Newcastle Correspondence: BL, Add MS 32873, ff 488-489.

195 William A Shaw (editor), *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, vol 2, 1731-1734, London, 1898, 25 April 1734. See in general Athol L Murray, 'The Scottish Mint after the Recoinage, 1709-1836', *Proceedings of the Society of*

*Antiquaries of Scotland*, no 129, 1999, pp 861-886.

196 Newcastle Correspondence: BL, Add MS 32884, f 222, Add MS 32886, f 246.

197 Newcastle Correspondence: BL, Add MS 32890, f 445.

198 Minto Papers: NLS, ADV MS 11004, f 103.

By this time Ker was becoming a rather pathetic figure, a nuisance to those whom he importuned and the butt of malicious jokes and rumours.

Another blow came in May 1764 when Robert Gordon replaced Ker as Assay Master to the Scottish Mint<sup>199</sup>. On 31 May 1764 Ker wrote to Gilbert Elliot complaining about the loss of his position and blaming

those implacable enemys I have who seem  
resolved upon my ruin

in particular Lord Milton,

who carries his unreasonable resentment to the  
highest pitch, and takes all occasions to blacken  
me to my disadvantage.

He asked Elliot, together with his relation Walter Scott of Harden, to “see if it is possible to procure me some relieve” and continued:

I have my Dear Sir great reason to thank that my situation is not altogether despicable, although I have retired from trade, and fare advanced in the decline of years, yet I have a small compitancy, which with the utmost frugality may be made to support Mrs Ker and our family tolerably; yet must not conceal from my friends my fears that my funds are rather small, and what a blessing it would be to us to be replaced into some office or other to assist more decently to appear in the world, as you are not ignorant how fatal a thing it is to inroach upon the Capitall.

Ker failed to appreciate that he no longer had anything to offer an administration and that his second wife’s connections with some of “the best familys in the Island” and even with John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute and Prime Minister from May 1762 to April 1763, counted for very little. The letter ends pathetically with an apology for its length “and the extraordinary trouble I am here giving you” and with the sad excuse: “you know its usual to beggars to goe where they get there alms”<sup>200</sup>. Ker also vainly hoped that Bute’s successor as Prime Minister, George Grenville, with whom he had served on House of Commons committees, would remember him favourably<sup>201</sup>.

As Gilbert Elliot and others may have known Ker’s protestations of poverty were not well-founded. For the 1756 silver tax, Ker declared ownership of between 300 and 399 oz (9,331 and 12,410g) of silver, the same amount declared by William Aytoun’s widow and more than the 100-199 oz (3,110-6,189g) declared by Edward Lothian and Hugh Penman<sup>202</sup>. In comparison declarations by

London goldsmiths included 600-699 oz (18,662 – 21,741g) declared by Paul de Lamerie’s widow, 500-599 oz (15,552-18,631g) by George Wickes, 200-299 oz (6,220-9,299g) by Francis Spilsbury, and 100-199 oz (3,110 – 6,189g) by Sandilands Drinkwater, Frederick Kandler and Edward Wakelin<sup>203</sup>. Most of Ker’s wealth probably took the form of property as was customary at the time. The share in William Dempster’s Edinburgh house may not have amounted to much but Ker also owned Bughtrig farm, near Jedburgh, and a house at Drumsheugh, near Edinburgh. Bughtrig farm is described in an auction sale advertisement in *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 17 January 1761 (p 3):

To be sold by public roup [auction] to the highest bidder upon Tuesday the 10th of February next, with in the house of Bailie James Hasswell vintner [wine merchant] in Jedburgh, ‘twixt the hours of two and four afternoon.

A Lease of the Farm of Boughtrigg, in the parish of Hounam and sheriffdom of Roxburgh, being of yearly rent 186 l. 2 s. 2d 1/3d sterling, to which there is six years to run after Whitsunday 1761, and along with said lease, the whole and complete stock of said farm, consisting of about 1260 ewes and tups [rams], 600 ew and wedder hogs [female and male lambs], and about 560 gimmer [ewes between first and second shearing] and dinmont [castrated rams between first and second shearing]. The articles of roup and conditions of sale are to be seen in the hands of Mr. Thomas Potts sheriff-clerk of Roxburgh, at his office in Jedburgh.

A farm with a total of some 2,420 lambs, ewes and rams and an annual rent of over £186 was obviously a significant asset, as was Ker’s house at Drumsheugh, advertised for sale after his death<sup>204</sup>:

To be SOLD, by public roup, on Thursday the 31st of March current, betwixt the hours of four and five afternoon, in John’s coffee house, Edinburgh,

The GROUNDS belonging to the deceased JAMES KER, Esq., of Bughtrig, consisting of seven Scots acres or thereby, lying at Drumsheugh, within half a mile of Edinburgh, laid down in grass, well inclosed, and beautifully situated, having a commanding view of the country around, and Firth of Forth, and a handsome substantial dwelling house thereon, consisting of a kitchen, and eleven fire rooms, neatly finished, with brew-house, milk-house, stabling for five horses, coach-house, and hen-house, besides other offices, with a handsome well laid out garden in which are a great many espaliers, and wall fruit trees, of the best kinds, all lately possessed by Mr. Ker, and

now by his family. There is a pump-well in the back court. The premises will be shown betwixt the hours of ten in the forenoon and two in the afternoon of every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. The road thereto from Edinburgh will be greatly shortened by the new bridge.

James Ker died at his Drumsheugh house on Sunday 24 January 1768 and was buried in Greyfriars churchyard. As a former MP his death was widely reported: *The Caledonian Mercury* described him as “an eminent Jeweler”<sup>205</sup>. The deaths of his son-in-law William Dempster (23 December 1792)<sup>206</sup>, his daughter Violet (28 April 1797)<sup>207</sup> and his second wife Elizabeth (21 February 1799)<sup>208</sup> followed. Elizabeth died aged 84 at her house at 43 George Square, Edinburgh, part of a terrace demolished in the 1960s by the University of Edinburgh<sup>209</sup>.

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## Appendix

List of silver by Ker and Dempster with identifying engraving: salver 1747-48 (crest of Buchanan of Touch); salver 1748-49 (coat of arms of MacDowall and Garthland, Galloway); teapot 1749-50 (coat of arms of Nicholson); salver 1750-51 (crest and motto of Campbell, Earls of Breadalbane); teapot 1751-52 (coat of arms of Gordon impaling Brodie); set of four Hanoverian table-spoons 1751-52 (crest and motto of Elliot-Murray-Kyninmound); set of five table forks 1751-53 (crest, motto and coronet of Earls of Hopetoun); breakfast dish and cover 1753-54 (monogram and orders of Earl of Rosebery); chafing dish and cover 1753-54 (badge of John Leslie, 10th Earl of Rothes); set of twelve table-spoons (crest, motto and coronet of Earls of Hopetoun); pair of Hanoverian dessert spoons 1753-54 (crest and motto of Cunningham or Dick); kettle with tripod and burner 1755-56 (crest and motto of Trotters of Dreghorn); set of four candlesticks 1764-65 (crest, motto and coronet of Earls of Hopetoun); pair of dessert spoons 1764-65 (crest and motto of Bothwell); coffee pot 1765-66 (coat of arms

of Buchanan of Lanark); pair of Hanoverian table-spoons 1765-66 (crest of Earl Spencer); salver 1766-67 (arms of Ford of Abbeyfield); cream boat 1767-68 (crest and motto of Douglas), silver-mounted leather blackjack 1767-68 (crest and motto of Earls of Haddington).

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199 *SM*, 26 (May 1764), p 292.

200 Minto Papers: NLS, ADV MS 11017, f 18.

201 James Ker to Gilbert Elliot, 17 December 1764 and 6 May 1765: *Ibid*, f 28.

202 ‘Alphabetical List ... Scotland’, *op cit*, see note 154, ff 33, 2, 35, 46.

203 ‘Alphabetical List ... Great Britain’, *op cit*, see note 152, ff 90, 343, 200, 92, 178, 322.

204 *CM*, 24 February 1768, p 4, and repeated 2, 9, 14, 21, 23, 28 and 30 March 1768. The house was re-advertised in *CM*, 13 and 29 June 1768.

205 *CM*, 27 January 1768, p 2; *EEC*, 25 January 1768, p 2; *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 38 (1768), p 93; *SM*, 30 (January 1768), p 55; James Brown, *op cit*, see note 92, pp 324-325.

206 *CM* and *EEC*, 27 December 1792, p 3; *EA*, 21-25 December 1792, p 407; *SM*, 54 (December 1792), p 623.

207 *CM* and *EEC*, 6 May 1797, p 3; *SM*, 59 (June 1797), p 431. Violet Dempster died at her house in Buccleugh Place, Edinburgh.

208 *CM*, 25 February 1799, p 3; *EA*, 22-26 February 1799, p 143; *EEC*, 23 February 1799, p 3. In old age her portrait was paint-

ed by David Martin: Swower’s, 27 April 2010, lot 659.

209 The house, with a coach-house and stabling for four horses, was advertised for sale in *CM*, 4 March 1799, p 3, and *EEC*, 9 March 1799, p 4. George Square was a fashionable address at the end of the eighteenth century. Residents included General James Abercromby, Lord Braxfield, Admiral Adam Duncan, 1st Viscount Duncan of Camperdown, Sir Robert Dundas of Arniston, the Hon Henry Erskine, Gilbert Innes of Stow, the Earl of Kintore, and Walter Scott. See *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 26 (1948).



# The Sussex Yeomanry: a collection of military plate

SALLY JOHNSON

Up until recently collections of military silverware have received little academic attention. Factors such as access restrictions to the objects and a perceived lack of commercial worth of the silver, beyond the scrap value, may account for the lack of scholarly interest in this area. This article discusses three objects from the Sussex Yeomanry collection of military silverware, chosen to illustrate the range of plate and the various means by which an object can become part of such collections within the British military. Dating from 1862 to 1992, the objects were produced in London and Birmingham.

## The British Army regiment and the mess: cultures and traditions

When considering the functions of the silver collections of the British forces, the foreword to the pamphlet produced for the exhibition *Traditions in Silver: An Exhibition of Officers' Mess Silver of the Three Services* in aid of the Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmens' Families Association in 1956 at the Royal Academy offers a clear indication of the significance and purpose of mess plate<sup>1</sup>.

The silver tokens are a constant reminder of the loyalty and deep sense of duty of our forbears and an incentive to all of us to try and do better<sup>2</sup>.

From this statement it is apparent that the value associated with military plate goes far beyond financial worth: regimental plate functions within a framework of military symbolism.

Before moving on to discuss the mess plate of the Sussex Yeomanry Regiment, it is first necessary to position the unit within the wider context of the Yeomanry as a whole and to address the traditions of the mess within the British army.

The Yeomanry was originally a patriot force of volunteers raised in reaction to the threatened invasion from France in 1794; it was composed initially of 'Gentlemen and Yeomanry' (the yeoman in this sense being one who farmed land as a freeholder or tenant farmer) to form forces under the Lords Lieutenant of the counties<sup>3</sup>. The officers for each county's Yeomanry, usually based within the county town, were members of the local aristocracy and the landed gentry<sup>4</sup>. After the threat of invasion by Napoleon receded, the Yeomanry regiments were maintained as a body of volunteers, remaining in their regiments, prepared to defend Britain should the need arise<sup>5</sup>. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Yeomanry were regarded as one of the pillars of society, famed for their elaborate uniforms, rather than their military prowess<sup>6</sup>. The trend of donating items of silver to the

mess allowed the local aristocracy to convey their sense of patriotism and loyalty to the crown within their own county's Yeomanry regiment. In addition to reinforcing their social position, the rivalry between officers would presumably have led to the collections becoming a means by which to compete with their peers from other regiments as well as their own.

In *Spirit of the Regiment* Roger Perkins discusses the importance of the concept of regimental identity within the British army<sup>7</sup>. From the distinctions arising from the various uniforms, cap badges and colours<sup>8</sup> to the traditions of the mess, regimental pride is core to each unit. He goes on to the note how



Fig 1 The mess plate of the 1st Battalion Royal Sussex Regiment, 1906.  
(Trustees of the Royal Sussex Regimental Museum and the County Archivist, West Sussex Record Office)

Officers and soldiers do not *belong* to their regiment, they are *members* of it. They do not serve *in* their unit, they serve *with* it.

thereby conveying a sense of membership to a club, a club with traditions and values to be upheld and preserved for future members to carry forward<sup>9</sup>. Perkins cites John Fortescue's introduction to the exhibition catalogue of regimental silver held at the Goldsmiths' and Silversmiths' Company in 1915 which discusses some of the motivations and traditions of presenting plate to the mess as a way of seeking

to enhance the honour of their regiments.

The mess was and still is the heart of regimental life for its members, whether based within the barracks or on deployment<sup>10</sup>.

Perkins suggested that the height of the trend for commissioning plate for presentation to a regiment was in the second half of the nineteenth century<sup>11</sup>. During the reign of Queen Victoria, presentation and decorative silver objects reflected

the exuberant, even ostentatious, tastes of her reign

and also encapsulated the sense of a lifetime commitment to a regiment for the officers of the mess<sup>12</sup>.

Fig 1 is a photograph taken in 1906 showing the mess plate of the Royal Sussex Regiment, the equivalent regiment within the regular rather than the voluntary branch of the army<sup>13</sup>. It illustrates the type of objects that are typically found within collections of regimental plate within the British army. There are items directly relating to dining, for example; tureens and claret jugs. In addition, commemorative objects are shown, such as trophies and statues relating to sporting achievements and military



Fig 2 The annual dinner for the officers of the Royal Sussex Regiment held at the Naval and Military Club, London, 1949

(Trustees of the Royal Sussex Regimental Museum and the County Archivist, West Sussex Record Office)

campaigns. There are items that would have been used as functioning objects at the desk, for example, ledgers with inscribed silver plaques. The photograph album which includes the image of the collection of plate has a silver plaque inscribed 'Silver Book 1st Batt. Royal Sussex Regiment'<sup>14</sup>.

As with the plate of the Sussex Yeomanry, when not in use, the silver would have been stored securely and objects brought from storage for use on ceremonial occasions, for example to decorate the table during mess dinners. An example of the display of regimental silver in use on the table is illustrated in Fig 2, a photograph from 1949 when the officers of the Royal Sussex Regiment had their annual dinner at the Naval and Military Club in London<sup>15</sup>. The table layout is typical of a regimental dinner, with the top table seating the highest ranking officers and their guests, then three legs coming off from the top table seating the remaining officers and guests in order of rank. The tradition of transporting mess plate to the location of the officers' mess is illustrated in another

1 The term 'mess' refers to the institution within the British forces which is formed of its members. Under the Queen's Regulations, all officers and SNCOs (Senior non-commissioned officers) are required to be members of the regimental mess. Members of the mess meet to socialise and dine and in some cases, to live within the building housing the mess.

2 G Templar, *Traditions in Silver: An Exhibition of Officers' Mess Silver of the Three Services*, London, 1956.

3 B Mollo, 'The Yeomanry: 1794-1994', *Year of the Yeomanry*, Army Museum, 1994, p 8.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*

7 Roger Perkins, 'The Spirit of the Regiment', *Military and Naval Silver: Treasures of the Mess and Wardroom*, Newton Abbott: published privately, 1999.

8 The 'colours' refers to the standard carried in battle, specific to the regiment. This provided a visual rallying point for troops and indicated the location of the Commanding officer.

9 Roger Perkins, *op cit*, see note 7, p 6.

10 *Ibid.*, pp 3-4.

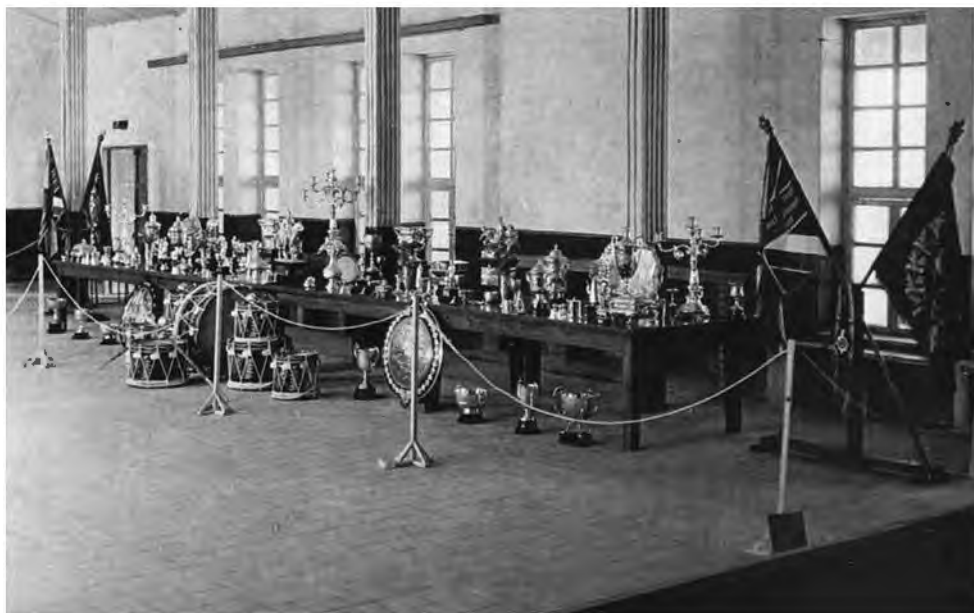
11 *Ibid.*, p 5.

12 *Ibid.*

13 Silver Book, 1st Battalion the Royal Sussex Regiment, West Sussex Records Office (WSRO), Chichester, RSR PH, 1/31.

14 *Ibid.*

15 Royal Sussex Regiment Officers' annual dinner, Naval and Military Club, London, 1949, WSRO, RSR PH 12/5.



*Fig 3 The mess plate of the 1st Battalion Royal Sussex Regiment in Suez, 1949  
(Trustees of the Royal Sussex Regimental Museum and the County Archivist, West Sussex Record Office)*

photograph [Fig 3] which was taken in 1949 while the Royal Sussex Regiment was stationed in Suez, Egypt. When comparing this image with the 1906 photograph of the plate in the collection it is apparent that, although not all the objects travelled with the regiment, a large proportion did. This practice highlights a major difference between a regimental mess and a gentlemen's club. A club is essentially the building that the club is housed in, with its associated traditions, whereas a mess is formed of its members and the location of the members dictates the location of their mess.

There are, however, some parallels between mess culture and that of the gentlemen's club; many items within regimental collections appear to have strong links with traditionally masculine themes such as sporting prowess, weaponry and dining in the tradition of the gentlemen's club. The catalogue of plate for the 22nd Cheshire Regiment and the Cheshire Yeomanry includes objects with strong associations with masculine themes, for example: eleven fighting knives, six cigar boxes, a cigar cutter and a lighter<sup>16</sup>.

As with any 'club', the institution of the British military mess has, throughout its history, conformed to established sets of rules; when reading the 'Rules of the Mess' as recorded for the 2nd Battalion, the Royal Sussex Regiment in 1939, references are made to the regiment's silver. Within the mess environment there was often horseplay which was particular to the traditions of the specific mess. Mess rugby is one example, a version of the game was played with a red cabbage; the game, still played within many regiments, took place as the port was drunk after dinner with the silverware still posi-

tioned on the table; which often resulted in damage to the objects. So regular was this occurrence that mess rules had a clause directly relating to such incidents.

The Committee will regulate the charges for articles belonging to the Mess broken or injured by accident. Should any article become broken or injured through practical joking etc., the Mess Committee is empowered to enforce payment to six times the value of the article but will always refer the case to the Commanding Officer<sup>17</sup>.

A further clause directly relating to the etiquette surrounding the silver arranged on the table reads

No one will handle the silver cups, etc., on the Mess Table until the wine has been round twice and then only with the President's permission

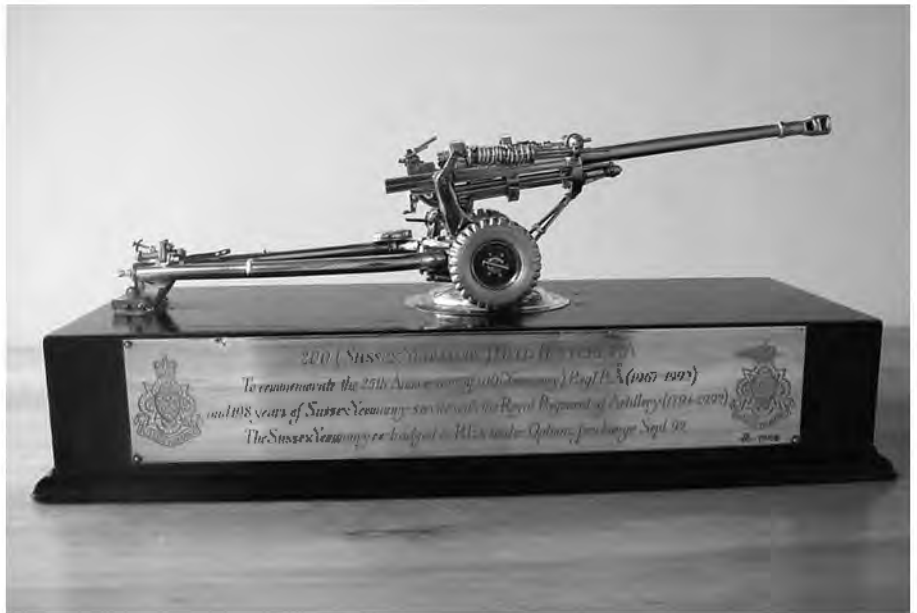
though this varies from mess to mess<sup>18</sup>. Generally no-one was allowed to touch the silver once it had been positioned on the table. Should a mess member or their guest touch the silver they would have been reported to the mess President who would have imposed a fine, usually a bottle of port; this tradition still continues within many regiments.

### **The Sussex Yeomanry: context, provenance and plate**

Within the British military system, over time, it has been necessary to reassess and redefine the roles of units to best serve the needs of the country, to accommodate changes in technology and methods of warfare<sup>19</sup>. During the Sussex Yeomanry's history which spans almost two



Fig 4 105mm  
Light Gun,  
London, 1992 by  
Peter John Wilson  
(Photograph: Sally  
Johnson by kind permis-  
sion of the Sussex  
Yeomanry Association)



centuries, the regiment has been disbanded, re-formed, re-rolled, re-deployed and amalgamated on numerous occasions<sup>20</sup>. The changes in the role and classification of the regiment provides evidence to explain the seemingly disjointed collection held by the regiment; not all the plate is engraved with a dedication to the Sussex Yeomanry. Traditionally, when a section is disbanded the Properties Officer would contact the donors of the objects, as detailed in the Property Book to arrange for the objects to be returned. If a unit is reclassified or amalgamated the silver would simply be transferred to the new unit. There are objects that have been brought to the regiment from other units directly or via mess members, establishing the provenance of some pieces is, therefore, not always possible. Although the Sussex Yeomanry was officially disbanded in 1999 the collection has remained intact. The Sussex Yeomanry Association has retained the silverware which is still used for ceremonial purposes such as the Surrey and Sussex Yeomanry Association's annual dinner<sup>21</sup>.

### 105mm Light Gun

Considering the links between objects and masculinity, Susie McKellar notes how the gun epitomises the masculine object<sup>22</sup>. Judy Wajcman adds that guns and their

associations with the military, war, fighting and protection have strong masculine associations which are deeply engrained in our collective conscious<sup>23</sup>.

Perkins notes how, within the British army, regiments were historically distinguished on the battlefield by the display of their colours. Such a display was not practical for the gunner regiments as in the frenzy of battle with the smoke from the guns, colours would not be effective points to rally to as they would not have been clearly visible. Traditionally the guns have, for British artillerymen, been the colours of the regiment<sup>24</sup>. Given the symbolic significance of the guns for the Royal Artillery, it is not surprising that many commemorative pieces commissioned either for presentation to or by the mess have been based on guns.

The gun selected for discussion within this article is a replica 105mm Light Gun dated 1992 [Fig 4]. Peter John Wilson, a silversmith working in Banstead, Surrey, who is a Freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company, was commissioned to make the gun. The plaque is inscribed to the effect that the gun was presented in 1992 to the mess with assistance of the RAI (Royal Artillery Institute) and the Sussex Yeomanry Association and Surrey Yeomanry Association to commemorate the 25th Anniversary of

16 Silver list for the 22nd Cheshire Regiment and the Cheshire Yeomanry, 05/08/98, Goldsmiths' Company, Goldsmiths' Hall, London, ref:PAM NO:577 RCN:1401.

17 Mess Rules, 2nd Battalion the Royal Sussex Regiment, 1939, WSR0, RSR/Library/4/14. P 7.

18 *Ibid*, p 9.

19 Interview with Captain P E Mason, 106 Regiment RA (V) (20 March 2010).

20 B Mollo, *op cit*, see note 3, pp 62-6.

21 *Op cit*, see note 19.

22 Susie McKellar, 'Guns: the 'Last Frontier on the Road to Equality', *The Gendered Object*, P Kirkham (editor), Manchester, 1996, p 70.

23 Judy Wajcman, *Feminism confronts Technology*, Cambridge, 1993, pp 15-18.

24 Roger Perkins, *op cit*, see note 7, p 45.



Fig 5 10mm Light Gun, London, 1979 by Garrards



Fig 6 105mm Light Gun, London, 1978 by J R Northgate



Fig 7 105mm Light Gun  
(By kind permission of Silver Lady Regimental Silversmiths)

100 (Yeomanry) Regiment RA and 198 years of the Sussex Yeomanry's service with the Royal Artillery. At this point in the history of the regiment, under the government's 'Options for Change' initiative, the unit was re-badged to become part of the Royal Engineers. This commemorative piece holds a particular significance for those who were members of the mess at the time because it represents a dramatic shift for the regiment. On the occasion of the transfer to the Royal Engineers, the whole regiment dined out of the mess at Woolwich Barracks, the headquarters of the Royal Artillery. After dinner the mess members and their guests were led from the table by a lone piper.

The design for the gun was not a unique commission as several similar guns have been located. *Fig 5* shows a 105mm Light Gun made by Garrards in 1979; this piece was presented to 100th (Yeomanry) Field Regiment Royal Artillery (Volunteers) by Lt Col P F Orchard-Lisle when he relinquished his command. A further design of gun with the barrel in an elevated position is illustrated in *Fig 6*. This gun was presented in 1978 to 289 Commando Battery R A (V). In addition to collecting funds from all ranks to contribute towards the commission, silver from the unit was recycled. The same design of gun appears in the current catalogue for Silver Lady, a regimental silversmiths based in Barnsley which specialises in commemorative and presentation pieces for the military [*Fig 7*]. Silver presentation guns were gifted to reinforce the sense of pride within the regiment and the Royal Artillery, which was expressed, by not only the commanding officer, but also by all ranks within the unit.

### Sporting trophies: the Calcutta cup

The next category illustrates the curious trend for objects with no apparent link to the military whatsoever. As discussed above, there is a tradition within the British army to acknowledge sporting prowess and 'gentlemanly' pursuits. It would appear that both these criteria are apparent in the following two objects, both of which have equine connections. The associations between the Royal Artillery and the horse are long established: prior to the Second World War horses were still used to draw gun carriages for the Field Army Artillery<sup>25</sup>.

The first object of focus within the category of sporting trophies is the Calcutta cup which was won for an Arab horse race in India [*Fig 8*]. The object was manufactured in London by Edward and John Barnard in 1862; although the cup was manufactured in England the inscription indicates that it was presented in Calcutta. An inscription on the base reads 'Hamilton & Co'. Hamiltons was a British company established in Calcutta in 1808<sup>26</sup>; they manufactured some silver in India but also acted as a retailer for silver imported from Britain. It would appear that the cup was manufactured in London then sold through Hamilton & Co in Calcutta. Prior to 1845, the bulk of silver being supplied to Europeans in India was produced locally, however, after this date, the opening of overland routes led to a flood of silverware from Europe. The bulk of the silverware arriving in India was produced by the fashionable manufacturers of London such as at Edward and John Barnard.

Objects with a transient value which did not need to offer longevity, however, such as curry pots were often purchased from local silversmiths. European silver, particularly in the Georgian style, was retailed in Calcutta through companies such as Hamilton & Co<sup>27</sup>.

Horse racing was one sporting tradition that officers were able to continue while posted to India, as was hunting. The game ledgers of the 2nd Battalion Royal Sussex Regiment records the animals shot by officers while stationed there between 1928 and 1933. An entry in the ledger notes that V E C Dashwood shot a deer, pig, panther, tiger, chital, black buck and two other 'various' animals between January and March in 1933<sup>28</sup>. Such was the social importance of such blood sports that trophies of kills were made into presentational objects. Fig 9 illustrates how two such objects from the Royal Sussex Regiment's plate collection combine both the theme of hunting and that of presenting plate to the mess; the head of a fox and an otter have been lined with silver to create stirrup cups as trophies.

The catalogue for the exhibition *Sporting Glory: The Courage Exhibition of National Trophies* at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1992 offered a brief history of the evolution of the presentation object from the laurel wreath to gold and silver objects<sup>29</sup>. Stylistically the Calcutta cup does not appear to follow a conventional trophy design; the catalogue for the exhibition *Sporting Glory* does not include a trophy of a similar design. The objects included in the exhibition were predominantly plates or cups; the latter with either with no handles or one on either side. The Barnard archive contains numerous designs with similar details, for example a bellied mug with a similar handle and an equestrian trophy based on a claret jug design with similar rococo scrolls but there are no designs featuring all of the elements of the Calcutta cup<sup>30</sup>.

From the inscriptions on the Calcutta cup it appears to have been presented to Lieutenant Colonel Montague Turnbull by Maharajah Abdool Gunny. From a twenty-first century perspective it would seem more appropriate for a locally produced object to have been presented by the Maharajah. The engraving gives details of the bequest of the object which accounts for its inclusion in the regimental collection although such details are not always inscribed.

Bequeathed to the Officers Mess 1st Home Counties Brigade  
R.F.A.

By Colonel Sir Charles Gervaise Boxall K.C.B. V.D. 1st  
Honorary  
Colonel of the Brigade, 1908-1914

Further research may establish a link between Colonel Turnbull, who was originally presented with the cup, and Colonel Boxall who subsequently donated it to the regiment, to explain why the cup changed ownership prior to the bequest.

Having discussed the design and provenance of the object it is of interest to note that had the object been purchased after 1878, its design might have been very different. Indian silver gained great cachet in England after a collection was presented to the Prince of Wales<sup>31</sup>.



Fig 8 The Calcutta cup, London, 1862 by Edward and John Barnard

(Photograph: Sally Johnson by kind permission of the Sussex Yeomanry Association)



Fig 9 Silver-mounted stirrup cups incorporating the heads of a fox and an otter.

(Trustees of the Royal Sussex Regimental Museum and the County Archivist, West Sussex Record Office)

25 The Royal Artillery, *Regimental Heritage: A Pictorial Record of the Paintings and Silver of the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, London, 1984.

26 History and Marks of Hamilton & Co., Calcutta, URL: [www.ascasonline.org/articleGG59INH.html](http://www.ascasonline.org/articleGG59INH.html) (accessed 29 March 2010).

27 Wynyard Wilkinson, *The Makers of Indian Silver*, p 1.

28 Game Ledger, 2nd Battalion the Royal Sussex Regiment, 1928-1933, WSRO, DOCS 231/Accession 1537/RSR MS 2/112.

29 Helen Clifford, 'History', *Sporting Glory: The Courage Exhibition of National Trophies*, London, 1992, p 27.

30 Barnard Design Book, National Design Archive, ref: AAD/2009/8/53.





Fig 10 Water Jug depicting the descent of the Ganges, Calcutta, 1885 by Grish Chunder Dutt, Bhowanipore (By kind permission of Paul Walter)

Fig 10 shows a water jug produced in Calcutta in 1885 which is a hybrid of European design for the body with a traditional Indian scene depicting the 'Descent of the Ganges' perhaps acknowledging the European interest in Indian design post 1878.

### Sporting trophies: *Sunstar*

The statuette of *Sunstar* [Fig 11] was produced by Elkington & Co in 1937; special orders of this kind were an important part of the firm's business.

When making enquiries about this piece, members of the Surrey and Sussex Yeomanry suggested that Colonel Clarke was the owner of the racehorse *Sunstar* but it has not been possible to establish a link between him and the horse because he was not the owner, breeder or trainer of the horse<sup>32</sup>. The exhibition previously mentioned which took place in 1956, to raise funds for the families of servicemen, details another equestrian statuette which



Fig 11 *Sunstar*, Birmingham, 1937 by Elkington & Co Ltd (Photograph: Sally Johnson by kind permission of the Sussex Yeomanry Association)

might have been presented by the same man. The entry reads

Presented to the Officers 3rd Bn. Royal Sussex Regiment by Lieut-Colonel and Hon Colonel R.A. Clarke C.B. on his retirement 25th May 1912

The equine statuette detailed in the pamphlet is not named but it is entirely possible that this too could have been a representation of *Sunstar*. The horse had recently won both the 2,000 Guineas and the Derby and was apparently regarded as something of a national hero having been ridden to victory only eight days after becoming lame<sup>33</sup>. It is possible that Colonel Clarke presented an original statuette of the horse, symbolising heroism and national pride and conveying these connotations to the regiment. The statuette of *Sunstar* presented to the Surrey and Sussex Yeomanry in 1937 could have been a replica to allude to the same sense of heroism.

The themes linking these objects are tradition and brotherhood. The symbolism of the replica gun cements the core traditions and pride of the members of the regiment; the guns represent the colours of the Royal Artillery unit. The explicit associations of battle conveyed through the gun support the sense of patriotism and brotherhood within the regiment. The sporting associations of both the Calcutta cup and *Sunstar* again reflect the masculine attitudes and values of the British Army, acknowledging and commemorating sporting achievement and the associated glory. Although the objects discussed within this article form only a small sample of the objects held within the collection, they represent the themes that run throughout: the presentation of plate to the mess to reinforce life-long bonds between the mess and its members.

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*Whilst studying for her BA she took a course convened by Ann Eatwell from the Victoria & Albert Museum. The course dealt with the culture of dining spanning the from Medieval period up until the present day. During a conversation with Ann about her experiences attending formal mess dinners in the British Army, it became apparent that very little had been written about military silver. This spark of interest led to one of her final dissertations, The Silverware of the Sussex Yeomanry.*

31 M L Wilkinson, 'Introduction', *The Silver Linging: An Exhibition of Indian Silver*, Indar Pasricha Fine Arts.

32 'Sunstar', Horseracing History Online, the National Horseracing Museum, URL: [www.horseracinghistory.co.uk/hrho](http://www.horseracinghistory.co.uk/hrho)

/action/viewDocument?id=1269 (accessed 28 April 2010).

33 *Ibid.*

# The Le Sage\* family of Goldsmiths circa 1695 to 1812

JUDY JOWETT

**John Hugh (Hugues) Le Sage, goldsmith and plate-worker: circa 1695-1759**

In France the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1680 resulted in considerable numbers of Huguenots leaving the country to flee religious persecution; they spread across Europe and many arrived in England. They included educated and skilled craftsmen who were to have a significant influence wherever they settled.

The origins of the Le Sage family are not clear and it is uncertain how they came to London. It may be that Hugues, father of John Hugues, came from the Aude area of France where a Jean and Jeanne (née Reart) Lesage are recorded; they married in Aude in October 1673<sup>1</sup>. If these were his parents, then Hugues, probably born soon after their marriage, would have been 21 when the first record of him in England appears. The earliest documentary evidence dates from 1694 when a

Hugues Le Sage, John Hugh's father, stood godfather to Hugues Courson, the son of Robert Courson. On 30 March 1695 Hugues le Sage married "Judic" [Judith?] Maurel by licence<sup>2</sup> at the Savoye French Protestant church in the Strand (Hugues would have been 22 by this time). Maurel was a common southern French surname and it is possible that Judith was also born in Aude where there were several branches of the family so the couple may have known one another in France although there are no denization records to provide a link.

If the birth of John Hugues took place within a year of Hugues's and Judith's marriage, it would make him 13 or 14 (see note 12) when "John Hughes Le Sage" was apprenticed to the goldsmith, Lewis Cuny, on 5 March 1708. The indenture stated that his father, Hugues Le Sage

late of the parish of St Martin in the fields ...  
Gent [was] deceased.

\* For the purposes of this article the name is spelled Le Sage unless taken from a quotation. John Hugh signed himself Le Sage or Lesage; Simon rarely split the surname and no examples of Augustus's signature have been found.

1 The ceremony took place on 25 October 1673 at Assomption de la Vierge, Alzonne, Aude, SW France. Jean/Jeanne (née Reart) Le Sage: [www.family-search.org](http://www.family-search.org) - search 'Reart'. This suggested parentage must stand with others suggested in the past as listed below.

Le Sage is a name also found in northern France and in the wills of Thomas Bureau and Abraham de Moivre, a London merchant, the Le Sage family

and friends are named: see notes 3 and 37. The two wills indicate that they were French refugees.

Other sources refer to: Jean Le Sage, son of Pierre Le Sage and Anne Vanier of Caen, baptised in 1710, with godparent Jeanne Auber of Caen (Huguenot Society Publications (HSP), Savoy Church of Threadneedle Street Registers, vol 26, p 15).

Denization of John Le Sage, 15 April 1693 (HSP, Denizations & Naturalisations of Aliens 1603-1700, vol 18, p 230).

John Lesage of Castle Street, Surgeon 1714/1721. John Lesage (married to Alice Williams 1716) of North side of King Street 1723/1727/1737 (Westminster district, London Metropolitan

Archive (LMA), LMA MS8674 various vols/policies 1737. Alice Lesage, a widow (LMA, Hand in Hand Insurance, MS8674, vol 54, p 53 (31441)). Alice was buried in 1744 in St Nicholas's church, Chiswick, described as 'a stranger' (Chiswick Archives, St Nicholas Burials 1744-45).

John Lesage (dead by 1717), widow Lasage, John and Peter Lasage in White Hart Yard [Court] off East side of Castle Street (two entries from the French church 1715-1719).

John Lesage/Lessage in Hemmings Row North 1721-1742 (Westminster Archive Centre (WAC), St-Martin's-in-the-Fields Scavenger/Poor rate records, see note 10).

Marthe Lesage (b 1638),

widow of an Alençon lace merchant (possibly Peter); Jean and his daughter, Anne, (dec'd) and Peter Lesage and their three children, living in King Street [Spitalfields] initially and later in Brick Lane, Spitalfields, received relief from the Huguenot Society from 1687-1735, MSS held at Goldsmiths' Company Library. A large 'weaving' family based in Spitalfield's area, many of the children died in infancy. This may be the same family as above but there appear to be no links between any of these Le Sages and the goldsmiths' family and, in all probability had there been any, then the goldsmiths' family would have been supporting them

2 Hugues Le Sage stood godfather to Hugues Courson, son of Robert Courson and Marthe Anne Acar (of Rouen) at Hungerford Market church, (later Castle Street) on 15 June 1694 (W Minet and S Minet (editors), Huguenot Society of London Publications, Church of Hungerford Market Registers, later Castle Street, HSP, vol 31, p 7).

Marriage: Family History Centre, M/F 0466697, Church records 1684-1753 Non-Conformist Record Indexes, French Savoye Chapel, Strand, RG4.

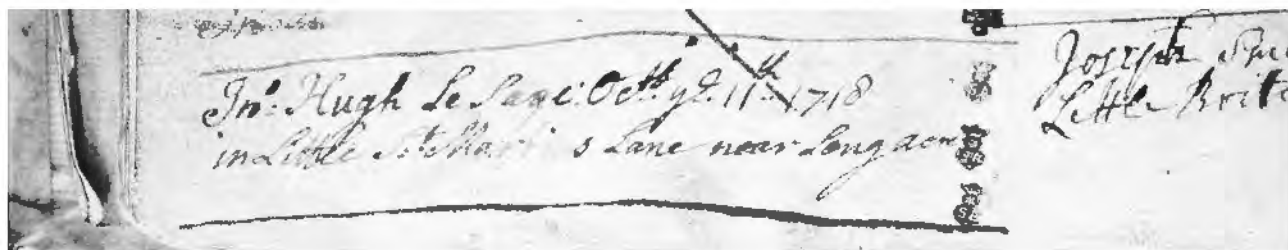


Fig 1 Entry of John Hugh Le Sage's mark in the Largeworkers' Register at Goldsmiths' Hall, 11 October 1718  
(Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

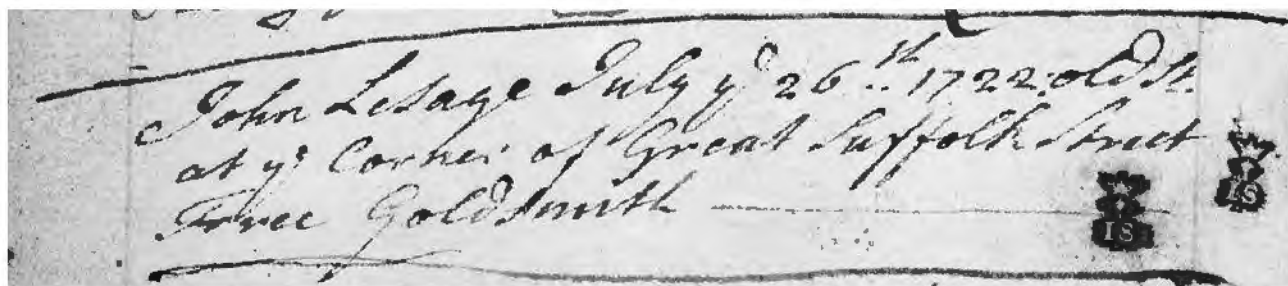


Fig 2 Entry of John Hugh Le Sage's second mark, 26 July 1722  
(Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

John Hugues was probably an only child as Hugues was clearly dead when "Judith Le Sage, Widdow" married Pierre de Verchand at the Savoy church on 12 January 1697/98<sup>3</sup> (this church did not register baptisms or burials until 1703).

'John Hugues Lesage', who usually used both his christian names to distinguish himself from other Le Sages and anglicised the second name as Hugh, became a Freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company on 25 September 1718<sup>4</sup>. On the 29 September

John Hugh Le Sage at the golden Cupp in Little St. Martin's Lane ... goldsmith

took out a Sun Insurance policy for

his good [sic] & Merchandize in his apartment in the said House only<sup>5</sup>

and entered his first mark [Fig 1] as a large worker on 11 October 1718, using the initials S A for his mark<sup>6</sup>. The same 1718 insurance policy shows that it was renewed on 22 November 1720 and states that he was

Removed to the Golden Cup the Corner of Great Suffolk Street<sup>7</sup>.

His first parish rate on these premises was paid in 1721<sup>8</sup>. The size of his new premises, which extended over three floors, is not clear but with a workshop, accommodation for himself, together with apprentices presumably living in, perhaps some servants, and later his family, they

must have been a reasonable size for the period. The annual parish rate varied from £28 to £54 over forty years but the average was about £40; this was a prestigious area in which to reside.

Within a few months of gaining his freedom John Hugh took John Cephas Redouté as an apprentice for a full seven year term. He was followed by Daniel Sholeur in 1720 who was turned over to I[saac] Ribouleau in 1724; this move was not successful for Sholeur and by 1729 he was in the workhouse. In his place came Richard Beale from Hull who was originally apprenticed to Jonathan Newton, goldsmith, in 1722 but was turned over to John Le Sage in 1725<sup>9</sup>. These apprentices, one of whom served a full term and two of whom worked part-terms, would form a relatively inexpensive part of John Hugh's workforce over the period up until 1729.

John Hugh registered his second (sterling) mark in 1722 [Fig 2]. He may have had contacts through the French church or family connections<sup>10</sup>, but having been an apprentice to the renowned goldsmith, Lewis Cuny, must have opened doors for him. It can be seen from his output that he moved from producing flatware and small table objects in the early years of his career to receiving an increasing number of important commissions from aristocratic and royal customers. The Newton ewer and basin of 1725-26 and a pair of "ravishing" candelabra of 1744-45, described by Christopher Hartop in his catalogue of the Alan and Simone Hartman Collection are masterpieces and remarkable examples of "the pure restless movement [of the Rococo style]"<sup>11</sup>. There is no doubt that John Hugh's craftsmanship was



recognised and appreciated and that his workshop was securely established by 1725 and increasingly successful into the 1730s (Table 1).

It may be that John Hugh was preoccupied with building up his business as he did not marry until he was 29. He would have known Judith Decharmes who was 21 for some time since her family lived nearby in Great Suffolk Street. They were married at St Martin's-in-the-Fields on 1 April 1725<sup>12</sup> and children followed in quick succession. Of the five girls and eight boys born between 1726 and 1744, only two girls, Jane and Margaret, and three boys, Simon, Augustus and Charles, survived to adulthood. The babies were buried at St Paul's, Hammersmith and St Nicholas's, Chiswick (Table 4). Both Jane and Margaret

married; Margaret, who in January 1763 was living at the Golden Cup in Suffolk Street, married Gabriel Benjamin Maisonneuve, a jeweller of Craven Street, the Strand in October 1763<sup>13</sup>. Living close by his parents-in-law and family, the Decharmes who were successful watchmakers, and with a shared interest in their craft, mutual business and property dealings, and probably a common faith, John Hugh would have been comfortably and successfully absorbed into his wife's family.

By the 1730's his workshop was producing larger and more elaborate objects. Simon, the eldest surviving son, had been born and baptised in the parish St Martin's-in-the-Fields, as were all of the children, and John Hugh had served as Parish Overseer in 1728<sup>14</sup>. By this time his

3 LMA, COL/CHD/FR/03/01/003 (M/F X109/2) Apprenticeship/Freedom Records, Lewis Cuny (Cugny), plateworker, Three Crowns, cnr Pantons St & Hedge Lane, nr Leicester Fields, London, 1703-1727. John Le Sage continued to play a part in Cuny family life. He was executor of the will of Samuel Cuny, Lewis Cuny's eldest son (TNA, PROB 11/681/15) and one of three appraisers (with John Chartier and John Oliver, jeweller) of Lewis Cuny's stock in trade in 1733 (TNA, C 11/2709/7). Sir Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths 1200-1800*, Newton Abbot, 1972, p 135.

Judith Le Sage (widow) married Pierre de Verchand 12 January 1697/98, Familysearch: M/F 0363972 Vicar-General Marriage Licence Allegations 1694-1850 Canterbury. 'Judic' and Pierre had a daughter, Marie, baptised 19 April 1707, Familysearch online: Non-conformists registers RG4-4644. Judith Verchand was named in Thomas Bureau's will as "my cousin" as was "my cousin" Daniel De Moivre (see note 36) HSP, LX Wills & Adms 1617-1849, 2007, p 49.

4 John Hugues was made free on 16 October 1718 of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths Archives (GC), Freedom by Service & Patrimony Book, vol I, 1694-1741.

5 LMA, Sun Insurance MS11936, vol 8, p 272 (12065). Little St Martin's Lane is the section between Long Acre and Little St Andrew's Street.

6 GC, Mark Book for Largeworkers from 15 April 1697 - 25 May 1739, A1 - Entry is indexed under 'S'. At the time there was no requirement to use initials i.e. J L to identify marks

7 LMA, MS11936, vol 8, p 272 (12065).

8 Lassage, Suffolk Street, ten entries before it became Little Suffolk Street, WAC, St Martin-in-the-Fields Scavenger rate, 1865-F5526, item 25, p 6.

9 John Cephas Redouté, apprenticed 5 March 1718, son of John Redoute, merchant of London, £30 (GC, Apprentice Book, vol 5 1708-1722, p 94); Daniel Sholeur, apprenticed 2 June 1722, son of Daniel Sholeur, calico printer of Stratford, Essex, £20; turned over to I Ribouleau, goldsmith, London 23 October 1724, (GC, Apprentice Book, vol 6 1722-1740, p 104); Richard Beale, apprenticed to John Newton, goldsmith, London 13 June 1722, son of \*\*\* Beale, draper of Hull, £25 turned over to John Lesage 23 June 1725 (GC, Apprentice Book, vol 6 1722-1740, p 3). "Examination Text Daniel Sholour aged almost 24 yrs now in the Workhouse Says he was bound an Apprentice to one Mr

Leseage the Corner of Suffolk Street Silversmith for 7 yeares and Served him there about 4 yeares and was then Turned Over to one Mr Ribuloe next Door to the Plow Alehouse in St Martins Lane wth whom he staid there abt 2 Yeares and then his master & he parted by Consent which is about 3 yeares agoe Since which he has never kept house Rented 10£ Pr Ann or been a yearly hired Servt since nor that his sd Mastr never turned him over but has heard his Master is since gone to ffrance & has left his Indre Saith he was never married". (St Martins Pauper Examinations, Unique Project ID1565, MSS ref F5023, p 72, examination date 10 December 1729). I am indebted to Peter Cameron for this reference.

10 There is a Jean Le Sage (active 1681-1706), a framemaker, who may have been a relation (an uncle?) who provided frames for leading artists and the royal family. His name and reputation would have been useful if there was a family connection. This Le Sage was made bankrupt in 1706 (perhaps the family living in White Hart Court, see note 3), National Portrait Gallery - www.npg.org.uk British picture framemakers 1630-1950.

John Hugh's two sterling marks, registered at "at ye Corner of Great Suffolk Street, Free Goldsmith" 26 July 1722 (GC, Mark Book for Largeworkers 1697-

1739), indexed under L and with the initials I S. Inserted faintly into this entry is "Old St". No record of Le Sage in this street has been found but it may have been a temporary address between his move from Little St Martin's Lane to Suffolk Street

11 The ewer is now at the Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio, see *Silver from a Golden Age 1640-1840*, Asprey Antiques, exhibition, 28 November to 9 December 1994, p 32; Christopher Hartop, 'Art and Industry in 18th-century London', *English Silver 1680-1760 from the Alan and Simone Hartman Collection*, London, 1996.

12 By licence dated 1 April 1725. His marriage announcement stated that he was 29 and his bride, Judith, "upwards of 21". www.familysearch: M/F 0364036, Marriage allegations for the Province of Canterbury 1660-1851. Judith's father Simon, came from France circa 1688 after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and became a Liveryman of the Clockmakers' Company in 1691, having premises at the Clock, corner of Warwick Street, Charing Cross in 1705. He built Grove Hall, Hammersmith where he lived in later years as did his son, David; he had a futher son, John (G H Baillie (editor), *Britten's Old Clocks & Watches & their Makers*, 1982, p 421).

13 22 October 1763 Margaret Lesage married Gabriel Benjamin Maisonneuve, www.familysearch.org On 26 January 1763 Margaret Lesage took out a Sun Insurance policy which stated "Margaret LeSage at Mr LeSages a Goldsmith at the Corner of Suffolk Street Charing Cross Spinster on her Household goods in the now dwelling house only a Brick[sic] of Mr. LeSage situate as aforesaid not exceeding Eighty Pounds - £80; Wearg Apparel therein not Exceedg Seventy Pounds - £70; Glass & China therein only not exceed. Fifty pounds £50; Total £200" (LMA, MS11936, vol 145, p 579 [196358]).

"1763 Benjamin Maisonneuve in Craven Street in the Strand Jeweller On his Household Goods in his now Dwelling House only situate aforesaid Brick + Timber not exceeding Two hundred pounds/Wearing Apparel therein only not exceeding one hundred pounds/plate therein only not exceeding Three hundred pounds/Total £600" (LMA, MS11936, vol 145, p 338 [195163]).

Jane married Thomas Clapton on 8 March 1755, www.familysearch.org

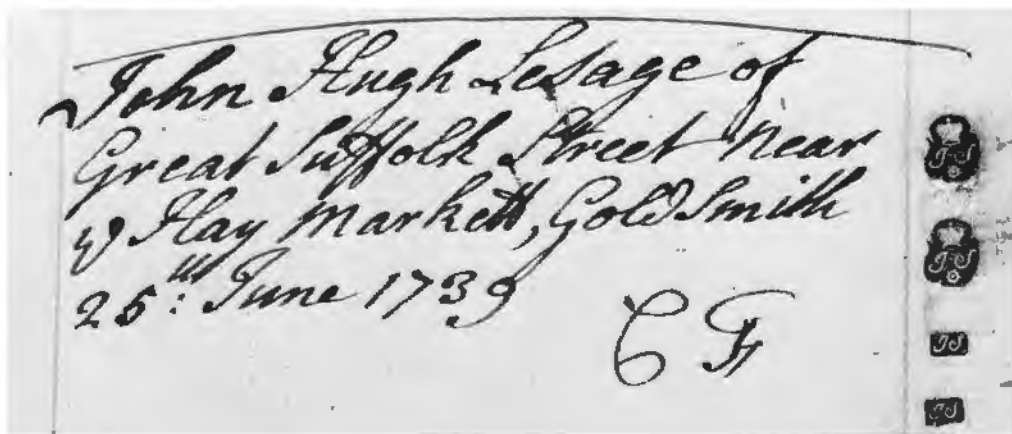


Fig 3 Entry of John Hugh Le Sage's third and fourth marks, 26 June 1739

(Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

first three apprentices had served their terms and over the next five years he took on: Edward Wakelin, who later was to work with George Wickes; James Rofe and John Doubleday, thereby ensuring that his workshop was staffed until 1742 when Simon, now aged 14 was apprenticed to him on 6 May (see below). Andrew Chassereau was registered as his last apprentice on 1 July 1745 and turned over to "ffuller[sic] White, goldsmith" twelve days later<sup>15</sup>. It can be seen from the table below that the workshop continued to receive significant commissions from the sovereign and the court.

The extended Decharmes family had for some time had strong links with Hammersmith; this would explain why the Le Sage children were buried there and at Chiswick. In 1735

Simon de Charmes of the Parish of St Martins in the ffields ... Watchmaker Helen de Charmes of the Hamlett of Hammersmith ... Widow

"David De Charmes ... G[oldsmith/Gent?]" and "John

Lesage, Goldsmith" granted a year's lease on:

ffour cottages or tenements with the yards gardens and orchards thereto ... in Hammersmith

to four tradesmen; this was followed on the same day by an Indenture of Release and Sale<sup>16</sup>. Hammersmith, then part of the parish of Fulham, expanded as the century progressed and Simon Le Sage would reside there in due course (see below).

In 1738 the Plate Offences Act was passed which required, amongst other regulations, goldsmiths to register their marks at Goldsmiths' Hall. In compliance with this John Hugh Le Sage entered his third and fourth marks on 26 June 1739 [Fig 3] and was admitted to the livery of the Goldsmiths' Company on 3 April 1740<sup>17</sup>. At this time he made a quantity of toy items either for adult doll houses or for his own family, for at the time, he had four children under the age of 9, as well as Simon<sup>18</sup>. Listed as a Subordinate Goldsmith to the King from 1741 to 1759<sup>19</sup>, John Hugh was commis-

14 WAC, M/F.1870-F5624, item 5, p 4. This was a duty which could be avoided by payment of a fine but if undertaken would exempt the Overseer from parish rates for his year's term of office although it did mean giving up precious work time.

15 Edward Wakelin, 3 March 1730, "son of Edward Wakelin, Ut[t]oxeter, Stafford, Baker, dec'd, £20" (GC, Apprentice Book, vol 6 1722-1740, p 128); James S Rofe, 7 December 1732 "son of Thos Rofe,

Aylesford, Kent, Victualler, £25" (GC, Apprentice Book vol 6 1722-1740, p 170); John Doubleday, 6 May 1735 "son of William Doubleday, Garthorpe, Leicester, £30" (GC, Apprentice Book vol 6 1722-1740, p 204); Simon Lesage, 6 May 1742 "turned over the same day (see below)"; Andrew Chassereau, 1 July 1745 "son of ffrancis Chassereau, ffanmaker, £35 turned over to ffuller White, goldsmith", 12 July 1745 (GC, Apprentice Book vol 7 1740-1763, p 22).

16 LMA, MS MDR 1735/2/500-501 Middlesex County Records/Land Registry.

17 J S Forbes, *Hallmark*, London, 1998, pp 200-5/208/220. Third and fourth marks: "John Hugh Lesage of Great Suffolk Street, Near ye Hay Market, Goldsmith" 26 June 1739 (GC, Mark Book for Largeworkers, B No 2, 30 May 1739 - 30 September 1769). Initials now J S (script).

Livery: 3 April 1740 "Mr Le Sage paid £12 having before paid £3 and £5 as

ffines for the Offices of Budge Batchelor" [duties which involved wearing 'the clothing' of the Goldsmiths' Company and taking part in processions] (GC, Court Book 1736-1742, vol 14, p 276).

18 Victoria and Albert Museum, Mrs D S F Campell Bequest and Gilbert collection (Table 2).

19 Royal warrants were not granted for the service. Earlier the Jewel House had commissioned substantial pieces directly from Subordinate Goldsmiths

but by this time craftsmen needed to be successful traders/retailers in their own right as royal commissions decreased. Work coming from the Royal Goldsmith comprised mostly alterations, repairs and the melting of objects. The title may well have applied to the Le Sage firm rather than an individual "Le Sage [no initial] 1741-1759 P[lateworker]", Major-General H D W Sitwell, *The Jewel House and the Royal Goldsmiths*, 1962, pp 148 and 155.

sioned, in 1746, by Mrs Elizabeth Pocock to make an important pair of silver-gilt flagons which she then gifted to St Martin's-in-the-Fields (Table 3). In due course both his other two surviving sons, Augustus and Charles, were apprenticed (see below). Looking at the lists of items produced by his workshop it would seem that its output declined from early in 1750 when John Hugh would have been about 55; it then picked up as Simon and Augustus gained sufficient skills.

A Sun Insurance policy (see note 6) bears an "Indorsement" which states that in February 1758

John Hugh LeSage/Suffolk St/Removd to his Apartmt in the Dwelling Hse ... of Mr. Baldwin a Cabinet Maker Opposite Meards Street in Dean Street, St. Anns<sup>20</sup>.

By this time Simon, who had just married, and Augustus, although only 22, were both proven craftsmen and must have been handling the business for some time. John Hugh survived until the following year and was buried at St Anne's, Soho in June 1759 at the age of about 64<sup>21</sup>. His will, proven in the same month, bequeathed £1,000 to Simon

who already had £500 ... towards his Advancement in life

as well as the Great Suffolk Street house

for the Remainder of the [unspecified] Term ...the Leaden Cistern and the Iron Range in the fore Kitchen and the Copper and Iron Range with its ffurniture in the back Kitchen ... all my Tools and Utensils whatsoever in Trade and ffixtures in and

to the Shop And also all my patterns and everything in the said House of Mine.

The remainder of his "Estates Goods Chattels and Effects" were to be divided equally between Augustus, Jane and Margaret. In addition Jane, by now married to Thomas Clapton, was to receive: a further £500 (£500 had been given previously as a marriage settlement), "my Silver Candlesticks", a snuffer pan, coffee pot and desert knives and forks. Apart from her one third share of the estate, Margaret was to receive: £500, half of John Hugh's plate (after the stated bequests), the first floor furniture and one half of the kitchen furniture. Augustus was left: £500, the other half of the plate and the second floor furniture<sup>22</sup>. These provisions, depending on the total value of the estate, might appear somewhat unequal despite his desire that his beneficiaries "Share and Share alike" and, in hindsight, may well account for the later differences between Simon and Augustus's lifestyles.

### **Simon Samuel Le Sage, goldsmith and plateworker: 1727-1808**

Simon, John Hugh and Judith Le Sage's first son, was born on 19 November 1727 and baptised about two weeks later<sup>23</sup>. As was customary, at the age of 14, he was apprenticed first to his father and then, on the same day, 6 May 1742, turned over to Peter Meure, a goldsmith and "butcher", for the sum of £20; he became free on 5 June 1755<sup>24</sup>. On the same day, William Southouse, who had originally been apprenticed to Phillips Garden, was turned over to him<sup>25</sup>. His two marks as a largeworker were registered on 5 April 1754<sup>26</sup>. As Simon was working in the Le Sage workshop he would have been able to use the title of Subordinate Goldsmith to the King (see note 19).

20 LMA, CLC/B/192/F/004/ MS 12160/8, p 392 [12065] Endorsement records.

21 WAC, M/F 2221, vol A2127, p 5, St Anne's, Soho, Church Wardens' Accounts, (Mr Stephen Coujon) May 1759 - April 1760, Burials June 1759.

22 The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/847 143/146, the executors were Augustus Le Sage and Thomas Clapton. Further bequests were: ten guineas to Mrs Mary Ann Musgrett, a gift to Mr Woodring of "his note for a little Money

he owes me", ten guineas to each of his children and Thomas Clapton for mourning and three guineas to each of his servants.

John's original bequest to David Decharmes of £100 to "set him up ..." was revoked. David had a son christened John Hugh in 1737-38 who lived only a few months (Hammersmith & Fulham Archives & Local History Centre (H&FA), M/F 223, St Paul's Hammersmith General registers 1732-1751, item 7).

Much of the will was devoted to setting up a trust, with surplus monies left to Jane Clapton for the

upbringing and education of any Clapton child, either male or female. Augustus and the Rev Samuel Grove, (married to Martha De Charmes: possibly John Hugh's sister-in-law) of St James's Westminster were to be trustees. Augustus's first child, baptised in 1763 was named Anne Grove Lesage [www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org)

23 [www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org)

24 Simon became free by servitude on 5 June 1755 (GC, Freedom Book 2 1742-1780, p 42). Records show Peter Meure "citizen and

butcher" as his master (GC, Apprentice Book vol 7, p 18). Peter Meure was a goldsmith working in Coventry Street. 5 July 1739 "Peter Meure late apprentice to Peter Archambo was made free" of the Butchers' Company having been apprenticed to "Petrus Archambo fils de Petri Archambo de parish St Martin en Campris" who in turn was apprenticed to "Jacobo Margas" on 7 December 1720 (Guildhall Library, Butchers' Company, Registers of Freedom Admissions 1694-1754, MS6446/2, pp 327,80 respectively).

25 William Southouse, son of Edward Southouse deceased, of Enfield Middx commenced his seven year apprenticeship on 3 May 1753 at a premium of £105 paid to Phillips Garden, who returned £60 of this sum when William joined Simon Le Sage in 1755 (GC, Apprentice Book, vol 7, p 193).

26 GC, Mark Book B 1739-1769.





Fig 4 Simon Le Sage's trade card  
(© The Trustees of the British Museum)

Simon's trade card [Fig 4], the floral design of which is reflected in the flowing initials of his mark, must have been produced shortly after he joined the business. It stated that he was a

Goldsmith and Jeweller, at The Golden Cup, the  
Corner of Suffolk Street, near the Hay Market

Using Simon as 'the name' it advertised mainly small-work and jewellery (Augustus was not mentioned). Plate was included but there is no emphasis on commissions such as the remarkable candlesticks of circa 1738, now at Ickworth (Table 2) or of the larger pieces for which Simon is well known. These orders would have come through the Royal Goldsmith or from personal and private contacts. During the second half of the eighteenth century the trade as a whole took a downturn and expensive commissions would have been less numerous. There is evidence that Simon collaborated with other goldsmiths including Thomas Gilpin in Serle Street off the Strand<sup>27</sup>. Simon's output, usually of larger pieces, looks small (Table 2) when compared to that of his father and even that of his brother. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that by early 1760 Simon was turning to other activities.

On 22 October, 1757 Simon married Elizabeth Steward at St Christopher Le Stocks, Threadneedle Street; both their fathers were witnesses<sup>28</sup>. The couple may have remained

at the Suffolk Street premises for a while after John Hugh had moved to Dean Street but it is clear that by 1764 Simon and Elizabeth were well-established residents of Hammersmith (see below) and it is unlikely that Simon continued to work much as a goldsmith from this new location. There is no obvious reason for Simon to have given up his craft or for the move to Hammersmith although, as no surviving children have been found, it may have been that Elizabeth needed to live away from the bustle of the city for health reasons.

In 1764 Simon qualified as a resident of Hammersmith, as had 'Dav'd DeCharms' became a trustee of the 'Pews, Galleries and Seats' for St Paul's, Hammersmith. This office, which he undertook for almost twenty-five years, required him and other trustees to be responsible for the collection of rents from the hamlet's inhabitants on behalf of the church. The money was used to pay the curate's stipend, cover unexpected expenses and to indemnify the Treasurer against any monetary default. Simon also became a trustee of various Hammersmith charities, including 'Mr. Latymer's Charity School' on 12 May 1773 and the St Paul's Church Warden's accounts for Fulham 'Hammersmith Side' show a payment of £2 10s to "Mr. Lesage Treasurer of Mr. Latymer's Charity" for the Latymer Vault on 15 October 1774: this was a regular entry<sup>29</sup>.

Simon's connections with Hammersmith are confirmed by the Land Tax assessments for 1782. The records show that he was residing at 13 Hammersmith Terrace, the fourth house "From Chiswick [boundary]", as the tenant of Mrs Morris who lived at number 12. Sir Clifton Wittingham was the tenant in numbers 14 and 15 and "John Dechams" owned and let numerous properties in the area<sup>30</sup>. This terrace of sixteen dwellings was built circa 1750 and, as was frequently the case, was occupied for several years after completion by the workmen who had built it, as part payment for their work. It stands on the banks of the Thames with gardens extending down to the water: a walkway originally existed between the gardens and the river to give access at the rear. At the time this was a relatively isolated area known locally as the Hope and it was accessible from Westminster via the Great Road (now the A4 or Great West Road) or, on an incoming tide, by river, with steps leading up from the water. Number 1 at the eastern end of the terrace, was reputedly a shop, and the Black Lion inn, still extant, was close by. Over the years both Chiswick and Hammersmith have attracted artists and craftsmen and for Simon there was also the Decharmes connection.

"Simon Lesage of Hammersmith" was named in two assignments by way of mortgage in 1773, concerning the purchase of leases on "double brick" houses in Harley Street and Mansfield Mews designed by Robert and

James Adam. These must have been purchased off-plan as the rates indicate that building was taking place in Harley Street in 1773; the houses were only occupied in 1774<sup>31</sup>.

In October 1772, the Middlesex Freeholders' Book lists Simon Le Sage (of Hammersmith) as being eligible for jury service; David Decharmes, also of Hammersmith, had been eligible for some time<sup>32</sup>. Simon was called for jury service at the trial of Lord George Gordon in February 1781 when Gordon was indicted for inciting the anti-Catholic riots of the previous year. Several years later, in October 1794, at the trial of Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, John Augustus Bonney, Stuart Kyd and others for high treason "Simon Lesage, Esq." was called to serve as a Petty Juror, together with five others representing Hammersmith<sup>34</sup>; by this time he was 65.

For some years London society had patronised Carlisle House, Soho Square, a lavishly decorated entertainment establishment which was extravagantly hosted by Mrs Comely: a lady of some notoriety. It did not have the required royal licence and was, therefore, illegal. In 1772 court proceedings resulted in Mrs Comely's bankruptcy whereupon Augustus Le Sage, Samuel Spencer of St

Giles the cabinet maker Thomas Chippendale of St Martin's and James Cullen, an upholsterer of Greek Street: all tradesmen who were among her many creditors, were granted Carlisle House and its furniture in settlement of her debts. They decided that the whole should be offered for sale by auction as one lot at a price of £15,000. There was little interest at the sale in December 1772: the house and furniture being purchased for £10,200 by Simon Le Sage and John Cates, another creditor. The sale was disputed by the remaining creditors who tried unsuccessfully to have it set aside. Apart from being a speculation, Simon's action would have safeguarded his brother's financial situation particularly if Augustus had not benefited significantly from their father's will. Thereafter, the group, with Mrs Comely's assistance, endeavoured to use the premises as an "Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres" and rooms were available for hire. In 1783 the property was advertised to be let and was empty by March 1784. By 1789 Carlisle House was no longer in Le Sage hands and it was demolished in 1791<sup>35</sup>.

Elizabeth and Simon were still in Hammersmith Terrace when she died in 1791 "after a prolonged illness", aged 55. Her burial took place at St Nicholas's church, Chiswick<sup>36</sup>. The following year Simon made a will leav-

27 A: "Rare pair of George III silver Corinthian column candlesticks by Matthew Boulton & John Fothergill, Chester 1769/1770, after an earlier identical design by London makers Thomas Gilpin & Simon Le Sage, having a Corinthian capital with square nozzle and a single rose on each side of the drip, fluted and reed column over a stepped square base further embellished with horizontal reeds and leaves and an engraved cipher of two initials, also engraved to the base the weight of each stick being 9oz 17dwt and 9oz 6dwt, height 30cm". Byrne's, Chester, 1 December 2010, lot 47.

Thomas Gilpin, goldsmith of Serle Street, the Strand 1731-1773 (Sir Ambrose Heal, *op cit*, see note 4, p 160);

Thomas Gilpin (free 1739) (Sir Charles Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, New York, 1964, pp 184 and 205). Thomas Gilpin took out Sun Insurance policies on a large farm at Wingfield,

Chalgrave, Bedfordshire (LMA, MS 11936, vol 151, p 472 [205183]) in 1763 and another tenanted farm at Hockcliffe, Bedfordshire and hay crops in 1765 (LMA, MS 11936, vol 164, p 107 [225891]).

28 www.familysearch.org M/F 04666971, item 3, no 16 (Westminster Middlesex Church Records; England & Wales Non-Conformist Record Indexes). The church of St Christopher Le Stocks was demolished in 1781 and its parish united with that of St Margaret, Lothbury.

29 His signature endorsed the trust's minutes from 1764 until 1795. In 1767 there was a suit in Chancery taken out against the Treasurer which was not resolved until 1795. The dispute concerned a demand by Fulham church for a contribution from St Paul's towards repairs amounting to £305 18s 2d (H&FA, PAH/1/1-3 Hammersmith Vestry Minutes 1730-1825).

Now Latymer School (H&FA, PAH/1/213/item4). The school was founded by Edward Latymer in 1624 to provide education for a handful of boys and several poor men; in 1773 it provided for thirty boys and ten men (www.latymer.co.uk) Latymer vault, October 1774 - 1794 (H&FA, M/F436, item 3, p 10 St Paul's Church Wardens' Accounts 1773-1798).

30 LMA, MR/PLT/4839 Land Tax Assessments, p 17, Poor Rates for "Hamlet of Hammersmith" 1773-1798 (H&FA, M/F436/GS 1999184). The number of houses in the terrace is uncertain but was probably sixteen or seventeen (James Bird and Philip Norman (editors), *The Survey of London*, vol VI, Parish of Hammersmith, London, 1915, pp 92-96). Simon Decharmes built Grove Hall, Hammersmith and his sons David and John both owned property in Hammersmith and Chiswick.

31 Assignment by way of Mortgage [1774] Harley Street/Cavendish Street, Marylebone LMA, E/MXS/003.

32 Simon was listed as eligible district for Jury Service in Hammersmith from October 1772 (LMA, Middlesex Freeholders Books, MS MR/FB/011 1767-1772, p 192, Ossulston Hundred/Kensington Division/Hammersmith).

33 British Library (BL), Burney Collection of Newspapers, *St. James Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 3 to 6 February 1781, issue no 3110 (News).

34 *Ibid*, *Morning Post and Fashionable World*, 16 October 1794, issue 7085 (News). Others indicted were: Jeremiah Joyce, Thomas Wardle, Thomas Holcroft, John Richter, Matthew Moore, John Thelwell, Richard Hodson and John Baxter. The other five petty jurors were: James Dorville, Esq, Bryan

Marshall, Gent, Benjamin Goodison, Esq, James Keene, Grocer, Henry Osbaldiston, Esq.

35 www.british-history.ac.uk Carlisle House, Soho Square. Also F H W Sheppard (editor), *The Survey of London*, Parish of St Anne's, London, 1966, vol XXXIII, pp 73 - 79.

36 Chiswick, M/F roll 2, item 4, book 5, St Nicholas's Parish Clerk's Notebook 1782-92, "Died Thurday morning, after a lingering illnefs of fome months, Mrs Le Sage, wife of Simon Le Sage, Esq of Hammersmith terrace"; ((BL) *St. James's Chronicle or British Evening Post*, 3 January 1792, issue 4801), News, "MONDAY, January 2" taken from the *London Gazette* of Saturday, 31 December 1790. I am indebted to John Culme for this entry.

ing legacies to Margaret Maisonneuve, his niece, in repayment of a bond given by Augustus to her mother, their sister (deceased), which Simon stated Augustus

has never had in his power to discharge

and £500 to each of his brother's children who were alive at the time of his death

towards their advancement in life.

The residue of

Estates Money in Government or private Securities ... [his] Dwelling House being Copyhold of Inheritance ... ffurniture plate and linen etc found therein ...

he left to Augustus. A codicil dated January 1801 left £100 to each of the children of his other sister Jane Clapton and made small bequests to his two servants. The date he moved from Hammersmith Terrace to the 'copyhold' house in which he was living when he died is not clear but from his will it can be seen that Simon was financially secure, either through speculation, his work or perhaps Elizabeth, his wife, had money. His death, at the age of 81, was announced in the *Monthly Magazine*, and he was buried beside Elizabeth in St Nicholas's churchyard, Chiswick on 9 February, 1809<sup>37</sup>.

## Augustus Le Sage, goldsmith, jeweller and "clockmaker": 1736-1812

On 19 May 1736, Augustus, ninth child and second surviving son of John Le Sage, was baptised. Eleven years younger than his brother Simon, he was apprenticed to Sampson Bishop, a jeweller of Suffolk Street, for £35 in 1749<sup>38</sup>, which if he had served the normal term for apprenticeship would have meant that he would have got his freedom in 1756, aged 20. In fact he became free on 2 April 1782/83 (see below). In all probability his apprenticeship with Sampson Bishop lapsed as, with the two workshops being close together and John Hugh's advancing years, he would have been needed to assist his father whilst continuing his training. After his father's death and possibly prior to 1762, by which time objects are regularly attributed to him, Augustus must have registered a mark (Table 3)<sup>39</sup>. If he had completed his apprenticeship officially it would have been simple for him to claim his freedom by servitude in 1756 rather than by patrimony. This took place on 25 September 1782 and required two sponsors; Robert Hennell and Samuel Meriton, both successful goldsmiths. Although no evidence has been found to support it and he was not a freeman of the Clockmakers' Company, Augustus is listed as "clockmaker", which may have come about as a number of disciplines were involved in the making of clocks<sup>40</sup>. As a Freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company Augustus would have been eligible to petition for financial support, although he is not recorded as a pensioner of the company.

37 Simon's will and codicil, TNA, PROB 11/1493 42/50.

The copyhold premises in which it seems he was living at his death had been granted to Simon and two others (all deceased by 1819) in 1773 by Fulham's General Court Baron which oversaw Hammersmith charities, to be held "in trust to dispose & distribute the Rents Issues & profits ... amongst the Poor of the Hamlet of Hammersmith according to ... the Will of Sir Nicholas Crispe, Bart". At the time copyhold title could be passed on at death but as Simon was the last copyholder and with no Le Sage coming forward to make a claim, the General Court Baron, after enquiries, seized the premises and

lands on behalf of the parish poor in 1819. (H&FA, PAH/1/213/4, p 52 - Grant of Copyhold; PAH/1/213/4, pp 53 - 57 - 1819 General Court Baron meeting).

Simon also left an annuity of £30 per annum to "Mrs. Francis[sic] Duckswell"[Duval] of Newman Street "... in gratitude ... as I had the greatest obligations to her in the early part of life ...". She was the wife of Rev Dr Francis Philip Duval (Mary Ann Aufrere), they were both French emigrés. Duval was resident at 16 Newman Street from 1762-92 (WAC, Marylebone Rate Books Reels 10-25, Berners Street division). Simon's father, John Hugh and Francis Duval were named as

executors to Abraham de Moivre's will dated 1754 (HSP LX, Wills & Administrations 1617 - 1849, 2007 p 110).

In 1792 Judith Deschamps[sic] was recorded as living at 69 Newman Street.

Simon's burial (Chiswick, M/F Roll 2, item 6, book 7, St Nicholas's Parish Clerk's Notebook 1798-1812).

"At Hammersmith, Simon Lesage, esq. 81" (BL, *The Monthly Magazine*, vol XXVII (part I) 1 March 1809, p 196, Deaths near London).

38 Baptised Augustus [www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org) No record has been found regarding the name Augustin other than in

Arthur Grimwade (*London Goldsmiths London 1697-1837, Their Marks & Lives*, London, 1990, pp 580 and 757).

Apprenticeship: "18/195, 1749 Le Sage, Augustus to Sampson Bishop Suffolk Street Mx jewel £35" (Guildhall Library, London, Huguenot Index to Apprentices 1710-1762, vol 18, p 3547, M/F Card 53 (Lawrance Lightfoot)). Also TNA, IR.1/18 f.195, RB.

39 Sir Charles Jackson, *op cit*, see note 27, p 209.

40 2 April 1782/83 "Augustus Le Sage son of John Hugh Le Sage was sworn and made free by patrimony upon the testimony of Samuel Meriton and Robert Hennell

Citizens and Goldsmiths Northumberland Street Strand jewellers" (GC, Freedom by Service & Patrimony Book, vol 3, 1781-1810). Although Augustus appears in Grimwade's Adenda (Arthur Grimwade, *op cit*, see note 39, p 767) and Britten as a "clockmaker" no documentary evidence of this has been found to date. Generally listed as a goldsmith and jeweller he may have been associated peripherally with the clockmakers' trade (i.e. through the Decharmes family) or as a retailer (G H Baillie (editor), *op cit*, see note 13, p 520).



After John Hugh's death in June 1759 Augustus may have left Suffolk Street. On 16 October 1759 he insured his

household Goods and Printed Books ... in his Appartments

at Isaac Baldwin's in Dean Street for £300<sup>41</sup>; this was his father's last address. In 1760 he made a further move to Northumberland Street, the Strand and two years later he married Diana Stockton at St Anne's, Soho<sup>42</sup>. They lived there until at least 1784 although he was still paying rates on Suffolk Street; presumably he was using the workshop and was thus responsible for the property<sup>43</sup>. Twelve children were born to them, the last in 1780, of whom only five survived to adulthood and only three were alive to benefit from Augustus's will (Table 4).

Augustus would have been familiar with the workings of the Suffolk Street workshop from an early age and it is clear that by 1762 he was capable of running the business, when he became parish ratepayer for the premises (John Hugh's name appears twice during the 1760s)<sup>44</sup>. His steady output began around 1761-62 with mustard pots, tureens and three vases with covers and ladles for the Earl of Abingdon. The last piece by him is a teapot, dated 1781 (Table 3). It can be seen that he made many tea caddies to satisfy the new fashion for taking tea and produced larger pieces which would previously have been made by his brother. What has not been found to date is the large quantity of items, jewellery/watch-es/etc which would have been required to stock the retail shop to which the records refer. This must reflect Augustus's versatility and adaptability and, as no apprentices for him have been found, he would surely have had additional help in the workshop and other makers would have supplied items to him for sale.

On 27 May 1763, Augustus was at the Old Bailey giving evidence in the trial of Edmund Collins, who had allegedly stolen, from James Vigne a watchmaker, a diamond cluster ring consisting of nine large stones and eight small ones, valued at £22 (re-sale price of £16), which he had made<sup>45</sup>.

Prior to 1772 Augustus had presumably been supplying Mrs Comely's establishment with pieces for which he did not receive payment although these might have been returned to him by Simon after the sale. The 1773 Parliamentary Report, concerning

Assay Offices for Assaying and Marking of Gold and Silver plate

confirms that

Lefage, Augustus/Goldsmith/Great Suffolk Street, Charing Cross

had registered his name and address at Goldsmiths' Hall as required<sup>46</sup>. In October of that year 'Lesage' again appears in the Assay Office Cash Book for "Re-trying [re-assaying a previously submitted item]... Work" at a cost of 1s<sup>47</sup>.

Trade was not easy during these years and this was not helped by several newspaper advertisements of 1778 which spread rumours of malpractice by an "eminent" jeweller in Cockspur Street (in 1772 Suffolk Street was re-configured and the Le Sage premises then fell within Cockspur Street). The accusations were refuted in an advertisement inserted in the *Public Advertiser* of 13 April by eight craftsmen including Augustus and Christopher Pinchbeck<sup>48</sup>.

41 "Augustus Le Sage of Dean Street in the Parish of St Ann Westminster Gent on his household Goods and Printed Books in his Appartments only in the Dwelling house of Mr. Isaac Baldwin Cabinet maker on the East Side of Dean Street as aforesaid not exceeding Two Hundred and fifty pounds £250 Wearing Apparel therein

only not exceeding fifty Pounds £50, Total £300" (LMA, MS11936, vol 129, p 106 [170981]).

42 Married 28 August 1762; Diana was born on 21 October 1744 (www.family-search.org).

43 "Augustus LeSage/Dean St/Remov'd to his now Dwelling

House/Brick/Situated in Northumberland Street, in the Strand Where his Household Goods Printed Books & Wearing Apparel" etc, May 1760 (LMA, MS12160, vol 9, p 263 [170981]). "Indorsement' Book": there is no mention of plate.

44 1762: Augustus Lesage, Suffolk Street, RV [£]40

(WAC, 1888-F5997, item 5, p 5 - Cleansing rates). Simon's name does not appear in the rate books.

45 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (t17630518-14, www.oldbaileyonline.org).

46 *Case of the Wardens and Assistants of the Company of the Mystery of Goldsmiths of the City of London: concern-*

*ing Assay Offices for Assaying and Marking of Gold and Silver Plate, 1773, GC, Report, Lesage entry, p 45.*

47 GC, Assay Office Cash Book, August 1764 - 1775, book 5, 29 October 1773.

Three years later notice of the disposal of

Jewels, Plate and Plated Goods selling cheap

was placed in the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* by "Augustus Lesage" who

begs leave to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry, his Friends and customers in particular, he is now disposing of his valuable Stock ...

although it did not say that he was going out of business<sup>49</sup>.

This must have been a particularly difficult time for Augustus despite the fact the Suffolk/Cockspur Street premises were secured. Perhaps it was at this time that he had borrowed money from his sister which, as Simon stated in his will, he was unable to repay and then, as a safeguard, took out his freedom in 1782 when he was 46. It may have been at around this time that 'the term' of the Suffolk /Cockspur Street premises expired which would have meant that he could no longer use the workshop there. He paid rates for Northumberland Street until 1783 and Cockspur Street until 1785. In 1786

Lefage, Augustus ... St. James's, Hay-market

is listed in *Kent's Directory* where he appeared as a "Goldsmith & Jeweller" until 1792<sup>50</sup>. Contacts in the trade would have enabled Augustus to continue supplying neighbouring retailers, who knew his skills, with items made at his Haymarket address. There are no rate records for him in St James Street and, as was often the case, where parts of a premises were occupied, the landlord was responsible for the whole building. At this time his family would have consisted of Diana, his wife, and their five children: Wentworth (26 and away from home), Mary Utrecia(23), Elizabeth(18), Bibye (13) and Diana(3)<sup>51</sup>. How long the family stayed in the Haymarket has not been discovered but records of the rates from 1804 and Augustus's will state that he owned property in Percy Street (number 37, on the north side)

recently occupied by my son, Bibye.

Built in about 1770 Percy Street, off Tottenham Court Road, was a typical Georgian terrace (now altered by nature of its multi-use) and by the turn of the century the area had become the focus of artists removed from Soho's traditional quarter<sup>52</sup>.

Augustus benefited from Simon's will and in 1809 he, Diana, Elizabeth and young Diana moved to 6 Craven Place South in the countryside of Kentish Town. He remained there until his death in 1812; he was buried at

St Ann's, Soho close to his wife who had died in the previous year. Other than a few small legacies, he left his estate to Bibye, who was shortly to leave for the Seychelles, and to his two unmarried daughters, Elizabeth and Diana. His estate was valued at "under £15,000"<sup>53</sup> (Table 4).

### Charles Lesage, 1738-?

Baptised on 21 March 1738, Charles (J[oh]n), the eleventh child of John Hugh and Judith Le Sage, was apprenticed to "Wm James" of Southampton Buildings, Holborn in 1752. It is possible this was William James of Southampton Buildings, Holborn, a "Soapmaker" (active 1752-1755)<sup>54</sup>. Charles may have assisted Augustus in the Cockspur Street workshop but no further record of his apprenticeship, marriage or death has been found.

### Conclusion

There is no doubt the craftsmanship of the Le Sage family's assured its recognition and success over the years and resulted in associations with diverse tradesmen across London. John Hugh's apprenticeship to Lewis Cuny; the close proximity of his premises to the court whose members were to commission significant objects, as well as his obvious hard work and his connections all bore fruit. A large and sadly depleting family must have taken its toll and it was not until John Hugh was in his old age, when perhaps trade was not so good and he felt less ambitious, that his two sons were of an age to rejuvenate the business. It is not possible to know whether Simon, eleven years older than his brother, living close to the Decharmes in Hammersmith's cosmopolitan environment, with entrepreneurial as well as obvious craftsman's skills, needed to relinquish city life for personal reasons. It may have been that for Augustus, with a family to support, and living close to Soho's French artistic community, continuing the business was a necessity for their survival despite adverse trade conditions. What is apparent is that these three London goldsmiths of French Huguenot origin: John Hugh, Simon and Augustus, produced important and desirable pieces at their premises in Great Suffolk/Cockspur Street for nearly sixty years.

The Le Sage family's output continues to emerge through auction rooms, dealers and internet websites. The following lists are only an indication of the whole and for accurate measurements and weights etc the relevant source should be consulted. Attributions vary and the most common one is indicated for each goldsmith. I am indebted to the Silver Departments of both Christie's and Sotheby's in London for permitting access to their card records; more recent records are available online. Entries in italics are taken from cards currently located in the library at Goldsmiths' Hall, believed to have been com-

piled by Gerald Taylor of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford where his own records are lodged.

*Judy Jowett has been a member of the Silver Society for over ten years. Her interest in social and political history has led her, with the encouragement of the Society and David Beasley of the Goldsmiths' Company to investigate the role of the messengers used by the Goldsmiths' Company during the eighteenth-century: ('The Warning Carriers', Silver Studies, The Journal of the Silver Society, vol 18, 2005), metalwork trade cards at the British Museum and the Le Sage family. These diverse subjects offer glimpses into the jigsaw of eighteenth-century life, a period which fascinates her. London is blessed with outstanding research sources and Judy would like to thank the generous and informative staff of these establishments for their assistance.*

**TABLE 1**  
**JOHN HUGH LE SAGE circa 1695-1759**  
CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF PIECES TRACED TO DATE  
(The majority of objects are attributed 'John Le Sage')

Date		Source and sale or publication dates	Lot/page
1718	<b>1 October - First Mark entered</b>	<b>Goldsmiths' Company, Mark Book 1697-1739 indexed under S</b>	
	Cruet stand, 7 in (17.8cm) high, 27oz (839 g)	Sotheby's New York, 21 October 1997	-
1719	Three casters, 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> (21cm) and 6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (17cm) high, 26oz 10dwt (824.15g)	Antique Collector, April 1958	-
	Three octagonal casters, arms of Blackwell, 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (16 cm) and 9 in (23 cm) high, 27oz 5 dwt (847.75g) (Hugh Le Sage)	Christies London, 5 May 1937	92
	Pair of candlesticks, 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (16cm) high, 34oz 6dwt (1,066g)	Christie's, 6 June 1934	128
	Ten dessert spoons	Unknown, 18 May 1966	97
	Two candlesticks, 30oz (933g)	Christie's, 26 April 1972	75
1719-20	Six three-pronged forks	Jackson	p 170
1720	Waiter, cut card work and later arms, 6 in (15.2cm) high, 9oz 19dwt (309.5g)	Christie's, 20 July 1966	183

48 11 April 1778 "AN Article having appeared in the Morning Post of Tuesday last asserting, that a "Peer of the Realm had been lately detected by a Jeweller of pocketing various Toys for which the honeft Tradefman, it is faid, has pledged himself to bring this nimble-fingered Nobleman to a trial before his Peers:" and which in the Morning Post of Thursday April 9 was stated with further Particulars, and faid to have been transacted at an eminent Jeweller's Shop not far from Charing-cross. Also an Article having appeared in the Morning Post of Friday, April 10, asserting that "the son of a Nobleman in High Office was detected in an action that makes no small Noife, which was, that his Lordship bought fifteen hundred pounds worth of Jewels in a Jeweller's in Cockspur Street, for which he was repeatedly dunn'd for the Money, but in vain. At length the Tradefman

confulted one Evening with another Person of the fame Buiness what Steps he should take, but on telling him the Case, lo! It came out that his Lordship had fold him the Diamonds for Five Hundred Pounds. This has so enraged the former, that he makes no Secret of the Transaction, and threatens his Lordship with a Prosecution for a Fraud," and which in the Morning Post of This Day, Saturday, 11, was commented upon much to the Disadvantage both of the Nobleman and Jeweller.

We whose Names are underwritten declare that we believe the Whole and every Part of the above-mentioned Articles are absolutely false, and defy the World to prove any such Transaction to have passed wherein we were concerned; and we apprehend the Whole to be a malicious insinuation, calculated to insult the whole Body of the Nobility, as well as tending to prejudice

our Reputation. JEFFREY JONES, CHARLES BEL-LARD, AUGUSTUS LESAGE, CHRIS. PINCH-BECK, J. BELLIS, DENNIS JACOB, ELLIS PUGH, JAMES SHRAPNELL" (BL, Burney Collection of Newspapers, *Public Advertiser*, Monday 13 April 1778, issue 13575).

49 BL, Burney Collection of Newspapers, *Gazette and New Daily Advertiser*, Tuesday 14 April 1778, issue 15340.

50 Last rates for Augustus in Northumberland Street WAC: M/F1605, F583, item 5, p 20: Poor rates. Last rates for Cockspur Street WAC: M/F 1791, F2954, item 6, p 1; St Martin's-in-the-Fields, Paving Rates; (WAC, M/F London Directories 1781-1783, *Kent's Directory*, 1785, vol 7, p 104; London Directories 1791-1792, *Kent's Directory*, 1792, vol 13, p 110).

51 By this time Wentworth was away at sea and died in India between 1788-92; Bibye, married twice, became a Captain in the army and was sent to the Seychelles/Mauritius to control the slave trade, eventually settling there; Marie Utrecia died 1801 aged 31. Diana married Samuel Clement shortly after Augustus's death and Elizabeth, unmarried, died in 1844 (Table 4)

52 F H W Sheppard, *op cit*, see note 36, vol XXXIII, p 10.

Parish of St Anne's Soho. Bibye Lesage, 37 Percy Street, last house on north side, corner with Charlotte Street, Camden Local Studies and Archives Centre (CLS), M/F UTAH 645, St Pancras South West ward, p 31, Paving Lighting & Watch Rate; M/F UTAH 520, item 3, p 47; UTAH 531, item 3, p 69), Poor Rates 1809-1813 North Ward: " Augustus Lesage, Craven Place

South, Kentish Town" which is no longer extant, Craven Place South is now covered by a Victorian Roman Catholic church and large late-twentieth century offices in a light industrial area.

53 Will, TNA, PROB 1531 566/194; St Anne's contains Augustus's tomb, the inscription gives family details (W E Hughes (editor) *Monumental Inscriptions & Extracts from Registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths at St Anne's Church, Soho*, 1905, p 31).

54 Charles Lesage baptism: www.familysearch.org; apprenticeship: Guildhall, Huguenot Index to Apprentices 1710-1762, vol 18, p 3547, M/F card 53. WAC, London Directories 1749-1760, vol 2, p 59. There is also a William James of Cheapside but no trade is listed.



Circa 1720	Coffee pot, mask to spout, 20oz 4dwt (628.3g)	Christie's, 25 November 1903	62
1720-21	Eleven Hanoverian pattern tablespoons with crest, 26 oz (808.6g)	Christie's, 14 December 1988	243
1721	Caster, arms possibly of Pitcairn impaling Cargill, 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (23.2cm) high, 19oz (591g)	<i>Antique Collector</i> , October 1957	292
	Twelve three-pronged forks and nine spoons	Christie's, 14 January 1903	25-26
	Cream jug, 3oz 10dwt (108.9g)	Christie's, 15 May 1911	5
1722	<b>26 July – Second mark entered</b> <b>Additional address of "Old St" inserted</b>	<b>Goldsmiths' Company,</b> <b>Mark Book 1697-1739</b> indexed under L	
1722	Two-handled cup and cover, 79oz 15dwt (2,480g)	Christie's, 17 Apr 1928	69
	Waiter, 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (15.25cm) diameter, 7oz 11dwt (234.8g)	Christie's, 9 February 1910	20
	Mug and cover, arms of 3rd Duke of Rutland, 4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (12cm) high, Farrer Collection, pl LXXXIX	-	
1722-23	Covered mug	Ashmolean Museum	Mus no WA1946.134
1722-23	Small tray	Jackson	p 176
1723	Coffee pot, plain tapering form, 10 in (25.5cm) high, 27oz 19 dwt (869g)	Bonhams, 30 June 2010	94
	Chocolate pot, 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (28.5cm) high, 27oz 10dwt (855g)	www.ifranks.com online	-
	Ten tablespoons	Christie's, 15 June 1966	24
1724	Ewer	Somerset Arch	44.19
1725	Silver-gilt ewer and dish, crest of Newton, 15 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (40cm) high, 155oz 15dwt (4,844g)	Park Lane Exhibition 1929,	47
		Sotheby's, 22 July 1936	135
		Sotheby's, 23 April 1970	163
		Christie's, 23 June 1926	95
		Christie's, 3 March 1976	106
		Christie's, 12 July 1989	198
Circa 1725	Square salver, arms of Packe impaling Dugdale, 17 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (45.1 cm) square, 108oz (3,359g)		
	Oblong casket inkstand, four paw feet, arms of Arundel, 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (19cm) long, 37oz (1,150g)		
1725	Silver-gilt cup and cover, lion and griffon handles, 77oz (2,395g)	Christie's, 12 June 1918	53
	Silver- gilt bowl and cover, arms of Vane impaling Fitzroy, 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (24.2 cm) high, 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (28?cm) diameter, 76oz (2,363g)	Park Lane Exhibition 1929	408
	Pair of candlesticks, nozzles by James Gould, arms of Hawkins impaling Hawkins, 26oz 10dwt (824g)	Christie's, 13 June 1918	53
		Christie's, 8 December 1994	99
		St James's Court Exhibition 1902	48, pl L
		Christie's, 4 November 1936	34
Circa 1725	Hot milk jug, 8oz 4dwt (255g)	Sotheby's, 1 June 1972	205
	Silver-gilt rosewater basin	Fitzwilliam Museum, 1975, exhibition	p 34
1726	Coffee pot, tapering form, spout with griffin terminal, arms of Henderson, 16 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (23.5cm), 28oz (870g)	Bonhams, 30 June 2010	256
1727	Pair of candlesticks, 6 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (17cm) high, 24oz 14dwt (768g)	Christie's, 27 November 1957	91
	Silver-gilt salver, arms of Earl of Chesterfield, 14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (37cm), 73oz (2,270g)	Christie's, 17 October 1962	136
	Pair of salvers, arms of 4th Earl of Chesterfield, 16 in (40.5cm) square, 221oz 2dwt (6,877g)	<i>Connoisseur</i> , June 1947	-
	Pair of candlesticks, octagonal bases, 6 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (17.5cm) high, 24oz 14dwt (768g)	Christie's, 11 May 1927	62
	Footed circular salver	Christie's, 27 November 1957	91
1727-28	Salver	Christie's, 17 October 1962	136
		Gerald Taylor folder	
		Victoria & Albert Museum	Mus no M.72-1950
1727-28	Inkstand, 16 in (40.7cm) long, 131oz 12dwt (4095g)		
1727-28	Tankard Dunn-Gardner Collection	Victoria & Albert Museum	Mus no M.18:1-1991
1728	Salver	Jackson	p 181
	Mug, 11oz 12dwt (360g)	Gerald Taylor folder	
	Two candlesticks, 24oz 4dwt (752g)	Sotheby's, 23 February 1967	139
	Coffee pot, 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (20.75cm) high, 23oz 16 dwt (740g)	Sotheby's, 2 December 1971	196
	Square salver, 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (16cm) square, 11oz 15dwt (365g)	Sotheby's, 14 January 1981	131
	Square salver, 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (16cm square), 11oz 15dwt (365 g)	Sotheby's, 17 May 1973	170
		Christie's, 13 March 1968	63

1728	Dinner service, arms of James Hamilton Pair of octagonal sideboard dishes 15 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (40cm) wide, 68oz (2,115 g) Pair of octagonal sideboard dishes, 15 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (40cm) wide, 139oz (4,323g) Four octagonal second course dishes, 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (28.5cm) wide, 154oz (4,789g) Four octagonal second course dishes, 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (28.65cm) wide, 112oz (3,483g)	Sotheby's, 19 October 1961 Christies New York, 15 October 1985	129 321-327
1729	Four silver- gilt salts, 26oz 3dwt (813g)	Christie's, 5 March 1919 Christie's, 9 July 1924 H H Mulliner, <i>Decorative Arts in England, 1660-1780</i> , London, 1923 Sotheby's, 24 May 1956 Sotheby's, 23 June 1966 Christie's, 19 March 1934 Gerald Taylor folder Christie's, 5 May 1920	97 31 Fig 102 117 154 12 22
1730	Four salts with later spoons		
1730	Two salts, 14oz 6dwt (445g)		
Circa 1730	Basket Three silver-gilt tea caddies and tea spoons and sugar nippers in shagreen case, 34oz 13 dwt (1,077g)		
1730	Pair of waiters, arms of Stanhope, 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (16cm) square, 17oz (528g) Oval basket, arms possibly of Carthew, Britannia standard, 14 in (35.5cm) wide Sugar bowl and cover, arms of Perkins, 4 in (10.2cm), 17oz (528g)	Christie's New York, 14 April 1994 Sotheby's, 30 April 1936 Christie's, 23 October 1991	475 147 119
1731	Eighteen plates, arms of Appleby 9 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (24.5cm), 159oz 7dwt (4,956g)	Christie's, 27 June 1956 Art Treasures Exhibition 1932	79 no 545
1732	Two-handled cup and cover, arms of Connolly impaling Wentworth, 12 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (32.5cm), 94oz 5dwt (2,931g) Cup and cover, 12 in (30.5cm) high, 79oz 15dwt (2,480g) Two-handled cup and cover, arms of Brand impaling Smith, 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (29.2cm), 80oz (2,488g) Oval bread basket, 43 oz (1,337g) Four silver- gilt candlesticks, 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (24cm) high	Christie's, 4 July 1894 Christie's, 10 July 1935 Christie's, 29 June 1955 Christie's, 17 April 1928 Christie's, 29 June 1955  Christie's, 19 November 1943 Christie's, 21 June 1933 Christie's, 14 December 1938 Christie's, 3 December 1941 Gerald Taylor folder Christie's 7 May 1952 <i>Apollo</i> , June 1962 Gerald Taylor folder Christie's, 10 March 1920 Sotheby's, 12 April 1945 Christie's, 22 May 1974 <i>Daily Telegraph</i> Olympia Exhibition 1928 Sotheby's, 27 June 1963 <i>Antique Collector</i> , June 1949 Christie's New York, 18 October 1994 Sotheby's, 10 February 1977	188 115 135 69 - 56 88 38 60 46 138 67 176 no 58 33 429 164
1732-33	Kettle, stand and lamp Kettle and tray, engraved arms, 92oz 10dwt (2,877g)		
1733	Tray Oblong salver, arms of Elizabeth, daughter of 3rd Viscount Ranelagh (Dowager Countess of Kildare), 15 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (39cm) long, 48oz 13dwt (1,513g)  Circular dish, 32oz (995g)  Kettle on stand, arms of Barrow impaling another, 13 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (34.8cm), 77oz (2,395g) gross Coffee pot, arms of Bishop, 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (19cm), 15oz 9dwt (480g) Cup and cover		
1734	Coffee pot, 24oz 15dwt (769g) Coffee pot, 9 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (25cm) high, 27oz 14dwt (861g) Pair of meat dish covers, crest and coronet and two second course dishes, dishes 11in (28cm) diameter, 107oz (3,328g) Pair of octagonal candlesticks, 6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (17cm) high, 27oz 10dwt (855g) Beer jug, initials Plain mug, 1 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (3.5cm) high Rectangular salver, 108oz (3,359g) Two sauceboats, 25oz 15dwt (800g) Bread basket, 62oz 8dwt (1,940g) Cream pail, blue glass liner, 2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (6cm) high, 2oz 15dwt (85.5g)	Gerald Taylor folder Sotheby's, 4 November 1937 Sotheby's, 6 October 1977  Sotheby's New York, 26 June 1983  Christie's New York, 27 September 1978 Christie's, 2 July 1988 Christie's, 11 October 1973 Christie's, 23 June 1925 Christie's, 23 June 1927 Christie's, 13 March 1929 Phillips, 6 December 1986	34 206 362 138 146 38 95 61 30 46
1735	Pair of salvers, arms of Stanhope, 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (16cm) wide, 18oz (559g) Cup amd cover, arms and later inscription , 10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (26.5cm) Two-handled cup and cover, 6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (17.25cm) high, 30oz 19dwt (962g)	Sotheby's, 4 July 1989  H Moffat, <i>Old Oxford Plate</i> , London, 1906 (Brasenose College) Christie's, 21 May 1930	234 PI LX 21

1737	Pair of candlesticks, arms of Sutton, 10 in (26cm) high	Sotheby's New York, 21 October 1997	-
1737/1765	Pair of candlesticks with later two-light branches by Thomas Heming, 14 in (36cm) high, 122oz (3,794g)	Christie's, 5 March 1997	112
1737	Four octagonal second-course dishes, crest of Abriscourt, 11 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (29cm wide), 97oz (3,017g)	Christie's New York, 12 April 1988	228
	Six plates, 117oz 19dwt (3,668g)	Christie's, 30 November 1938	67
	Bullet-shaped teapot, arms possibly of Wright, 4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (11.1cm) high, 12oz (373g) gross	Sotheby's New York, 22 April 1998	-
Circa 1740	George II bullet- teapot, armorials, 4? in (11cm) high, 12oz (373g) gross	<i>Silver from a Golden Age 1640-1840</i> , Asprey, exhibition, 28 November to 9 December 1994	p 32
1737/1775	Two handled cup, (cover, Chester, 1775 by Richardson) 43oz 8dwt (1,349g)	Christie's, 29 November 1905	111
1738	Oblong salver, 22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (57.25cm) long, 121oz (3,763g)	Christie's, 4 February 1946	30
	Two-handled cup and cover, royal arms and those of John, 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (31.8cm) high, 87oz (2,706g)	Christie's, 23 March 1966 Sotheby's, 29 November 2006	26A -
	Sauceboat , 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (21cm) long, 32 oz 18 dwt (1,023g)	Sheldon, 24 October 1985	92
1739	<b>26 June – third and fourth marks entered</b>	<b>Goldsmiths' Company Mark Book 4 B No 2</b> 30 May 1739 - 30 September 1769	
	Candlesticks	Grimwade	no 1680
	Candlestick nozzles (no 1680 above on bodies)	Grimwade	no 1681
	Two oval meat dishes	Sotheby's, 27 January 1966	18 and 19
	Pair of salts (possibly John Le Sage)	Grimwade	no 1683
	Pair of table candlesticks, arms of Lucy, Duchess of Rutland, 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (24.1cm) high, 41oz 10dwt (1,290g)	Sotheby's, 30 November 1973	131
	Pair of silver-gilt candlesticks, 10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (27.4cm), 57oz (1,772g) (almost certainly by John Hugh Le Sage)	Christie's, 12 June 2007	93
1739/1835	Four second-course dishes, arms of Dalrymple quartering Hamilton and Fletcher for 7th Earl of Stair, 13 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (34cm) diameter	Christie's, 22 March 1978 Christie's New York, 10 January 1991	86 69
1739	Square salver, crest and coronet, 8 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (22.2cm) square, 19oz (590g) (John Hugh Le Sage)	Christie's New York, 14 April 1994	465
	Punch whisk/chocolate swizzle stick with ivory handle	Christie's, 25 November 1943	201
1739-40	John Luff with John le Sage	Jackson	p 192
1739/45	Four silver-gilt candelabra (2 branches 1745), 14 in (35.5cm), 300oz (9,331g)	Christie's, 12 July 1995	74
1739/1749	Four candelabra, 15 in (38cm), 315oz 10dwt (9,813g)	Christie's, 28 February 1923	34
1740	Two sauceboats, 96oz 3dwt (2,990g)	Christie's, 28 February 1923	20 and 34
	Skewer	Sotheby's, 1 April 1971	136
Circa 1740	Wine funnel	Grimwade	no 3684
Circa 1740	Toy coffee pot	Christie's, 8 December 1971	169
1740	Miniatures – tea tray and equipage, chocolate pot and molinet, two sauceboats, saucepan, two flagons, tankard, tea caddy, coffee pot, poker, salver, standish	Victoria & Albert Museum	Various Mus nos
	Miniature salt, 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (2.8cm) diameter	Parke Bernet, New York, 4 June 1974	36
	Miniature coffee pot, chased with flowers and scrolls	www.leopardantiques.com	-
1740/1760	Four sauce boats, two by Simon Le Sage, 97oz 5dwt (3,024g)	Christie's, 24 April 1901 Christie's, 28 February 1923	61 20
1740	Pair of double-lipped sauceboats, 59oz (1,835g)	Christie's, 1 July 1970	117
	Kettle, stand and lamp, armorials, 12 in (30.5cm), 47oz (1,461g) gross	Christie's New York, 18 April 1989	475
1741	Cake basket, engraved crest, 57oz (1,772g)	Christie's, 23 November 1977	155
	Cake basket, 14 in (35.5cm) long, 58oz 18dwt (1,832g)	Christie's, 27 November 1935	55
	Bowl, 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (18.4cm) diameter, 14oz 10dwt (451g)	Sotheby's, 16 July 1970	98
1741/1780	Four candlesticks, later details by John Scofield, 1780, 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (24cm), 95 oz 8 dwt (2,967g)	Sotheby's, 7 July 2007	124
1741	Pair of candlesticks, 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (21cm ) high, 41oz 15 dwt (1,298g)	Christie's, 19 April 1939	63
	Four candlesticks, crest of Stanhope, 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (23.2cm) high, 19oz (590g)	Sotheby's, 4 February 1988	114





1744	Three second-course dishes, royal arms, 11in (28cm) diameter, 75 oz (2,332g) Pair of meat dishes, 12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (32.2cm) long, 49oz 12dwt (1,542g) Nine plates ensuite, 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (24.2cm) diameter, 162oz 18dwt (5,066g) Pair of oval meat dishes, royal arms, 15 in (39.2cm) long, 74oz (2,301g) Pair of meat dishes, ensuite, 19 in (48.2cm) long, 113oz (3,514g)	Sotheby's, 24 October 1990  Sotheby's, 14 February 1992   Christie's, 22 May 1991	233  135 and 136  54
1744-45	Pair of candelabra, 16 in (42.5cm) high (Alan & Simone Hartman Collection)	The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Christopher Hartop, <i>The Huguenot Legacy</i> , London, 1996	No 14
1745	Silver-gilt salver, 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (29.5cm) diameter, 29oz 3dwt (906g)	Sotheby's, 5 June 1997	124
1745/1746	Salver, 20 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (53cm), 123oz 10dwt (3,841g) Toy tea service: tea kettle, stand, lamp, coffee pot, cream[sic] with mark J.S., (?John le Sage), salver (1746), trencher sal[sic], sugar basin, three spoons, straining spoon, four china cups	Sotheby's, 27 November 1985 Christie's, 3 May 1933	51 66
1746	Pair of candlesticks, 11 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (29.9cm) 81oz (2,519g)	Sotheby's New York, 21 October 1997 Vanessa Brett, <i>Sotheby's Directory of Silver 1600-1940</i> , London, 1986 Sotheby's, 8 June 1972	-  p 185, no 767 14
1746-47	Pair of candlesticks, 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (29.2cm) high, 81oz 12dwt (2,538g) Pair of silver-gilt flagons, 20 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (52cm) high, 523oz 10dwt (16,283g) inscribed 'The Gift of Mrs. Eliz. Pocock to the Parish of St Martin [in the fields], Westmr. 1746'	Sotheby's, 17 May 1973 Sotheby's, 30 November 1978	77
1746-47	Pair of silver-gilt flagons, 20 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (51.2cm) high, 160oz (4997g) (Rosalinde & Arthur Gilbert Collection)	Victoria & Albert Museum, loan Provenance available on V&A website - vam.ac.uk	Mus nos GILBERT 643:1.2008 & GILBERT 644:1.2008 vol 3, p1253 p 580 Sterling Mark no 3678A
1747	Inkstand '20 June; - Silver standish for Lady Fitzwalter', Fitzwalter Accounts £5 12s 6d' (Essex County Records)	Ashmolean Museum Timothy Schroder, <i>British, Continental Gold &amp; Silver</i> , Oxford, 2009 Grimwade Dallas Museum of Art - online	
1747/1771	Four candlesticks, branches by Augustus Le Sage, 1771 (Wendy & Emery Reeves Collection)		
1747	Basket, 14 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (37.5cm) long, 61oz 8dwt (1,909g) Meat skewer, 2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (32.4cm) long Pair of candlesticks, 10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (27.2cm) high, 70oz (2,177g) Silver-gilt cup and cover, royal arms, 15in (38cm) high, 104oz 9dwt (3,248g) Rectangular tea tray Two-handled cup and cover, 12in (30.5cm) high, 52oz (1,617g) Circular dish Salver	Sotheby's, 17 November 1988 Christie's New York, 11 February 1982 Christie's, 30 April 1996  Sotheby's, 5 June 1997  Sotheby's, 27 June 1963 Christie's, 6 July 1966  Sotheby's, 21 July 1966 Graham Taylor folder Christie's, 25 November 1970 Sotheby's, 3 May 1984 Charles Truman, <i>Glory of the Goldsmith</i> , London, 1990	118 249 71  125  33 95  192
1748	Cake basket, 14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (37cm) long, 61oz (1,897g) Pair of ewers, royal arms, 17 in (43cm) high, 150 oz 15 dwt (4,688g). Christening gift to Lord Offlay from George II. Jewel House warrant - '£75 or thereabouts' 10 May 1748 Meat dish, 14 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (37.5cm) long, 28 oz (870g) Pair of meat dishes, 14 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (37.5cm) long, 57oz (1,772g)	Christie's New York, 19 April 1990 Christie's New York, 12 April 1994	293 272
1749	Cup and cover	Christie's, 19 June 1957	23
1750	Second-course dish	Christie's, 10 November 1971	228
1751/1755	Twelve plates 9 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (24.75cm) diameter, 215oz 10dwt (6,710g) Three second-course dishes, 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (29.25cm) diameter, 78oz 2dwt (2,429g) Four meat dishes, 14 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (37.5cm) long, 138oz 18dwt (4,320g) Thirty-six plates, 760oz 16dwt (23,664g), all with royal arms and cypher	Christie's, 25 June 1958	36-40
1751	Two plates, royal arms, 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (24.5cm) Three meat dishes, arms of Sackville, 17 in (43.1cm); 14 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (37.5cm); 12 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (32.2cm) long	Sotheby's, 19 June 1986 Christie's New York, 30 October 1991	42 232
?1765	Pair of candlesticks, 14 in (36cm) high, 122oz (3,794g)	Christie's, 5 March 1997	112

**TABLE 2**  
**SIMON LE SAGE 1727-1808**  
**CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF PIECES TRACED**

Date		Source and sale or publication dates	Lot/page
1754	<b>5 April - First mark entered</b>	<b>Goldsmiths Company, Mark Book B, 1739-1769</b> <i>Apollo</i> , January 1955	
	Four George II candlesticks, 10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (27.3cm), 136oz (4,230g)		
1755	Two-handled cup and cover, 12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (31.75cm), 67oz (2,083g)	Christies, 30 January 1946	117
	Four sauceboats, 65oz 5dwt (2,029g)	Christie's, 15 June 1920	19
1735/55	Eighteen dessert forks, Old English pattern, by Paul Crespín, twelve overstruck by Simon Le Sage, 22oz (684g)	Christie's, 1 March 1967	19
1756	Four candlesticks, 10 in (25.5cm), 136oz (4,230g)	James Robinson Inc, New York	
	Four candlesticks, 10 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (27.5cm), 136oz (4,230g)	Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 14 May 1959	91
	Coffee pot, arms of Kinnoull quartering Hay, 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (26cm) high, 29oz 1dwt (903g) gross	Sotheby's, 19 October 1973	169
1757	Four candlesticks, 13 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (33.7cm) high, 96oz 15dwt (3,009g)	Sotheby's, 20 November 1980	341
	Four second-course dishes, royal arms and cipher, 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (26.7cm) diameter, 101oz 12dwt (3,160g)	Sotheby's New York, 24 June 1983	348
Circa 1758	Three-branch candelabra (part of a set of twelve), royal arms beneath base, issued by the Jewel House to George William Hervey, 2nd Earl of Bristol as Ambassador to Madrid 1758-61 18 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (47.3cm), 145oz (4,510g)	National Trust, Bristol Collection Judith Bannister, 'Rococo Silver in a Neoclassical setting', <i>Country Life</i> , 4 September 1980 Catalogue, Gervase Jackson-Stops (editor), 1985 <i>The Treasure Houses of Britain - 500 Years of Private Patronage &amp; Art Collecting</i> , exhibition, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1985-86 www.TeaAntiques.com	pp 792-794
1758	Pair of sauceboats		p 514
	Pair of sauceboats, on four paw feet, arms of Earls of Mount Edgcumbe	Christie's, 22 May 1974	114
	Oval basket, 12 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (31.5cm) long, 24oz (746g)	Christie's, 4 November 1998	49
	Set of four salts	Sotheby's, 24 May 1956	117
	Pair of silver-gilt candelabra, royal arms, 13 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (33.5cm) high	Park Lane Exhibition 1929	no 388
1759	Silver-gilt treasury inkstand, 10 in (25.5cm) long	Sotheby's New York, 9 March 2009	268
	Set of candlesticks, royal arms, 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (28.5cm), 141oz 2dwt (4,388g)	Sotheby's, 18 November 1976	115
	Six candlesticks, royal arms, 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (29.2cm) high, 214oz (6,656g)	Sotheby's New York, 21 October 1998	55
	Pair of two-handled cups and covers, after design by William Kent, royal arms, 13 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (35cm) high	Sotheby's New York, 31 October 1991	389
	Salver, royal arms, 20 in (51cm) diameter, 96oz (2,985g)	Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York 10 March 1970	87
	Pair of meat dishes, royal arms, 17 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (45cm) long, 95oz 5dwt (2,962g)	Christie's, 13 June 1929	39 and 40
	Pair of meat dishes, royal arms, 18 in (45.75cm) long, 124oz 5dwt (3,864g)	Christies New York, 6 December 1978	157
	Tureen and cover, royal arms, 95oz 5dwt (2,962g)		
	Plate issued to 8th Earl of Kinnoull when Ambassador to Portugal in 1759		
	Pair of silver-gilt salvers, royal arms, 12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (31.75cm) diameter, 70oz 10dwt (2,192g)	Christie's, 13 March 1947	58
	Tureen and cover, royal arms, 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (29.25cm) long, 83oz (2,581g)	Christie's, 14 December 1911	64
	Soup tureen, royal arms, 12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (31cm) long, 122oz (3,794g)	Christie's, 23 January 1952	159
	Four sauceboats - see John Le Sage 1740	Christie's, 13 June 1929	38
1760	Set of six candlesticks, arms of Eyre impaling Dible(w), 13 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (39.9cm) high, 181oz (5,629g); four by Simon le Sage (1760) two by Augustin [sic] le Sage (1762)	Christie's New York, 6 December 1978	157
1760/1762		Sotheby's New York, 23 April 1993	485
1771	Meat dish and sauceboat	Christie's New York, 4 June 1997	95
No date	Soup tureen and cover, with royal arms, 14 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (37.5cm), 82oz (2,550g)	Christie's New York, 12 April 1994	255



**TABLE 3**  
**AUGUSTUS LE SAGE 1736-1812**  
**CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF PIECES TRACED**

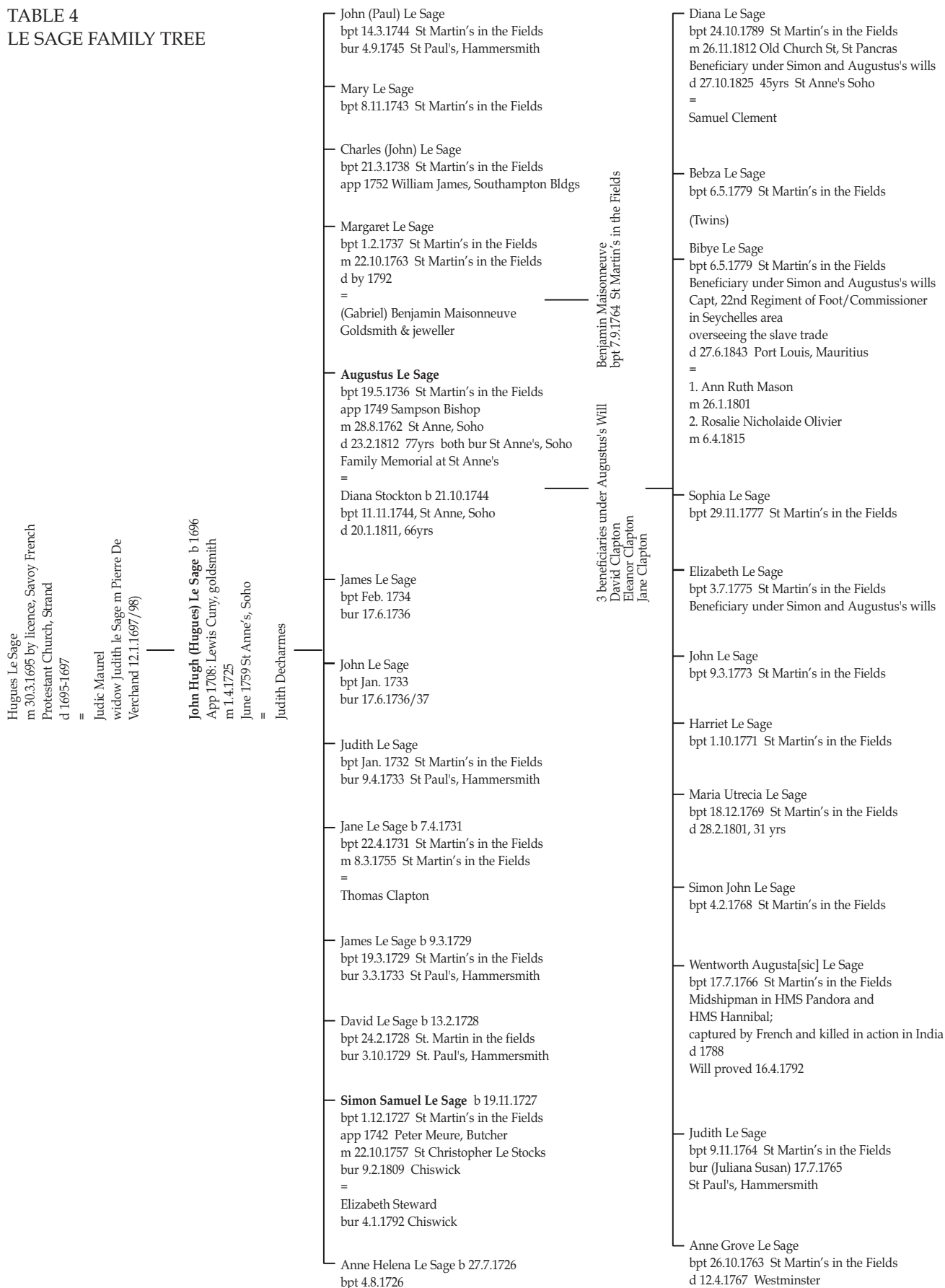
*The most common attribution is 'Augustin Le Sage' although Augustus/Augustine are also used*

Date		Source and sale or publication dates	Lot/page
1757	Two meat dishes, 17 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (44.5cm) and 12 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (32.1cm) long, 97oz (3,017g)	Sotheby's New York, 24 June 1983	349
1761/62	Chafing dish	Sotheby's, 21 October 1971	161
1762	Baluster coffee pot, 11 in (27.9cm), 28oz 10dwt (886g) overall	Christies New York, 25 October 1988	333
1763	Silver-gilt inkstand, 37oz (1,150g)	Christie's, 6 March 1900	111
		Christie's, 24 April 1917	98
	Mazarin, 18oz 16dwt (584g)	Sotheby's, 9 March 1967	110
	Tea caddy, 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (8cm), 10oz 10dwt (326g)	Sotheby's New York, 30 October 1991	212
	Mustard pot, 4oz 5dwt (132g)	Sotheby's, 3 December 1970	223
1764	Mustard pot, 4oz 15dwt (147g)	Christie's, 12 May 1926	104
	Mustard pot, 5oz 16dwt (180g)	Christie's, 24 March 1965	704
1764/65	Soup bowl and dish	Jackson	p 209
1766	Tea caddy with Chinese characters, 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (13.5cm)	Sheldon, 24 October 1985	116
	Pair of chamber candlesticks, 26oz (808g)	Christie's 12 March 1969	87
	Pair of dishes, 12 in (31cm) long, 46oz 1dwt (1,432g)	Sotheby's, 18 February 1999	115
	Twelve plates, 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (24.2cm) diameter	Christie's, 20 May 1987	166
	196oz (6,096g) (part of the Dorset Whitworth Ambassadorial service)	Christie's, 11 July 1990	147
	Two meat dishes, with royal arms, 12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (31cm) long, 46oz 10dwt (1,446g)	Christie's, 9 January 1946	70
	Six plates, 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (24.2cm) diameter, 98oz (3,048g)	Christie's New York, 30 October 1990	206
	Pair fruit dishes, 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (21.6cm) diameter	<i>Apollo</i> , July 1937	
	Soup tureen and cover, with royal arms, liner by Robert Garrard (1808), 11 in (28cm) long, 93oz 5dwt (2,900g)	Christie's, 25 May 1959	108
	Tureen and cover, 77oz 8dwt (2,407g)	Christie's, 8 May 1893	52
	Two-handled cup and cover, 14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (36.2cm) high, 73oz 12dwt (2,289g)	Sotheby's, 2 December 1971	45
	After design by William Kent		
1767	Toasted cheese dish, 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (27cm) cm long	Sotheby's, 18 February 1982	87
	Soup tureen, cover and stand, 149oz 9dwt (4,648g)	Christie's 15 February 1933	10
	Mustard	Christie's, 20 June 1934	53 and 54
	Mazarine, 17 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (45cm) long	Sotheby's, 15 December 1766	119
	Coffee pot, 11 in (28 cm) high, 36oz (1,119g)	Christie's, 15 May 1974	93
	Two tea caddies: engraved with Chinese characters, 4 in (10cm) and 3 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (9.6cm) high	Sotheby's New York, 20 May 2004	73
	Tea caddy, 15oz 13dwt (486g)	Christie's New York, 17 September 1990	86 and 87
	Tea caddy, 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (11.4cm) high, 15oz 5dwt (474g)	Sotheby's, 10 June 1976	113
	Six soup plates, 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (24cm) diameter	Sotheby's, 10 November 1980	337
	Soup tureen and cover, 16 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (41.2cm) long, 103oz 10dwt (3,219g)	Sotheby's Sydney, 13 July 1992	161
	Soup tureen and cover, 16 in (40.5cm), 103oz 7dwt (3,214g)	Christie's East New York, 17 April 1991	70
1768	Mustard pot	Sotheby's, 7 November 1996	150
	Tea caddy	Sotheby's, 27 July 1972	63
		Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	Mus no WA1955.46
1769	Three vases, 37oz 18dwt (1,178g)	Christie's, 6 July 1904	60
	Four sauce tureens, arms of Weddell impaling Ramsden, 82oz (2,550g)	Christie's, 8 February 1967	129
	Tea caddy	Christie's, 1 June 1932	29
	Two tea caddies in case, one by Augustus Le Sage	Grimwade	no 3474
	Four salt cellars, crest of Towneley	Sotheby's, 11 April 1968	116
	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (14.2cm) long, 20oz 15dwt (645g)	Sotheby's, 11 November 1993	382
1769/70	Tea caddy	Jackson	p 212
1770	Two tankards	Sotheby's, 1 February 1968	163
	Pair of tankards with cover, 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (13.3cm), 29oz (902g)	Christie's New York, 25 October 1988	321
	Wager cup, 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (18.4cm) high, 8oz 10dwt (264g)	Sotheby's New York, 24 June 1983	333
1771	Meat dish, 12 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (32.5 cm) long, 22oz 11dwt (701g)	John McInnis 11-12 August 2011	213

1771	Meat dish, 18 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (46cm) long, 47oz (1,461g)	Christie's New York, 29 April 1987	484
	Meat dish, 21 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (54.3cm) long, 67oz (2,083g)	Christie's New York, 25 October 1988	408
	Branches for four candlebra (see John Hugh list - 1747) (Wendy and Emery Reeves Collection)	Dallas Museum of Art - online	
	Tea urn, 15 in (38.1cm) high, 63oz (1,959g) gross	Christie's New York, 12 April 1994	258
	Twelve plates, arms of Swinnerton, 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (24cm) diameter, 172oz 3dwt (5,354g)	Sotheby's, 9 May 1974	143
	Argyle	Christie's, 23 July 1937	88
	Teapot with Chinese characters, 11oz 15dwt (365g)	Christie's, 20 May 1936	70
1772	Tea caddy, 3 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (9.5cm) square	Sotheby's, 27 July 1972	166
	Pair of tea caddies, with Chinese characters, tortoiseshell and ivory casket 23oz 15dwt (738g)	Christie's, 8 October 1950	158
1773	Hot-water jug, 12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (31.1cm) high, 25oz (777g) gross	Christie's New York, 11 February 1982	229
	Tea urn, arms of Chamberlayn impaling Bond, 19 in (48.2cm) high, 91oz 10dwt (2,846g) gross	Christie's New York, 25 October 1988	312
	Tea caddy	Sotheby's, 19 May 1966	19
	Tea caddy	Sotheby's, 27 April 1967	144
1774	Pair of second-course dishes, 12 in (30.5cm) diameter, 63oz 13dwt (1,979g)	Christie's, 10 December 1958	129
	Pair of octagonal meat dishes, 13 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (34cm) diameter, 67oz 18dwt (2,111g)	Christie's, 5 July 1967	167
	Four sauce tureens and covers, arms of Queen Anne, 84oz 8dwt (2,625g)	Christie's, 10 December 1958	106
	Teapot, 15oz (466g)	Christie's, 10 December 1958	104
	Teapot	Christie's, 24 November 1937	46
	Tureen	Christie's New York, 20 May 1987	883
1775	Two sauce tureens	Grimwade	nos 57-59
	Tea caddy, 3 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (9.5cm)	Christie's, 26 March 1934	130
	Four fan-shaped dessert dishes, 13 in (33cm) wide, 128oz 13dwt (4,001g)	Sotheby's, 22 July 1971	195
	Four silver-gilt fan-shaped dessert dishes, arms of Lascelles for Edward, 1st Earl of Harewood, 12 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (32.5cm) wide, 87oz 10dwt (2,721g)	Christie's, 30 June 1965	90
	Wager cup, 9oz (279g)	Sotheby's New York, 27 April 1992	355
	Two-handled cup and cover, 11in (28cm) high, 34oz (1,057g)	Sotheby's, 28 April 1977	172
	Eighteen tablespoons and twelve teaspoons	Christie's, 14 December 1985	200
1776	Coffee pot	Christie's, 12 May 1971	30
	Six plates, 9 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (24.5cm) diameter, 102oz 15dwt (3,195g)	Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, Australia, 12 March 2008	
	Pair of tureens, 269oz (8,366g)	Dreweatts.com - Donnington Priory	31
1776/77	Two sugar-baskets	Christie's, 8 July 1891	147
1777	Four kidney-shaped serving dishes, 12 in (30.5cm) long	Jackson	p 216
1777/78	Silver-gilt tea canister	S J Phillips	Ref: 19866
1778	Pair sauceboats/tureens with crest (Augustine le Sage)	Victoria & Albert Museum (C D Roten Bequest)	Mus.no. M.321:1-1962
1780	Oval dish	Sotheby's, 24 February 1966	148
	Tea urn, arms of Butler, 16 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (42cm) high, 94oz (2,923g)	Christie's, 1 January 1982	-
1781	Teapot	Sotheby's, 8 June 1999	151
		Sotheby's, 11 May 1967	151

Jackson: Sir Charles James Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, Woodbridge, 1989  
Grimwade: Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837, their marks and lives*, London, 1990

TABLE 4  
LE SAGE FAMILY TREE





# Gorham's *Knickerbocker*, etched: Japanese-inspired American flatware

WILLIAM P HOOD JR, JOHN R OLSON AND CHARLES S CURB

*To provide for the highest class of trade where good weight must be combined with simplicity of outline, we have "The Knickerbocker."*

Gorham's Autumn 1882 catalogue, p 22

Decoration of silver flatware can be accomplished by a variety of techniques including: die-stamping, chasing, casting, engraving, piercing, gilding, etching, appliquéing, inlaying, enamelling and alloying. Etching, which employs acid to erode the metal and to create a decorative design in low relief, can in expert hands produce some of the most beautiful results. Nevertheless, this method has not been commonly used because it is technically difficult, labour-intensive and expensive. In the United States during the nineteenth century etching of flatware was usually limited to individual serving pieces or small sets. The best known exception to this is the full-range pattern *Lap Over Edge*, etched by Tiffany and Co of New York<sup>1</sup>. This tour de force, designed by Charles Grosjean (1841-1888) and introduced in 1880, offered hundreds of expertly executed etched handle designs in the Japanese taste. Another full-range etched pattern of nearly comparable merit, but rarely found on today's market and therefore much less well-known and less appreciated, is the *Knickerbocker*, etched by the Gorham Manufacturing Company of Providence, Rhode Island [Fig 1].

Gorham's *Knickerbocker*, which was not patented and the designer of which is unknown, actually exists in three versions: plain (undecorated), engraved and etched. There is considerable misunderstanding among both dealers and collectors about all three versions but especially *Knickerbocker*, etched. The pattern has hardly been mentioned in the literature on flatware and most of what has been written is incorrect. In his classic book on American flatware Noel Turner indicated that all three versions were introduced in 1872<sup>2</sup>. Charles H Carpenter Jr, author of the definitive text on Gorham silverware, omitted mention of the engraved model and stated that the other two varieties appeared circa 1870<sup>3</sup>. A more recent flatware pattern index by Tere Hagan also omits the engraved version and indicates that the plain and etched models were introduced in 1872<sup>4</sup>. Surviving costing records from the Gorham Company archives document that the plain and engraved versions of *Knickerbocker* were introduced simultaneously in April 1874<sup>5</sup>; curiously there are no entries for *Knickerbocker*, etched in the Gorham flatware costing books.



Fig 1 (Left) Vegetable spoon, circa 1885, silver, (Right) Berry spoon, circa 1885, silver, parcel-gilt; both stamped on stem reverse with Gorham lion-anchor-G mark, STERLING and GORHAM

1 'Full-range' indicates that a pattern has a wide range of functional piece types, both place settings and serving pieces.

William P Hood Jr with Roslyn Berlin and Edward Wawrynek, *Tiffany Silver Flatware, 1845-1905: When Dining Was an Art*, Woodbridge, 2000, pp 219-232.

2 Noel Turner, *American Silver Flatware 1837-1910*, San Francisco, 1998, pp 372-373.

3 Charles H Carpenter Jr, *Gorham Silver*, San Francisco, 1997, p 241.

4 Tere Hagan, *Sterling Flatware: An Identification and Value Guide*, Gas City, Indiana, 1999, p 35.

5 The Gorham Company archives are among the special collections of the John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. *Knickerbocker*, plain and engraved were entered in Gorham's Flatware Cost Book 2, pp 41-46. This and other information extracted from the archives is reproduced here with permission of the John Hay Library.

Three things point to the date of the introduction of *Knickerbocker, etched* as 1884. The first is that the earliest date letter found on *Knickerbocker, etched* specimens is a stylized Q, representing 1884<sup>6</sup> [Fig 3b]; the next is that the etched version was first advertised in the Gorham catalogue of 1884 (and repeated in 1885 and 1886)<sup>7</sup>. Finally numerous documentary photographs of various *Knickerbocker, etched* pieces, now in the archives, are all code-dated Q for 1884 (such images were normally taken by Gorham at the time that items were introduced)<sup>8</sup>.

Flat (solid) handles in *Knickerbocker* are die-stamped and have a simple form with a rounded terminal similar to

eighteenth-century Hanoverian pattern pieces except that there is no central 'rib'<sup>9</sup> and the terminal curves forward [Fig 2]. Many of the flat handles are of a very heavy gauge that is ideal for etching. The hollow handles are rectangular in cross-section with rounded corners made by soldering together two die-stamped halves [Fig 3a].

We have never seen a specimen of *Knickerbocker, engraved* but a published example, reproduced from a catalogue of 1877, shows a very busy 'high Victorian' design which occupies the entire terminal except for a cartouche reserved for a monogram<sup>10</sup>. We do not know what other engraved designs might have been available.



Fig 2 (Left to right) Tablespoon, dessert spoon, teaspoon, large coffee spoon, small coffee spoon, all circa 1885, silver; the two coffee spoons silver, parcel-gilt. All stamped on stem reverse with the lion-anchor-G mark, STERLING and GORHAM (except for the small coffee spoon)



Fig 3a (Left to right): Table knife, circa 1884; table knife, 1884; medium knife, 1899; dessert knife, 1884, all with silver handles and silver-plated blades (originals). All stamped at base of handle reverse with the lion-anchor-G mark, STERLING and 20. All except the longer table knife also stamped GORHAM.



Fig 3b Date letter for 1884 (stylized Q) stamped on shorter table knife and dessert knife.



Fig 3c Date symbol for 1899 (sickle) stamped on medium knife

6 Beginning in 1868, Gorham adopted a system of letters to indicate the year of manufacture of some of its silver items. The year 1868 was represented by A, 1869 by B, etc; Q represented 1884. From 1885 onward various symbols replaced the letters (Charles H Carpenter Jr,

*op cit*, see note 3, pp 230-231). A comparable system of letters (not symbols) was used to date code documentary photos, e g Q = 1884, Z = 1893.

7 These catalogue illustrations are reproduced in the eight CD-ROM set *The Gorham Design Library*:

*Gorham Annual Catalogs 1880-1909* (Owl at the Bridge [bookshop of Samuel J Hough], Cranston, Rhode Island, 2003), vol 2\1884\1884021.jpg, vol 2\1885\1885016.jpg, and vol 3\1886\1886013.jpg, respectively.

8 These photographs are found in *Photo Book Silver Flatware 1885*, pp 37-39.

9 Early Hanoverian handles had a ridge running from the terminal down the front of the stem. In later models this was reduced to a vestigial mid-rib at the tip (Ian Pickford, *Silver Flatware*:

*English, Irish and Scottish 1660-1980*, Woodbridge, 1983, pp 83-94.

10 Samuel J Hough, 'Gorham Engraved Flatware Patterns of the Nineteenth Century,' *Silver Magazine*, vol 28, September/October 1996, vol 24, fig 4.

The decorative designs on handles in *Knickerbocker, etched* are limited to flora: for the most part flowers and foliage. The only exceptions observed to date have been on certain serving pieces: strawberries and leaves on a berry spoon [Fig 1] and oranges and leaves on an ice cream knife<sup>11</sup>. Each place piece appears to have a single floral motif to the handle; we have observed this in examining seven table forks, and archival photographs document similar uniformity among sets of twelve each of pie forks, salad forks, individual fish forks, oyster forks and coffee spoons<sup>12</sup>. In most cases, the handle motif is unique to the piece type.

With the exception of two cream ladles, we have not observed more than one actual specimen of any type of *Knickerbocker, etched* server, and these two ladles have different handle motifs [Fig 4]. Archival photographs, however, show a single handle motif among multiple examples of cream ladles, as well as among fish serving forks, fish serving knives, salad serving forks, salad serving spoons, soup ladles, gravy ladles and butter knives<sup>13</sup>. In any given set of *Knickerbocker, etched* paired servers (for fish, salad, vegetables and for carving), the handle motif on the two pieces is different [Figs 5 and 7]; among American flatware patterns in general this is exceptional.

The etching methodology used by Gorham was apparently a closely guarded proprietary secret; no information on this subject has been found in the company archives. From archival photographs, among multiple pieces of the same type, the handle designs appear to be precisely identical, suggesting that a stencil or photographic

process was used to accomplish the etching rather than a free-hand methodology. On close inspection of multiple specimens of the same type, even from the same service, the designs, however, vary as shown on the handles of three table forks from the same service [Fig 6a]; this would be consistent with free-hand execution.

Although the basic outline of the handle design is etched, the fine interior details, such as the definition of veins in leaves and petals in flowers, are engraved, thereby producing sharply defined, continuous and sometimes angled cuts. The etching process produces irregular, sometimes discontinuous 'dotted' lines produced by a bubbling of the acid [Fig 6b]. A combination of etched and engraved decoration may also be seen on the functional ends of various pieces [Figs 1, 4, 8 and 10] and includes fauna as well as flora.

The flowers and plants on handles in *Knickerbocker, etched* are rendered in a naturalistic Japanese style. All the motifs seen to date would seem to be in a vertical format, even on large hollow handles such as those on a carving set [Fig 7]. The etched decoration on flat as well as hollow handles is 'circumferential', i.e. the decorative design extends from the front around both sides to the back. Fig 8a shows, as an example of flat handles, the fronts and backs of an individual fish fork and knife,

11 Sale, Antique Silver & Decorative Arts, Heritage Auction Galleries, Dallas, Texas, 21 May 2004, lot 18923.

12 These photographs are found in Photo Book Silver Flatware 1885, pp 37-39.

13 Ibid.



Fig 4 Cream ladles with different handle motifs, both circa 1885 and stamped GORHAM on stem reverse with the lion-anchor-G mark and STERLING. (Left) Silver, parcel-gilt, (Right) silver, also stamped with KIRKPATRICK [retailer]



Fig 5 Archival photograph code-dated Q for 1884 from Photo Book Silver Flatware 1885, p 37 (Top to bottom) Soup ladle, crumb knife, and fish serving fork and knife; the last two comprise a set but have non-matching handle motifs (Photograph: Courtesy of the John Hay Library, Brown University)





Fig 6a (Above) Fronts (left) and backs (right) of the handles of three table forks, silver, circa 1885; all from the same service, showing that the handle designs and monograms are not identical and that, whereas the outlines of the designs are etched, the interior details are engraved stamped on stem reverse with the lion-anchor-G mark, GORHAM and STERLING.

Fig 6b (Right) Detail of handle showing engraving



Fig 7 (Left) Carving fork, 1884 and carving knife, 1884. Handles and guards silver, fork tines and knife blade carbon steel. Stamped on reverse of handle base with the lion-anchor-G mark, STERLING, 20 and stylized Q; the two comprise a set but the handle motifs do not match



Fig 8a (Above) Fronts (left) and backs (right) of a fish fork and a fish knife, circa 1885, silver. The fork stamped on stem reverse and knife on blade reverse with the Gorham lion-anchor-G mark and STERLING

Fig 8b Detail of fish knife handle

and Fig 9 illustrates, as an example of hollow handles, two views of the handle of a table knife.

The table below lists the types of piece offered in *Knickerbocker*, plain and engraved in the cost book entries of April 1874, together with items in *Knickerbocker*, etched which do not appear among those originally listed. Of this latter category most have been conventional in form and easy to identify. One notable exception is the fork, second from left, in Fig 11. With three long narrow tines and midway in length between a standard dessert fork and a standard table fork, this form is one not seen before and we have no idea of this fork's intended function. The serving spoon on the left in Fig 1 is unusual in that its bowl has asymmetrical treatment: the left<sup>14</sup> side is everted but not fluted and the right margin is fluted. This bowl form is very similar to one found in an archival photograph of a serving spoon in Gorham's *Hizen* pattern labelled as a "vegetable spoon"<sup>15</sup>.

Many of our illustrated pieces carry unusual markings. All the eating knives (with the exception of the fish knife) and the carving set are stamped with 20 [Figs 3a and 3b], the significance of which is unknown; it is not a model number since it occurs on three sizes of knife handles. Several of the knives and the carving set carry date letters and one knife has a date symbol. The placement of date letters or symbols was standard on hollow-ware and on some examples of flatware patterns not made in full-range, but very rare on full-range flatware. And, finally, many different piece types are marked with GORHAM in addition to the Gorham lion-anchor G mark [Figs 3a



Fig 9 Two views of the hollow handle of table knife [Fig 3]; the design extends from the handle front around both sides to the back



Fig 10 (Left) Large fish serving fork, circa 1885, silver (Right) salad serving fork, circa 1885, silver, parcel-gilt; both stamped on stem reverse with the Gorham lion-anchor-G mark, STERLING and GORHAM

14 Here 'left' follows the human anatomy convention and refers to the left side of the flatware piece (the terminal being the 'head'), not the viewer's left (William P Hood, Roslyn Berlin and Edward Wawrynek, *op cit*, see note 1, p 306).

15 This archival photo is reproduced in William P Hood Jr, John R Olson and Charles S Curb, 'Gorham's Hizen Flatware Pattern,' *Silver Magazine*, vol 35, March/April 2003, p 20, fig 8.



Fig 11 (Left to right) Dessert fork, unidentified fork with three tines and table fork, all circa 1885, silver, stamped on stem reverse with the Gorham lion-anchor-G mark and STERLING

and 3b], a rare concurrence in the nineteenth century. How long *Knickerbocker, etched* continued to be manufactured is not known but the medium knife illustrated in this article has the date symbol for 1899 indicating that the pattern was available until at least that year.

How Gorham's *Knickerbocker* got its name is a mystery. In popular culture, the word *Knickerbocker*

has become synonymous with everything seventeenth-century New York Dutch<sup>16</sup>

yet it does not exist in the Dutch language. Genealogy researchers of the modern *Knickerbocker* family have found evidence that in the 1680s an immigrant Dutch ancestor invented for himself a new surname which through multiple anglicisations ended up as *Knickerbacker*<sup>17</sup>. When Washington Irving (1783-1859) penned his novel-parody *A History of New York* (1809), he changed the spelling, taking *Diedrich Knickerbocker* as his pseudonym. The name became famous and many up-till-then *Knickerbackers* adopted the new spelling. Within a generation the term '*Knickerbocker*' came to represent a Dutch-descended New Yorker and eventually any New Yorker. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a cartoon character named *Father Knickerbocker* represented New York City, just as *Uncle Sam* now represents the United States. In more modern times the famous

moniker became a brand of beer, as well as the name of a baseball team and it is presently the name of a professional basketball team (the corporate name of the New York Knicks is '*New York Knickerbockers*'). In any event, there is nothing about the design of *Knickerbocker, plain* or its decorated variations that is evocative of New York or its Dutch heritage. As we have indicated, the decoration on *Knickerbocker, etched* was inspired by the arts of Japan. It was not the only Gorham flatware pattern with Japanese-inspired decoration to have an inexplicably irrelevant and misleading name. Others included *Hamburg* (1883)<sup>18</sup>, *Rhode Island, engraved* (circa 1885)<sup>19</sup> and *London, engraved* (1886)<sup>20</sup>; at least two were named appropriately: *Japanese*<sup>21</sup> (1871) and *Hizen*<sup>22</sup>.

We are grateful to two collectors, who have wished to remain anonymous, for allowing us to study and photograph their collection of *Knickerbocker, etched*. We are also indebted to the Gorham authority Samuel J Hough for his invaluable assistance in the preparation of this article. Collectors with piece types, motif variations and markings not discussed or illustrated are invited to communicate with William Hood at [Bhood2000@aol.com](mailto:Bhood2000@aol.com)

Unless otherwise credited all illustrated flatware is in a private collection and all photographs are by Thomas R DuBrock. All the images are of pieces of Gorham *Knickerbocker, etched* flatware.

*William P Hood Jr MD is a retired cardiologist and former university professor; John R Olson M D practices pathology and Charles S Curb Ph D, a former university English professor, is now an antiques dealer. All three collect and frequently write about flatware.*

16 'Knickerbocker History (Some Thoughts on the Origins of the Name)' ([http://www.knicker-mansion.com/Kn\\_Hist.html](http://www.knicker-mansion.com/Kn_Hist.html)) (accessed March 27, 2008).

17 *Ibid.*

18 A berry spoon in *Hamburg* (not recognised as such) is illustrated in Richard Osterberg, *Yesterday's Silver for Today's Table: A Silver Collector's Guide to Elegant Dining*, Atglen, 2001, p 15, fig 1.010. The decoration on *Hamburg* flatware is described and a bowl in a style matching the flatware is illustrated in Bryan Abbott, 'A New Discovery in the

Gorham Hamburg Pattern,' *Silver Magazine*, vol 38, September/October 2006, p 44.

19 Eight variations of this pattern from the 1886 autumn catalogue are reproduced in Samuel J Hough, *op cit*, see note 10, p 27, fig 14.

20 An archival photo from Sterling Flatware Photo Book 'S' 1-1500, p 38, showing six variations of this pattern, is reproduced *ibid*, p 26, fig 12.

21 William P Hood Jr, John R Olson, and Charles S Curb, 'Gorham's Japanese flatware pattern,' *The Magazine Antiques*, vol 172, no 3, September

2007, pp 104-111; additional information and illustrations are posted under the name of the magazine article at [HYPERLINK http://www.fabulousflatware.com](http://www.fabulousflatware.com)

22 The *Hizen* flatware pattern was named after the province of Hizen (now Nagasaki Prefecture) on the Japanese island of Kyushu, site of the famous kilns producing Arita and other porcelain wares. It has at least twenty-five different handle motifs based on Japanese iconography and mythology. See William P Hood Jr, John R Olsen and Charles S Curb, *op cit*, note 15.



**Table:** Piece types offered in Gorham's *Knickerbocker*, *plain* and engraved patterns when introduced in April 1874, together with items seen in *Knickerbocker*, *etched* not originally listed,\* with lengths where known

## PLACE PIECES

### Knives

Table, HH,  $10\frac{3}{4}$  in (27.30) \* and  $10\frac{1}{8}$  in (25.71cm)\*  
 Medium, HH,  $9\frac{3}{4}$  in (24.76 cm)\*  
 Dessert, HH,  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in (22.22 cm)  
 Tea, HH or FH (?)  
 Fish, FH, 8 in (20.32 cm)\*

### Forks

Table,  $7\frac{3}{4}$  in (19.68 cm)  
 With 3 long tines,  $7\frac{5}{16}$  in (18.57 cm)\*  
 Dessert, 7 in (17.78 cm)  
 Tea  
 Fish,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in (17.14 cm)\*  
 Pie  
 Salad\*  
 Oyster, two tines

### Spoons

Table,  $8\frac{5}{8}$  in (21.9 cm)  
 Dessert,  $7\frac{1}{4}$  in (18.41 cm)  
 Tea,  $5\frac{7}{8}$  in (14.92 cm).  
 Ice cream  
 Egg  
 Coffee, large,  $4\frac{15}{16}$  in (12.54 cm)  
 Coffee, small,  $4\frac{5}{16}$  in (10.95 cm)

### Other

Asparagus tongs, individual  
 Nutpicks

HH = *hollow-handle*

FH = *flat (solid)-handle*

*If unspecified, the handle type is known/assumed to be flat.*

## SERVING PIECES

Asparagus tongs  
 Berry scoop  
 Berry spoon, 9 in (22.86 cm)\*  
 Butter knife, large  
 Butter knife, small  
 Cake knife  
 Cream ladle,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in (15.87 cm)\*  
 Cheese scoop,  $8\frac{3}{16}$  in (20.79 cm)\*  
 Crumb knife  
 Fish serving fork, large,  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in (22.22 cm)  
 Fish serving knife, large  
 Gravy ladle,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in (19.05 cm)  
 Ice cream knife, 11 in (27.94 cm)  
 Jelly spoon  
 Carving fork, HH,  $8\frac{3}{8}$  in (21.27 cm)\*  
 Carving knife, HH,  $14\frac{1}{8}$  in (35.87 cm)\*  
 Mustard spoon  
 Nut spoon  
 Oyster ladle  
 Oyster server  
 Pickle fork  
 Pickle knife  
 Pie knife, large  
 Pie knife, small  
 Preserve spoon  
 Salad serving fork,  $8\frac{7}{8}$  in (22.54 cm)  
 Salad serving fork, long-handled  
 Salad serving spoon  
 Salad serving spoon, long-handled  
 Salt spoon,  $3\frac{9}{16}$  in (9.04 cm)  
 Sardine fork  
 Soup ladle  
 Sugar sifter, small  
 Sugar spoon  
 Sugar tongs, large  
 Sugar tongs, small  
 Toast fork  
 Vegetable spoon,  $8\frac{7}{8}$  in (22.54 cm)\*  
 Waffle knife

Some of the *Knickerbocker*, *etched* items were actual specimens, in which case lengths are reported, and others were photographic images usually lacking measure-

ments. The cost book entries contain average weights but neither these nor archival photos give dimensions of piece types.

# Yvonne Hackenbroch (27 April 1912 - 7 September 2012)

Dr Yvonne Hackenbroch, who has died aged 100, must have been one of the last surviving members of the Jewish intellectual and artistic milieu that flourished in the city of Frankfurt am Main prior to and immediately following the First World War.

Yvonne was the daughter of Zacharias M Hackenbroch (1884-1937) and his wife Clementine, née Schwarzschild (1888-1984). Her father served in the First World War winning the Iron Cross; he became one of Frankfurt's leading art dealers. Several members of her extended family were also involved in the trade, mainly being descended from her maternal great grandfather, one of the most renowned dealers of them all; Selig Goldschmidt (1828-1896) an adviser to the great Frankfurt collector Baron Mayer Carl von Rothschild (1820-1886).

Much of her childhood was spent learning languages and absorbing the culture and arts of Germany as well as those of other countries. At meal-times the family spoke French or English so that by the time she left school she was fluent in these languages as well as Italian and German.

She was destined to work in the arts from an early age. Indeed, whilst still at school, she produced a booklet about the Guelph treasures. This extraordinary group of medieval religious silver and metalwork was eventually sold by Duke Ernst August II of Brunswick-Lüneburg to her father and two other dealers. They in turn sold it on to private collectors and museums around the world; most notably the Cleveland Museum of Art.

In the early 1930s she studied History of Art at Munich University both as an undergraduate and post graduate. For a Jew it was, of course, at times difficult to be in the city where the Nazi movement had first taken root and she was certainly the last of her faith to gain a doctorate there in December 1936. Many years later, in 1983, the university was to honour her again, following her retirement, with a *Festschrift*.

After her father's death in 1937 Yvonne moved to London where her older sister already lived and her mother and younger sister also settled there. She was part of the team that excavated and



catalogued the Sutton Hoo treasure discovered just before the outbreak of war in 1939. Once war was clearly imminent she worked at the British Museum helping to pack up and store large parts of its collection.

In 1946 she went to Toronto as the expert responsible for the collection of Renaissance art given by Viscount Lee of Fareham as a gift to the Canadian people in appreciation of their help in the Second World War.

A few years later she moved to New York to become the curator for the distinguished collector and trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Judge Irwin Untermyer, whose collections were eventually to enrich that museum. She subsequently joined the museum becoming Consultative Curator of Sculpture and Decorative Arts, mainly specialising in Renaissance art. On retirement she decided to move back to London to be closer to her family and in 1987 bought a flat in Lancaster Gate.

Her academic life in New York and London was an immensely productive one. Between 1956 and 1963 she published, in five volumes, her catalogue of the porcelain, furniture, tapestries, bronzes and silver in the collection of Judge Untermyer; a project which gives some idea of the very considerable depth and breadth of her knowledge of the decorative arts. The beautifully illustrated volume on silver is surely one of the earliest such catalogues to include detailed photographs of the hallmarks struck on each piece in the collection.

In 1979 her magnum opus; *Renaissance Jewellery* was published. Using sixteenth- and seventeenth-century designs, paintings and inventories it was an ambitious attempt to categorise Renaissance jewellery by country of origin and date and is packed with information based on a formidable amount of original research.

It should be remembered that, at this date, virtually all such jewellery was accepted as period, as any study

of the literature and museum and auction house catalogues of the time will show. By chance, the publication of the book coincided with the discovery in the Victoria and Albert Museum library of some 1,000 drawings for jewelled and enamelled gold Renaissance-style mounts and objects by the nineteenth-century master faker Reinhold Vasters of Aachen. This work and subsequent research into Vasters's contemporary, the Parisian jeweller Charles André, have revealed that a number of jewels, of the more than 1,000 illustrated in her book, were nineteenth-century Renaissance-style pieces. Typically she sought to set the record straight with a detailed, lengthy and invaluable study of Vasters's life and work: *Reinhold Vasters, Goldsmith* published in the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* (vols 19 and 20, 1984-85).

She subsequently returned to her passion and published in 1996 her last major work, *Enseignes: Renaissance Hat Jewels*. This literary output was accompanied by a steady succession of articles.

Apart from her writings Yvonne will be remembered by all who knew her in the art world, first in her flat off Fifth Avenue in New York and then in Hyde Park Gardens in London, as a wonderful hostess presiding over a never ending stream of intimate lunches and dinners which seemed to be effortlessly arranged in spite of a busy day at the Met or of research at the Warburg Institute. They were the twentieth-century equivalent of a salon; every meal seemed to be attended by leading curators, auction house specialists and dealers from around the world. It was typical of her to make sure that younger members of the art world were also included and strategically placed at table so they were next to someone who might help their budding careers. Such thoughtfulness and generosity of spirit were typical of an indomitable and very remarkable woman.

Anthony Phillips



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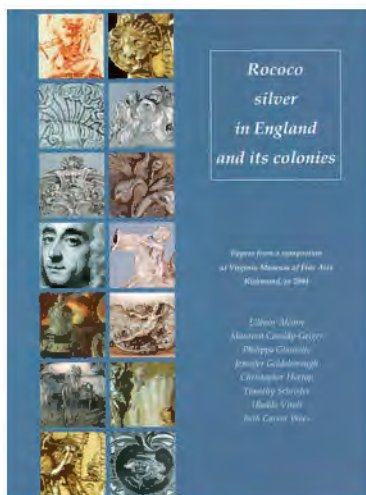
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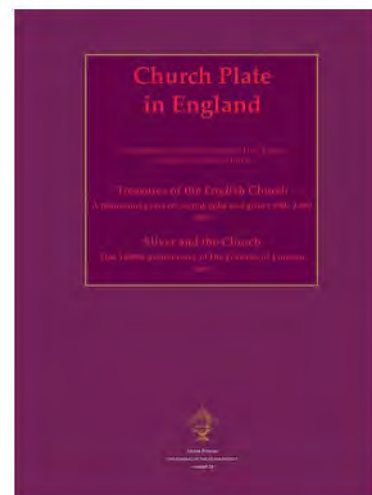
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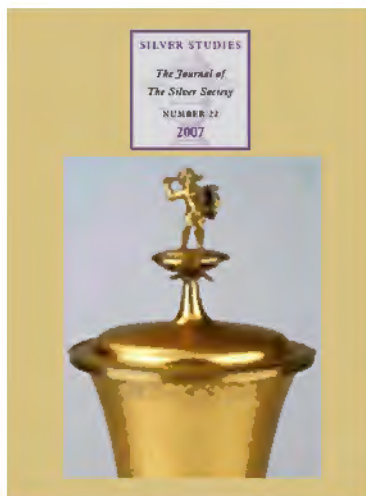
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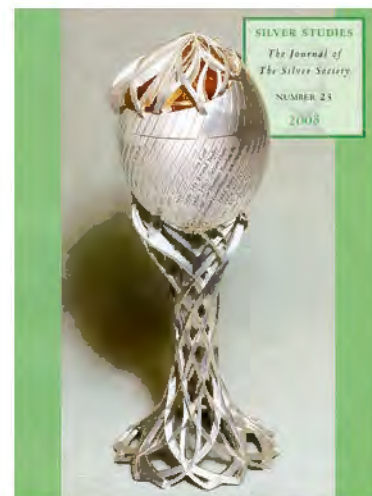
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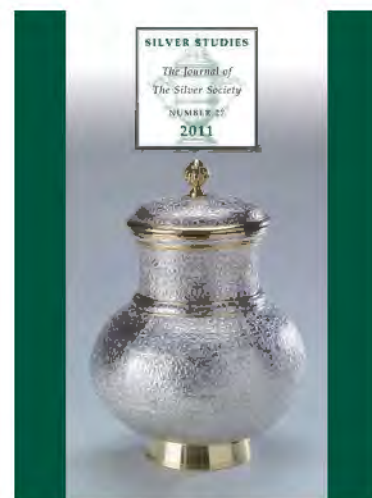
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