

SILVER STUDIES

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NUMBER 29

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# Contents

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Front cover:  
Detail of the Portsmouth lectern,  
London, 2013 by the Original  
Design Partnership  
(Courtesy of the Original Design  
Partnership)  
(see Claire Crawford,  
*The Portsmouth lectern: the commis-  
sion of a lectern for the Worshipful  
Company of Fishmongers*, pp 112-3)

<b>JOHN PERKINS</b>	
Goldsmiths from Lancashire and York parish registers.....	5
<b>GORDON CROSSKEY</b>	
“Wasting a great quantity of silver” .....	12
<b>TIMOTHY KENT AND LUKE SCHRAGER</b>	
Adam Murray and his two boxes: a family story.....	20
<b>CHRISTOPHER HARTOP</b>	
Sir Robert Walpole’s silver .....	24
<b>SCARLETT HUTCHIN</b>	
The Croll Testimonial: its history, construction and restoration.....	84
<b>JOHN FALLON</b>	
The Pottinger plate.....	89
<b>BRIAN MAY, RICHARD PHILLIPS, MANDY PEMBERTON AND CRAIG O’DONNELL</b>	
New light on Samuel Pemberton I and his descendants: Birmingham toy makers, jewellers and silversmiths.....	91
<b>MICHAEL PAYNE</b>	
The 1937 ‘Coronation hallmark’ .....	103
<b>HELEN CLIFFORD</b>	
Verve and Vision: Paul Dyson at the Goldsmiths’ Company 2001-2013.....	109
<b>CLAIRE CRAWFORD</b>	
The Portsmouth lectern: the commission of a lectern for the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers.....	112
<b>LUCY MORTON</b>	
Miriam Hanid.....	114
<b>LUCY MORTON</b>	
Jenny Edge.....	116
<b>BOOK REVIEWS</b>	
Charles Truman, <i>The Wallace Collection, Catalogue of Gold Boxes</i> .....	117
John Salter, <i>Boudoir Labels</i> .....	120
Anne Odom, <i>Russian Silver in America. Surviving the Melting Pot</i> .....	121
Deborah Dependahl Waters, <i>A Handsome Cupboard of Plate, Early American Silver in the Cahn Collection</i> .....	123
<b>ELEANOR THOMPSON</b>	
The Wellby Bequest: memories of Michael.....	125
<b>RICHARD VANDERPUMP AND TIMOTHY SCHRODER</b>	
David Brand Inglis: an obituary.....	127
<b>INDEX</b> .....	129

# THE SILVER SOCIETY

## 2013

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

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

All items illustrated are silver unless otherwise stated.

# Goldsmiths from Lancashire and York parish registers

JOHN PERKINS

The first section of this article reports on the discovery of more than a dozen seventeenth-century Lancashire goldsmiths who have not previously been listed; in the second part the author describes his search for the identity of the maker of a York seal top spoon with the maker's mark P.

## Introduction

Parish registers were introduced by Thomas Cromwell in 1538 to record baptisms, marriages and burials. These registers were usually written on paper and many were damaged by damp, fire and neglect so in 1598 it was required that parchment copies of each year's register should be sent to the bishop of the local diocese; these are known as the Bishop's Transcripts.

The Lancashire Parish Register Society was formed in 1887 with the intention of transcribing ancient parish registers, editing and publishing indexed copies and helping to preserve the old registers. In 2010 at the Annual Meeting of the society a fellow council member asked for help. He was copying a transcript of some seventeenth-century registers of Manchester cathedral into a computer, as well as indexing characters for a further volume of the Lancashire Parish Register Society series. Before completing the indexing it was necessary to compare the text with the Bishop's Transcripts but he did not wish to travel to the Lancashire Record Office in Preston for the large number of visits that would have been involved. The Bishop's Transcripts can be important, in spite of copying errors, because they can fill in missing years in the register and provide additional information. I offered to help if provided with a microfilm copy purchased from the Record Office which I would be able to use at home. While transcribing the Bishop's Transcripts it appeared that there were references to three goldsmiths. An examination of all the 173 published volumes of the Lancashire Parish Register Society revealed a further seventeen men whose occupation was given as goldsmith or gold beater as well as the name of John Branker who later became a silversmith. During transcription of the Preston Bishop's Transcripts another two goldsmiths were discovered.

## Results Summary (see Appendix)

Branker Benjamin*	Liverpool	1706-17	d 1734
Brancker John*	Liverpool	1734-51	d 1752
Dudley Robert	Liverpool	1702	
Garrard Jonathan	Liverpool	1716	
Lewis, Luis Edward*	Liverpool		d 1680
Pemberton Peter*	Liverpool	1678	
Shields Robert*	Liverpool	1692	d 1710
Sheals Michael	Liverpool	1689	
Parkinson John	Chipping	1673-98	
Stevenson Hugh	Croston		d 1641
Parkinson Richard	Goosnagh	1695	d 1706
Hodges John	Farnworth	1631	
Smith Arthur	St Michael on Wyre	1753	
Blackborn Arthur	Preston		d 1682
Gregson John	Preston		d 1682
Beswicke Raphe*	Manchester		(1612)
Bevan John	Manchester	1669-83	d 1693
Commings William	Manchester		d 1636
Cunliffe Martin	Manchester		d 1620
Rosse Myles	Manchester		d prior to 1623
Waite Richard	Manchester	1648	d 1678
Chapman Nicholas	Warrington		d 1699
Penn, Pen Thomas	Warrington	1648	d 1655

Most of these names are not listed in Jackson<sup>1</sup> and sixteen of them were presumably working in the seventeenth century which is otherwise poorly represented in other records. The six names marked \* in the list above are well documented in Jackson but I would like to add further details about them as well as the others.

**Edward Lewis** is listed in Jackson as dying in 1681 although he was buried in 1680. Of course the date letters do span two years and he died in September 1680 so perhaps an assayed piece of silver was dated 1680-81.

<sup>1</sup> Ian Pickford, *Jackson's Silver and Gold marks of England, Scotland and Ireland*, Woodbridge, 1996.

**Benjamin Branker's (Brancker)** history is well documented in Jackson and he became a freeman in Chester in 1715. In the parish registers he is listed as a goldsmith from 1706-18 but the published registers only go as far as 1725 with no mention of his burial. When I searched for more information about him the first item found was a pedigree<sup>2</sup> of a Brancker family living near Wigan in 1872 which had a Benjamin Brancker, born on 30 December 1674, whose father died when he was two years old. Benjamin married Elizabeth Amory and they had three children: Thomas, Jane and John and he "settled in Liverpool". At first it seemed unlikely that this Benjamin could be the goldsmith in spite of the unusual surname, for according to Jackson, he was active from 1681 when the Benjamin in the pedigree was only seven. The three children listed in the pedigree, however, had the same names as the goldsmith's three surviving children. Furthermore, in the list of Marriage Allegations and Bonds at Chester the intended marriage of Benjamin Brancker, goldsmith, and Elizabeth Amory, is listed in 1704. Finally the burial register of St Nicholas's church revealed the burial of Benjamin Brancker, goldsmith, on 11 November 1734. The pedigree reveals a notable family dating back to the 1500s. I wondered why it contained so much information about the occupation of many of the family members but that Benjamin just "settled in Liverpool". His great-grandfather was brother to a Lord President of Munster and his father was cousin to 1st Viscount Brouncker, one of whose sons was President of the Royal Society for fifteen years; two of his descendants were Mayor of Liverpool so perhaps the trade of goldsmith was not deemed sufficiently distinguished. John succeeded his father in the business at the age of 20, following his father's death, and his burial was recorded on 9 January 1752 at which time he was described as a silversmith of Water Street.

**Richard Waite**, a gentleman and goldsmith, was recorded in Manchester in 1648 but his origins and output are unknown and he does not appear to have been baptised in Manchester. A seventeenth-century communion cup at Cheadle, near Manchester, has the unattributed maker's mark RW. It is possible that he was the freeman of York of 1639 who appears in the Manchester records in 1648.

**John Bevan** appeared on the scene in 1669. It is possible that he was the son of John Bevan, goldsmith of Dublin who died in 1669.

In Jackson three marks of IB associated with three plumes with a circle of dots below are illustrated for the period 1660 to 1700. It may be that this was intended to represent a plume of feathers and a stylised coronet for the Prince of Wales who was also Earl of Chester; similar marks were used at Chester in the seventeenth century. If this was the case the work

of IB was being assayed at Chester prior to 1686 and it may be that this was John Bevan of Manchester who was active in 1669 and was buried in 1693. The mark is not like that of John Brancker. Another candidate would be John Buck who was made a freeman of Chester in 1660.

**Robert Shields** and **Peter Pemberton** are listed in Jackson as is **Ralphe Beswicke** of Salford.

**Thomas Penn** was from Warrington and was buried in 1655 and may be the apprentice listed in Dublin in 1632.<sup>3</sup>

While searching records odd snippets of information are sometimes found and I would also like to list the following items:

The first concerns **John Fazakerley** listed in Jackson as a silversmith in Pool Lane, in the Liverpool Directory of 1766, and possibly registered at Chester. Liverpool Council was only allowing freemen to trade in 1672:

The council had taken proceedings against Mr John Fazakerley, silversmith, who not being a freeman had opened a shop in Pool Lane, and encouraged others to do the same, offering to protect them for two pence each.

The council submitted the case to Mr Joseph Bellfield, barrister,

whose opinion was adverse to their pretensions and so the monopoly claimed came to an end<sup>4</sup>.

In 1805 Mr **Elias Joseph** was described as a silversmith in Castle Street, Liverpool.<sup>5</sup>

The final extract is as follows:

At the close of mayoralty of Mr T B Horsfall in 1848, the tribute of a silver cradle was presented to his lady, she having given birth to a daughter during her husband's year of office. Although tradition testifies to this custom having been handed down from remote antiquity, this is the first instance in our annals.

The cradle was a beautiful piece of plate in the form of a nautilus shell and bore the legend

Gif Leverpoole's good maior gd cherre bee  
Made fathere in hys yere of maioraltee  
Thenne sal be giften bye ye townemenne free  
Ane silverre cradle to hys faire ladye.



There is a footnote that

The custom was not confined to Liverpool, but has prevailed in York and other municipalities.

There were a total of four presentations in Liverpool from 1848 to 1865.<sup>6</sup>

### Yorkshire goldsmiths

A further example of the help that parish registers can give the researcher is as follows. In January 2011 the author purchased a seal top spoon which was described as Elizabethan and marked for York, with the date letter P for 1597-98 and with an unidentified maker's mark. It was accompanied by an illustration taken from the H E Ellis collection catalogue which was of similar marks on a spoon but in reverse order and also dated 1597-98. The finer details were not easy to see even with a magnifying glass. The unknown maker's mark looked at first like a squashed K but when I had it photographed closer study revealed that the town mark was not correct for 1597-98 but was rather that for 1623-24 and so it became obvious that the so-called maker's mark was in fact the date letter R for 1623-24 and that the letter P was the maker's mark [Fig 1].<sup>7</sup> In 1597 the town mark leopard has a small eye and a thin mouth with no mane below. The leopard on the spoon has a large eye with a thick mouth conjoined to two thick vertical lines of the mane.

A search of Jackson revealed five possible candidates:

William Pearson, freeman 1573  
Thomas Pindar, freeman 1587  
George Pearson, freeman 1600  
Peter Pearson, freeman 1603  
James Plummer, freeman 1619, died in 1663

The marks of the last two are illustrated in Jackson.

**Peter Pearson** was the son of William Pearson and was baptised on 29 July 1585 at St Helen's church, York; he was admitted as a freeman in 1603. His will was dated 27 May 1632 and he was buried as 'Peeter Peerson' on 4 June 1632 in the south choir of St Michael le Belfry.

**George Pearson** has no known mark so it was necessary to see whether he was alive in 1623. There were difficulties because the surname was variously spelled Pereson, Peerson, Peareson, Pearsonn and Pearson. Eventually the following information was obtained from a register of St Martin's, Coney Street, York.

He was the son of William Peareson and was baptised on 27 July 1579 at St Helen's, York.



Fig 1 Marks from a seal top spoon, York, 1623-24, probably by Thomas Pindar

George Pereson, goldsmith fil William Pereson, goldsmith, Freeman 1600

William son of George Pearsonn, Gould smyth baptised viij Aug 1601

William Pearson s George Pearson Gould smith bur x Apr 1602

Grace daughter of George Pearson gold smyth baptised xxxvj Mar 1602/3

Grace Peareson d George Peareson goldsmith bur xxxvj Aug 1603

An Infant new borne of George Pearson's, Goldsmith bur xxiiij Aug 1604

Isabell Peareson wife of George Peareson, goldsmith bur xxiiij Aug 1604

George Peareson, goldsmith bur the sext day of Sep 1604

Because there were two people called George Pearson in the parish the entries always included the goldsmith's occupation.

Given the date of his death it would be impossible for George Pearson to have had the spoon assayed in 1623 because he had been dead for nineteen years.

2 Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the county families of England, Lancashire*, 1873, vol 1.

3 Ian Pickford, op cit, see note 1, p 671.

4 J A Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, London, 1875, vol I, p 204.

5 Ibid, vol II, p 127.

6 Ibid, vol 1, pp 506-7.

7 Spoon, property of the author.

8 Goldsmiths' Hall, s 259-66, quoted by C E Challis, *Northern History*, 1995, vol XXXI, pp 131-6.





*Fig 2 Marks from one of a pair of seal top spoons, Hull, circa 1600, possibly by James Watson*

The tragic events in George Pearson's life, when his three children, his wife and then himself all died within a period of two to three years, may be explained by the fact that in 1604 there was an epidemic of bubonic plague in York. John Shrewsbury wrote

When a parish register shows an excessive number of burials in a year and a monthly analysis reveals that more than 50% of them is contributed by any successive three months of the plague season, June to October inclusive, the record is almost certainly indicative of bubonic plague in the parish.<sup>9</sup>

Charles Creighton wrote

One of the severest epidemics of the period occurred at York in 1604. The markets were closed, the courts adjourned to Ripon and Durham, and the Minster and Minster-yard closely shut up. The infected were housed in booths on Hobmoor and Horsefair. The number of those who died is put down at 3,512.<sup>10</sup>

George Pearson's wife appears to have died in childbirth together with her child and George died within a fortnight; all three deaths were during the worst two months of the epidemic.

There is no evidence that William Pearson was working after 1600 and, as already mentioned, the admission of his son Peter as a freeman in 1603 at the age of 18 suggests that his father was ill or had died, although to date the only possible burial that has been found is that of a William Pearson on 18 November 1604 at the church of the Holy Trinity, Goodramgate. Although his occupation was not given, the fact that George had died at the height of the epidemic and that this William died two months later, perhaps of the plague, suggests that he might have been the father of George.

Although William Pearson and Thomas Pindar were possible candidates as the maker of the spoon there was some difficulty in finding any examples of their work. In the catalogue of the exhibition of York silver held at the

Merchant Adventurers' Hall, York in July 2000, a spoon<sup>11</sup> [Fig 3] from a private collection was attributed to William Pearson and a further spoon<sup>12</sup> [Fig 4] from the Yorkshire Museum was described as "1572/3 possibly by Thomas Pindar". Another spoon<sup>13</sup> [Fig 5] from the Sykes collection was dated to 1588 and was described as "probably by Thomas Pindar". Fortunately photographs of all the exhibits had been taken and the hallmarks of some of the items are shown in Figs 2-5. William Pearson used the mark WP conjoined and so may be eliminated as a maker of the spoon under discussion.

Helen Walsh of the Yorkshire Museum was unable to find either of the two relevant spoons in the museum's collection but did provide copies of drawings and descriptions of all the spoons in its collection. When these were compared with the photographs of the exhibits the following observations may be made.

Exhibit no 8 – A pair of Elizabeth I seal top spoons: loaned by the Yorkshire Museum.  
York, 1566-67 by Thomas Waddie [Fig 2].

The first difficulty is the fact that Thomas Waddie was not made a freeman of York until 1571. Fortunately the drawings and description of the spoon in the museum's collection revealed that items 60 and 61 matched the photographs of no 8. The spoons do not have the York town mark and the letter H in a square shield does not look like the York date letter for 1566-67 which has a shaped shield nor does it appear in any other York cycle of the period. Although the maker's mark resembles that of Thomas Waddie the arms of the T should project above the top of the W whereas on the spoons it seems to have a vertical line and a flat top like an I. The museum descriptions refer to a label on both of the spoons with the date 1600 and the suggestion that the initials are IW. There are two illustrations of a single H mark, with a maker's mark, for 1580 and 1587, for two members of the Carlille family of Hull.<sup>14</sup> It would seem, therefore, that this pair of spoons have the town mark of late seventeenth-century Hull and that the maker's mark is probably that of James Watson who became a freeman in 1582.

Exhibit no 11 - An Elizabeth I baluster knob spoon: York, 1572-73, possibly by Thomas Pindar, loaned by the Yorkshire Museum [Fig 4].

It is unlikely that Thomas Pindar made this spoon in 1572 because he would have only been about 6 at the time and was not made a freeman until 1587. The presumed date letter should be O but the mark on the spoon is an O with a diagonal bar across the centre, a mark that does not appear in association with the first town mark of York. It is more likely that it is an unknown maker's mark which means that the other mark is the date letter for 1623-24.



Fig 3 Marks from a spoon, York, 1581-82, attributed to William Pearson (Exhibit no 11)



Fig 4 Marks from a baluster knop spoon, York, 1623-24, unidentified maker's mark (Exhibit no 15)



Fig 5 Marks from a seal top spoon, York 1623-24 by John Frost or Henry Frost (Exhibit no 17)



Fig 6 Marks from a seal top spoon, York, 1623-24, probably by Thomas Pindar (Author's spoon)

The spoon is matched by the museum's drawing and description numbered 45, on which it is dated 1623-24 with an unknown maker's mark. This latter description would, therefore, seem to be correct.

Exhibit no 17 – An Elizabeth I seal top spoon, York, 1588-89, probably by Thomas Pindar, Sykes collection [Fig 5].

Figs 3-5 show the hallmarks of Exhibit nos 11, 15, 17 and the author's spoon [Fig 6]. The first three sets of marks all have the same town mark and the date letter R (which looks like a letter P with a wavy line across the stem) for York, 1623-24. The only date letter to match the P of the author's spoon is that of 1597-98, but then the type of the town mark does not match which would point to the P being a maker's mark. It would seem, therefore, that no 17 is dated 1623-24 and has the maker's mark F which may be that of John Frost who was made a freeman of York in 1622 or Henry Frost who is first noted in 1600.

If the author's spoon was by Thomas Pindar the latter would have been about 57 at the time and it is not known if he was still alive at this time and despite much searching his burial has not been located. The problem is compounded by the fact that the surname has a variety of spellings. There is Pynder in the Freemens' List, Pindar in Jackson, and in the parish registers the name is spelled Pinder, Pindor, Ponder and Punder. Not all the York reg-

isters have been transcribed and in those that have been there are gaps. If Pindar were still active in 1632 it would have been thirty-six years since he became a freeman. An examination of the interval between the dates of freedom and death for York goldsmiths in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shows that the largest group lived thirty-five to forty-four years, after being granted their freedom, with a range of two to fifty-nine years.

In conclusion it would seem very likely that the mark of Thomas Pindar is the letter P and that it was still in use thirty-six years after he was granted his freedom.

The author is indebted to J G Chadwick for the photographs of his spoon and to Nicholas Shaw for those of Exhibit nos 8, 11, 15 and 17. Thanks also go to Helen Walsh of the Yorkshire Museum.

*Dr John Perkins is a retired consultant physician and a Council member of the Lancashire Parish Register Society. His hobbies include transcribing and editing old registers for publication and he has a small collection of mainly seveneenth-century Hull, York and Leeds spoons.*

9 J F D Shrewsbury, *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles*, Cambridge, 1970, pp 174-5.

10 Charles Creighton, *History of Epidemics in Britain*, Cambridge, 1894, vol 1, pp 498-9.  
11 *Three Centuries of York Silver 1550-1858*,

exhibition catalogue, no 15.

12 Ibid, no 11.

13 Ibid, no 17

## Appendix

### Lancashire Goldsmiths

The following details have been extracted from the published volumes of the Lancashire Parish Register Society, vols 1-173.

Vol	Place	Name	Details
6	Croston	Hugh Stevenson, goldsmith	d Mgt bur 18 July 1641
14	Chipping	John Parkinson, gouldbeater	d Alice b 29 September 1673 s Rbt b 1 April 1677 d Agnes bapt 21 September 1682 m by licence 6 October 1698
27	St Michael on Wyre	John Parkinson of Sowerby goldsmith and Alice Anyers of Preston	m by licence 28 August 1753
143		Arthur Smith goldsmith Leverpoole and Elizabeth Whitside, Rosal par Poulton	
35, 101	Liverpool	Edward Lewis and Elizabeth Green Edward Luis, goldsmith Edward Lewis, goldsmith  Robert Sheles and Elizabeth Lewis Robert Sheilds  silversmith, Water Street goldsmith, Water Street Michael Sheals Robert Dudley, silversmith Chapel Yard Peter Pemberton of Chester, goldsmith and Kathleen Urmston	m by licence 22 September 1680 d Ruth bapt 27 December 1685, bur 1689 s Alex bapt 1 December 1689 bur 25 May 1690 m 22 September 1692 bur 18 September 1710 d Olivia bapt 1694 s Beresford bapt 1696 d Eliz bapt 1698 s Rbt b 17 July 1700, bapt 1 August 1700 bur 6 July 1701 s Rbt bapt 16 June 1689 d Eliz bapt 12 August 1702 m 28 July 1678
101	Liverpool	Jonathan Garrard, goldsmith Coman Garden	d Eliz b November 1716, bapt 3 November 1716
31	Manchester	Raphe Beswicke, goldsmith late of Manchester	s Gyles bur 30 July 1612
55, 56	Manchester	William Commings, goldsmith Myles Rosse, gouldsmith Martin Cundelyve	John bur 4 February 1636/37 Mary, widow bur 6 August 1623
64	Goosnagh	Gouldesmithe Richard Parkinson, Goldsmith	bur 10 November 1620 bur 21 November 1706 d Ann bapt 23 August 1695 s Thos bapt 20 November 1698 s John baptised 17 August 1701 s Rbt bapt 5 March 1703/4 bur 11 November 1734* s Thos b 27 October 1706, bapt 29 October 1706, bur 10 May 1706 s Thos bur 31 March 1711 s Rbt b 20 January 1711, bapt 24 January 1711, bur 2 February 1711 s John, b 27 July 1714, bapt 3 August 1714, bur 9 January 1752* s Thos b 25 February 1715, bapt 6 March 1715 d Jane b 21 April 1717, bapt 23 April 1717 d Hannah bur 15 October 1718
101	Liverpool	Benjamin Branker, goldsmith Water Street*	



\*These burials are taken from later unpublished registers of St Nicholas's church, Liverpool

70, 95	Warrington	Thomas Penn the goldsmith	bur 13 May 1655 s John bapt 27 August 1648 d Eliz bapt 30 November 1651 d Ann bapt 13 August 1654
125	Warrington	Nicholas Chapman goldsmith	bur 6 May 1699
97	Farnworth	Richard Waite goldsmith Richard Wayte, Mr., Gent	bur 23 January 1678/9 d Eliz bapt 14 June 1648 s Thos bapt 9 February 1650, bur 7 May 1654 s John bapt 27 March 1653 d Jane b 31 October 1654 s Thos b 6 April 1656 d Mary b 17 September 1658 d Hanna bapt 17 June 1661 d Susan bapt 13 September 1663 d Ann bapt 3 June 1666
		Richard Wayte of Manchester and Elizabeth Wardle of Frodsham (2nd marriage?)	m by licence 24 October 1667 s George bapt 23 September 1668 d Mgt bapt 9 June 1670 d Kath bapt 30 December 1673
55,89	Manchester	John Bevan, goldsmith of Manchester John Beevan of Manchester, GoldSmith John Beevan, Beavan	bur 21 December 1693 d Mary bapt 14 December 1669 s John, bapt 26 August 1671, bur 18 February 1670/1 d Eliza bapt 16 January 1672/3 s Isaac bapt 22 October 1674 d Ann, bapt 5 October 1676 d Kath bapt 11 July 1678 bur 13 October 1680 d Mgt bapt 5 April 1681, bur 12 August 1682 s Nat bapt 4 November 1683

Alex Alexander  
Eliz Elizabeth  
Kath Katherine  
Mgt Margaret  
Nat Nathaniel  
Rbt Robert  
Thos Thomas  
b born  
bapt baptised  
bur buried  
m married  
d daughter  
s son

The Manchester Collegiate Church Registers have included extracts from an unpublished transcript of later date.

# “Wasting a great quantity of silver”

GORDON CROSSKEY

In May 1797, Goldsmiths’ Hall, on behalf of the London silver trade, lobbied the Prime Minister, William Pitt, not to increase the duty on silver from 6d an ounce to 1s. This was in response to a formal petition presented to the Court of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths by London silversmiths, the central thrust of which was a vigorous argument outlining the inequitable advantages enjoyed by the plated trade, not being subject to any form of duty or statutory requirements. Their petition stated:

Your Petitioners beg leave further to represent that...plated manufacturers... have been enabled to produce articles of the highest elegance and fashion, many of which are now made with solid silver – borders, shields, and ornaments, finished in exact resemblance of real plate, and consequently... depriving the Revenue of a vast duty, and being the means of wasting a great quantity of silver.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst adopting a conciliatory if superficial attitude in not being inclined to

discourage the improvements of arts and mechanism, nor to withhold the just reward of industry...

the petition pointed out that if the doubling of the duty on silver were adopted

The manufacture of wrought plate will have to contend with a formidable and uncontrollable opposition unless an equivalent impost be laid upon plated goods.

The proposal put forward by the London silver trade was that a duty should be placed on plated ware. The formal petition, couched in the hyperbolic language typical of such representations, was entitled

TO PREVENT THE TOTAL SUPPRESSION OF THE MANUFACTURE OF GOLD AND SILVER, BY PLACING THE SILVER AND PLATED MANUFACTORIES ON A MORE EQUAL FOOTING.

The petition proposed

That a duty of 3d. per ounce be laid on all plated goods weighing 4 dwts. and upwards, and a duty of 6d. per ounce on all plated goods that have silver edges, bands, shields, or any other parts of silver, either for use or ornament.

1 This and the following extracts are taken from the *Memorials of the Goldsmiths Company*, W S Prideaux (editor), London, 1897.

2 John Hodges (circa 1754-1808) was apprenticed to Boulton. He was educated at a charity school but rose to become senior clerk in charge of the silver and plated department of Boulton’s manufactory. Following John Fothergill’s death in 1782, Hodges became a partner in the Matthew Boulton & Plate Company: an arrangement never put on a formal legal footing.

3 Birmingham Archives MBP Box 313, John Hodges, Hodges to Matthew Boulton, 22 February 1786.

4 Estimating the price of silver at 5s 6d per oz.

5 Sheffield Archives BR 240, Fenton & Co to Oxley and Hague in Dublin, 30 March 1789. Fenton’s letter gives a clear picture of the import situation for plated goods going into Ireland: a situation that was resolved by the subsequent Act of Union in 1800.

That a drawback of the whole duty be allowed on exportation. That the manufacturer shall pay a small sum for marking the different articles... sufficient to defray the expenses of the Hall, or Office, to be established for the purposes of inspecting and marking the articles and receiving the duty.

The petition further proposed that the word 'Plated' and the Sheffield arms be stamped on all items of plated ware. The adoption of such a proposal would have required the building, or at least establishment of, marking halls completely separate from the Sheffield or Birmingham Assay Offices. Birmingham was not specifically mentioned in the paper so it is unclear whether the intention was to establish a similar hall there for weighing and marking plated goods. If not, then presumably Birmingham manufacturers would have had to send all their plated wares up to Sheffield for marking. Furthermore, these would have had to be sent in an unfinished or unloaded state to allow for accurate weighing and then been returned to the point of origin: a threat fit to induce apoplexy in any Birmingham manufacturer of plated wares! The whole issue would have created gigantic, if not insuperable, logistical problems.

The London silver trade, in its petition to Goldsmiths' Hall, stated that it had

estimated that a duty of threepence per ounce on plated goods would form an equitable taxation, as the amount upon each article of plated goods would be nearly the average of one fourth of the duty which attaches to similar articles of wrought plate. Your petitioners are, nevertheless, of opinion that those plated articles described to be particularly ornamented, and to consume and waste so considerable a quantity of silver, ought to be prohibited from being made, or confined solely to the export trade, unless made subject to a duty double the amount of any that it might be thought right to lay upon other articles in the plated manufacture.

By 1797 virtually all items of domestic plated ware had some form of solid silver attachments, whether a simple silver wire of U-shaped cross section used to cover the edge of the article, or applied gadrooned borders that were stamped out of thin silver and then filled with soft solder. According to the petition's recommendation, all such items would have incurred the double duty of 6d per ounce (31.103g). The notion, as presented by the London silver trade that this would have represented "an equitable taxation", beggars belief. The problem arose because the London trade never compared like with like. If one looks at the production of a typical pair of plated candlesticks, and compares it with that of a

similar pair in silver, the absurdly disproportionate nature of the duty becomes glaringly obvious. Using figures taken from a letter from John Hodges<sup>2</sup> to Matthew Boulton written in 1786,<sup>3</sup> the standard strength of plating for candlesticks was 15 dwt (23.32g) of silver per pound of copper. Here, mixed units are used as silver was weighed using Troy units but copper, not being a precious metal, was weighed avoirdupois. Hodges stated that the plated metal itself cost around 6s per troy pound (373g). His letter was in response to various enquiries from Boulton regarding their production of plated ware at Soho. Two further points itemised by Hodges concerning their plated candlesticks are of particular interest:

The proportion is 24 Copper to 1 Silver in thickness

and

The weight of a pair Candlesticks when put together ready to fill ... is 18 oz<sup>4</sup>.

For reasons that seem inconsistent, Hodges here quoted the weight in ounces avoirdupois, which equates to 16 oz 8 dwt (510g). From these figures it is a simple matter to calculate that the amount of silver on a typical pair of candlesticks was about 1 oz (31.103g). Had the duty, as proposed by the London trade, been based solely on the silver content that might have been fair, as such a pair of candlesticks would have incurred a duty of 1s, i.e. under the pending legislation to raise the duty from 6d to 1s an ounce (31.103g). But the silver trade's actual proposal, of a duty of 6d an ounce (31.103g), based on the total weight, for plated articles embellished with silver adornments, would have resulted in a duty in excess of 8s, an amount equivalent to the entire prime cost! By comparison, an equivalent pair of silver candlesticks would incur a duty of just over 16s, but in this case based on a prime cost of around £4 10s.<sup>4</sup> Bearing in mind that the proportion, at least for the normal quality of candlesticks, was 24 copper to 1 silver, the London trade's proposal would have effectively resulted in a duty on copper.

At the time a duty on plated goods based on the silver content was not such an outlandish idea: in the late eighteenth century the Irish Parliament had introduced such a scheme which caused some problems for the plated trade. For instance in 1789 the Sheffield firm of Fenton & Co had a consignment of plated wares seized by the Irish customs in Dublin; the officers claimed that the accompanying invoice undervalued the silver content of the goods. The consignment included two large plated epergnes, each valued at £16 (Irish), and containing 10 oz (311g) of silver. The epergnes were eventually returned to Sheffield and Fenton & Co instructed its Dublin agents to obtain the drawback.<sup>5</sup>





Fig 1 Pattern book of Roberts & Cadman, circa 1795  
(Sheffield Archives SIS 70)

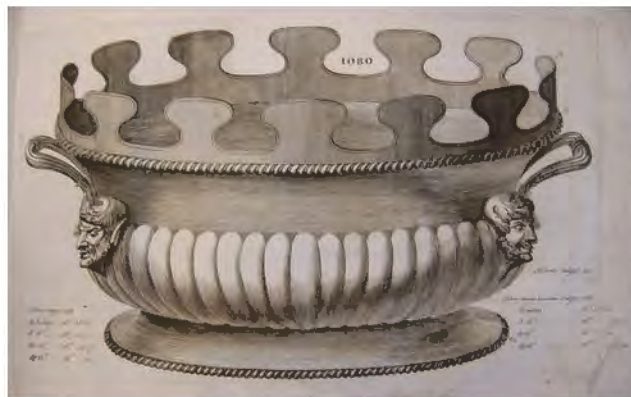


Fig 2 Pattern book of Roberts & Cadman, circa 1795  
(Sheffield Archives SIS 70)



Fig 3a Tureen dish, cover and heater base, Sheffield plate with cast silver handles by Matthew Boulton, circa 1805  
(Loan to Soho House, Birmingham)



Fig 3b Detail of handle to the heater base, cast silver



Fig 3c Detail of detachable handle to cover, cast silver

It is true that from the late 1770s onwards the addition of silver, by way of silver wire edges, shields, gadrooned borders, masks, etc, to items of Sheffield plate, had undergone an inexorable increase and by the 1790s it was *de rigueur* for the finest pieces to have silver adornments. Pattern books from this period frequently draw the viewer's attention to these silver additions by using arrows, or a hand with extended index finger, pointing to the silver edges or borders of articles illustrated [Fig 1]. The Roberts & Cadman monteith, taken from their pattern book [Fig 2], also illustrates this point. The prices quoted are:

Silver edges	
12 Scollop	220/-
Silver heads handles & edges	
12 Scollop	252/- <sup>6</sup>

As can be seen, the addition of silver heads and handles added 32s to the price, amounting to nearly 6 oz (186g) of silver, on which no duty was payable. The plated tureen dish, or second-course dish [Fig 3a] bearing Matthew Boulton's arms, has handles made of cast, not stamped, silver [Figs 3b and 3c].<sup>7</sup> As this dish bears the stamped number 4, it is fair to assume it was part of a service that comprised several such dishes; the combined weight of all the cast silver handles must have been considerable. These two examples and many others of a similar nature which can be drawn from late eighteenth-century pattern books, or surviving specimens of Sheffield plate, provide some justification for the grievances of the London silver trade, but not for the punitive legislation it was proposing.

In reality silver had been used by the plated trade, in combination with plated articles, from almost the earliest period. The piano-type hinges used on rectangular plated snuff boxes [Fig 4] were always silver: it was the only way to make them. Likewise the hinges and strengthening wires used around the middle sections of plated etuis were solid silver [Fig 5]. A very early coffee pot [Fig 6a] has an original finial in cast silver [Fig 6b].<sup>8</sup> A further interesting example is the early taperstick [Fig 7a] of which the nozzle [Fig 7b] is made of silver but the cylindrical neck is made from single plated metal. This taperstick is very much in the style of the silver examples by James or William Gould dating from the 1730s but it must date to around 1760 and is likely to be an early specimen by Joseph Hancock.<sup>9</sup>



Fig 4 Detail of snuff box, Sheffield plate with silver hinge, late 1750s



Fig 5 Etui, die-stamped Sheffield plate with silver hinge and strengthening wires around the waist, circa 1760



Fig 6a Coffee pot, Sheffield plate with riveted handle sockets, circa 1760



Fig 6b Detail of finial of coffee pot, turned silver

6 Sheffield Archives SIS 70.

7 This dish is now on loan to Soho House, Birmingham; it dates to around 1805.

8 This is the only known example of a coffee pot on which the handle sockets are riveted to the body. This item was probably made by Joseph Hancock, as he used exactly this method to fasten the handle sockets of his early plated saucepans.

9 Joseph Hancock (1711- 91) was a silver cutler (Master Cutler in 1764) and he was the first manu-

facturer to turn his hand to producing articles of domestic plated ware as opposed to smaller items such as die-stamped cutlery handles and toys (i.e. buttons, buckles, snuff boxes etc). Hancock's early production included saucepans, candlesticks, salts, cheese toasters, beakers etc. Although impossible to verify with great accuracy, my research suggests a date of around 1757 for the start of Hancock's manufacture of domestic plated ware.



Fig 7a Taperstick, Sheffield plate, late 1750s



Fig 7b Detail of nozzle of taperstick, silver but with the cylindrical fitment in single plated metal





Fig 8 Detail of silver hinge of Sheffield plate coffee pot, early 1760s, by Thomas Law



Fig 9 Monteith, Sheffield plate with stamped silver lions' masks, circa 1775

The Sheffield maker Thomas Law<sup>10</sup> sometimes used silver to make the capitals of plated candlesticks in the Corinthian style whilst Fig 8 shows Law's use of solid silver to make the hinge for the cover of an early coffee pot.<sup>11</sup> By the late 1770s plate manufacturers were beginning to adopt the use of stamped silver heads or lions' masks on expensive articles. A good example of this is a monteith [Fig 9] which has stamped silver lions' masks at each end but the applied volute scrolls around the rim are plated metal. Within a few years these applied scrolls would invariably have been made in silver on such an article. By the 1780s and 1790s the use of applied silver bands, which could be flat chased, or thicker ones actually bright-cut engraved, became common. Two examples of this are a pair of wire-work sugar bowls [Fig 10], where flat-chased silver bands are applied to the blue glass liners, and the twelve sided caddy [Fig 11] is applied with a broad band of bright-cut engraved silver. The use of silver wires of U-shaped cross section to cover the edges or any form of outer extremity became standard practice; the skills used to achieve this are remarkable. A good example of this technique is the pair of sugar tongs [Fig 12] where the silver wire is applied all the way around the edge of the tongs, without a trace of visible solder.

Plating firms of course frequently used silver to make parts of articles that were impractical or impossible to make out of plated metal, for instance, anything that required a turned screw thread, such as silver nozzles which could be unscrewed, on a three burner reservoir of an oil lamp [Fig 13]. This particular oil lamp comprises a pair of these reservoirs that can be moved up or down a vertical pole. There are, therefore, six of these silver nozzles in total, each one weighing around the 10 dwt (15.5g) statutory requirement for hallmarking.<sup>12</sup> Another example is the oval spirit flask [Fig 14] which has a conical-shaped silver stopper that fits tightly into the neck of the flask, over which the plated cap can be screwed. The short threaded length of brass protruding from the cap is used to screw into the threaded hole visible in the silver stopper and, when screwed in, it enables the stopper to be pulled out. This stopper weighs far more than 10 dwt (15.5g). A rare, plated powder flask [Fig 15] has a nozzle and lever made of silver as well as a decorative silver wire covering the seam between the two die-stamped halves.



Fig 10 Pair of sugar bowls (or sugar and cream), Sheffield plated wirework, with chased bands of silver attached to the rims of the blue glass liners, circa 1780



Fig 11 Tea caddy, Sheffield plate incorporating a wide band of bright cut engraved silver around the body, circa 1790





*Fig 12 Pair of sugar tongs, Sheffield plate with a silver wire edge, circa 1790*



*Fig 13 Reservoir of oil lamp, Sheffield plate, with three burners each with detachable silver nozzles, circa 1790*

All the foregoing examples, of solid silver being employed by the plated trade and on which no duty had been paid, clearly aroused contention on the part of London silversmiths, despite so many of them including plated wares amongst their retail stock. It is hard to see a justification for the irrational fear that somehow the silver trade was in danger of being totally subsumed by an expanding manufacture of plated ware. It is true that Sheffield plate enjoyed almost universal patronage on the part of the aristocracy, gentry and professional classes, but so did silver. Of course, occasionally even the wealthiest clients balked at the cost of an order in silver, preferring to have certain parts made in plated metal. This was frequently the case with sets of silver tureens where the lids, covers or heater bases might be ordered in Sheffield plate and such orders are recorded from the mid-1770s. In 1774, for instance, both the Duke of Montagu and the Earl of Craven commissioned Boulton to produce plated covers to fit sets of silver dishes sent from London.<sup>13</sup> The magnificent silver service made by Paul Storr in 1816 for the Duke of Norfolk, and now in the Gilbert Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, is fitted with Sheffield plate heater bases made at Soho.<sup>14</sup>



*Fig 14 Spirit flask, Sheffield plate, with silver stopper and plated cap, circa 1790*

10 Thomas Law (1717-75) was one of the foremost silver cutlers in Sheffield. He was Master Cutler in 1754 and was one of the pioneers in the production of Sheffield plate from the early 1760s onwards.

11 This is not a repair but an original fitment.

12 In 1738, under 12 Geo II, c26, small silver items weighing 10 dwt (15.5 g)

or less were exempted from both hallmarking and duty.

13 Birmingham Archives, MBP 140 Letter Book G. An entry for 10 June 1774 records three boxes of plated covers sent from Soho to Lord Craven in London invoiced at £69 9s.

14 The plated heater bases, made by the Matthew Boulton & Plate Company, are of superlative quality.



*Fig 15 Powder flask, Sheffield plate, with silver nozzle and lever, circa 1795*

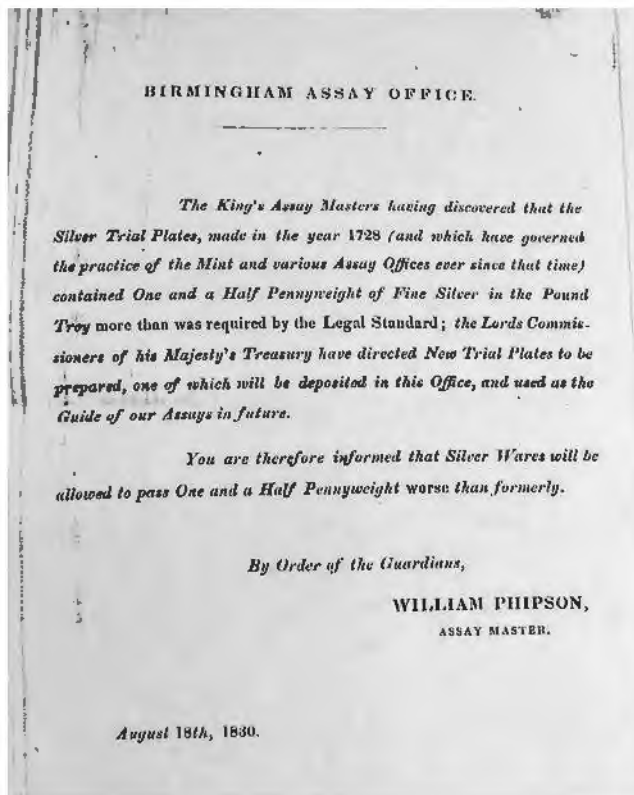


Fig 16 Notice issued by Birmingham Assay Office, 18 August 1830

Returning to the petition, after due deliberation the Court of Assistants at Goldsmiths' Hall informed the representatives of the London silver trade that

This Court will co-operate with the manufacturers of wrought gold and silver in an application to the Minister for the protection of the trade by an imposition of some duty on plated wares.

Towards the end of May a deputation, including members of the Court as well as working silversmiths, was granted an audience with the Prime Minister and the Court was subsequently informed that

The gentlemen deputed to wait on Mr. Pitt, concerning the intended additional duty on plate, had had an audience of him, and had represented

to him everything which they conceived to be favourable to their wishes on the subject. All of which Mr. Pitt had heard, and had said he would pay attention to. And he had further said that he thought plated goods were a fair object of taxation, but that he, nevertheless, was of opinion that plate would bear some additional tax.

At the time Pitt was uncommitted and ultimately Parliament resolved to double the duty on silver from 6d to 1s an ounce (31.103g)<sup>15</sup> but no duty was imposed then, or indeed subsequently, on plated ware. In retrospect it does seem extraordinarily fortunate that the plated trade escaped any form of duty, particularly in view of Pitt's penchant for imposing innumerable taxes to help finance the war with France.

One mitigating factor for goldsmiths was the statutory agreement to allow the lowering of the gold standard from 22 to 18 carats,<sup>16</sup> a matter which had also formed part of the discussions with Pitt, but the doubling of the silver duty can have done nothing to assuage the feelings of the London silver trade. They were, however, quite happy to continue enjoying the privilege of the so-called 'Remedy', a long established indulgence whereby Goldsmiths' Hall would pass silver that was 1½ dwt (2.33g) below the strict legal standard for sterling,<sup>17</sup> a privilege denied to both the Sheffield and Birmingham Assay Offices. Under the 1773 Act granting the establishment of these Assay Offices no such deviation was permitted; for silver to pass the assay at either Sheffield or Birmingham it had to fully conform to the strict sterling standard of 11 oz 2 dwt (345g) of fine silver and 18 dwt (25.19g) of alloy per pound troy (i.e. 925 silver in modern terms). Irrespective of fashion costs, the result was that the London trade was always able to slightly undercut Sheffield or Birmingham on the price of silver. Curiously, the plated trade never sought legislation to correct this imbalance. By the early nineteenth century the production of wrought plate in both Sheffield and Birmingham had expanded considerably and continued to do so. The principal producers were of course the same large manufacturers of plated ware.

By no means all London silver was below the strict standard but refiners had long supplied the trade with

15 Under 37 Geo III, c 90.

16 Discussions regarding the gold standard also formed part of the meeting with Pitt. The Act, 38 Geo III c69, was passed in 1798; it did not affect Sheffield or Birmingham as neither city

could hallmark gold. Birmingham was granted the right to do this in 1824 but Sheffield had to wait until 1904.

17 Much discussion concerning the *Remedy* took place during the

Parliamentary committee meetings held in 1773 to look into the petitions of both Birmingham and Sheffield regarding the establishment of Assay Offices in both places. There were twenty-four such meetings, where the

Goldsmiths' Company of London and the GOLD-SMITHS, SILVERSMITHS AND PLATEWORKERS OF THE CITY OF LONDON presented strong, indeed very hostile, counter petitions.

18 Birmingham Archives, MBP 271 Assay Office, Box 2. Note: all references to the Boulton Archives use the former catalogue system but can be found in the new catalogue as the two systems are cross referenced.

silver from which the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  dwt (2.33g) 'Remedy' had been extracted, knowing that it would pass the assay at Goldsmiths' Hall. It does, therefore, seem an extraordinary quirk of fate that in 1830 it was discovered that the trial plates, made in 1728 at the Royal Mint, to which all Assay Offices had to conform, were  $1\frac{1}{2}$  dwt (2.33g) finer than standard [Fig 16]<sup>18</sup> From this one can infer that on balance all London silver was up to standard and the 'Remedy' and the trial plate errors cancelled each other out. The case for Sheffield and Birmingham was different as they had always produced silver of strict sterling standard. Since the opening of their Assay Offices in 1773, the overall production of wrought plate in both cities during the

intervening fifty-seven years comprised a huge amount, each pound of which as it turned out was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  dwt (2.33g) finer than necessary. This, to my mind, truly exemplifies a case of "wasting a great quantity of silver".

*Gordon Crosskey is a Fellow of the Royal Northern College of Music and a former Principal Lecturer. He has been collecting and researching Old Sheffield plate for many years and is the author of Old Sheffield Plate: a History of the 18th Century Plated Trade, now in its second edition. Parts of his own collection are on permanent loan to Soho House, Birmingham and to the Millenium Galleries in Sheffield. He is a member of the Silver Society.*



# Adam Murray and his two boxes: a family story

TIMOTHY KENT AND LUKE SCHRAGER



Fig 1a Snuff box, gold, Chester probably by Stephen Tillinghast II



Fig 1b Snuff box, detail of marks



Fig 2a Snuff box, silver-gilt, London, 1818 by James Barratt



Fig 2b Snuff box, detail of marks

This is essentially a work in progress, as much detail remains to be discovered, but if one waits for perfection in something like this 'one may for ever tarry.' What has been discovered so far makes a fascinating, though of necessity incomplete, story.

Two octagonal snuffboxes with identical presentation inscriptions, one gold (presumably 22 carat) and the other silver-gilt, appeared together as lot 110, in a sale at Phillips, Bond Street, on 21 October 1994. The boxes [Fig 1a] and [Fig 2a] are of almost identical size, are engraved with similar borders and bear the same engraved text:

May the Wheels of PROVIDENCE spin a comfortable inheritance  
for the POOR MAN'S FRIEND. Presented to M<sup>r</sup> ADAM MURRAY [sic]  
May 31<sup>st</sup> 1806"

The fact that they had remained together suggests an element of family descent.

Taking the gold box first [Fig 1a], it measures  $3\frac{1}{5}$  in (8 cm) by  $2\frac{3}{10}$  in (6 cm) and weighs 4 oz 8 dwt (139g); it is marked in a manner normal for smaller provincial objects with the sovereign's head duty mark, lion passant, and maker's mark ST, all in ringmaker size [Fig 1b]. But which provincial assay office? Initially the name of Sampson Trehane of Exeter was suggested, but we had no 'dark satanic mills' down there, and there had to be a better ascription. When the identity and location of Mr Adam Murray (the usual spelling) came to light, progress began, and without reasonable doubt the gold box bears Chester hallmarks of the period. Only one maker's mark with the relevant initials appears in the reference books for Chester,<sup>1</sup> which has a "tentative attribution" to Stephen Tillinghast of Castle Street, Liverpool, described as a "silversmith, watchmaker, watchcase maker and tax gatherer." A working life of 1735-93 is given and the mark is noted on two skewers of 1788 and a number of wine labels, e.g. Fig 3, have emerged. The suggested end-date of 1793 does not, however, tally with the gold box under discussion. Details should have appeared in the Chester Plate Duty Book for 1784-1809, but various possible reasons may account for their absence.<sup>2</sup> The most likely explanation is that we are dealing with a father and son of the same name. The man who died in 1793 and is described as above was probably Stephen Tillinghast I, while the maker of the gold box is more likely to be the man of the same name who was baptised at St Peter's church, Liverpool, on 13 January 1742/3.<sup>3</sup> Stephen Tillinghast II who was described in the baptism records as the son of Stephen Tillinghast, watchmaker, is likely to be the maker of the gold box. As noted above, the small marks are



Fig 3 Wine label, Chester by Stephen Tillinghast I



Fig 4 Masonic breast jewel for the Lodge of Harmony, Carlisle, dated 1799

highly suggestive of a ringmaker or watchcase maker but more evidence is needed for complete clarification.

The engraving on the gold box is of high quality and well up to London standards but there was at least one craftsman in Liverpool capable of such work. This was Samuel Yates of Lord Street, who put his name to a beautifully engraved Masonic presentation breast jewel made for the Lodge of Harmony in Carlisle in 1799 [Fig 4]. This very talented engraver was born Samuel Getz, the son of a rabbi who also practiced engraving.<sup>4</sup>

The silver-gilt box, clearly a deliberate replica and of like proportions, is fully hallmarked for London 1818 and weighs 3 oz 14 dwt (115g); it is not of quite the same crisp quality as its gold counterpart. The maker's mark [Fig 2b] I B with a pellet between, is most likely to be that of James Barratt,<sup>5</sup> a smallworker who entered marks between 1801 and 1816, although marks with these initials are numerous, and identification cannot be certain.

The current project was stimulated by the discovery of much information relating to Adam Murray, his brother George, and their still standing cotton mill at Ancoats, now part of Manchester [Fig 5], and here we are indebted to Ian Miller and Christopher Wild's *A and G Murray and the Cotton Mills of Ancoats*.<sup>6</sup> The brothers George and Adam were born at New Galloway in Kirkcudbrightshire in 1761 and 1766, the sons of a shopkeeper, and by way of family connections came south to Chowbent, near Leigh in Lancashire, to serve apprenticeships with William Cannan, described as a textile machine-maker. His business was flourishing and he had numerous apprentices making spindles, jennies and looms. Adam came first in 1780, aged 14, probably on foot. Upon completing his seven-year term with Cannan, in 1787, Adam Murray soon set up a machine-making business of his own and by 1790 had accumulated sufficient capital to acquire land at Ancoats, near Manchester, upon which was erected his first cotton-spinning mill: it thrived and he was soon expanding his premises, so that by 1797 his stock and machinery were insured for £2,000.<sup>7</sup>



Fig 5 Ancoats mill

1 Maurie Ridgway and Philip Priestley, *Compendium of Chester Gold and Silver Marks*, London, 2004, p 400.

2 Ibid, p xv.

3 International Genealogy Index ([www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org)).

4 T A Kent, a paper presented to Quatuor Coronati Lodge on 9 September 2004, *Transactions of Quatuor Coronati Lodge*

No 2076, 2004, pp 31-32.

5 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837: their marks and lives*, London, 1988, pp 90-91, marks 1158 and 1159.

6 Ian Miller and Christopher Wild: *A and G Murray and the Cotton Mills of Ancoats*, Lancaster imprints, 2007.

7 Royal Exchange 7253/32A/157421.

By 1798 his elder brother George had joined Adam in partnership, and the brothers

Commenced immediately with financing a purpose-built, steam-powered spinning-mill.

The above-mentioned authors record that by 1806 the brothers had

managed to expand their site dramatically to become the largest mill complex in Manchester.

Advice had been provided by Matthew Boulton and James Watt in relation to the latest types of machinery and by 1811 they were operating 84,300 mule spindles, the firm was worth over £20,000 and by 1815 there were 1,215 employees, the largest number for any Manchester firm.

On 26 June 1818 Adam Murray died at the age of 52, a bachelor. He probably died suddenly as he was intestate, leaving as administrator his third brother, James, but the latter (also a mill owner) himself died in 1821, leaving his brother's estate unsettled. The responsibility then passed to a sister, Margaret, who had married yet another mill owner, Archibald Carruthers. The situation remains complicated. At Adam's death, the mill complex was valued at the very substantial sum of £59,000. It is recorded that

When completed, Murray's mills were a marvel. Visitors came from the rest of Britain, Europe and America to see these vast buildings, housing powered machinery, illuminated by gas and operated by 1,300 men, women and children.

George continued to direct the works until shortly before his death at the age of 94 in 1855.

Adam was buried at St Mark's church, Cheetham, and the following notice appeared in *The Manchester Mercury* for Tuesday, 7 July 1818:

#### DEATHS

On the 26th ult, at Rosehill, near this town, Adam Murray Esq in his 52nd year – at a very early period of life he formed accurate and enlarged views of the different manufactures carried on in this town, and for nearly thirty years prosecuted one of its principal branches with skill and success. He possessed great energy, both of body and mind: was quick and correct in his knowledge of men and things: and though his manner might sometimes obscure, it never excluded the benevolent feelings of his heart, which will be long remembered both by the poor and his old acquaintances and friends.

An oval memorial tablet, presumably from St Mark's church but now inset in a wall of the mill, reads as follows [Fig 6]:

To the memory of Adam Murray who was born at New Galloway in Scotland MDCCLXXVII, and died at Rose Hill near Manchester June. XXVI, MDCCCXVIII. In the thirteenth year of his age he was placed with a respectable machine maker at Chowbent in this country and very early perceived that the machine called a mule was capable of much improvement in its parts and of most extensive application, for the spinning of fine yarn and aided solely by his own clear judgment and sound practical knowledge he completed an establishment for mule spinning in Manchester, which bears ample testimony to the accuracy of his views and the successful application of his talents. His disposition was naturally mild, benevolent and generous and all his transactions were strongly marked by manly independence, integrity and liberality.

There we have it, a hard-headed enterprising Scot from modest beginnings, coming south to England in accordance with Dr Johnson's precept

The noblest prospect which a Scotchman ever sees, is the high road that leads him to England<sup>8</sup>

to make his fortune as an industrialist. But clearly, though little more than hinted at in the above, there was a philanthropic side to Murray's character which gained approval. A dedicated businessman with energy and drive, to be sure, but no grinder of faces.

In the absence of more tangible proof, the following inferences can be drawn

1 The date on the boxes, 31 May 1806, is significant and probably relates to the completion of the great new mill in that year, what today would be termed the topping out.

2 The gold box must have been financed by contributions from the large workforce, suggestive of a popular and respected employer.

3 The reference to PROVIDENCE might have suggested the name of a mill but this turned out not to be the case; no reference to a Providence mill in Lancashire has been found.

4 It seems likely that Adam Murray, as the 'Poor Man's Friend' instituted some form of provident scheme for his workforce. Further details may emerge.



5 In addition to the obviously literal allusion, a large proportion of the workforce, especially its leaders, were likely to have been evangelicals, non-conformists and regular church or chapel-goers, acquainted with the repeated reference to 'wheels' in chapter 1 of the Book of Ezekiel, including verse 20;

Whithersoever the spirit was to go, they went, thither was their spirit to go, and the wheels were lifted up over against them: for the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels.

6 We have yet to discover where the gold box went on Adam's death in 1818 but clearly some other family member who revered his memory wanted a precise copy of it, although they were content with silver-gilt rather than gold. It may have been obtained via a Manchester retailer such as Thomas Ollivant.

7 In 1818 the engraver of the silver-gilt box must have had the gold box in front of him to enable him to copy the inscription exactly: emphasising that this must have been a friendly arrangement within the Murray family, the inheritor of the gold box being ready to lend it.

8 The fact that the two boxes came up for sale together at Phillips suggests that at some time they became the sole property of a later member of the Murray family; this may be clarified by a search of nineteenth-century wills.

Further research should reveal more of this fascinating story but the inferences listed above seem likely to be correct.

### Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Robyn Mercer of J H Bourdon-Smith Ltd for her help with the images for this article and for many other things. The detailed research of Ian Miller and his co-authors has been of paramount importance and we would like to thank him for this and the help he gave by correspondence. Finally we would like to thank the members of the Wine Label Circle and the Silver Society who have been generous with access to their research and collections.



Fig 6 Memorial tablet to Adam Murray

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*Luke Schrager was brought up in the silver trade. After working for the Goldsmiths' Company, undertaking research into eighteenth-century workmen for whose marks the documentation has been lost, he studied at the Universities of St Andrews and London. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 2011. He now deals in antique silver and has undertaken historical research for a wide variety of customers.*

8 James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, 1791, p 120.



# Sir Robert Walpole's silver<sup>1</sup>

CHRISTOPHER HARTOP



Fig 1 Houghton Hall, Norfolk, west front, circa 1722–33  
(The Marquess of Cholmondeley)

The 2013 exhibition *Houghton Revisited* brought back to Houghton Hall in Norfolk over one hundred pictures from the collection of Sir Robert Walpole which had been sold to Catherine the Great in 1778. While Walpole's picture collection and the building and furnishing of Houghton have been the focus of extensive study in recent years, his silver has not received the same attention. No Walpole silver remains at Houghton today, yet the discovery of inventories in the National Archives a few years ago has allowed a picture to be built up of the sheer scale of Walpole's silver holdings at the time of his death.<sup>2</sup>

Walpole's son Horace, the creator of Strawberry Hill, did not in fact inherit some of his father's silver as has long been assumed, so when and how he acquired some of his plate, including the famous Walpole salver, has never been fully understood. But now, thanks to the recent discovery of a number of papers concerning the estate of Sir Robert's grandson, the 3rd Earl of Orford, in a trunk at Houghton, we know that Horace in fact purchased the silver from the executors of the 3rd Earl as late as 1792. Of the extant silver, but a very small part of Sir Robert Walpole's total accumulation, virtually all of it appeared in the Strawberry Hill sale some forty-five years after Horace's death (see Appendix 11). This article, based on a paper given by the author at a symposium at Pembroke College, Cambridge in September 2013, brings together the various strands of evidence now available to give as full a picture as possible of the extent and importance of Sir Robert Walpole's plate.

## Sir Robert Walpole, the man

For over twenty years, Sir Robert Walpole (1676–1745) bestrode the British political and social scene like a colossus [Fig 2]. As the king's 'prime' minister, he was the second most important man in the land. Everything about him seems larger than life, not only his political power but also his girth, his eating and drinking, his gargantuan entertaining and, perhaps most significantly, the great house he built and embellished at Houghton. Writing during the austerity of post-war Britain, Walpole's greatest biographer Sir John Plumb painted a rich portrait of his conspicuous consumption.<sup>3</sup> But was returning a total of 552 dozen empty bottles to his wine merchant, in one much-cited instance,<sup>4</sup> really that abnormal for a Whig or even a Tory grandee of that age?<sup>5</sup> Given the demands of public life perhaps Walpole was not *that* extraordinary. Entertainment was part and parcel of political life at a time when votes were bought and sold in an



Fig 2 *The Stature of The Great Man or The English Colossus*, anonymous engraving, 1740  
(The British Museum, London)

open market; Walpole just did it much better than anyone else. He expanded the political patronage system and turned it into an efficient machine which rewarded his family and supporters with lucrative sinecures; much of this was done at the dinner table or over a bottle. It was said that if you disagreed with him he would argue his point with you and then he would dine with you.<sup>6</sup>

Silver played a large part in all this. To have a quantity of both display and functional plate befitting his status was indeed essential for any grandee. As Norbert Elias has observed

In a society where every outward manifestation of a person has special significance, expenditure on prestige and display is for the upper classes a necessity which they cannot avoid.<sup>7</sup>

While Sir Robert Walpole did not need to collect Old Masters he did need to buy silver. Walpole was the son of a middling Norfolk squire and husband of the daughter of a City merchant but his early election to the Kit-Cat Club speaks of his ability to ingratiate himself into aristocratic circles. Once he became a king's minister he needed to entertain as an aristocrat. A point often missed by modern writers, when they speak of silver as a means of 'showing one's wealth', is that entertaining, as well as display, were both *obligations*. During the summer months, when the court was at Windsor or Hampton Court, Walpole was obliged to take his French cook, Solomon Sollis, with him and keep an open table for four to five weeks at a time; indeed he was the last king's servant to do this. Each stint usually cost him £300.<sup>8</sup> By the mid-1730s Walpole, like his friend the Duke of Devonshire, had five establishments to maintain, each with their full complement of servants and plate.<sup>9</sup> The cost of remaining at the king's right hand was prodigious.<sup>10</sup>



Fig 3 John Wootton, Sir Robert Walpole, oil on canvas, circa 1725 (The Marquess of Cholmondeley, photograph by Pete Huggins)

Yet we must set this need for opulence against the persona Walpole sought to project. He was the first politician to adopt the image of a backwoodsman, something which was to become a feature of American presidential politics. It was said that he encouraged the story that he read letters from his huntsman before official dispatches. He fitted Macaulay's stereotype of the boorish Whig squire, something which Plumb did little to contradict [Fig 3]. But the reality was that Walpole was a cultured and extremely civilized man, a connoisseur of pictures, who left a considerable library

1 Although Walpole was created Earl of Orford in 1742 he is referred to as Walpole throughout this article. Dates given are NS except where indicated.

2 These are papers relating to litigation between Sir Robert Walpole's heirs and some of his creditors which began after the death of his son in 1751; they had been wrongly catalogued under 'Earl of Oxford' rather than 'Earl of Orford' (National Archives (Public Record Office): hereafter NA (PRO)/C101; see Andrew Moore and Edward Bottoms, 'A Walpole Discovery', *Burlington Magazine*, CXLVIII, January 2006, pp 34-7.

3 John H Plumb, *Sir Robert Walpole: the Making of a Statesman*, London, 1956, and *Sir Robert Walpole: the King's Minister*, London, 1960; see also John H Plumb, 'The Walpoles: Father and Son', 'Sir Robert Walpole's Food' and 'Sir Robert Walpole's Wine', *Men and Places*, London, 1963.

4 Ibid, 'Sir Robert Walpole's Wine', p 158.

5 In 1733 Walpole spent £1,166 14s 10d on wine (ibid, p 168). By way of comparison, Thomas Coke of Holkham spent £525 19s 3d on spirits, wine and beer for his households in the year ending 25 March 1726 (D P Mortlock, *Aristocratic*

*Splendour: Money and the World of Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester*, Stroud, 2007, pp 174-6). It is estimated that Benjamin Mildmay, Earl Fitzwalter spent an average of £200 a year on wine (A C Edwards, *The Account Books of Benjamin Mildmay, Earl Fitzwalter*, London, 1977, p 87).

6 As his youngest son Horace recalled, "When the rich citizens, who got out of their coaches backwards, used to dine with my father, my mother called them rump-days" (Letter to John Chute of the Wyne, 21 May 1754, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*: hereafter *Correspondence*, 35, p 86).

7 Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, London, 1983, pp 53 and 63.

8 For example, his entertainment at Hampton Court in 1728 cost £286 4s 6d for food alone while the entertainment at Windsor in the same year cost £274 3s 10d for food and £84 1s 6d for horses, (Cholmondeley (Houghton) MSS, Cambridge University Library: hereafter C (H) MSS, Accounts/22, ff. 71, 67); Sollis was paid at this time £60 a year by Walpole (ibid, f 20).

9 The *Ipswich Journal* for 27 March 1742 records that "the Right Hon. the Earl of Orford passed through White-chappel for his seat

at Houghton-Hall attended by Dr Bland, Dean of Durham, and had twenty servants in attendance".

10 For example, Walpole's first biographer, W Coxe, relates how George I ordered Walpole to rebuild Richmond Lodge because the king "liked to pass the afternoon drinking punch with him" there. Walpole did so at a cost of some £14,000, but the king died in Hanover before it was complete (W Coxe, *Memoirs of the life and administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford, with original correspondence and authentic papers never before published*, London, 1798, vol I, p 263).





Fig 4 Two-handled porringer, maker's mark WH an etoille above, a pellet between, possibly for William Harrison I or William Hall I, circa 1660-80, the engraved arms of Walpole probably for Sir Robert Walpole

(Christie's, London)

at his death.<sup>11</sup> What was revolutionary was the manner in which Walpole, supreme networker that he was, used his image of a country squire to cultivate relationships in a way no aristocrat could ever have done. It is for these very reasons that Sir Robert Walpole is something of a paradox. He was the last of the great royal favourites, owing his position to the favour of the monarch, yet he needed his power base in Parliament. In his lifestyle he was the grandest of the grandees yet he remained a commoner, only leaving his seat in the House of Commons when he resigned his offices and was created Earl of Orford in 1742.<sup>12</sup>

Sadly, most of Walpole's silver was consigned to the melting pot long ago. Although much was lost it is still

possible, thanks to recently discovered documentary evidence, to try and assess how much silver he had and to compare his collection with plate owned by some of his contemporaries.

Nevertheless, one of the challenges in making an assessment of Walpole's silver is that the surviving records are patchy. It has been said that Walpole himself destroyed many of them, especially those relating to the building and furnishing of Houghton, in order to conceal how much he had spent on the house from the parliamentary enquiry into allegations of corruption launched in 1742.<sup>13</sup> Extant records such as a run of account books for the period 1714-18 and a few bills, however, give us a tantalising glimpse of the extent of his purchases and expenses.

### Sir Robert Walpole's inheritance

A good starting point is to look at what Sir Robert may have inherited. His grandfather, Sir Edward Walpole, a Knight of the Bath and MP for King's Lynn, was, according to the obituarist William Musgrave

held in the highest Esteem and Honour by all that knew him; and so vast a sense had the Corporation of Lynn of his integrity, and the great services he had performed in the House of Commons, that they presented him with a noble Piece of Plate.<sup>14</sup>

Sadly no details of the object have come to light and there is no sign of later ownership by Sir Robert.

Sir Edward may have been the recipient of another piece of silver, a plain two-handled porringer and cover [Fig 4], typical of the middle decades of the seventeenth century which appeared at auction some years ago.<sup>15</sup> Struck with a maker's mark only, it is engraved on the side 'Ex dono Regis'. On the other hand, it may have been presented to Sir Edward's son, Colonel Robert Walpole, who succeed-

11 It is a myth that Walpole could only communicate with George I in rudimentary Latin for he read and spoke French, the language of the court. Plumb's assertion that the library at Houghton was formed by Walpole's father and grandfather and that he did not buy books himself has been contradicted by the recently-discovered inventories listing extensive libraries at Chelsea, Richmond and even at Crostwight (an estate Walpole bought in north-east Norfolk in the early

1720s) all of which were sold after his death. In 1720 Walpole purchased Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* from the publisher Giacomo Leoni (C (H) MSS/Vouchers 1720). Lady Walpole purchased the ten volumes of Montfaucon's *Antiquité expliquée* for £33 in 1727 (C (H) MSS/Vouchers 1727-28). In the same year Walpole bought £70 worth of books from Thomas Payne (C (H) MSS/Accounts 22, f 64). The library from Richmond Lodge alone realised £364

0s 6d, although £3 7s was charged "for books returned imperfect after the sale" (Houghton MSS/Housecellar 955). In 1736 Walpole subscribed to Henry Fielding's new edition of his *Dramatic Works* (C (H) MSS/Vouchers 1736). In contrast Lord Fitzwalter spent an average of £8 a year on books (A C Edwards, op cit, see note 5, p 173)

12 This had no historical precedent and, out of the fifteen prime ministers who

followed Walpole up to the end of the century, only three sat in the Commons.

13 Jonas Rolfe, his steward, writing to him in London in 1721, reported: "I have a thousand ungrateful companions the Mice who doe daily dispoyle to youre papers, parchments and books ..." (Andrew Moore (editor) *Houghton Hall, the Prime Minister, the Empress and the Heritage*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1996, p 98, no 16). This and the subsequent neglect of Houghton during his

grandson's lifetime may have accounted for their wholesale destruction.

14 Larissa Dukelskaya and Andrew Moore, *A Capital Collection, Houghton Hall and The Hermitage*, exhibition catalogue, London, 2002, p 327.

15 See Appendix 12. I am grateful to Tessa Murdoch for bringing this piece to my attention.

ed his father in 1670. The cover is engraved with a coat of arms which the cataloguer described as the Walpole arms with a mullet of cadency for a third son, as borne by Colonel Walpole's son Robert (his fifth child but third son, born in 1676). It was suggested in the catalogue that it may have been a christening present from the king to the boy but this seems unlikely. Although he was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant for Norfolk in 1677 Colonel Walpole did not become an MP until the 1680s and had no court position and there is no evidence that the king acted as godfather to any of his children. One possible explanation is that the porringer was given to Colonel Walpole during Charles II's visit to Norfolk in 1672 when the king visited Lord Townshend at nearby Raynham Hall, and he may in turn have given it to his son Robert, the future king's minister.<sup>16</sup>

The small group of Colonel Walpole's personal account books that survive list no silver purchases except for one on 1 November 1690 during young Robert's first half at Eton:

Pd for A silver spoon for Bob, 00-11-6.<sup>17</sup>

By 1700, however, Colonel Walpole and his two eldest sons were dead, his son Robert had married Catherine Shorter, a City heiress,<sup>18</sup> and the couple was established in London. Robert Walpole borrowed prodigiously from his family, friends and even tradesmen in Norfolk to support the ambitious lifestyle he needed to launch his political career. These early years were blighted by debt, the financial obligations to some family members imposed on him by his father's will, and his young wife's extravagance and it is, therefore, unlikely that he was able to make significant purchases of plate.<sup>19</sup>

### Silver in Sir Robert Walpole's early career

In 1705 Walpole was appointed a member of the council of Prince George of Denmark, Lord High Admiral, and in 1708 he became Secretary at War. At last the huge income that he desperately needed became a reality. This was followed in 1710 by his appointment as Treasurer of the Navy. By common practice the office-holder could use the money he received for the expenses of the navy to speculate on his own account. No plate appears



Fig 5 Charles Jervis, Sir Robert Walpole as Secretary at War to Queen Anne, oil on canvas, circa 1708-10  
(The Marquess of Cholmondeley, photograph by Pete Huggins)

to survive from this early period of office, with the possible exception of an inkstand which appears in his portrait by Jervis [Fig 5], see above. Walpole was thrown out of office in early 1711 and the following year was imprisoned in the Tower for six months while a Parliamentary commission investigated accusations of corruption. He was exonerated in July of that year but would not enjoy office again until the death of Queen Anne in July 1714, and the accession of George I, put the Whigs back in power.

During this period in the wilderness Walpole's finances again became precarious, exacerbated by the need to provide his sister Dolly with a settlement on her marriage to Lord Townshend, his political ally, in July 1713. Nevertheless, it did not stop Walpole indulging in horse-

16 The Jewel Office records do not survive from this period.

17 British Library: hereafter BL/Add 74245, f 3.

18 She was the granddaughter of Sir John Shorter (1625-88), Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1676 and Lord Mayor in 1688. In the latter year, when opening Bartholomew Fair and par-

taking "of a cool tankard of wine, nutmeg and sugar", the lid of the tankard slammed down, startling his horse which threw him; he died the next day, see Henry B Wheatley and Peter Cunningham, *London*

*Past and Present: Its History, Associations and Traditions*, London, 1891, vol 1, p 112.

19 For example, Walpole's mother, writing to him circa 1702, reported that Mr Wrott, the steward at

Houghton, "can get no money [i.e. collect rents] but I must still desire you to send me an order to him to pay me ..." (University of Chicago, Walpole MSS: hereafter Chicago MSS, 216).



flesh: a gold cup and cover in the Strawberry Hill sale was catalogued as

won at Newmarket, by a mare of *Sir Robert Walpole's*, April 14, 1713 (see Appendix 11).

The cup, which does not appear to have survived, is probably the one recorded, together with a modest quantity of plate, at Stanhoe House, a few miles north of Houghton, after Walpole's death in 1745. Stanhoe was a farmhouse where both Walpole and his son went to relax in the company of their mistresses and the cup's presence there suggests it remained a treasured memento. As his political career accelerated Walpole appears to have abandoned racing as a pastime. His name does not appear in Newmarket racing records as an owner and the name of only one of his racehorses, the *Orford Grey Turk*, is recorded.<sup>20</sup>

### The Norcott account

With the accession of George I and the new Whig administration Walpole came into his own. The surviving personal account books from 1714-18, when Walpole was Paymaster-General and Chancellor of the Exchequer, shed light on his first significant wave of silver buying.<sup>21</sup> When Walpole accepted the post of Paymaster he was reported as saying that he was "lean" and "needed to get some meat on [his] bones". His salary was substantial and the fees from his offices hefty; he was, as Plumb observed,

one of the last King's servants to make a large fortune out of politics.<sup>22</sup>

All this does not, however, fully explain the huge cash deposits, sometimes as much as £500 at a time, which

recur throughout these books. It is likely that much of the income was profits from speculation in South Sea Company shares. During the period in question Walpole held a number of bank accounts<sup>23</sup> and one surviving ledger of his account with the banker Robert Mann, his distant cousin, had £152,251 pass through it in the four year period. Of this, some £60,000 went into investments, the rest on purchases: £2 5s 6d was paid for "a Parrowkett for yr Lady", £50 to Colonel Churchill for a bay gelding, £13 5s 6d to "Mr Lens Paint Master",<sup>24</sup> £24 for a watch, £19 7s for "Japan Dishes" and £215 for a diamond ring. But the most significant payments were for plate: "Mr Williams" (no doubt David Willaume, the Huguenot goldsmith-banker of Pall Mall) was paid £349 17s 4d "in full" on 7 March 1717; "Mrs Gartone" (perhaps the wife of Francis Garthorne) received £37 on 22 March 1717. A "Silver Bason & Ewer" (no payee specified) was bought for £117 in August 1716. The largest payments, however, were to Daniel and Joseph Norcott:

1 October 1715	£84 16s
7 March 1715	£207 10s
Ditto	£360

The Norcotts were goldsmith-bankers in the late seventeenth-century sense of the term. They kept 'running cashes', relying on others to supply plate for their clients, and never registered their own maker's mark at Goldsmiths' Hall. They traded at the sign of the Blackamoor's Head at York Buildings<sup>25</sup> on the corner of Buckingham Street in the Strand from 1713 until 1720 when they went bankrupt.<sup>26</sup>

The Norcotts' bankruptcy was presumably brought about by the crash of the South Sea Company. In September 1720 stock in the company had dropped two hundred points in four days and many were ruined.<sup>27</sup>

20 J B Muir, *Ye Olde New-Markitt calendar of matches, results and programmes from 1619-1719*, London, 1892. A surviving account book of Walpole's from the 1720s lists only modest payments to Simon Clements at Newmarket and an annual payment of a shilling "trophy money" (C(H) Accounts 1722, *passim*).

21 C (H) MSS/Accounts 20A, which are mirrored in a cash disbursements book for the same period, BL/Add 74062.

22 John H Plumb, *op cit*, see note 3, 1956, p 152.

23 Walpole had an account with Richard Hoare from 1701 onwards but no plate

appears to have been purchased from him (I am grateful to Pamela Hunter, Archivist at Hoare's Bank, for this information); other bankers used by Walpole include Robert Jacombe and the Willaumes.

24 Bernhard Lens II (1659-1725), engraver, or Bernhard Lens III (1682-1740), miniaturist. Horace Walpole, in his autobiographical note written towards the end of his life records that "At home I learned to dance and fence, and to draw of Bernard Lens, master to the Duke and Princesses" (i.e. the Duke of Cumberland and the Princesses Mary and Louise). This was Bernhard

Lens III (*Correspondence*, 13, p 7).

25 Built on the site of the old York House which had been sold for demolition in 1672 (Frederick George Hilton Price, *The Signs of the Old Houses in the Strand in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, London, undated, circa 1890, p 24.)

26 J Norcott, goldsmith, is recorded at the Blackamoor's Head, corner of York Buildings, the Strand as early as 1703 (Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths, 1200-1800: A Record of the Names and Addresses of the Craftsmen, Their Shop-signs and Trade-cards*, Newton Abbot, 1972, p 213), and the earliest bill

from Daniel and Joseph Norcott to Lord Irwin dates from 1698-9, although no address is given (James Lomax, "The Grandeur of Plate": 400 Years of Country House Silver at Temple Newsam', *Leeds Arts Calendar*, no 107, 1990, pp 3-24, reprinted in *Silver Society Journal*, no 6, 1994, pp 256-66; see also James Lomax, *British Silver at Temple Newsam and Lotherton Hall*, Leeds, 1992). Their bankruptcy was posted in the *London Gazette*, 12 November 1720. In 1713 they advertised a reward for the recovery of a lost bitch spaniel (Frederick George Hilton Price, *A Handbook of London Bankers*, London, 1890-91, p 123), in 1719 for the

recovery of a gold-mounted crystal seal (*Daily Courant*, 18 June 1719), and in 1720 a reward for the apprehension of a deserter from General Gore's regiment of Dragoon: presumably the general was a client (Frederick George Hilton Price, *op cit*, p 123). Daniel Norcott was elected a director of the Hand in Hand Fire-Office in 1717 (*London Gazette*, 12 November 1717).

27 William Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, London, 1955, vol III, p 326, John H Plumb, *op cit*, see note 3, 1956, p 319.



Fig 6 Pair of wine coolers, London, 1716–17 by William Lukin, the applied arms of Walpole impaling Shorter (The Untermyer Collection, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

The *Daily Post* on 28 October 1720 reported:

We hear that the Receivers-General of Huntingdonshire had lodg'd a great deal of Money in the hands of the two Norcott's the Goldsmiths, lately broke in the Strand, for which they have been serv'd with an Extent from the Exchequer.<sup>28</sup>

#### William Lukin and Joseph Sympson

The Norcotts had William Lukin as their silver supplier and used Joseph Sympson as their engraver. Lukin, recorded as a “silver-smith”<sup>29</sup> at the same York Buildings address as the Norcotts from 1712 to 1734,<sup>30</sup> is known as a maker of salvers, cups and candlesticks almost matching the quality of the products of the Huguenot workshops of Harache, Platel and Mettayer.<sup>31</sup> He clearly had a large business as is borne out by the amount of work surviving with his mark and the fact that between 1704 and 1732 he took on eleven apprentices. James Lomax first drew attention to the working relationship between the Norcotts, Lukin and Sympson when writing about plate made for Lord Irwin for which a bill from the Norcotts survives.<sup>32</sup> The items are struck with Lukin's maker's mark and some of the pieces have engraving signed by Sympson.

The surviving Walpole pieces with Lukin's mark present a no less informative picture of buying silver in the boom years leading up to the South Sea Bubble, although itemised bills from the Norcotts to Walpole do not survive. In the Walpole group, the only fully hall-marked pieces are a pair of wine-coolers of 1716–17 applied with the arms of Walpole impaling those of Shorter. Acquired by Walpole's son Horace in 1792, they were sold in the Strawberry Hill sale in 1842 (see Appendix 11).

The wine coolers [Fig 6], now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, show that early on in his political career Walpole was buying luxury goods in the height of international fashion. Copying

28 Their bankruptcy proceedings lumbered on until at least 1731. The following year a Joseph Norcott, “of the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields in the County of Middlesex, Victualler” was declared bankrupt; whether he was the same Joseph attempting another trade, or a relation, is not known (*Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, 2 December 1732).

29 In the eighteenth century this term denoted one who manufactured silverware. “Goldsmith” referred to a retailer.

30 See Ambrose Heal, *op cit*, see note 26, p 197, where Lukin is recorded at the Blackamoor's Head, corner of York Buildings, the Strand between 1712 and 1734 but also in 1718 at the Golden Cup, the Strand. A Sun Insurance policy of 3 February 1716 records him “at the golden Cup in the Strand in the parish of St Mary Le Savoy” and an endorsement of 14 April 1721 records “Removed to Buckingham Street end in the Strand in the parish of St Martin in the field” (information from S B Turner recorded in Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837, their Marks and Lives*, (revised edition), London, 1990, p 758). Lukin advertised from the Blackamoor's Head in June 1721, offering a reward for a “portable Brass Fountain” (*Daily*

*Courant*, 15 June 1721), again in 1724 with a reward for plate stolen from the Countess of Ranelagh, evidently a client (*Daily Courant*, 5 August 1724), and again in 1735 offering a leasehold on houses in Kensington (*Daily Advertiser*, 25 April 1735). He was declared bankrupt in 1749 with an address near St George's, Hanover Square (*London Gazette*, 1-5 August 1749); the subsequent sale of his assets lists property in various locations including a small estate in Berkshire but no stock or tools, suggesting that he had moved into property dealing in the 1730s.

31 Arthur Grimwade, *op cit*, see note 30, p 586, where he suggests that Lukin, despite being a signatory to the 1716 petition against assaying the work of foreigners, probably overmarked Huguenot pieces or employed foreign journeymen.

32 The surviving pieces from the group comprise a silver-gilt salver (Victoria and Albert Museum) and a silver-gilt cup and cover and sixteen candlesticks (Temple Newsam House, Leeds), see James Lomax, *op cit*, see note 26, 1992, p 20; the cup and candlesticks are discussed in James Lomax, ‘Family silver returns to Temple Newsam’, *Silver Society Journal*, no 9, 1997, pp 610-12.





Fig 7 Seal salver, circa 1715–17 or after 1721 by William Lukin, engraved with the matrices of the first Exchequer seal of George I signed 'Js Sympson sculp'  
(Present whereabouts unknown)



Fig 8 Pull (ink impression) of the engraving on the seal salver in Fig 7  
(The British Museum, London)

33 Adrian Sassoon and Gillian Wilson, *Decorative Arts: A Handbook of the Collections of the J Paul Getty Museum*, Malibu, 1986, p 64, no 142, where it is dated "circa 1715".

34 Herbert Brunner, *Old Table Silver*, London, 1967, p 87, pl 30.

35 Gérard Mabilie, *La collection Puiforcat. Donation de Stavros S. Niarchos au département des Objets d'art*, Paris, 1994, p 67, no 47.

36 Christopher Hartop, *The Huguenot Legacy, English Silver 1680-1760*, London, 1996, illus p 266.

37 Ibid, pp 265–6.

38 John Hardy and Adriana Turpin, 'Cornelius Gole's Book of Ornament: A political pattern-book', *Apollo*, no 137, January 1993, pp 18–21.

39 The earliest surviving French silver examples are a pair of 1727–28 attributed to Nicolas Besnier (now in a private collection) acquired by Robert Walpole's brother Horatio while envoy in Paris. Horatio Walpole's silver will be the subject of a subsequent article by this author. Of recorded English examples of octagonal form, a pair is in the Philadelphia Museum of

contemporary Paris examples, the coolers are conceived as monumental urns decorated with panels of floral diaperwork within plain borders. A pair of very similar French gilt-metal wine-coolers is in the Puiforcat Collection in the Louvre and a related gilt-bronze ink-stand is in the J Paul Getty Museum, California.<sup>33</sup> The Louvre wine coolers have variously been dated to the end of the seventeenth century<sup>34</sup> or to the beginning of the eighteenth,<sup>35</sup> but a date of the second decade of the eighteenth century may be more accurate on account of their similarities with a pair of silver double salt and pepper boxes of Paris, 1712–13, with the mark of Jacques Trouvé.<sup>36</sup> Although the French court goldsmith Nicolas de Launay had experimented with octagonal forms in the silver he designed for the Countess Oxenstierna-Steenbock in the 1690s, the drawings for which exist in Stockholm,<sup>37</sup> the use of such geometric forms does not start until about 1712 in either France or England.

The shoulders of the Louvre coolers have borders of stiff lambrequins typical of Marot, but on Walpole's examples they have been replaced by bands of foliate scrolls loosely based on designs for borders published in London by Pierre Gole in 1712.<sup>38</sup> The sides of the coolers and the applied armorials are cast<sup>39</sup> and show technical skill comparable to the best products of the Huguenot workshops.

The development of the individual glass wine bottle or flask at the end of the seventeenth century saw the need for silver bottle coolers which allowed for convivial intimacy without servants making constant journeys to the buffet.<sup>40</sup> Similar coolers appear in Pierre Lepautre's engraving of the dining room at Louis XIV's palace at Marly, while the earliest silver single bottle wine coolers made in England appear to be the pair of 1698–99 at Chatsworth. The Walpole pair, however, appear to be the earliest octagonal examples.

Cylindrical bottles which could be stacked on their sides, thereby preventing the corks from drying out, meant that wine could be matured in the bottle rather than allowed to grow stale in a cask and Walpole was an avid buyer of vintage claret and Burgundy. Glass flasks with rounded bases were also used; these could be placed in ice in a wine cooler or in a fitted silver stand on the table. Walpole had two such stands, together weighing 27 oz 10 dwt (855g), at Chelsea in 1745.<sup>41</sup> Two "flask Stands" weighing some 39 oz (1,212g) were supplied by the Jewel House to Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons, in 1727. Four surviving examples of these stands are recorded;<sup>42</sup> they are all elliptical on sturdy bases and with individual weights ranging from just over 6 to some 19 oz (187 to 591g), including one in the Ashmolean Museum.<sup>43</sup>

The other documented Walpole pieces from this group of Norcott commissions comprise a seal salver and a silver-gilt covered cup. Each is struck with Lukin's Britannia standard mark and has engraving signed by Sympson. Both were purchased in the Strawberry Hill sale by the 13th Earl of Derby, a noted antiquarian and collector, whose ancestor the 11th Earl had been a supporter of Walpole.<sup>44</sup>

Engraved with the matrices of the Exchequer seal of George I and signed 'Js Sympson sculp' the seal salver [Fig 7], which was sold privately from the Derby collection in the 1940s, presents a problem



in dating. Charles Oman posed the question as to why the seal matrices had been scrapped so early in the reign and presumably replaced by the ones depicted on Walpole's more famous Paul de Lamerie seal salver of 1728–29 (see below);<sup>45</sup> the replacement was evidently not prompted by any change in the royal heraldry. Walpole became Chancellor of the Exchequer on 11 October 1715 but resigned in April 1717 when he began a four-year period of voluntary opposition. The presentation of the first set of matrices must, therefore, have been between these dates or after he was reappointed to the Exchequer on 8 April 1721.<sup>46</sup> The Calendar of Treasury Papers for 27 August 1716<sup>47</sup> records the approval of a bill from John Roos [Ross], "his Majesty's late engraver of public seals" for engraving Exchequer seal matrices and it is possible that this refers to those ordered at the start of the reign in 1714 which are presumably depicted on the Lukin salver. No record of a subsequent order for a new seal appears in the calendar.

A comparison of the seal on this salver, best seen on the pull or ink impression of the salver in the British Museum [Fig 8],<sup>48</sup> and the one depicted on the later seal salver [Fig 9], discussed below, shows minor differences between them. On the Sympson salver the drapery canopy over the king is flanked by two flying cherubs,

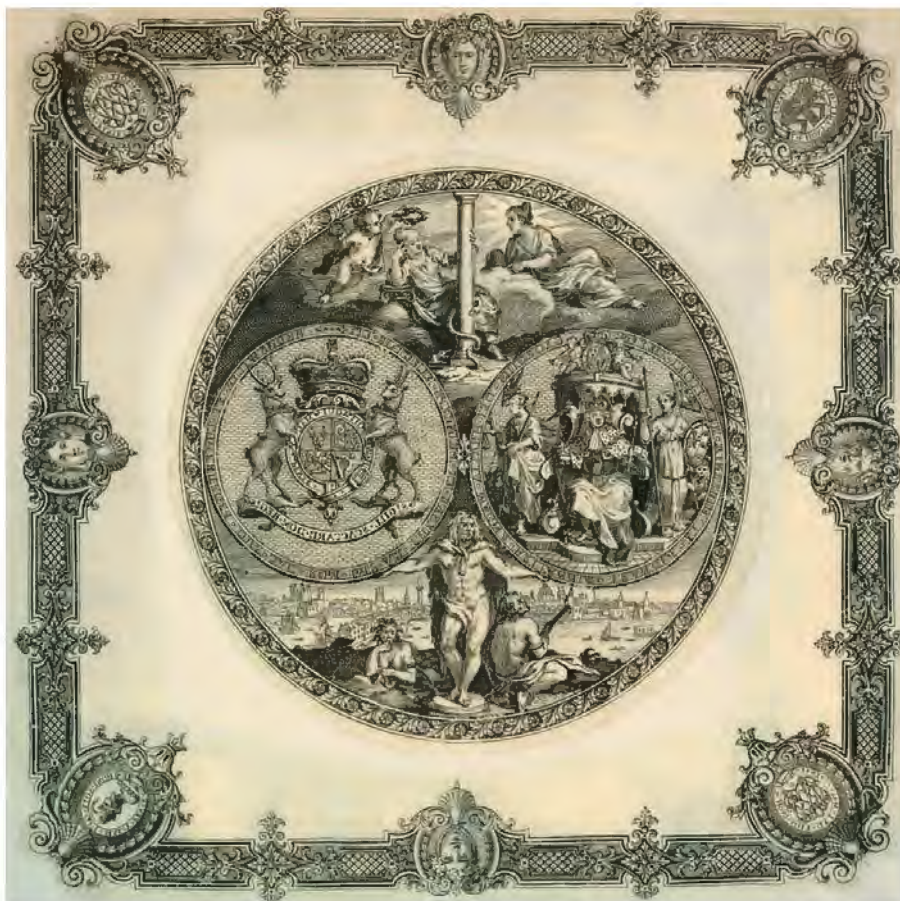


Fig 9 Pull of the Walpole salver [Fig 14], the engraving by William Hogarth depicting the second Exchequer seal salver of George I  
(The British Museum, London)

one with a long trumpet, while on the Hogarth example the canopy is hung with tessellated lambrequins and the two cherubs, both with trumpets, sit atop it. Sympson's has the figure of Justice looking towards the king while Hogarth's has her looking away. Moreover it is clear that both artists have taken considerable artistic licence in their depiction of the seals: the pattern of ruling behind the royal arms on Sympson's seal and the Hogarthian brickwork on the later salver are pure invention.

Art (Christopher Hartop, op cit, see note 36, p 266). One has the mark of Pierre Platel and hallmarks for London, 1703–4 (probably transposed) and one is marked by Paul de Lamerie, 1716–17. A single example of elongated octagonal form of 1718–19, mark of David Willaume I, is in the Hartman Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (ibid, p 265)

40 It is interesting to note that as early as 1706

Walpole's wine merchant in King's Lynn was importing wine in "chests", i.e. already bottled (John H Plumb, *Men and Places*, London, 1963, p 165).

41 NA (PRO)/C101/245/f 22; in the sale of the property of the Earl of Sussex in April 1742 there appears "a French wine flask stand at 5s an ounce".

42 Christopher Hartop, *Geometry and the Silversmith: The Domcha*

*Collection*, Cambridge, 2008, p 82, no 69.

43 Timothy Schroder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver of the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 2009, vol I, p 370, no 141.

44 See Appendix 11. Lord Derby also purchased the famous Chinese porcelain goldfish tub, a locket containing Mary Tudor's hair and made significant book purchases in the sale.

45 Elizabeth I ordered a second Great Seal in 1584, as the existing seal "by much use waxes unserviceable" (A Jeffries Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I, the Inventory of 1574*, London, 1955, p 587).

46 The compulsory use of Britannia standard silver was discontinued with the reintroduction of sterling standard marks in May 1720, but Lukin did not register a new sterling mark until 1725.

47 *Calendar of Treasury Papers 1714–1719*, pp 228–30. In 1722 James Girard submitted a bill "for engraving seals", no amount specified (ibid, ccxxxix, no 34).

48 It was formerly in the collection of George Cruikshank and bequeathed to the museum by his widow in 1891 (1977.U.769). When the pull was made, and when Cruikshank acquired it, are unrecorded.





Fig 10a Cup and cover, silver-gilt, probably 1715–1717 by William Lukin; with transposed hallmarks for London, 1697–98  
(The Earl of Derby)

Unfortunately very few impressions of the Exchequer seals from this reign survive: virtually all have been cut off their related documents in order to facilitate storage. A sole surviving impression in the British Library, attached to a lease dated January 1725, does not help in determining the date of the changeover: while the two cherubs appear to sit on a tessellated canopy (as on the Sympton version), the head of Justice is turned away from the king (as on the Hogarth example).<sup>49</sup>

The Sympton salver has William Lukin's Britannia standard mark but no hallmarks. The imposition of the duty of 6d per ounce on new wrought plate on 1 June 1720 provided a financial incentive to avoid hallmarking, something of which Walpole would have heartily approved.<sup>50</sup> The hallmarking procedure had always been risky, if the silver was found to be substandard the piece was broken, so there had always been a reason to avoid it. Moreover the hallmarking laws specified that a piece "set for sale" must be hallmarked, but it is not clear whether this included commissions for which the silver was provided by the client and which never appeared in the maker's shop. Certainly a seal salver, made from the scrapped silver of the matrices, would have fitted this interpretation.

Although the Walpole/Mann account books record only lump sums paid to the Norcotts one can get an idea of the prices they charged their customers from the surviving bills for Lord Irwin's silver. These include charges for "A Large Salver Gilt . . . at 10s per ounce" costing a total of £42 7s 6d (showing that the cost of making and gilding was nearly as much per ounce as the cost of the silver itself), and engraved decoration an additional £15. The fact that this was charged separately suggests that, as was customary, Sympton was an independent outworker and not in the employ of either Lukin or the Norcotts. The high cost of the engraving reflects the intricacy of the decorative cartouche and one may speculate that the cost of the engraving on Walpole's seal salver could have been as high as £20 or even £30. This contrasts markedly with the charges made for engraving arms on other purchases made by Irwin from the Norcotts where no charge is higher than £4.

The silver-gilt covered cup [Fig 10] which remains at Knowsley, and is published here for the first time, is of conventional form with applied vertical straps in the



Fig 10b Detail of the cup, London hallmarks for 1697–8 cut from another object and inserted into the base, probably between 1715 and 1717  
(The Earl of Derby)



Fig 10c Detail of the cup showing the engraved arms of Walpole impaling Shorter, signed 'Js Sympton fecit'  
(The Earl of Derby)

*Régence* taste. It is struck not only with Lukin's Britannia standard mark but it also has a disc bearing Britannia standard hallmarks for London, 1697–98, cut out of another object and inserted in the base of the cup [Fig 10b]. The body is engraved with the arms of Walpole impaling Shorter [Fig 10c] while the decorative cartouche has a brickwork background and is flanked by floral garlands and putti and is signed 'Js Sympson fecit'. It is identical to a cup and cover supplied by the Norcotts to Lord Irwin, as per their invoice of 1717, now at Temple Newsam House (see above), which is also struck with Lukin's Britannia standard mark and has a similar disc bearing Britannia standard hallmarks for 1709–10 inserted into the base. Sympson's signature appears on yet another identical cup and cover, struck twice with Lukin's Britannia standard mark, but without any hallmarks. It is engraved with a floral cartouche, similar to the Temple Newsam example, although the shield has been re-engraved at a later date and given a rococo surround. This cup is now in the Elizabeth Miles Collection at the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut;<sup>51</sup> it is tempting to think that this cup may be a "recycled" Walpole piece purchased in one of the sales after his death and re-engraved.

The fraudulent insertion of hallmarks on the Walpole and Temple Newsam cups would suggest a date for all three cups of after June 1720 when the duty was imposed on wrought plate yet, as far as Lord Irwin's cup is concerned, we know that it was supplied in 1717. Among other pieces with signed Sympson engraving is a Lukin sideboard dish hallmarked 1715–16 at Chatsworth which is engraved with the arms of Compton. The engraving on its companion ewer is similar and, although unsigned, is probably also by Sympson. The ewer has Lukin's mark but it is a 'duty dodger' with transposed hallmarks for 1698–99. This group of 'duty dodgers' seems to date, therefore, from the period 1715–17 rather than after June 1720. It is clear that Lukin was one of the most blatant and prolific transposers of hallmarks and, as he used his own maker's mark, he was clearly making no effort to conceal his identity.<sup>52</sup>

In the case of Lord Irwin's cup, James Lomax discovered that Lukin had committed a further fraud: when the

metal was analysed in 1994 it was found that the unmarked cover and the inserted disc were sterling, not Britannia standard silver. Lomax suggested that there may have been collusion at the Assay Office or that Lukin had somehow acquired a set of official punches.<sup>53</sup> Lacking Lukin's bill to the Norcotts for supplying them with the silver we have no way of knowing if the Norcotts were a party to the fraud or victims of it along with Lord Irwin. Analysis of more of these 'duty dodgers' with transposed Britannia hallmarks (most of which are silver-gilt: not only was sterling silver cheaper than Britannia standard but it was also easier to gild) might lay bare more items made of the banned sterling standard. The real fraud may have been passing off items as being of Britannia standard in the years before the return to sterling standard, rather than the evasion of the tax imposed in 1720.<sup>54</sup>

### Joseph Sympson the engraver

Sympson, it seems, was only permitted to sign his work on plate he engraved for the Norcotts although Charles Oman and others have attributed unsigned engraving done for other makers such as Augustin Courtauld and Thomas Farren to him. We know little more about Joseph Sympson than what Horace Walpole recorded in his *Catalogue of Engravers in England* (1763),<sup>55</sup> that he

was very low in his profession, cutting arms on pewter plates; till having studied at the academy, he was employed by Tillemans on a plate of Newmarket, to which he was permitted to put his name; and which, though it did not please the painter, served to make Sympson known. He had a son of both his names, of whom he had conceived extraordinary hopes, but who died in 1736, without having much excellence.<sup>56</sup>

'Plate' was assumed by Oman to be racing cups but it is more likely to have been one of two panoramic scenes of Newmarket Heath engraved (and signed) by Sympson after pictures by Tillemans. Although undated, the plates refer to "His Majesty" so they must date from after 1714.<sup>57</sup> Sympson engraved pictures of famous racehorses, after both Tillemans and Wootton, from 1715 onwards,

49 A lease dated 24 January 1724 (OS), BL/Add ch 17,816; Walter Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1887, p 113.

50 John Forbes, *Hallmark: A History of the London Assay Office*, London, 1999, p 186.

51 Elizabeth B Miles, *English Silver, the Elizabeth B Miles Collection*,

Wadsworth Atheneum, 1976, p 34, no 32.

52 Lukin's mark and transposed Britannia standard hallmarks (with the date letter deliberately obscured) appear on a large wine fountain, later applied with the arms of one of the sons of George III, sold by the Dick family, sale, Sotheby's London, 16–17 December 1976, lot 61 (Vanessa Brett, *The*

*Sotheby's Dictionary of Silver*, London, 1986, p 166, no 664), subsequently in the Al Tajir Collection.

53 James Lomax, op cit, see note 26, 1997, no 23, p 611.

54 Unfortunately over the years many 'duty dodgers' have had their transposed marks removed in order to offer them for sale in conformity with the hallmarking laws.

55 Based on the notebooks of the antiquary George Vertue.

56 Horace Walpole, *A Catalogue of Engravers, who have been born, or resided in, England, Digested by Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, from the MSS. of Mr. George Vertue, to which is added an Account of the Life and Works of the Latter*, London, 1794, p 167.

57 Prints of both examples are part of the Government Art Collection and hang in the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (GAC5711, 5712). Their dedication, to James, Earl of Derby, and William, Duke of Devonshire respectively, does not help in dating them as both men succeeded to their titles before 1714 and lived well into the 1730s.





Fig 11 Trade card of Joseph Symphon and his son, Joseph junior, circa 1730-35  
(The British Museum, London)



Fig 12 Inkstand, circa 1708-10, by William Lukin; this may be the inkstand depicted in Fig 5  
(The Elizabeth Miles Collection, the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut)

and in the 1720s he and his son published a series of portraits of notable characters, including two of Sir Robert Walpole.<sup>58</sup> The “academy” that Horace Walpole refers to is the St Martin’s Lane Academy under the direction of Louis Chéron and John Vanderbank. Two Joseph Sympons, senior and junior, are recorded there in 1724.<sup>59</sup> In the 1730s the Sympons are recorded at the Dove, Drury Lane with an impressive trade card [Fig 11] depicting an artist drawing a nude model.<sup>60</sup> Samuel Symphon, perhaps a relation, appears as one of the signatories to an endorsement of Gribelin’s *A New Book of Cyphers, More Compleat & Regular than any ever Publish’d*. . . of 1726,<sup>61</sup> and published his own book of cyphers in the same year which went through various editions into the early 1740s.<sup>62</sup>

### The Lukin inkstand

Another possible Walpole piece is an inkstand also struck with Lukin’s Britannia standard mark but no hallmarks. Like the cup discussed above it is in the Miles Collection at the Wadsworth Atheneum [Fig 12].<sup>63</sup> The inkstand is virtually identical to the one which appears in Charles Jervas’s portrait of the young Robert Walpole which hangs at Houghton [Fig 5]. One should be cautious in attempting to identify silver depicted in portraits with actual pieces (one thinks of the same dog which appears in so many of Batoni’s Grand Tour portraits) but this very rare form of inkstand, in the form of an upright box with shaped sides (only two are published<sup>64</sup>), is given such prominence in this portrait of a rising young man, which has been dated between 1708 and 1712, that it is tempting to think that this too may be a lost Walpole piece and an early purchase from the Norcotts.<sup>65</sup>

### Return to high office

Following his re-appointment as Paymaster General in June 1720, and as Chancellor of the Exchequer the following spring, Walpole’s expenditure on luxury goods picked up again. Even before his appointment to the Exchequer he purchased from the jeweller John Bonham a diamond cross and necklace for £689 10s.<sup>66</sup>

On 10 December 1723 Walpole received a grant of 1,010 oz 3 dwt (31,517g) of plate from the Jewel House which was discharged (in other words, he was allowed to keep it) by a Signet Warrant dated 24 April 1724, suggesting that it was a mark of royal favour rather than the customary loan of official plate.<sup>67</sup> These were the years of Walpole’s heyday in office; he and his brother-in-law Lord Townshend had secured the king’s favour and managed to oust their main rival, Lord Carteret. Walpole augmented his land holdings in Norfolk, including an estate at Crostwight in the east of the county, paying above the market rate for it. He also began building a Palladian mansion house next to the old hall at Houghton, moving the village to beyond the gates of his newly laid-out park. All this ambitious expenditure seems to indicate that a peerage was in the offing and he was acquiring land and a house befitting his new aristocratic status. It must have soon become apparent to him, however, that his power base lay in the House of Commons, not the Lords. So the peerage did not materialise at this stage; possibly one was offered and he declined it, and his son Robert was created Baron Walpole instead; Walpole himself was to become a Knight of the Bath in 1725 and a Knight of the Garter the following year.<sup>68</sup> He was the first commoner to be so rewarded and it earned him the nickname of ‘Sir Bluestring’. The Garter features prominently in the

decoration of Houghton and in the heraldry engraved on his silver.

There are no documentary records of purchases of plate after Walpole's return to office in 1721 until 1726, when there is an entry in an account book recording a payment of £123 18s made to Willaume "in full of all demands" on 5 May<sup>69</sup> and another on 10 April the following year for £23 17s.<sup>70</sup> The only surviving Willaume silver known to have belonged to Walpole are circular fluted silver dishes engraved with the arms of Walpole impaling Shorter and supporters which are in a private collection.<sup>71</sup> Two are marked by David Willaume I, and are hallmarked 1718-19 and 1719-20 respectively, while the other two are marked by Paul de Lamerie, 1731-32 [Fig 13]. The arms are enclosed by motto of the Order of the Garter so the Willaume examples may have been supplied second-hand by de Lamerie to make up a set. On 24 March 1727 Walpole's steward, Edward Jenkins, paid a bill for £18 12s 6d "in full" from Anne Tanqueray, Willaume Senior's daughter and the widow of the fellow Huguenot goldsmith David Tanqueray.<sup>72</sup>

### The de Lamerie/Gamble commissions

As early as 1722-23 Walpole purchased silver from Paul de Lamerie, probably through Ellis Gamble's business at the Golden Angel in Cranbourn Street.<sup>73</sup> Gamble was a silver engraver best-known for having been the master of



Fig 13 Four fluted dishes, London, two 1718-19 and 1719-20 by David Willaume I and two 1731-32 by Paul de Lamerie; engraved with the arms of Walpole impaling Shorter (Sotheby's, New York)

58 One depicts Walpole as a Knight of the Bath, and can, therefore, be dated to between June 1725 and June 1726; the plate is signed 'J. Sympon' (Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 725.000.00.31); the second, a mezzotint, shows Walpole as a Knight of the Garter and is signed 'J. Sympon Junr. Fecit', and can, therefore, be dated between June 1726 and Sympon Junior's death in 1736 (British Museum: hereafter BM/1860.0811.13).

59 Tessa Murdoch, 'The Courtaulds: Silversmiths for three generations 1708 to 1780', *Proceedings of the Silver Society*, III, no 4, Autumn 1984, pp 89-90. Joseph Sympon, presumably the younger, signed the engraving on a seal salver for Lord King in the mid-1730s.

60 BM/Heal/100.74.

61 Christopher Hartop, *op cit*, see note 36, p 64.

62 A copy in the British Museum has a rococo title page (BM/Heal/99.156). The 1726 edition (BL) gives Sympon's address as Catherine Street in the Strand; interestingly there is no mention of Joseph Sympon senior or junior among the seven other engravers listed as selling the book.

63 Elizabeth B Miles, *op cit*, see note 51, p 138, no 175.

64 Apart from the example in Connecticut, another, hallmarked 1697-8 with the mark of Daniel Garnier, is in the Untermeyer Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Yvonne Hackenbroch, *English and Other Silver in the Irwin Untermeyer Collection*, revised edition, New York, 1969, p 45, pl 84).

65 A rectangular tray of 1717-18, engraved with a

circular cartouche signed 'J. Sympon fecit' which incorporates a *baldacchino* flanked by putti based on a print by Jean Bérain, came on the market in 1981. The arms in the centre have been re-engraved but the supporters of the original shield remain: two antelopes, which could possibly be a misreading of the hart and antelope supporters Walpole would be granted after he was created a Knight of the Bath in 1725 (the account of fees paid by Walpole for his grant of supporters is C (H) MSS/Vouchers 1725). Another candidate as the original owner is Thomas Southwell, created Baron Southwell in 1717, and granted antelope supporters (George Edward Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, London, 1887-98). The tray was sold from the collection of Mrs Winston Guest, sale, Sotheby's New York,

17 June 1981, lot 72 (Vanessa Brett, *op cit*, see note 52, p 167, no 667).

66 C (H) MSS/Vouchers 1722.

67 Signet Warrant for Discharge of Plate, BL/Eq Ch 8126.

68 Coxie states that Walpole did in fact decline one, see note 10, vol I, p 176.

69 C (H) MSS/Accounts 22 (Edward Jenkins's account book), f 56.

70 Ibid, f 63. There are also entries between 1719 and 1729 in the same account book recording payments of between £3 and £10 to William Spackman, including one in February 1725 "for coffee to Houghton". A William Spackman, one of a large family of silversmiths, is recorded in Lillypot Lane between 1714 and 1726; it is unlikely that this is the same person, although goldsmiths fre-

quently supplied clients with items other than silver, such as candles and expensive foodstuffs. In 1694 Richard Hoare billed Lord Derby for "six pounds of coffee berries" as well as a silver coffee pot (Hoare's Bank, *A Record 1672-1955, The Story of a Private Bank*, London, 1955, p 10).

71 *Strawberry Hill, the Renowned Seat of Horace Walpole... Monday, the 25th day of April, 1842, and twenty-three days (Sunday excepted)*, illustrated edition published after the sale, London, 1842 (see Appendix 11); hereafter SH, day XI, lot 134.

72 C (H) MSS/Accounts 22, f 61.

73 A pair of 6 in square waiters of that year was in the Strawberry Hill sale (see Appendix 11).





Fig 14 Seal salver, London, 1728-29, by Paul de Lamerie, the engraving by William Hogarth, engraved with George I's second Exchequer seal (The Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

William Hogarth who was apprenticed to him between 1714 and 1718. Gamble later expanded his business to become a retailer of wrought plate and between 1723 and at least 1728 joint insurance policies reveal that he was in partnership with Paul de Lamerie.<sup>74</sup> De Lamerie kept his own workshop in Windmill Street and appears to have acted as the manufacturer, carrying out Gamble's orders. Significantly, when the young Hogarth engraved a trade card for his former master, no mention is made of de Lamerie. Gamble probably continued to use de Lamerie as a supplier, even after their joint policies ended, as Gamble was declared bankrupt in 1732 with de Lamerie as the petitioning creditor.

It is from this period that some of the most significant Walpole silver survives. By 1731 the new house at Houghton was complete enough for the Duke of Lorraine to be entertained to dinner in the Stone Hall. In the years that followed, as Kent completed the interior decoration of the house, Walpole's plate buying appears to have accelerated.

Among the de Lamerie/Gamble pieces the next in date

is a second seal salver [Fig 14], hallmarked for 1728-29 and with de Lamerie's mark. Known as the Walpole salver, this celebrated piece, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is engraved with the obverse and reverse of George I's Exchequer seal, the matrices of which were given to Walpole as his perquisite when the new seal of George II was delivered to him on 15 August 1728. Weighing some 135 oz (4,198g) it is made from considerably more silver than the weight of the discarded matrices which only weighed some 37 oz (1,150g).<sup>75</sup> It is in fact perhaps erroneous to refer to this piece as a seal salver at all for it appears to contain none of the silver of the matrices, as "The Exchequer Seal of the Old Lord Orford" was found in "the Escrutore" in the 2nd Earl's dressing room after his death in 1751 (see Appendix 8).<sup>76</sup> On his resignation from office in 1742 Walpole would have surrendered the Exchequer seal matrices to the king, so this must refer to the defaced matrices of George I's second Exchequer seal. It is not surprising that Walpole wanted to mark the consolidation of his power at the opening of the new reign; he had, thanks to the new queen's favour, and his own shrewd outmanoeuvring of Spencer Compton, made his own position even



stronger. It is tempting to think that Walpole wanted to mark his continuation of office with something spectacular, perhaps commissioned in time to be displayed on 26 August 1729 when he entertained the royal family to dinner at Chelsea at a cost of some £222.<sup>77</sup>

The mastery of the engraving on the salver can be seen in the way the two seals are held up by the figure of Hercules [Fig 9]. Allegorical figures of Calumny and Envy are vanquished by Wisdom and Virtue against a background of a panoramic view of London. The symbolism is anything but subtle: the figure of Hercules is Walpole himself, 'supporting' the government of George I, embodied in the seals, and pursuing his aim of encouraging peace and prosperity for the nation, as symbolised by the City of London. It proclaims Walpole's policy of avoiding foreign conflicts at all costs.

[T]here are fifty thousand men slain this year in Europe, and not one an Englishman

declared Walpole to Queen Caroline.

When exhibited in London in 1891 the salver was described as

designed by Hogarth and presented to Sir Robert Walpole by the Corporation of the City of London, upon his being presented with the freedom of the City.<sup>78</sup>

There is no record, however, of Walpole receiving the freedom of the City, nor of any entertainment given to him by the Mayor and Aldermen. Moreover it is highly unlikely that the Common Council would have wished to honour Walpole in such a way as, during this period, he and his fellow Whigs were involved in passing legislation severely curtailing the power of the City and disenfranchising a large proportion of its freemen.

William Hogarth was first cited as the engraver of the salver as early as 1781 but doubt has been raised, during the past eighty years, about his involvement. Most of the arguments put forward by the two authorities who ques-

tioned Hogarth's authorship, P A S Phillips and A J Collins, revolved around Horace Walpole's failure to mention the salver in the *Catalogue of Mr Hogarth's Prints* in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England*.<sup>79</sup> The documentary evidence recently discovered concerning Horace's acquisition of some of his father's plate, discussed below, will now perhaps quell these doubts. It is known that Horace did not acquire the salver until 1792 and it is highly unlikely that he would have been aware of its existence after his father's death in 1745. Moreover, when the salver was commissioned Horace was a schoolboy about to go to Eton, from which he returned infrequently, before going on to Cambridge and then on his Grand Tour.<sup>80</sup>

The first reference to the salver is by John Nichols in his *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth*, published in 1781:

The Great Seal of England with a distant view of London; an impression from a large silver table [i.e. salver].

This refers to the 'pull', now in the Royal Collection, of the engraving on the salver.<sup>81</sup> In a subsequent edition Nichols added that "this was given to Mr. S. Ireland by a Mr. Bonneau". Charles Oman posed the question as to why Horace failed to add this new piece of information to the list of Hogarth's prints in the subsequent editions of his *Anecdotes*. The reality is that Horace is unlikely to have realised that this seal salver was one which had belonged to his father (it does not of course depict the Great Seal) and that he was unaware that it remained at Houghton during the long period of the house's neglect by his nephew, the 3rd Earl, and only emerged after the latter's death in 1791.<sup>82</sup>

Let us now turn to the visual evidence. Given the distinctive style and high quality of the engraving there can be no doubt that the central cartouche, and probably the decorative outer border, were carried out by Hogarth. The *contrapposto* of the figure of Hercules is very similar to the figure of Victory that features on Gamble's trade card and harks forward to the figures in *The Analysis of Beauty*, while the other figures owe much to those in

74 R B Barker, *De Lamerie, Gamble and Hogarth*, privately published paper, 1988; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth, vol 1: The "Modern Moral Subject"*, 1697-1732, London, 1991, pp 47-9.

75 *Calendar of Treasury Papers 1714-1719*, pp 228-30.

76 This appears to be "Sir Robert Walpole's official seal, and another of his family arms cornelian set in

gold" in the 1792 sale, first day's sale, lot 111.

77 C (H) MSS/Accounts/21, f 4.

78 *Exhibition of the Royal House of Guelph*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1891, p 129, no 815.

79 P A S Phillips, *Paul de Lamerie, Citizen and Goldsmith of London, A Study*

*of his Life and Work*, A. D. 1688-1751, London, 1935, pp 87-90; A Jeffries Collins, *op cit*, see note 45, pp 95-7.

80 Charles Oman, 'English Engravers on Plate: Joseph Symphon and William Hogarth', *Apollo*, vol LXV, no 389, July 1957, p 288.

81 Two other pulls are in the British Museum, one of which (of the roundel only) was carried out while the

engraving was being done as the Garter motto on the royal arms above the king is blank (BM/50.5.25.8). The other pull is BM/1978.U.3488. There is also an offset (or impression of the pull which, therefore, depicts the engraving as seen) of the latter, BM/1933.3.24.6.

82 Samuel Ireland was a collector and publisher of prints. Horace Walpole's

correspondence shows them not to have been intimate; in 1787 Horace accused Ireland of pirating the frontispiece to one of his books so it was unlikely that he ever saw the pull while it was in Ireland's collection, which was sold in 1797 (*Correspondence*, vol 12, p 226; vol 33, p 575, vol 42, pp 120, 175).



Fig 15 William Hogarth, *An Allegory of George, Prince of Wales as the future Protector of the Realm*, engraving  
(The British Museum, London)

Hogarth's engraving *The Lottery* of 1724. The use of irregular brickwork backgrounds, the depth of perspective and the superbly integrated enclosed composition are all characteristics of Hogarth's prints. Perhaps the most compelling evidence is that offered by Hogarth's print *An Allegory of George, Prince of Wales as the future Protector of the Realm* [Fig 15] which includes Kneller's portrait of the prince attended by the same figure of Hercules vanquishing the Hydra of War and allegorical figures of Trade, the Arts and Monarchy. When examined together the print and the engraving on the salver are without doubt by the same artist. Indeed, it is difficult to suggest another silver engraver of the period who could execute such a composition with the same tautness and depth. When compared to this salver the cartouches signed by Sympson seem jumbled, like so many of the engraved compositions of the period, being made up of disparate components taken from pattern prints and knitted together without a sense of wholeness. Even the border of the Walpole salver, based on decorative trelliswork panels by Jean Bérain [Fig 16], with its enclosed profile busts, is done with a bravura seldom found on the borders on numerous official documents or on other silver of the period.<sup>83</sup> The circumstantial evidence for Hogarth is also compelling: he is known to have continued to carry out silver commissions for his late master, as in 1723 or 1724 when he engraved plate for the Duchess of Kendal, the king's mistress.

It has also been questioned why Hogarth, as an engraver of satirical prints, would have been commissioned to engrave a salver for Walpole, the target of so much calumny. In fact, while Hogarth's satirical prints of this



Fig 16 Jean Bérain, sheet of decorative borders and cartouches, engraved by Jeremias Wolff, Augsburg, early eighteenth century  
(Private Collection)

period savagely lampoon contemporary follies and mores, unlike those of some of his contemporaries, they stop short of directly attacking Walpole.<sup>84</sup> The closest Hogarth would come to depicting Walpole himself in a satirical print is his 1726 plate *The Punishment inflicted on Lemuel Gulliver* which shows the Lilliputians administering an enema to an unidentified figure which doubtless was recognised at the time as that of Walpole. The print appeared immediately after the publication of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and claimed to be the original frontispiece inadvertently left out of the book. In the novel Gulliver had put out a fire at the palace of Lilliput by urinating on it and was ignominiously punished by those he had helped. The moral is that ministers are sometimes punished for taking drastic, but necessary, measures. This was hardly an attack on Walpole's government.<sup>85</sup>

Ronald Paulson went so far as to suggest that Walpole may have requested that the commission be given to Hogarth not only because of the artist's growing reputation but also to bring him onto Walpole's payroll.<sup>86</sup> This is borne out by a portrait of Horace Walpole painted by Hogarth in 1727–28 which predated other Hogarth portraits of members of the Walpole family by some five years.<sup>87</sup>

In 1997 I held the view that, as engraving is a repetitive art, and silver undergoes use and repeated cleaning making it impossible to identify the hand of an individual, Hogarth could not be identified as the engraver, although he may have been responsible for the design which was then executed by another.<sup>88</sup> A recent opportunity to examine the salver at close hand has, however, led me to think



that its superb condition does in fact allow in this instance a definite attribution to be made to an individual. The manner in which the figures' fingers and toes are delineated, for example, and the method of shading on the figures' necks, are done with the same distinctiveness as those on the print of George, Prince of Wales. Combined with the new documentary evidence concerning when Horace acquired the salver, it is time to put to rest the doubt concerning Hogarth's authorship.

A pair of smaller salvers, some 9 in (22.9 cm) square, was also supplied by de Lamerie in the same year as the seal salver [Fig 17]; they are engraved with Walpole's armorials as they appear on the fluted dishes by Willaume (see above).

Paul de Lamerie's workshop supplied at least four additional pieces to Sir Robert Walpole during the period 1729–34: all of them of the highest quality. Two superb inkstands survive, one hallmarked 1729–30 and the other 1733–34. They may be the two inkstands listed in the study (without their weight) in the room-by-room listing of the general contents of Houghton carried out in May 1745,<sup>89</sup> although in another undated inventory executed following Walpole's death, they have been included under the heading "Plate":

The Library Plate consisting of Two Stands compleat . . .<sup>90</sup>

Of 'Treasury' type, the two de Lamerie inkstands are, as one would expect of items commissioned for Walpole's personal use, of large size and generous weight, weighing some 94 and 102 oz (2,923g and 3,172g) respectively. In the form of shallow rectangular boxes, they have the usual hinged double covers concealing sectioned compartments. The engraved decoration of Bérain type borders is typical of de Lamerie/Gamble products of this



Fig 17 Pair of salvers, London, 1728–29 by Paul de Lamerie; engraved with the arms of Walpole impaling Shorter (Present whereabouts unknown)

period but the handling of them lacks the individuality of the de Lamerie seal salver.

The earlier inkstand [Fig 18], now in the collection of Paul and Elissa Cahn, is nearly as famous among silver collectors as Hogarth's seal salver. It is engraved with the Walpole/Shorter arms and supporters in the centre of each cover [Fig 18b]. Part of the plate purchased by

83 Timothy Schroder has drawn attention to the similarities in quality, if not in composition, between the salver and a pull taken from a tankard, now lost, an engraving of which was sold to collectors after Hogarth's death and is still attributed to him (Timothy Schroder, 'Paul de Lamerie: businessman or craftsman?', *Silver Society Journal*, no 6, Winter 1994, pp 268–9).

84 Paul Langford, *Walpole and the Robinocracy*,

Cambridge, 1986, p 15.

85 Joseph Burke and Colin Caldwell, *Hogarth: the Complete Engravings*, New York, 1990, no 113. For an alternative viewpoint, see David Dabydeen, *Hogarth, Walpole and Commercial Britain*, London, 1987, p 140.

86 Ronald Paulson, op cit, see note 74, p 175.

87 Andrew Moore, op cit, see note 13, 1996, p 52; *Manners and Morals, Hogarth and British Painting, 1700–1760*, exhibition

catalogue, the Tate Gallery, London, 1987, pp 75–6, no 54.

88 Christopher Hartop, 'Engraving on English Silver, 1680–1760', *The Magazine Antiques*, vol CLI, no 2, February 1997, p 340.

89 Tessa Murdoch (editor), *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Houses*, Cambridge, 2006, p 172.

90 NA (PRO)/C101/245, see Appendix II.



Fig 18a Inkstand of 'Treasury' type, 1729–30 by Paul de Lamerie; engraved with the arms of Walpole impaling Shorter (Collection of Paul and Elissa Cahn, photograph courtesy of Koopman Rare Art)

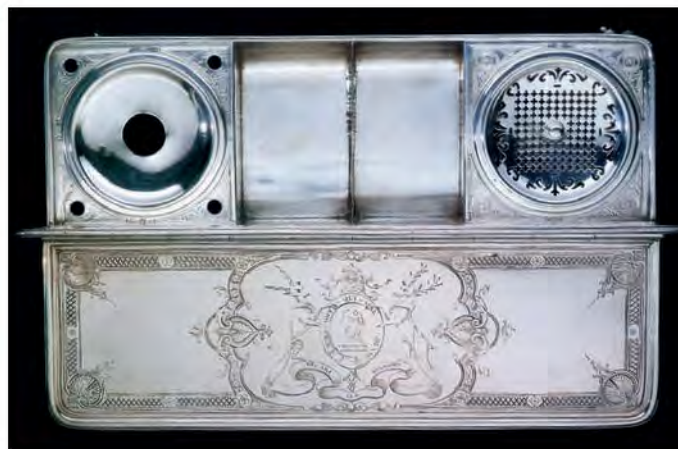


Fig 18b Detail of the top of the inkstand (Collection of Paul and Elissa Cahn, photograph courtesy of Koopman Rare Art)





Fig 19 Inkstand of 'Treasury' type, London, 1733–34 by Paul de Lamerie, engraved with the cypher RW for Sir Robert Walpole, and the later arms of Burrell and the monogram PB

(The Governor and Company of the Bank of England, photograph courtesy of Christie's, London)

Horace in 1792, the inkstand was subsequently sold in the Strawberry Hill sale.

The slightly later example from the same workshop [Fig 19] is engraved on one cover with Walpole's cypher RW within a strapwork cartouche; the same cartouche on the other cover encloses the later engraved arms of Burrell flanked by circular cartouches with the monogram PB. The Burrell arms may be for Peter Burrell (1692–1756) of Langley Park, Beckenham, Kent. He was Sub-Governor of the South Sea Company and brother of Sir Merrick Burrell, Governor of the Bank of England. Peter Burrell was one of the MPs called to give evidence to the secret committee set up in 1742 to investigate Sir Robert Walpole's administration and he was accused of entering into a corrupt contract with Walpole.<sup>91</sup> Horace Walpole later spoke of him as "old Peter Burrell, who was attached to my father" and described him as a "broken merchant".<sup>92</sup> The inkstand descended in the latter's family until sold in 1937 after which it was acquired by the Bank of England.<sup>93</sup> It has always been assumed that the inkstand was a gift from

Walpole to Burrell but there is no evidence for this.<sup>94</sup> It may have been part of the "Library plate" at Houghton mentioned above and it could have been acquired after Walpole's death by Burrell, or even later, by Burrell's son, also Peter, as a memento of Walpole. The engraving of the monograms and the Burrell arms is poorly done and clearly not carried out at the same time as the rest of the engraving. Nevertheless, gifts of plate must have figured extensively in Walpole's rewards for political loyalty, although no other gifts that can be linked directly to Walpole appear to have survived with the exception of a spoon and the mace he gave Norwich Corporation (see below).

While both inkstands follow the same form, the engraved and chased decoration differs owing to the slight difference in their dates of manufacture. The Burrell example has the same cross-hatched borders but the addition of stylised asymmetrical shells at intervals introduces an element of rococo entirely lacking in the earlier example. It was a motif introduced by de Lamerie's so-called Hassel engraver around 1733.<sup>95</sup> There are no comparable inkstands in English silver;



Fig 20a Basket, London, 1731–32, by Paul de Lamerie; engraved with the arms of Walpole impaling Shorter

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

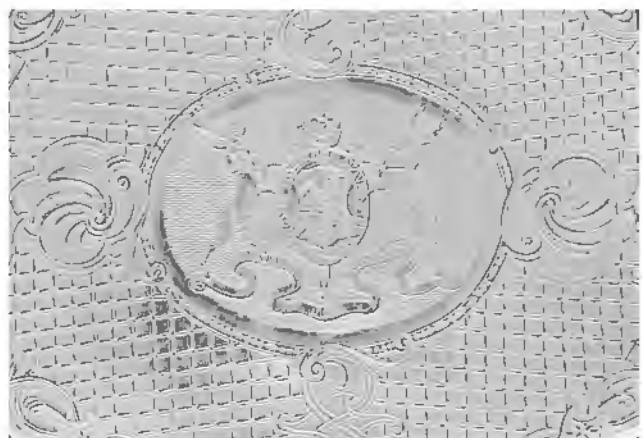


Fig 20b Detail of the Walpole arms and supporters on the basket

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



Fig 21 Pair of three-light candelabra, London, 1731–32 by Paul de Lamerie, engraved with the crest of Walpole enclosed by the Order of the Garter

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

their large size alone is unique. They are also the latest inkstands in the 'Treasury' form which by the 1730s must have looked somewhat old-fashioned.

In 1731–32 Walpole purchased a basket from the same workshop [Fig 20] which is now in the Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum. A stock item from the de Lamerie workshop (a dozen or so are recorded between 1724 and the mid-1730s although most date from 1730 to 1733), it is nonetheless superb. The sides are cast (most of this form by other makers are pierced and chased from sheet) to represent basket weave, a conceit (of silver imitating a much cheaper medium) that goes back at least to the early seventeenth century. The engraving of Walpole's arms and supporters in the centre [Fig 20b], against a Hogarthian background of stylized brickwork, is done with an assuredness that sets it above

more conventional engraving on such baskets, although it falls short of the artistry of the seal salver.

The candelabra [Fig 21] of 1731–32, also in the Gilbert Collection, are in the ponderous baroque taste popular during the French *Régence*. In form the candlesticks follow the published designs of Jean Bérain from the beginning of the century<sup>96</sup> but foliate scrolls incorporated into the bases give them a slightly rococo air.<sup>97</sup> The proportions of the branches are somewhat cramped in comparison with the bases and Timothy Schroder, cataloguing the candelabra in 1988, suggested that the branches might be slightly later in date than the candlesticks, though from the same workshop (the branches are unmarked, but engraved with the same crest and Garter motto).<sup>98</sup> The transition from the circular sockets of the candlesticks to the octagonal stems of the branches is

91 This may be the root of one of the more fantastic calumnies against Walpole: that his father had been an attorney called Burrell with whom his mother had had an affair (see Walter Rye, *The Later History of the Family of Walpole of Norfolk*, Norwich, 1920, p 10). The story may also be the result of confusion over his mother's maiden name, Burwell, which was proba-

bly pronounced 'Burrell'.

92 *Correspondence*, 24, p 499.

93 See Appendix 11.

94 The inkstand is not mentioned in the will of Sir Peter Burrell or that of his son. Interestingly both Burrells, father and son, were clients of George Wickes in the 1740s (Archive of Art and Design

(Victoria and Albert Museum): hereafter AAD/1995/7/1 and 2).

95 The distinctive engraving is found on a rectangular tray from de Lamerie's workshop of 1736–37, engraved with the arms of Hassel, sale, Christie's New York, 10 January 1991, lot 71.

96 See, for example, the plate *Ornemens Inventez par J. Bérain / Et se vendent Chez Joseph Friderich Leopold. A: 1703*, illustrated in Christopher Hartop, *op cit*, see note 36, 1996, p 384.

97 The marks of John White (probably a retailer) and Robert Tyrrell also appear on candlesticks of this form from the 1730s although most examples

have de Lamerie's mark on them (Christopher Hartop, *ibid*, pp 383–4; Ellenor Alcorn, *Beyond the Maker's Mark: Paul de Lamerie Silver in the Cahn Collection*, Cambridge, 2006, p 82)

98 Timothy Schroder, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver*, London, 1988, p 206.





Fig 22a The Walpole mace of Norwich Corporation, silver-gilt, London, 1734–35 by Thomas Rush (Norwich City Council, photograph by Jeff Taylor)



Fig 22b Detail of the mace showing the chased arms of Walpole quarterly with those of Robsart, enclosed by the Order of the Garter and flanked by the ante-lope and hart supporters (Norwich City Council, photograph by Juliet Hartop)

also somewhat awkward; nevertheless the same transition from circular to octagonal occurs on a pair of candelabra from the same workshop, of 1727–28, in the Ashmolean Museum.<sup>99</sup> These candelabra may provide a clue to the original conformation of the Gilbert pair for their branches can be unscrewed and one branch set above the other to make a four-light candelabrum. No candelabra are listed in the inventories of Houghton, although in the 1745–46 inventory in the National Archives, under the heading “Plate”, in addition to “20 candlesticks”, the following are listed separately:

Four Girandoles with Ten Branches<sup>100</sup>

Could two of these be the Gilbert candelabra and originally part of a set which had a multitude of branches that could be arranged as required?<sup>101</sup> It is possible that the branches of the Gilbert pair could originally also be dismantled, and that the threads have subsequently been soldered up.

### A mace for Norwich

The sole surviving piece of Walpole institutional plate is one of Norwich’s civic maces, which he paid for in 1733. During the summer of that year, in the aftermath of the Excise crisis which had severely shaken his position, Walpole’s supporters in Norwich organised a show of strength. On 10 July, after a rapturous welcome outside the city gates, Walpole and his brother Horatio were escorted, as the staunchly Whig *Norwich Mercury* reported, by

... near a Thousand Horse, and a great Train of Coaches, fill’d with Gentlemen of the first Distinction amongst us.

to a civic banquet after which Walpole was presented with a gold box.<sup>102</sup> He responded by presenting the corporation with a gift of £100 which was used to buy a new civic mace<sup>103</sup> [Fig 22]. The Assembly Book of September 1734 records:

Ordered that it be left to the City Committee to provide a new silver mace & a new crimson velvet gown to be worn by the Mayor of this City for the time being on all publick occasions & that the purchase thereof be made out of the one hundred pounds given to this Corporation by ye R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Sir R<sup>t</sup>. Walpole & that y<sup>e</sup> overplus (if any be) by applied as y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Committee shall think fit.<sup>104</sup>

The following February it was ordered:

That M<sup>r</sup>. Nathaniel Roe provide a New Mace called Benefaction of Sir Robert Walpole the same dimension as the old Mace & in the newest close manner with the King’s Arms & the arms of Sir Rob<sup>t</sup>. Walpole upon it & an inscription (namely) the gift of Sir Rob<sup>t</sup>. Walpole 1733. And that Mr. Roe do consult M<sup>r</sup>. Ald. Vere who is now in London ab<sup>t</sup>. the same.<sup>105</sup>

Nathaniel Roe I was a Norwich goldsmith with a shop on the Market Place.<sup>106</sup> He placed the order for the mace with Thomas Rush, a London maker in Fetter Lane, who in turn probably used outwork-



ers to supply the components of the mace which follows the conventional form in use from the Restoration onwards. The Norwich mace appears to be the sole surviving piece of official plate presented by Walpole to a corporation or livery company. Any plate he may have given the corporation of King's Lynn, his old constituency, does not appear to have survived, and the candlesticks and snuffers he gave to King's, his Cambridge college, were stolen in a robbery in 1796.<sup>107</sup>

The heraldry on the Norwich mace is of interest [Fig 22b]. It is chased with Walpole's full achievement with the Order of the Garter and his Exchequer supporters but the shield depicts the Walpole arms quarterly with those of Robsart. Walpole's surviving domestic silver without exception shows the Walpole arms impaling those of his estranged wife, Catherine Shorter (she died in 1737), but for this civic presentation Walpole evidently chose to demonstrate the fact that his great-great-grandfather Edward had married Lucy, sister of the luckless Amy Robsart, wife of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. On Amy's death in suspicious circumstances Edward's son, John Walpole, became heir to the great Robsart estates in north-west Norfolk.<sup>108</sup>

### A theft from Chelsea

In 1735 a sad incident occurred at Sir Robert's house at Chelsea: Philip Hall, who was described as having been employed as a bricklayer by Walpole for eleven years,<sup>109</sup>

was indicted and accused of stealing a "scallop'd silver salver". In the trial on 11 September James Wright, a servant in the house, testified that on 18 August Hall had been in the pantry amongst the plate, adding that

for being well known in the Family, we had no mistrust of him.

John Wilmot, an employee of Thomas Gilpin, the goldsmith,<sup>110</sup> stated that on the following day the accused had come into Gilpin's shop and offered to sell them the salver.

Seeing a Crest on it, I asked him whose it was. He said he did not know, for it was left him by his first Wife. I told him I must stop the Plate till he could satisfy me how he came by it. He asked me what I meant by that, and said, he could soon fetch one that knew him; and so he went and fetched Mr. Stafford from the Stamp Office. Mr. Stafford told me who the Prisoner was, and said that he believed him to be an honest Man -- I looked into a Book of Arms, and thought the Crest was like the Duke of Chandos's. But on my going thither, I was told it was Sir Robert Walpole's. I went to Sir Robert's, and there the Plate was owned.

James Wright identified the salver as being the missing one from the pantry and Hall was sentenced to transportation.<sup>111</sup>

99 Timothy Schroder, op cit, see note 43, vol I, pp 452-4, no 176; these branches are also unmarked.

100 NA (PRO)/C101/245/ff 94, 95.

101 While the word girandole was most frequently used during the period to denote a carved wooden wall sconce (Tessa Murdoch, op cit, see note 89, p 290), the 1792 Houghton inventory lists a "pair of gilt Girandoles" in the saloon which refers to the wall sconces still hanging there (ibid, p 192), but the term was also used for silver candelabra as when Sir Charles Hedges was issued with "2 Girendoles" by the Jewel House in 1703 (Timothy Schroder, op cit, see note 43, vol I, p 454) or when "A pr. of 2 light Gerrandoles" was listed in the plate at Ditchley Park on 7 March 1743 (ibid, p 152).

102 John H Plumb, op cit, see note 3, 1960, p 283; *Norwich Mercury*, 12 July 1733; Walpole also received the freedom of Great Yarmouth but received his certificate in a silver box ("with engraved top of Yarmouth arms", 1792 sale, first day's sale, lot 105). "Sir Robert Walpole lay at Sir Charles Turner's on Monday night and dined there on the Tuesday. Sir Charles invited some of the neighbouring gentlemen, and my father was one, and from thence they went to Norwich where my father see Major Hoste" Nigel Surry (editor), 'Your affectionate and loving sister': the correspondence of Barbara Kerrich and Elizabeth Postlethwaite 1733-1751, Guist Bottom, 2000, pp 17-18).

103 The trip to Norwich cost Walpole over £150 as, in addition to the £100 gift to the corporation, he paid £21 "to the Mayor to be

distributed among the officers of the city", five guineas each to the prisoners in the city and in the county gaols, and various small amounts to bell-ringers and to "the woman who showed him the way to the city-hall" (C (H) MSS/Vouchers 1733).

104 Llewellyn Jewitt and W H St John Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales*, London, 1895, vol II, p 176.

105 Robin Emmerson, *The Norwich Regalia and Civic Plate*, Norwich, 1984, p 7.

106 Christopher Hartop, 'Norwich goldsmiths 1700-1800', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 21, 2006, p 79.

107 King's College Archives, KCA/736. Walpole's original gift of four candlesticks and

snuffers was exchanged for a pair of candlesticks and snuffers some time before 1739. He also gave £500 towards the cost of the Gibbs Building.

108 I am grateful to Francesca Vanke, Curator of Decorative Arts, Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery, Maxine Pooley of Norwich City Hall and Andy Stephenson, City Sword Bearer, for their help.

109 C (H) MSS/Accounts 22, the account book kept by Walpole's steward 1722-1730, has the following entry for 15 February 1725: "Pd Philip Hall Bricklayer a bill £5 9s 6d" (£ 54).

110 Gilpin carried on a business in Serle Street "by Lincoln's Inn back gate" that had been established by 1690 and his successors, A Woodhouse & Son Ltd, still continue trading around the corner in Carey

Street "at the sign of the silver mousetrap" (see John Culme, *The Directory of Gold & Silversmiths, Jewellers & Allied Traders 1838-1914, from the London Assay Office Registers*, London, 1987, vol I, p 179; Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 31, p 749); it is perhaps surprising that a shopman in a fashionable London retailing establishment failed to recognise the crest of the King's 'prime' minister.

111 *Old Bailey Proceedings: Accounts of Criminal Trials*, t17350911-49; 11 September 1735, pp 124-5; Edward Jenkins was Walpole's steward until January 1736; after that until 1745 it was George Oswald (C (H) MSS/Accounts 44; Houghton MSS/RB6/1).



Fig 23 Soup tureen and cover, London, 1738-39 by George Wickes (Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery)

### The George Wickes account

On 7 February 1729 Edward Jenkins, Walpole's steward, paid "by Ldy's order" £7 2s to "John Craigs silver-smith".<sup>112</sup> Craig, described in some records as "jeweller", was most probably a retailer of silver and jewellery as no mark is recorded for him. From the late 1720s he appears to have been in partnership with George Wickes in an arrangement that mirrored the Gamble/de Lamerie set-up. The partnership continued until 1735 when Wickes opened new retail premises in fashionable Panton Street near the Haymarket in the West End. Shortly thereafter Sir Robert Walpole's name starts to appear in Wickes's surviving business ledgers. Elaine Barr, the biographer of Wickes, was only aware of Walpole's account in the first surviving Wickes ledger which began in 1737, and expressed surprise that Walpole should have opened an account with the firm at a time when the king was quarrelling with Frederick, Prince of Wales, the firm's biggest client. As the king's minister, she contended, Walpole would have been unwise to patronise the prince's goldsmith given the royal quarrel.<sup>113</sup> In 1737, as a result of the split with his father, the prince had in fact cancelled a large order with Wickes, who angrily recorded in his ledger that the order

was in such forwardness when countermand as amounts to more than £500.<sup>114</sup>

Too much politics can be read into patrons' choice of goldsmith, just as too much religion can be read into why the Earl of Warrington, with his Low Church sympathies, favoured Huguenot silversmiths as some writers have suggested.

In any event Walpole was already a client of the firm in 1729 when he paid John Craig £7. Like Prince Frederick Walpole was no doubt drawn to Wickes as a new type of retailer of luxury goods. Local connections may also have come into it as Wickes was a Suffolk man who had a number of clients from the Bury St Edmunds area, including Walpole's supporter Lord Hervey, and another crony of Walpole's, Robert Butts, Bishop of Norwich (later of Ely), who was Wickes's cousin. Wickes later owned land in Rougham, birthplace of Walpole's mother, and retired to nearby Thurston.

The lucky survival of a run of Wickes's records gives us for the first time a fuller picture of Walpole's silver buying, albeit for a comparatively short period. In the earliest surviving of Wickes's ledgers (which begins in June 1735) Walpole's first purchase was of a second-hand inkstand in 1736 weighing an impressive 113 oz (3,514g). It had been taken on consignment along with a considerable quantity of plate from a Thomas Arnall<sup>115</sup> by Wickes, on 15 June of that year. Wickes agreed to sell the items at specified prices

out of which I am to take 4 pence per oz. for my trouble and to charge the Doing them all up.

Wickes charged Arnall's account £2 1s 2d for doing up the inkstand "as new" and almost immediately afterwards, on 15 July, he sold the inkstand to Sir Robert Walpole for £48.<sup>116</sup>

The same ledger includes the Walpole account beginning on 1 December 1737, but there must have been an earlier ledger which included the account recording the purchase of the second-hand inkstand. The new account

112 C (H) MSS/Accounts 22, f 76. For more on Craig see Vanessa Brett, 'The paper trail of eighteenth-century retailers', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 25, 2009, p 24, note 31, and below, note 124.

113 Elaine Barr, *George Wickes, Royal Goldsmith 1698-1761*, London, 1980, pp 122-4.

114 Ibid, p 143.

115 Presumably a dealer in second-hand plate, and possibly related to the Hugh Arnall listed by Heal, op cit,

see note 26, as a plateworker in King Street, Soho, and to the John Arnall who supplied candlesticks to Parker and Wakelin, the successors to Wickes, in the 1760s; see Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 31, (Addendum) and Helen Clifford, *Silver in London: The Parker and Wakelin Partnership*, New

Haven and London, 2004, pp 30, 87. William Arnall (1699 or 1700-36) was hired by Walpole from the late 1720s onwards to write pro-government propagandist articles to counteract *The Craftsman* and other opposition newspapers (Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole*:

*A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press*, London, 1987, pp 104 passim.).

116 AAD 1995/7/1, f 83, 86; the information that Walpole purchased the inkstand is gleaned from Arnall's account cited here.

continues until after Walpole's death when in 1747 his son opted to take a cash payment of some £196 to close out the account (the credit was due to £279 in old silver and gold having been taken by Wickes).

Through the late 1730s and early 1740s orders were carried out for candlesticks, "festoon" sauce-boats<sup>117</sup> and dishes as well as minor sales of "12 Spitts" (meat skewers), a "silver clasp knife", stock- and knee-buckles for "Master Walpole", presumably Horace, and hair brushes. Twelve "bottle tickets" were supplied in June 1738 for four guineas: one of the earliest mentions of silver wine labels.<sup>118</sup> Frequent charges were made for reconditioning old pieces and for regular repairs and replacements: the result of the harsh life endured by dining and drinking plate (as opposed to display plate) in a round of constant entertaining in five houses. In December 1737 Walpole was charged for "Setting to rites Some Dishes and Plate mending" and three weeks later 1s for "Mending a Top of a Ink Stand". In May 1740 another inkstand was repaired for 2s 6d: perhaps one of the Paul de Lamerie examples? Or the one in Walpole's portrait by Jervas?

The "festoon" sauce-boats were probably for Walpole's house in Downing Street. Walpole moved out following his resignation in 1742 and most of the pictures were removed to Houghton.<sup>119</sup> Much of the furnishings and plate, however, appear to have been removed to his son's nearby offices at the Exchequer in the Palace of Westminster, which he occupied as one of the

Auditors of the Exchequer until his death in 1751. In the sale of property that took place on the premises under the auspices of Mr Langford in that year are sixty-three lots of silver including two pairs of sauce-boats "ornamented with masks and festoons of fruit and flowers".<sup>120</sup>

On 29 July 1738 Walpole was charged for a tureen weighing 151 oz 4 dwt (4,702g) at 8s 5d per ounce, making a total of £63 2s. An additional 8s was charged for "graving 4 crests and garters" and £1 10s for "boyling and doing up a tureen as new". The new tureen, hallmarked for 1738–39 and with the mark of George Wickes, is now in Norwich Castle Museum [Fig 23]. The old reconditioned tureen used as the model also survives; it is struck with hallmarks for 1733–34 and the mark of Paul Crespin. Both tureens were acquired by Horace Walpole in 1792 and were subsequently sold in the Strawberry Hill sale.<sup>121</sup>

The Crespin tureen is an early example of the innovative French vessel, the soup tureen, which first made its appearance in England in the 1720s. Crespin is known to have had a working relationship with Paul de Lamerie (for example, wine coolers supplied to Lord Chesterfield in 1727–28 have de Lamerie's mark overstruck by Crespin's<sup>122</sup>) and the tureen may have in fact been made in de Lamerie's workshop, or sold by him. Another tureen of the same form, though slightly taller, is also known.<sup>123</sup> A 'duty dodger', it is struck three times with the mark of Benjamin Godfrey, another member of the

117 Admiral Vernon also purchased a "festoon" sauce-boat from Wickes in 1743. In form they were probably on four lion-mask feet and applied with garlands of foliage, identical to a sauce-boat of 1737–38, mark of George Wickes, illustrated by Elaine Barr, *op cit*, see note 113, p 125, fig 82.

118 In March 1737 Paul de Lamerie had charged Lord Fitzwalter 4s 6d for "mending and adding silver to three pieces with chains to hang on bottles of wine", perhaps the earliest mention of these innovations, and Wickes charged Lord Lymington in May of the same year £1 10s for six "Bottle Tickets" (see John Salter (editor), *Wine Labels*,

1730–2003, *A Worldwide History*, Woodbridge, 2004, p 18).

119 The house had reverted to the Crown on the death of the Hanoverian envoy Count Bothmer in 1732 and the king offered it as a gift to Walpole. Prudently Walpole refused to accept it for himself personally but suggested that it should be used as the official residence of the First Lord of the Treasury. William Kent appears to have been engaged to turn two houses and an adjoining cottage into a palatial headquarters for Walpole which took some three years to complete. On 23 September 1735, the *London Daily Post* announced that "yesterday the Right Hon. Sir Robert

Walpole, with his Lady and Family, removed from their House in St James's Square, to his new House, adjoining to the Treasury in St. James's Park". Horace Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann on 30 June 1742, "I am writing to you in one of the charming rooms towards the park: it is a delightful evening, and I am willing to enjoy this sweet corner while I may, for we are soon to quit it. Mrs Sandys [wife of Samuel Sandys, the incoming Chancellor of the Exchequer] came yesterday to give us warning; Lord Wilmington has lent it to them: Sir Robert might have had it for his own at first, but would only take it as first lord of the Treasury. He goes into a small house

of his own in Arlington Street, opposite to where we formerly lived" (*Correspondence*, 17, p 478).

120 Second day's sale, 27 March 1751 (OS), lot 18 and third day's sale, 28 March, lot 18 (NAL/Dyce/M/4to/1948b). On the first day's sale, sold from "The long Stone Gallery" were (lot 2) "A new wainscot SHUFFLEBOARD TABLE, 35 feet long, with brass quoits" and (lot 3) "The model of Houghton Hall on a wainscot table".

121 Now in the Oscar and Annette de la Renta Collection; for the full history of both tureens, see Appendix 11.

122 Sale, Sotheby's London, 4 February 1988, lot 112; one now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the other in the National Museum of Scotland. Some early authorities asserted that Crespin and Wickes had been in partnership in the early 1730s, although no documentation has come to light to prove this.

123 Now in the Hartman Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; see Christopher Hartop, *op cit*, see note 36, p 190. In July 1739 Wickes charged Walpole £18 15s for "a Lyning to a Tureen" and a further £1 10s for "Doing up the Tureen", possibly this example.





Fig 24 Soup tureen and cover, London, circa 1730-35 by Benjamin Godfrey

(The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Alan and Simone Hartman and Harriet J. Bradbury Fund, photograph courtesy of Rare Art, New York)

'de Lamerie group' and probably dates from about the time of the Crespin purchase [Fig 24].<sup>124</sup> It is possible that this example is also a Walpole piece, one of another pair of tureens which were the *pots à oille* that faced the Crespin/Wickes *soupières* across the table when dining *à la française*, as laid down by Vincent La Chapelle in his book *The Modern Cook*, first published in London in 1733. La Chapelle, who described himself as "Chief Cook to the Right Honourable the Earl of Chesterfield", did much to spread French cookery and the French way of dressing a table in England. Walpole, for all his professed patriotism, was no different from his fellow Whig grandees in adopting French customs of the tabletop. The anonymous author of *The Norfolk Congress*, a satirical description of one of Walpole's Houghton "congresses", describes a French dinner which shocked some of his political cronies

for they remembered when he had like to have overturn'd the whole Table, upon seeing some *French Kickshaws* upon it.<sup>125</sup>

The *Craftsman*, the chief print weapon of the opposition, linked his pro-French foreign policy with his appetite

But now French sauces will go down ... so much a Frenchman he is grown.<sup>126</sup>

One other extant piece of silver can be traced from Walpole's account with George Wickes. The ledger records for 25 July 1739:

	Oz	Wt	@	£	S	D
To a Cover and foot to a Ivory Tankard	31	8	6/-	9	8	6
To making					12	
To a Ivory Tankard Bottom					7	6

The "tankard bottom" is a mid-seventeenth century German carved ivory tankard sleeve of indifferent quality for which Wickes supplied a silver base, rim and cover [Fig 25]. Listed among the plate at Houghton in 1745-46, it was acquired by Horace Walpole in 1792, and included in the Strawberry Hill sale when it was bought by the 13th Earl of Derby; it remains at Knowsley (see Appendix 11).

Buying an old carved ivory tankard body and enriching it with new silver mounts is something one might well expect of Horace Walpole but is perhaps surprising for the picture- and sculpture-collecting Sir Robert, who does not appear to have had antiquarian collecting interests. Such a 'cross-cultural' piece is significant in appearing to be the only antiquarian artefact known to have been owned by Sir Robert Walpole;<sup>127</sup> it is moreover, exceedingly rare for the period. In 1688 Lady

124 Godfrey was apprenticed to John Craig in 1716. Craig was in partnership with George Wickes until Wickes moved to Pantons Street in 1735. In the meantime Godfrey had left Craig's establishment by 1731 and was working for Elizabeth Buteaux whom he married the following year. He entered his first mark in the same year, so the tureen dates from 1732 or shortly after. Interestingly Godfrey's will, dated 1731, was witnessed by de Lamerie. Benjamin Godfrey's mark also appears on a set of three casters of 1736-37,

engraved with "the arms of Horace Walpole of Strawberry Hill" sold in 1937 (see Appendix 12).

125 *The Norfolk Congress or, A Full and True Account of Their Hunting, Feasting and Merry-making, being singularly delightful and likewise very instructive to PUBLICK*, London, 1728, but in circulation as a manuscript in Norfolk from 1725 onwards (therefore refuting the suggestion that "congress" alludes to the extravagant feasting that took place at the Congress of Soissons in 1728 (David Dabydeen, op cit, see note 85, p 149, note 132)). The term "kickshaw"

is usually contemptuous and often refers to food: "A 'something' French, not one of the known 'substantial English' dishes", as the *Oxford English Dictionary* describes; the word derives from "quelque chose".

126 Jeremy Black, *Walpole in Power*, Stroud, 2001, p 23.

127 A possible exception is the "Cup of Rock Crystal" listed at Chelsea in 1745 but, as it was sold in a lot together with a case of silver knives, forks and spoons for a mere £2 10s, it is unlikely to have been of any consequence

(NA (PRO)/C101/245/f 23) and "an agate casket ornamented in silver" sold in the Langford 1751 sale (Numb VI, p 6, sub "Plate", lot 19). Walpole also owned an Augsburg display dish chased with a scene from the Crusades, which may have been a diplomatic gift to him (see below).

128 Sold in her sale in 1770 and subsequently owned by William Beckford, they are now in the British Museum.

129 For example seven vases and cups in the Royal Collection with mounts added by Rundell, Bridge

& Rundell, 1814-1827 (E Alfred Jones, *The Gold and Silver of Windsor Castle*, Letchworth, 1911, pls VLI, VLII, LIII and XCVII); examples in the Wanstead House sale, 1822; a tankard, 1812-13, sale, Sotheby's London, 2 December 1971, lot 166; a pair of vases, 1825-26 (formerly in the collection of Alberto Pinto) and a pair mounted as jars and covers, 1829-30, sale, Sotheby's London, 8 July 2011, lot 48.

130 See Appendix 5.

Elizabeth Germaine had inherited two seventeenth-century ivory tankard bodies from her sister-in-law the Countess of Suffolk and in 1712 had the Willaume workshop mount them as covered vases in silver-gilt.<sup>128</sup> But these appear to be the only instance in England of such embellishment before the Walpole example, which in turn predates the Regency fashion for embellishing old ivories with modern mounts.<sup>129</sup> Perhaps the purchase of the vase was prompted by the young Horace who had just returned from his Grand Tour. It was not, however, among the various pictures and objects taken to Strawberry Hill from Orford House, Chelsea, by Horace immediately after his father's death.<sup>130</sup>

### Political 'douceurs'

Single spoons also figure in the Wickes accounts from time to time, such as the "Spoon for Mr Pyderwell's Use and Mr Jones" costing 16s the two. Such spoons may represent political 'douceurs' given out at elections. One such spoon of 1744-45 survives [Fig 26], inscribed 'Lord Orford to T: Hill'. Thomas Hill was one of the electors of King's Lynn, whose MP Walpole had been from 1714-42. He was one of the signatories of a "loyal address" to Walpole in December 1736 and may have been the recipient of this spoon from the newly ennobled Lord Orford, keen to retain the Walpole interest in his old constituency.

### The inventories: reconstructing the rest of the collection

Walpole retired to Houghton in 1742 and moved most of the pictures from his London houses to the new picture gallery there. He continued to spend some time in London, for the king still sought his advice and he had to marshal support during the deliberations of the secret committee and subsequently to negotiate his pension of £4,000 a year from the Crown. During this period his health broke and he faced drastic treatments for bladder stones. Called to London in early 1745 for a meeting with the king, he endured an agonising journey only to die at his house in Arlington Street as a result of a particularly caustic purge.



Fig 25a Vase and cover, ivory with silver mounts, the vase German, mid-seventeenth century, the mounts 1739-40 by George Wickes; the cover is surmounted by a cast saracen's head on a torse, the Walpole crest (The Earl of Derby)



Fig 25b Detail of the foot of the silver-mounted ivory vase (The Earl of Derby, photograph by Michael Snodin)



Fig 26a Table spoon, London, 1744-45, maker's mark IWV, probably for James Wilks (Private collection)



Fig 26b Detail of the table spoon (Private collection)



Received by Ditto of the Cock for Plate sold at Chelsea as follows

Received by	Atch Aug 12 1745	41.. 10 at 5/6 1/2	11.. 0.. 5
Two small Salvers	20.. 7 at 5/9 1/2	5.. 17.. 10	
An Octagon Coffee Pot	25.. 0 at 5/11 1/2	7.. 0.. 11	
Two small Sallent fruit Plates	21.. 0 at 6/1	6.. 6.. 0	
A Pair of Sauce Boats	41.. 5 at 5/10	11.. 12.. 9	
A Coffee Pot	22.. 10 at 5/10	6.. 7.. 6	
A Set of Castors	51.. 15 at 5/6 1/2	0.. 16.. 5	
A Chocolate Pot	25.. 10 at 5/6 1/2	6.. 10.. 2	
A Large Square Waster	45.. 10 at 5/7 1/2	12.. 4.. 0	
Ditto	45.. 5 at 5/7 1/2	12.. 12.. 8	
A Rust frame with a set of Castors	24.. 15 at 5/6 1/2	0.. 1.. 10	
A Two handled Cup and cover	41.. 10 at 5/7	11.. 11.. 0	
A Large Salver and Two Dishes	49.. 0 at 5/7	13.. 12.. 7	
A Soup Dish	71.. 15 at 5/7	20.. 0.. 7	
Two small Dishes	121.. 5 at 5/6 1/2	25.. 11.. 11	
Thirteen Soup Plates	244.. 0 at 5/6 1/2	67.. 12.. 4	
Twelve Table Plates	225.. 15 at 5/7	65.. 5.. 1	
Two large Canisters	121.. 0 at 5/10 1/2	32.. 0.. 5	
Four Dish covers	241.. 0 at 5/6 1/2	66.. 15.. 6	
A Large Tureen and cover	225.. 0 at 5/5 1/2	60.. 17.. 2	
A Pair of small Salvers	19.. 10 at 5/10 1/2	5.. 10.. 7	
A Rust frame with Castors	40.. 5 at 6/1 1/2	14.. 15.. 6	
A Jug	46.. 0 at 5/10 1/2	15.. 2.. 7	
A Coffee Pot	57.. 0 at 6/2	5.. 4.. 10	
A Pair of Glass Stands	27.. 10 at 5/10	7.. 0.. 11	

Fig 27 List of items sold from Chelsea by Mr Cock. Received by Ditto of Mr Cock for Plate sold at Chelsea, 23 April 1745 (The National Archives)

The inventories made to settle the estate in the months that followed his death are arranged under each of his five houses. In addition to coins and banknotes found in his dressing-room, the executors listed

A Large Diamond Ring formerly given the Testor by the Prince of Orange, An Onyx George set round with Diamonds, A Ruby Ring, A Parcel of old Plate not included in the following inventories.<sup>131</sup>

No plate is listed at Richmond Lodge, the house granted to his son Lord Walpole in his role as Ranger of Richmond Park which the elder Walpole used as a hunting retreat, or at his townhouse in Arlington Street. It is likely that a good deal of plate had travelled from London to Houghton as he began to spend more of his time there and as his illness became more acute. The London plate was concentrated at Orford House, the house in the grounds of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, which Walpole had occupied as Paymaster General of

the hospital from 1714 onwards. There is nevertheless, a great deal of duplication of function in the plate at Chelsea and Houghton suggesting that, apart from major pieces like the wine cistern, little plate had travelled as Walpole went to and from Norfolk for his annual 'congresses'.<sup>132</sup>

One of the most significant items in the 1792 sale was:

A MAGNIFICENT SIDEBOARD DISH, embellished with numerous well executed figures, in ALTO RELIEVO, richly chas'd, and highly ornamented with gilt trophies.

A report in the *Morning Chronicle* shortly after the sale remarked:

#### THE LATE EARL OF ORFORD

At Jaques's sale of his Lordship's plate, a sideboard dish, made at Augsburg, representing a story from the Crusades, in *alto relievo*, weight near 200 ounces, was purchased (it is supposed for his Majesty), at 10s 7d per ounce.

Other London papers and the *Norwich Mercury* also carried the same story.<sup>133</sup> This is presumably the "large Wrought Dish Chased" listed at Houghton in the post 1751 inventory.

No German sideboard dish matching this description and weight appears to be in the Royal Collection. There are several seventeenth-century German dishes with narrative scenes which may have been acquired before the Prince Regent's mammoth buying spree of display plate, but none of them weighs more than 100 oz (3,100g), nor do any have what could be loosely interpreted as a scene from the Crusades.<sup>134</sup>

The dish may have been a diplomatic gift to Walpole, perhaps from the Hanoverian envoy Count Bothmer, with whom he had a close relationship. Even by Augsburg standards the dish was exceptionally large as most surviving examples from the workshops of the principal makers of this type of object, Hans Jakob Baur, Abraham Warnberger and Hans Jakob Mair, weigh 100 oz (3,110g) or less.<sup>135</sup> The subject matter, a scene from the Crusades, would be highly unusual if not unique in Augsburg silver but the description may have been a mistake on the part of the cataloguer.<sup>136</sup>

Besides the extensive list of plate at Chelsea there is another virtually identical list which lists the weights and the prices realised for each item when sold by Mr Cock the auctioneer in 1747 [Fig 27] (Appendix 5).<sup>137</sup> Cock was paid £690 5s 4d by the executors for



plate bought in to advance the sale of the Testor's plate at Chelsea.<sup>138</sup>

The auctioneer was also paid £1 9s 11d for "weighing and repairing part of the Plate".<sup>139</sup>

In addition to these lists there is a copy of a 1745 inventory of Houghton preserved in the house.<sup>140</sup> Apart from various silver-plated lighting items in the butler's pantry, only a few items of silver are recorded as being still about the house. The 1745–46 inventory of the plate at Houghton in the National Archive groups all the plate as a separate list.<sup>141</sup>

Between Houghton and London Walpole had several "rings for the table", in other words a centrepiece formed of a central tureen, usually fitted with a cover that could be removed and used as a serving dish, and satellite dishes. One at Chelsea weighing some 376 oz (11,693g) incorporated five dishes and covers. Also listed there was a

ffine Epargne, Consisting of Two Sets of casters,  
Two cruet fframes with Glasses, Two Double  
Salts, ffour Sawcers for Pickles and ffour Branches  
for Candles

weighing over 673 oz (20,930g). At Stanhoe House there was a "Surtout with 4 Branches and 4 Saucers"; this was

probably similar to the Newdigate centrepiece in the Victoria and Albert Museum. French innovations of the end of the previous century, these articles were the juggernauts of the silver of the period. When Lady Grisell Baillie, a Scots noblewoman, visited Walpole in 1727, they were still enough of an innovation for her to remark upon the one there:

We was eight days at Twitenham ... we always  
had an Eparn on the table.<sup>142</sup>

Walpole's brother Horatio received an "aparn" as well as "two terrains" as part of his ambassadorial plate in 1724.<sup>143</sup>

### How the silver was used

In 1726 when Walpole and the Duke of Richmond were installed as Knights of the Garter (Walpole was the first commoner to be so elevated) they split the cost of the ensuing banquet. A group of receipts survive among the Walpole papers that present a complete picture of the dinner and those involved.<sup>144</sup> No doubt Walpole and Richmond provided most of the plate themselves, though the sheer numbers invited meant that some of it had to be hired. Plate was also borrowed from the Jewel House for the "State Sideboard", but carriage had to be paid for bringing it to St James's Palace, and to the royal officers who supervised it, as well

131 Houghton MSS/Housecellar/1566(b). The "old plate" is probably the plate sold to Wickes (see note 193).

132 During the eighteenth century plate went to and from London with the seasons. There are lists of Lord Townshend's plate drawn up in the 1730s and made when the silver was taken to London at the start of the season, and again when it returned to Raynham, signed for by the respective stewards (similar lists were prepared for Townshend's clothing and linens); BL/Add 41,656. Surprisingly the silver, together with the clothes and linens, was sent up and down by the regular weekly Fakenham carrier. It had its hazards: Horace Walpole related to Lady

Ossory in 1772 that "Lord Ilchester had sent up all his plate by the wagon. It arrived and there were two of his servants in the house -- but this morning not so much as a silver spoon was left!" (7 January, *Correspondence*, vol 32, p 77). There are eighteenth-century meat dishes at Brynkynalt engraved on the reverses *Take to the country*.

133 *Morning Chronicle*, 14 May 1792, issue 7155; also *St James's Chronicle* or *British Evening Post*, 12–15 May 1792; I am grateful to Lord Cholmondeley for supplying me with the *Norwich Mercury* reference.

134 I am grateful to Kathryn Jones, curator, Royal Collection Trust, for her help.

135 Walpole's Norfolk neighbour Sir Andrew Fountaine went to Hanover in 1701, as part of the party headed by Lord Macclesfield sent to carry the Act of Succession to the Electress, and was presented by her with a silver-gilt Augsburg dish of the highest quality (private collection). Attributed to Hans Jacob Mair, the central chased scene depicts Minerva with the muses on Parnassus with a fountain in the background, a pun on his name, no doubt thought suitable for a diplomatic gift (see Christopher Hartop, 'German Silver in England', P Eyres and James Lomax (editors), *Diplomats, Goldsmiths and Baroque Court Culture: Lord Raby in Berlin and at Wentworth Castle*, Wentworth Castle Trust, 2014).

136 Hans Seling, *Die Kunst der Augsburger Goldschmiede, 1529–1868*, Munich, 1980, vol II, pls 504–7. I am very grateful to Dr Lorenz Seelig for his advice.

137 NA (PRO)/C101/245 f 22.

138 NA (PRO)/C101/19; most of this amount may be the price of the cistern. If it was bought in by Cock, it may be the one sold in the sale at the Exchequer in 1751, meaning that Walpole had had one, not two, cisterns.

139 Houghton MSS/Housecellar/955.

140 Published by Tessa Murdoch, op cit, see note 89.

141 NA (PRO)/C101/245.

142 June 6, 1727, R Scott-Moncrieff (editor), *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie, 1692–1733*, Scottish History Society, NS I, Edinburgh, 1911; Walpole also used a house at Twickenham, probably the one belonging to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, where he wooed Maria Skerrett who was eventually to become his wife in 1738 (Andrew Moore, op cit, see note 13, p 165).

143 NA (PRO)/LC/9/44.

144 C (H) MSS/Vouchers 1726.

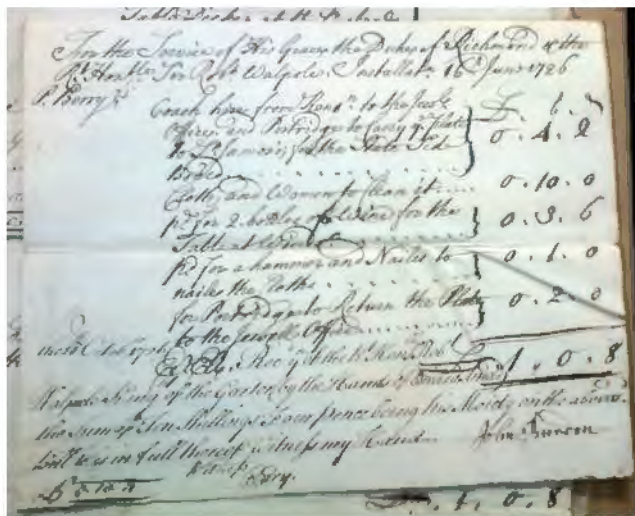


Fig 28 Bill for the transportation and cleaning of royal plate for the "State Sideboard" at the dinner following the installation of the Duke of Richmond and Sir Robert Walpole as Knights of the Garter, June, 1726

(The Marquess of Cholmondeley (Cholmondeley (Houghton) MSS, Cambridge University Library)

as to the table decker [Fig 28]. Additional sconces were loaned from the royal household. Cleaning of the plate cost 19s; pewter was purchased for £117 15s 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. The cost of the serving men was £47 7s and the fifteen cooks, including their transport by coach, cost just over £100. Napery was hired for £1 11d 2d and brooms, baskets and brushes were charged at over £20. The lion's share of the cost was for the food: the bills range from £18 11s for "herbs and roots" to the poultry which cost nearly £150. The confectionery for the "desart" cost £128 16s. Afterwards lost plate, in the form of one knife, six forks and one spoon, was charged at 15 guineas,<sup>145</sup> while spoilt table-cloths cost £25 18s 6d, and the loss of napery amounted to nearly £6. The whole entertainment cost the two new knights over £1,100.



Fig 29 The Marble Parlour at Houghton, completed circa 1731  
(The Marquess of Cholmondeley, photograph by Peter Huggins)

## William Kent and Walpole

By the early 1730s the new house at Houghton was nearing completion after ten years and one of the last rooms to be fitted up was the Marble Parlour or dining room. We know too little of Walpole's plate purchases in the 1720s to know if acquisitions had dropped off as the walls of the new house rose and the tons of mahogany had to be paid for. But it is likely that with Houghton nearing completion new plate was needed, hence the purchases from de Lamerie/Crespin and Wickes. During this period the decoration and furnishing of Houghton was in the hands of William Kent and it is tempting to think that Kent designed plate for Walpole too. But no Walpole silver that can be linked to Kent has survived although the three tureens discussed above, with their monumentality and use of the sarcophagus form, come closest of all, among the surviving Walpole silver, to his work. If Kent had designed plate for such an illustrious figure as Walpole, surely at least one or more plates would have been devoted to it in *Some Designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. W<sup>m</sup>. Kent* published by John Vardy in 1744? At best, the lions' masks on the tureens can be described as 'Kentian' although similar heads first appear on London-made silver on the great wine cistern of 1680-81 by William Cooper, acquired by John Hervey, later Earl of Bristol, in 1697.<sup>146</sup>

There is no doubt, however, that William Kent was familiar with Sir Robert Walpole's silver, and its use and display were central to Kent's Marble Parlour at Houghton. The design of the room, if not its function, was revolutionary. Often described as the first example of a dining room in an English house, the Marble Parlour [Fig 29] was probably originally intended to serve two functions: for smaller dinner parties and as an intimate room to which one repaired for the serious drinking that took place *after* dinner.<sup>147</sup> In the first half of the eighteenth century numbers still dictated the room in which dinner was served, from the Great Hall down to one's bedchamber. In 1731 the Duke of Lorraine had been entertained to dinner in the Stone Hall. Walpole's 'Norfolk Congresses', extravagant entertainments for his political cronies as well as his local supporters, required an impressive setting; Lord Hervey described one of these parties in an oft-quoted letter to the Prince of Wales in 1731:

Our company at Houghton swelled at last in so numerous a body that we used to sit down to dinner a little snug party of about thirty odd, up to the chin in beef, venison, geese, turkeys, etc., and generally over the chin in claret, strong beer and punch . . . In public we drank loyal healths, talked of the times, and cultivated popularity; in private we drew plans, and cultivated the country.<sup>148</sup>

William Coxe, Walpole's early biographer, estimated that



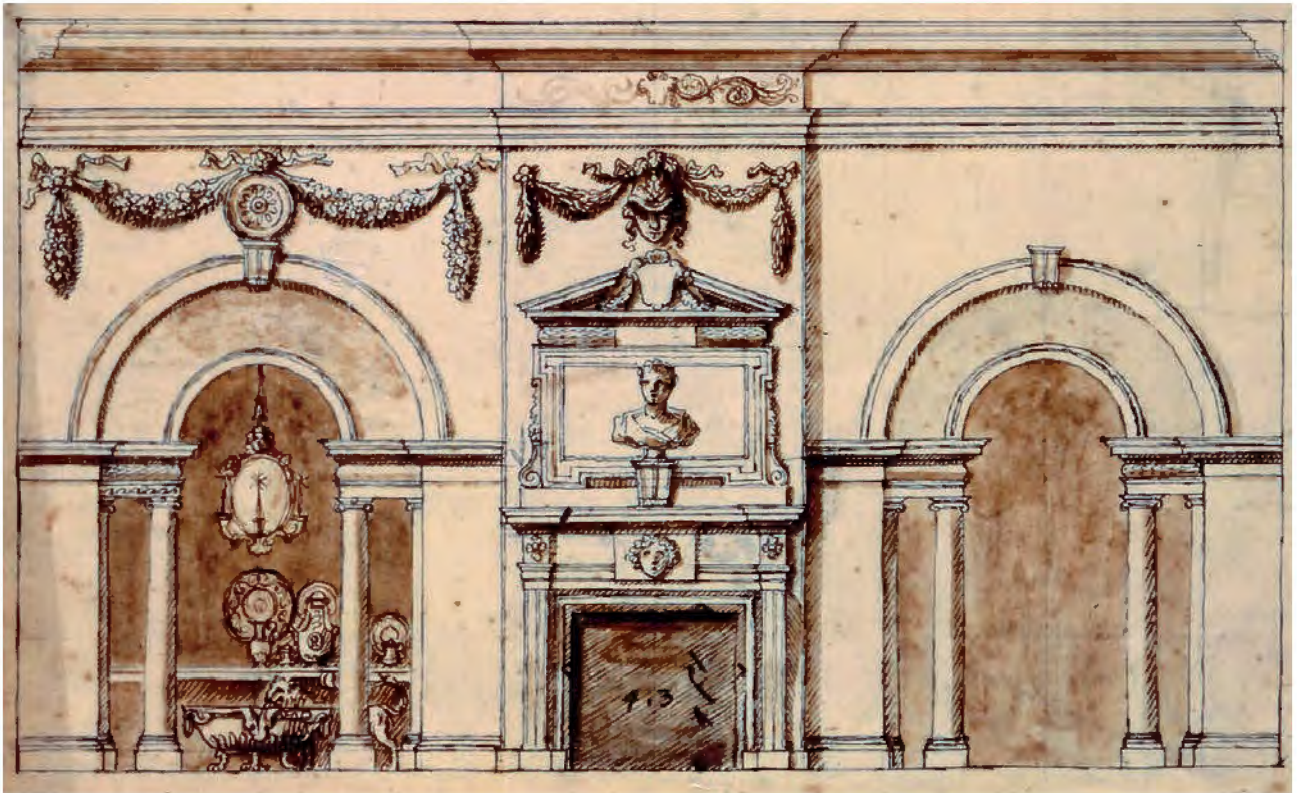


Fig 30 William Kent, design for the west side of the Marble Parlour at Houghton, 1728, water colour, inscribed on the back "For your great dining room at Houghton WK 1728"  
(Private Collection)

each 'congress' cost approximately £3,000,<sup>149</sup> for the demands of political entertainment meant that

he kept a public table, to which all gentlemen in the county found a ready admission.

Interestingly, this idea of a "public table" can be seen as a revival of the medieval custom of open hospitality, well-suited to the man who saw himself as the defender of the ancient liberties and customs of England.

At Drayton in Northamptonshire, at the beginning of the century, a "Beaufett" or Buffet Room is recorded between the Great Hall and the Eating Parlour: a separate room fitted out with curved marble alcoves with marble cisterns and tables designed for the

impressive display of plate necessary for the "desart".<sup>150</sup> Kent's design for the west wall of the Marble Parlour takes this concept a step further and twin service alcoves flank a fireplace. A water colour drawing by Kent [Fig 30], dated 1728, shows one of the alcoves fitted out with a table, on which are arranged pieces of display plate and, in front of it, a large cistern. This is a very early depiction of silver arranged in a dining room<sup>151</sup> and for students of silver it is of the utmost importance.

The silver wine cistern itself, with its arrangement of legs in the middle of each side, instead of at each corner or with a single pedestal base, is of a design unknown in English silver of the time and whether it represents a fantasy of Kent's, or actually depicts a piece of lost Walpole

145 Robert Sedgewick, Clerk of the Jewel Office, in a neat instance of double billing, invoiced them at 6s an ounce to include the silver, fashion and engraving, plus an additional 2s 6d per ounce for "new making".

146 Norman Penzer, 'The Hervey Silver at Ickworth-I', *Apollo*, February 1957, p 40.

147 In the 1745 inventories the Marble Parlour had acquired the additional name of "Great Dining Room" but its furnishings included "One Settee" and

"Twelve Arm Chair's" (Tessa Murdoch, op cit, see note 89, p 172; NA (PRO)/C101/245).

148 21 July 1731; John H Plumb, op cit, see note 3, 1960, p 88, no 1

149 William Coxe, op cit, see note 10, vol I, p 758.

150 Bruce Bailey, introduction to the Drayton House inventory, see Tessa Murdoch, op cit, note 89, p 120.

151 A design for the Earl of Strafford's buffet at Wentworth Castle, by Johann von Bodd of 1708, in the Victoria and Albert

Museum, depicts a display of plate, predates Kent's drawing by some twenty years (Christopher Hartop, op cit, see note 36, p 74).





Fig 31 The left alcove in the Marble Parlour at Houghton, used for serving wine  
(The Marquess of Cholmondeley, photograph by Pete Huggins)



Fig 32 The right alcove in the Marble Parlour, used for receiving the dirty glasses, still with its "cistern of granite marble" for rinsing them  
(The Marquess of Cholmondeley, photograph by Pete Huggins)

silver, is not known.<sup>152</sup> The dog drinking out of it provides a touch of Kentian irreverence. A sideboard dish and ewer and basin are arranged on the table below a large mirrored sconce. The decoration of the niches was modified before the room was finished but the arrangement remains the same today: the back of the fireplace provides warming cupboards and conceals a door through which the servants can pass to and from the service stairs. Each alcove is lined with different varieties of marble, and contains a table made entirely of marble (itself revolutionary). The tables are fitted with lead pipes terminating in silver spigots (the water was supplied to the house from a water house designed by Lord Pembroke, situated on rising ground several hundred yards from the house) and they each sit in a sunken drain. The right hand alcove still has its granite cistern mentioned, along with the marble tables and the silver spigots, in the 1745 inventory at Houghton.<sup>153</sup> No silver cistern is listed although there is one listed at Chelsea in the National Archives cache of papers, weighing over 1,600 oz (49,760g) which seems to have been sold in 1747 for £495 (the price of a Poussin). Given its great value this cistern probably had travelled back and forth between London and Houghton as required.<sup>154</sup>

Large silver cisterns were used for cooling bottles and usually sat on the floor while smaller ones were used for rinsing glasses. A rare set of two such cisterns, made in 1718–20 for the Earl of Macclesfield, together with a matching urn for water (traditionally, and misleadingly, called a 'wine fountain'), are in the Victoria and Albert Museum. No such urns appear in the inventories of Walpole plate. At Houghton the pipes incorporated into the alcoves in the Marble Parlour rendered them obsolete and their absence from the lists of plate at Chelsea suggests that there may have been a similar arrangement in the dining room there.

The conclusion to be drawn from this evidence is that one of the alcoves in the Marble Parlour, probably the left hand one [Fig 31], was used for the service of wine and contained a silver cistern. Glasses were returned to the right hand alcove for rinsing in the granite cistern [Fig 32]. Both alcoves would have had a splendid display of plate on the tables. Interestingly, the sconce depicted by Kent appears to be one of a pair of giltwood ones still at Houghton, discovered in the attic some years ago and now restored to the two alcoves according to Kent's original design (although the single branch has been replaced with three). In his drawing Kent placed the sconce high on the back wall of the alcove in order to allow enough room for the display plate. It is possible that on fitting out the room it was found that placing the candles so high up was impractical, as little light would have been thrown back into the room, and therefore, the sconces were not hung there, as they do not appear in the 1745 inventory listed in the Marble Parlour. In fact, a few years ago when the sconces were hung in what were thought to be their original positions, no traces of holes were found in the marble.<sup>155</sup>

### Other silver at Houghton

The only items of silver at Houghton to be mentioned in Horace Walpole's *Aedes Walpoliana*, the room-by-room catalogue he made of his father's pictures written in 1743 but first published in 1747,

are two pairs of silver sconces and articles of “silver Philegree”.

The sconces are listed in the Carlo Maratta Room (otherwise known as the Green Velvet Drawing Room):

at each End are two sconces of Massive silver.<sup>156</sup>

The four sconces were included in the sale held by the 3rd Earl’s executors in 1792 and do not appear to have survived. The fitting up of the state rooms at Houghton was all but complete by 1731 and, if the sconces were commissioned specifically for that room, it is most likely that they were made in Paul de Lamerie’s workshop. Listed as part of the second day’s sale, the sconces were catalogued as having “figures in Alto Relievo”. Sconces of this type are often described as ‘picture sconces’ in early eighteenth-century accounts and were usually chased with mythological scenes. The Houghton sconces were probably similar to the set of six sconces commissioned by the 2nd Earl of Warrington in 1730–31. Warrington’s have scenes from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, fitting subjects for the bedchamber for which they were intended, reflecting the transitions from day to night, and the use of the toilet service.<sup>157</sup> It is interesting to speculate what the subject matter of Walpole’s sconces was and if they in some way reflected the subject matter of the pictures that surrounded them.<sup>158</sup>

The “philegree” was in the Van Dyck Dressing Room:

At the upper end of this Room is a Glass Case filled with a large Quantity of Silver Philegree, which belong’d to Catherine Lady Walpole.<sup>159</sup>

She had died in August 1737 and while much of her col-

lection was sold at auction by Mr Cock in 1741 it would appear that after her death the filigree was taken to Houghton, which she had seldom, if ever, visited.<sup>160</sup>

Catherine Walpole had continued to live at Orford House in Chelsea although for many years she and her husband had lived separate lives. She was an amateur artist and is known to have had a grotto in the garden at Chelsea in imitation of Queen Caroline’s. She collected sea shells and exotic birds, as well as filigree. The seventeenth century had seen the appearance in Europe of items fashioned from twisted strips of silver or silver wire, brought from Asia and South America (where it was made by Chinese immigrants). The technique had spread to workshops in Portugal, Spain and Italy and by the reign of Louis XIV filigree items were being made in workshops set up by the king in the Louvre. There is also evidence that filigree items were being made in England at that time. William III possessed a writing box made of filigree which was probably made in the Hague, while the Dutch court goldsmith Hans Coenraedt Breghtel incorporated panels of filigree into a monumental table clock now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>161</sup>

By 1700 most courts in Europe possessed collections of filigree although the only one to have survived in large part appears to be the one in Russia. By the 1730s the fashion for collecting filigree items was widespread in London. Lady Walpole’s collection of filigree, comprising a “Philligree Cabinet” and stands for cups, small baskets and various accoutrements of the dressing table, was itemised separately in the 1745–46 and the post-1751 inventories (see Appendix 5). No filigree items appear in the 1792 sale, nor does the collection appear in the Strawberry Hill sale, so its subsequent fate is unknown.<sup>162</sup>

152 The only English wine cistern with the same arrangement of legs is much later: hallmarked 1777–8 (though perhaps slightly earlier in date) subsequently in the collection of the Duke of Sussex (1773–1843) and now in the Gilbert Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum. Parker and Wakelin supplied a pair of tureens to Welbore Ellis in 1761–62 with the same arrangement of legs (one is now in the Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon, the other in the Saint Louis Art Museum, St Louis, Missouri).

153 “One Large Marble Basin” (*Noble Households*,

p 173); a “cistern of granite marble” is listed in the Marble Parlour in 1751 as part of the contents transferred to the 3rd Earl (NA (PRO)/C101/245 f 76).

154 There is another silver cistern in the catalogue of plate sold after the death of Walpole’s eldest son from his house at the Exchequer in 1751; this could be one that Walpole himself had had at Downing Street which was transferred to his son’s house in 1745, or indeed it may be the one in the 1747 sale at Chelsea, which may have been ‘bought-in’.

155 The 1745 inventory of the house lists “Two Glass

Oval Sconces with three Branches Each” in the Cabinet Room (Tessa Murdoch, op cit, see note 89, p 173), whence they may have been set up after they were found to be unusable in the Marble Parlour.

156 Horace Walpole, *Aedes Walpoldiana*, 1767 ed, p 57.

157 Two of the set are in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts (Beth Carver Wees, *English, Irish & Scottish Silver at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute*, New York, 1997, pp 501–4, no 371); the other four are now back at

Dunham Massey (James Lomax and James Rothwell, *Country House Silver from Dunham Massey*, London, 2006, pp 105–8, no 46).

158 The Wanstead House sale in 1822, which had been caused by the extravagance of its owner William Pole-Tylney-Long-Wellesley, Lord Maryborough, included a number of silver sconces, all bought in the previous twenty years.

159 Horace Walpole, op cit, see note 156, 1752 and 1767 editions, p 62.

160 The only copy of the sale catalogue appears to be that preserved in the

Saffron Walden Museum; I am grateful to Gemma Tully for making it available to me. The catalogue includes no silver or filigree items.

161 M Menshikova and J Pijzel-Dommisse, *Silver Wonders from the East: Filigree of the Tsars*, exhibition catalogue, Hermitage Amsterdam, Zwolle, 2006, pp 66–67.

162 Horace Walpole had a few small items of filigree which are listed in *A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole, 1774* (see Larissa Dukelskaya and Andrew Moore, op cit, see note 14, p 348, no 271).



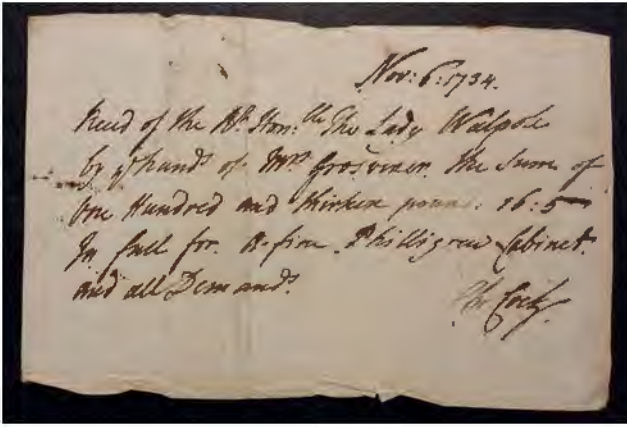


Fig 33 Receipt from Christopher Cock dated 6 November 1734 for "a fine Philligrew Cabinet", probably the one still at Houghton, restored by George Wickes in 1739 [Fig 34]  
(The Marquess of Cholmondeley, Cholmondeley (Houghton) MSS, Cambridge University Library)

Among miscellaneous bills in the Houghton manuscripts in Cambridge University Library is one from the auctioneer Christopher Cock dated 6 November 1734 [Fig 33]:

Rec'd of the R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. The Lady Walpole by y<sup>e</sup> hand of M<sup>r</sup>. Grosvenor the Sum of one Hundred and Thirteen pounds 16:5 In full for a fine Philligrew Cabinet and all Demands. Chr. Cock<sup>163</sup>

Given the enormous price paid for it by Lady Walpole, it is unlikely that this cabinet was of silver filigree in the

modern sense of the word. In the eighteenth century the term filigree was often used to describe intricate or elaborately-decorated items, and did not exclusively refer to objects made from silver wire.<sup>164</sup> It is possible that Lady Walpole's cabinet is the magnificent inlaid example on giltwood stand [Fig 34a] still at Houghton, which has been attributed to the French royal cabinet-maker Pierre Gole and dated to the early 1680s (the giltwood stand is English and was probably provided when Lady Walpole purchased it in 1734).<sup>165</sup> The cabinet's extremely high quality makes it likely to have a royal provenance, and it is tempting to think it may be the "cabinet of silver filigree" that John Evelyn saw on 13 July 1693 in the Queen's Apartments in Whitehall which he remarked had probably belonged to Mary of Modena, consort of the deposed James II, "and in my opinion, should have been generously sent to her".<sup>166</sup>

The Gole cabinet is made of ebony and inlaid with elaborate decoration in multi-coloured woods, ivory, bone, silver and what is traditionally described as 'pewter', in other words, an alloy of tin [Fig 34b]. More research needs to be done as to what light-coloured metals were in fact used for inlaid furniture in France and England at the end of the seventeenth century. Certainly silver, of varying purity, was utilised in addition to pewter. A 'bureau Mazarin' in the J Paul Getty Museum has, through spectrographic analysis, been found to be in fact inlaid with silver.<sup>167</sup> Moreover, when owned by the Elector of Bavaria in 1704, it was described in an inventory as an "ebony writing table inlaid with silver".<sup>168</sup>



Fig 34a Cabinet on stand, ebony inlaid with multi-coloured woods, ivory, bone, pewter and silver, circa 1680, attributed to Pierre Gole  
(The Marquess of Cholmondeley, photograph by Pete Huggins)



Fig 34b Detail of the inlaid cabinet  
(The Marquess of Cholmondeley, photograph by Pete Huggins)





Fig 35 Page from George Wickes's Gentleman's Ledger no 2, showing the order placed for seventy-five mourning rings after Walpole's death in 1745, and the charge made for the two drawings of chandeliers after the commission was cancelled. Below this Walpole's son has closed the account and signed a receipt to Wickes for the remaining balance due to him of £220 after a "parcel of old plate" amounting to £279 had been credited to the account (Archive of Art and Design, Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

A close examination of the Gole cabinet reveals that much of the inlay has been replaced, either whole or in part, and engraved in the style of the original inlay, with varying degrees of competence, using silver of varying alloy.<sup>169</sup>

In 1739, just after Lady Walpole's death, George Wickes repaired the cabinet prior to its removal to Houghton:

To Addition of Silver in Mending y<sup>e</sup> Philigreey Cabbinet ...  
£6 9s, To mending and doing it up £6 6s<sup>170</sup>

and again in August 1741:

To 2 packing boxes for ye Filigree Cabinet July 7 1741, 10s.<sup>171</sup>

### Silver chandeliers for Houghton

George Wickes also supplied two chalk and pencil drawings for chandeliers for Houghton which do not seem to have been made as no silver chandeliers appear in any of the inventories done after Walpole's death. It is likely that Walpole's death in March 1745 put paid to the order. The last entries in Wickes's ledger tell the story [Fig 35]:

1745	
April 1 To Seventy two Mourning Rings	2
Brought from the late Lord Orford's account folio	36
1743	
Aug <sup>st</sup> 20 To 2 large Drawings of a Lustre for the House at Houghton	5 5 <sup>172</sup>

163 C (H) MSS/Vouchers, 1734.

164 In 1721 the *London Gazette* mentions "Fine chac'd Philligrew and House-hold Plate" (6014/3, cit. OED). Chippendale's *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* lists under the heading "Designs for Cabinets" two models in which "ornaments may be of brass or silver, finely chased and put on; or they may be cut in Filigree-Work in Brass, Wood or Silver"; the sale of the Earl of Halifax's collection in March 1752 lists a "Philigree silver Standish", while in the artist James West's sale in 1773 appears "A large cup and cover of curious silver philigree work". As late as 1818, Christie's cataloguer of Queen Charlotte's collection describes as "Oriental filigree" a "chased dish of very ancient massive pattern, with lotus flowers, birds and animals in high relief" (19 May 1819, lot 32); it is in fact Peruvian and now in the Hispanic Society of America, New York. The cataloguer of Mr Robins's sale of Wanstead House in 1822 described the sixth day's sale, lot 131 as "A very curious and beautiful SILVER FILA-GREE COFFEE POT, on gilt ground, with cover, and bunch of grapes ornament on the top". I am grateful to Charles Cator and Sharon Goodman of Christie's for their insights into 'filigree'.

165 It appears to be the one listed in the 1745 inventory (Houghton MSS) in the Van Dyck Dressing Room: "One silver Filligreen Cabinet" (Tessa Murdoch, op cit, see note 89, p 173); it does not appear there in the 1745–46 inventory, having been replaced with "a Mahogany Glass Case on a carved & silvered

Frame" which is presumably the one which is listed as containing Lady Walpole's collection of filigree (NA/C101.245 f 74). By 1792 the "filigree" cabinet seems to have moved to the closet by Sir Robert's bedroom where it is described as "a Curious old Cabinet inlaid with ornaments of Silver engraved (Tessa Murdoch, op cit, see note 89, p 204). The cabinet does not appear in Théodore Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Pierre Gole, ébéniste de Louis XIV, Paris*, published posthumously, 2005, but the author confirmed the attribution to Gole shortly before his death in 2002 (communication from Charles Cator of Christie's, September 2013).

166 A Dobson, editor, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, London, 1906, vol III, pp 303–4.

167 Gillian Wilson et al (editors), *French Furniture and Gilt Bronzes: Baroque and Régence: Catalogue of the J Paul Getty Museum Collection*, Malibu, 2002, p 88.

168 Christopher Gilbert and Tessa Murdoch, *John Channon and Brass-inlaid Furniture, 1730–1760*, London, 1994, pp 15–16.

169 Additionally, further metal sections have been replaced with crudely cut (and unengraved) portions in base metal, which are probably the further restoration work done in the mid-twentieth century.

170 AAD/1995/7/1, f 185; Wickes also repaired "a Philligreey hamper" in 1740, presumably also part of Lady Walpole's collection (see Appendix 1).

171 AAD/1995/7/2, f 36.

172 AAD/1995/7/2, f 131.



Fig 36 Drawing for a chandelier supplied by George Wickes, red chalk over pencil, 1743–45  
(The Marquess of Cholmondeley, photograph by Pete Huggins)

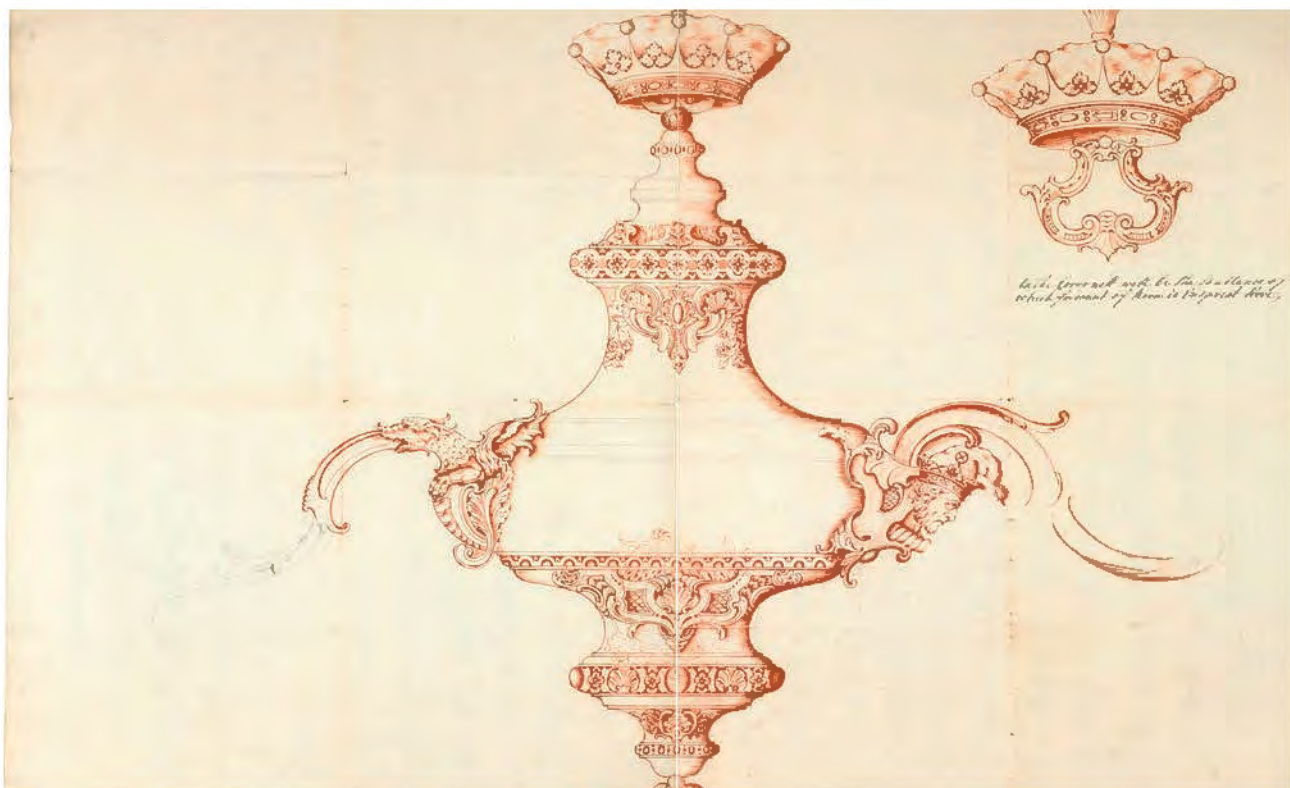


Fig 37 Drawing for a chandelier supplied by George Wickes, red chalk over pencil, circa 1743–45, inscribed "In the coronet will be the Balance of Louster / which for want of Room is exsprest [sic] Here"  
(The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



When informed that his client's death would make the order for chandeliers redundant Wickes evidently decided to charge 5 guineas to cover the cost of the drawings he had commissioned. The drawings have none of the sketchy quality of the group of chalk drawings for components of a toilet service supplied by a London goldsmith to the Saxon ambassador in 1747, discovered a few years ago in the Dresden archives by Maureen Cassidy-Geiger.<sup>173</sup> Those drawings were clearly prepared to be shown to a client; in contrast the Houghton drawings have a finished precision which suggests they are working workshop drawings. Perhaps several silver chandeliers were intended for Houghton.<sup>174</sup> The identity of the designer or designers is a mystery.

The two drawings appear to be from different sources: they are on different size paper, have differing watermarks and seem to be by different hands. The larger one [Fig 36], still at Houghton, shows a conservative treatment with a fluted baluster central body and scrolling arms; it presents alternative nozzles and positioning of the arms. The second one [Fig 37], now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, has much greater vivacity. In two halves, it also presents alternative designs. The left-hand one has arms in the form of dragons' heads from which issue the sockets. The right-hand treatment incorporates the Walpole crest of a Saracen's head atop the branches and includes a detail showing how the handle, no doubt attached to a pulley, recedes into the earl's coronet finial. The drawing is inscribed underneath this coronet

In the coronet will be the Balance of Louster /  
which for want of Room is exsprest [*sic*] Here.

The complex undulation of alternating smooth areas and scrolls is reminiscent of the Maynard master who worked for Paul de Lamerie at this time, but no surviving silver supplied by Wickes can be attributed to this designer/chaser. The exotic dragon's head has a Germanic ferocity which should be compared with a design for a mug in the Victoria and Albert Museum recently published by Michael Snodin [Fig 38] on which a similar dragon surmounts the handle.<sup>175</sup> The drawing is signed 'J.H. Fischer' but the mug is a distinctly English form that has no parallel in German silver of the time. It is tempting to consider the possibility that both drawings were done by a German immigrant in London. It is possible that he was the John Fisher who appears in George Wickes's earliest surviving stock book, which includes some workmen's accounts. An entry for 8 November 1748 records:

John Fisher Debtor  
To Cash p<sup>d</sup> Holt [or Hole] for the pattern of candlestick  
£1 6s 0d<sup>176</sup>



Fig 38 Drawing for a mug, signed 'J.H. Fischer', pen and ink wash, circa 1740–45

(The Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

None of the chandelier designs relate to the small number of surviving mid-eighteenth century silver chandeliers such as the ones designed by William Kent for George II,<sup>177</sup> the group from de Lamerie's workshop in the Kremlin,<sup>178</sup> or the one supplied to the Fishmongers' Company by William Gould in 1752,<sup>179</sup> and in fact, with the exception of the Fishmongers' example, they would have represented, had they been made, the last gasp of what had been a baroque fashion.<sup>180</sup>

173 Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Quelque chose de beau et de bon gout": a silver-gilt toilet service for the Dresden Doppelhochzeit of 1747', *Rococo silver in England and its Colonies: Papers from a symposium at Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond*, in 2004, *Silver Studies, Journal of the Silver Society*, no 20, 2006, pp 46–57.

174 A silver chandelier may have been intended to replace the massive "lanthorn" in the Stone Hall which had cost, it was said, £175, not because it had been the subject of so many satirical squibs (for example "The Norfolk Lanthorn" in the *Craftsman* of 28 July 1728) but because the

space demanded something broader. After Walpole's death the "lanthorn", in fact a gilt-copper chandelier, was replaced by the present giltwood chandelier in the rococo style (Larissa Dukaskaya and Andrew Moore, op cit, see note 14, p 349, no 273).

175 Michael Snodin, 'William Kent's silver', *William Kent, Designing Georgian Britain*, exhibition catalogue, New York and London, 2013, p 529, fig 19.4.

176 AAD/1995/7/4.

177 Michael Snodin, op cit, see note 175, p 532, fig 19.9.

178 E Alfred Jones, *The Old English Plate*

*of the Emperor of Russia*, Letchworth, 1909, pls XXXVII and XXXVIII.

179 J Wrench Towse, *The Worshipful Company of Fishmongers of London: A Short Account of the Portraits, Pictures, Plate etc. in the Possession of the Company*, London, 1907, p 57.

180 The closest parallel is the silver chandelier depicted in the background to William Hogarth's conversation piece *The Cholmondeley Family of 1732 at Houghton* (Mark Hallett and Christine Riding, *Hogarth*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London, 2006, p 106, no 52).





Fig 39 Rosalba Carriera, Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford, pastel

(The Marquess of Cholmondeley, photograph by Pete Huggins)

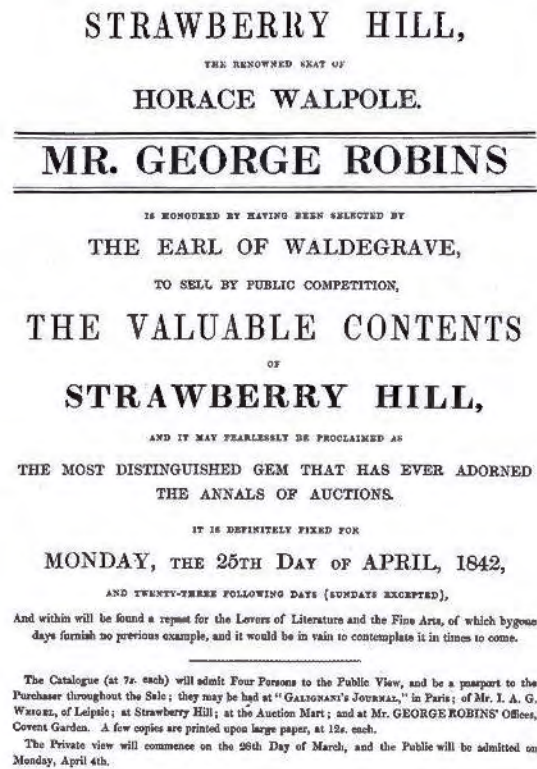


Fig 40 The Strawberry Hill sale, library edition of the auction catalogue published shortly after the sale

(Private Collection)

The chandelier drawings themselves are virtually unique in the period in being documented with both patron and supplier. Designs on paper for silverware, whether intended for the client or the workshop, or both, are exceedingly rare before the middle of the eighteenth century. With the exception of the Kent designs published by Vardy, no large archives of silver designs, such as those produced in the second half of the century by the Adam workshop, Sir William Chambers, or James Wyatt, are known from this period.

### The subsequent fate of the silver

Of the surviving Walpole silver discussed above, which amounts to perhaps five per cent of the original holdings, almost without exception it comprises items purchased by Horace Walpole [Fig 39] from the executors of his nephew the 3rd Earl of Orford, grandson of Sir Robert, in 1792. These items were clearly chosen by Horace for his own personal use at Strawberry Hill, or, in the case of the two 'seal salvers', because of their association with his father's political career. There was little to assuage Horace's passion for pieces of antiquarian interest other than the silver-mounted ivory tankard sleeve.

Most of the group was included in the Strawberry Hill sale in 1842 [Fig 40] under the heading "Service of splendid Silver Gilt and Chased Plate" in the eleventh day's sale, while a few other items are scattered amongst the other sessions (see Appendix 11). Not all of the silver sold in 1842 was Sir Robert's: some of the pieces clearly post-date his lifetime, such as the pair of silver-gilt-mounted coconut cups of 1791-92 [Fig 41], while some of the minor items may have been added by Robins the auctioneer who was notorious for 'salting' celebrity sales with his own stock. Moreover, some of the early pieces listed room by room, such as the furnishing vases which had belonged to Lady Betty Germain, or the pair of sconces by Nelme (lot 73 in the thirteenth day's sale) were acquired by Horace himself when furnishing Strawberry Hill and do not have a Walpole provenance. It has always been assumed that Horace inherited his father's silver along with the Norfolk estates and the earldom but the fact that no Walpole silver appears in any of the catalogues of Strawberry Hill compiled during Horace's lifetime, and the fact that he seems to have been unaware of the existence of the 1728-29 seal salver before 1792 (see above) has hitherto been unexplained.

Papers found in a trunk in the basement of Houghton a few years ago have shed new light on how Horace acquired his father's silver. Horace's nephew the 3rd Earl of Orford [Fig 42] had sold nearly two hundred pictures from his grandfather's collection to Catherine the Great of Russia in the famous negotiated sale in 1778. Having inherited debts from both his grandfather and father amounting to some £80,000,<sup>181</sup> the earl never settled the outstanding debts, but sought instead to "compound" or agree a percentage of the outstanding amounts with the creditors. Having sold the silver which remained at his father's house at the Exchequer at auction in 1751 [Fig 43], the earl left a considerable quantity of plate at Houghton, seldom visited by him, which was still there on his death in 1791.

The 3rd Earl left two wills. The first, dated 1752, bequeathed the Norfolk estates to his uncle, Edward Walpole, and should he die without issue to his uncle, Horace, and should he die without issue to Lord Cholmondeley, son of his great aunt Maria, Sir Robert's eldest daughter. A subsequent will of 1756 postponed the possible inheritance by the Cholmondeley family until after the expiry of legitimate issue of his great-uncle Horatio Walpole of Wolterton.<sup>182</sup> A codicil of 1776 reverted to the Cholmondeley succession. As a result of the confusion litigation ensued between Lord Cholmondeley and the Walpoles of Wolterton which ultimately found in Cholmondeley's favour. The 3rd Earl's executors, described by his uncle Horace as a "villainous crew", had however striven to liquidate as many movable assets as possible from Houghton Hall and Stanhoe House. Although the estates in Norfolk remained entailed the furnishings of both houses had been the personal property of the 3rd Earl. Horace Walpole had despaired of the sale of the pictures in 1778 and, as heir to his nephew (who had no legitimate offspring), he sought to save the furniture and the remaining works of art at Houghton by purchasing them on behalf of Lord Cholmondeley at valuation figures approved by James Christie.<sup>183</sup> Thanks to this action Houghton remains at least with most of the furniture from Sir Robert's day, if not with the picture collection, nor with any of his plate.<sup>184</sup>

181 BL/Add 74064, Miscellaneous papers, 1

182 Chloe Archer, "The Cholmondeleys at Houghton" in Andrew Moore, op cit, see note 13, pp 74–81; *The Times*, 15 December 1791, issue 2207; "Case of the Entail of the Estate of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford", *Correspondence*, 36, Appendix I, pp 295–304.

183 Including a small quantity of plate from Stanhoe House listed in Appendix 5.

184 The 1792 inventory, annotated by Horace, which remains at Houghton, is countersigned by the executors of the 3rd Earl and has the following declaration at the end: "We think the Appraisalment and Valuation of The Furniture, Pictures, Statues and other things at Houghton Hall in the County of Norfolk mentioned in the Inventory taken thereof at the sum of £10,070 and also the Books appraised and valued at £830 making together the Sum of £10,900 ought to be

paid to the Executors of the late Earl of Orford for the Same without any Deduction or allowance to be made thereout on any account whatsoever, Witness our hands this 27th Day of June 1793 / *Tho. Dyke* / for T. Skinner Hills / *James Christie*" (Tessa Murdoch, op cit, see note 89, p 205). This amount does not include the plate purchased separately by Horace.

Fig 41 Pair of cups, coconut with silver-gilt mounts, the mounts London, 1791–92 by Thomas Phipps and Edward Robinson, the cups engraved with the arms of the Earl of Orford (Private collection)



Fig 42 After Jean-Etienne Liotard, George, 3rd Earl of Orford, etching by William Camden Edwards, 1844 (National Portrait Gallery, London)

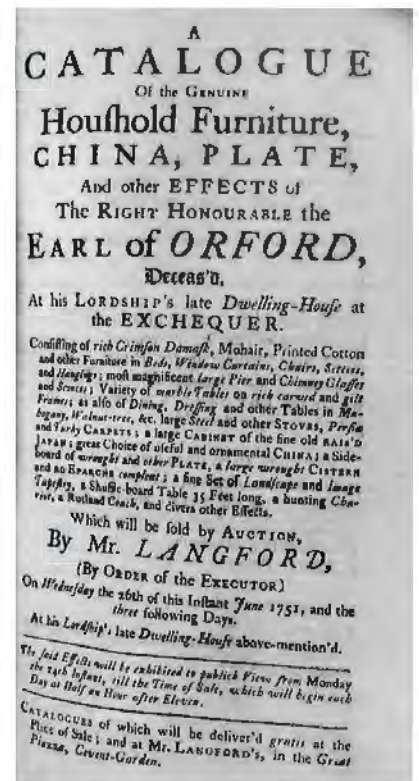


Fig 43 Title page of the catalogue of property sold by 2nd Earl of Orford from his house at the Exchequer, June, 1751 (National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London)



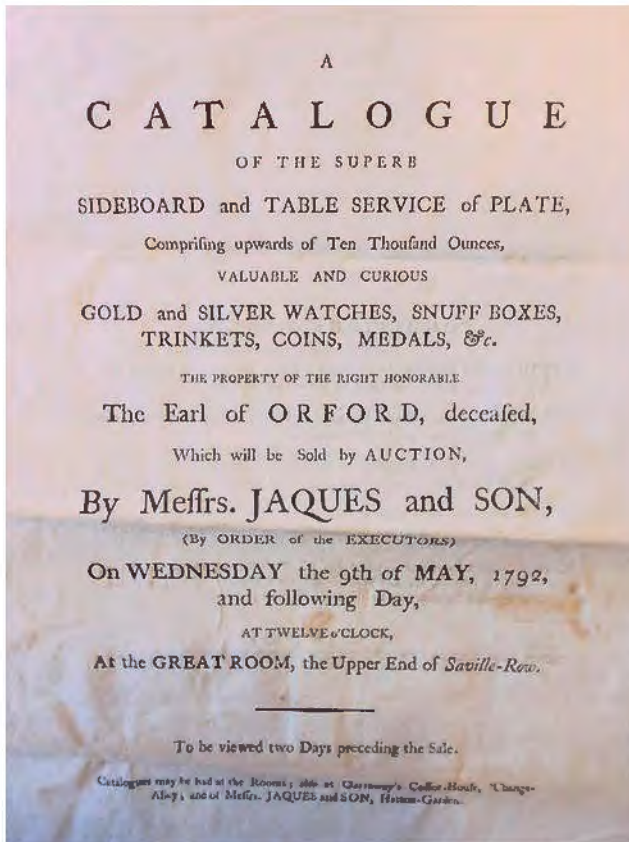


Fig 44 Title page of the catalogue of plate from Houghton sold by the executors of the 3rd Earl of Orford, May 1792 (Norfolk Record Office, Norwich)

Horace purchased some £519 worth of plate for his own use, at valuation, from the executors, while the rest of the plate was sold at auction by Mr Jaques and Son in May 1792 for just over £2,500 [Fig 44].

Horace Walpole's attitude to silver was diametrically opposed to his father's. Sir Robert was obliged to have sufficient display plate to advertise his near-ducal status, even while he remained a commoner. He also needed prodigious quantities for his vast entertaining at his

London houses and at Houghton. Horace had no such needs. He had given up his parliamentary seat, which he had seldom if ever visited, in the 1760s and the sinecures he held required no entertainment. What silver he acquired was solely for his own modest needs or to enhance the antiquarian theatricality of Strawberry Hill. The rumours that surrounded his paternity (it had been alleged that Sir Robert was not his father, as he had been estranged from Horace's mother for some years before Horace was born) may have been the cause of Horace's unshakable loyalty to his father and his obsession with his Walpole ancestors, who appear throughout Strawberry Hill. This was certainly the reason why he acquired his father's two seal salvers. A certain attachment to Norfolk, despite his indifference to Houghton and his hatred of its remoteness, may have influenced his decision to acquire two relics of the Paston family: a silver-mounted nautilus shell and a mounted rock crystal tankard, which both appeared in the Strawberry Hill sale.<sup>185</sup> He cannot however have been insensible to their later history, as relics of a family which, in three generations, declined into debt and then disappeared, just as his own almost did.

## Conclusion

It is possible to venture an estimate of the extent of Sir Robert Walpole's plate holdings even though virtually all of it has disappeared with the exception of Horace's purchases.

The 1747 list of plate sold at Chelsea lists not only weights for each piece but also the prices realised. Of the later sales, neither the surviving catalogue of the 1751 sale of plate from the Exchequer,<sup>186</sup> nor the 1792 sale catalogue, include weights or prices.<sup>187</sup> Documents listing the proceeds realised from these two sales have, however, recently come to light at Houghton. The 1751 sale followed the death of the 2nd Earl and took place at his residence at the Exchequer in the Palace of Westminster, which he occupied as Auditor of the Exchequer,

185 The nautilus cup was made in Delft in 1592 and is now in the Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft; the mounts of the rock crystal tankard are hallmarked London, 1597, maker's mark a bird, probably for Affable Partridge. It is now in the Schroder Collection (see Robert Wenley, 'The Paston Treasure', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 16, 2006).

The extensive *kunstammer* of the Paston family was dispersed in sales over a period of some years, including a public sale in 1709 held by the last Lord Yarmouth's creditors, but when and how Horace acquired these two pieces is not known.

186 NAL/Dyce Collection.

187 NRO/HMN/4/45/1.

188 Houghton MSS/Housecellar/955.

189 Houghton MSS/Housecellar/955.

190 Houghton MSS/RB1/49 and Housecellar/308.

191 The same document records gross sales by

Langford of horses at £224 17s, pictures at £1,506 6s 6d, furniture at £1,559 7s 7d. For all of these categories he charged 1s 6d in the pound (7½%) commission.

192 Houghton MSS/Housecellar/8.

193 This is probably the "parcel of Old Plate" found at Chelsea and not included in the auction

(Houghton MSS/Housecellar/1505(b), f 2).

194 H (C) MSS, cit Andrew Moore, op cit, see note 13, 2006, pp 56–7.

195 Estimated.

196 This is a very rough estimate and does not include, for example, any dressing plate (see Appendix 8).



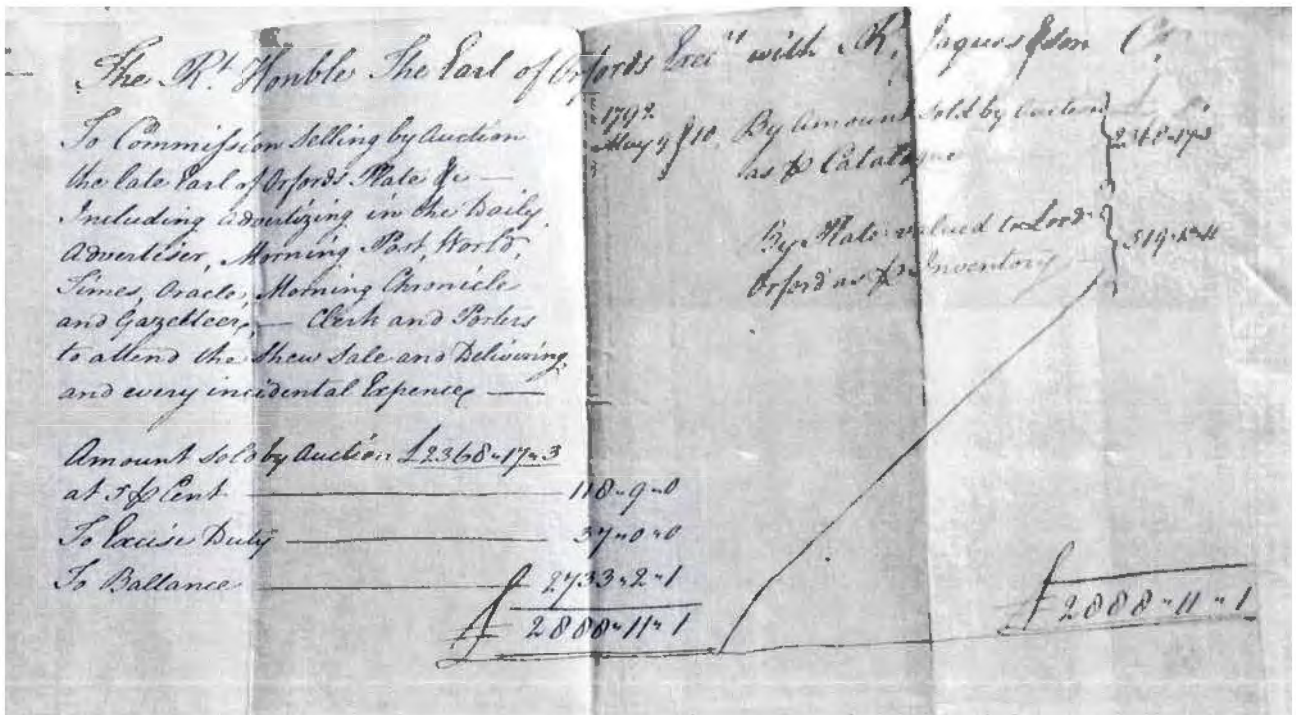


Fig 45 The auctioneer's settlement statement for the sale of the plate in May 1792, including the group sold to Horace Walpole (Norfolk Record Office, Norwich)

on 26-29 June. The silver in the sale is included in the following calculation of Sir Robert Walpole's plate because it was described at the time as

supposed to be part of the personal Estate of Sir Robt Walpole undisposed of by his Ext<sup>r</sup> Lord Walpole.<sup>188</sup>

The executors' accounts list the following for 29 June:

To cash received by sale of plate supposed to be part of the personal estate of Sir Robert Walpole undisposed of by his executor Lord Walpole.  
£955 14s 2d.<sup>189</sup>

Shortly afterwards an additional £492 12s 2d was received from Mr Langford for the silver for which he was paid £24 12s 6d commission.<sup>190</sup>

This cannot however be the total realised from the sixty-one lots listed in the catalogue which included a cistern and an epergne, items probably each weighing in excess of 600 oz (18,660g). It is possible that some items did not reach their reserve and were bought in but it is perhaps more likely that these two documents represent only partial payments from the sale.<sup>191</sup> The auctioneer's settlement statement for the 1792 sale [Fig 45] (Appendix 10), records a total realised for plate of £2,733 2s 1d, plus an additional £519 13s 10d for the silver sold to Horace, now 4th Earl of Orford.<sup>192</sup>

One can therefore attempt a rough estimate of the total realised for Walpole's silver as follows:

Plate at Orford House, Chelsea  
Sold by Cock, 1747 2,582-6-4  
includes a cistern and two epergnes

Old silver and gold taken by George Wickes, 1747 279-0-0<sup>193</sup>  
Sold privately through Robert Bragge 21-11-0<sup>194</sup>  
Sold privately to ---Talbot, Esq 4-11-0  
Private sale 23-5-7  
Lady Bridgeman 3-6-6

Plate at the Exchequer  
Sold by Langford, 1751 2,500-0-0<sup>195</sup>  
includes a cistern and epergne

Plate at Houghton and Stanhoe:  
Sold to Horace, fourth Earl of Orford, 1792 519-13-3  
i.e. plate sold in SH sale, 1843, includes gold cup and cover of about 27 oz  
Sold by Jaques & Son, 1792 2,368-17-3  
includes the four sconces and a sideboard dish  
£8,302-11-1

Less plate bought-in in the 1747 sale 690-5-4

Estimated total realised £8,302-5-9<sup>196</sup>



Fig 46 Nutmeg grater, silver and steel, circa 1730–40. Measuring some  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in (5.7cm) across, this grater is one of the largest of the period, as one would expect of one owned by Sir Robert Walpole (Private collection)

Second-hand plate sold at auction in the eighteenth century usually sold for a very small premium above its value as scrap.<sup>197</sup> In Cock's auction in 1747, of silver from Walpole's Chelsea house, individual pieces were selling for between 5s 6d and 7s an ounce, but the average, after the deduction of commission and expenses, is 4s 6d an ounce. Using this price, one can calculate the aggregate weight of Walpole's plate to be somewhere between 35,000 and 40,000 oz (1,088,500g and 1,244,000g).<sup>198</sup>

What conclusions can be drawn from this? Erasmus Earle of Heydon in Norfolk, a squire on the level of Walpole's father, had in 1722 just under 500 oz (15,500g) of plate,<sup>199</sup> while another Norfolk landowner of comparatively modest means, Sir Thomas le Strange, had in 1751 some 900 oz (27,990g).<sup>200</sup>

Although they no longer dined alone under a canopy of state, served by gentleman retainers on bended knee, noblemen during the early Georgian period still needed a good display of silver and silver-gilt. The quantities required by ambassadors and other officials had been established early in the century<sup>201</sup> and this, together with evidence from contemporary inventories and bills, provides us with an idea of the amount of plate required by grandees to maintain appropriate state. The Earl of Chesterfield, a Whig but one not undivided in his loyalty to Walpole was, on his appointment in 1727 as Ambassador to the States General, issued with 5,895 oz (183,335g) of white plate and 1,068 oz (33,214g) of gilt plate.<sup>202</sup> Sir Robert Walpole's brother Horatio was given a similar quantity of white and gilt plate when he was confirmed as Ambassador to France in 1724. In Horatio's case, his office, not his own rank, for he was a mere mister, defined his status. But it is not enough to say that silver affirmed one's status; one's status dictated the ownership and use of a certain quantity of plate.

Men like the Earl of Chesterfield probably had, in addition to their ambassadorial grants of approximately 10,000 oz (311,000g), perhaps as much again of their own

silver. The Duchess of Richmond was allowed to keep all the 10,409 oz (323,719g) that had been granted to her late husband the 1st Duke when he was appointed Ambassador to Denmark in 1671.<sup>203</sup> Benjamin Milday, Earl Fitzwalter, purchased 4,600 oz (143,060g) of new plate from Paul de Lamerie in the 1720s and this, added to what he received from the Jewel House as Treasurer of the Household and silver he already owned, probably amounted to over 10,000 oz (311,000g) by the end of his life.<sup>204</sup> Walpole's neighbour, Thomas Coke, the builder of Holkham, purchased just under 5,000 oz (155,500g) of silver from Paul de Lamerie in 1719 at his coming of age. By the time of his death in 1759 his silver holdings had increased to over 10,000 oz (311,000g),<sup>205</sup> virtually all of which appears to have been melted down to provide a new service in the 1770s. Following the death of the 2nd Duke of Beaufort in 1714 Anthony Nelme purchased over 11,000 oz (342,100g) of plate from his heirs and executors.<sup>206</sup> When he died in 1756 the 4th Duke left his widow just over 1,000 oz (31,100g) of plate; she bought an additional 1,000 oz (31,100g) from his executors, and the remaining silver, amounting to over 7,000 oz (218,400g), went on the auction block.<sup>207</sup> So one might say that for a nobleman, perhaps holding office at court, a minimum of 10,000 oz (311,000g) was necessary to maintain state. Most of the greatest grandees appear to have had between 10,000 and 20,000 oz (311,000 and 622,000g).

An exception is George Booth, 2nd Earl of Warrington, who kept a meticulous account of his holdings in his own handwriting: *A Particular of my Plate and its Weights*. By the time he died in 1756, he had accumulated over 26,000 oz (808,600g) despite the fact that he held no public office and spent little time in London. But for Warrington the accumulation of plate was solely to increase the wealth he would leave his descendants.<sup>208</sup> Eventually it became an obsession, with ranks of washing bowls and chamber pots listed in the inventory.

How much capital expenditure does Walpole's silver represent? He had probably inherited only a modest amount of silver from his father and, unlike his brother, Walpole received little plate from the Jewel House during his career so we must conclude that he purchased virtually all of it himself. While the price of silver remained constant during the first half of the eighteenth century, the price of 'fashioning' rose as silver became more ornate, and often required more cast components. Plain, functional dishes were the cheapest: in 1718 Thomas Coke was charged a mere 5d an ounce for fashioning dinner plates and meat dishes. Lord Irwin paid the Norcotts 10d per ounce for his plates in the same year. But for more elaborate plate the charge could be as much as the cost of the raw material, especially if the object was gilded. Irwin paid 11s an ounce for the material, the making and the gilding of his cup and cover, and Joseph Sympton's charge for engraving was £4, making a

total of £71 1s. As Walpole's identical cup is of approximately the same weight, we can assume he paid about the same amount. In the 1730s George Wickes was charging 8s 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d an ounce for the silver and fashion for an epergne and slightly more for ice pails.<sup>209</sup> The tureen and cover he supplied to Walpole cost 8s 5d an ounce. One can only make a rough estimate, but if one assumes an average price over the period of 8s 6d an ounce for new silver, to include all extras such as heraldic engraving and gilding (which was generally 2s an ounce), we can estimate that Walpole's plate probably cost him in excess of £15,000, a figure that is interesting to compare with what we know of Walpole's expenditure on Houghton, and on his picture collection.

Walpole's silver was, in quantity at least, larger than life [Fig 46]. No other grandee of the period appears to have had more. Nevertheless, from what we know of individual pieces, he possessed nothing unique with the exception of the silver-mounted ivory vase. His silver appears to have been a typical accumulation for the time, built up over the years as items wore out, or as fashions of the tabletop dictated new types of vessel. Unlike Houghton, where the architecture, the furniture and the pictures united to create an artistic whole of great sensitivity, the Walpole silver appears to have had no such uniformity. Moreover, the large sconces at Houghton, the 'dish-rings', and the large number of dinner and soup plates at both Chelsea and Houghton, strike a somewhat old-fashioned note.<sup>210</sup> Rather surprisingly, from the evidence of the surviving pieces, William Kent's involvement in Walpole's silver seems at best to have been peripheral, although Walpole was buying silver from George Wickes at the same time as Wickes was making silver to Kent's designs for other clients. The inclusion of silver in a discrete ambience where everything, down to the plates on the table and the door furniture, is part of an artistic whole, would have to wait for the all-embracing talents of Sir William Chambers and Robert Adam later in the century.

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197 An exception were silver furnishing pieces such as the large vases belonging to the 1st Duke of Chandos at Cannons, appraised in 1725 at 9s an ounce (C H Baker and M Baker, *Life and Letters of James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos, Patron of the Liberal Arts*, Oxford, 1949, p 164).

198 This does not include silver given away during Walpole's lifetime, such as the dressing plate awarded to Margaret, estranged wife of the 2nd Earl of Orford, in her separation settlement with him of 14 March 1746 (see Appendix 3).

199 Norfolk Record Office, Norwich: hereafter NRO/BUL11/267.

200 NRO/LEST/NC12/43.

201 James Lomax, 'Royalty and silver: the role of the Jewel House in the eighteenth century', *Silver Society Journal*, no 11, Autumn 1999, pp 133–9; H Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660–1714*, Oxford, 2012, p 14.

202 Chesterfield also received an advance of £1,500 for his equipage (carriage and horses) and £1,300 for "three Months or thirteen Weeks on his ordinary

Allowance or Entertainment of one hundred pounds per Week" (Treasury Warrant, 21 September 1727, private collection).

203 Helen Jacobsen, 'Ambassadorial plate of the later Stuart period and the collection of the Earl of Strafford', *Journal of the History of Collections*, no 19, no 1, 2007, p 12, no 21; *Complete Peerage*, op cit, see note 65

204 A C Edwards, op cit, see note 5, pp 81–5.

205 D P Mortlock, 'Thomas Coke and the family silver', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 9, 1997, pp 555–558; Tessa Murdoch, op cit,

see note 89, pp 237–9; Christopher Hartop, 'The Holkham Service', *The Classical Ideal: English Silver 1760–1840*, exhibition catalogue, Cambridge, 2010, p 41–5.

206 Anthony Sale, 'Records of plate of the Beaufort family in the Badminton House archives and elsewhere', *Silver Society Journal*, no 7, 1995, p 385.

207 Ibid, 386.

208 See James Lomax and James Rothwell, op cit, see note 157.

209 Arthur Grimwade, *Rococo Silver*, London, 1974, p 60.

210 Dinners had, during the previous fifty years, become less like medieval feasts feeding large numbers of guests and become more intimate. Walpole's ninety dinner plates at Houghton should be compared with the mere three dozen that Lord Strafford had taken on his embassies. For an excellent analysis of this change, see Helen Jacobsen, op cit, see note 201, 2012, p 17; "List of y<sup>e</sup> Plate taken y<sup>e</sup> 25th of April 1722" (Sheffield/L.C.69/1-42 Correspondence of Thomas, 1st Earl of Strafford of the 3rd creation); I am grateful to Cinzia Sicca for giving me her transcription of these inventories).



## APPENDIX 1

Sir Robert Walpole's account with George Wickes

[AAD (V&A) 1995/7/1]

[f 137]

Sir Robert Walpole Debtor										Contra Creditor			Oz			Wt			£			S			D		
1737																											
Decbr	1	To 12 Spitts		6	18		2	1		3	By Cash																
		To making att 2/- Each					1	4																			
		To setting to Rites Some Dishes and plate mending																									
		a pr Sauce Boats Cruets and Snuffers					1	1																			
	15	To a pr Festoon Sauce Boats		45	6	9/6	21	10	8																		
		To graving						5																			
		To a pr festoon Boats		52	13	9/6	25	8																			
		To graving						5																			
	20	To Mending a Top of a Inkstand						1		20	By old Plate	348	15	5/5		94	9										
1737/8							<u>£51</u>	<u>7</u>		29	By a pr of old Candlesticks	13	10	5/5		<u>3</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>1 1/2</u>									
Febr	18	To putting Nuts & Screws to a parcell of Guilt Plate					7	6	?	9	By Cash																
	23	To a new Spring to a Reading Glass					3	6																			
Aprl	10	To a Branch Mended						2																			
May	1	To 2 Dishes		84	3	6/5	27																				
		To Graving Arms and Supporters						12																			
June	6	To 24 Motto Rings					25	4																			
	16	To 12 Do					12	12																			
	20	To 6 Do					6	6																			
	24	To 12 Bottle Tickets £4 13		7	10		4	4																			
July	4	To 4 Mottos					4	4			Carried to Folio 185																
	10	To 1 Do the former Lady's Motto					1	1																			
		To doing up 3 Cases						10																			
		To mending foot to a salver and Chafen dish 5						4																			
		To Doing up a Sett of Casters Silver add						10																			
	29	To 2 Dish Covers		102	1	7/6	36	3																			
		To a Preserving pann		48	9	6/5	13	9	6																		
		To engraving Coats and Supporters on the Covers					<u>1</u>	<u>10</u>																			
		To altering the Coats on the Dishes						5																			
		To A Handle and graving the Preserving Pann 4						3																			
		To a Motto Ring					1	1																			
		To a Turreen		151	4	8/5	63	2																			
		To graving 4 Crests and garters						8																			
		To byling and Doing up a Turreen as new					1	10																			
Sep	12	To Mending a Candlestick ) 5					2	6																			
		To Mending a Branch )					2																				
		To a Spoon		1	8			10	6																		
		To a Silver Clasp Knife		1	12			17																			
		To a Square box with pertitions		8	2	6/-	2	6	8																		
		To making					2	2																			
		To 12 Hair Brushes						12																			
		To a Handle for ye Brushes		1	10			18																			
							<u>£205</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>1 1/2</u>																		
1738/9																											
Jany	5	To Top and foot for a Coco Shell					2	2																			
Mar	12	To Mending a Gold Chagreen Case						2																			
	27	To four Scroles to a Dish Ring		8	14		2	12	4																		
		To fation						1	4																		
Ap	6	To Altering a Dish Ring Silver ad'd		6	16		<u>2</u>	<u>19</u>																			
							<u>£8</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>4</u>																		
[f 185]																											
1739		Brought From Folio 137					8	19	4																		
July	25	To a Cover and foot to a Ivory Tankard		31	8	6	9	8	6	July	25	By ye Silver Taken of a Terreen	2	12		14	3										
		To Making					12	12		July	28	By Cash				62	10										
		To a Ivory Tankard Bottom						7	6							ab	1	5	1								
		To a Lyening to a Tarreen		51	14	7/3	18	15									<u>64</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>								
		To Doing up the Terreen					1	10																			
Decbr	28	To Mending A Plug for the Dayry and A nut for a tea pot						2																			
	23	To Addition of Silver in mending ye Philligrey Cabbinet		21	10		6	9																			
		To Mending and doing it up					<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>																			
							<u>64</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>																		
1740										1740																	
May	24	To mending an Ink Stand					2	6		Octbr ye 30	By Cash					<u>£73</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>3</u>									
June	11	To 24 Knife Hafts		30	6	6/1 1/2	9	5	7	1741																	
		To 24 Spoons & 24 forks		103	7	6/1 1/2	31	12	8	July	6	By an Old Sponge box	6	7	5/8	1	18	3									
		To Making att 2/6 Each					9																				
		To 24 Blades					1	4																			
		To graving 72 Crests and garters				1/6	5	8																			
		To 2 Half-Round Cases					2	6																			
		To a Cup & Cover		40	8	7/1 1/2	14	8																			
		To graving 2 Crests						2																			
Aug	13	To mending a Caster head						1																			
Sepr	18	To Boyling and Doing a Philligray hamper																									
		& an india Tea kettle						7	6																		
		To a Nut for a Tea Pot						1																			
							<u>73</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>3</u>																		

## Sir Robert Walpole Debtor

			Oz	Wt		£	S	D
1740								
Oct	31	To Coulering and Burnishing a gold tea pot & Guilt Ewer					12	
		To handle and Button					3	
1740/1								
Jan	26	To Exchange of a Pr knee Buckles for Mastr Walpole					4	6
Apr	29	To Mending a Branch					2	
June	1	To a handle for an olive spoon					2	
	3	To 2 Soup Ladles	16	6	7/2	5	17	
		To 2 Ragout spoons	13	17	7/2	4	19	
		To Graving 4 rests & Garters					8	
	15	To six old teaspoons	2	5			12	6
	29	To 2 pr tea tongs	2			1	4	
		To Graving 2 crests & Garters					2	
July	6	To a Bell	4	11	6/2	1	8	
		To making					8	
Augt	6	To a Sett of Casters	32	12	6/4	12	6	6
		To a Mustard Spoon & Glass					5	6
		To a Pr Candlesticks	23		6/6	7	9	6
		To a Pr Do	19	2	6/	5	4	6
		To Graving 7 Crests & garters					14	
		To 6 teaspoons tongs strainer & case	4	15		2	3	6
		To Graving 7 Crests & Garters					7	
						48	2	6

## Contra Creditor

Oz Wt £ S D

Carried to folio 36 New Ledger

[AAD/1995/7/2]

[f 36]

		The Rt Honble Sir Robert Walpole Debtor	Oz	Wt		£	S	D
1741								
		Brot from folio 185 Old Ledger				43	2	6
Augt	13	To Graving a Crest on a Ragout Spoon					1	
		To mending a Soup Ladle					2	
					Paid to this Article	£43:5:6		
	26	To a Coffee Pot	28	6/6	9	12	6	
		To a handle & Graving				6		
		To a handle for an old Coffee Pot				3		
					£59	17	0	
		To 2 packing boxes for ye Philligree Cabinet July 2 1740				10		
		To a pr of wrot Shoe & Knee Buckles for Masr Walpole				17		
						54	4	
1742								
Apr	28	To a wrot Stock Buckle for Master Walpole				4	6	
Aug	31	To mending a large Sauce pan & a new handle				5		
1742/3		To mending a Buckle for Master Walpole				1		
Jany	24	To mending a cruet frame				2		
April	4	To exchange of a Pr of knee buckles for Master Walpole				5		
May	23	To mending a Caster & a Candlestick				17	6	
1743/4								
Jany	27	To mending 2 Pr Snuffers				3		
Feb	20	To a Spoon for Mr Pyderwells use & Mr Jones	2	6		16		
Apr	28	To mending a Bread Basket silver added				5		
May	5	To a fork & graving	2	7		18		
	7	To a handle for a coffee pot				3		
	26	To mending a pr snuffers				1		
		To a Dish mended Silver add		10		7		
June	9	To a flor handle Spoon & graving wrong enter'd	2	2		13		
	20	To mending a hand Candlestick silver added				3	16	6
						5		
		To a pr of Knee buckles		9		5		
Dec	10	To a pr of Cristal buttons for Master Walpole				5		
1744/5								
Janry	30	To a pr Shoe Knee & stock buckles for Master Walpole	2	1		19		
May	10	To mending a Gold George				5		
		To a Desert Spoon and graving a Crest				9	6	
						£5	0	0

## Contra Creditor

Oz Wt £ S D

1741									
		Brot from Folio 185 Old Ledger						1	18 3
Octbr	6	By Cash	abat'd 7:3					41	7 ?
								43	5 6
1741/2									
Jany	13	By Cash						10	18 6
								54	4
1742									
July	22	By a Large Table	767	15	5/5	207	18	6	
		By a reading Candlestick	62	11					
1744									
May	5	By an old fork	2	4	5/8			12	4
								£208	10 10

Carried To Lord Orford's Account in Folio 131

[f 131]

1745		The Rt. Hon <sup>ble</sup> The Earl of Orford D.'							
April	1	To Seventy two Mourning Rings				72			
		Brought From the late Lord Orford's Account Folio 36				6			
1743									
Aug	20	To 2 large Drawings of a Lustre for the House at Houghton				5	5		
1747									
Augst	12	To Cash				196	8	7	
						£219	13	7	

Whereas a Note or Acompt was given to George Wickes on the 2nd July 1742 to the Rt Hon Sir Robt Walpole for some Old Plate weighing 767 oz 15 pwt at 5/8 makes £207:18:6 Likewise a Reading Candlestick weighing 62 oz 11 pwt without value

I do hereby acknowledge to have Received of the above said George Wickes The sum of Two Hundred & Twenty Two Pounds in full Discharge of the above old Plate and Reading Candlestick nd in full Discharge of the Paid Note and Receipt London, August 12: 1747

Orford



## APPENDIX 2

Inventories of Plate at Chelsea, Houghton and Stanhoe  
drawn up after the death of the first Earl of Orford

[NA (PRO)/C101/20]

[f 1]

Between The Honoble Lady Henrietta  
Cholmondeley Spt & George Lowe Gent on  
behalf of themselves & all other the Creditors of  
the Right Honoble Sir Robert Walpole afterwards  
Earl of Orford deced who shod seek Benefit  
& proportionably Contribute towards the  
Expences & Charges of the Suit ----

Plts

The Right Honble George Earl of Orford The  
Honble Edward Walpole, Knt of the Bath Horatio  
Walpole Junr Esq Sir John Willes Knt Lord Chief  
Justice of the Court of Common Pleas Isabella Le  
Neve Charles Stafford Playdell Charles Churchill  
Esqr & Lady Maria his wife (late Lady Maria  
Walpole) Katherine Day & Henry Cruwys Esqr  
Hannah Norsa and Samuel Kent

Defts

An Account of the Personal Estate of Robert first Earl of  
Orford (formerly Sir Robert Walpole) not Specifically  
Bequeathed, as the same stood at the time of his Death  
which happened the 18th Day of March 1744/5

...

[f 3]

An Inventory of the Household Goods, ffurniture and  
Effects of the said Testator at his late House at Chelsea

...

[f 24]

Plate at Chelsea

A Dish Ring & A Nurl'd Salver, Two small Salvors,  
An Octagon Coffee Pot, Two small Scallopt ffruit Plates,  
A Pair of Sauce Boats, A Coffe Pot, A Set of Castors,  
A Chocolate Pot, A large Square Waiter, Ditto, A Cruet  
fframe with a set of Castors, a Two Handled Cup &  
Cover, A large Salver and Two Ditto less, A Soup Dish,  
Two small Ditto, Thirteen Soup Plates, Twelve Table  
Plates, Two large Canisters, ffour Dish Covers, A large  
Tureen & Cover, A pair of small Salvors, a Cruet fframe  
with Castors, a Jug, A Coffee Pot, A Pair of fflask  
Stands, A Tea Pott and a Pair of Salts, ffour fframes for  
Chocolate Cups & ffour Sawcers, A Case of ffour  
Knives, ffour Forks ffour Spoons & A Cup of Rock  
Crystal, A Pair of Sauce Boats, A large Ewer, A large  
Sauce Pan, A Bread Basket, A large Dish, Two Ditto less,

Eleven Table Plates, Twelve Ditto, ffour Dish Covers,  
A large Tea Kettle Land and Stand, A small Sauce Pan  
& A Soup Spoon, Two Pair of round Salts & Two Sauce  
Spoons, Two Eight square Salts & Spoons, A Pair of  
Candlesticks & a Pint Jug, A Set of Castors, A small  
Lamp & an Orange Strainer, ffive fframes for Chocolate  
Cups & ffive Saucers, Eleven Knives of Italian Paste  
Handles and Twelve fforks ffive of the Handles broke  
& Twelve Silver Spoons, A large round Salver, Ditto,  
A Tureen & Cover, A large Cup and Cover, ffour small  
Dishes, ffour Ditto, ffour Dish Covers, A Dish Ring with  
ffive Dishes & Covers, Twelve Table Plates, Twelve  
Ditto, A ffine Epargne Consisting of Two sets of Castors,  
Two Cruet fframes with Glasses, Two Double Salts,  
ffour Sawcers for Pickles and ffour Branches for  
Candles -A Travelling Knife, ffork & Spoon, Gilt in a  
Shagreen Case, A Hand Candlestick & A small Sauce  
Pan, A Round Knurl'd Tureen, A small Sauce Pan,  
A Soup Ladle & A Preserving Spoon, ffour Round Salts,  
A Hand Candlestick & A Strainer, A Jug, ffour Eight  
Square Salts, & Two Sauce Spoons, A Case with Twelve  
Knives, fforks, Spoons Gilt, A small Tea Kettle, Lamp  
and Plate, A large Ewer, Two Deep Dishes, ffour Ditto  
less, ffour D°. Two large Dish Covers, A Dish Ring with  
five Dishes and Covers, Twelve Table Plates, Twelve  
Ditto & A most Magnificent Wrought Cistern  
A George Cut on a Sardonyx Ornamented with Billiants

Proved thus far by  
Abraham Langford

[f 44]

An Inventory of the Household Goods, Plate, Linen  
& China, ffire Arms &c late of & belonging to the sd.  
Testator at Houghton Hall in the County of Norfolk.

...

[f 74]

Plate

Twenty five Dishes & Ninety Plates Two Tureens  
& Covers Two Ice Pails A large Coffee Pot & Stand Two  
large Cups & Covers, A Bread Basket four Peirced Cruet  
Stands, Two Waiters & four Saucers Two large Wrought  
Scalloped Dishes, Two ffish Plates ffour Scoll'd [sic]  
Basins A Chaffing Dish & Lamp A large Silver Waiter  
the Library Plate consisting of Two Stands compleat  
four Girandoles with Ten Branches Two Sets of Castors,  
One Mustard & one Soup Spoon and 20 Candlesticks  
A large Wrought Dish chased, A large Gilt Cup & Cover  
& Salver ffour large Sconces A large Coffee Pot A large

Skillet & Spoon Six Table Spoons One Marro Do. 23 Tea  
Do. Tongs and Strainer Twelve Scuers [sic] & Eight  
fforks ffour Cruets Tops & Handles Nine Knife hafts  
The Top and Setting of a large Carved Ivory Tankard

No. 50  
Philligree Plate  
Best Dressing Room

A Philligree Cabinet four Stands with two Branches  
each with Eight Cups & Eight Saucers Do. A small  
Jewel Cabinet Two Baskets a Powder Box An Essence  
Pot A Square Waiter Three lesser Round Two Tops  
Handles & Bottoms for Tea Cups

...

[f 75]

An Inventory of the Household Goods Plate Linnen &  
China late of & belonging to the Right Honble. Robt.  
Earl of Orford dec'd taken at Stanhoe & Houghton Hall  
in the County of Norfolk

...

[f 79]

Plate [presumably at Stanhoe House]

Nine Silver Dishes & Sixty Plates A Surtout with four  
Branches and four Saucers A large Tankard ffour Pint  
Mugs Eight small Waiters A Cheese Toaster ffour  
Double Salts, Two Soup Spons A Dish Ring Six  
Wrought Salts five Shovels Six Casters & ffour  
Candlesticks Twenty Table Spoons Twelve Desert Do.  
One Marrow Spoon One Pair of Tea Tongs Thirteen  
Desert fforks Twenty Eight Table Do. & Twelve Tea  
Spoons Twenty Seven Table Knife Handles Twelve  
Desert Do. Six Knife Cases  
A Gold Cup and Cover

Thus far the  
Inventory pro-  
duced and signed  
by Saml. Severn  
& Mr Mowbray

---

### APPENDIX 3

Lady Orford's Settlement 1746

[Houghton/Housecellar/3]

Articles of Agreement made and Concluded between  
Lord and Lady Orford and Between Mrs Harris Mother  
of Lady Orford and Lady Orford this 14th day of March  
1745/6

That Lord and Lady Orford agree to live Separate for  
their joint Lives without Interference in any Manner  
with one another:-

That Lord Orford will forthwith secure to Lady Orford  
in the Names of two or more Trustees to be appointed  
by her an Annual Rent Charge of fifteen hundred  
pounds (her Pin Money included) to be paid half yearly  
as a provision of her Separate Maintenance:-

That Lord Orford in consideration that he does not take  
upon him nor is Charge with any part of the Debts hith-  
erto contract'd by Lord Orford will on the Execution of  
Deed or Deeds in pursuance of these Articles pay to  
Lady Orford's Trustees the first half years payment of  
Seven Hundred and fifty pounds as due on the 29th of  
Sept. last and the Second half Years payment of Seven  
Hundred and fifty pounds more on the 25th day of this  
Inst March and so on half yearly:-

That Lord Orford will return and give unto Lady  
Orford the Remainder of her Dressing Plate as ascer-  
tained by the Inventory hereunto annex:-

That Lady Orford will Settle her Estates in the Counties  
of Devon and Cornwall upon her son Lord Walpole  
according to her Marriage Articles:-

That Lady Orford will joine in executing Leases of her  
Estates from time to time as occasion shall require:-

That the £1500 per ann Rent Charge aforesaid be made a  
Security to Lord Orford against any former or subsequent  
Debts contracted or to be contracted by Lady Orford:-

That a proper Deed or Deeds be forthwith be Drawn in  
pursuance of the abovementioned articles to be  
Executed by the parties concerned as their respective  
Counsel Learned in the Law shall settle and present:-

Orford  
M: Orford

Witness:  
Fredk Frankland

Inventory of Dressing Plate

A Looking Glass in a Silver Gilt Frame One Large  
Bason Silver Gilt two Salvers Dto. Two Large Dressing  
Boxes Dto. Two Powder Boxes and puffs with handles  
Dto. One Pin-Cushion Box Dto. One Patch Box Dto.  
Two Brushes with handles Dto.



## APPENDIX 4

Plate sold at Chelsea 1747

[NA (PRO)/C101/245 f 22]

An Account of the Produce of the Personal Estate of Robert first Earl of Orford formerly Sir Robt Walpole not Specifically Bequeathed which hath come to the Hands of his Executor Robert the Second Earl of Orford or to the Hands of any other Person by his Order or for his use

1747 April 23

Received by Ditto of Mr Cock for Plate Sold at Chelsea as follows Vizt.	oz	pwt at	Pr oz	£	s	d
A Dish Ring & A Nurl'd Salver	41	10	at 5/6	11	8	3
Two small Salvers	20	7	5/9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	5	17	10
An Octagon Coffee Pot	25	0	5/11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	7	8	11
Two small Scallopt ffruit Plates	21	0	6/-	6	6	0
A Pair of Sauce Boats	41	5	5/8	11	13	9
A Coffe Pot	22	10	5/8	6	7	6
A Set of Castors	31	15	5/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	8	16	5
A Chocolate Pot	23	10	5/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	6	10	2
A large Square Waiter	43	10	5/7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	12	4	8
Ditto	45	3	5/7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	12	13	11
A Cruet fframe with a set of Castors	24	15	6/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	8	1	10
a Two Handled Cup & Cover	41	10	5/7	11	11	8
A large Salver and Two Ditto less	49	0	5/7	13	13	7
A Soup Dish	71	15	5/7	20	0	7
Two small Ditto	121	5	5/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	33	11	11
Thirteen Soup Plates	244	8	5/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	67	14	4
Twelve Table Plates	233	15	5/7	65	5	1
Two large Canisters	121	0	5/3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	32	0	3
ffour Dish Covers	241	0	5/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	66	15	6
A large Tureen & Cover	223	0	5/5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	60	17	2
A pair of small Salvers	19	18	5/8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	5	13	7
a Cruet fframe with Castors	48	5	6/ <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	14	15	6
A Jugg	46	0	5/8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	13	2	7
A Coffee Pot	17	0	6/2	5	4	10
A Pair of fflask Stands	27	10	5/5	7	8	11
A Tea Pott and a Pair of Salts	23	0	6/9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	7	16	2
ffour fframes for Chocolate Cups & ffour Sawcers	38	10	6/11	13	6	3
A Case of ffour Knives, ffour Forks ffour Spoons & A Cup of Rock Crystal	-	-	-	2	10	0
A Pair of Sauce Boats	41	14	5/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	11	11	1
A large Ewer	73	5	5/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	20	5	11
A large Sauce Pan	40	0	5/7	11	3	4
A Bread Basket	59	0	7/4	22	17	3
A large Dish	79	10	5/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	27	0	6
Two Ditto less	108	5	5/7	30	4	4
Eleven Table Plates	196	0	5/7	54	14	4
Twelve Ditto	216	5	5/7	60	7	4
ffour Dish Covers	201	15	5/5	54	12	9
A large Tea Kettle Land and Stand	292	0	5/5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	79	13	10
A small Sauce Pan & A Soup Spoon	31	10	6/2	9	14	10
Two Pair of round Salts & Two Sauce Spoons	20	15	6/1	6	6	2
Two Eight square Salts & Spoons	20	10	5/10	5	19	7
A Pair of Candlesticks & a Pint Jug	29	3	5/6	8	0	6
A Set of Castors, A small Lamp & an Orange Strainer	37	0	5/5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	10	1	11

	oz	pwt at	Pr oz	£	s	d
ffive fframes for Chocolate Cups & ffive Saucers	62	5	6/7	20	9	9
Eleven Knives of Italian Paste Handles and Twelve fforks						
ffive of the Handles broke & Twelve Silver Spoons	-	-	-	7	5	0
A large round Salver	30	15	5/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	8	10	14
Ditto	30	10	5/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	8	9	0
A Tureen & Cover	101	0	5/7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	28	8	1
A large Cup and Cover	81	10	6/3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	25	12	8
ffour small Dishes	111	10	5/9	32	1	1
ffour Ditto	116	10	5/9	33	9	10
ffour Dish Covers	117	10	5/5	31	16	5
A Dish Ring with ffive Dishes & Covers	376	0	6/4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	119	17	0
Twelve Table Plates	213	5	5/7	59	10	7
Twelve Ditto	213	10	5/7	59	12	0
A ffine Epargne Consisting of Two sets of Castors, Two Cruet						
fframes with Glasses, Two Double Salts, ffour Sawcers for Pickles						
and ffour Branches for Candles	673	2	5/9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	194	18	4
A Travelling Knife, ffork & Spoon, Gilt in a Shagreen Case	8	15	7/3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	3	3	9
A Hand Candlestick & A small Sauce Pan	17	10	5/10	5	2	1
A Round Knurl'd Tureen	96	15	5/9	27	16	3
A small Sauce Pan, a Soup Ladle and a Preserving Spoon	22	0	5/8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	6	5	7
ffour Round Salts, A Hand Candlestick and a Strainer	23	0	5/8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	6	11	3
A Jugg	48	5	5/7	13	9	4
ffour Eight Square Salts, & Two Sauce Spoons	29	10	5/8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	8	8	4
A Case with Twelve Knives, fforks, Spoons Gilt	59	5	6/3	18	10	3
A small Tea Kettle, Lamp and Plate	66	5	5/10	19	6	5
A large Ewer	71	15	5/7	19	19	6
Two Deep Dishes	55	10	5/10	16	4	1
ffour Ditto less	128	0	5/11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	38	2	8
ffour Ditto	92	0	5/11	27	4	4
Two large Dish Covers	164	5	5/4	43	16	0
A Dish Ring with ffive Dishes and Covers	403	15	5/9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	116	18	4
Twelve Table Plates	238	0	5/11	70	8	2
Twelve Ditto	235	5	5/10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	69	2	1
A Most Magnificent large Cistern	1686	6	5/10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	495	7	0
A George Cut on a Sardonyx Ornamented with Billiants	-	-	-	195	0	0
	-	-	-	2777	6	4

*Thus far prov'd by Langford*

1747 July 1st Rec'd by Ditto of Mr Cock for Goods Sold at said Sale						
to -- Talbot, Esquire for				4	11	0
August 15th Received by Ditto of Mr Wickes for Old Plate Sold						
to him belonging to the said Testator				196	8	7
Sept. 4th Rec'd by Ditto the Amount of the Private Sale				23	5	7
Novr. 4th Received by Ditto the Amount of Lady Bridgeman's				3	6	6

## APPENDIX 5

Valuations of Plate at Houghton and Stanhoe post 1751

[NA (PRO)/C101/245]

[f 1]

Between The Honble Lady Henrietta Cholmondeley Spinster and George Lowe Gent on Behalf of themselves & all other the Creditors of the Right Hobnle Sir Robert Walpole afterwards Earl of Orford deced who shod seek benefit & proportionally Contribute towards the Expences & Charges of the Suit ---- Plts

The Right Honble George Earl of Orford The Honble Edwd Walpole, Knt of the Bath Horatio Walpole Junr Esq Sir John Willes Knt Ld Chief Justice of the Court of Comon Pleas Isabella Le Neve Charles Stafford Playdell Charles Churchill Esqr & Lady Maria his wife (late Lady Maria Walpole) Katherine Day & Henry Cruwys Esqr Hannah Norsa and Samuel Kent ---- Defts

An Account of the Produce of the Personal Estate of Robert ffirst Earl of Orford formerly Sir Robt Walpole not Specifically Bequeathed which hath come to the Hands of his Executor Robert the Second Earl of Orford or to the Hands of any other Person by his Order or for his use

...

[f 58]

The said Defendant George Earl of Orford Submits to Stand Charged with the several Sums of Money hereinafter particularly mentioned – being the same for which the several Goods of the said Testor at Houghton and Stanhow were appraised by Messrs Severn & Mowbray (Vizt.)

...

[f 94]

Plate

Twenty five Dishes and Ninety Plates, Two Tureens & Covers Two Ice Pails, A large Coffee Pot & Stand, Two large Cups & Covers, A Bread Basket, four Peirced Cruet Stands, Two Waiters and four Saucers Two large Wrought Scalloped Dishes, Two ffish Plates ffour Scolloped Basons A Chaffing Dish & Lamp A large Silver Waiter the Library Plate consisting of Two Stands compleat, four Girandoles with Ten Branches, Two Sets of Castors, One Mustard & one Soup Spoon and 20 Candlesticks, A large Wrought Dish Chased, A large Gilt Cup & Cover & Salver ffour large Sconces A large

Coffee Pot A large Skillet & Spoon Six Table Spoons One Marrow Do. Twenty Three Tea Do. Tongs & Strainer Twelve Scewers & Eight fforks ffour Cruets Tops & Handles Nine Knife hafts The Top and Setting of a large Carved Ivory Tankard ---- Weight 6942 oz 15 Dwt at 5/4 -

1851-8-0

No. 50

Philligree Plate  
In the best Dressing Room

A Philligree Cabinet four Stands with two Branches each with Eight Cups & Eight Saucers to Do. A small Jewel Cabinet Two Baskets a Powder Box An Essence Pot A Square Waiter Three lesser round, Two Tops Handles & bottoms for Tea Cups

100-0-0

...

*Thus far signed  
By Mr Severn &  
Mr Mowbray &  
Wth. Wch. ye present  
Ld Orford is to  
Be charged*

The said Defendant George Earl of Orford submits to Stand Charged with the several following Goods at Stanhoe and Houghton Hall as the same were appraised by Messrs. Mowbray and Severn as follows (Vizt.)

...

[f 101]

Plate [presumably at Stanhoe]

*ditto*

Nine Silver Dishes & Sixty Plates, A Surtout with four Branches & four Saucers, A large Tankard, four Pint Mugs Eight small Waiters, A Cheese Toaster four Double Salts, Two Soup Spons A Dish Ring, Six Wrought Salts five Shovels Six Castors & four Candlesticks, Twenty Table Spoons, Twelve Desert Do., One Marrow Spoon One Pair of Tea Tongs Thirteen Desert fforks Twenty Eight Table Do. & Twelve Tea Spoons Twenty Seven Table Knife Handles Twelve Desert Do. Six Knife Cases ---- Weight 2600 Ounces at 5/4

693-6-8

A Gold Cup & Cover--- Weight 26 oz 1 Dwt at £3 16s 0d  
98-19-9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>



## APPENDIX 6

Sale of plate from the Exchequer, 1751

A  
CATALOGUE  
Of the GENUINE  
Household Furniture  
CHINA, PLATE,  
And other EFFECTS of  
The RIGHT HONOURABLE the  
EARL OF ORFORD  
Deceas'd  
At his LORDSHIP'S late Dwelling-House at  
The EXCHEQUER.

...  
Which will be sold at AUCTION,  
By Mr LANGFORD,  
(by ORDER of the EXECUTOR)

On Wednesday the 26th of this Instant June 1751, and the  
Three following Days.

...

[p 6]

### PLATE, &c

- 1 A Case with 12 silver handled table knives, 12 forks, and 12 spoons
- 2 A dish ring
- 3 A pair of candlesticks
- 4 Five gilt tea spoons, a strainer, and a pair of tongs
- 5 The top and handle of a warming pan
- 6 A case with 12 silver handled table knives, 12 forks, and 12 spoons
- 7 Two half pint mugs
- 8 An head of King George the 1st, on an onyx set in gold
- 9 A tankard
- 10 Two pairs of candlesticks
- 11 A case with 12 silver handled knives, 12 forks, and 12 spoons
- 12 A pair of fluted sauce boats
- 13 A tea table plated over with silver
- 14 Two pair of round salts, and 4 shovels
- 15 One hand candlestick
- 16 A pair of salvers
- 17 A coffee pot
- 18 Twelve silver handled knives, 12 forks and 12 spoons
- 19 An agate casket ornamented with silver
- 20 A crutch headed cane, with a gold head

[p 9]

### PLATE

- 1 A Case with 12 silver handled knives, 12 forks, and 12 spoons
- 2 A nutmeg grater, a dram bottle, and a powder box
- 3 Two hand candlesticks
- 4 Two pair of round salts, and 2 shovels
- 5 A soup spoon, and 2 ragoo spoons

- 6 A pair of candlesticks
- 7 A large Standish
- 8 A case with 12 silver handled knives, 12 forks, and 12 spoons
- 9 A slipper
- 10 Two pair of candlesticks
- 11 Six tea spoons, a strainer, and a pair of tongs
- 12 A tea kettle, lamp, and a scolopt waiter
- 13 A coffee pot
- 14 Two pair of candlesticks
- 15 Four ribb'd and scolopt waiters
- 16 A case with 12 silver handled desert knives, 12 forks, and 12 spoons, gilt
- 17 Four ribb'd and scolopt waiters
- 18 A pair of sauce boats ornamented with masks and festoons of fruit and flowers
- 19 A pair of candlesticks with branches for 2 candles each
- 20 A large and magnificent wrought CISTERN
- 21 A case of 12 silver handled desert knives, 12 forks, and 12 spoons, gilt

[p 14]

### PLATE

- 1 Six gilt tea spoons, a strainer, and a pair of tongs
- 2 Two pair of candlesticks
- 3 Two half pint mugs
- 4 A large coffee pot
- 5 A soup spoon, and a ragoo spoon
- 6 Twelve silver handled knives, 12 forks with silver prongs, 12 spoons, and a marrow spoon
- 7 A set of castors
- 8 A marrow spoon, a mustard spoon, 6 tea spoons, a pair of tongs and a strainer
- 9 Five knives, 7 forks, 10 spons, and a marrow spoon
- 10 Two pair of candlesticks
- 11 A soup spoon and 4 round salts
- 12 A large tankard
- 13 Twelve silver hafted table knives, 12 forks with silver prongs, and 12 spoons
- 14 A large chased Standish and bell
- 15 A pair of candlesticks, with branches for 2 candles each
- 16 Two half pint mugs
- 17 A case with 12 silver hafted desert knives, 12 forks, and 12 spoons
- 18 A pair of sauce boats ornamented with masks and festoons of fruit and flowers
- 19 A pair of salvers, gilt, chased and scolopt, with wrought borders
- 20 Thirteen bottle tickets
- 21 An EPARGNE compleat, consisting of 6 casters, 2 cruet frames and 4 cruets with silver handles and tops, 2 double salts, 4 branches for candles, and 4 branches and salvers for pickles
- 22 Twelve silver handled table knives, 12 forks with silver prongs and 12 spons

## APPENDIX 7

Extract from

*An Account of the Personal Estate of Robert the second Earl of Orford formerly Lord Walpole as the same stood at the Time of his Death which happened the 31st Day of March 1751*

[Houghton MSS/Housecellar/1579]

[f 1]

	£	s	d
Cash found in the Testor's Pocket [at The Exchequer]	0	6	
In the Escrutore in the said Testor's Dressing Room			
A lare Diamond Ring			
A Ruby Ring			
Three five Guinea Pieces	15	15	
One two Guinea Piece	2	2	
One Guinea and an Half Do.	1	11	6
A Silver Medal			
An Head of Lord Orford engraved on an Onyx			
A Gold Seal on a white Cornelian of the late Lord's Arms			
The Exchequer Seal of the Old Lord Orford			
A Gold Watch with three Seals			
Another Do. With Do.			
A Black Tortoiseshall Snuff Box inlaid			
A Gold Snuff Box with an enamelled Top			
A Silver Tobacco Box			
A China Snuff Box			
A Birmingham Snuff Box			
An Ivory Do.			
A Bloodstone Triangular Seal			
A Ring with a Monkey's Head			
A Mourning Ring			
A Tortois Snuff Box Mounted in Silver			
Cash	44	10	1
Sundry Bills	2806	18	2
A large Silver Standish and Bell			

In the Small Escrutore in Do. Parlour

A Cornelian Seal Ring			
An Agate Snuff Box and Gold Roman			
An Enamelled Picture of Sr Robt Walpole by Zinck			
Three Silver Medals of Oliver Cromwell			
One Eighth part of a Jacobus	0	3	4
One Out of a Guinea & one Quat of a [illegible] in a black Case	0	12	8
A Cornelian Seal in Gold			
An Enamelled Picture of the first Lady Walpole			
A Quadrangular Snuff Box in Silver			
A Triangular Do. Washed with Gold			

[f 2]

Five Common Snuff Boxes one with a [illegible]	Some Flower Roots and Pots in the Garden
A Pair of Gold Buttons	A Table Clock not included in Following Inventories
A Silver Snuff Box	Three Floor Cloths
Twenty Common Snuff Boxes	A Pack of Hounds
Three other Mourning Rings one with a Diamond	

[The rest of the document lists cash in accounts, annuities, horses and a room by room inventory of the house at the Exchequer including a separate listing of the plate which appears in the catalogue of the 1751 sale of the contents of the house (Appendix 6)]

## APPENDIX 8

Plate sent to Houghton 1752

[CUL/C (H) Accounts 39/2]

*Houghton: An Account of goods Brought & Fetched or  
Delivered ... for the use of the Rt. Honble. ye Earl of Orford,  
1751 &c.*

[inserted, on a small sheet]

A silver cheese toaster  
Dishes 14 --- Plates 5 Dozn.  
A Bread Basket a Ring  
Tankard --- four Waiters &  
One large 4 pr. Of silver  
Candlesticks 3 shamons [?]  
2 silver mugs a  
Soope spoon 4 salts two spoons  
A marrow spoon  
2 Dozn of knives do.  
Forks 14 spoons  
2 pr of snuffers  
1 fish plate  
Sugar pepper and mustard casters

At Stanhoe 22 March 1752

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## APPENDIX 9

Jaques's sale of plate from Houghton, 9 May 1792 and  
following day

[NRO/HMN/4/45/1]

A  
CATALOGUE  
OF THE SUPERB  
SIDEBOARD and TABLE SERVICE of PLATE  
Comprising upwards of Ten Thousand Ounces,  
VALUABLE AND CURIOUS  
GOLD and SILVER WATCHES, SNUFF BOXES  
TRINKETS, COINS, MEDALS.  
THE PROPERTY OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE  
The Earl of ORFORD, deceased  
Which will be Sold by AUCTION  
By Messrs. JACQUES and SON  
(BY ORDER OF THE EXECUTORS)  
On WEDNESDAY the 9th of MAY 1792  
and following Day

FIRST DAY'S SALE  
Wednesday, 9th May 1792

PLATE  
Lot  
1 A LARGE soup dish  
2 A pair ditto  
3 A pair ditto  
4 A pair larger dishes  
5 One large dish  
6 A pair of sighes  
7 Ditto  
8 Ditto  
9 Ditto  
10 Ditto  
11 Ditto  
12 Ditto  
13 Two fish plates  
14 One dozen soup plates  
15 Six soup plates  
16 One dozen meat plates



SECOND DAY'S SALE  
Thursday, 10 May 10 1792

PLATE continued

17 Ditto  
18 Ditto  
19 Ditto  
20 Ditto  
21 Ditto  
22 Two pair sauceboats  
23 Ditto  
24 A dish ring  
25 A lamp  
26 Three casters  
27 Ditto  
28 Ditto  
29 A soup ladle, a large soup spoon, and 4 sauce ladles  
30 Two large soup spoons, and 4 sauce ladles  
31 One dozen table spoons  
32 Ditto  
33 Six table spoons  
34 One dozen desert spoons  
35 Six desert spoons  
36 One dozen 3-prong forks  
37 Ditto  
38 Ditto  
39 Eleven 3-prong forks  
40 One dozen 3-prong desert forks  
41 Six ditto  
42 One dozen silver handled table knives  
43 Ditto  
44 Ditto  
45 Ditto  
46 One dozen and half silver handled desert knives  
47 Five mahogany knife and spoon cases  
48 A cheese toaster  
49 A preserving pan and spoon  
50 Ten meat skewers and a marrow spoon  
51 Twelve table spoons  
52 Ten desert spoons  
53 Twenty-two 3-prong forks  
54 Eleven desert forks  
55 Twenty table and 2 desert silver handled knives  
56 A large two-handled cup and cover  
57 Ditto  
58 A 3-pint tankard  
59 A pint mug  
60 Ditto  
61 Ditto  
62 Ditto  
63 A pair of candlesticks  
64 Ditto  
65 Ditto  
66 Six bottle lables  
67 Four ditto and a punch strainer  
68 Six bottle lables  
69 Eleven tea spoons, and a pair of sugar tongs broken  
70 Two false nossels, 4 sockets and pans, a broken nutmeg grater, and a pipe mouth piece

End of the First Day's Sale

Lot

71 A PAIR of dishes  
72 Ditto  
73 Ditto  
74 Ditto  
75 Ditto  
76 Ditto  
77 One dozen meat plates  
78 Ditto  
79 Ditto  
80 Ditto  
81 Ditto  
82 A pair of chased vine bordered waiters  
83 A large coffee pot  
84 A coffee pot and stand  
85 A cut glass sugar bason, mounted with silver, and silver ladle  
86 A library ink stand  
87 A stand with bell, and 2 candlesticks  
88 Two pair fluted candlesticks  
89 Ditto  
90 Ditto  
91 Two pair candlesticks  
92 A MAGNIFICENT SIDEBORD DISH, embellished with numerous well executed figures, in ALTO RELIEVO, richly chased, and highly ornamented with gilt trophies  
93 TWO SUPERB SCONCES, highly enriched, with figures in ALTO RELIEVO, and chased foliage, with a pair of branch candlesticks each  
94 TWO correspondent ditto

WATCHES, SNUFF BOXES, TRINKETS, &C.

95 A renovating gold second stop watch, by Spencer & Perkins, and extra shagreen case  
96 A silver second stop watch, showing the second, minute, hour, day of week, and day of month, by Jessop, extra shagreen case  
97 A metal gilt second stop watch, by Jessop  
98 A gold watch chain  
99 A gold snuff box, with agate lid  
100 A ditto with japan top and bottom, neatly inlaid  
101 A chased and inlaid gold snuff box  
102 A gold box, with engraved top, arms of  
103 A curious tortoiseshall ditto, mounted with silver, gilt inside, model of an ancient Greek ship  
104 A metal gilt snuff box, in 3 parts  
105 A silver box, with engraved top of Yarmouth arms  
106 A silver double snuff box, gilt inside  
107 A large flat silver box

108 A pair of gold sleeve buttons  
 109 A ruby ring, set with brilliants, in gold  
 110 A fancy ring, set with brilliants, an amber ring, and a Derbyshire spar petrefaction  
 111 Sir Robert Walpole's official seal, and another of his family arms, cornelian set in gold

112 A medal of Carlo Maratti and a wax Medallion  
 113 A silver Gorget and sash, and a badge of the Order of the Bath

[Lots 114–143 comprise coins]

...

## APPENDIX 10

Jaques's settlement statement, 1792

[Houghton/Housecellar/8]

Sale of Plate brought from Houghton  
 R. Jaques

1792

Dr. The Rt. Honble The Earl of Orford's Excers.  
 With R. Jaques & Son

May 9 & 10	Cr
By Amount Sold by Auction	
As pr Catalogue	<u>2368.17.3</u>

To Commission Selling by auction  
 the late Earl of Orford's Plate etc.  
 Times, Oracle, Morning Chronicle and  
 Gazeteer -- Clerk and Porters  
 to attend the Shew Sale and Delivery  
 and every incidental Expences --

By Plate valued to Lord Orford as pr Inventory	519.13.10
	<u>2888.11.1</u>

Amount sold by Auction £2368.17.2

At 5 p cent	118.9.0
To Excise Duty	37.0.0
To Balance	<u>2733.2.1</u>
	2888.11.1

## APPENDIX 11

Sir Robert Walpole's silver in the Strawberry Hill sale, 1842

In the following gloss, additional information about each piece, including the buyer and price paid,<sup>1</sup> is added after the original description from the catalogue. The subsequent provenance is included after the buyer; a comma denotes direct descent by inheritance or otherwise, while a semi-colon indicates a break in known ownership. Of the items where no additional details are given, their subsequent provenance is unknown; some of these, such as lots 118, 128 and 129, are clearly post-1745 and have no connection with Sir Robert Walpole.

*Strawberry Hill, the Renowned Seat of Horace Walpole. Mr. George Robins is honoured by having been selected by The Earl of Waldegrave, to sell by public competition, the Valuable Contents of Strawberry Hill, and it may be fearlessly be proclaimed as the most distinguished gem that has ever adorned the annals of auctions. It is definitely fixed for Monday, the 25th day of April, 1842, and twenty-three days (Sundays excepted). And within will be found a repast for the Lovers of Literature and the Fine Arts, of which bygone days furnish no previous example, and it would be in vain to contemplate it in times to come.*

...

<sup>1</sup> Taken from the illustrated edition of the catalogue published after the sale by Robins.

**114 A VERY ELEGANT SILVER GILT TWO-HANDLED CUP AND COVER, with chased ornaments and scroll handles, 15 inches high**

*Fig 10*

William Lukin (Britannia standard mark), with transposed hallmarks under foot for 1697–98, circa 1715–1725, arms of Walpole impaling those of Shorter within a floral and scroll cartouche signed 'J. Sympson fecit'.

Height 15 in (38.1 cm) scratch weight 126 = 16

PROVENANCE: bought by 13th Earl of Derby (£50 14s 1d), by descent to Lord Derby, Knowsley Park

**115 A BEAUTIFUL 14-INCH DITTO PLATEAU on PEDESTAL, exquisitely engraved and chased, the centre representing George I on his throne, supported by Britannia and Justice, and the royal arms, surmounted by Phaeton in his Car, Military trophies and Allegorical devices beneath. Signed J Sympson**

*Fig 7*

William Lukin (Britannia standard maker's mark only), circa 1715–1725, engraving signed 'J. Sympson fecit'

PROVENANCE: bought by 13th Earl of Derby (£40 9s 3d), by descent to 18th Earl of Derby, sold privately late 1940s

PUBLISHED: Charles Oman, 'English Engravers on Plate: III Joseph Sympson and William Hogarth', *Apollo*, vol LXV, no 389, July 1957, p 286, fig 1; Charles Oman, *English Engraved Silver, 1150 to 1900*, London, 1978, p 89; Harold Newman, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Silverware*, London, 1987, p 348

**116 A handsome silver gilt COFFEE EWER, with gadrooned border**

PROVENANCE: bought by Captain Blankley (£8 0s 6d)

**117 One dozen of silver gilt chased edge tea spoons and a pair of sugar tongs**

PROVENANCE: bought by Dom Colnaghi (£3 18s 7d)

**118 A pair of handsome engraved coco nut goblets, mounted and lined in silver gilt**

*Fig 41*

The mounts Thomas Phipps and Edward Robinson, London, 1791–92; the shells carved with the arms, supporters and coronet of Horace, 4th Earl of Orford (1717–97)

PROVENANCE: bought by Cooper (£8 8s 0d); anonymous sale, Christie's New York, 18 October 1994, lot 351 (\$13,800)

**119 An ELEGANT SMALL GOLD TWO-HANDLED RACING CUP AND COVER, won at Newmarket, by a mare of Sir Robert Walpole's, April 14, 1713**

There were two Royal Plates run at Newmarket in 1713, on 1 and 9 April; the details of any race on 14 April are unrecorded.<sup>2</sup> The price realised of just over £105 suggests a weight of about 26 oz (808g). It is probably the gold cup and cover listed as being with the plate at Stanhoe in March 1745 (Appendix 2), and still at Stanhoe after the death of the 2nd Earl as "A Gold Cup. & Cover 26 oz. 1 dwt. at £3 16s 0d per ounce £90 19s 9s" (Appendix 5)

PROVENANCE: bought by Thomas of Bond Street (£105 3s 9d)

**120 A MAGNIFICENT 19-INCH SQUARE SHAPED PLATEAU, the centre exquisitely chased in medallions, representing George I. on his throne, with Figures of Britannia and Justice, and the royal arms, and a View: of the City of London and Allegorical devices, richly chased border and shell edge, on scroll feet**

*Fig 14*

The so-called 'Walpole Salver': Paul de Lamerie, London, 1728–29, Britannia standard, the engraving of the central cartouche and the outer border attributed to William Hogarth, the outer border with the cypher RW, the Walpole crest and the arms of Walpole impaling Shorter; the reverse with scratch weight 136.9.

Width: 42.3 in (107.4 cm), length: 42.2 in (107.8 cm), weight: 135 oz 7 dwt (3,338.5g)

PROVENANCE: bought by Garrard, Panton Street (£101 12s 6d); 4th Earl of Orford of the 2nd creation (d 1894), by descent to Lieutenant Colonel Horace Walpole (d 1919, the latter's illegitimate son), his daughter Mrs Colin Davy, sale, Christie's London, 7 December 1955, lot 147, bought by Lumley (£7,800) for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, export licence denied and acquired with the assistance of the Pilgrim Trust and the Art Fund by the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (M.9-1956)

PUBLISHED: *Exhibition of the Royal House of Guelf*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1891, p 129, no 461; *Queen Charlotte's Loan Exhibition of Old Silver*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1929, pl LXXIII; P A S Phillips, *Paul de Lamerie, Citizen and Goldsmith of London: A Study of His Life and Work, A D 1688-1751*, London, 1935, pp 86–90, pls LX, LXI; Charles Oman, 1957 [see lot 115 above] pp 286–289, fig 1;

<sup>2</sup> See J B Muir, *Ye Olde New-Markitt calendar of matches, results and programmes from 1619–1719*, London, 1892.



John Hayward, *Huguenot Silver in England, 1688-1727*, London, 1959, pp 74-5, pl 94; Denys Sutton, *Christie's since the War, 1945-1958*, London, 1959, p 11, pl 105; L G G Ramsey (editor), *The Connoisseur New Guide to Antique English Silver and Plate*, London, 1962, pl 26; Ann Forrester, 'Hogarth as an Engraver', *Connoisseur*, no 152, February, 1963, pp 112-116, fig 6; W D John and Jacqueline Simcox, *English Decorated Trays (1550-1850)*, Newport, Monmouthshire, 1964, pp 46-47; Charles Oman, *English Silversmiths' Works, Civil and Domestic, an Introduction*, London, 1965, pl 118; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth, His Life and Times*, London, 1965, no 114, pl 119; Jonathan Stone, *English Silver of the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1965, pl 17; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth*, vol 1: *The "Modern Moral Subject" 1697-1732*, London, 1971, pp 174-5, 235; vol 2: *High Art and Low*, p 393; Christopher Lever, *Goldsmiths and Silversmiths of England*, London, 1975 frontispiece; Carl Hernmarck, *The Art of the European Goldsmith*, London, 1977, pls 478, 478a; Charles Oman, 1978, [see lot 115 above] pp 96-7, pl 109; James Charles, *Heritage of England: Silver through Ten Reigns*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1983, pp 116-117, pl LIV; Michael Clayton, *The Collector's Dictionary of Silver and Gold of Great Britain and North America*, Woodbridge, 1985, p 170, fig 255; Michael Clayton, *Christie's Pictorial History of English and American Silver*, Oxford, 1985, p 129, fig 7; Philippa Glanville, *Silver in England*, London, 1987, fig 82; Harold Newman, 1987 [see lot 115 above] p 348; Susan Hare (editor), *Paul de Lamerie: At the Sign of the Golden Ball*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1990, p 94, no 50; Susan Hare, 'Paul de Lamerie - A Retrospective Assessment', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, XXV, no 3, 1991, p 225; Timothy Schroder, 'Paul de Lamerie: businessman or craftsman?', *Silver Society Journal*, no 6, Winter 1994, pp 268-269; Andrew Moore (editor), *Houghton Hall, the Prime Minister, The Empress and the Heritage*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1996, p 142, no 60; Christopher Hartop, 'Engraving on English Silver, 1680-1760', *The Magazine Antiques*, vol CLI, no 2, February 1997, p 347; Jenny Uglow, *Hogarth, a Life and a World*, London, 1997, pp 141-142; Ellenor Alcorn, *Beyond the Maker's Mark: Paul de Lamerie Silver in the Cahn Collection*, Cambridge, 2006, p 16, fig 11; Timothy Schroder, 'Evidence without documents: patterns of ornament in rococo and Régence silver', *Rococo Silver in England and Its Colonies, Papers from a symposium at Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, in 2004, Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 20, 2006, pp 64-66, figs 84.1, 84.2, 86.1, 86.2; Tessa Murdoch (editor), *Beyond the Border, Huguenot Goldsmiths in Northern Europe and North America*,

Eastbourne, 2008, p 101; Michael Snodin (editor), *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, exhibition catalogue, London, 2009, p 2, fig 5; p 283, no 35; Thierry Morel (editor), *Houghton Revisited: the Walpole Masterpieces from Catherine the Great's Heritage*, exhibition catalogue, p 248, fig 91  
EXHIBITED: *Exhibition of the Royal House of Guelph*, the New Gallery, London, 1891, no 461; *Queen Charlotte's Loan Exhibition of Old Silver*, Seaford House, London, 1929, lent by Mrs Horace Walpole, no 575; *Heritage of England: Silver through Ten Reigns*, New York, 1983 no LIV; *The Prime Minister, the Empress and the Heritage*, Castle Museum, Norwich and Kenwood House, London, 1996-97, no 60; *Paul de Lamerie: At the Sign of the Golden Ball*, Goldsmiths' Hall, London, 1990, no 50; *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 2010, no 35; *Houghton Revisited: the Walpole Masterpieces from Catherine the Great's Heritage*, Houghton Hall, 2013, no 91

**121 A pair of handsome 9-INCH DITTO, chased borders, with engraved medallions of Britannia, on scroll feet**

Fig 17

Paul de Lamerie, London, 1728-29, Britannia standard, the reverses engraved *BOUGHT AT STRAWBERRY HILL, 1842, BY CHARLES MILLS, ESQ.*

Weight: 52 oz 16 dwt (1,642g)

PROVENANCE: bought ditto (£32 7s 0d); Charles Mills, by descent to the 3rd Baron Hillingdon, sale Christie's London, 21 June 1933, lot 57 (£227)

PUBLISHED: P A S Phillips, [see lot 120 above] p 86, pl LIX

**122 A pair of 6-INCH DITTO, delicately engraved and chased flower and matted borders, on feet**

Paul de Lamerie, London, 1722-23, Britannia standard, re-engraved with the arms of Neave of Dagenham, Essex, the reverses engraved *'THE PROPERTY OF HORACE WALPOLE, ENGRAVED BY HOGARTH, BOUGHT AT STRAWBERRY HILL, MAY 6TH, 1842'*

Weight: 24 oz 6 dwt (756g)

PROVENANCE: bought by Luxmoore (£14 14s 0d); Lord Revelstoke, sale, Christie's London, 27 June 1893, lot 74 (£75); the Rt Hon Montagu, 1st Baron Swaythling, 3rd Baron Swaythling, sale, Christie's London, 6 May 1924, lot 32 (£279)

PUBLISHED: J Starkie Gardner, *Old Silver-work, Chiefly English from the XVth to the XVIIIth Centuries*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1903, pp 112-113, nos 20, 36, pl CIX

EXHIBITED: *Old Silver-work, Chiefly English from the XVth to the XVIIIth Centuries*, St James's Court, London, 1902, nos 2 and 36

**123 A pair of handsome ANTIQUE CHASED SCROLL CANDLESTICKS with three-light branch candelabra, on shaped octagon plinths**

*Fig 21*

Paul de Lamerie, London, 1731–32, Britannia standard; branches unmarked, candlesticks and branches engraved with the Walpole crest enclosed by the Order of the Garter

Height: 13 in (33 cm), weight (1) 76 oz 19 dwt (2,395g) and (2) 77 oz (3,395g)

PROVENANCE: bought by Garrard (£69 12s 6d); Lord Revelstoke, sale, Christie's London, 27 June 1893, lot 82 (£308); the Rt Hon Montagu, 1st Baron Swaythling, 3rd Baron Swaythling, sale, Christie's London, 6 May 1924, lot 26 (bought in); a Lady, sale, Christie's London, 23 March 1966, lot 27, bought by Kaye (£11,000); Bulgari, Rome, Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert, the Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (LOAN:GILBERT.690:1-10-2008)

PUBLISHED: J Starkie Gardner, 1903 [see lot 122 above], p 113, no 26,27, pl CXIV; Charles James Jackson, *An Illustrated History of English Plate*, London, 1911, p 289, fig 311; E Alfred Jones, *Old Silver of Europe and America*, Philadelphia, 1928, pl XXXVII, no 6; P A S Phillips [see lot 120 above], pl LXXXIX; *Christie's Bi-centenary Review of the Year 1965–66*, London, 1966, pp 126–127; Arthur Grimwade, *Rococo Silver*, London, 1974, p 56, pl 77; Timothy Schroder, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver*, Los Angeles, 1988, pp 204–206, no 50; Susan Hare, 1990 [see lot 120 above], p 97, no 52; Ellenor Alcorn, 2006 [see lot 120 above], p 82  
EXHIBITED: London, 1902 [see lot 122 above], nos 26, 27; London, 1990 [see lot 120 above], no 52

**124 An elegant shaped OCTAGON SOUP TUREEN AND COVER, chased mat and leaf ornaments, on bold Lion masque feet**

**124\* A DITTO, *en suite***

*Figs 23 and 24*

(1) Paul Crespín, London, 1733–34; (2) George Wickes, London, 1738–39, both sterling standard, the bodies and covers engraved with the Walpole crest within a Garter motto, (1) with scratch weight under the body 95=3 (2) with 105=14 under the body, 150 oz., 150=5 and (probably the oldest) 45:10 on the interior of the cover.

Width: 14 in (36 cm), weight (1) 128 oz 10 dwt (3,996g) (2) 145 oz (4,510g)

PROVENANCE: the two bought by Luxmoore (£126 2s 3d); S J Phillips, 1928; Property of a Gentleman, sale, Sotheby's London, 9 July 1964, lot 102, bought by Shrubsole (£2,700), William Henry Newman, by descent to his daughter Janice Newman Rosenthal, the Wickes example sold by

her in 2003 (£210,000) to Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery (2002.134); the Crespín example: the Estate of Janice Newman Rosenthal, sale, Christie's New York, 17 May 2012, lot 141, bought S J Phillips (\$200,500), Mr and Mrs Oscar de la Renta

PUBLISHED: *The Daily Telegraph Exhibition of Antiques and Works of Art*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1928, no 11; *Exhibition of Art Treasures*, exhibition catalogue, London 1928, no 999; Elaine Barr, *George Wickes, Royal Goldsmith 1698–1761*, London, 1980, pp 24, pl 7a (2); Vanessa Brett, *The Sotheby's Directory of Silver, 1600–1940*, London, 1986, p 188, no 785 (1); Christopher Hartop, *The Huguenot Legacy: English Silver, 1680–1760 from the Alan and Simone Hartman Collection*, London, 1996, p 190 (2); Christopher Hartop, 'Patrons and Consumers: buying silver in eighteenth-century London', *Rococo Silver in England and Its Colonies, Papers from a symposium at Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, in 2004*, *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 20, 2006, p 36, fig 38 (2); Thierry Morel (editor), 2013 [see lot 120 above], p 249, fig 93 (2); Susan Weber (editor), *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain*, exhibition catalogue, New York/London, 2014, p 544, fig 19.31 (2)

EXHIBITED: *The Daily Telegraph Exhibition of Antiques and Works of Art*, Olympia, London, 1928; Houghton [see lot 120 above] (each one successively but only (2) in the catalogue), no 93; *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain*, Bard Graduate Center New York/Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 2013–14, no 63 (2)

**125 A pair of ditto shaped 16-inch MEAT DISHES, with bold gadrooned borders**

PROVENANCE: Bought by Foligno (£23 15s 3d)

**126 Two pair of elegant CIRCULAR SALTS, boldly chased flower borders and Lion masque feet**

**126\* A pair of ditto, *en suite***

PROVENANCE: bought by Hon Henry Willetts, Esq (£23 11d 0d)

**127 A pair of splendid octagon WINE COOLERS, chased rose flower tablets, arabesque borders and scroll handles**

*Fig 6*

William Lukin, London, 1716–17, Britannia standard, applied with the arms of Walpole impaling Shorter within scroll mantling, engraved inside the rims No. 1 and No. 2

Height 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in (21 cm), weight (1) 124 oz 2 dwt (3,859g) (2) 122 oz 12 dwt (3,813g)

PROVENANCE: bought Henry Hall, Esq (£208 17s 9d); Bertram, 5th Earl of Ashburnham, the

Ashburnham Collection, sale, Christie's London, 24 March 1914, lot 59, (£3,684); possibly Phillip Sassoon, his sister Sybil, Marchioness of Cholmondeley (by 1929), property of the Marchioness of Cholmondeley, sale, Sotheby's London, 2 November 1950, lot 150, bought by Frank Partridge (£2,500), Judge Irwin Untermyer, given by him in 1968 to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (68.141.128 and 68.141.129)

PUBLISHED: *Loan Exhibition of Old English Plate*, London, 1929, pl LV; W W Watts, *Silver in the 'Old London' Exhibition*, *Apollo*, XXVIII, April, 1938, p 189; *Apollo*, LIII, 306, August 1950, p 45, fig 8; Richard Came, *Silver*, London, 1961, p 80, fig 60; Yvonne Hackenbroch, *English and Other Silver in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*, revised edition, New York, 1969, pp 65–66, pl. 125; *Highlights of the Untermyer Collection of English and continental decorative arts*, New York, circa 1977, pp 51–52, no 80; Jessie McNab, *The Smithsonian Illustrated Library of Antiques: Silver*, New York, 1981, p 53, fig 38; Vanessa Brett, 1986 [see lot 124 above], p 167, no 667; Christopher Hartop, 1996 [see lot 124 above], p 266; Andrew Moore, 1996 [see lot 120 above], p 143, no 61, the *Burlington Magazine*, no 139, April 1997, no 1129; John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, New Haven, 2004, p 169, fig 222; Michael Snodin (editor), 2009 [see lot 120 above] p 35, fig 50; p 289, no 66; Thierry Morel (editor), 2013 [see lot 120 above], p 249, fig 92  
EXHIBITED: *Loan Exhibition of Old English Plate*, 25 Park Lane, London, 1929, no 760; *"Old London" Exhibition*, London, 1938, no 141 (with later liners and collars); London, 1950, no 85; Castle Museum, Norwich and Kenwood House, London, 1996–97 [see lot 120 above], no 61; London, 2010 [see lot 120 above], no 66; Houghton, 2013 [see lot 120 above], no 92

- 128 A VERY ELEGANT PLATED EPERGNE and CANDELABRUM, with arms for 9 lights, 4 sweetmeat branches and centre, supported by four female Figures**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Webb (£9 9s 0d)

- 129 Three neat silver sugar vases and covers, with chased matt borders and Ram's head handles**  
PROVENANCE: bought by P & Dom Colnaghi (£10 11s 6d)

- 130 A handsome 13-inch oblong bread basket, open basket pattern border and twisted handles**

*Fig 20*

Paul de Lamerie, London, 1731–32, Britannia standard, engraved with the arms and supporters of Walpole impaling those of Shorter  
Height  $3\frac{7}{8}$  in (9.85 cm), length  $14\frac{3}{4}$  in (37.5 cm),

width 11 in (27.9 cm), weight: 57 oz 7 dwt (1,783g)  
PROVENANCE: bought by John Dent, Esq (£22 19s 4d), Sudeley Castle; Partridge Fine Arts, 1975, Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert, the Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (LOAN:GILBERT.712-2008)

PUBLISHED: *Exhibition of the Royal House of Guelph*, 1891 [see lot 120 above], p 156, no 815, as "the Walpole basket" lent by Mrs Dent of Sudeley Hillier, Wilfrid Joseph Cripps, *Old English Plate, Ecclesiastical, Decorative and Domestic: Its Makers and Marks*, London, 1901, p 295, fig 95; pp 114 and 116, no 7, 118; William Ezelle Jones, *Monumental Silver: Selections from the Gilbert Collection*, exhibition catalogue, Los Angeles, 1977, p 6, no 5; Timothy Schroder, 1988 [see lot 123 above], pp 200–3, no 49; Timothy Schroder, *Heritage Regained: Silver from the Gilbert Collection*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1998, p 44, fig 20; Thierry Morel (editor), 2103 [see lot 120 above], p 248, fig 90  
EXHIBITED: London, 1891 [see lot 120 above], no 815; Los Angeles, 1975; Los Angeles, 1977, no 5; Houghton, 2013 [see lot 120 above], no 90

- 131 A pair of 8-inch shaped circular waiters, with reeded edges**

PROVENANCE: bought by Geo N Emmett, Esq (£8 7s 0d)

- 132 A pair of handsome 7-inch ditto, with bold vine-chased vine leaf and grape borders and feet**

PROVENANCE: bought by Russell (£13 2s 6d)

- 133 A pair of circular plain chamber candlesticks**

PROVENANCE: bought by Rev T B Murray (£6 11s 3d)

- 134 Four handsome 7½-inch circular ribbed preserve dishes**

*Fig 13*

Two David Willaume, London, 1718–19 and 1719–20; two Paul de Lamerie, London, 1731–32  
Diameter  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in (19 cm), weight 52 oz (1,617g)  
PROVENANCE: bought by Edmund Jekyll, Esq (£22 14s 6d), by descent to Sir Herbert Jekyll KCMG (d 1932), then to his daughter Barbara, Lady Freyberg (d 1973), wife of General Lord Freyberg VC, sometime Governor General of New Zealand, sold privately, Titus Kendall, 1992, Jaime Ortiz-Patiño, sale, Sotheby's New York, 22 April 1998, lot 9 (not sold)

PUBLISHED: Andrew Moore, 1996 [see lot 120 above], p 143, no 62

EXHIBITED: Norwich/London, 1996–97 [see lot 123 above], no 62



**135 Four 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>-inch escallop. shaped ditto**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Capt Blanckley  
(£9 2s 9d)

**136 A pair of silver decanter stands**  
PROVENANCE: bought by A Solomon (£0 5s 0d)

**137 Six lapis lazuli handled dessert knives, with silver ferrules, and 6 silver forks, with sard [sic] handles**  
PROVENANCE : bought by Town & Emanuel  
(£2 15s 0d)

**138 One dozen of silver beaded and thread handled table knives**  
PROVENANCE: bought by W M Smith  
(£2 15s 0d)

**139 Ditto**  
PROVENANCE: bought by King (£2 0s 0d)

**140 Eleven plain pistol handled table knives**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Cooper (£2 17s 0d)

**141 Twelve handsome silver dessert knives, French edge and shell handles**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Russell (£4 4s -0d)

**142 Twelve ditto, steel blades**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Luxmoore (£1 11s 6d)

**143 One dozen of three-pronged table knives**  
PROVENANCE: bought by -- Jones, Esq  
(£6 16s 10d)

**144 One dozen and 7 of ditto**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Ditto (£11 0s 0d)

**145 One dozen of beaded border four-pronged table forks**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Ditto (£9 2s 0d)

**146 Ditto**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Rev T B Murray  
(£10 4s 6d)

**147 One dozen of three-pronged fiddle headed, shell and French thread edge dessert forks**  
PROVENANCE: bought by -- Oldmixon, Esq  
(£3 19s 6d)

**148 Ditto**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Russell (£4 0s 0d)

**149 One dozen of ditto dessert spoons**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Rev T B Murray  
(£4 3s 4d)

**150 Ditto**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Russell (£3 17s 4d)

**151 One dozen of plain ditto**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Dobree (£3 19s 6d)

**152 A chased border sugar sifter, a small ditto and a cream ladle (foreign)**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Money (£0 18s 0d)

**153 Four table spoons**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Cooper (£1 17s 1d)

**154 Six antique chased shell salt spoons (1 faulty)**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Redfern, Warwick  
(£1 0s 0d)

**155 Two plain gravy spoons**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Rev T B Murray  
(£2 17s 3d)

**156 A ditto with strainer and a marrow: spoon**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Dr Waddilove  
(£1 10s 10d)

**157 Two fluted bowl soup. ladles**  
PROVENANCE: bought by R & Dom Colnaghi  
(£4 16s 10d)

**158 A two-handled lemon strainer and a pair of antique sugar tongs**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Geo N Emmett, Esq  
(£1 13s 0d)

**159 A pair of escalop. shells and 3 decanter labels**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Macbeth (£2 15s 0d)

**160 A capital large wainscot iron-bound plate chest, with trays and divisions, 2 padlocks and keys**  
PROVENANCE: bought by Money (£2 6s 0d)

*END OF THE ELEVENTH DAY'S SALE*

...

*Seventeenth day's sale  
The Bronzes, Valuables and Antique Furniture  
IN THE LIBRARY*

*57 A truly elegant silver inkstand, upon which the arms and crest of Sir Robert Walpole are most elaborately and beautifully engraved, the corners presenting fine specimens of flat chasing, with divisions, enclosing an inkstand, sand box and tray for pens, on scroll feet*  
*Fig 18*  
The so-called Walpole Inkstand: Paul de Lamerie,

London, 1729–30, Britannia standard  
Length 12 in (30.4 cm), width 7½ in (19 cm)  
weight 93 oz (2,892g)

Engraved arms and supporters of Walpole impaling Shorter

PROVENANCE: bought by Sir Robert Peel (£279), by descent to a Gentleman, sale, Christie's London, 14 December 1988, lot 249, bought by Spink and Son Ltd (£770,000), J Ortiz-Patiño, the J Ortiz-Patiño Collection, sale, Sotheby's New York, 22 April 1998, lot 8 (\$1,267,500), His Excellency Mahdi Mohammed Altajir, Koopman Rare Art Ltd, Paul and Elissa Cahn

PUBLISHED: Judith Banister, 'The Walpole Inkstand', *Octagon*, vol XXV, no 3, Spring 1989, p 36–39; Susan Hare, 1990 [see lot 120 above], p 96, no 51; Andrew Moore, 1996 [see lot 120 above], p 110, no 22; Thierry Morel (editor), 2013 [see lot 120 above], p 249, no 94

EXHIBITED: London, 1990 [see lot 120 above], no 51; Norwich/London, 1996–97 [see lot 123 above] no 22; Houghton, 2013 [see lot 120 above], no 94

...

*Twenty-third Day's Sale*  
*Round Drawing Room*

**40 A SPLENDIDLY CARVED IVORY CUP, most elaborately and beautifully worked, representing a Bacchanalian Scene, the colour extremely pure, mounted on a finely chased silver stand, with Vine Leaves and the Hounds in full cry, the cover also beautifully chased, surmounted by the Walpole crest**

*Fig 25*

The ivory: probably south German, mid-seventeenth century; sold to Sir Robert Walpole in 1739 by George Wickes who also added the silver foot, rim and cover (£22 8s), mounts unmarked.

Height 11¾ in (29.9 cm), diameter of base 8 in (20.3 cm)

PROVENANCE: bought by 13th Earl of Derby (£39 18s), by descent to Lord Derby, Knowsley Park

PUBLISHED: Michael Snodin (editor), 2009 [see lot 120 above], p 289, no 67

## APPENDIX 12

Other Walpole silver and related items

**Two-handled porringer and cover**, [Fig 4], circa 1660–70, maker's mark WH an étoile above, a pellet between (Jackson, p 122, line 3). The mark was been attributed by Gerald Taylor to William Harrison I, made a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1646 and admitted to the Livery in 1674. Another candidate for this mark is William Hall I of Cheapside, admitted to the Livery in 1663. One of Hall's apprentices was Francis Child, the banker. This mark appears on a number of fine pieces including a twelve-sided porringer and cover of 1655–56 in the Fogg Art Museum (Christopher Hartop, *British and Irish Silver in the Fogg Art Museum*, Harvard University, 2007, p 42, no 11)

Engraved with the arms of Walpole with a mullet for a third son, and *Ex Dono Regis*

Height 5 in (12.7 cm), weight 16 oz 5 dwt (505.4g)

PROVENANCE: ?Sir Edward Walpole or his son Colonel Robert Walpole, ?Sir Robert Walpole; Viscount Kemsley, sale, Christie's London, 16 October 1963, lot 165, bought by How

**Communion cup and cover**, silver-gilt, London, 1690–91, maker's mark II fleur de lys below, probably for John Jackson (Jackson, p 140, line 10), the paten with maker's mark only

The bowl engraved with the arms of Walpole impaling

Burwell and 'Donum Roberti Walpole Armigeri 1690'; the cover engraved 'Haughton-juxta-Harpley'

Height 8⅞ in (22.5 cm), width 4½ in (11.4 cm), cover height 1 in (2.5cm), Depth 5⅞ in (14.9cm)

PROVENANCE: Given by Colonel Robert Walpole to St Martin's church, Houghton

PUBLISHED: J H F Walter, 'Church Plate in Norfolk: Deanery of Burnham', *Norfolk Archaeology*, XXII, 1926, p 286

**Inkstand**, [Fig 5], circa 1708–10, maker's mark of William Lukin (Britannia standard maker's mark only): later arms engraved circa 1745

Length 9¾ in (24.7cm), width 3⅞ in (9.8 cm), height 3 in (7.6cm); weight 58 oz 2 dwt (1,807g)

PROVENANCE: possibly Sir Robert Walpole; J Pierpont Morgan; Elizabeth B Miles, the Elizabeth B Miles Collection, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut

PUBLISHED: Charles James Jackson, *An Illustrated History of English Plate*, London, 1911, vol II, p 903, fig 1180; Elizabeth B Miles, *English Silver, the Elizabeth B Miles Collection*, Wadsworth Atheneum, 1976, p 138, no 175, fig 14

**Inkstand**, [Fig 22], sterling standard, London, 1733–34, maker's mark of Paul de Lamerie, one inkpot later

Length 15 in (38.1 cm), width 7¼ in (18.4 cm), height 2½ in (5.5 cm), weight 102 oz (3,172g)

Arms and monogram PB added by ?Peter Burrell the younger (1724-1775)

PROVENANCE: Sir Robert Walpole; Sir Peter Burrell (1692-1756) or his son Peter Burrell (1724-75), possibly his daughter Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, who married in 1800 Henry, 1st Marquess of Exeter (1754-1804) or, more probably, his second daughter Isabella Susanna, who married 1st Earl of Beverly, his son Vice-Admiral Josceline Percy (1784-1856), by descent to Sir Edward Durand, sale, Christies London, 5 May 1937, lot 108, the Bank of England

PUBLISHED: E Alfred Jones, 'A historic silver inkstand made by Paul de Lamerie', *The Connoisseur*, 98, September 1936, pp 140-141; Charles Oman, *A Catalogue of Plate belonging to the Bank of England*, London, 1967, pl XXXVI; Arthur Grimwade, *Rococo Silver*, London, 1974, p 58; R A Woods, *The Bank of England, an Illustrated Visit*, London, 1975, no 96; Tessa Murdoch (editor), *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots, 1685-1985*, exhibition catalogue, 1985, p 280, no 422; Michael Clayton, *The Collector's Dictionary of Silver and Gold of Great Britain and North America*, Woodbridge, 1985a, p 216, fig 310; Harold Newman, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Silverware*, London, 1987, p 347, Susan Hare (editor), *Paul de Lamerie: At the Sign of the Golden Ball*, London, 1990, p 98, no 53

EXHIBITED: *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots, 1685-1985*, the Museum of London, 1985, no 422; *Paul de Lamerie: At the Sign of the Golden Ball. An Exhibition of the Work of England's Master Silversmith*, Goldsmiths' Hall, London, 1990, no 53

**The Walpole mace**, [Fig 22], sterling standard, gilt, London, 1734-5, maker's mark of Thomas Rush, inscribed around the uppermost knop: 'THE GIFT OF THE RIGHT | HONORABLE SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO | THE CITY OF NORWICH ANNO DOMINE 1733'. Chased with the royal arms of George II and the arms of Walpole quarterly with Robsart within the Garter motto, surmounted by the Walpole crest and flanked by the Exchequer supporters

Length 54<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in (139 cm), weight 168 oz (5,225g)

PROVENANCE: supplied to the Corporation by Nathaniel Roe of Norwich and first used 29 May 1734, the Corporation of Norwich

PUBLISHED: Francis Blomefield (completed by Charles Parkin), *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 2nd ed, London, 1805-10, vol III, p 448; Lewellyn Jewitt and W H St John Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales*, 1895, vol II, pp 175-176; Charles Oman, 'The Civic Plate and Insignia of the City of Norwich', *The Connoisseur*, 1964, no 156, fig 3; Robin Emmerson, *The Norwich Regalia and Civic Plate*, Norwich, 1984, p 14, fig 12

**Nutmeg grater**, [Fig 46], circa 1730-40, apparently unmarked

One of the largest known from this period, this nutmeg grater is engraved with the Walpole crest and was most probably Sir Robert's, and would be in keeping with his image as a hard drinking man. A nutmeg grater was included in the sale of plate at the Exchequer in 1751.

Length 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in (5.7cm), weight 3 oz (93g)

PROVENANCE: Sir John Plumb, sale, Christie's London 15 July 1988, lot 250 (£9,775); New York private collection, a Private Collection of Silver Nutmeg Graters, Woolley and Wallis, Salisbury, 19 October 2005, lot 70 (£13,225)

**Three plain pear-shaped casters**, sterling standard, London, 1736-7, maker's mark of Benjamin Godfrey "Each on a circular foot, with a rib round the shoulder and another round the neck, with pierced domed covers and baluster finials, engraved beneath the base with a coat-of-arms, engraved 'Horace Walpole of Strawberry Hill'"

Height 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> (17.1 cm) and 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in (21.5 cm), weight 42 oz 17 dwt (1,332g)

PROVENANCE: ?Horace, 3rd Earl of Orford; the property of Sir John Noble of Ardkinglas, Cairndow, Argyll, sale, Christie's London, 3 June 1935, lot 72

**Drawing of a chandelier**, [Fig 37], 1742-5, red chalk over pencil with some amendments, on two sheets of water-marked laid paper<sup>1</sup>, showing alternative treatments of the branches, on the left side with a dragon head and on the right side the Walpole crest of a saracen's head; inscribed upper right 'In the coronett will be the Balance of Louster/which for want of Room is exprest Here'

Dimensions 21<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in (55.3cm) x 30.5 in (77.8) cm

PROVENANCE: presumably commissioned from George Wickes by 1st Earl of Orford, 2nd Earl of Orford; Ralph Holland (1917-2012), sale, Sotheby's London, 5 July 2013, lot 358; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Acc TR.519.2013)

**Drawing of a chandelier**, [Fig 36], 1742-5, red chalk over pencil with some amendments, on one sheet of laid paper showing alternative treatments of the branches  
Dimensions: 25 (64 cm) x 36 1/4in (92.5 cm)<sup>2</sup>

PROVENANCE: presumably commissioned by 1st Earl of Orford from George Wickes, 2nd Earl of Orford, by descent at Houghton to the Marquess of Cholmondeley. PUBLISHED: Thierry Morel (editor), *Houghton Revisited: the Walpole Masterpieces from Catherine the Great's Hermitage*, exhibition catalogue, Norfolk, 2013, p 247 no 88

EXHIBITED: *Houghton Revisited: the Walpole Masterpieces from Catherine the Great's Hermitage*, Houghton Hall, Norfolk, 2013, no 88



**poon**, [Figs 31, 32], sterling standard, London, 1744–5, maker's mark IW probably for James Wilks  
The Hanoverian pattern stem die-struck with scrolls, flowers and a shell, the back of the bowl with shell, the terminal engraved 'LD. ORFORD to T: Hill', the back of the drop later engraved 'AH'

Length: 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in (21 cm)

PROVENANCE: possibly presented by 1st Earl of Orford to Thomas Hill of King's Lynn; private collection

#### **Doubtful pieces**

**Two-handled cup and cover**, sterling standard, London, 1649–50, maker's mark of Richard Blackwell (hound sejant), inscribed under base (roughly):

'Purchased/AT/Strawberry Hill/Horace Walpole' (probably spurious), apparently not in Strawberry Hill catalogue.

PROVENANCE: Sir George Buller, sale, Christie's London, 11 April 1883, lot 80, bought S J Phillips; Lord Swathling, sale, Christie's London, 6–7 May 1924, lot 89, bought Crichton, William Randolph Hearst, sale, Parish-Watson, 1938; Sotheby's London, 16 March 1961, p 45; Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

PUBLISHED: John D Davis, *English Silver at Williamsburg*, Williamsburg, 1976, p 54, no 44

1 The watermark appears to be the sacred monogram IHS over ?IVLLEDARY.

2 The dimensions given in Morel, p 247, are incorrect.

# The Croll Testimonial: its history, construction and restoration

SCARLETT HUTCHIN

The Croll Testimonial [Fig 1] is a parcel-gilt silver table fountain named for Colonel Alexander Angus Croll,<sup>1</sup> to whom it was originally presented. Croll was born in Perth in Scotland in 1811<sup>2</sup> and began his career as a chemist in London before moving into the gas industry. He later became involved with the United Kingdom Electric Telegraph Company and, as its Chairman, negotiated the sale of that company to the government in 1870.<sup>3</sup> This transaction was of great financial benefit to the officers of the company and they presented him with this

ornate centrepiece as a token of their gratitude. The piece was made by Stephen Smith of 35 King Street, Covent Garden and is hallmarked for 1870-71; it is said to have cost 1,000 guineas.

Croll went on to be appointed a Deputy-Lieutenant of the City of London<sup>4</sup> and he served twice as the Master of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers. He presented the Testimonial to the company 1883, while he was Renter Warden, and it remains in their possession to this day.

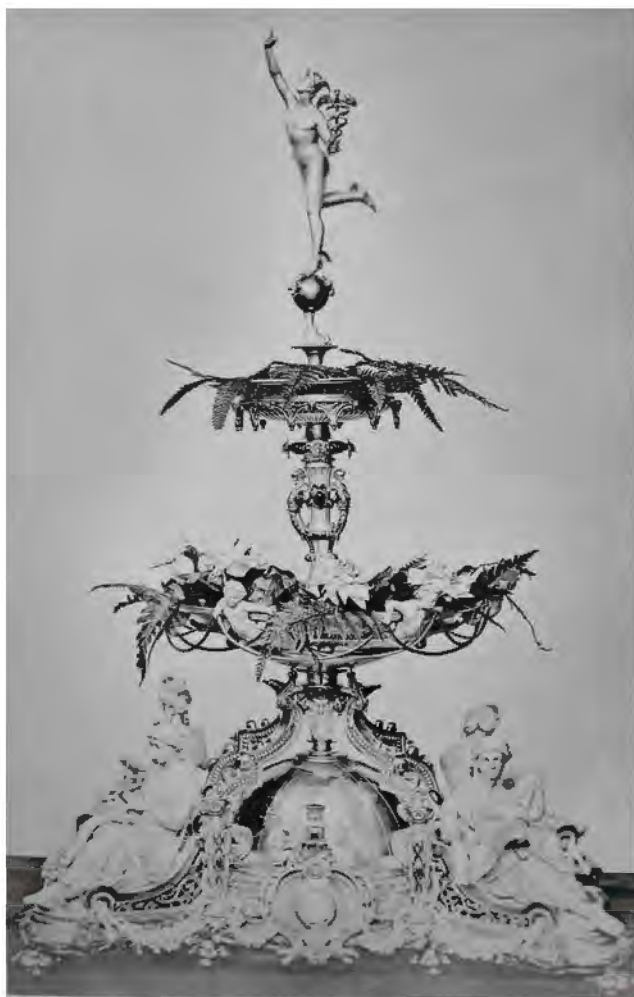


Fig 1 An early photograph of the Croll Testimonial  
(Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers)

To call the Croll Testimonial eye-catching would be something of an understatement; it stands just under 4 feet (1.2m) tall and is elaborately decorated on the theme of telegraphic communication. Swags of gilt telegraph cable festoon the fountain basin beneath which two pairs of putti are seated on either side of an engraved globe, operating miniature telegraph machines [Fig 2]. Four female figures reclining around the flower-garlanded base represent Power, Time, Science and Technology; the latter holds a blueprint in one hand and a battery cell in the other [Fig 3]. The upper basin is surmounted by the figure of Mercury posed in a dynamic attitude, as if ready to take flight from the majestic edifice beneath him. As both a divine messenger and the god of commerce and financial gain, Mercury seems an apt choice of patron for this piece.

In some ways the decorative elements appear to be conceptually and visually at odds with each other, but this is very much a piece of its time; a neo-Classical extravaganza with nods to the Gothic, unreservedly celebrating the dawning era of new technology.

The piece is assembled by means of threaded silver rods and combines sand cast, lost-wax cast and sheet-formed components. The majority of the castings are sand cast, with the more complex lost-wax process used where necessary to create detailed three-dimensional pieces.

According to photographic evidence many of the decorative elements originally had a semi-matt, white 'frosted' finish, in contrast with the larger, polished components. This finish may have been achieved by acid treatment or

an electroplating process, and helped bring a more tonal quality to the detailed components.

The design and execution of this piece are on a grand scale for grand effect, not for detailed examination nor to showcase the craftsmen's skills. This is not to say this is not skilled work, it undoubtedly is, but it was produced in a manner appropriate to its particular purpose. This can be seen in numerous small details, for example on the decorative rim of the upper basin, the casting is finely finished on the underside of the basin [Fig 4a] but completely unfinished on the interior [Fig 4b]. The fountain was intended to be placed on a table, with the upper basin above head height; the inside of the basin would not, therefore, be seen and the addition of fine detail to the casting would have been unnecessary.

### Conservation and Restoration

The Testimonial suffered bomb damage in the Second World War, during which some small components were lost and some structural distortion remains to this day, causing the lower basin to be slightly lopsided. It is not clear what or how much restoration work was carried out on the Testimonial during the twentieth century but it would appear that it has not been displayed at Livery dinners for at least the last twenty years. Some members of the Clockmakers' Company report seeing the fountain run with red wine, but this is probably apocryphal. Dr Colin Lattimore, Keeper of silver for the Company, reports that the testimonial was displayed at a dinner in the 1990s filled with water perfumed with roses and coloured with cochineal,<sup>5</sup> which would account for the 'red wine' stories and for the dry red deposits found when the piece was dismantled. By the time the Testimonial first came to the author's attention in 2011 it was stored in a cellar beneath the Guildhall Library and had not been fully assembled or displayed for some years.

Conservation work was carried out in 2012, in the Metalwork Conservation Department of West Dean College, by a team of post-graduate students under the supervision of Senior Tutor Jon Privett. As the Testimonial was made, hallmarked and housed in London,



Fig 2 Detail of one of the miniature telegraph machines before conservation  
(Image © Jon Privett 2011)

1 The title comes from Croll's service as Honorary Colonel of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Tower Hamlets Engineer Volunteers, see note 2.

3 Ibid.

2 Unknown Author (1887) *Obituary: Alexander Angus Croll*, Minutes of The Proceedings, the Institution of Civil Engineers, vol 90.

4 Ibid.

5 Colin Lattimore, *Croll Testimonial* [personal email correspondence with the author], 20 August 2013.



Fig 3 The figure of Technology  
(Image © Scarlett Hutchin 2012)



Figs 4a and 4b The outside (left) and inside (right) of the upper basin  
(Image © Scarlett Hutchin 2012)





Fig 5 The Croll Testimonial in storage at the Guildhall Library  
(Image © Jon Privett 2011)

the trip to West Sussex for conservation treatment may well be the furthest it has ever travelled [Fig 5].

Some components were damaged but overall the Testimonial was far from being in a state of abject disrepair; it simply looked more tired than glorious. Shrinkage cracks in the floral garlands, which would have occurred during the original casting process, had grown from the stress of repeated handling and in some places they threatened the integrity of the silver, and various repairs had been made to the object using large quantities of adhesive and putty. The existing protective lacquer had yellowed and flaked off in places allowing the silver beneath to tarnish heavily, some stones were chipped, settings were broken, the decorative telegraph cable was bent and flattened and would no longer fit onto the fountain basin and the originally brightly polished or frosted elements had all assumed a uniform satin sheen.

Before any work could take place the testimonial was dismantled into fifty-three separate components; each one was individually examined and photographed. This ensured the object was assessed in detail and provided a record of its condition before treatment. The fifty-nine cabochon stones are set in separate bezels friction fitted into sockets on the object and were also removed for treatment, bringing the total number of separate components to 112, not including the many individually hallmarked silver nuts used for assembly.

One of the major challenges in treating the Croll Testimonial was posed not by any damage or corrosion but by a previous effort to preserve it: the lacquer. Initial examination showed that all surfaces of the silver were covered with a thick coating believed to be 'Monarch Shield', a very tough, heat cured lacquer. The coating had suffered from mechanical damage over the years, with heavy black



Fig 6a The figure of Time before treatment  
(Image © Scarlett Hutchin 2012)

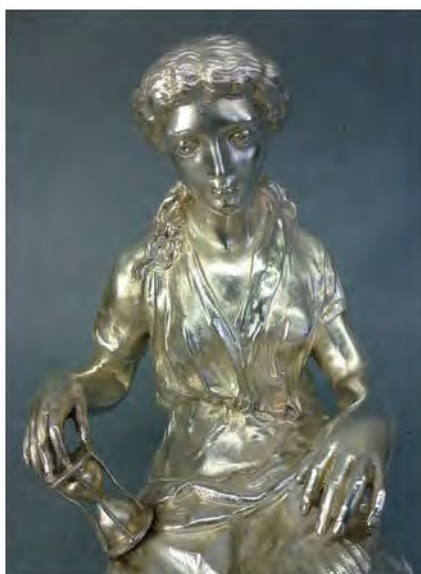


Fig 6b The figure of Time after lacquer removal  
(Image © Scarlett Hutchin 2012)



Fig 6c The figure of Time after frosting  
(Image © Scarlett Hutchin 2012)

sulphides showing at spots all over the surface where it had chipped or scratched away, as well as areas where it had degraded and simply peeled off the surface. It was very resistant to solvents and was eventually removed using a combination of solvent and chemical treatments and steam cleaning. This was very time consuming and required more intensive treatment of the silver than would have been desirable.

In many ways the lacquer could be said to have performed extremely well, in that it was tough and resistant to mechanical damage and had stayed on the object, protecting much of the surface, for an estimated thirty years. Having reached the end of its useful lifespan this toughness, which had previously been desirable, had become a major conservation issue. After its treatment the Testimonial was re-lacquered using a cellulose nitrate based lacquer in order to prevent tarnishing while on display. The new lacquer is not as resistant to mechanical damage as the previous coating, nor is it expected to last for thirty years, but it has little or no effect on the visual qualities of the silver and, when the time comes, it can be easily removed without the need for aggressive chemical treatments.<sup>6</sup> Conservators place a great deal of emphasis on treatments or materials they use being 'reversible' or 're-treatable' for this very reason; we do everything we can to prevent our efforts to preserve an object causing damage or degradation in the future.

The spring-driven, copper and brass pump made by Nadal of London was treated in the Clocks and Dynamic Objects Department under the supervision of Senior Tutor, Matthew Read. The 18 foot (5.5m) spring was badly corroded, probably due to liquid from the pump leaking into the barrel and the spring not being dried and greased after use. The pump was cleaned and preserved in its present state but if it were to be returned to working condition the spring would have to be replaced as well as other repairs being effected.<sup>7</sup>

## Conclusion

For a conservator an object like this naturally raises questions about how it was originally intended to be maintained. Compare it to the example of a silver jug in a domestic setting which would be used, or perhaps only displayed, and polished regularly with very fine abrasives to remove the inevitable tarnishing and maintain a bright finish. In a museum setting we would seek to avoid regularly polishing this same jug primarily because abrasive polishing removes material and in the long term will cause significant loss of original surface finish and detail. This would probably be achieved by polishing the jug very carefully once and then coating it with a protective lacquer which would remove the need for further polishing.

In a museum the same considerations would apply to the Croll Testimonial, but in a domestic setting the frosted finish would be destroyed almost immediately by polishing or handling without gloves, and it would probably have a fairly short lifespan if regularly handled, even with gloves. This is before its use as a fountain is even taken in to account: splashing with potentially acidic



*Fig 7 A damaged setting covered with adhesive from an earlier repair*

(Image © Scarlett Hutchin 2012)



*Fig 8 An earlier replacement setting which did not match the originals and was held in place with putty*

(Image © Scarlett Hutchin 2012)



*Fig 9 Two of the floral garlands before (top) and after lacquer removal*

(Image © Scarlett Hutchin 2012)

6 Scarlett Hutchin and Jon Privett, 'Croll Testimonial' table centrepiece [unpublished conservation report], West Dean College, 2012.

7 Jonathan Butt, François Collanges and Matthew Read, *Rosewater Fountain Pump* [unpublished conservation report], West Dean College, 2012.





Fig 10 The Croll Testimonial after conservation  
(Photograph © Abigail Bainbridge 2012)

liquid would encourage tarnishing and give rise to the need to rinse the whole fountain and dry it without watermarks. It would appear that to use the fountain, and maintain the intended finish, would require it to be regularly dismantled and the frosted components sent back to the workshop for refinishing using a depletion or deposition technique that would gradually erode and blur the surface detail. The Croll Testimonial would have looked truly glorious at the moment of presentation but from that moment onwards it became a challenge to maintain.

The previous conservation decision had been to leave all the components with approximately the same polished finish and coat everything with a thick, tough lacquer. The lacquer adversely affected the visual qualities of the surface but allowed the components to be handled and the fountain to be used without a great deal of further damage until the lacquer began to degrade. The current conservation decision has been to restore and preserve, as much as possible, the visual aspects of the object but to sacrifice its ability to be used as a fountain. This has brought the object closer to how it was originally intended to look and allows it to remain on display without constant maintenance. It is accessible to the public to view but cannot be used for its original purpose. The Croll Testimonial is part of a private collection, not a museum, and no doubt some would argue that as such it should remain in use. Both of these decisions

are imperfect compromises, made using the materials and knowledge available at the time, as are all decisions regarding the care of historic objects. However the current care regime prevents or minimises the continued degradation of the object and there is nothing to stop the fountain from being run again in future.

The Testimonial featured in the exhibition *Butcher, Baker, Candlestick Maker: 850 years of London Livery Company Treasures* at the Guildhall Art Gallery in summer 2012 and it remains at the Guildhall on display in the Chamberlain's Court. It will, however, be moving to the new gallery, 'Making Modern Communication', at the Science Museum which is due to open in the autumn of 2014.

*Scarlett Hutchin trained as a jeweller and metalworker before studying Metalwork Conservation as a postgraduate at West Dean College. She carried out her Master's research there on repairs to historic bronze sculpture and now works in a bronze foundry and as a self-employed conservator.*



# The Pottinger plate

JOHN FALLON

In December 1845 Edward Barnard & Sons completed their largest and most expensive commission of the nineteenth century which amounted to £1,018-3s-1d. Known as the Pottinger plate, it comprised a suite of silver for presentation to Sir Henry Pottinger to commemorate his negotiation in 1842, of the the Treaty of Nanking.

Henry Pottinger (1789-1856) was born and educated in Northern Ireland. He joined the British army in India in 1804 and in 1806 he joined the East India Company and fought in the Mahratta war as a lieutenant. He married Susanna Maria Cooke in 1820, the year in which he was promoted to colonel, and was appointed Resident Administrator of Sind; he held the same post in Hyderabad until he returned to Britain in 1839 when he was made a baronet.

In 1841 Pottinger was appointed Envoy and Plenipotentiary to China. For some time the British and Chinese had been alternating between fighting and negotiating over the trade in opium, in particular, in Canton, and when hostilities recommenced in February 1841 he was given the mandate to resolve the matter once and for all, but in Britain's favour. He arrived in Macao in August 1841 and immediately raised an expeditionary force, of ten warships and four steamers carrying some 2,500 men, which he sent northwards: they took Xiamen and then continued capturing Ningbo, Dinghai and Zhousan Island.

In the spring of 1842 he received reinforcements from India, together with twenty-five warships; with a troop strength of 10,000 men the British resumed their assault taking Shanghai and Wusong and then Zhenjiang which put him in a position to attack Nanking. The emperor and his ministers realised their position was hopeless and, after two weeks of negotiations, on 29 August, the Treaty of Nanking was signed on board HMS Cornwallis, by the Imperial Commissioner Qijing on behalf of Emperor Xuanzong, and by Pottinger, acting on behalf of Queen Victoria.

Under the terms of the treaty the monopoly of the Canton trade by the Chinese merchants was abolished and British residence and trading were granted at

Canton, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningho and Shanghai; the island of Hong Kong was ceded to Britain in perpetuity. The Chinese also agreed to pay compensation to Britain for confiscated opium, merchants' losses and the costs incurred by the British in India during the war. Pottinger was made the first Governor of Hong Kong in 1843 and went on serve as Governor of the Cape Colony and then Madras; he retired to Malta where he died in 1856.

On his return to Britain Pottinger was granted the freedom of the City of London on 13 February 1845 and presented with an 18 carat gold box<sup>1</sup> by John Linnit<sup>2</sup>. The cover of the box contains a cast scene which is very comparable to those on the tray (see below). Prior to this award Pottinger was granted the freedom of the city of Manchester and it seems likely that the commission of a service of plate, to commemorate this event, was initiated at this time. It was given to Mr T Beavan, a regular retail client of Barnard's and he must have passed the commission over to them for manufacture.

The sale of the plate was recorded in the company's sales ledger as follows:

24 December 1845	Incuse No.	oz dwt	£ - s - d
Sold to Mr T Beavan			
A 9-light Centre Piece or Candelabrum characteristic of China, trianqr. Base wh. open lattice or fretwork & the imperial dragon descending each Corner, oval sunk pannels contg. in one a raisd. bas relief of Hong Kong, another arms of Pottinger & the third for Inscriptn. The Stem composd. of a Cluster of Bamboo springing from a large hexagon Vase & dish surrounded by 3 Birds (The Jacana). The betel plant entwining the lower part of the Stem, the bamboo terminating in 6 bamboo branches wh. twigs & leaves & pans & pods all of bamboo leaves - 3 upper branches of Dragons & Carved Work & terminal of bamboo tops - 3 feet high to the top of the upper branches, top 3 ins higher			
	502 11	376-18-3	
	at 15/- p. oz		

1 Leslie Southwick, 'New light on John Linnit goldsmith, jeweller and boxmaker', *Silver Studies The Journal of the Silver Society*, no 23, 2008, pp 73-83.

2 Charles Truman, *The Glory of the Goldsmith, Magnificent Gold and Silver from the Al-Tajir Collection*, London, 1989, pp 250-1, no 212; sale, Christie's, London, 20 November 2001, lot 21

A Large Shaped blunt oval Waiter abt 29 by 22 3/4 extent of the h'dle 33 ins scalloped. scroll border with piercd. Chinese fretwork pannels & flowers & double Dragon handles, the plate chasd. faint all over in Chinese style & pannels sunk wh. bas relief Subjects by Abbott let in. The Meeting the Commiss'ers & The Signing the treaty & 2 round do. one the Arms of Manchester & the other arms of Pottinger, small plain feet 7/8 high from the inner edge of border underneath

Incuse No. oz dwt £ - s - d

223 1 150-11-2  
at 13/6

Two full 20 In. round shaped Waiters border chasd. & piercd. flowers & scollop'd. scrolls. chinese character & 4 dragon feet plates chasd. to match large one with 2 subjects the same & arms of Pottinger & Liverpool.

253 0 170-15-6  
at 13/6

Four helmet form Sauce Boats chasd. Chinese style & collet feet & dragon handles.

80 0 64-0-0  
at 16/-

Eight round bellied Salts Elizn. Scroll Edge & tripod Collet feet with brackets in Chinese style bodies chasd. flowers & scrolls in Chinese style.

61 15 60 - 1 - 4  
at 6/6 mg. gt.

Two d'ble belld. Vase Louis Wine Coolers scroll vine edge, loop arab(?) h'dles piercd. scroll feet & bodies chased sh'ds scrolls & flowers

152 18 84-1-11  
at 11/- p. oz

A 4 Qt. Elizn. shap'd. pear Kettle & Stand chasd. faint at 5/-

98 8 24-10-0

A Coffee Pot to suit

728

30 18 7 - 10-0

A Tea Pot to suit

567

24 17 6 - 6 - 0

A Sugar Bason etc

579

13 5 4 - 10 - 0

A Cream Jug etc

182

10 0 3 - 10 - 0

A Pint Do. h'dle cut for plugs

11 1 4 - 4 - 0

188 9

at 6/6

61-4-11

1018-3-1

(AAD5/64-1988, pp 220 and 221)

£1,018 is the equivalent of some £87,000 at today's prices.

The tray is apparently the only surviving piece from the service [Fig 1]. It has a highly ornate border decorated with pierced fretwork interlaced with flowers; each handle is embellished with cast dragons. It is marked for London 1845-46 and the surface decorated with flat chasing in the Chinese style into which are sunk two cast vignettes and two roundels held in place by small bolts and notched nuts. It weighs some 220 oz (6,842 g), is raised on four plain ogee feet and measures 33 in (83.8 cm) long including the handles.

The vignettes, like the scene on the gold box mentioned above, are based on an engraving by John Burnett, after a watercolour painting by Captain John Platt of the Bengal Volunteers, published in 1846, depicting the signing of the Treaty of Nanking on board H M S *Cornwallis*. The roundels contain the arms of the city of Manchester and those of Pottinger.

As a single piece of plate, the tray would have involved the skills of numerous expert designers, modellers, flatters, casters and chasers and it illustrates to the full the high standards of craftsmanship employed by the Barnards when given such an opportunity on a commission of this kind.

*Since his retirement John Fallon has concentrated on his research into the Barnard family and in 2012 he published House of Barnard: A Notable Family of Manufacturing Silversmiths to the Trade. The book traces the history of Emes and Barnard and Edward Barnard & Sons from the 1760s through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.*



Fig 1 Tray, London, 1845-46 by Edward Barnard & Sons, applied with the arms of Pottinger and those of the city of Manchester (Courtesy of Rare Art London)

# New light on Samuel Pemberton I and his descendants: Birmingham toy makers, jewellers and silversmiths

BRIAN MAY, RICHARD PHILLIPS, MANDY PEMBERTON AND CRAIG O'DONNELL

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century the Pemberton family made a diverse range of high quality small silver articles such as snuff boxes, vinaigrettes and caddy spoons. They were one of the 'famous five' families of silversmiths whose output contributed to the success and expansion of the silver trade in Birmingham. This group comprised the Pemberton, Linwood, Willmore and Mills families together with Joseph Taylor.

The Pemberton family story has been widely published by Eric Delieb,<sup>1</sup> as well as in *Matthew Boulton and the Toymakers*<sup>2</sup> and on the Revolutionary Players website.<sup>3</sup>

Our recent research reveals a number of new findings. We have established that Thomas Pemberton ran the company in the nineteenth century and not his elder brother, Samuel, as previously thought. Confusion had arisen because during the period of his management of the company silver articles continued to be marked with the initials SP for Samuel Pemberton and the firm continued to trade as Samuel Pemberton & Son. New information is also given on Robert Mitchell the silversmith who worked in partnership with Thomas Pemberton. We also describe for the first time the presence of the Pemberton firm in London and the role of the illegitimate son of Thomas Pemberton in the Birmingham firm.

For reference, relevant Pemberton family relationships are shown [Fig 1], and the different names of the Pemberton firm and its hallmarks are given in chronological order in the Appendix.

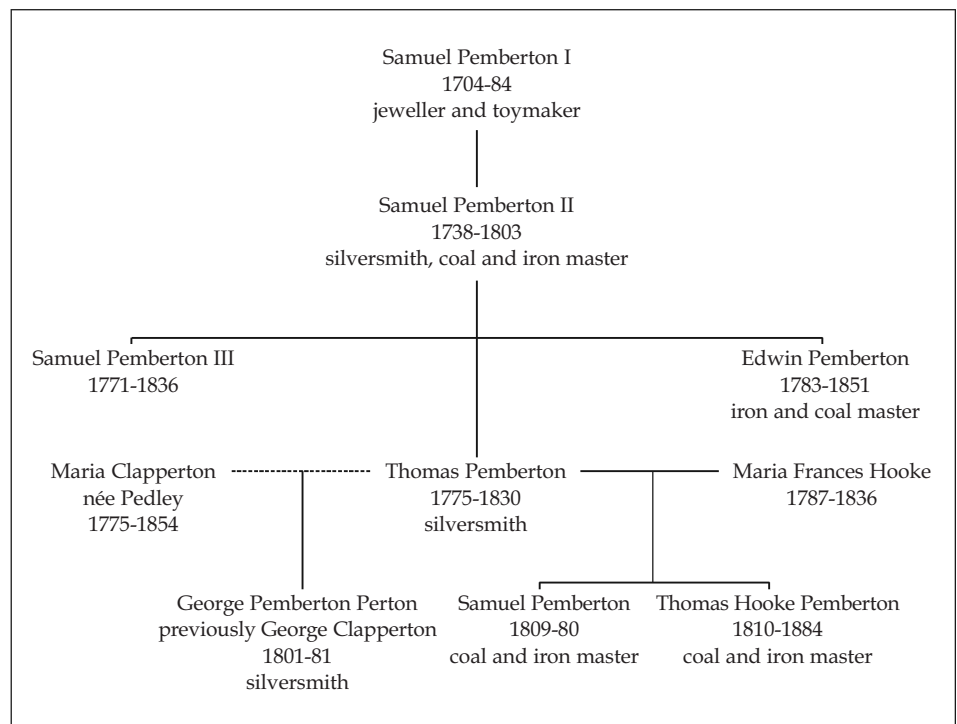


Fig 1 Pemberton family relationships

1 Eric Delieb, *Silver Boxes*, London, 1968; *Silver Boxes*, Woodbridge, 2002.

2 Rosemary Ransome-Wallis, *Matthew Boulton and the Toymakers: Silver from the Birmingham Assay Office*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1982.

3 Revolutionary Players website ([www.revolutionaryplayers.org.uk](http://www.revolutionaryplayers.org.uk)): article on the Pemberton family under *Silversmiths and Silverware in the late 18th and early 19th century Birmingham*.



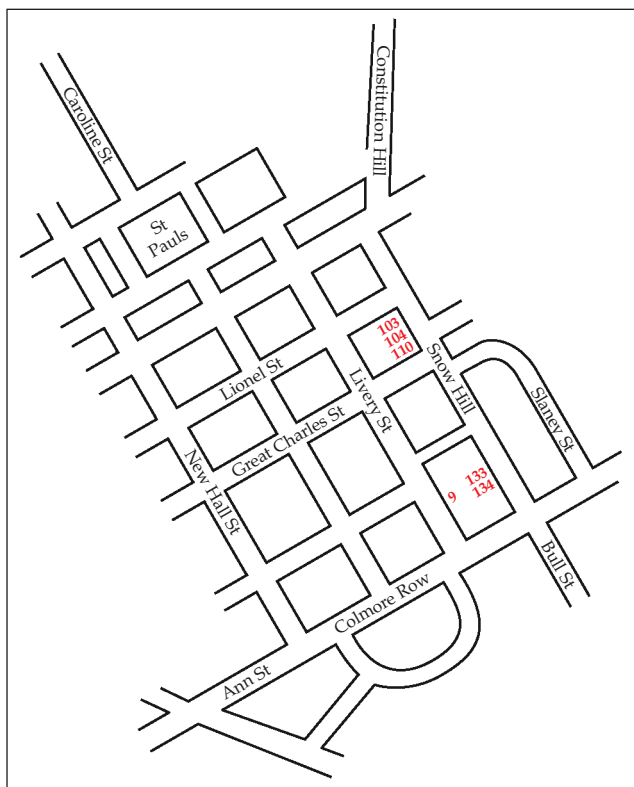


Fig 2 Area of Birmingham showing Snow Hill and Livery Street, circa 1800, Pemberton premises are shown in red

### Samuel Pemberton I (1704-84)

Samuel Pemberton I, grandson of the Birmingham cutler Nathaniel Pemberton (1634-87),<sup>4</sup> can be considered the founder of the Pemberton jewellery and toy-making business in Birmingham. He had two sons,<sup>5</sup> Samuel II (1738-1803) and Thomas (1741-68) who died comparatively young, as well as two daughters Mary and Elizabeth, the latter of whom married William Ryland.<sup>6</sup> Under Samuel Pemberton II the firm was to become one of the leading manufacturers in the silver toy making trade and he played a key role in this story.

The Pemberton business was first recorded on Snow Hill (often shown as Snowhill) in 1770 by which time this area of Birmingham had regularly laid out narrow blocks of buildings with houses or shops on the street front and outbuildings to the back. Snow Hill was about a quarter mile in length and stretched from Bull Street down to the canal near Lionel Street [Fig 2]. In 1770, Samuel Pemberton I, by now 66, was a jeweller with premises at 103 Snow Hill;<sup>7</sup> he retired about seven years later. He appears as a toy maker and jeweller in the Warwickshire Jurors List<sup>8</sup> from 1772-76 but was not listed in 1777 and does not appear in the Birmingham Directory of 1777.<sup>9</sup> Whether he was located on Snow Hill prior to 1770 is not known.

Samuel Pemberton I was a member of the Birmingham Old Meeting House [Fig 3],<sup>10</sup> a Nonconformist chapel.<sup>11</sup> When he died on 16 August 1784 at the age of 80 he was buried in the family vault in the grounds of the chapel; the names of family members buried in the same vault were displayed on a tablet in the chapel [Fig 4].

### Samuel Pemberton II (1738-1803)

Samuel Pemberton II joined his father at his premises on Snow Hill and was listed from 1772-77 as "Saml Pemberton Junr", a jeweller and toy maker. He lived at the Laurels on Hagley Road, Edgbaston, about a mile from Snow Hill. Edgbaston was an affluent residential area and the Laurels was a large house located at Five Ways, a junction which included Hagley Road. By 1777 Samuel's workplace was at 110 Snow Hill and he probably moved there from 103 Snow Hill when his father retired. In 1773 he was appointed a Guardian of the Birmingham Assay Office which was founded in the same year. As is well known a key mover in its establishment was Matthew Boulton whose large business in Birmingham was hampered by the fact that his silver had to be sent to Chester for hallmarking; silver manufacturers in Sheffield faced the same difficulty.

4 His father, also Samuel Pemberton (1668-1733), was christened at St Martin's church, Birmingham on 9 September 1668; his parents were given as Nathaniel Pemberton (1634-87) and Elizabeth (née Gerdler). He married Elizabeth Mason on 21 April 1702 at St Martin's and may have been a cutler like his father or a goldsmith like his paternal grandfather Thomas Pemberton (1589-1640). Samuel and Elizabeth had

two sons: Nathaniel born circa 1703 and Samuel circa 1704, the latter designated in this article as Samuel Pemberton I.

5 Samuel Pemberton I married Rebecca Smith on 22 August 1732 in Bishop's Tachbrook, Warwickshire, William Phillimore and James Bloom, *Warwickshire: Parish Registers, the Franciscan Registers and Registers of Marriages 1538-1812*, London, 1904.

6 Elizabeth Pemberton married William Ryland, a Birmingham buckle plater and manufacturer in 1761; the Ryland family was one of the most prominent and wealthy in Birmingham. Elizabeth and William had numerous children including Samuel Ryland who married his cousin Anne Pemberton, daughter of Elizabeth's brother Samuel Pemberton II and Mary Grosvenor. Samuel and Anne had one child, Louisa Ann Ryland.

7 S Timmins, *The Streets and inhabitants of Birmingham in 1770*, Birmingham, 1886.

8 Warwickshire, *England, Occupational and Quarter Session Records 1662-1866* on [www.ancestry.co.uk](http://www.ancestry.co.uk). The eligibility for jury duty was based on ownership of freehold land, copyhold land, or land leased for life and also on property value.

9 Charles E Scarse, *Birmingham 120 Years Ago*, Birmingham, 1896.

10 Catherine Hutton Beale, *Memorials of the Old Meeting House and burial ground*, Birmingham, 1882.

11 Its site now lies below New Street station, close to St Martin's church.



Fig 3 The Old Meeting House, Birmingham

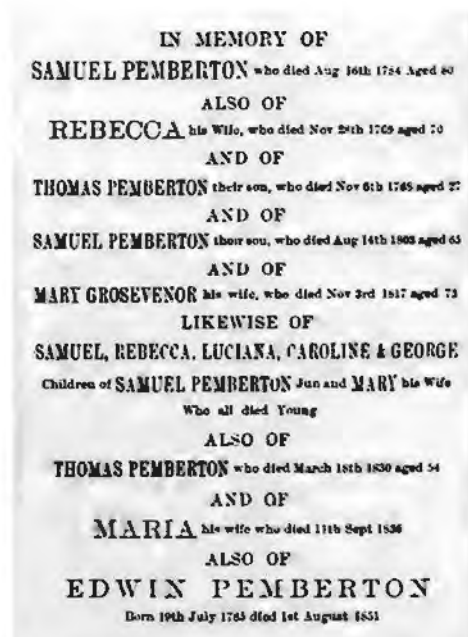


Fig 4 Memorial to the Pemberton family in the Old Meeting House, Birmingham

The Hallmarking Act was passed on 28 May 1773 and under its statutes, at both Birmingham and Sheffield, thirty-six individuals to be known as 'The Guardians of the Standard of Wrought Plate' were appointed to be responsible for implementation of the act; they are usually referred to as the Guardians of the Birmingham Assay Office.

Under the act, members of the Birmingham and Sheffield Assay Offices were appointed for life provided they lived within twenty miles of the city. Founding members for Birmingham included local nobility, gentry, manufacturers, bankers and merchants. Included in this illustrious list were Matthew Boulton, and of particular note, Samuel Pemberton II who was then aged 35;<sup>12</sup> the fact that he was a founding member of the Birmingham Assay Office has not been recognised until now.<sup>13</sup>

Samuel II, who was by then a widower,<sup>14</sup> married Mary Grosvenor<sup>15</sup> on 6 February 1769 and they had eight surviving children<sup>16</sup> including three sons, Samuel III (1771-1836), Thomas (1775-1830) and Edwin (1783-1851), all probably born at the Laurels.

Like his father Samuel II was a member of the Old Meeting House in Birmingham. Baptism records have been located for seven of his children<sup>17</sup> including those for his sons Thomas, on 13 June 1775, and Edwin, on 22 August 1783. So far no record has been located for the eldest son Samuel whose birth date of 1771 has been deduced from a death notice.<sup>18</sup> Samuel II was a trustee

when the Old Meeting House was destroyed by rioters in 1791 and he donated the significant sum of £200 towards the £4,500 needed for rebuilding. The new Old Meeting House was demolished in 1882 when New Street station was enlarged; coffins from the adjacent graveyard were re-interred in Witton cemetery, the area being precisely marked<sup>19</sup> and a stone monument erected.<sup>20</sup>

12 Jennifer Tann, *Birmingham Assay Office 1773-1993*, Birmingham, 1993.

13 It should be noted that on the Revolutionary Players website, Samuel Pemberton II is described as a Guardian of the Birmingham Assay Office from 1793 until his death in 1803. This inaccurate statement has been perpetuated and appears on many auction websites.

14 His first marriage may have been to Elizabeth Broome and taken place at Kidderminster, Worcester, on 24 March 1761. A daughter Elizabeth, who died on 10 July 1835 aged 73, was reported as the wife of

G Stokes and the eldest daughter of the late S Pemberton Esq of Edgbaston.

15 John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain*, London, 1838, vol 4.

16 RootsWeb: GENU-KI-L: *Aris's Gazette-Some Names* (Pemberton) extracted by the New Zealand Society of Genealogists.

17 *England Births and Christenings 1538-1975*: International Genealogical Index on the Family Search website.

18 *Birmingham Gazette*, 5 September 1836, the British Newspaper Archive.

19 Photographs can be seen on [www.geograph.org.uk](http://www.geograph.org.uk) under 'Old Meeting House re-Interments, Witton Cemetery' by Robin Scott.

20 The memorial reads: "This Memorial is erected to point out the spot in which are deposited the mortal remains of those persons who were buried in the grave yard adjoining the Old Meeting House Birmingham. The re-interments were made in vaults and graves corresponding as nearly as possible with those in the former grave yard".

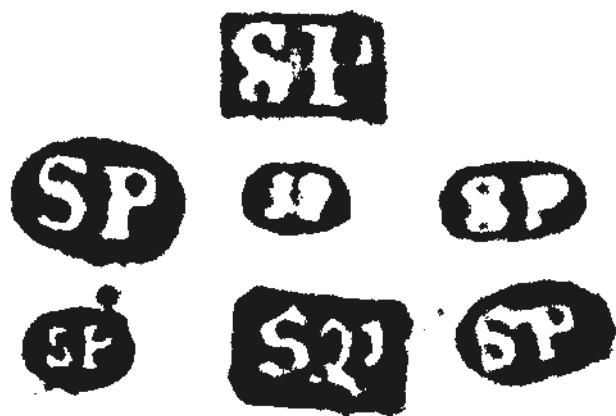


Fig 5 Marks entered for Samuel Pemberton II in the Maker's Register A between 1773 and 1801  
(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)

### The name of firm under Samuel Pemberton II

The Maker's Register A at the Birmingham Assay Office lists makers but not necessarily the person who registered marks and the entries in the register were not dated until 1801. The Plate Register lists makers, the date and the item(s) submitted to the Assay Office for testing; the records begin on 31 August 1773.

The first entry in the Plate Register for the Pemberton firm was "Samuel Pemberton Brm" in 1775; as will be discussed later. The next was "Pemberton and Bolton" between 1780-83 and referred to Samuel Pemberton II and Samuel Bolton, a jeweller and immediate neighbour of Pemberton on Snow Hill.<sup>21</sup>

In 1791, Pemberton, Son & Bolton<sup>22</sup> were jewellers, toy makers and silver workers on Snow Hill. The partners were Samuel II, Samuel Bolton and Pemberton's second son, Thomas Pemberton, rather than his first son Samuel III. By 1797 the name of the firm was Pemberton, Samuel & Son,<sup>23</sup> the son was again probably Thomas, who was indeed a noted worker, who in 1799 appeared as a toy maker and button maker in Bisset's "magnificent directory".<sup>24</sup> The name of Pemberton, Samuel & Son continued to be used until 1812.

By 1790 Samuel II was an owner of several freehold properties with houses, warehouses and shops on Snow Hill, houses in Anne Street and a house and land at Rotton Park, Edgbaston and, by 1800, premises in Livery Street and Slaney Street.<sup>25</sup> It would appear, however, that his working premises remained at Snow Hill.

In early January 1800 the shops and warehouses of "Messrs Pemberton and Son" on Snow Hill were broken into and robbed.<sup>26</sup> The thieves spent some hours in the warehouses carefully selecting valuable items from the shelves including pearls and gold and silver articles but they failed to force open an iron chest that held very valuable silver and gold. A reward of £200 was offered "for the discovery of these rogues".

### The will of Samuel Pemberton II

Samuel II was working up until the time of his death and he was still listed as a toy maker in 1802. He died on 14 August 1803 at the age of 65 and was buried in the family vault at the Old Meeting House.

Under his will, dated 18 March 1803, which was proved on 1 October 1803,<sup>27</sup> his property at Five Ways, Edgbaston (almost certainly the Laurels), was left to his wife together with an annual allowance of £1,500. At the time of his death he owned two freehold properties on Snow Hill and one in Livery Street and one in Slaney Street. One of the Snow Hill properties and the one in Livery Street were left to his son Thomas, an executor of the will, who was clearly working in the firm together with his father. The other property on Snow Hill and the one in Slaney Street were left to his son Edwin, who was at the time of the will only 21, but he was designated as an executor when he came of age.

The will stated that all of Samuel's personal estate and effects were to be equally divided between his children except his eldest son Samuel Pemberton III.<sup>28</sup> It was made clear in the will that the silversmithing business should continue under the direction of Thomas and there was no mention of Samuel III in this regard. It is possible that he was disinherited by his father or alternatively had received an advance from his father to begin his own business. In this regard, we have

21 S Bolton appears in the *Warwickshire, England Land Tax 1773-1830* records for 1790 as a freehold landowner on Snow Hill; the entry immediately followed that for Samuel Pemberton. S Bolton has been identified as Samuel Bolton, a Birmingham jeweller, from an entry in the 1790

Warwickshire Jurors List.

22 *The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture*, London, 1791.

23 Charles Pye, *The Birmingham Directory for the Year 1797*, Birmingham, 1797.

24 James Bisset, *A Poetic Survey Round Birmingham*, Birmingham, 1799.

25 Op cit, see note 21.

26 *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 January 1800, the British Newspaper Archive.

27 Will of Samuel Pemberton of Edgbaston, National Archives PROB 11/1400/65.

28 In the Death Duty Register (IR 26/80) at the National Archives relating to Samuel Pemberton there is nothing about the division of money between the

members of the family and this seems to have been for the executors to decide as they saw fit.



not been able to locate any information on his life and his occupation is not known.

Samuel Pemberton's daughters Sophia and Anne were singled out in the will which ensured that Sophia Lloyd (née Pemberton) would be financially independent of her husband Charles Lloyd, a poet and eccentric from a wealthy Quaker banking family in Birmingham. Samuel had opposed the marriage but relented and gave her a generous £10,000 dowry. He had better luck with his daughter Anne who, in 1808 had married her cousin by marriage, Samuel Ryland, of a very wealthy family. Anne and Samuel had one child, Louisa Anne, who did not marry and inherited a vast fortune when her father died. She was one of the greatest nineteenth-century benefactors of the city of Birmingham.

Samuel Pemberton II was involved not only in the silver trade but also the iron and coal trades; a similar entrepreneurial flair would later be seen in his son Thomas. He formed a partnership in 1788 with George, Benjamin and Thomas Stokes,<sup>29</sup> Pemberton & Stokes: as "ironmasters" they ran forges for processing iron in Coseley, Staffordshire as well as in Eardington and Billingsley, Shropshire. In his will Samuel Pemberton stated that his executors (his wife Mary, George Stokes, Thomas and later Edwin) should continue this business. Again it should be noted that Samuel III was not an executor or a partner in this firm. Samuel II may have been persuaded to become involved in this iron and coal venture by Benjamin Stokes who was a member of the Birmingham Old Meeting House and indeed was seated in the pulpit area with Samuel.

#### Articles made by Samuel Pemberton II

Samuel Pemberton II entered seven marks with the initials SP in the Birmingham Assay Office Maker's Register A between 1773 and 1801. The entry reads:

Samuel Pemberton Silversmith No [number not shown]  
Snowhill Birmingham

and was followed by a cluster of seven SP marks [Fig 5]. Of these seven marks five were in oval punches of different sizes for small and large articles and these marks are commonly found. A further SP in a rectangular punch is uncommon; as is the SP in gothic script also in a rectangular punch (we have not seen an example of this mark to date). At least one (or more) of these SP marks was registered by 1775; this can be deduced from the fact that the first entry in the Plate Register for "Samuel Pemberton Brm" was on the 23 May 1775, when ten pairs of buckles with a total weight of 13 oz 10 dwt (425 g) were submitted [Fig 6].

In the early years, until around 1784, items entered in the Plate Register by the Pemberton firm were mainly buckles and sugar tongs. A pair of small silver buckles marked Birmingham, 1777 [Fig 7] is one of the earliest articles we have located for Samuel Pemberton, presumably Samuel Pemberton II. Further items

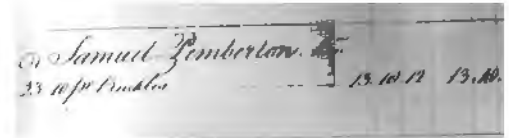


Fig 6 First entry for Samuel Pemberton in the Plate Register, 23 May 1775, for 10 pairs of buckles  
(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)



Fig 7 Pair of buckles, Birmingham, 1777 by Samuel Pemberton II  
(Courtesy of Capes Dunn The Auction Galleries, Manchester)

<sup>29</sup> John Collyer, *A Practical Treatise on the Law of Partnership*, London, 1840, p 611; *Circular to Bankers*, 19 December 1828, issues 1-52, p 173.



Fig 8 Tooth pick box, Birmingham, 1792-93 by Samuel Pemberton, Son & Bolton  
(Private collection)

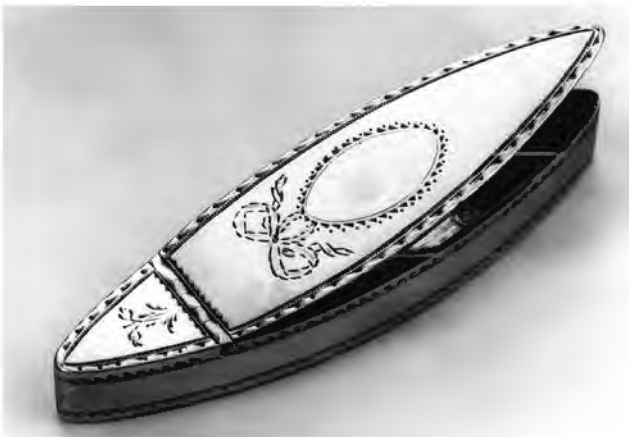


Fig 9a Shuttle case, Birmingham, 1784-85 by Samuel Pemberton, Son & Bolton  
(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)



Fig 9b Shuttle case, detail of hallmarks  
(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)

30 Delieb, op cit, see note 1, 1968 stated that a Samuel Pemberton (he refers to him as the VI) born in 1771 took his son into partnership as Samuel Pemberton & Son. The Samuel Pemberton born in 1771 was clearly Samuel Pemberton III (1771-1836), the first son of Samuel Pemberton II. For the record it is not known

whether Samuel Pemberton III had a son and indeed, nothing is known of his life.

31 *Old Bailey Proceedings* online: 30 October 1805, trial of Richard Walker and Thomas Chester.

32 In the Old Bailey record Edwin Pemberton is referred to as Edward

Pemberton. We have noted this mistake in several records, such as Warwickshire Jurors Lists (1803-09), the report of the Court of Chancery, 16 April 1822 from the *Morning Chronicle* of 17 April 1822 and also court records at the National Archives but we have not located any Edward Pemberton in this Pemberton family line.

made during the period of his control of the company are shown as Figs 8-12. A speciality of the firm was silver boxes and these began to appear around 1790 and included toothpick boxes, patch boxes, shuttle cases and, a little later, snuff boxes and vinaigrettes. The boxes were often bright-cut engraved, with cut-corners and finely constructed hinges. The firm also made a range of decorated caddy spoons and from about 1800 until 1807 was noted for caddy spoons with decorative inlaid filigree [Fig 13].

November 1789 seems to have been a significant time as it was when the firm started to send articles to be hallmarked by the hundred and it became the Birmingham Assay Office's biggest customer. This lasted until about 1792 when other companies, such as that run by Thomas Willmore, expanded their production.

### Thomas Pemberton takes over the firm

Thomas Pemberton ran Pemberton, Samuel & Son after his father's death in 1803, possibly with some input from his younger brother Edwin, although it should be noted that Delieb arrived at a different conclusion.<sup>30</sup>

By 1800 the company was clearly producing top quality pieces as described above. On 9 September 1803, a month after his father's death, Thomas registered a T P incuse mark at the Assay Office. At this time he was described both as a toy maker at St Paul's Square and a silversmith on Snow Hill (almost certainly with his father). It is curious that he entered this mark so soon after his father's death and perhaps at this early stage there were uncertainties as to who would take over the firm.

A case was heard in the Old Bailey on 30 October 1805<sup>31</sup> which sheds light on the firm's activities at this time. In the Old Bailey records Thomas and Edwin Pemberton<sup>32</sup> were described as jewellers and the operators of the company. Silver items made by them were stolen by a coachman while en route from Birmingham to Edwin at their warehouse at 16 Little Britain, London; the items stolen were all small wares.<sup>33</sup> A jeweller in Bridgewater Square, London, who was offered the goods recognised them as having been manufactured in Birmingham and a brooch pattern to be that of "Mr Pemberton". The two men charged with receiving the goods were found guilty and deported for fourteen years. The thief, one William Dobbs, the coachman, had been found guilty previously and was sentenced to be

... transported to parts beyond the seas for the term of 7 years.



Fig 10 Vinaigrette, Birmingham, 1800-1 by Samuel Pemberton & Son  
(Private collection)



Fig 11 Nutmeg grater, Birmingham, circa 1800 by Samuel Pemberton & Son  
(Courtesy of M Ford Creech Antiques & Fine Arts)



Fig 12 Pocket corkscrew, silver, steel and mother-of-pearl, circa 1800, by Samuel Pemberton & Son  
(Private collection)



Fig 13 Caddy spoon with inset filigree, Birmingham, 1802-3 by Samuel Pemberton & Son  
(Private collection)

In 1808 Thomas married Maria Frances Hooke<sup>34</sup> and they had two children Samuel (1809-80) and Thomas Hooke (1810-84), who later entered the coal and iron trade. In the same year Thomas was appointed a Guardian of the Birmingham Assay Office, thereby following in his father's footsteps; the only other appointee for 1808 was the silversmith Joseph Willmore. There is some confusion in the literature regarding the year in which Thomas was appointed a Guardian. The original Hallmarking Act of 1773 was replaced with another act in 1824 which granted more powers to the Assay Office and extended the radius of its remit from twenty miles to thirty miles around Birmingham.<sup>35</sup> This necessitated the appointment of "new" members of the Office known as

The Guardians of the Standard of Wrought Plate of or belonging to the Town of Birmingham and within Thirty Miles thereof.

Thomas was already a Guardian of the Assay Office in 1824 and was re-appointed under the new act. This has led to the suggestion in the literature that he was only a Guardian from 1824 until his death in 1830.

33 The items stolen were: thirty-eight gold watch-seals value £50, twenty-four gold watch-keys value £8, twenty-four finger rings value £7, 180 gold brooches value £28, twenty-eight combs value £4, seventy-two silver thimbles value £2, twenty silver toothpick cases

value £2, six silver nutmeg graters value £3, twelve silver patch boxes value £6 and thirty-four silver hair brooches value £20.

34 Maria Frances Hooke was born in Barwell on 4 June 1787 and married Thomas Pemberton at Barwell on 19 July

1808; she was the daughter of George Philip Hooke of Barwell, Colonel of the 17th Regiment of Foot.

35 *Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1824, vol 9.



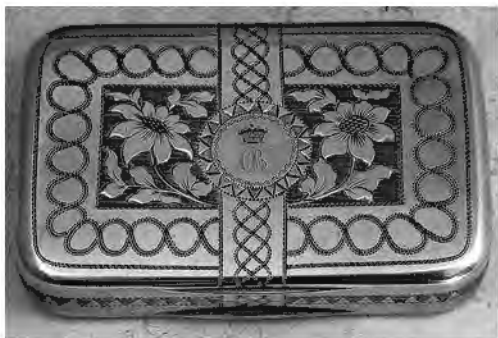


Fig 14a Snuff box, Birmingham, 1804-5 by Samuel Pemberton & Son

(Courtesy of Steppes Hill Farm Antiques)



Fig 14b Snuff box, detail of marks, maker's mark SP in a rectangular punch

(Courtesy of Steppes Hill Farm Antiques)

Silver articles made by the firm from 1804 until 1812 under Thomas were marked with a SP mark [Figs 14a-15]. The popularity of the quality silver articles made during the time of Samuel Pemberton II must have been the reason for, even after his death, maintaining the name of Pemberton, Samuel & Son and for continuing to mark articles with the SP mark; indeed articles were marked in this way until circa 1823 [Figs 16-18].

### The Pemberton firm from 1812-23

On 14 October 1812 the Pemberton firm was entered in the Birmingham Maker's Register A as "Saml Pemberton Son & Mitchell"; this was followed by two SP marks in oval punches of different sizes. By this time Thomas Pemberton had formed a partnership with Robert Mitchell. In *Matthew Boulton and the Toymakers*<sup>36</sup> it is stated that the registration of these punches was by Samuel Pemberton III but this is incorrect.

There is a further entry in the Maker's Register A on 18 December 1816 for "Pemberton and Mitchell", as watch case makers etc, with the marks P&M, TP above RM and SP. The second mark which is that of Thomas Pemberton and Robert Mitchell confirms their joint involvement in the firm. Robert Mitchell was a toy maker and silver-smith whose birthplace and parents are not known. According to Delieb<sup>37</sup> he was apprenticed to Samuel Pemberton II but we cannot confirm this. By the early 1800s Mitchell was a toy maker and watch chain maker in Mary Ann Street; he probably married his wife Elizabeth in 1802.<sup>38</sup>

Mitchell entered his first mark of M&Co at the Birmingham Assay Office on 6 May 1812, with the address of Snow Hill; the entry includes the statement "late of Pemberton & Son" which would imply that he had been employed by the Pemberton firm prior to

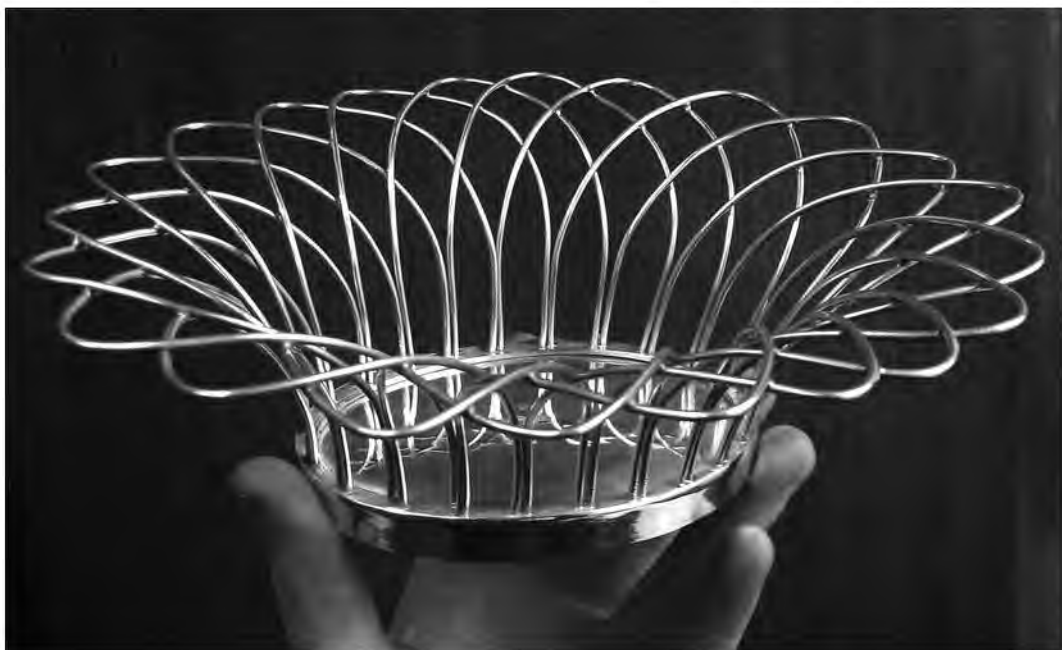


Fig 15 Basket, Birmingham, 1804-5

by Samuel Pemberton & Son

(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)



Fig 16 Baby's rattle, silver-gilt and coral, Birmingham, 1813-14 by Samuel Pemberton, Son & Mitchell

(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)



Fig 17 Table snuff box, silver-gilt, Birmingham, 1820-21 by Samuel Pemberton, Son & Mitchell

(Courtesy of Highland Antiques, Aberdeen)

6 May 1812 and then rejoined them as a partner in October 1812. In 1815 Mitchell was appointed a Guardian of the Birmingham Assay Office; he held this position until his death.

In 1818 the address of the company was given as 103 and 104 Snow Hill but then in 1821 the partnership ended. A notice in the *London Gazette* stated that the partnership between Thomas Pemberton and Robert Mitchell

under the firm of Samuel Pemberton, Son, and Robert Mitchell

was dissolved on 9 February 1821 [Fig 19].<sup>39</sup>

Thomas Pemberton and Mitchell had two further partnerships that were dissolved on 9 February 1821;<sup>40</sup> one was with the jeweller, George Ellis Cooke of Snow Hill and the other was with James Allport of New York. The latter was described as "merchants and glass button manufacturers" with decorated glass buttons being a popular export item from Birmingham. Allport may have been James Allport, a plater of 12 Weaman Row, Birmingham and 4 Thavies Inn, Holborn who might then have set up a business in New York.

Following the departure of Mitchell,<sup>41</sup> the firm was renamed S Pemberton & Son and on 28 February 1821, five marks were registered at Birmingham Assay Office: four with the initials SP and one of which was an incuse mark [Fig 18]. The fifth mark was the initials TP in a rectangle; articles marked in this way are uncommon [Fig 20].



Fig 18 Caddy spoon, Birmingham, 1822-23 by S Pemberton & Son, incuse SP mark

(Courtesy of Woolley and Wallis)

**T**HE Partnership heretofore carried on between Thomas Pemberton and Robert Mitchell, of Birmingham, in the County of Warwick, Jewellers, Silversmiths and Watchmakers, under the firm of Samuel Pemberton, Son, and Robert Mitchell, has been dissolved by mutual consent.—Witness our hands this 9th day of February 1821.  
*Thomas Pemberton.  
Robt. Mitchell.*

Fig 19 Notice of the dissolution of the partnership between Thomas Pemberton and Robert Mitchell, the *London Gazette*, 13 February 1821

36 Rosemary Ransome-Wallis, op cit, see note 2.

37 Eric Delieb, op cit, see note 1.

38 The marriage of Robert Mitchell and Elizabeth Gostelow, on 19 August 1802, was recorded at St Leonard's Church, Shoreditch, Middlesex; it remains to be confirmed

whether this is the Robert Mitchell of interest here.

39 *London Gazette*, 13 February 1821: [www.london-gazette.co.uk/17680/pages/402/page.pdf](http://www.london-gazette.co.uk/17680/pages/402/page.pdf)

40 J W Paget, *The Law Advertiser*, London, 1824, vol II.

41 Robert Mitchell now entered his own RM marks on 23 May 1821 at Birmingham Assay Office and the 4 September 1821 at London Assay Office and continued as a silversmith until his death aged 57. Both Robert and his wife Elizabeth were buried in St Paul's church, Birmingham.



Fig 20 Detail of marks on a salt spoon, Birmingham, 1824-25 by Thomas Pemberton & Co (or Samuel Pemberton, Son & Co)

(Courtesy of the Birmingham Assay Office)





Fig 21a Snuff box, silver-gilt, London, 1819-20 by Samuel Pemberton, Son & Mitchell  
(Courtesy of Highland Antiques, Aberdeen)



Fig 21b Snuff box, detail of hallmarks  
(Courtesy of Highland Antiques, Aberdeen)

By 1823 the Pemberton firm had moved from 103 and 104 Snow Hill to 133 and 134 Snow Hill and was listed in the *Birmingham Trade Directory* for 1823 as "Samuel Pemberton, Son & Co". Interestingly this directory also listed for the first time "Thomas Pemberton & Co" as a manufacturer of gold and silver articles at 9 Livery Street: this is the first record of the firm at this address. It is possible that Thomas had decided that a retail premises in his own name on the commercial Livery Street was essential. After circa 1823 we have not located any silver with a SP punch, as mentioned earlier, which would imply that Thomas was now having all items marked with his own initials. The properties at 133 and 134 Snow Hill were close to 9 Livery Street and probably contiguous.

Thomas Pemberton, the silversmith of 9 Livery Street must not be confused with a Thomas Pemberton, brass founder, at 72 Livery Street. The latter joined George Simcox in his brass foundry business in Livery Street circa 1818 forming the large firm Simcox and Pemberton.<sup>42</sup> There is no known family connection between the two Thomas Pembertons.

### Thomas Pemberton & Perton

The partnership between Thomas Pemberton and a jeweller James Price was dissolved on 7 March 1827. At about this time Thomas brought George Perton into partnership in the firm which was then re-named

Pemberton & Perton; they were jewellers, goldsmiths, watch and clock makers located at 133 and 134 Snow Hill. While Pemberton & Perton were listed in Pigot's *Directory* for 1828-29, it is noteworthy that neither Samuel Pemberton, Son & Co nor Thomas Pemberton & Co were listed in this directory; Thomas must have amalgamated both the companies.

Thomas died on 18 March 1830 at age 54 at Hemb's Cottage, Great Barr. Six years later his wife Maria died and in the same year his elder brother Samuel Pemberton III died at Kingswood in Warwickshire. Samuel III was clearly accepted within the family and was buried at the Old Meeting House.

### Edwin Pemberton (1783-1851)

For over twenty years Edwin Pemberton successfully pursued, in the London courts, the assets of Pemberton & Stokes which were owed to the Pemberton family by George and Thomas Stokes when the family terminated their interests in the company in 1806. Edwin appears to have made a fortune in the iron and coal trade and trade directories for the 1830s and 1840s show that he was a coal and iron master at the New Colliery, Bilston and a coal master and also a brick maker at Deepfield, in Staffordshire.

Edwin did not marry and when he died in 1851 he left his estate to the children of his brother Thomas: Samuel and Thomas Hooke Pemberton, both of whom had entered the iron and coal trade, as well as to George Perton. In documentation regarding the sale of Edwin's vast art collection after his death, he was described as a manufacturing jeweller (although he was never listed as such in directories). It is possible, therefore, that he may have continued as a jeweller, perhaps as a sleeping partner in the Pemberton firm but not in a managerial role, and then later entered the coal and iron trade.

### The Pemberton firm in London

The company had premises in London for over twenty years; a fact not previously reported. Birmingham silversmiths were keen to establish warehouses and outlets in London so they could more readily distribute and sell their wares. Early in the firm's history Samuel Pemberton II had, on 28 July 1778, entered his mark as a gold worker in Birmingham at Goldsmiths' Hall in London<sup>43</sup> although we are not aware of any items bearing this mark.

There was no entry for the Pemberton firm in Kent's *London Directory* of 1800 and the first confirmed appearance of it in London was in 1805 with a warehouse located at 16 Little Britain, as described above. At this time



Thomas Pemberton was listed<sup>44</sup> as a jeweller at Stamford Street, London about half a mile from Little Britain and by 1811 Samuel Pemberton & Son were listed as jewellers at 7 Castle Street, Holborn.<sup>45</sup>

On 21 July 1813 Thomas Pemberton, now in partnership with Robert Mitchell, entered a joint mark of TP above RM at Goldsmiths' Hall; they were described as small workers of Snow Hill, Birmingham. Silver items with London marks and this punch are found from at least 1814-19 [Fig 21]. As mentioned above Pemberton and Mitchell were also in partnership with George Ellis Cooke in Birmingham and an unregistered London mark of TP above RM above GC has been noted on a salt spoon dated 1817.<sup>46</sup> After this latter partnership was dissolved in 1821 Mitchell joined George Cooke as a wholesale jeweller in Jewin Street, London; this partnership ceased in 1825.

Soon after forming their Birmingham partnership in 1812, Pemberton and Mitchell took on a further partner in London, the jeweller and silversmith Thomas Bishop, and in 1814, Pemberton, Mitchell, Bishop & Co were listed as jewellers at 98 Hatton Garden, Holborn.<sup>47</sup> This partnership with Bishop terminated on 10 February 1815 by which time the firm had moved to 6 Thavies Inn, Holborn.<sup>48</sup> The firm remained at this address for about ten years, last being listed there in 1826.<sup>49</sup>

From 1829 until 1831, Pemberton & Scott, jewellers and silversmiths, were located at 63 West Smithfield near Holborn. Whether this was the business of Thomas Pemberton is unknown although the entry of marks for him at Goldsmiths' Hall on 9 May 1826<sup>50</sup> suggest that he planned to continue trading in London.

We have not located an article marked for London with TP initials for Thomas Pemberton. It seems that the London hallmarked articles sold by the Pemberton firm were predominantly those with maker's mark TP above RM.<sup>51</sup>

### George Pemberton Perton (Clapperton)

Following the death of Thomas Pemberton in 1830 the business in Birmingham continued for the next ten years

under George Perton, Thomas's illegitimate son. Perton was born on 30 December 1801 in Birmingham and on 22 October 1805, at St Philip's church, Birmingham, was christened George Pemberton Clapperton. His father, Thomas Pemberton, was unmarried at the time and his mother, Maria Clapperton, was a married woman with two children whose husband had left her. According to the *Birmingham Daily Post*,<sup>52</sup> she was a stray of the town who was taken up by Thomas.

Thomas, after educating George, took him into the business where he was apprenticed; he went on to become the manager and then went into partnership with Thomas as Pemberton & Perton, as mentioned above. He had changed his name to George Pemberton Perton by the time of his marriage in 1824.

In early 1827 George Perton was the proprietor of the White Swan on Snow Hill, with premises comprising a liquor shop, smoke room, ale cellars, brewing house and piggery. On 4 February 1828 the *Birmingham Gazette* reported the disposal of "the White Swan Public House and Liquor Shop". The advertisement stated:

This house is in high repute and is doing a great scope of ready-money business principally with wines and liquors. The present proprietor declines the business solely in consequence of engagements that require the whole of his attention.

Clearly Perton was finding it too much to be a partner in the jewellery firm and run a public house as well.

In about 1830 Perton bought the "whole Pemberton business" with money advanced to him by his wealthy uncle Edwin Pemberton and he continued at 9 Livery Street although his advertised trading premises, from 1831 until his retirement in 1840, were at 82 Caroline Street where he had a house and shop and was working as a jeweller, silversmith, clock maker, plater and brass caster.

An auction took place at 9 Livery Street on 8 April 1833<sup>53</sup> and Perton ceased operations at this address. Offered for sale was a large assortment of tools used in the clock, watch, jewellery and silver box trades includ-

42 As shown in Birmingham Trade Directories and the 1841 and 1851 UK Census records, Thomas Pemberton (1790-1862), brass founder, was born in Warwickshire and lived in Warstone Lane, Birmingham with his family which included his sons Thomas and George, both brass founders.

43 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837: Their Marks and Lives*, London, 1976, p 379.

44 W Holden, *London Directory*, 1805.

45 W Holden, *London Directory*, 1811.

46 From [www.925-1000.com](http://www.925-1000.com),

Online Encyclopedia of Silver Marks, Hallmarks and Makers' Marks

47 Henry Kent, *London Directory*, 1814.

48 *London Gazette*, 14 February 1815: [www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/16984/pages/264/page.pdf](http://www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/16984/pages/264/page.pdf)

49 Montague Howard, *Old London Silver*, London, 1903; *Post Office Directory* 1826

50 He earlier entered TP marks on 18 August 1807 at Goldsmiths' Hall, Arthur Grimwade, op cit, see note 43, p 382.

51 Ibid, p 244, no 3453.

52 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 April 1882, the British Newspaper Archive.

53 *Birmingham Gazette*, 8 April 1833, the British Newspaper Archive.

ing a powerful turret wheel and pinion engine, lathes, dies, beds and punches and moulds as well as a complete set of tools used in the silver box trade. Perton entered his own GP marks<sup>54</sup> at the Birmingham Assay Office between 1825 and 1838 but silver items with this mark are rare.

Perton went on to form a partnership with the jeweller William Sabin and in 1839, Perton & Sabin, at 82 Caroline Street, were

working jewellers and enamellers and manufacturers of gold and silver ever-pointed pencils and all kinds of bright coloured gold articles.<sup>55</sup>

The partnership terminated on 23 October 1840<sup>56</sup> and Perton retired at the age of about 40 and, with no children to succeed him, the Pemberton firm ceased. He died in 1881 a wealthy man worth £262,736 7s 6d. Since he was not a prolific producer of silver it seems probable that he inherited much of his wealth from his uncle Edwin. By the time of his death his wife was dead, as were any children that the couple may have had, and only a small part of his money had been designated under the terms of his will. After a claim to his fortune made by the daughter of the eldest son of Mrs Clapperton, the courts found that George Perton was indeed illegitimate and the money was forfeit to the crown.

## Appendix

### Chronology in Birmingham

1775: **Samuel Pemberton Brm** first submitted ten pairs of buckles for hallmarking on 23 May 1775.

1780-83: Firm of **Pemberton & Bolton** under Samuel Pemberton II and the jeweller Samuel Bolton: SP mark

1791: **Samuel Pemberton, Son & Bolton**, partnership of Samuel Pemberton II, Samuel Bolton and probably Thomas Pemberton: SP mark.

1797-1803: **Samuel Pemberton & Son** under Samuel II and Thomas Pemberton: SP mark.

1803-1812: **Samuel Pemberton & Son** under Thomas Pemberton: SP mark.

1812-1821: **Samuel Pemberton, Son & Mitchell** under Thomas Pemberton and Robert Mitchell: SP mark.

1816: **Pemberton & Mitchell**, under Thomas Pemberton and Robert Mitchell as watch case makers: marks P&M, TP above RM, and SP marks: no examples of the first two marks found to date.

1821-1823: **S Pemberton & Son** under Thomas Pemberton: SP mark and TP mark.

1823-1827: **S Pemberton, Son & Co** and **Thomas Pemberton & Co** under Thomas Pemberton: TP mark.

1827-1830: **Pemberton & Perton** under Thomas Pemberton and George Perton: SP mark (?)

1830-1840: Firm under George Perton: G P marks.

## Acknowledgements

We wish to thank the Birmingham Assay Office for the images they have provided. Several other images have been kindly sent by antique dealers and auction houses on request. We appreciate the information provided by David Beasley, Librarian at Goldsmiths' Hall, London. The historian Simon Fowler kindly located London trade directory listings and records from the National Archives at Kew. We are also grateful to Lee Harris in Bathurst, New South Wales and other descendents of Robert Mitchell for information on their ancestor.

*Brian May, a retired molecular biologist from the University of Adelaide, has published many research articles in medical journals. He became interested in antique English corkscrews, particularly those of the Georgian period, and has written on corkscrew makers and this research led to an interest in the histories of early Birmingham silversmiths. Richard Phillips from Adelaide is retired and is a passionate collector and student of silver; Mandy Pemberton, also retired, is from Maffra, Victoria and is a collector and genealogist and a descendant of the Pemberton family; Craig O'Donnell is the silver specialist, valuer and curator at the Birmingham Assay Office.*

54 George Perton entered a GP mark on the 19 October 1825 as a jeweller, a 'GP' mark on 1 September 1830 as a silversmith and a GP mark on

14 February 1838 with no trade listed.

55 William Robson, *Birmingham & Sheffield Directory*, 1839.

56 *London Gazette*, 3 November 1840: [www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/19910/pages/2421](http://www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/19910/pages/2421)

### Chronology in London

1778: Samuel Pemberton II a gold worker of Birmingham entered his SP mark in London, no example of this yet found.

1805: Firm of **Samuel Pemberton & Son** had a warehouse at 16 Little Britain, London; Thomas Pemberton trading as a jeweller at Stamford Street, London; no verified example of his work yet found.

1807: Thomas Pemberton a gold worker of Snow Hill entered his TP mark.

1811: **Samuel Pemberton & Son** at 7 Castle Street, London.

1813: Partnership of Thomas Pemberton and Robert Mitchell entered a TP above RM mark, London examples of this mark have been found.

1814: **Pemberton, Mitchell & Bishop & Co** at 98 Hatton Garden, Holborn.

1815-1826: **S Pemberton, Son & Co** at 6 Thavies Inn.

1826: Thomas Pemberton, a gold worker of Snow Hill, Birmingham, entered three TP marks; no London examples of this mark yet found.

1829-1831: **Pemberton & Scott** listed as silversmiths and jewellers at 64 West Smithfield, London (possibly Thomas Pemberton).

# The 1937 'Coronation hallmark'

MICHAEL PAYNE

## Introduction

There is a good understanding of the use of voluntary marks in the past and in particular of their benefit as an aid to sales during the years that they have been permitted. It is not, however, always appreciated that whilst they appear in conjunction with other hallmarks and are official marks themselves, they do not officially constitute a hallmark in their own right.

The notable occasions when such marks have been authorised have been the 1935 Silver Jubilee of George V and Queen Mary, the coronation of Elizabeth II in 1953, her Silver, Golden and, most recently, Diamond Jubilees, as well as the Millennium.

There is, however, one notable omission from this list of important milestones which is the coronation of George VI. This absence is bound up in the events that occurred following the death of George V and the abdication of his heir Edward VIII, later Duke of Windsor, in 1936.

## The discussions

The coronation of George VI took place on 12 May 1937: the date having originally been set in anticipation of that of Edward VIII. During the previous year there had been much discussion within the trade and at the Assay Offices about a coronation mark and what form it should take, if at all.

On 9 June 1936 the Secretaries of the Manufacturing Silversmiths Association wrote to the Clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company expressing the unanimous opinion of their members that there should be a special hallmark for the coronation of Edward VIII. A meeting was held at Goldsmiths' Hall chaired by the then Clerk, Walter T Prideaux, on 2 July. Amongst others present were G H Corruthers from the Board of Trade; B G Crewe of the Patent Office and H A Strutt from the Home Office. The meeting discussed the registration of the king's head crowned as a possible mark, under Section 62 of the Trade Marks Act.

Walter Prideaux was later informed by the Patent Office that under Rule 12, dealing with section 62 of the Trade Marks Act, no royal crown could be registered. The king's head uncrowned could be used but it had the disadvantage of being the same as the duty mark. It was, therefore, decided to approach the Assay Offices to ascertain whether they would be prepared to apply a crowned date letter for



*Fig 1 Harold Stabler, design for a crowned date letter*





Fig 2 F E Clark, design for a royal cypher crowned mark

the coronation year and it was arranged that Harold Stabler should prepare drawings for such a mark.

Two further points were also raised, the first of which was the possibility of altering the date for the change of the date letter at each Assay Office to 1 January, to allow conformity between the different Offices. This did not in fact take place until the 1973 Hallmarking Act was passed, by which time there were fewer Assay Offices. The cost of striking the extra dies that would have been involved was also taken into consideration.

Stabler produced three designs and the one selected was sent with an accompanying letter from Prideaux, dated 13 July, to the Assay Offices [Fig 1]. The letter stated

we have been in touch with Major [Gilbert] Dennison as Chairman of the Hall Marking Advisory Committee and with the Board of Trade, Home Office and Patent Office and have ascertained that the proposal would be favourably met.

Sheffield's Assay Master replied reporting that the opinion of the Guardians of the Office, at a meeting which had taken place during the previous week, was clearly against the proposal of a special coronation mark. F E Clark, the Assay Master of Chester, replied that his wardens and members were in favour of "a special Mark of distinctive character" and went on to propose a royal cypher crowned [Fig 2].

The Chief Warden of the Edinburgh Assay Office maintained that the wardens were

particularly struck with the very considerable cost... for it would mean two complete additional sets of punches.

He furthermore stated that

this Office is not in a position to offer such a free gift to the Trade... further they are not prepared to abandon the shield at present shown in the Chronological List of Edinburgh Marks.

Like Sheffield they would

prefer a Royal Cypher or some such variation of it as an additional mark.

On 20 July Dennison wrote to Prideaux asking whether he had received the same informal advice whereby it had been agreed that, until the coronation was over, the objection normally taken to the registration of designs incorporating royal emblems was to be relaxed. This new ruling appears to have covered the royal effigy, the crown and the cypher. A list of members of the Jubilee Mark Sub-Committee of the Hallmarking Advisory Committee was also sent to Prideaux.

In a separate development a letter was sent to the *Watchmaker & Jeweller* by J Paul de Castro who referred to the fact that the proposed coronation mark had been discussed at the National Association of Goldsmiths' Conference. He suggested that it should be a compulsory mark but Dennison, in a letter to Prideaux dated 21 July, pointed out that the Parliamentary Act made this suggestion impossible.

The following day a telephone conversation took place between Prideaux and Strutt of the Home Office. Strutt said they had made arrangements with the Patent Office to remit the restriction against registration of special designs of royal emblems during the coronation year. Prideaux then spoke on the telephone to Crewe of the Patent Office who took the view that permission for the use of a mark, of the king's head crowned and the king's head uncrowned, would have to be obtained from the king himself.

Two days later a letter from the Law Clerk of the Sheffield Assay Office was received by Prideaux in response to his invitation to the Assay Offices to attend a meeting at Goldsmiths' Hall on 29 July. It stated that

Sheffield Assay Office considers that it would be preferable to have a mark additional to the normal marks rather than to tamper with one of the existing marks as is suggested in your letter.

He continued

In any event the Office is most strongly opposed to the use of any form of Crown in the Coronation Mark. The Sheffield Assay Office considers that the adoption of the Crown mark would be a most unfriendly action on the part of the other Offices.

It was reported in a letter to Dennison, following the meeting of the Assay Offices at Goldsmiths' Hall, that the following resolution had been passed on the motion by the Birmingham Assay Office which was seconded by the Sheffield Assay Office:

THAT whilst the Offices are ready to do anything reasonably required by the Trade, the technical difficulties of securing a generally acceptable mark with adequate protection seem to make a special Coronation Mark practically impossible.

In the minutes of a meeting of the Hallmarking Advisory Committee on 30 July the following resolution was passed:

THAT this meeting whilst appreciating the difficulties, is yet of the opinion that the introduction of a Coronation Mark which is controllable and of sufficient significance is desirable.

A Colonel Wilkinson suggested that the orb might be used for the mark; the date letter to appear in the circular portion, with the cross above. This would have had the advantage of overcoming an early concern, expressed by the Goldsmiths' Company, which was about the amount of control over the mark that it would be possible to exert. This could be done if the coronation mark was a variation of a date letter and hence part of the hallmark itself under the Act. Prideaux wrote to Dennison in August, enclosing a photograph of the drawing of the date letter in an orb which he had asked Stabler to produce [Fig 3]; copies were to be sent to the other Assay Offices.

The Glasgow Assay Master wrote back to Prideaux saying that it had been agreed that

they are not enamoured with the design of punch suggested but are quite willing to adopt this if the trade wish it providing the other Assay Offices are agreeable.

George Crichton, Edinburgh's Chief Warden, replied stating that the suggestion was "entirely unacceptable"; and Birmingham's Assay Master, in his letter, thought

it is inadvisable further to consider the matter.

Upon hearing these views, via G R Hughes of Goldsmiths' Hall, Dennison replied to Hughes saying, with mild understatement, that

the answers you have already received are not particularly helpful and it looks as if we are going to have some little difficulty.



Harold Stabler  
5-VII-36

Fig 3 Harold Stabler, design for a date letter within an orb

Hughes then wrote to all the Assay Offices requesting a further meeting on 24 September. In accepting the invitation George Crichton stated that the only special coronation mark

that will satisfy the Trade will be an additional mark on similar lines to the Jubilee. This mark to be put on only at the request of the manufacturer.

Furthermore, in a letter to the Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, Crichton asked whether, as in the case of the Jubilee, the Royal Mint would be willing to provide a die showing the king from which the punches could be made. Rather than replying directly to Crichton Sir Robert Johnson of the Royal Mint wrote to "My Dear Prideaux", asking his views on the Edinburgh letter.

Prideaux replied to Johnson filling him in on the background discussions and resolutions and thanking him for letting him see the Edinburgh letter before replying. He also made the point that the use of the king's head as a mark would not be under the control of the Assay Offices as regards protection.

We know that the Jubilee mark was used in an unauthorised manner (i.e. not by the Assay Offices) though probably not to a large extent; and a Coronation mark with no more protection than the Jubilee Mark would not be regarded as satisfactory by the Trade or the Offices – except perhaps Edinburgh.

Edinburgh's objection to a special date letter appears to have been in part because they had already published the date letters for the next 150 years; indeed they had enclosed a table of their proposed date marks up to and including 2082-83 when they wrote to Prideaux in the July.

At the meeting of 24 September all that was achieved was a resolution, unanimously passed

that this Meeting reaffirms the decision arrived at by the Resolution passed on the 29 July.

Prideaux informed Dennison of this by letter on the same day and also told Strutt of the Home Office on the 29 September. Dennison had replied to Prideaux the day before, saying that he was very sorry to hear of the decision arrived at by the Assay Offices, and he confessed to a

feeling that if a little greater willingness to co-operation had been in evidence, I think despite the recognised difficulties, some way might have been discovered whereby we could achieve our object.

Strutt replied to the Edinburgh Assay Office, sending a copy to Goldsmiths' Hall; he said

that the Secretary of State proposes to take no further action on your application for permission to use a representation of the Sovereign as a Coronation mark.

Dennison then wrote to A D Wakely of Wakely & Wheeler saying that he had

received this morning replies from most of the Committee and 95% are definitely in favour of taking no further action, although the majority like yourself, express disappointment.

Dennison prepared a press release in consultation with Prideaux and, in his letter to him, commented scathingly

we only failed in securing our aims by the reluctance of a Northern Assay Office to permit of what they considered would be an infringement of their Mark.

The final letter on file at Goldsmiths' Hall is that of Dennison to Prideaux dated 7 November 1936 in which he stated that

the notice to the Trade Press concerning the Coronation Mark will be issued as amended by you.

And that might have been that but for an unexpected turn of events which was, of course, the abdication of Edward VIII. If the consequence of the previous six months' wrangling had been that the Assay Offices had agreed to a coronation mark it would now have been obsolete. The fact that the outcome of the discussions, meetings and letters had been negative, ended up working in favour of the Assay Offices, despite the best efforts of both Prideaux and Dennison.

### **The Abdication**

Edward VIII abdicated on 11 December 1936 and the coronation of George VI was to take place on 12 May 1937 which meant that there were only 151 days to make the necessary changes to all the preparations: the date of the coronation having been set for same date as that intended for the coronation of Edward VIII. Because of the short time frame, and the problems that had previously been encountered, it would have seemed likely that the idea of a coronation mark would be taken no further.

It is well known that the first occasion for which a coro-



nation mark appeared was as an official voluntary mark for the coronation of Elizabeth II.

### Postscript

So there the matter ended except perhaps for an unusual find made in 2012, namely the observation of what appears to be a coronation mark for 1937. This was found applied as a special mark struck in conjunction with the hallmark on a piece of silverware by Asprey & Co [Fig 4a]. This additional mark is a circle containing two crowned heads in profile facing left, namely those of George VI and his consort Elizabeth, both in cameo.

The item on which the mark was found is a lady's pocket case with the Asprey's patent no 21914, which relates to the slide-opening, spring-loaded catch which enabled pocket cases such as cigarette cases to be opened with one hand. This particular case has no visible means of holding the cigarettes in place and instead it contains a removable aperture, suitable for holding a photograph, on one side. The half which bears the part mark is stamped 'Made in England. Asprey London'; it also bears the number 77. Inside the front half is the removable aperture together with the hallmark and what appears to be a coronation mark and the letters OA. The hallmark itself is for London, 1937-38 with the sponsor's mark of Asprey & Co Ltd [Fig 4b].

It should be noted that at the London Assay Office date letters continued to be changed on 29 May until the Hallmarking Act of 1973 was passed. This would have meant that, even if this was an optional mark, officially authorised as a voluntary coronation mark, it would not have appeared with the date letter B until after the coro-

nation had taken place. This would have had the effect of potentially limiting sales of silver bearing the mark rather than increasing them. It is tempting to wonder whether this might not account for why the pocket case appears to have been made to hold a photograph (in which the hallmark would have been obscured by a photograph) rather than cigarettes as might have been intended.

A further explanation might be that the case was made as a royal gift after the coronation but, although George VI gave Asprey a royal warrant as Jewellers as well as Silversmiths, this did not happen until 1940. Furthermore, the item in question is privately owned and inherited without any mention of such a connection.

The 1937 silver coronation medal, designed by Percy Metcalfe measures  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in (3.17cm) in diameter; on its obverse are the conjoined effigies of George VI and Queen Elizabeth, crowned and robed, facing left; the rim is not raised and there is no legend. The mark seen on the case is similar to the obverse image in miniature but not identical to it.

Percy Metcalfe CVO, RDI was born in Longfield Terrace, Alverthorpe, Wakefield, Yorkshire on 14 January 1895 and died of bronchopneumonia in Fulham Hospital, Hammersmith, London on 9 October 1970. He studied art at Leeds and in 1914 attended the Royal College of Art in London; he was active as a sculptor, medal, coin and seal designer between 1920 and 1946. His main work was the design of coins and medals but during the 1930s he also designed shop fronts and interiors as well as car mascots.

A souvenir medal bearing an effigy of the crowned head and shoulders of Edward VIII in profile on the obverse



Fig 4a George VI coronation mark on a silver case by Asprey & Co



Fig 4b Part mark for London, 1937-38, Asprey & Co



Fig 5a Souvenir medal for the coronation of Edward VIII (obverse)



Fig 5b Souvenir medal for the coronation of Edward VIII (reverse)

has also been seen by the author [Fig 5a]; on the reverse it bears the legend 'Ascended Throne 20th Jan. 1936' in a ribbon beneath the arms of the City of London [Fig 5b], followed by

TO COMMEMORATE THE CORONATION OF  
KING EDWARD VIII AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY  
12TH MAY 1937

This medal would have to have been commissioned in 1936 and the assumption would be that it must have been officially sanctioned although, being made of white metal, it would have been of no concern to the Assay Offices.

### Conclusion

It is possible that Metcalfe was commissioned by either Asprey or the Royal Mint to design the apparent coronation mark. It had already been established that the 1935 Jubilee mark was a voluntary mark rather than a hallmark so precedent would mean, therefore, that if another such mark had been applied at Asprey's request then the Assay Office would have had no control over it. It should be remembered that the Home Office had already arranged with the Patent Office to remit the restriction against registration of special designs of royal emblems during the coronation year. It may be that Asprey's simply approached the king for permission to

use his effigy and consequently they may have ended up being legally entitled to use this as a voluntary mark. Instead of stealing a march on the competition they may have found that by the time it had been commissioned and used there was little or no appetite for the mark and that it was not perceived as having the desired effect on sales.

### Summary

To collectors the Holy Grail is always scarcity. In the world of numismatics this might be a 1933 penny, of which only seven examples are

known; to some collectors of silver it may be the search for a rare and unusual hallmark. In this case the background discussion on a coronation mark for 1937 has been examined but no reference to the mark has been found. The conclusions drawn by the author are speculative and based upon the evidence available to date and he reserves the right to review these conclusions should further information be found or come to light.

### References

Goldsmiths' Hall Archive file [ref: G.11.8. (7)]

### Acknowledgements

David Beasley, Librarian, Goldsmiths' Hall  
Chris Barker, Museum Curator, the Royal Mint

*Michael Payne has been in the silver trade since 1981 and has been Managing Director of Payne & Son (Silversmiths) Ltd for twenty-two years. He is a graduate of London University and a Fellow of both the Gemmological Association of Great Britain and the National Association of Goldsmiths of which he was a Director from 2005 to 2011. He was also Honorary Treasurer of the NAG for five years from 2006. In 2008 Michael became a founder Member of the NAG Institute of Registered Valuers and since 2009 has been a Trustee of the NAG Centenary Trust. His interest in silver continues to be one of his lifelong passions.*



# Verve and Vision: Paul Dyson at the Goldsmiths' Company 2001-2013

HELEN CLIFFORD

In October 2013 Paul Dyson left the Goldsmiths' Company in London after twelve years as Director of Promotion. From December 2001 he oversaw an increasingly ambitious exhibition programme and a hugely effective strategy for publicising emerging and established talent within goldsmithing and jewellery. His extraordinary accomplishments over this period, made possible by both his extensive experience in retail and astonishing energy, have made a very visible mark on the landscape of both historical and contemporary goldsmithing and jewellery. The announcement of his departure from the Company has prompted this article, as a means of marking his impact and celebrating his achievements in connection with his involvement in the world of gold and silver.

Thanks to his time at Harvey Nichols (1983-88), Harrods (1988-89), Selfridges (1994-96) and Sotheby's (1997-99) Paul has been able to channel his experience in visual merchandising to bring an extra edge and drive to promotion in all its forms at the Goldsmiths' Company. Paul's first job in office was the launch of the website [www.whoswhoingoldandsilver.com](http://www.whoswhoingoldandsilver.com) a quick and easy to use directory of goldsmiths and jewellers. It has been largely through his work as deliverer of exhibitions, however, that Paul has made his biggest impact.

As the eminent jewellery historian, writer and journalist Vivienne Becker remembers:

I first started working with Paul in 1987, at the Goldsmiths' Hall where he designed the exhibition, *The Jewellery of René Lalique* (1987) for which I was the curator. His concept was sheer genius, the execution faultless and I soon realised his was a protean and inspirational talent. We have been colleagues, and friends ever since, and I have watched as Paul worked his magic on promotions and events at the Goldsmiths' Hall, bringing glamour, wit and contemporary relevance to exhibitions, seminars and celebrations.

The first show Paul was responsible for as a member of staff at the Company was 2002, *Celebration in gold and silver*, showcasing commissions made to celebrate the



Paul Dyson introduces H R H the Duchess of Gloucester to the work of silversmith Olivia Lowe, 2011

Queen's Golden Jubilee. His eye for grandeur was evident in the choice of plum and regal red velvet linings for cases and walls providing a suitable backdrop for the exhibits. There followed a regular flow of exhibitions large and small: *Creation - an insight into the mind of the modern silversmith* (2004); *Richness and Colour: Gerald Benney, Goldsmith* (2005); *On the Cuff* (2005); *Precious Statement - John Donald and Malcolm Appleby* (2006); *Secrets of the Goldsmiths' Company* (2007); *Rising Stars* (2007); *Treasures of the English Church: Sacred Gold and Silver 800-2000* (2008) with a record 12,500 visitors. *Silver with a Pinch of Salt* (2009); *Creation II: An Insight into the Mind of the Modern Silversmith* (2009); *Hiroshi Suzuki - Silver Waves* (2010), *Jacqueline Mina - Dialogues in Gold* (2011); *Gold Power and Allure* (2012) which attracted a new record of 24,830 visitors, and *Ultra Vanities* (2013). Whatever the theme of the exhibition Paul was able to transform the Hall. Philippa Glanville particularly admires and remembers this

innovative approach to display, neutralising and then transforming the Hall's neo-rococo interiors, created some memorable effects, from Gothic arches to strongly contemporary settings.

These exhibitions have achieved national standing for their structure, content, design and message, with loans





*Paul Dyson welcomes guests to the 30th Anniversary of Goldsmith's Fair reception, October 2012*

secured from prestigious private collections and national museums. As Nigel Israel has pointed out

*Treasures of the English Church* and *Gold: Power and Allure* were easily the equal of anything that the great museums of the world, with their dramatically greater resources, could have put on. Both exhibitions were extensively reviewed, both at home and abroad, and, with very large numbers of visitors, significantly increased knowledge of the Company outside the Livery world.

The wide appeal of these exhibitions lay in a harmonious combination of historic, traditional and contemporary work. To sustain such a momentum requires exceptional vision, energy, sheer hard work and the support of a devoted team. Nigel Israel adds

that all the Livery Companies have, through these exhibitions, benefited from the public's increased perception of the Companies being thriving organisations in the modern world which still give valuable support to their various trades. Not just the Goldsmiths' Company, but the whole Livery world should be very grateful to Paul for his sterling work.

Through these exhibitions the Goldsmiths' Company has also reached beyond the livery companies, into the City and beyond, to tens of thousands of people. They have not only brought contemporary and historic work to a wide audience, they have also given curators and writers wonderful opportunities. Philippa Glanville, like many others

has enormously enjoyed writing for publications and speaking at conferences triggered by several enjoyable Goldsmiths Company exhibitions through the past decade.

As well as increasing the number, scale, ambition and variety of exhibitions, Paul also developed the annual Goldsmiths' Fairs which began in 1982. To celebrate twenty-five years of the Fair, in 2007 it was expanded to run over two weeks thereby offering much needed extra sales time and exposure for the exhibitors. In 2010 Paul established a completely new selling event, the Goldsmiths' Company Pavilion at Somerset House. Both the Fair and Pavilion have been signature events for collectors and craftspeople. The vibrant young silver-smith Ndidi Ekubia confirms that

Paul has turned Goldsmiths' Fair around bringing it up to date with the forever changing London

scene and has left a magnificent legacy at Goldsmiths' Hall. I would like to personally thank Paul for fighting for us jewellers and silversmiths, bringing us together with such a brilliant vision and drive. No one can fill his shoes!!

Many goldsmiths and jewellers are keen to acknowledge the crucial support and opportunities Paul provided in the early stages of their careers. Jacqueline Cullen, for example, who gained a first class degree from Central St Martins in 2003 explained that

Paul Dyson was an early and very vocal supporter of my contemporary Whitby jet jewellery, it is directly thanks to Paul that I now enjoy the level of success that I do as well as the technical development of my work. His tireless encouragement has been invaluable.

The silversmith Wayne Meeten remembers that Paul could be very forceful. After winning gold at the Goldsmiths' Craft Council Award, Paul asked "why don't you apply for the Fair?" and when Wayne replied that he was not ready. Paul responded

Yes you are and you are doing it ... and you will be given the middle cabinet in the Foyer, which will be perfect for your pieces ... and it will be free as you are a graduate, and I do not want to hear another word.

This was how Wayne was able to give up working part time on a building site, concentrate full time on designing and making, and open his studio in Clerkenwell. Here was someone at the Goldsmiths' Company who believed in him, and opened a door. There does seem to be a consensus of opinion that, in Vivienne Becker's words

Paul has in particular, lifted the annual Goldsmiths' Fair onto another level entirely, injecting it with his indomitable energy and enthusiasm and his unrivalled style.

The internationally renowned gold jewellery expert, broadcaster and management consultant Jan Springer, whose clients include the World Gold Council, picks out Paul's "wit, energy and passion" as his key note characteristics. She has

had the pleasure of working with Paul Dyson for many years and have greatly admired his genius

and vigour in everything he undertakes. ... The jewellery and silversmithing industry will forever be in his debt.

She picks out *Gold, Power and Allure* as the most successful of all the Company's exhibitions, it

showed off his style, verve and vision. He has raised the bar on excellence, which serves to inspire us all.

The kaleidoscope of exhibitions and fairs which has lit up the Hall during Paul's term has built the market for new work, honoured the finest living silversmiths and jewellers, and celebrated the history of the craft. Richard Edgcumbe, Senior Curator of the Metalwork Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, adds

Undaunted by the financial depression, and ready to take risks in the best of causes, he showed his passion for design and inspired deep loyalty in makers. He was born for the role, but behind the effervescence lay the hard work and the celebrated little black book of contacts, assiduously compiled.

Paul will be remembered, as Philippa Glanville notes, for the

stimulating events, sparkling presentations and warm hospitality on behalf of the Company

that characterised his official role.

We all wish Paul Dyson the very best of luck in his future ventures, and await with anticipation news of his next projects. Will it be his *magnum opus* on Russian Imperial hardstones? Or will the demands of makers, collectors and curators continue to prevent him from concentrating on this very particular private passion?

*Helen Clifford is a Senior Research Fellow at University College, London and Museum Consultant to the 'Trading Eurasia 1600-1830' project at the University of Warwick. She owns and runs the Swaledale Museum in Reeth, North Yorkshire. As a freelance exhibition curator she has worked on several projects with Paul Dyson, including Gold: Power and Allure (2012). She is a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company, and is currently working on the History of the Grocers' Company through its collection of silver and glass (forthcoming 2014).*

# The Portsmouth lectern: the commission of a lectern for the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers

CLAIRE CRAWFORD

On his retirement from the Court of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers in 2013, the Earl of Portsmouth decided to commission a parting gift to add to the treasures at Fishmongers Hall.

He took the decision to present a new silver lectern [Fig 1] to the Company and engaged the services the Original Design Partnership. Lord Portsmouth outlined in his brief that the design should be beautiful, original and take its influence from the waters surrounding the

British Isles. Louise Nicolson and Rachel Hopkins from the Partnership visited the Hall in October 2012 to see the silver collection and the setting in which the new lectern would be used.

The starting point of the commission was the Company's existing lectern: the Hollenden lectern [Fig 2]. This was presented to the Company in 1975 and was the gift of Lord Hollenden on the occasion of his 90th birthday. Its unusual design, by Louis Osman, is of a leaping salmon swimming up a waterfall, in sterling silver with enamel work. This provided some practical pointers about the general format of the new lectern and was a useful springboard for a discussion about the practical size and depth of the reading surface.

Louise and Rachel also viewed the Banqueting Hall where the new lectern would be used. To be used by speakers at livery dinners it was important to ensure that the reading surface was adjustable to a comfortable height. With this information and many notes and photographs Louise and Rachel could then begin the design process. The manufacture of the lectern took eight months and required a large team of craftsmen.

Rachel Hopkins from the Original Design Partnership discussed some of the many different processes involved:

The rosewood has been hand turned by our woodworkers, in the south-west of England, who work closely with our silversmiths to ensure that the wood fits absolutely perfectly with the silver.

All the fish used on the lectern are indigenous to British waters. The fish have all been hand-modelled in wax, made from fish bought from local fish markets. The waxes are then cast to produce the sterling silver fish, which are individually hand-finished. The shells were collected from the beach at St Margaret at Cliffe and a few other locations around Britain. This has allowed all the intricate texture and detail to be mirrored in the finished silver piece.



*Fig 1 The Portsmouth lectern, silver and rosewood, London, 2013  
by the Original Design Partnership  
(Courtesy of the Original Design Partnership)*



The quest to find a lobster that was small enough to fit on the lectern was very difficult, due to the fact that lobsters have to be a certain size before they legally can be caught. This saw us asking various trawlers in Folkestone for their smallest lobster which made them rather suspicious and led them to think that we were acting on behalf of the Government!

The design of this beautiful piece includes models of indigenous British species including Dover sole, plaice, mackerel, herring, lobster, crab, cockles, limpets, whelks, mussels, scallops and seaweed. The accurate modelling of the fish and shellfish pleasingly echoes the design of earlier pieces in the Company's collection: in particular a set of George III cast silver salts, in the naturalistic form of crabs standing guard over a whelk shell [Fig 3]. These were created by Robert Garrard II and Sebastian Crespell II and are dated 1820. These in turn take their design from the original silver-gilt versions designed by Nicholas Sprimont for Frederick, Prince of Wales in 1742 which are in the Royal Collection.<sup>1</sup>

The rosewood reading surface of the lectern incorporates an engraved silver plaque bearing the Company's coat of arms and the inscription:

The Gift of the Earl of Portsmouth to the Fishmongers'  
Company on his leaving the Court of Assistants June 2013

The finished lectern was used for the first time at the Company's Succession Dinner in June 2013 by the new Prime Warden, Mr Andrew Morgan, at the beginning of his year in office.

The modern design of the lectern harmonises with so many elements of the Hall and its collections. It fulfils the brief of its generous donor, the Earl of Portsmouth, in its originality and beauty that will be enjoyed and appreciated for many years to come.



*Fig 2 The Hollenden lectern, silver and enamel, London, 1975 by Louis Osman  
(Courtesy of the Fishmongers' Company)*

1 Royal Collection  
RCIN 51392



*Fig 3 Crab salt, silver, parcel-gilt, London, 1820 by Sebastian Crespell II  
(Courtesy of the Fishmongers' Company)*



*Fig 4 Detail of the Portsmouth lectern [Fig 1]  
(Courtesy of the Original Design Partnership)*

# Miriam Hanid

In 2013 Miriam Hanid's *Union Centrepiece* was shown for the first time at the exhibition *Treasures of the Royal Courts, Tudors, Stuarts and the Russian Tsars* at the Victoria and Albert Museum. She had been commissioned by the museum to provide a companion piece to the 'Dolphin' basin, made by Christiaan van Vianen in 1635 while he was living in London and employed at the court of Charles I, which formed part of the exhibition and is in the museum's collection. The van Vianen basin is a technical masterpiece and visually highly striking.

The intention was not to replicate the ewer which would originally have accompanied the basin but rather to achieve a piece of silver which used

the van Vianen "Dolphin" basin as a departure point. The result should incorporate the associated qualities inherent in the van Vianen design; a sculptural quality with a sense of movement, fluidity, and vitality.



*Union Centrepiece, London, 2013 by Miriam Hanid*  
(© The Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

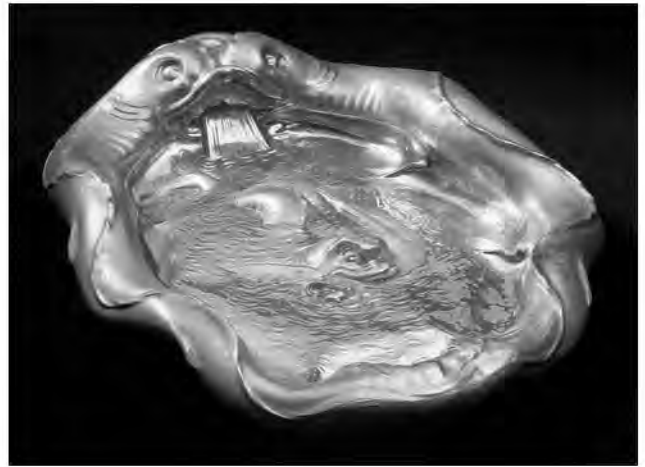
It was left to the silversmith as to how she would choose to interpret this brief although it was anticipated that the new commission would reflect the basin's varied and highly sophisticated use of chased decoration.

The other concept behind the commission was that it should show the transitory nature of historic English silver which was frequently melted down and re-made into more fashionable forms. Most of the greatest creations of the Tudor and Stuart courts had brief lives and, soon after they were made, were consigned to the melting pot to pay for the Royalist cause during the Civil War.

The entire surface of the finished piece has fluid wave and rippled indentations in imitation of eddying currents of water. It is in the form of an opening, spreading spiral which starts in the centre with undulating strips on the upper and lower edges which curve away and back from the direction of the main body. The surface was achieved by flat chasing the metal on both sides and then piercing it. The piece itself was formed from a flat sheet using nylon stakes and hammers and the wavy edges were made with hardwood mallets and specialised hammers. The whole concept reflects and flows in the same way as the currents of water in a stream but has a centrifugal force and depth comparable to a flow of water as it disappears into the earth.

The centrepiece was entered for the Goldsmiths' Craftsmanship and Design Awards at which it won a commendation in the Senior Chasers Section. A video on Miriam's website [www.miriamhanid.com](http://www.miriamhanid.com) shows the techniques and processes she used to make it.

Miriam trained at University College for the Creative Arts at Farnham and she graduated in 2007 following which she went to Bishopsland Educational Trust for a further year. She was also taught by Rod Kelly, Nididi



*The 'Dolphin basin', London, 1635 by Christiaan van Vianen*  
(© The Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Ekubia and Malcolm Appleby; the latter has been a particular inspiration to her. Her work has focused on chasing, repoussé and hand raising but recently she has increased her use of engraving, sometimes using precious stones and gilding to add colour. In 2012 she was selected by the Goldsmiths' Company to be Artist in Residence at Ickworth, Suffolk.

She is currently working on a large water jug commissioned by John Makepeace and would like to continue to make larger centrepieces and vessels, in particular pieces which are more three dimensionally intricate and might include candlesticks, jugs and vases. Other directions that she is contemplating are mythical themes to her chased and engraved work and symbolic pieces which have a hidden meaning, possibly introducing more realistic inspiration such as animal characters and the human form. She is also focussing on a solo show at the Scottish Gallery in Edinburgh for August 2015.



# Jenny Edge



Fig 1 Candelabrum, silver, parcel-gilt, London, 2012  
by Jenny Edge  
(Photograph © Sylvain Delen)



Fig 2 Candelabrum, silver and enamel, London, 2008  
by Jenny Edge  
(Photograph © Jenny Edge)

In April 2013 Jenny Edge was awarded the Silver Society Prize for silversmithing at the Festival of Silver held at the Goldsmiths' Centre, London. The judges decided that her work, a three branch candelabrum [Fig 1], showed originality of design combined with a superb fluidity of execution that had great presence.

Jenny initially trained as an immunologist but from her early days was always interested in the creative process of silversmithing. She started her career as a silversmith by taking classes at a local college but then realised that she needed more formal instruction. City and Guilds examinations in silversmithing, enamelling and design at the Sir John Cass College were followed by several short courses in various technical aspects of the craft. A combination of her fascination with the forms displayed by seaweed and corals found during her scuba dives, together with seeing the work of Michael Good, persuaded her that she should learn the technique of anticlastic raising from a master in the field, Heikki Seppa, who was at that time teaching in Maine, USA.

Anticlastic raising is a technique for forming sheet metal into three-dimensional forms with a cross peen hammer and a curved stake: either a metal hammer is used with a plastic stake or a plastic hammer with a metal stake. Tools are chosen to be the appropriate size and shape for a given pattern. Historically silver objects have been largely synclastic in form; they are often 'containing' vessels such as cups and bowls and are formed by traditional raising, or synclastic raising, where the dominant curves are moved in the same direction. Anticlastic raising, on the other hand, refers to shaping an object where the dominant curves are moved in opposite directions, like a horse's saddle. Although this has always been used to a limited extent to make, for example, hollow handles or spouts, it can also lead to very sculptural forms as seen in Jenny's work.

Jenny's work continues to explore the sculptural nature of silver but many of her pieces, such as vases, do have a functional quality to them. All her pieces have remarkable fluidity and a strong sense of movement and she achieves striking contrasts with the spectacular nature of the silver by using enamels, as in the case of a two branch candelabrum [Fig 2].

As a master of the technique of anticlastic raising, Jenny has run short courses at West Dean, Birmingham School of Jewellery and the Jewellery and Silver Society of Oxford. She exhibits regularly and continues to show her work as part of the Festival of Silver.

# Book Reviews

## *The Wallace Collection, Catalogue of Gold Boxes*

by Charles Truman

published by the Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 2013

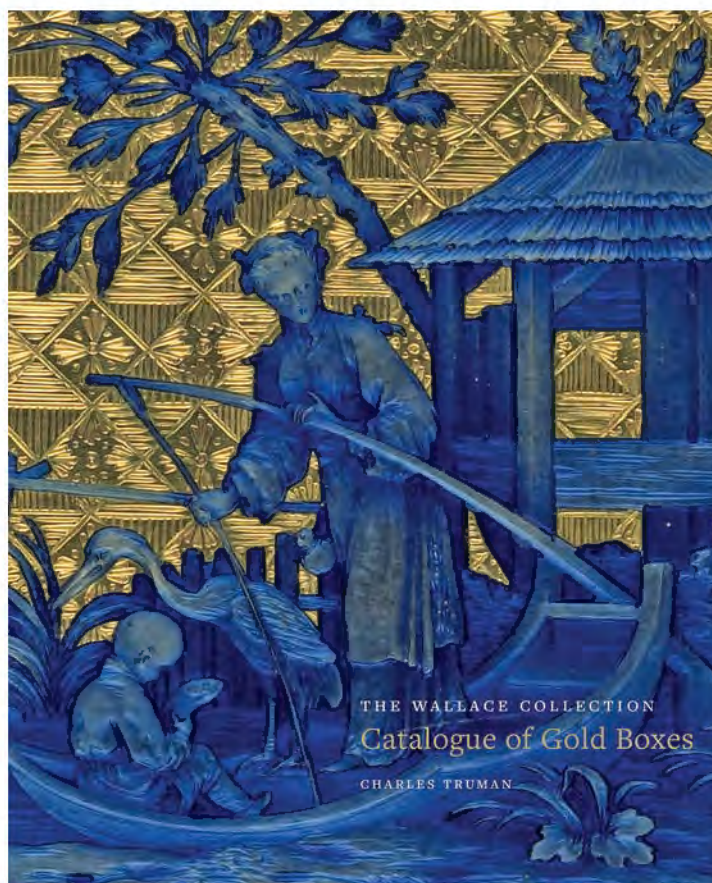
The gold boxes in the Wallace Collection form one of the most perfect collections of its kind in existence. The boxes are all beautiful and the collection includes some of the most famous in the world; it represents most of the main styles and production centres and many of the greatest makers. Not least, the collection was formed more than a century ago and has a rare quality of permanence, for it will never be added to or depleted. For all these reasons this magnificent new catalogue is to be warmly welcomed.

The Wallace boxes have been listed and published before. They formed part of Dugald MacColl's summary catalogue in 1920 and were the subject of a small booklet by Rosalinde Savill in 1991. But they have never had a full scholarly catalogue until now. Although planned long ago, it took a generous grant from the Bond Street dealers, S J Phillips, to make the project possible and the resulting book is a triumphant success. The boxes are superbly photographed, the pages well designed and the text written by the ideal author.

Charles Truman's name is synonymous with gold box scholarship. He was co-author of the 1975 and 1984 catalogues of the Waddesdon and Thyssen collections and published two volumes on the Gilbert Collection in 1991 and 1999. The latter were always a mixed blessing, for Arthur Gilbert accumulated an extraordinary and wonderful collection but was always in too much of a hurry for scholarship to take its course. For this latest project Truman was allowed time and had access to object files that contained the cumulative research of generations of curators. Like all object files, these were doubtless patchy, but they were at least an enviable starting point.

The collection covers a century of gold boxes,

from about 1730 to 1830 and contains ninety-nine works; sixty-seven of these are French and the remainder from elsewhere in Europe. Each box has a separate entry with an overall view and as many as six details, one of each face, together with photographs of marks and signatures. Where appropriate, design sources and comparative objects from other collections are reproduced too. The catalogue itself is prefaced by an extensive introduction and there are three further sections at the end of the book: a biographical directory of all the named makers and craftsmen represented in the collection, a history of the collection and its display at Hertford House







*Snuff box, gold and enamel, Paris, 1744 by Jean Ducrollay*  
(By kind permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection, cat no G4)



*Snuff box, gold and enamel, Paris, 1749-50 by Hubert Cheval*  
(By kind permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection, cat no G8)

(by Rebecca Wallis) and an account of the scientific analysis that was part of the project (by Seoyoung Kim).

The catalogue is a great achievement. There has never been a more beautiful book on this subject and it is a joy to absorb an impression of the collection as one looks through its pages. The introduction is a valuable work in itself and touches on many issues. It describes the social history of snuff and addresses various general questions about the whole gold box phenomenon. It looks, for example, at questions of artistic responsibility for these complex objects and of relations between makers and the *marchands merciers*. There are excellent sections on fabrication techniques, on chasers and enamellers and also on the 'afterlife' of boxes as they passed through the nineteenth-century collectors' market. There are fascinating revelations along the way too, such as the fact that the boom in French gold boxes would never have happened without the change in the sumptuary laws in 1721 that allowed a single object to contain 7oz (218g) of gold instead of the single ounce permitted before.

The catalogue itself contains much new information. Truman's work on the graphic sources of so many of the enamelled or chased compositions is very impressive and most of these sources are reproduced as well. In some cases the box designer's use of engravings is so selective that it is astonishing that the connection has been recognised at all – such as cat no 15, where the composition on the base includes figures lifted from prints after two different artists. No less engaging is his work on enamellers, such as the shadowy figures

signing themselves Le Sueur and Hamelin. The reproduction of all the marks and signatures as well as the gold assays carried out on each and every piece adds enormously to the book's value as a resource. The latter, in particular, is something that compilers of scholarly gold and silver catalogues often aspire to but can seldom do for practical or budgetary reasons and this information will provide important comparative data for future research into other collections. On another level, the entries contain many fascinating insights into 'connected' subjects – such as the people and scenes depicted on the boxes (for example, Ninon de l'Enclos and Romainville, cat nos 45 and 59).

For all of these reasons Truman's book has claims to being the best catalogue of a gold boxes collection yet published and a great tribute to the Wallace Collection's determination to uphold scholarly standards. And yet, surprising though it may seem, given the comments above, there are a few points on which one might take issue.

As stated above (and it cannot be repeated too often), this is a very beautiful book. And yet there are places where one feels that it might have been even more so. A decision was clearly made that none of the whole views should be shown larger than life size. But you need only look at the magnificent details shown in the sectional frontispieces to see that the best of these enamels or chased gold compositions can withstand massive enlargement and are all the more impressive as a result. Indeed, one cannot fully





*Snuff box, gold, Paris, 1756-57, Jean Frémin*  
(By kind permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection, cat no G22)



*Snuff box, gold, gouache and vellum, Paris, 1765-68, the miniatures perhaps by Levis-Nicholas van Blarenberghe*  
(By kind permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection, cat no G36)

appreciate them without. Enlargement to, say, twice actual size would have greatly improved the reader's appreciation of the boxes and would have falsified nothing – measurements are given and one can hold a ruler to the image. There are some enlarged details, it is true, but there could have been many more. To cite just one example, it is frustrating that the fabulously detailed miniatures by van Blarenberghe, set into several boxes in the collection, are not shown larger, for they richly deserve it.

In terms of editing, there is a tendency within the catalogue itself for whole sentences or even paragraphs to be repeated from one entry to another, where a simple cross reference would have sufficed. For those who read catalogues selectively, taking just this entry or that, this would not be noticeable, but for anyone reading it from beginning to end, it is irritating. All four entries on knotting shuttles, for example, start with same paragraph and we are told at least eight times that Michael Hall's association of numbered boxes with Hanau should be discounted. The same might be said of the biographical directory, where in some cases (for example, Adnet, Dubos and Leferre) the same extensive biographical information that rightly belongs in the directory appears in the catalogue entry too.

Truman's scholarship is superb and his analysis, for example, of nineteenth-century alterations to some of the boxes is very telling. But his approach can sometimes be a little forensic and one longs to read more celebration of the boxes' sheer beauty. For the best of them are not just technical masterpieces, they are astonishing and

quite magical works of art. Cat no 5, for example, the translucent blue chinoiserie box chosen for the cover image (magnified there, incidentally, more than eight times), is based on a series of Huquier prints, but shows real artistic judgement in the way the sources have been adapted and pared down for the box.

Concerning the attribution of goldsmiths' marks, he notes in the introduction that "the speed of change in current scholarship means these may be subject to further scrutiny in due course". The most significant of those recent advances was the publication in 2007 by the German scholar Lorenz Selig of the Thurn und Taxis Collection, which revealed the importance of Hanau, near Frankfurt, as a centre of gold box production. Truman's catalogue is the first English publication to reflect this discovery and has resulted in the reattribution of several Wallace boxes with imitation Paris marks that were formerly attributed to Geneva.

Not all the new attributions, such as that to J-C S Dubas (cat no 27), are completely convincing, however, and scholars will doubtless continue to debate the evidence. But such quibbles are minor matters, nor do they in any way diminish the more important fact that this book is, and will long remain, a benchmark that sets new standards for future publications on the subject of European gold boxes.

**Timothy Schroder\***

*\*The reviewer has to declare an interest as a Trustee of the Wallace Collection*

## *Boudoir Labels* by John Salter published by the Wine Label Circle, 2012

The historic appearance of the principal entertaining rooms of houses is comparatively well known - at least so far as the higher ranks are concerned - thanks to a profusion of illustrations in paintings, watercolours and drawings backed up by written descriptions and other archival material. Private chambers, however, being the intimate preserves of their occupiers and less exposed to the eye of visitors, are more difficult to get an accurate grasp of. One such space was the boudoir in which the lady of the house might prepare for the day ahead and for retiring at night as well as whiling away those daylight hours not engaged in social activities. All the potions and lotions associated with the toilet might have been expected to be found here, as well as refreshments ranging from plain water to hard spirits. To distinguish between the receptacles required to hold what could be a multifarious range of products, use was made of detach-

able labels, generally suspended around the neck of the container, and it is these that are the subject of Professor Salter's thorough and engaging study. The scope of the work, in fact, extends to cover all the private rooms of the domestic interior with 'boudoir labels' being used as a convenient, all-encompassing name.

Following an introduction in which the parameters of the study are clearly set forth there is a list of the 541 titles that the author's rigorous analysis has identified, from 'Acid' (not as alarming, or even contraband, as it sounds) to 'Ylang-Ylang' (an essential oil derived from the Indonesian Cananga or perfume tree). Each category of boudoir label is then looked at in detail, starting with travelling boxes and progressing through medicine, perfume, soft drinks, toiletries, writing materials and alcoholic tipples. The earliest known labels with suspension chains, we are informed, are those in silver by Margaret Binley (fl 1764-78) for a travelling box and they relate to products of a medicinal nature, one being for 'Verbena', a remedy for migraine, and the other entitled 'Aromatic Vinegar', which was used to counter faintness. The connection is made between detachable labels and the integral or adhered labelling of apothecaries' jars, a wealth of detail being given at the start of the medicinal section.

One of the aspects that makes this such a useful and engaging study is the contextual information brought together by Professor Salter and the reader will learn, amongst many other things, of such horrors to the modern mind as a late seventeenth-century potion for keeping slim:

an ounce and a half of oyl of foxes [fox-gloves?], and of oyl of lilies, capons grease, and goose grease, each two ounces: pine, rosin, Greek pitch and turpentine, of each two ounces.

Mercifully this was not for internal consumption but even as a poultice it cannot have been pleasant. More enticing are the perfumes and soft drinks with comfortably familiar titles such as 'Eau de Cologne', 'Lavender Water' and 'Elderflower'. A printed receipt from 1758 is reproduced which lists the wide range of mineral waters offered by Thomas Davis at





his warehouse in St Alban's Street, Pall Mall, from refined 'Seltzer Water' at £1 1s per bottle to Sea, Epsom and Dulwich at 6s. Professor Salter has identified surviving examples of labels for numerous of the waters amongst Davis's wares though sadly not, thus far, for 'Dog and Duck' which came "constantly fresh every Week", or 'Jessop's Well' which acted as a purge and was prone to being counterfeited, forcing Davis to produce a special seal to identify the genuine article.

A comprehensive commentary looks at the background behind each label title, and categorises them, and there is also an analysis of the materials and designs employed, including a condensed guide to the clues to the period of manufacture (the full version of which is in the author's previous work on sauce labels). Small scale and the use of floral motifs are amongst key differentiators for boudoir labels as opposed to those for the dining room. Short biographies are provided of those makers found to have produced examples in silver, including the Batemans, Paul Storr and Crichton Brothers as well as comparative obscurities, for example Frederick Brasted (fl 1862-88), whose mark is found on an 1875 label entitled 'Milk Punch'. There are also foreign makers such as Paolo Rosso (fl 1857-1870) of Malta and the Dane, Nicolei Christensen (fl 1820-1832).

Professor Salter's dedication to unravelling the range, use, evolution, social significance and form of these little signposts to the past shines through in the publication.



Lemon label, unmarked, circa 1800

With it he has completed a trilogy of authoritative works on the wider subject of bottle labels and thereby provided curators, scholars, collectors and dealers with a comprehensive guide to the subject. The support of this invaluable project by the Wine Label Circle is much to be commended.

**James Rothwell**

## *Russian Silver in America. Surviving the Melting Pot*

by Anne Odom

published by Hillwood Museum and Gardens Foundation,  
Washington DC in association with D Gibbs Ltd, London,  
2011

For the best part of a century Russian silver has fascinated western collectors. Like Russia itself, it both is and is not European, and the country's long traditions of domestic and church silver remind those with a more western outlook of how different Russian society was. English language books on the subject are few and most set out to describe its distinctive range of forms and ornament. In one sense this book does the same, but it also has a broader and more interesting agenda, partly implied by its subtitle.

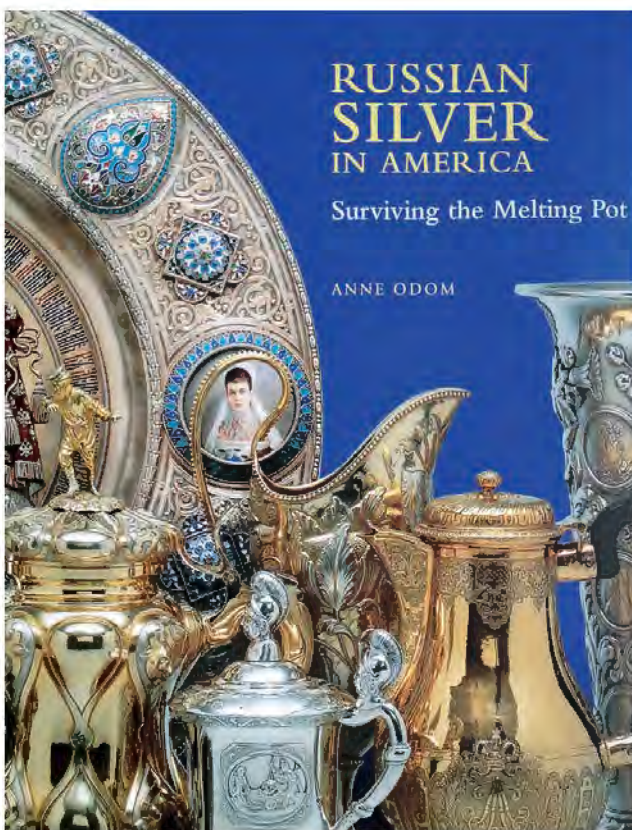
Odom has set herself a fascinatingly original task. As former curator of the renowned Hillwood Museum in

Washington DC, she uses the museum's extensive holdings as her main visual resource. But this is not a catalogue; it is a history, illustrated primarily by Hillwood pieces and enriched by significant material from other US public collections. The arrival of most of these pieces in the United States and the circumstances of the earlier collectors who brought them there sets the stage for the book's second theme, the dispersal of plate after the Russian Revolution.

The main narrative covers the story of Russian silver across three centuries from the inauguration of the Romanov dynasty until 1917, when the Revolution erad-



icated not only the imperial family and the aristocracy but also virtually all silver manufacturing across the country. It is written in a clear and analytical way that considers, in addition to the well-trodden paths of form and style, a range of other questions, such as the functions of plate in the seventeenth-century church and society, the westernization of Russian arts in the eighteenth, the role of foreign retailers in the nineteenth and so on. Odom explains, for example, how an influx of German and Scandinavian craftsmen to the newly created capital at St Petersburg was encouraged in order to accelerate westernization; she describes the pivotal role of eighteenth-century court patronage in introducing the latest fashions from Paris, Augsburg and London and she gives an engaging account of the competition between the leading nineteenth-century manufacturers, Sasikov, Klebrikov and Ovchinikov (the last of whom was a former serf). A particularly telling passage shows how the swing of the pendulum back to russification was partly due to a factor one might expect to have pulled the other way, namely the international shows that started with London's Great Exhibition in 1851. By demanding something distinctive in each nation's displays, these promoted the rediscovery of a uniquely Russian visual language, albeit reinterpreted in the spirit of the time. This in turn was nurtured, like other stylistic movements in the West, by antiquarian publications, such as the six-volume *Antiquities of the Russian State*, published between 1849 and 1853.



In some ways the most original aspect of the book is its American focus, looking not only at what is in the United States but also how it got there. The first chapter describes the feeding frenzy among American collectors and dealers immediately after the Revolution - people like Marjorie Merryweather Post (founder of the Hillwood Collection), Henry Walters and Armand Hammer. A separate phase were the state-sponsored sales that followed in the 1930s as a means of acquiring foreign currency. These resulted in the disposal of many great treasures, such as van Eyck's *Annunciation*, sold from the Hermitage to Andrew Mellon and now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington. During the chaotic early years plate from all sources was confiscated en masse and melted down or sold, often for scrap value. Post, in her diary, described visiting a warehouse where she found dozens of chalices

filthy dirty all pushed under a kitchen table -  
We were allowed to poke & dig - & pile what we  
wished together... Chalices - old - new - jewelled  
- or not - were a rouble a gram - weighed on a  
feed store scale.

It is passages like this that remind us of the vital role played by such buyers, not only in bringing the silver to America but quite literally in saving it 'from the melting pot'.

If such a well-considered book can be criticised at all, it is with a quibble: rich though this story of the American appetite for Russian silver is, it might have been richer still had the author allowed herself a little liberty with the term 'in America': William Randolph Hearst, for example, master of San Simeon Castle in California, acquired two magnificent and huge pairs of silver-gilt gates from the iconostases of a monastic complex in Kiev, traditionally the gifts of Catherine the Great. These were part of the 1930s state sales and must have been the most splendid of all Russian silver in America. Some time later they entered the Gilbert Collection and were on display at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art for about twenty years before being brought to London with the rest of that collection. But they are a genuine part of the story of Russian silver in America and including them would have enriched the narrative.

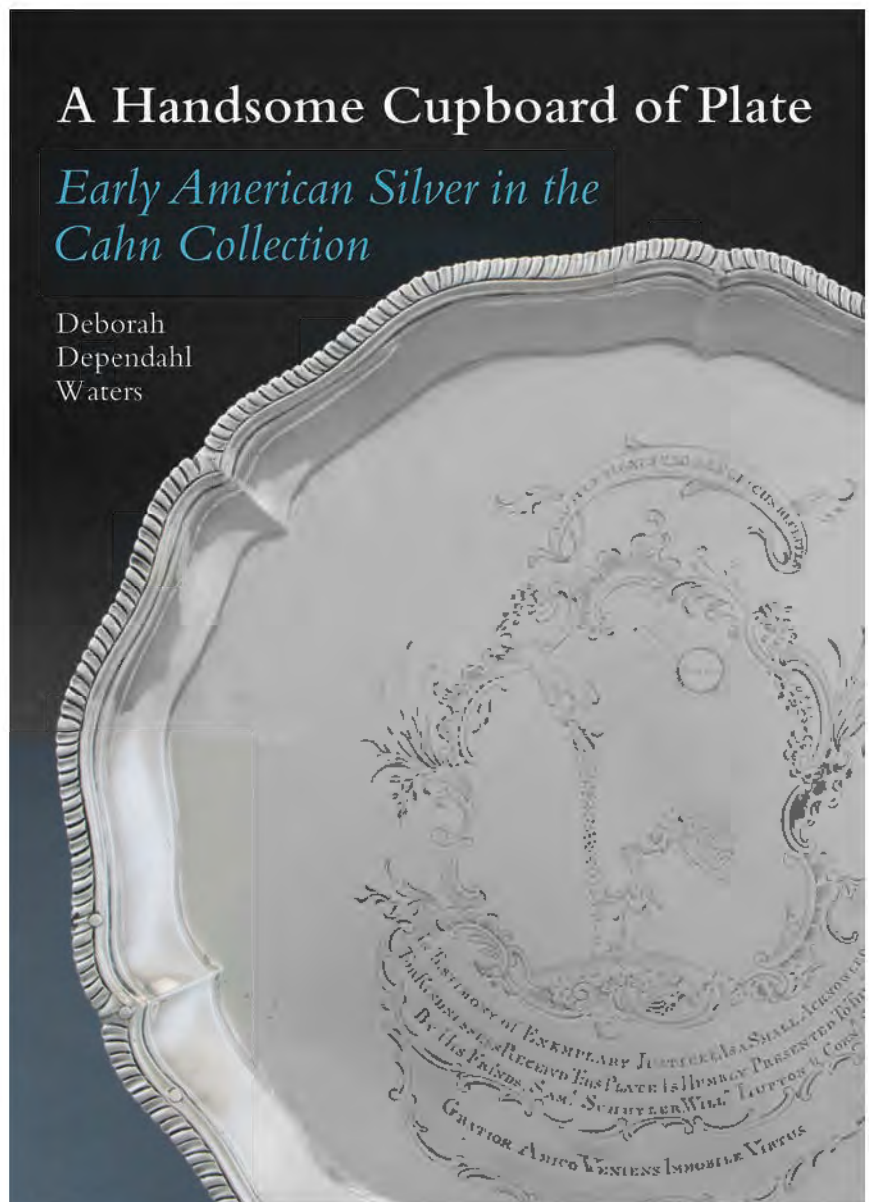
*Russian Silver in America, Surviving the Melt Pot* is highly recommended, not only as a concise and well-written history of Russian silver but also as a valuable contribution to the story of silver collecting. It is also an attractively designed volume, enhanced by fine photographs and alluring details.

**Timothy Schroder**

## *A Handsome Cupboard of Plate, Early American Silver in the Cahn Collection* by Deborah Dependahl Waters published by John Adamson, 2012

Having feasted our eyes on the magnificent pieces of English silver in the collection of Paul and Elissa Cahn, and wrestled with the problems as to whom actually did what in their manufacture, as discussed in Ellenor Allcorn's provocative catalogue, *Beyond the Maker's Mark, Paul de Lamerie Silver in the Cahn Collection*, (2006), another facet of the Cahn Collection has been revealed in this handsomely produced catalogue of the early American silver that Mr and Mrs Cahn have acquired. The author of this volume, Deborah Dependahl Waters, has however, taken the very opposite viewpoint to that adopted by Ms Allcorn in her examination of this extremely interesting area of silver studies, and consequently this volume, in many ways, poses many more questions than it answers. Allcorn literally went 'beyond the maker's mark' whereas Dependahl Waters takes the marks largely at face value which makes one wonder if she is fully aware of the content of the earlier volume.

It is apparent that Ms Dependahl Waters assumes that the person who struck a 'maker's mark' on a piece of silver was physically responsible for its manufacture. Such a standpoint has been superseded by the notable research published in Helen Clifford's book, *Silver in London, the Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760-1776* (2004), on the firm of Parker and Wakelin, which showed beyond any shadow of doubt that a firm which struck its 'maker's mark' on silver was the retailer and not the manufacturer. In any case, it seems highly unlikely to this reviewer that Jeremiah Dummer, for example, "son of one of the largest landowners in



Massachusetts”, to quote Dependahl Waters, and, therefore, who would have been, in the eighteenth century, considered a gentleman, should have rolled up his sleeves as an apprentice of John Hull, to work at a bench as a manufacturing silversmith rather than to be trained as a business partner.

The intriguing question asked about early American silver is how much was imported unmarked from the mother countries, predominantly England, but perhaps also the Netherlands, and even France (into modern day Canada), Germany, or Spain into the west coast, and exactly what was the role of those who struck the pieces with their ‘maker’s marks’. Evidence of the export of unmarked silver from London was highlighted by Susan Hare in her introduction to the Goldsmiths’ Company exhibition, *Paul de Lamerie, At the Sign of the Golden Ball*, in 1990. Hare noted that in 1726 the Goldsmiths’ Company attempted to seize a cargo destined for Russia, of over four thousand ounces of silver by leading London goldsmiths, which was unmarked and, therefore, escaping duty. These were no doubt grand pieces for the Russian Imperial court but there is no reason to suppose that a comparable trade, presumably of lesser items, was conducted with the American colonies.

It is, however, also clear that silver was made in the American colonies, as is demonstrated by Ms Dependahl Waters and she draws attention to several references to the machinery that was used in its production. Furthermore, two candlesticks in the Cahn Collection (cat no 26), have traces of London hallmarks cast into their bases which are overstruck by the mark of Myer Myers, clearly indicating that they were cast from London-made sticks, but made in New York. She appears to be less certain in her attribution of a pair of buckles (cat no 30), also struck with the mark MM, which she attributes to “an unidentified English buckle maker” rather than to Myer Myers. Her research into London buckle-makers’ patents is to be commended.

As far as the standard of purity of the silver used in the American colonies is concerned, Ms Dependahl Waters stresses that some silversmiths advertised their wares as meeting the sterling standard of 92.5% fine, but, sadly, she appears to have missed the opportunity of having all the pieces in the collection tested by simple non-destructive techniques of assay. She gives a succinct analysis of the differences between sterling and ‘coin’ silver and suggests that the latter standard of somewhere around 90% fine might have been more frequently used, as by Myer Myers for the sugar bowl and cover (cat no 13) which tested at between 88.6% and 91.6% on samples taken from eight different locations. Elsewhere Ms Dependahl Waters states that 90.6% and 93.6% was “Typical of eighteenth century American silver” (cat no

28). Without any organised system of assay, it must have been very tempting for silversmiths to use a lower, and cheaper, standard of silver which the purchasers would have been unable to detect by eye.

Another intriguing aspect of this book is the terminology used to describe some of the pieces of silver. Ms Dependahl Waters gives no etymological reasons for her uses, although she must surely have them. For example, what English silver students might describe as a brandy saucepan is here (cat no 21) described as a “Pipe Lighter” apparently after the Netherlandish *pijpekomfoor*. Although the author states that the piece “may have had a loose copper liner” the bowl has clearly had a rough life and she notes that its many repairs have been plated over. The impracticality of this piece being used for lighting pipes is self-evident, even to a non-smoker, for it would have been necessary to invert the pipe over the bowl, at which moment presumably, the tobacco would have fallen out of the pipe and into the now- missing copper liner. Without any historical literary references quoted in the text, it is impossible to confirm the author’s use of the terms ‘sugar dish’, ‘pepper box’, or ‘milk pot’ rather than the more usual, although no doubt equally unsubstantiated terms, sugar bowl and cover, dredger (or the equally whimsical ‘kitchen pepper’) and milk jug?

Without doubt the star of the collection is the plate, now somewhat crudely fitted with feet to make a waiter, struck with the mark of Myer Myers of New York, circa 1768, bought by the Cahns through S J Shrubsole at Sotheby’s New York in 1994. The anonymous engraver has produced a delightful cartouche with the words of Psalm 34, verse 15. The “plate” was presented Theodorus van Wyck whose name will be familiar to anyone who has taken a cab from New York’s JFK airport to Manhattan. Why the donors chose a plate which later had to be converted into a waiter remains a mystery: perhaps it was all that was available. However, it displays a triumph of restrained Rococo engraving by an artist in the American colonies who could certainly rival his British contemporaries.

This beautifully produced volume, contains a great deal of information, much of which will be completely new to the students of English silver. That said, there is a terrible feeling that an opportunity has been lost to tie down the standards of fineness of the silver used by American silversmiths, which would assist in the future attribution of American silver, and give a sound indication of how the terminology used to describe pieces of silver differed from one side of the Atlantic to the other.

**Charles Truman**



# The Wellby Bequest: memories of Michael

Michael Sinclair Wellby (1928-2012) was steeped in the traditions of the silver trade for he was descended from the family who founded the company D & J Wellby in the early nineteenth century; it continued until its final move to Albemarle Street, London W1, eventually closing in the 1970s. Michael's father Hubert had left the firm and set up his own business in Halkin Arcade, Knightsbridge, trading under the name H S Wellby, which was used by Michael for the whole of his long career, first at his premises in Grafton Street, and later when he continued to work from home.

He undoubtedly inherited the family instinct and curiosity that paid dividends throughout his life. After finishing his education at Marlborough College and working for a short time for his father, he set out on an illustrious career that touched so many in the silver world. He was held in high regard for his encyclopaedic knowledge, coupled with a persuasive personality that led others to seek and appreciate his opinions. He was an exceptional and generous teacher and many benefited from his visits to salerooms when pieces would be discussed and analysed. Sometimes information was only revealed after sales had been completed and then the source of an unknown maker, or town mark, or some technical detail would be vouchsafed. His great pleasure was in verbally deconstructing his latest finds and convincing both himself and his audience of his ideas. As a 'teacher' he did not expect people to forget! Michael was particularly generous in sharing the details of his own private collection and at the time of his death was preparing a catalogue for publication. This astonishing collection was most generously bequeathed to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The museum has made a preliminary illustrated inventory and this will shortly be made available on the internet.

In his bequest to the Ashmolean Museum, Michael had decided that the importance and diversity of his magnificent collection could be an invaluable resource for the study and development of knowledge for future generations in a field where fewer high quality objects are in free circulation. His ideas and wishes had long been discussed with the Ashmolean Curator, Professor Timothy Wilson, over many years after he had chosen Oxford as the recipient of his bequest: it was close to his homes at Gerrards Cross and later Haddenham in Buckinghamshire. He particularly appreciated the Ashmolean's tradition of respecting benefactors' wishes. His collection, mainly



*Michael Wellby at work, 2006*  
(Photographed by Lord Thomson)



Fig 1 Nautilus cup with Flemish silver-gilt mounts, unmarked, probably Antwerp, late sixteenth century (Image © Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)



Fig 2 Caster, silver-gilt, London, 1700 by David Willaume I (Image © Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

German in origin, provides a perfect foil to the important English silver already in the museum. It was with these aims in mind that it was decided to establish the Wellby Room, following the example that he had adopted in his home, which was in turn inspired by the Green Vaults in Dresden, thus providing a single permanent location for exhibition. It is hoped that the collection will become as well known as the Waddesdon Bequest at the British Museum or the Schroder Collection. The terms of the bequest are flexible: loans may be made from the collection and objects of similar type may be added to the display. It is the museum's hope that it will become a prime resource for the study of renaissance and baroque applied arts. Grants are currently being sought for an appropriate distinguished display.

The influence of the *Kunstammer* tradition of earlier centuries played an important role in Michael's choice of objects. His love of mounted precious stones and other rare materials is well represented in the collection. Many of these pieces are unmarked but his immense knowledge allowed him to make sound judgements as to age and authenticity. One of his earliest and most remarkable discoveries was a mother-of-pearl casket from Gujarat with Parisian silver-gilt mounts of 1532 by François I's goldsmith Pierre Mangot: a spectacular surviving example from the French Renaissance that was subsequently sold to the Musée du Louvre in 2000. When the casket was sold in 1962 it was described as seventeenth-century but with later mounts. Its true age was established when Michael dismantled the mounts and revealed the hall-

marks that were subsequently identified and allowed the casket to be placed among other similar early sixteenth-century French pieces that were published in October 1969 by Ilaria Toesca in *Apollo* ('Silver in the Time of François I: A New Identification'). One of the other examples she cited was a similar but smaller casket, hallmarked in Paris a year later, with the same maker's mark: M below a mounted equestrian figure and crown, which belongs to the treasury of the cathedral of Mantua.

Another *Kunstammer* object from the collection is the important silver-gilt mounted nautilus cup [Fig 1] which was probably made in Antwerp in the late sixteenth century; it has a particularly finely carved and well preserved shell that retains much of its original

polychrome decoration, illustrating men on horseback galloping through marine type vegetation; it will undoubtedly be the subject of further research. The silver-gilt caster, London, 1700, with the maker's mark of David Willaume I [Fig 2], whose family originally came from Metz, is a further example of Michael's eclectic taste: it shows the Huguenot influence combined with imaginative engraving accompanying the cut-card work on the body and enhancing the unusual piercing on the cover.

Michael had wide interests in other areas of the decorative arts including jewellery, which he bought for Joy, his wife of some sixty years, who predeceased him. In this area his technical knowledge of metalwork led him to search out pieces dating from the Renaissance to the twentieth century with a particular appreciation of design and craftsmanship, rather than the intrinsic value of the stones. This diversified path was well illustrated in the sale of the jewellery collection that took place in December 2012.

Michael is survived by his four sons, who have not followed directly in his footsteps, but in different disciplines they are continuing the family traditions within the art world.

In Michael's words:

I hope my descendants will visit the collection for they and it are my only gifts to posterity.

**Eleanor Thompson**

# David Brand Inglis

## 1939 - 2013

Brand Inglis was born in Chelsea in 1939 and died on 18 August 2013 aged 74.

He was acknowledged in the silver trade as one of the foremost experts in antique silver, both English and Continental; he was also extremely well versed in heraldry and had a magnificent library which was subsequently sold by Woolley and Wallis of Salisbury for record sums. Each of his books contained his book plate and the library covered every facet of gold and silver work from English college and church plate to large sections on Continental and American silver and goldwork.



Brand's father, who before the Second World War had been a successful stockbroker, served in the RAF in Oman. He returned to England and recommenced his City career but died shortly afterwards from pneumonia. During the war Brand and his mother Connie went to live in Shaldon in Devon to escape the Blitz.

Brand was educated at Westminster. In 1951, at the age of twelve he was in a British-made film called *White Corridors* with, amongst others, Petula Clark, Googie Withers and Godfrey Tearle. Having been in one film he had thoughts of more acting and after Westminster he joined RADA in the late 1950s. He hoped to further his

career as an actor but also had the idea that he would meet up with some of the nubile young girls then at the Academy! Following this he completed his National Service with the Seaforth Highlanders.

His first job after the army was with the redoubtable Mrs Ben How where he lasted a year – a record – he left to secure a job with Spinks and following this he joined Thomas Lumley another well regarded silver dealer in 1967. He left Lumley in 1975 and started on his own in a shop in Halkin Arcade, off Motcomb Street in Belgravia, dealing in antique silver. He left there in 1993 and went to work as the silver expert at Tessier in Old Bond Street. On leaving this position in 1995 he took an office in Vigo Street for two or three years and continued dealing from this address for a while.

He then left London and moved to Belsey Farmhouse on an estate near Pulborough in West Sussex. He renovated the house but decided, after a couple of years, to move to France where he lived in the small village of Carlenças near Bédarieux in the Languedoc. He returned to live in Chichester in 2012 having had extensive medical treatment in Montpellier.



He was made a liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1976 and became an Assistant to the Court in 1997 but resigned this position later that year. He was President of the British Antique Dealers' Association from 1984-86 and Chairman of the Silver Society in 1978. He was a member of Boodles where he delighted in entertaining his friends. He was married twice: to Beryl Mischon and then to Sheila Browning with whom he had a son, Richard, who has followed his father in working in the silver trade.

A familiar face on the BBC's long-running *Antiques Roadshow* Brand was much admired by many museum curators for his eye for a wonderful piece of silver; he sold pieces to the Victoria and Albert Museum, Colonial Williamsburg and the Toledo Museum of Art amongst others. The latter houses his favourite 'deal' a Nuremberg ewer and basin dating from circa 1575. He wrote *The Arthur Negus Guide to British Silver* (1980) and co-curated the exhibition *Lynn Silver* (1972) and contributed a chapter on the silversmiths of King's Lynn to *East Anglian Silver 1550-1750* (edited by Christopher Hartop).

#### RICHARD VANDERPUMP

Brand cut a distinctive figure in the trade. He was always more dapper and more perfectly turned out than the rest. His suits were better tailored, his ties better tied and his hat – when he wore one – placed at the perfect angle. Whilst the 'usual suspects' of the silver trade would sit out the auctions around the U-shaped green baize table, Brand, never interested in more than one or two lots, would slip into view at the back of the room at the *moment critique* and make the most faintly detectable of gestures. To most in the room it was nothing – a twitch or a scratch – but to the practiced auctioneer's eye it was a bid. And as often as not it marked the coming down of the hammer, usually to the confusion and irritation of the opposition.

Brand was never well-enough capitalised to fight a conventional bidding battle in the sale room and most of his victories were won by stealth and subterfuge. One of those subterfuges was sheer knowledge. He had one of the best libraries in the trade, including a virtually unbroken run of Christie's and Sotheby's silver catalogues from the early twentieth century that he had inherited from Tom Lumley and which he knew in great detail. On one occasion when we shared dealing premises in Halkin Arcade, he had bought a Charles I wine cup. We looked at it together and I suggested that it had once been in collection A. "No," he said, "I am sure it was in collection B." I went into the shelves to find catalogue B. He, in the meantime, unbeknown to me, had



*Ewer and basin engraved with Old Testament subjects and the Twelve Caesars, silver, parcel-gilt, engraved, etched and chased, Nuremberg, 1575*

(Toledo Museum of Art, purchased with funds from the Florence Scott Libbey Bequest in memory of her father, Maurice A Scott, 1983.80 and 1983.81)

filled the cup with claret. Catalogue in hand and intent on making a point, I turned the cup upside down to check the marks, throwing the wine all over myself. Having (on that occasion) a better sense of humour than me, Brand found this very amusing.

Brand loved silver and had a fine and quirky eye. Silver was the source and life-blood of many great and lasting friendships and there are museum curators in the States, mostly now retired, who will say of this or that object in their care, as if it added a further layer of significance, "that came from Brand". He was also a great communicator. Many found themselves first being drawn into the subject by listening to one of his lectures; members of the Silver Society will remember his eloquent and engagingly spontaneous commentaries on objects brought to meetings, whilst members of vetting committees in antique fairs will remember, perhaps less warmly, his forthright put-downs of flawed objects or opinions.

Brand was a maverick, but he was also a connoisseur and a scholar. There was no one like him and he will be much missed.

**TIMOTHY SCHRODER**

# Index

Illustrations are not separately identified except under certain headings such as invoices and marks. Usually only the first entry of an article is indexed so the reader is advised to check the whole article. A complete index of previous issues may be found on the Society's website.

- Accounts  
 Sir Robert Walpole with Jewel House 50  
 Sir Robert Walpole with George Wickes 44, 64
- Allport, James, of New York 99
- American silver, early 123
- Ancoats, mills in 21
- Anticlastic raising 116
- Armorial  
 George I 30  
 Manchester 90  
 Pottinger 90  
 Walpole 26  
 Walpole quarterly with Robsart 42  
 Walpole impaling Shorter 29
- Asprey & Co 107
- Assay Offices,  
 Birmingham 13  
 establishment of 18, 92  
 guardians of 92  
 notice issued by 1830 18  
 Chester 104  
 Edinburgh 104  
 Sheffield 13, 104  
 establishment of 18, 92
- Banquet for Sir Robert Walpole and Duke of Richmond as Knights of the Garter 49
- Barnard & Son Edward 89
- Barr, Elaine 44
- Barratt, James, smallworker 21
- Basin,  
 'Dolphin', London, 1635, Christiaen van Vianen 114  
 and ewer, Nuremberg, 1575 128
- Basket, London, 1731, Paul de Lamerie 40
- Bérain, Jean, designs of 38
- Beswicke, Raphe, of Salford 5
- Beaven, T, retailer 89
- Bevan, John, of Manchester 5
- Blackburn, Arthur 5
- Birmingham,  
 standards of silver in 18  
 toymakers, jewellers and silversmiths in 91
- Bishops' Transcripts 5
- Bolton, Samuel 94
- Bonham, John, jeweller 34
- Book Reviews** 117
- Books,  
*A and G Murray and the Cotton Mills of Ancoats*, Ian Miller and Christopher Wild 21  
*A Handsome Cupboard of Plate, Early in American Silver in the Cahn Collection*, Deborah Dependahl Waters 123  
*Aedes Walpoliana*, Horace Walpole 52  
*Anecdotes of Painting in England*, Horace Walpole 37  
*A New Book of Cyphers, More Compleat & Regular than any ever Publish'd*, Simon Gribelin 34  
*Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth*, John Nichols 37  
*Boudoir Labels*, John Salter 120  
*Catalogue of Engravers*, Horace Walpole 33  
*East Anglian Silver*, Christopher Hartop 128  
*Gulliver's Travels*, Jonathan Swift 38  
*Matthew Boulton and the Toymakers*, Eric Delieb 98  
*Russian Silver in America. Surviving the Melting Pot*, Anne Odom 121  
*Some Designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and M<sup>W</sup> Kent*, John Vardy 50  
*The Arthur Negus Guide to British Silver*, Brand Inglis 128  
*The Modern Cook*, Vincent la Chapelle 46  
*The Wallace Collection, Catalogue of Gold Boxes*, Charles Truman 117
- Boulton, Matthew 13, 22, 92  
 tureen dish, circa 1805 14
- Bottle stands, 18th century 30
- Boxes,  
 gold 20, 117  
 silver-gilt 20  
 by Samuel Pemberton II 96
- Brancker,  
 family pedigree 6  
 John 5
- Branker, Benjamin, of Chester 5
- Bristol, Earl of 50
- Buck, John, of Chester 6
- Burrell,  
 Sir Merrick 40  
 Sir Peter 40
- Cabinet, attributed to Pierre Gole 54
- Candelabra, London, 1731, Paul de Lamerie 41
- Candelabrum, London, 2012, Jenny Edge 116
- Cannan, William, machine-maker 21
- Carlille, family, Hull 8
- Carruthers, Archibald 22
- Casket, mother-of-pearl, with French mounts of 1532 126
- Caster, 1700 by David Willaume I 126
- Catherine the Great 24
- Centrepiece 49
- Centrepiece, Union*, London, 2013, Miriam Hanid 114  
 commission of 115
- Chandeliers,  
 designs for 55  
 silver 55
- Chapman, Nicholas 5
- Chester,  
 hallmarks 20  
 marks associated with 6
- China, treaty with, 1842 89
- Cholmondeley, Lord 59
- Christie, James, valuation by 59
- Churches  
 Holy Trinity, York 8  
 St Helen's, York 7  
 St Mark's, Cheetham 22  
 St Martin's, York 7  
 St Michael le Belfry, York 7  
 St Nicholas's, Chester 6  
 St Peter's, Liverpool 20  
 St Philip's, Birmingham 101
- Cisterns 51
- Clark, F E 104
- Clifford, Helen, **Verve and Vision: Paul Dyson at the Goldsmiths' Company 2001-2013** 109
- Clockmakers, Worshipful Company of 84
- Cock, Mr, auctioneer 48  
 list of plate sold from Sir Robert Walpole's house in Chelsea, 1747 48  
 receipt from, for filigree cabinet 54
- Collection,  
 Elizabeth Miles 33  
 Gilbert 17, 41  
 Paul and Elissa Cahn 39, 123  
 Puiforcat, 30
- Commins, William 5
- Cooke, George Ellis, of Snow Hill 99
- Cradle, silver, presentation of 6
- Craig, John, retailer 44
- Craven, Earl of 17
- Crawford, Claire, **The Portsmouth lectern: the commission of a lectern for the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers** 112
- Crespin, Paul 45
- Croll, Sir Alexander 84
- Crosskey, Gordon, **"Wasting a great quantity of silver"** 12
- Cunliffe, Martin 5
- Cup  
 pair of coconut, silver mounts, London, 1792, Thomas Phipps and Edward Robinson 58  
 covered, circa 1715, William Lukin 32  
 nautilus, Antwerp 126
- De Lamerie, Paul 31
- De Launay, Nicolas 30
- Delieb, Eric 91
- Dependahl Waters, Deborah, *A Handsome Cupboard of Plate, Early in American Silver in the Cahn Collection*, review of by Charles Truman 123

- Derby,  
11th Earl of 30  
13th Earl of 30
- Dish,  
Fluted, London, 1718 and 1719, Paul de Lamerie 35  
sideboard, 48
- Drayton, Northamptonshire 51
- Dudley, Robert 5
- Duty,  
dodgers 32  
on plated wares 12  
on silver 12, 32
- Dyson, Paul 109
- Edge, Jenny 116
- Edward VIII,  
abdication of 103  
coronation of 103  
souvenir medal 107
- Engravers  
Gamble, Ellis 35  
Hogarth, William 36  
Hassel engraver 40  
Roos/Roos, John 31  
Sympson, Joseph 29
- Engraving,  
impressions of 30  
seals 31
- Engravings,  
*An Allegory of George, Prince of Wales as the future Protector of the Realm*, William Hogarth 38  
*The Lottery*, William Hogarth 38  
*The Punishment inflicted on Lemuel Gulliver*, William Hogarth 38
- Entertaining, costs of, in 18th century 25
- Epergne, description of 49
- Ewer and basin, Nuremberg, 1575 128
- Exhibitions  
*Butcher, Baker, Candlesticks Maker: 850 years of London Livery Company Treasures* (2012) 88  
*Houghton Revisited* (2013) 24  
*Lynn Silver* (1972) 128  
*Treasures of the Royal Courts, Tudors, Stuarts and the Russian Tsars* (2013) 114  
*Three Centuries of York Silver 1550-1858* (2000) 8
- Fallon, John, **The Pottinger plate** 89
- Fazakerley, John, of Liverpool 6
- Fenton & Co 13
- Filigree, silver 53
- Fischer, J H, design for mug 57
- Fishmongers, Worshipful Company of 112
- Fountain, table, London, 1874, Stephen Smith 84
- Frederick, Prince of Wales, relationship with Walpole 44
- Freemasons, Lodge of Harmony, Carlisle 21
- French dining customs, adoption of 46
- Frost, Henry 9  
John 9
- Gamble, Ellis, engraver and retailer 35
- Garrard, Jonathan 5
- Garthorne, Francis 28
- Germaine, Lady Elizabeth 47
- Getz, Samuel, of Liverpool, engraver 21
- Godfrey, Benjamin 45
- Gold standard, lowering of , 1798 18
- Goldsmith bankers 28
- Goldsmiths, Worshipful Company of, Craftsmanship and Design Awards 115  
deputation to William Pitt, 1797 18  
Director of Promotion 109  
exhibition programme 109  
petition to from the trade, 1797 12
- Gole, Pierre,  
cabinet by 54  
designs published by 30
- Gregson, John 5
- Grosvenor, Mary 93
- Hall, William I 26
- Hallmarks,  
commemorative 103  
coronation, 1937 104  
voluntary 103
- Hallmarking,  
Act of 1773 93  
Act of 1824 97  
Act of 1973 104  
laws 32
- Hancock, Joseph, of Sheffield 14
- Hanid, Miriam 114
- Harvey, John 50
- Hassel engraver 40
- Harrison, William I, 26
- Hartop, Christopher, **Sir Robert Walpole's silver** 24
- Hodges,  
John, of Farnworth 5  
John, letter to Matthew Boulton 13
- Hogarth, William, artist and engraver 36
- Hollanden, Lord 112
- Houghton Hall,  
building of 34  
chandeliers for 55  
inventory of 1745 49  
Marble Parlour 50  
Norfolk 24  
plate sent to, 1752 73  
sale at, by Jacques, 1792 73  
Stone Hall 36  
valuation of plate at, post 1751 70
- Hull, makers 8
- Hutchin, Scarlett, **The Croll Testimonial: its history, construction and restoration** 84
- Inglis, David Brand (Obituary) 127
- Inkstand,  
1708, William Lukin 34  
depicted in portrait of Sir Robert Walpole 34  
'Treasury' type, London, 1729 and 1733, Paul de Lamerie 39
- Irwin, Lord 32
- Jacques & Son, auctioneers 60  
sale of property of 3rd Earl of Orford, 1792 60, 73  
settlement statement, 1792 61
- Jewel House,  
bill from, to Sir Robert Walpole for loan of plate, 1726 50  
loans from 49
- Joseph, Elias, of Liverpool 6
- Kent,  
Timothy and Schrager, Luke, **Adam Murray and his two boxes: a family story** 20  
William, architect 50
- Knowsley Hall 32
- Labels, boudoir 120
- Lacquer on silver 86
- Law, Thomas, of Sheffield 16
- Lancashire, goldsmiths 5
- Lancashire Parish Registers, Society of 5
- Langford, Abraham, auctioneer 45  
inventory made after death of 1st Earl of Orford, 1744/5 66  
sale of 2nd Earl of Orford's property 59, 71
- Lectern,  
the Hollenden 112  
the Portsmouth 112
- Lepautre, Pierre, engraving of Louis XIV's dining room 30
- Lewis, Edward 5
- Linnit, John, gold box by 89
- Lloyd, Charles 95
- Lomax, James, research into Lord Irwin 33
- London, standards of silver in 18
- Lorraine, Duke of 36
- Lukin, William 29  
covered cup 32  
'duty dodgers' 32  
Inkstand, 1708 34  
wine coolers
- Macclesfield, Earl of 52
- Mace, London, 1734, Thomas Rush 42
- Mann, Robert, banker 28
- Manchester, mills in 21
- Mangot, Pierre, Paris goldsmith 126
- Manufacturing Silversmiths Association 103
- Marks  
Hull 8  
IB with three plumes 6  
IB a pellet between 21  
IW 47  
M& Co 98  
P, York 5  
P&M 98  
RW 6  
SP 91  
TP 99  
TP incuse  
TP above RM 98  
WH an etoile above, a pellet between 26  
WP 8  
York 8
- May, Brian et al, **New light on Samuel Pemberton I and his descendants: Birmingham toy makers, jewellers and silversmiths** 91
- Metcalfe, Percy, designer 107
- Mitchell, Robert 91
- 'Monarch Shield' 86
- Montagu, Duke of 17
- Morton, Lucy, **Jenny Edge** 116  
**Miriam Hanid** 114
- Mug, design for, J H Fischer 57



- Murray,  
Adam, mill owner, Ancoats 20  
memorial tablet to 22  
George, mill owner, Ancoats 21  
James, mill owner 22  
Margaret 22  
Textile mills belonging to Murray family 21
- Museums  
Ashmolean, Oxford 30, 125  
British Museum, London 31  
J Paul Getty, Los Angeles 30  
Hillwood Museum and Gardens, Washington 121  
Louvre, Paris 30  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 29  
Norwich Castle, Norwich 44  
Soho House, Birmingham 14  
Temple Newsam, Leeds 33  
Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio 128  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London 17, 36, 114  
Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford 33  
Wallace Collection, London 117  
gold box collection 117  
Yorkshire Museum 8
- Nanking, Treaty of 89
- Newspapers  
*Birmingham Daily Post* 101  
*Birmingham Gazette* 101  
*Daily Post* 29  
*London Gazette* 99  
*Manchester Mercury* 22  
*Morning Chronicle* 48  
*Norwich Mercury* 42
- Norcott, Daniel and Joseph 28
- Norfolk, Duke of, service by Paul Storr 17
- Norwich,  
civic silver 42  
city mace 42
- Nutmeg grater, circa 1730 63
- Odom, Anne, *Russian Silver in America. Surviving the Melting Pot*, review of by Timothy Schroder 121
- O'Donnell, Craig et al, **New light on Samuel Pemberton I and his descendants: Birmingham toy makers, jewellers and silversmiths** 91
- Old Meeting House, Birmingham 92
- Oman, Charles 31
- Onslow, Arthur, Speaker of House of Commons 30
- Orford,  
1st Earl of 26  
inventory taken on death of, by Langford 66  
2nd Earl of 36  
catalogue of property, 1751 59  
estate, account of at death 72  
Exchequer, house at 45  
sale of property at 45, 71  
3rd Earl of 24  
estate papers of 24  
sale of property at Houghton, 1782 60, 73  
wills of 59  
4th Earl of 61  
House 47  
Lady, settlement of 1746 67  
Original Design Partnership 112  
Osman, Louis 112  
Oxenstierna-Steenbock, Countess, designs for 30  
Parish registers  
Lancashire 5  
Lancashire Parish Register Society 5  
York 5  
Parkinson, John 5  
Richard 5  
Pattern books, of 1770s 14  
Payne, Michael, **The 1937 'Coronation hallmark'** 103  
Pearson,  
George 7  
Peter 7  
William 7  
Perkins, John, **Goldsmiths from Lancashire and York parish registers** 5  
Pemberton, Mandy et al, **New light on Samuel Pemberton I and his descendants: Birmingham toy makers, jewellers and silversmiths** 91  
Pemberton, Peter 5  
Pemberton,  
Anne 95  
Edwin 93  
Elizabeth 92  
firm in London 100  
George 101  
Mary 92  
Mitchell, Bishop & Co 101  
Nathaniel 92  
Peter 6  
& Perton 100  
Samuel & Son 94  
Samuel Pemberton, Son & Mitchell 98  
Samuel I 91  
Samuel II 92  
articles made by 95  
marks of 95  
will of 94  
Samuel III 94  
Son & Bolton 94  
Sophia (Lloyd) 95  
& Stokes, ironmasters 95  
Thomas 91  
Penn, Thomas, of Warrington 5  
Perton,  
George 101  
& Sabin 102  
Petition, to impose duty on plated wares, 1797 12  
Phillips, Richard et al, **New light on Samuel Pemberton I and his descendants: Birmingham toy makers, jewellers and silversmiths** 91  
Pindar, Thomas 7  
Pitt, William (Prime Minister) 12  
Plated wares  
duty on 12  
Plumb, Sir John, 24  
Plummer, James 7
- Portraits  
George Walpole, 3rd Earl of Orford, etching by William Camden 59  
Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford, Rosalba Carriera 58  
Sir Robert Walpole, John Wootton 25  
Charles Jervis 27
- Portsmouth, Earl of 112
- Pottinger, Sir Henry 89  
silver awarded to 89
- Prideaux, Walter, clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company 103
- Remedy, the 18
- Restoration methods 84
- Roberts & Cadman 14
- Robins, George, auctioneer 58
- Roe, Nathaniel I, Norwich goldsmith 42
- Roos/Roos, John, engraver 31
- Rosse, Myles 5
- Royal Hospital Chelsea 48
- Royal Mint 19, 106  
Deputy Master of, Sir Robert Johnson 106
- Rush, Thomas 42
- Russian silver, in America 121
- Ryland,  
Louisa Anne 95  
Samuel 95  
William 92
- St Martin's Lane Academy 34
- Salt, crab, 1820, Sebastian Crespell 113
- Salter, John, *Boudoir Labels*, review of by James Rothwell 117
- Salver,  
seal, circa 1715, William Lukin 30  
square, London, 1728, Paul de Lamerie 39  
the Walpole, London, 1728, Paul de Lamerie 36  
engraving of 37  
impression of 31
- Seal,  
Exchequer 30  
Matrices 30
- Schrager, Luke and Kent, Timothy, **Adam Murray and his two boxes: a family story** 20
- Schroder, Timothy and Vanderpump, Richard, **David Brand Inglis: an obituary** 127
- Sconces, at Houghton 52
- Sheals, Michael 5
- Sheffield, standards of silver in 18
- Sheffield plate 12  
boxes, construction of 14  
candlesticks, construction of 16  
coffee pots, construction of 14  
duty on 12  
in Ireland 13  
monteith, construction of 16  
oil lamp, construction of 16  
pattern books 14  
powder flask, construction of 16  
proposed marking of 13  
quantities of copper used in 13  
quantities of silver used in 13  
spirit flask, construction of 16  
taperstick, construction of 14  
use of silver components on 13

Shields, Robert 5  
 Shorter, Catherine 27  
 Sideboard dish 48  
 Silver Society Prize for silversmithing 116  
 Smith,  
   Arthur 5  
   Stephen 84  
 Snow Hill, Birmingham 92  
 South Sea Company 28  
   crash of, 28  
 Spoon  
   caddy, by Samuel Pemberton 96  
   London, 1744, maker's mark IW 47  
   York 8  
 Stabler, Harold, designer 104  
 Standard, sterling, in Sheffield and  
   Birmingham 18  
 Stanhoe House 28  
 Stevenson, Hugh 5  
 Stokes, George, Benjamin and Thomas,  
   ironmasters 95  
 Strawberry Hill, 24  
   catalogue 58  
   sale of contents, 1842 24  
     Sir Robert Walpole's silver at 75  
 Surtout, 49  
 Sympson,  
   Samuel 34  
   Joseph, engraver 29  
 Synclastic raising 116  
 Tankard, carved ivory and silver 46  
 Tanqueray, Anne 35  
 Testimonial, the Croll, 1870 84  
   history, construction and restoration of 84  
 Thompson, Eleanor, **The Wellby Bequest:  
 memories of Michael** 125  
 Tillinghast  
   Stephen I, of Liverpool 20  
   Stephen II, of Liverpool 20  
 Townshend, Lord 27  
 Trade card, of Joseph Sympson 34  
 Trade Marks Act 103  
 Tray, London, 1845, Edward Barnard & Sons 89  
 Trial plates, of 1728 19  
 Trouvé, Jacques 30  
 Truman, Charles,  
   book review by 123  
   *The Wallace Collection, Catalogue of Gold  
 Boxes*, review of 117  
 Tureen,  
   early 18th century, appearance of 45  
   soup,  
     London, 1733, Paul Crespin 45  
     London, circa 1730, Benjamin  
       Godfrey 46  
     London, 1738, George Wickes 45  
 Toymaking, in Birmingham 92  
 United Kingdom Electric Telegraph  
 Company 84  
 Vanderpump, Richard, and Schroder, Timothy,  
   **David Brand Inglis: an obituary** 127  
 Van Vianen, Christiaan, 'Dolphin' basin 114  
 Vase, silver and ivory, German, mounts, 1739,  
   George Wickes 47  
 Waddie, Thomas, of York 8  
 Waite, Richard, of Manchester 5

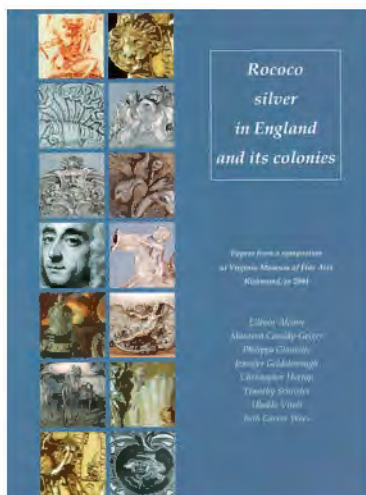
Walpole,  
   Baron 34  
   Catherine 27  
   Sir Edward 26  
   Horace 24  
     acquisition of his father's silver 58  
     coconut cups, pair of, 1792,  
       Thomas Phipps and Edward  
       Robinson 58  
     purchase of silver from 3rd Earl of  
       Orford 24  
 Colonel Robert 26  
   account books 27  
 Sir Robert 24  
   account books 28  
   accounts 28  
   basket, 1731, Paul de Lamerie 40  
   biographer of 24  
   candelabra, 1731, Paul de  
     Lamerie 41  
   Chancellor of the Exchequer 31  
   Chelsea, house at,  
     inventory of silver at, 1744/5 66  
     sale of plate at, 1747 68  
     theft from 43  
   covered cup, circa 1715, William  
     Lukin 32  
   dishes, fluted, 1718, David  
     Willaume I 35  
     1719 by Paul de Lamerie 35  
   early career 27  
   entertaining by 24  
   Exchequer, sale of plate at 1751  
   expenditure 28  
   finances of 27  
   gold racing cup 28  
   grant of silver from Jewel House 34  
   Houghton,  
     inventory of silver at, 1744/5 66  
     valuation of plate at, post 1751 70  
   image of 25  
   inkstand, circa 1708 by William  
     Lukin 34  
   inventories, following death 48  
   and Kent, William 50  
   Knight of Bath 34  
     of Garter 34  
   'Norfolk Congresses' of 50  
   Paymaster General 28  
   political bribes 47  
   'prime' minister 24  
   quantities owned by 62  
   records relating to 26  
   sale of picture collection 24  
   sale of silver 58  
   salver 36  
   seal salver, circa 1715, William  
     Lukin 30  
   square salver, 1728, Paul de  
     Lamerie 39  
   silver of 24,  
     list of 81  
   silver suppliers to 29  
   soup tureen,  
     1733, Paul Crespin 45  
     circa 1730, Benjamin Godfrey 46  
     1738, George Wickes 44

spoon, 1744 47  
 Stanhoe,  
   house at 28  
   inventory of silver, 1744/5 66  
   valuation of plate at, post 1751 70  
 Strawberry Hill sale, 1842, silver at 75  
 theft of silver from 43  
 Treasury inkstand, 1729, Paul de  
   Lamerie 39  
   1733 by Paul de Lamerie 40  
   use of silver 49  
 Wickes, George, account with 44, 64  
   wine coolers, 1716, William Lukin 29  
 Watson, James, of Hull 8  
 Watt, James 22  
 Wellby,  
   D & J 125  
   Michael (Obituary) 125  
     bequest to Ashmolean 125  
 West Dean College, Department of Metalwork  
   Conservation 85  
 Wickes, George 44  
   mounts for carved ivory vase 47  
   soup tureen 1738 44  
   Walpole, Sir Robert, account 44, 64  
 Wilks, James 47  
 Willaume, David 28, 126  
 Wilson, Timothy 125  
 Windsor, Duke of 103  
 Wine coolers,  
   pair, London, 1716, William Lukin 29  
   English, early 18th-century, appearance  
     of 30  
   French, *Régence*, appearance of 30  
 Yates, Samuel, of Liverpool, engraver 21  
 York  
   baluster knop spoon 8  
   goldsmiths 5  
   marks 8  
   Merchant Adventurers' Hall 8  
   seal top spoons 8

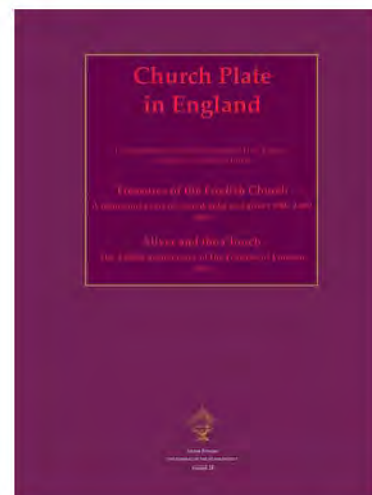
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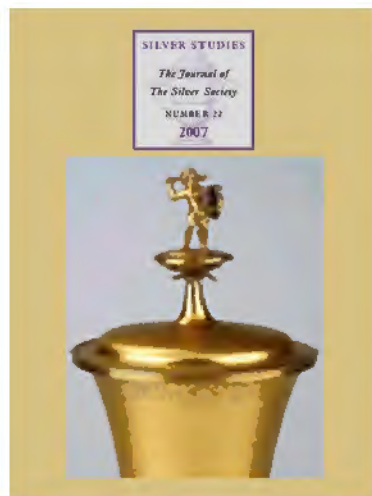
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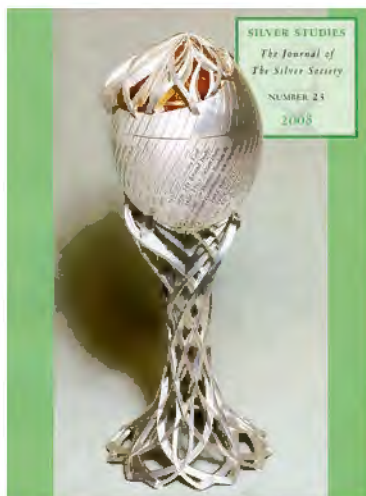
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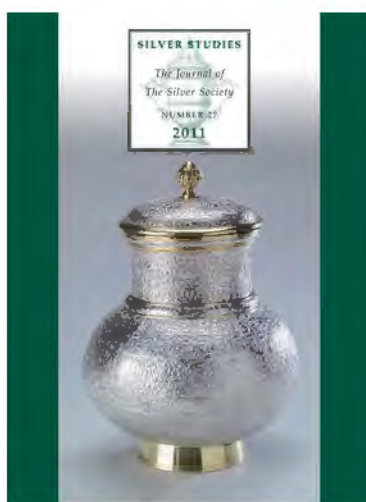
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