

A Canadian wine jug

DOROTHEA BURSTYN

You will see by the papers what narrow escape we had. None of the party will again be nearer their graves until they are placed in them. The people behaved well – the women heroically. I am none the worse of the trip.

Letter from John A. Macdonald to his sister, Margaret Williamson, Toronto, 7 July 1859.

While having a pleasant afternoon tea, my hosts showed me a Canadian-made wine jug. Of rather ordinary form and decoration, it has an intriguing inscription relating to the rescue of the steamer *Ploughboy* with a list of names headed by John A. Macdonald – a common name, but that of the beloved Canadian Prime Minister, father of the Confederation, who was voted in for six terms. A short search in *Google* ascertained that John A. Macdonald, then alderman of Kingston and member of the Macdonald / Cartier administration, had indeed been a passenger on the boat.

Presented to B. W. Smith Esquire, Sheriff
Of the County Simcoe in Commemoration of his
Adventurous expedition to Owen Sound which
Resulted in rescuing the Passengers and
Saving the STEAMER PLOUGHBOY from wreck on
The SHORES of LAKE HURON during the tempestuous
Night of 1st of July 1859

BY

Honble J.A. Macdonald	S. Derbishire Esqur.
Honble John Ross	Colonel Prince
Honble P.N. Vankoughnet	Angus Morrison Esqur. M.P.
Honble Sidney Smith	John Duggan Esqur.
Honble John Rose	D.B. Read Esqur.
Honble J.H. Cameron	A. McLean H.J. Gibb Esqur.

The wine jug was made in the late 1850s and is stamped on the upper rim with the mark of Robert Hendery, a pseudo lion passant and Georgian head, and the retailer's mark of J.E. Ellis, Toronto.¹ Wine jugs must have been popular presentation pieces, presumably because their form allows for big cartouches, where elaborate inscriptions were easily accommodated and seen when used. There are several jugs in the Henry Birks Collection by Robert Hendery, one of them almost identical in form and size to the B.W. Smith jug.² In style it is a typical representative of rococo revival: chased ornamentation of wine leaves and grapes, beaded rims and foot and equipped with a handle, formed naturalistically as a vine branch. Directly below the spout is a small cartouche showing an engraving of *Ploughboy*³ a typical side-wheel steamboat.

The events of 1 July 1859 on board *Ploughboy* were related in several short articles in Toronto newspapers. A detailed report in two parts by a passenger, signed 'H.J.G.', was printed by *The Leader, The People's Paper*, on 6 and 7 July 1859. *The Northern Advance*, Barrie, 13



1 Wine jug, R. Hendery, retailed by J.E. Ellis, Toronto, late 1850s. (Private collection)

1 Robert Hendery emigrated to Canada from Scotland before 1837; he established his own business in 1840 and formed various partnerships with Peter Bohle. The firm became one of the leading silversmiths in Quebec, supplying many important retailers. J.E. Ellis came from England in 1848; from 1852 on he carried on a retail watchmaker/jeweller business at 30 King Street, Toronto.

2 Ross Fox, *Presentation Pieces and Trophies from the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver*, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa 1985, pp47–49. This jug, Birks Coll no25135, was given to Mrs James Sadlier by the St Patrick's Literary Association in Montreal when she moved to New

York City. Mrs Sadlier was a well-known author of about 60 novels dealing with Irish life, both in America and Ireland. Her husband was a partner in Sadlier & Co., the leading US Catholic book publisher.

3 The steamer *Ploughboy* was built at Chatham in 1851 by J.M. McDermott: 450 tons, 170ft long, 28ft wide, with a wood hull. In 1864 the ship was sold and renamed T.F. Parks; rebuilt as a wrecking tug 1869; on 3 June 1871 she burned while about 500ft from Sibley's Dock, Detroit river. The hull was raised and after boilers and engine were removed she was scuttled in deep water, October 1871. I am grateful to Bill McNeil for this information, email 6 June 2007.



2 Advertisement for pleasure trips in *Ploughboy*, *The Daily Globe*, 5 July 1859.

July 1859 included a somewhat romantic report of the disaster, written by a female passenger who remained nameless.

A party of ladies and gentlemen⁴ left Toronto for Collingwood (approximately 95 miles north of Toronto and on the southern coast of Lake Huron at Georgian Bay), where they boarded *Ploughboy* shortly before midnight. A thunderstorm during the night did not disturb or upset the passengers and the next day started merrily enough with jokes, singing and piano playing. What should have been a pleasure cruise soon turned into a nightmare after the steamer's cross-heads⁵ snapped in half and all steam power had to be turned off; without a mast and sails⁶ *Ploughboy* drifted helplessly. The weather worsened, with strong wind and heavy seas. Sheriff Smith and three of the men volunteered to get help from Owen Sound in one of the lifeboats, which they equipped with a jury-rigged sail made from the ship's awnings. Efforts to evacuate the rest of the passengers to nearby Lonely Island had to be abandoned. Anchors were dropped to slow the steamer's progress towards land, but as night set in *Ploughboy* drifted closer and closer to the rocky shore. '... the terrible communication of the almost certain prospect of impending death'⁷ imparted by the chief officer came as a shock to most passengers, who spent the night and the following morning huddled together in the ladies' saloon. Gentlemen slept on the floor and the piano was lashed for safety. Sounds of quiet crying and the tinkle of the drops of the chandelier striking together with each rolling of the ship contributed to the eerie atmosphere. The coast was about a mile away when⁸

a man shouted the few magic words that swept an electric thrill of mingled joy and gratitude throughout every soul ... 'The anchors have caught!' Such indeed, was the fact, and we were really saved – for the time at least – snatched, as it were, out of the very jaws of death!

In the morning the ship's new situation was assessed: they were only a few yards from the barren rocky shore. Attempts to land had again to be abandoned but in the afternoon the storm lulled and Capt McLean, Sidney Smith and Angus Morrison set out in a lifeboat and found a suitable landing place. After a service held by J.H. Cameron on board, the passengers were taken ashore with considerable difficulty. Fires were kindled, a screen rigged up for the ladies and dresses changed; make-shift encampments were erected – '... and men known in Toronto, only for their eloquence at the bar and the tribune, discovered an unexpected adaptability of suiting

4 List of passengers given in *Weekly Chronicle & News*, Kingston, 8 July 1859: Hon John Ross, Mrs Ross, Mrs Baldwin, two children and maid; Hon J.A. Macdonald; Hon John Rose; Mrs Rose, Miss Rose; Hon P. Vankoughnet; Hon Sidney Smith; Hon J.J. Cameron and Mrs Cameron; Col Prince; Mr McLeod and Misses E. and A. McLeod; Mr Angus Morrison, M.P.P.; Col Holdsworth; Sheriff Smith (Barrie) and Miss Smith; Mr R. J. Smith (Collingwood) and two daughters; Mr and Mrs D. Morrison and servant; Miss Widder; Miss Nickinson,

and Messrs Derbishire, Duggan, D.B. Read, H.J. Gibbs, Allan McLean, R. Ogilby, Poley J. Nickenson Jnr and T. Carruthers. Please note that this list is not identical with the list of donors of the B.W. Smith wine jug.

5 A cross-head is a massive piece of wrought iron used to hold up the piston-rod. If suddenly detached from its position a cross-head would probably force its way through the bottom of the vessel and swamp her.

6 Nearly all articles about the incident ventured the opinion that the disaster

could have been averted, had *Ploughboy* been equipped with a mast and sails. I am grateful to Mr Bill McNeil, www.hhpl.on.ca/GreatLakes for the following information: 'All early steamboats carried masts and sailors capable of sailing the ship if the engine broke down or was not powerful enough to breach the seas. However with the engineering improvements of the steamboat engines and competent engineers to manage and maintain them, the masts were gradually removed, shortened or became ornaments, in fact even the sailing vessels

had their masts removed or shortened, and were towed from port to port by steamers, this because it was much cheaper to employ on the barges a few labourers who often had no marine experience, and who often could not even raise a sail.

'The Steamboat Inspection Act (1868), required many safety conditions, including engine and boiler inspections, engineers were trained and licensed. Boats had to carry enough lifeboats and life preservers for all passengers, and to have passenger lists, and so on. But the safety require-

ments were only as good as the inspectors, who often turned a blind eye. Incompetence, alcohol and, of course, fire and collisions, were the main problems of steam boating in the 1850s. Expanding railroads, which were much safer, stole many paying passenger from the Lakes, this eventually forced the shipping lines to make their vessels safer.' (Email 30 June 2007)

7 'The late disaster on Georgian Bay', *The Leader*, 6 July 1859.

8 *ibid.*

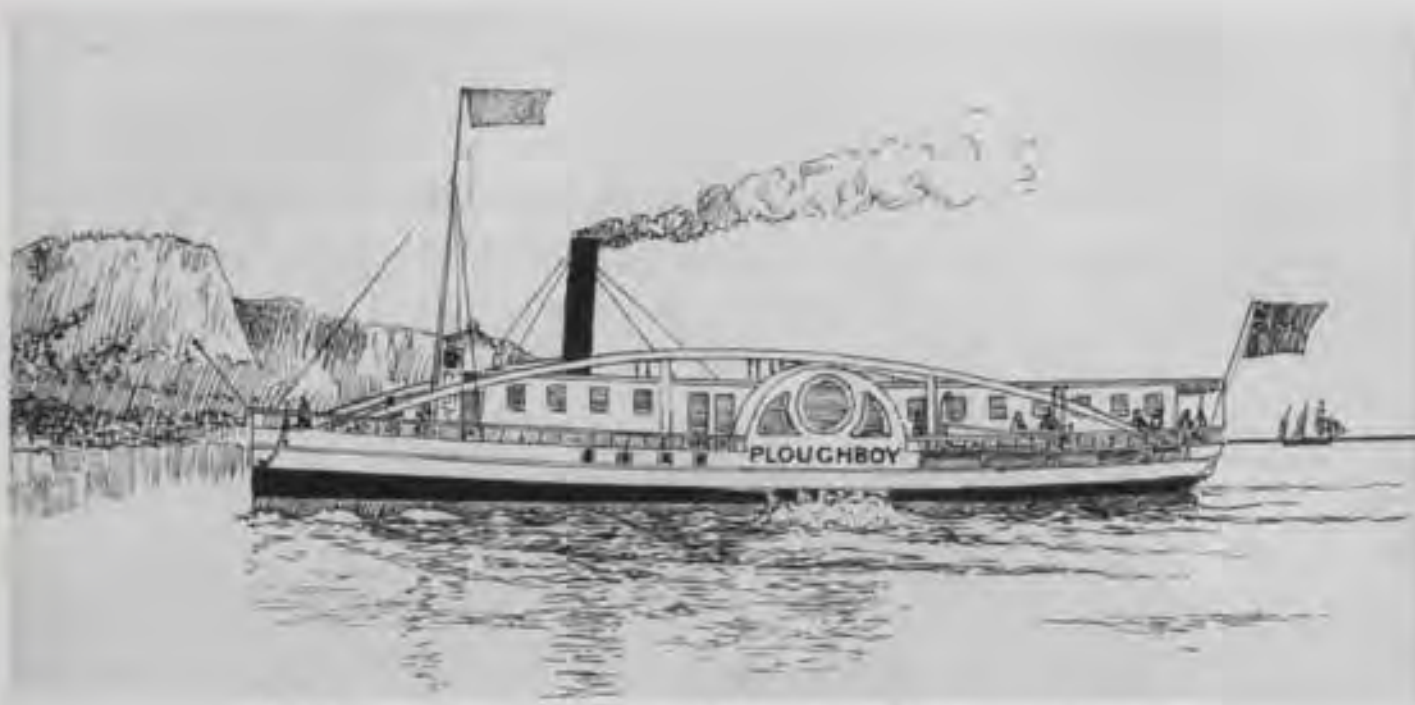
themselves to the circumstances'.⁹ Just when the party had found laughter and a relieved mood, the cry 'All aboard' was heard; the steamer *Canadian* could be seen and with some regrets, for they had enjoyed a few pleasant hours on land, the passengers re-embarked.

Despite horrible weather conditions Sheriff Smith had reached Owen Sound and found Capt Smith of *Canadian*, who immediately determined to attempt a rescue. Since his men were out of town for the day, a crew of volunteers had been quickly assembled. At midnight *Ploughboy* was towed to Collingwood, arriving at noon on Monday.

Votes of thanks were, of course, passed to those who had so nobly helped us, and these will, no doubt, take a more tangible shape at an early day.¹⁰

It is not known if the survivors of this ill-fated trip gave tokens of their gratitude to Capt Smith and Capt McLean. The wine-jug presented to Sheriff B.W. Smith is a substantial piece of silver and it speaks for the patriotism of the donors that they chose a Canadian-made jug, the general custom of the day being to order such pieces from an English firm.

As can be seen from the following biographies, most members of the stranded boating party belonged to the inner circle of John A. Macdonald. They were young, politically active, lawyers with a vision for the country, who participated in building the young nation. One can only speculate how Canada's history would have been different, if the incident on 1 July 1859 had not had such a happy outcome.



3 *Ploughboy*, engraving. (Toronto Reference Library)

The Hon J.H. Cameron (1817–76). Called to the bar 1838. Reporter to the court of Queen's Bench, Upper Canada 1843–46; started the publication *Upper Canada Law Reports*. Solicitor General for Upper Canada 1846; included in the executive Council 1847. A prominent figure in Canadian politics, in and out of parliament between 1851 and 1861; grandmaster of the Orange Association of British North America 1859; treasurer of the Law Society of Upper Canada 1860. After Confederation sat in the House of Commons first for Peel and then for Cardwell; a prominent member of the Church of England and a founder of the university Trinity College.

S. Derbishire (1797–1863). Born in London, called to the bar in England. Came to Canada 1838 as attaché to Lord Durham. Appointed Queen's Printer 1841 and sat in the Legislative Assembly of United Canada for Bytown (later Ottawa) 1841–44.

John Duggan. Partner in the Toronto law firm of Duggan and Burns; recommended by John A. Macdonald to be appointed one of H.M. Counsel in Upper Canada.¹¹

H. J. Gibb¹² No biographical information.

Sir John A. Macdonald (1815–91). The only Canadian Prime Minister to win six majority governments; he dominated Canadian politics for half a century. His was

9 'The late Disaster on Georgian Bay' [concluded], *The Leader*, 7 July 1859.

10 *Northern Advance*, Barrie, 13 July 1859, p2.

11 Letter John A.

Macdonald, 20 December 1858.

12 He is presumably the author of the report about the incident in *The Leader*, 6 and 7 July 1859, signed H.J.G.



4.1 and 4.2 Sir John Macdonald, (above) circa 1842–43, at the age of about 27, artist unknown; and (below) later in life.

(National Archives of Canada C-008447)

the creative mind that produced the British North America Act and the union of provinces which became Canada. As first Prime Minister he oversaw the expansion of the Dominion; a major proponent of a national railway completed in 1885 linking Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans.

A. McLean.¹³ No biographical information.

Angus Morrison (1822–82). Came to Canada with his parents 1832; called to the bar 1846. The first MP for Simcoe, which county he represented in the Legislative Assembly 1854–63. Represented Niagara in the Legislative Assembly 1864–74 and in the Canadian House of Commons. The thriving lumber and shipping centre first called Pine River, whose magnificent stands of virgin pine provided the masts and spans for the English Navy, was renamed Angus in his honour.¹⁴ Queen's Counsel 1873; Mayor of Toronto 1876–78 when he helped establish Credit Valley Railway; negotiated with Ottawa that the National Exhibition grounds be taken over by the city.

Col John Prince (1796–1870). A representative of Essex, a seat where he had a firm hold 'upon the affections of the people. He was a man of independent opinions and most uncertain vote. It was impossible to know exactly where to place him, or to predict what line he would take, for his mental constitution was such that he could never be kept amenable to party discipline.'¹⁵ This attitude probably shortened his political career; resigned seat in the Legislative Council 1860, where he had represented the Western Division; then appointed Judge of the District of Algoma.¹⁶

D.B. Read (1823–1904). Called to the bar 1844. Elected Mayor of Toronto 1858. A lawyer and historian, served for thirty years as a bencher of the Law Society of Upper Canada. Author of *Lectures on Judicature* (1881), *The lives of the judges of Upper Canada* (1888), and various other works on local history.

The Hon Sir John Rose (1820–88). Came from Scotland with his parents 1836; called to the bar in 1842. John A. Macdonald chose Rose to accompany him to England in 1857, to lobby for the construction of an inter-colonial railway from Riviere du Loup to Halifax. Elected to represent Montreal in the Legislative Assembly 1857;

Solicitor General in Macdonald/Cartier administration. Minister of Public Works 1858; delegate at the London Conference 1866–67, at which the final arrangements for the Canadian Confederation were made; second finance minister of the Dominion 1868. Left Canada to join the banking firm of Morton, Rose & Co. and became a well-known figure in London Society; Receiver General of the Duchy of Lancaster 1883. Died suddenly 24 August 1888 while a guest of the Duke of Portland.

The Hon John Ross (1818–71). Born in Ireland, called to the bar 1839 and practiced law in Toronto. Appointed legislative councillor of Canada 1848 and during the 15 years preceding Confederation repeatedly held office in government: Solicitor General for Upper Canada, Attorney General, Speaker for the Legislative Council. Called to the Senate 1867 and Speaker of the Senate 1869.

Sheriff Benjamin W. Smith. Councillor of Collingwood 1858–62. An active promoter of the Northern Railroad and became personally responsible for bank loans when the railroad was in financial difficulties.¹⁷

The Hon Sidney Smith (1823–89). Called to the bar 1844, practiced law in Cobourg (Ontario). Postmaster General 1858–62 when he was often negotiating abroad, for example with the USA, France, Belgium and Prussia to have the Atlantic mail service carried by Canadian steamers. Member of the Board of the Railway Commissioners; elected to the Legislative Council 1861, but resigned two years later and retired from political life.

The Hon P.M. Vankoughnet (1823–69). A member of one of the oldest and most illustrious United Empire Loyalist families; intimate friend of John A. Macdonald. Called to the bar in 1844. One of the chief organisers of the British American League 1849, formed to oppose the annexation movement. Entered parliament 1856, returned for the Rideau division of Upper Canada to the Legislative Council; Minister of Agriculture in the Taché-Macdonald administration. Resigned office in 1858 but after the collapse of the short-lived Brown/Dorion administration resumed office as chief commissioner of Crown lands until 1862. Later became Chancellor of Ontario.

13 Allan McLean and his wife were personal friends of John A. Macdonald, and were mentioned in a letter to his sister, Mrs Margaret Williamson, 10 March 1861. The McLeans, like the Vankoughnets and Camerons, opened their homes to the Macdonald children when their mother

was ailing.

14 *The history of Angus:* www.realtyguy.com/history.html

15 J.C. Dent, *The last forty years*, Toronto 1881, ii 110.

16 *Historical Plaques of Algoma District:* www.waynecook.com/algoma.html. An historical

plaque in Sault Ste. Marie, Bellevue Park off Queen St. E. reads: 'COL JOHN PRINCE 1796–1870 Here, on a portion of his former estate, is buried Col. Prince who emigrated from England in 1833 and settled at Sandwich, Upper Canada. As commanding officer of the Essex Militia,

he stirred up a violent controversy by ordering the summary execution of four members of an armed force sympathizing with Mackenzie's Rebellion which invaded the Windsor area from Detroit in December, 1838. He represented Essex in the legislative assembly 1836–40 and

1841–54. Prince was appointed the first judge of the Algoma District in 1860. Colourful and eccentric, he became one of early Sault Ste. Marie's best known citizens.'

17 1887 *Jubilee History of the Town of Collingwood*, Collingwood Museum, Acc No X972.119.1.

New light on John Linnit goldsmith, jeweller and boxmaker

LESLIE SOUTHWICK

Many of the details enclosed in this paper throw new light on the life and activities of the gifted and productive gold smallworker, jeweller, box-maker, hilt-maker and 'craftsman to the trade', John Linnit, 1785–1868.¹ He was the contemporary and successor to James Morisset (1738–1815), John Northam (1765–1849) and Alexander James Strachan (1774–1850).² He struck his mark on, amongst other things, the gold freedom box awarded by the City of London in 1832 to Earl Gray, for his 'long and earnest exertions in the cause of Parliamentary Reform' [fig 1]; on another given in 1845 to Maj-Gen Sir Henry Pottinger for 'his important services in negotiating a treaty of peace and commerce with the Chinese Empire (Treaty of Nanking) at Pinang' [fig 2]; and on the silver-gilt hilt and scabbard mounts of the Mameluke-hilted dress sabre awarded with the freedom of the City of London in 1857 to Field Marshal the 2nd Duke of Cambridge, a gift commissioned by the Corporation of London from Charles Frederick Hancock, 39 Bruton Street, London [fig 3].

Many more presents were awarded by the City during this period, including the gold boxes given to:

Lord John Russell MP for his part in bringing forward the Bills for the Reform Act (1831), retailed by Samuel Jones

HRH Augustus 1st Duke of Cambridge, son of George III (and father of the 2nd Duke above) for charitable services in 1841, retailed by James Murray

1 This paper builds on the earlier important work on Linnit by Arthur Grimwade and John Culme.

2 For Morisset and Strachan see L. Southwick, *London Silver-hilted Swords*,

their makers, suppliers and allied traders, Leeds 2001, pp182–4 and 233–34. For Northam, see Southwick, 'John Northam, Goldsmith, Jeweller and Boxmaker', *Jewellery Studies*, vol 11 2008.



DULIN. Cornhill, FECT

1 Gold box, John Linnit, London 1832/33, retailed by William Thomas Dulin, of Cornhill. The 100-guinea box, awarded with the Freedom of the City of London to Earl Gray, resolved to be given 26 April 1832, the recipient admitted into the freedom 11 July 1832.

(S.J. Phillips Ltd)



2 Gold box, John Linnit, London 1844/45, retailed by Makepeace & Walford. Width: 10cm (4in). The 100-guinea box, awarded to contain the Freedom of the City of London to Major General Sir Henry Pottinger for the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, resolved to be given 13 February 1845, recipient admitted to the freedom 17 July 1845. The plaque on the lid is after a painting by Captain John Platt. (Christie's)



3 Mameluke-hilted dress sabre, silver-gilt mounted, John Linnit, London 1857/58, retailed by Charles Frederick Hancock.

The sabre of 200-guinea value presented with the freedom of the City by the Corporation of London to HRH Prince George, Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army and for services to the Metropolis. Resolved to be given 16 July 1857, recipient admitted into the freedom on 4 November 1857. (Bonhams 1793 Ltd) Colour illustration p36

Gen Sir Hugh Hardinge and Gen Sir Hugh Gough for services in the Sikh Wars in 1845, retailed by John & Thomas Turner
Maj-Gen Sir George Pollock for services in Afghanistan in 1846, retailed by John & Thomas Turner

In the period under discussion, the Corporation of London recorded the names of the retailers from whom they ordered the tokens, but not those who actually made them.³ Until the tokens can be examined, it is impossible to know if they bear Linnit's mark, but it is probable that he might have had a hand in the manufacture of these and other boxes.

Although it was a notable honour to be commissioned to manufacture one of these prestigious freedom gifts to be presented by the foremost city in the world in this period, a craftsman could not rely on such particular orders coming along regularly. The freedom of London was not awarded every year and the retailer commissioned by the Corporation to provide the accompanying token almost certainly would have had their own favoured craftsman, such as John Northam or Alexander James Strachan, whose mark appears to be struck on more freedom boxes than most.⁴ Therefore, in order to make a living, Linnit and others had to apply their skills to requests that came in for a range of fine quality pieces of smallware from a variety of other clients, and the works illustrated in this paper demonstrate what a creative, adaptable, and skilled craftsman John Linnit was. These works include distinctive snuff-boxes illustrated here, cast and chased with figurative scenes and of the hunt, and the fine large rectangular two-colour gold table snuff-box.



4 The joint maker's mark of John Linnit and William Atkinson registered in the Smallworkers' Book at Goldsmiths' Hall on 24 July 1809. (The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

'John, son of John & Ann Linnet [sic]' was born at St Albans in Hertfordshire in 1785 and baptised in St Albans Abbey on 2 November 1785.⁵ Little is known about his early life and training, but it is probable that he was bound to a master in Westminster at the very end of the eighteenth century and trained as a goldsmith in the capital.⁶ Indentures of boys bound in Westminster (even those who later became prominent craftsmen) were not always recorded, unlike apprentices bound by the City of London livery companies.⁷

Linnit is first recorded in London when he entered a joint maker's mark as 'goldworker' in partnership with William Atkinson on 24 July 1809, their address being given as '15 Fountain Court, Strand' [fig 4 & 5A]. The partners are not found in the rate books as being at this location and were, no doubt, lodgers or tenants. However, a year later, 'Linnett & Atkinson' moved to 9 Craven Buildings⁸ as recorded in the St Clement Danes parish watch rate book for the Drury Lane ward dated 17 May 1810, and the partnership continued at this address for four years until 1814, when Linnit married and Atkinson moved away.⁹

The St Clement Danes church registers record that the

Banns of Marriage between John Linnit Br [Bachelor] & Elizabeth Edmonds Sptr [Spinster] both of this Parish were published on the three

³ See *Journals and City Cash Accounts* of the Corporation of London, presently at the London Metropolitan Archives. See also L. Southwick, 'The City of London Freedom Boxes and Caskets', forthcoming.

⁴ Northam retired in 1835 and Strachan in 1839.

⁵ Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Hertford: 'Baptism register of the parish of St Albans Abbey, 1780-98', D/P90/1/3. There appears to be no record of a marriage of John's parents in Hertfordshire, suggesting that they were married in another county. Other baptisms found in the St Albans' register for the above dates (and younger

siblings of John) are: Elizabeth Linnett, 1 June 1788; Thomas Linett, 2 May 1790; and Martha Linnett, 20 May 1792. (Later an Elizabeth Linnett and a Martha Linnitt were married at St Clements Danes on 10 November 1812 and 19 November 1814 respectively, but they do not appear to have been related to our subject.)

⁶ Apprentices were normally indentured to a master at the age of 14. The Apprentice Tax Books, at the National Archives, for the period 1798-1801, and the Hertfordshire Apprentices Indentures Index and Register of Apprentices in St Albans have been searched to see if Linnit was bound to any-

Sundays underwritten: that is to say, On Sunday, the 24th July 1814, On Sunday, the 31st July 1814, On Sunday, the 7th Augt 1814.

and, two weeks later, John and Elizabeth were married in St Clement Danes on 20 August 1814.¹⁰ Over the next twenty-three years ten children are known to have been born to the couple and their baptisms recorded where Linnit and Elizabeth lived at the time of their births.

On 25 April 1815 John registered his second mark as a single craftsman in the Smallworkers' Book at Goldsmiths' Hall [fig 5B] and gave his address as 'No 9 Craven Buildings, Drury Lane'. A fine gold box, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum London, was made shortly after this mark was registered [fig 11]. A year after their wedding, the Linnits' first-born child, John 'junior' (see *Appendix*) was baptised at St Clement Danes on 9 August 1815, the father's profession being given in the church register as 'Goldsmith'.¹¹ Eighteen months later a second son, Edward Linnit, was born and, on 27 January 1817, baptised at St Clement Danes.¹²

Linnit is recorded as being at 9 Craven Buildings in the rate book dated 16 April 1819 and had gone by 4 May 1820.¹³ This change is marked by a new entry in the Smallworkers' Book as 'Removed to No. 9 Cursitor Street, Chancery Lane' (parish of St Andrew Holborn, ward of Farringdon Without, City of London) and listings in Kent's and Robson's directories for 1819 of 'Linnit John, goldsmith &c. 9 Cursitor-st. Chancery-lane'.

Cursitor Street and the area around Chancery Lane was a known area for smallworkers, hilt-makers and cutlers (especially in the eighteenth century). Although the evidence shows that Linnit moved there in 1819 (perhaps even a little before), he is not recorded as being in Cursitor Street at any time in the land tax assessment books for the ward of Farringdon Without. Almost certainly, he was again a tenant or lodger in one of the

buildings in the street. A 'William Brenton for Tenants' is listed in Cursitor Street in this period and Linnit may have rented a property from him.¹⁴

The baptismal registers for the parish church of St Andrew Holborn record (following on from the first two sons above) a further eight births to John and Elizabeth and confirm that they lived in Cursitor Street.¹⁵ John's profession is invariably given as 'Goldsmith', except when his daughter 'Elizabeth Waterfall' was baptised, when it is given as 'Jeweller'.¹⁶ Linnit registered a new mark on 22 October 1821 from Cursitor Street and another on 31 January 1824 [figs 5C & 5D]. He is listed as being there in trade directories of the 1820s and '30s.

Although Linnit and his family had moved to the City, contemporary records reveal another aspect of his business dealings. Three Sun Insurance policies, the first (no1103329) dated 5 February 1830, record Linnit trading in partnership with Joseph Starkey at 'No 1 Spur Street Leicester Square [as] Gold & Silver Lacemen' insuring¹⁷

their now dwelling house only situate as aforesaid communicating with House in occupation of Parker a Painter brick & timber [insured for] eight hundred pounds.

The policy was renewed eight months later on 17 September 1830 (no1111638).¹⁸ The partnership began in this year at Spur Street, but the men are not listed in the St Anne's parish rate books during this period. However, *Robson's Directory* for 1830 and the Sun policies above confirm that the men were there, but trading under the name of 'Starkey & Co'. Five years later, another policy (no1191880), dated 4 February 1835, records¹⁹

Joseph Starkey and John Linnit No. 1 Spur Street Leicester Square Gold Lacemen [insuring a] House only No. 5 Old Bond Street unfinished, intended for their own occupation Brick and timber fifteen hundred pound.

one in London or to a local practitioner near to where he was born and raised. There is no apparent evidence that he was. Many prominent London craftsmen (who were almost certainly trained in Westminster) like James Morisset, John Northam and A.J. Strachan, are not recorded in the Apprentice Registers as having been indentured, although it is most likely that they were trained without them. The only references to apprentices in Westminster so far recorded, other than those in the registers above, are those of poor boys indentured through the help of various charities.

7 All the City of London livery companies recorded

the names of those indentured into their guilds, their freedoms, their dates of livery, and the offices they may have served within the company. Although some early records are lost or damaged, most are kept at the Guildhall Library, City of London, except the few still retained by particular guilds.

8 In the eighteenth century the distinguished gold chaser, George Michael Moser (1706–83) had lived and worked at 7 Craven Buildings from 1737 until his death, and the painter, Francis Hayman had resided at no8 from about 1743 to 1753. See R.

Edgcombe *The Art of the Gold Chaser in eighteenth-*

century London. OUP, 2000, pp86–90.

9 Westminster Archive Centre (WAC), Parish Watch Rate of the Drury Lane Ward, Parish of St Clement Danes, ref: B906, 17 May 1810. The partnership is last listed together in the Watch Rate B914 dated 1 August 1814, although the rate collector often repeated the names before being informed of a change. Following his marriage, Linnit (with wife Elizabeth and young son, John II) is recorded alone at 9 Craven Buildings in the Rate Book dated 1 August 1815.

10 WAC, St Clement Danes, vol 39, Marriages (1813–20) p64, no191.

11 WAC, St Clement Danes, vol 22, Baptisms (1813–19) p122, entry 971.

12 *ibid*, p191 entry 1522.

13 WAC, Last listed in Rate Book dated 16 April 1819 (B242) and had gone before the next Rate Book was drawn up on 4 May 1820 (B243).

14 Guildhall Library, MS 11316/365 (1820–21).

15 Guildhall Library, St Andrews Holborn, Baptisms, MS 6667/18–25.

16 The births were: James Linnit, born 24 July 1818, baptised 13 August 1818; William Linnit, born 14 April 1820, baptised 4 May 1820; Thomas Linnit, born 21 January 1822, baptised 9 February 1822; George Linnit, born 3 February

1824, baptised 29 February 1824; Elizabeth Waterfall Linnit, born 23 April 1826, baptised 13 May 1826; Mary Ann Linnit, born 12 July 1828, baptised 6 August 1828; Henry Linnit, born 26 February 1831, baptised 23 March 1831; and 'Sydney' [sic] Linnit, born 15 February 1837, baptised 11 March 1837.

17 Guildhall Library, MS 11936/527.

18 Guildhall Library, MS 11936/528.

19 Guildhall Library, MS 11936/545.

20 WAC, Dover Street ward, St George Hanover Square, C654, p3, 31 March 1835. This volume places 'Starkey' (and Linnit) in the 'Remarks' column as the successor to the property, and this is confirmed by the Sun Insurance Policy above. The next Rate Book, C655 31 March 1836, shows Starkey (and Linnit) in place.

21 WAC, Golden Square Division, St James's, Rate Book for 1840, D169, has, in the remarks column, 'Linnet John Michl' (that is, Linnit was to move into the property from the Michaelmas quarter, 29 September 1840).

22 WAC, census return for 1841, HO.107/735/1, p17. On the right the census

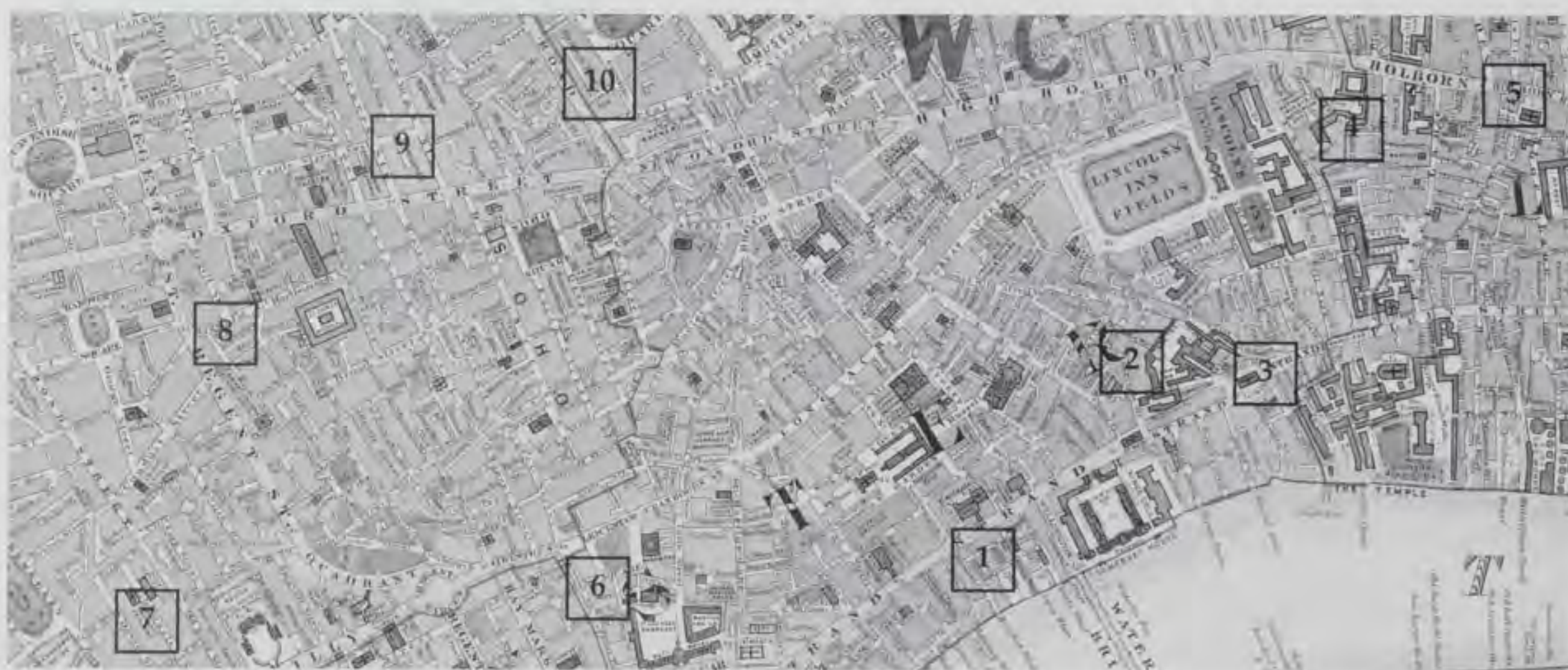
was made, the occupants resident in the family's home included: 'John Linnit, aged 55, Goldsmith; his wife Elizabeth, aged 42; his son John, aged 26 (below) Goldsmith; his son Edward, aged 24, Goldsmith; his son William, aged 21 Goldsmith; his son Thomas, aged 19; his son, Sidney [sic], aged 4; daughter Elizabeth aged 15; daughter Mary aged 12; Jane Linnit, aged 35;* and Sarah Edmonds, aged 35 (Elizabeth Linnit's sister). *It is not known precisely who this Jane Linnit was. If she was aged 35 in 1841(censuses often got the ages wrong), she would have been born in about 1806, but no one of that name is recorded as being

The rate books for this property (in the parish of St George Hanover Square) show Joseph Starkey succeeding the army and navy clothier, Thomas Buckmaster.²⁰ Again, although Linnit was a partner in the firm, both the rate books and the trade directories list the company only as 'Starkey Joseph & Co lacemen & embroiderers, 5 Old Bond st'.

In 1840, after over twenty years in the City of London, Linnit and his wife and family returned to Westminster, and they are next recorded living at 10 Argyle Place, off Regent Street (Golden Square division, parish of St James, Piccadilly). Linnit registered a new mark at that address at Goldsmiths' Hall on 25 September 1840 and he is listed in the parish rate book for the above division commencing Michaelmas (29 September) 1840.²¹ The following year the family is listed at the same address in the census.²²





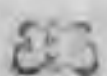
Just after the census was drawn up, a notice in *The London Gazette* records the end of the Starkey and Linnit partnership:²³

the Partnership theretofore subsisting between us the undersigned, Joseph Starkey and John Linnit, as Gold Lace Manufacturers, trading under the firm of Starkey and Company at No. 5 Old Bond-street, in the city and liberty of Westminster, was dissolved by mutual consent; and that in future the business will be carried on by the Said Joseph Starkey ... As witness our hands the 20th day of May 1841.



5 Detail from Edward Stanford's *Library Map of London and its Suburbs 1862* (Courtesy Motco Enterprises Ltd; www.motco.com).

London changed dramatically during John Linnit's lifetime and it is impossible to show accurately, on one map, all the streets where he lived and worked. Argyle Place [8] arose from the creation of Regent Street in 1817-23, and the site of Fountain Court [1] was redeveloped.

- | | | | |
|-----------|--|-------------|---|
| 1809 [1] | 15 Fountain Court, (formerly off the south side of the Strand, next the Savoy, Westminster) | A. 1st mark |  |
| 1810 [2] | 9 Craven Buildings (formerly off the lower east side of Drury Lane) | 1809 | |
| | [3] St Clement Danes Church, where John and Elizabeth Linnit were married in 1814 and their first two children baptised. | B. 2nd mark |  |
| 1815 | Second mark registered, alone | 1815 | |
| 1819 [4] | 9 Cursitor Street | | |
| | [5] St Andrew's Holborn, where eight children were baptised. | C. 3rd mark |  |
| 1821 | Third mark | 1821 | |
| 1824 | Fourth mark | D. 4th mark |  |
| 1830 [6] | 1 Spur Street, in partnership with Joseph Starkey | 1824 |  |
| 1835 [7] | 5 Old Bond Street | | |
| 1840 [8] | 10 Argyle Place | | |
| 1847 [9] | 44 Berners Street; and in 1861 Elizabeth Linnit dies at 8 Berners Street | | |
| 1868 [10] | 260 Tottenham Court Road, Linnit dies here | | |

Linnit and his family remained at 10 Argyle Place for five years. The Golden Square rate book, dated 15 April 1845, records 'Bankruptcy' next to Linnit's name at 10 Argyle Place and that he and his family had left the building, the last rate quarter of the year (from 5 January 1846 until Lady Day 1846) being unpaid.²⁴ The Linnits left the property shortly after the death of their eldest child, John (II) in December 1845 (see below).

This first notice of bankruptcy issued against Linnit, one of a series recorded up to the time of his death, is dated '12th day of January 1846',²⁵ and was

awarded and issued forth against John Linnit, of Argyll-place Regent-street, in the county of Middlesex, Goldsmith and Jeweller ... being declared a bankrupt is hereby required to surrender himself to Edward Holdroyd, Esq., one of Her Majesty's Commissioners of the Court of Bankruptcy, on the 6th day of February next, at two o'clock in the afternoon precisely, and on the 6th day of March following, at half past twelve in the afternoon precisely, at the Court of Bankruptcy, Basinghall-street, in the City of London, and make a full discovery and disclosure of his estate and effects; when and where the creditors are to come prepared to prove their debts, and at the first sitting to choose assignees, and at the last sitting the said bankrupt is required to finish his examination ...

As with many bankruptcy notices, they are repeated regularly over a period of time, each giving the same address for the bankrupt, although the individual might have left that location sometime earlier, as Linnit clearly had. The first notices in *The London Gazette* date from 12 January 1846 (above) and continue for a year; but then go on until that in the *Gazette* of 20 January 1857, long after Linnit had left Argyle Place.²⁶

From Argyle Place, off Regent Street, John and his family moved to 44 Berners Street, off the north side of Oxford Street, in the parish of St Marylebone, and he is recorded taking over an empty building in 1847.²⁷ The following year's rate ledger for 1848 records the building as being under the name of John's fifth son, 'George Linnit'.²⁸ However, the St Marylebone census return for 1851 records that 44 Berners Street was occupied by 'John Linnit, Head of the family, married, aged 65, occupation, Goldsmith, born 'Halbans [sic] Herts'; Elizabeth Linnit, wife, aged 53, born Clerkenwell; Sidney [sic] Linnit, Son, unmarried, aged 14, born St Andrew's, Holborn; Sarah Edmonds, wife's sister, unmarried, aged 48, born St Luke's Old Street', two female and one male servant.²⁹

While at Berners Street, the Court of Bankruptcy once more managed to locate John's whereabouts and 'a petition for adjudication of Bankruptcy was, on the 10th day of June 1857, filed against John Linnit, of No. 44 Berners-street, Oxford-street, in the county of Middlesex, Manufacturing Jeweller, Dealer and Chapman'.³⁰ (Another notice was published in the *Gazette* a year later on 25 May 1858,³¹ but whether any satisfaction had been gained following the issuing of the previous notices is not known.)

Three years later, the census for 1861 records that the Linnits were, apparently, no longer living at 44 Berners Street (see Sydney, in the *Appendix*) and eight months after the 1861 census, Elizabeth Linnit, 'wife of John Linnit a Master Jeweller', died of 'Disease of the Heart' on 3 December 1861 at 8 Berners Street, aged 65 years, J Linnit present at the death'. (There is no record of the Linnits being at 8 Berners Street at this date in the rate books, nor at any house in the street, which again demonstrates that the family were lodgers or tenants in another's property.)³²



6 Beaker, silver-gilt, John Linnit, London 1822/23. Height 10.2cm (4in). (Sotheby's)

baptised at St Albans nor London between 1799 and 1815. The 1841 census indicates that she was born in Middlesex, which appears to rule out the fact that she may have been a sister to John and she does not appear with the Linnits in the more informative 1851 census. Therefore, her relationship to the family can only be guessed at present: a sister-in-law, a cousin, a niece, or perhaps an illegitimate daughter.

²³ *The London Gazette*, no19981, 25 May 1841, p1338.

²⁴ WAC, Golden Square Division, St James's, Rate Book, D189.

²⁵ *The London Gazette*, no20563, Friday, 23 January 1846, p268.

²⁶ For example, *The London Gazette*, nos 20594 p1373, 20604 p1820, 20605 p1869, 20695 p324, 21960 p225.

²⁷ WAC, St Marylebone Parish for Ward D, 1847.

²⁸ WAC, *ibid.*, 1848.

²⁹ WAC, St Marylebone census 1851, HO.107/1486, p693.

³⁰ *The London Gazette*, no22010.

³¹ *The London Gazette*, no22144.

³² Death certificate: 'DYB 819131, Registration District: Marylebone 1861, Death in the Sub-district of All Souls in the County of Middlesex, no451, registered 4 December 1861'. General Register Office, England.



7



8



10



9



11



12



13



14



Seven years after the death of his wife and after moving to another address, John Linnit, a 'Manufacturing Master Jeweller', died of 'Paralysis several months and gradual decay of nature Certified', at 260 Tottenham Court Road, Parish of St Giles-in-the-Fields North, Westminster, on 21 June 1868, aged 82 years.³³ Sarah Edmonds (his sister-in-law) was present at his death.

While James Morisset and John Northam demonstrated business acumen, allowing them to acquire property holdings, investments and other valuable effects and assets to leave in their wills to their children, Linnit's fortunes appear to have been less successful.³⁴ Although Linnit was a gifted and productive craftsman, and his work was highly desirable, it is not known how he fared personally. He had a large family and the facts suggest that his moves to various addresses, his failed partnership and his bankruptcy notices, might have taken their toll on his ability to make a satisfactory and successful living in a competitive age. Certain craftsmen were seemingly forced to undertake a number of employments to keep going (see John II below) and Linnit may have had to spread himself thin in order to earn a living. Being a bankrupt, he did not make a will, which prevents us from having an insight into the assets he might have held at the time of his death compared to the assets and luxuries contained in the earlier wills of Morisset and Northam.³⁵

One aspect of manufacturing luxury items in this period, which might have affected the working practices of the independent craftsman, was the fact that Linnit and others were competing with (and vying for the favours of) the large powerful international manufacturing workshops, like Elkington & Co. of Birmingham and Garrard's and Hunt & Roskell in London. This latter firm employed a large in-house team of the most gifted designers and craftsmen of the age, such as Antoine Vechte, Thomas & Alfred Brown, E.H. Baily. It was a company that produced large quantities of ornate and elaborate work of all kinds to display on their exhibition stands at the international shows of the period, such as at the Great Exhibition in London of 1851, another in Paris in 1855, and again in London in 1862.³⁶ However, although employment and important commissions might have been irregular, the fact that Linnit's mark appears on a major token in the last years of his life – the City of London sword of Field Marshal the Duke of Cambridge of 1857 [fig 3], a gift commissioned from Charles Frederick Hancock, a man appointed Jeweller & Silversmith in Ordinary to Queen Victoria four years later on 23 February 1861 – demonstrates that his reputable skills were remembered and called upon by leading London firms, if, perhaps, only occasionally.

7 Snuff box, silver-gilt, John Linnit & William Atkinson, London 1811/12. Width 8.2cm (3¼in). (Sotheby's)

8 Snuff box, silver-gilt, John Linnit & William Atkinson, London 1812/13. (Sotheby's) There are subtle differences in the finishing of this box and fig 7, particularly at the corners. Fig 8 is less worn, so the detail can be seen more clearly. Similar comparison can be made with boxes of the design of fig 14.

9 Table snuff box, two-colour gold, John Linnit, London 1835/36, inscribed 'Presented to Hugh Moncrieff Esquire by

His friend Robert Napier, Engineer, Lancefield – 4 August 1840'. (Christie's)

10 Snuff box, silver-gilt, John Linnit, London 1824/25. Width 8.5cm (3¼in). The interior inscribed 'Presented to James Nicholson Esqre late Town Clerk & Clerk of the Peace for the Borough of Leeds By the Barristers attending the Quarter Sessions as a trifling mark of their personal esteem October 1836'. (Sotheby's)

11 Circular box, gold, John Linnit, London 1816/17, with chased oak leaf and acorn border. (Victoria and Albert Museum) Colour illustration p36

33 Death Certificate: 'DYB 819180, Registration District St Giles 1868, Death in the Sub-district of St Giles North in the County of Middlesex, no481, registered 23 June 1868', General Register Office, England. At the time of his death John was aged 82, in his 83rd year. This almost certainly suggests that he was born just before his baptism in November 1785 (in this period, children were normally christened within a month of birth).

34 See note 2, and also L. Southwick 'James Morisset in Context' (forthcoming).

35 See notes 2 and 34.

36 See L. Southwick 'The sword of General Sir William Fenwick Williams, Baronet, in the Royal Armouries (IX. 1841) and aspects of High Victorian sword design' (forthcoming), P. Glanville, *Silver in England*, London 1987, pp253–57, and J. Culme, *Nineteenth Century Silver*,

London 1977. From 1860 the Corporation of London dispensed with commissioning their freedom gifts directly from prominent City retailers and introduced the practice of limited design competitions (competitions which involved only a small number of specially-invited contributing retailing houses) in order to find the most suitable pattern for their freedom boxes and swords of honour. This was a practice that again favoured the major retailing firms, companies with extensive resources employing in-house designers and specialists or manufacturing outworkers, who could work quickly to order. See L. Southwick 'The Design Competitions for Swords of Honour presented by the Corporation of the City of London between 1868 and 1901', *The Journal of the Arms & Armour Society*, vol XVII, no2, Sept 2001, pp91–121.

Appendix on p80.

12 Snuff Box, John Linnit, London 1825/26. Length 10cm (4in). (Sotheby's)

13 Staff of office, John Linnit, London 1831/32. Overall length 101.7cm (40in). Bearing the Royal arms between crown and motto and with the emblems of Scotland, England and Ireland. (Sotheby's)

14 Snuff box, 18ct gold, John Linnit, London 1849/50, with the arms of Chichester quartering Itchingham, Marquess of Donegal, probably for the Earl of Belfast. Width 8.3cm (3¼in). (Sotheby's)

The following records provide some information on the sons of John and Elizabeth Linnit, several of whom initially followed their father into the goldsmithing business, but whose lives were less notable and, seemingly, more difficult than that of their father.

John Linnit II (1815–45)

Goldsmith, dealer in antiquities and in French brandies, was the first-born child of John I and Elizabeth Linnit and was born at 9 Craven Buildings, Parish of St Clement Danes, and baptised in the parish church on 9 August 1815. He was, no doubt, trained in the skills of his trade by his father without indentures. John II died young and appears to have been unmarried. However, here is what is known about his business activities to date.

Following the retirement of William Naylor Morrison, his late partner, Isaac Denning, went into business with 'John Linnit Junior', operating from 1 Tichborne Street, Haymarket, (Golden Square division) parish of St James, Piccadilly, and they are recorded there for the first time in the rate book dated 1 May 1841.³⁷ The following year's rate ledger, dated 16 April 1842, records 'Denning, Isaac and Linnit John Junr | House'.³⁸ However, nine months later, *The London Gazette* (no21188, p204) of 20 January 1843 records that on 31 December 1842, the

Partnership heretofore subsisting between us the undersigned, Isaac Denning and John Linnit, junior, carrying on business as Jewellers, in Tichborne-street, Haymarket, London, under the name, style, or firm of Denning and Co. was, on the 31st day of December last, dissolved by mutual consent.

and the said business was carried on by Denning at Tichborne Street alone.

Following the dissolution of this partnership, Linnit II moved the short distance north from Tichborne Street, Haymarket, into Soho and took over premises at 123 Wardour Street (Great Marlborough division) parish of St James, where, the rate book commencing 9 May 1843, lists 'John Linnit Junr' as the occupier.³⁹ The following year's rate ledger, dated 30 April 1844, records that 'John Linnit and John Charles [sic. Cookson] Kelly' had formed a partnership, which commenced at 'Lady day 1844'.⁴⁰ However, this partnership was again short-lived as Linnit II died at the end of the following year, aged 30.

Two months before his death, he had drawn up his will on 7 October 1845 (PROB II/2031), a short testament that made provision for his partnership with Cookson Kelly and his assets:

This is the last Will and Testament of me John Linnit the Younger of Argyle Place in the Parish of Saint George

Hanover Square in the County of Middlesex Goldsmith carrying on Business in Wardour Street Saint James in the said County in Partnership with Mr John Cookson Kelly, I give bequeath and appoint unto my dear Brother Edward Linnit all my part and interest in the partnership Concern as carried on by me and the said John Cookson Kelly and the Goodwill Store and effects thereof upon the terms of his executing the deed required to be executed by him in that behalf by the Articles of Partnership between me and the said John Cookson Kelly And I also give and bequeath all other my Estate an effects whatever and wheresoever and of whatever nature or kind soever the same may be to and for his own use in benefit absolutely and for ever Subject to the payment of my just debts and funeral and testamounary expences And I appoint the said Edward Linnit and my dear ffather John Linnit joint Executors of this my Will in Witness wherof I have hereunto set my name this seventh day of October one thousand eight hundred and forty five. John Linnit Junr. Signed by the said Testator in the presence of us present at the same time who in his presence have thereunto subscribed our names as Witnesses.

John Linnit II, a 'Dealer in Curiosities', died on 21 November 1845 at 10 Argyll Place, Parish of St James's Westminster, aged 30 years, of 'Asthenie Tubucles of Lungs & Bowels, Phthisis Confirmata (15 Months) certified [Tuberculosis], Edward Linnit, present at death'.⁴¹ His will was proved three months later on 19 February 1846.

Following Linnit's death, his sometime partner, John Cookson Kelly, left 123 Wardour Street⁴² and is next recorded in *The London Gazette* (no20599, p1566) dated 28 April 1846:

The following PRISONERS, whose Estates and Effects have been vested in the Provisional Assignes by Order of the Court, havng filed their Schedules, are ordered to be brought up before the Court, at the Court-House, in Portugal-Street, Lincolns-Inn-Fields on Tuesday the 12th day of May 1846, at Nine o'Clock in the Forenoon, to be dealt with according to the Statute:

John Cookson Kelly (sued as John Cookson Kelly the Younger), formerly of No. 27 Vincent-square, Westminster, Clerk to an Auctioneer, then of the same place, and also of No. 123, Wardour-street, Soho, Middelsex, carrying on business with John Linnit the younger, under the style of Linnit and Kelly, Dealers in French Brandies, Curiosity Dealers, and General Dealers, then of No. 3 Leicester-street, Leicester-square, Middlesex, and also carrying on the said business as aforesaid, at No. 123, Wardour-street aforesaid, then of No 6 Matilda place, Greenwich, Kent, and also carrying on the said business as aforesaid at No. 123 Wardour-street aforesaid, and late of No. 12 Litchfield-street, Soho, Middlesex, Clerk to an Auctioneer.

Sydney Linnit

A notice of bankruptcy appeared in *The London Gazette* of 16 December 1870 (no23688, p5834), against the Linnit's youngest son, Sydney, in 1870, although he

appears to have died some years before. For reference, it reads:

In Bankruptcy / In the late Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors / In the Matter of Sydney Linnit, an Insolvent debtor, / No. 70,237 T.

Whereas Sydney Linnit, then of No 44 Berners-street, Oxford-street, Middlesex, Manufacturing Jeweller, since deceased, on or about the 26th March 1861, filed his Petition in the late Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors, for relief according to the provision of the Statutes then in force in that behalf, and the usual vesting order was made under his insolvency, on the 26th day of March 1861; and whereas all the estate and effects of the said insolvent debtor are now vested in Hatton Hamer Stansfeld, of No. 33, Lincoln's-inn-fields, as as provisional Assignee thereof. And whereas certain monies arising from a policy on the life of the above-named insolvent debtor have been paid into the said late Court, and there is now standing to the credit of his estate the sum of £245 1s. 8d., applicable subject to certain costs from the benefit of the creditors of the above-named insolvent debtor. Notice is hereby given, that all persons claiming to be creditors against the estate of the said insolvent debtor are required to send particulars of their claims, in writing addressed to 'The Examiner in Insolvency, The London Bankruptcy Court, Lincoln's-inn-fields' on or before the 7th day of January, 1871. Dated this 18th day of December, 1870. N.B.- Notice of a meeting for adjudicating on such claims will be issued to claimants.

Acknowledgements

I should like to thank Richard Edgcumbe; Angus Patterson; John Culme; Charles Truman; Ian Campbell; Nicholas Norton of S.J. Phillips Ltd; David Williams and Kate Fayer of Bonhams London; David Beasley and Jane Bradley, the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths; Suzanne Nicholls, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies; the trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum; Christie's; Sotheby's; Westminster Archives Centre; the National Archives, Kew; and Guildhall Library, City of London.

37 WAC, Golden Square Division, St James's, Rate Book (D173): '1 Tichborn Street, Isaac Denning & John Linnit from 1st June '41.'

38 WAC, Golden Square Division, St James's, Rate Book, D177.

39 WAC, Great Marlborough Division, St James's, Rate Book, D182 p19.

40 WAC, *ibid*, D186.

41 Death Certificate: 'DYB 819023, Registration

District Saint James Westminster 1845, Death in the Sub-district of Golden Square in the County of Middlesex, no465, death registered 29 November 1845', General Register Office, England.

42 WAC, Great Marlborough Division, St James's, Rate Book, D194. No 123 Wardour Street was empty from 5 April-10 October 1846, after which new occupants took over.

Among the numerous trials that can be accessed via the website *www.oldbaileyonline.org*, is one that took place on 11 September 1771. William Howlet, who was found guilty, was indicted for stealing three gold watch chains, value £20, the property William Pickett¹ and Philip Rundell.² The trial reveals the names of several other goldsmiths, and their reliance on the advertising of losses, which was highlighted in Judy Jowett's *The Warning Carriers* (*Silver Studies* no18 2005), and is also excellent on the hazards of the carriage of goods, so often the time for an opportunist thief to be on the alert for rich pickings:

— William Freshwater. I am the proprietor of the Lynn machine, I have known the prisoner some time. On the 18th of July I had a small paper box brought to me directed to Henry Partridge, Esq;³ at Lynn in Norfolk, to go by my coach. The coach went out on Friday the 19th of July, about six in the morning.

— Q. Are you sure it was in your coach?

— Freshwater. I don't know; I did not load the machine; I received a shilling for it, and put it into the warehouse.

— Q. That shilling was paid for the carriage?

— Freshwater. Yes.

— Q. Don't you book all these things?

— Freshwater. Yes; we have the book here.

— Q. Was it lost out of the warehouse or the machine?

— Freshwater. I don't know; I left it in the warehouse; I never saw it any more; I put it in the warehouse about six or seven o'clock the evening, or somewhere there about ...

— Philip Rundle. I am partner with Mr. Pickett, jeweller, on Ludgate-Hill. I had an order from Mr. Partridge's son, to send three or four gold chains, for a lady's watch, to Henry Partridge, Esq. at Lynn, in Norfolk: accordingly I packed up three; I took these chains, and the marks of them, that is their weight, and sent them in a box by my porter to the Green Dragon, in Bishopsgate-street, to go by the Lynn coach. There was an advertisement in the paper, that the

coach had been robbed. I went, as directed, to Sir Robert Ladbroke;⁴ there I saw two of the chains.

— Gwilt.⁵ I am a goldsmith, in Bishopsgate-street. On the twenty-second of July, the prisoner came to my house, and offered to sell a gold watch-chain; he did not offer it as gold: this is the chain (producing it.) I asked him how he came by it ... I asked him if he knew what it was; he said, Yes he had been informed by a silver-smith in Holborn, that the chain was gold, but the hook was not; and he said the silver-smith advised him to keep it a week, as it might be advertised in that time and now, Sir, says he, I am come to you to sell it: I recollected that Mr. Webster,⁶ a watch-maker, in Change-Alley, had lost a lady's gold-watch and chain: I sent to him; he came and said it was not his. I then told the prisoner I could not give him the chain again; if he would give me an account of himself, I would advertise it; ...

— Elizabeth Hardy. I am daughter to Thomas Hardy, goldsmith,⁷ in the Minories. The prisoner ... offered this chain to sell.

— Q. to Rundle. What is the value of one of these chains?

— Hardy. That is marked eight guineas and an half. ...

— William Slater. I put the parcel in the seat of the coach, next the horses.

— William Bever. I am servant to Messrs. Pickett and Rundel; I carried the box to the coach; and delivered it to Mr. Freshwater. ...

— Prosecutor. This is one of my chains.

— William Been. I am servant to Mr. Rutherdun⁸ at Aldgate; on the 22d of July the prisoner offered me this gold chain; he said he found it at Newmarket; I told him I did not like to have any thing to do with it; he said he had looked over the papers for two or three weeks past and it had not been advertised: I did not chuse to buy it, then he asked me to lend him some money on it: so I lent him two guineas on it.

POB t17710911-60

With thanks to John Culme for providing the footnotes – Ed.

1 William Pickett (1736–96) retail goldsmith, partner at The Golden Salmon, (32) Ludgate Hill with William Theed in Theed & Pickett (successors to Henry Hurt), 1758–72, and then with Philip Rundell in Pickett & Rundell, 1772–circa 1785; Lord Mayor of London, 1789.

2 Philip Rundell (1746–1827) retail goldsmith, successor to William Pickett, subsequently senior partner of Rundell, Bridge & Rundell until his retirement in 1823.

3 Henry Partridge (1711–93) of King's Lynn, Norfolk, and late Recorder of that town, was a City of London merchant. He married first in 1745 his

cousin, Jane (died 1748), daughter and heiress of Robert Say, merchant, and second in 1751 Alice (died 1813), daughter of Simon Taylor, merchant (*Barke's Landed Gentry*). Mr Partridge's portrait by John Vanderbank (1694–1739), which appears to be mentioned in his will, together with various items of plate, proved 22 January 1794 (TNA, PROB 11/1240, 1–44), was sold at Christie's London, 1 December 2000 lot 24. A collection of Partridge family papers is in the Norfolk Record Office.

4 Sir Robert Ladbroke (1713–73), Lord Mayor of London, 1747, and MP for the City of London,

1754–70. In 1770 he established the bank Ladbroke & Co., which in 1841 closed, many of its customer accounts being transferred to the bank which was later styled Glyn, Mills & Co.

5 Probably Richard Gwilt, auctioneer, dealer in gold and silver plate and watches of Bishopsgate Street, whose will was proved on 19 November 1784 (TNA, PROB 11/1123, 572–622). See also Richard Gwilt of St George, Southwark, Surrey, will proved 6 May 1771 (PROB 11/967, 184–229). Presumably the latter is the same individual recorded by Heal as a goldsmith at 219 Borough, 1768–74.

6 Richard Webster (died

1803), successor to William Webster (died 1769), watch-makers of Exchange Alley. See Bruce MacLean, 'The Webster family of clock-makers,' *Antiquarian Horology*, 1, London 1953–56, pp9396, 109–12; and John Missen, 'The Websters of Exchange Alley and the Long Case Clock at Barber Surgeons Hall,' *Worshipful Company of Barbers: Barbers' Historical Group, Presentations*: f3, London 2002, pp74–81.

7 Presumably related to — Hardy (or Hardey), goldsmith, at the Parrot, Minories, near Aldgate, 1727; and Mrs Hardy (or Hardey), goldsmith, same address, 1743–47, recorded by Heal.

8 Probably either George Ritherdon (1727–96), Bishopsgate, goldsmith, or his son, Robert Ritherdon, (1757–1826), Aldgate, goldsmith. The latter, a major of the Honourable Artillery Company, was granted armorial bearings on 18 May 1801, his coat being 'azure on a saltire ermine between a crossbow erect in chief, two leopards' faces in fesse and one in base or [presumably a reference to the Goldsmiths' Company], a portcullis sable'. Heal records George Ritherdon, goldsmith, Aldgate, 1753–83, and Robert Ritherdon, goldsmith, 3 Aldgate Without, 1790–96).

Robert Cruickshank (1743–1809)

Silversmith of London and Montreal

ROSS FOX

Robert Cruickshank's arrival in Montreal in 1773 marked a new era in the history of Canadian silver, corresponding with British ascendancy in Canada. Just a decade earlier France had ceded the colony to Great Britain through the Treaty of Paris. In terms of the quality and quantity of his output, and his influence on the subsequent generation of silversmiths through his apprentices, Cruickshank stands uncontested as the top-rank Anglo-Canadian silversmith of the Georgian period. He was also the key player in the introduction of an English stylistic vocabulary into Canada.

Robert Cruickshank's origins were respectable, if modest. His father, George, was a Presbyterian minister in Arbroath (Angus or Forfarshire), at the time of his son's birth on 21 April 1743.¹ Five years later, George became minister at Kinnell, six miles from Arbroath. In 1751 his wife, Isobel Wallace, died, followed in 1753 by George himself. They left five young children. A faithful family servant, Margaret Matthew, who lived opposite Alexander Graham in Arbroath's Marketgate, provided for the orphans in impoverished circumstances.² A complex network of familial and Scots ethnic loyalties help to explain how young Robert Cruickshank went from Arbroath to London.

Among the refugees of the failed Jacobite rebellion of 1745–46 was Alexander Johnston (circa 1715–81), a silversmith who had previously worked in Dundee; shortly afterwards he settled in London. In 1755 Johnston re-visited Dundee when he married Elizabeth Graham, sister of the above-mentioned Alexander. Johnston and Alexander Graham had been, moreover, comrades-in-arms as cavalymen in Prince Charles' Lifeguards.³ In view of their shared military, political and family relationships, it is conceivable that the Grahams were a link between Johnston and the young Cruickshank.

Another likely link was William Maule, Lord Panmure, MP for Forfarshire from 1735 until his death,⁴ who arranged for the Revd George Cruickshank's appointment to the kirk at Kinnell. A petition of 1747, from Panmure to the Duke of Cumberland on Cruickshank's behalf, refers to 'the Church of Kinnell ... where his majesty is Patron' and where Lord Panmure had 'a considerable interest'.⁵ Because of this relationship with the elder Cruickshank, it is highly probable that Panmure felt a sense of noblesse oblige when the Cruickshank children were orphaned. Furthermore, it would seem hardly a coincidence that Panmure was a customer of Alexander Johnston, who made a large quantity of silver plate for him in 1758 and 1759, amounting to the substantial sum of £807 0s 11d;⁶ 1759 was the year when Robert Cruickshank entered Johnston's workshop. The relationships went even deeper: Johnston's father, James, was a factor (estate manager) of Lord Panmure.⁷



1 Maker's mark RC, hitherto attributed to Robert Albion Cox, found on silver marked in London 1766–72. Here re-attributed to Robert Cruickshank. (photo: Brian Boyle © Royal Ontario Museum)

1 Hew Scott, *Fasts Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, vol 5, Edinburgh 1925, p442.

2 Recounted by the author Clementina Stirling Graham, who was told the story by Matthew, who lived opposite her grandfather, Alexander Graham, in Arbroath's Marketgate, and 'who lived on familiar terms with the family', *Mystifications*, Edinburgh 1869, pp65–68. Also see George Hay, *History of Arbroath to the Present Time*, 2nd edn, Arbroath 1899, p202.

3 Jacobite loyalties bound Johnston, who had served in the elite cavalry unit of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Lifeguards, and the Grahams, who were the direct heirs of the Viscounts of Dundee, but had forfeited their title and estates following the Jacobite rebellions of 1689 and 1715. Although he never claimed the title, Alexander Graham was titular 8th Viscount of Dundee, following the death of his father in 1766. G.E.Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, London 1916, vol 4, p525. Alastair Livingstone et al (eds), *Musters Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army*

1745–46, Aberdeen 1984, p48.

4 He was the heir of his uncle the 4th Earl of Panmure, who was attainted (outlawed) for his involvement in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715. In an effort to redeem the family's name, young Maule prudently embarked on a career as an officer in the British army. In 1743, he was elevated to the peerage as the 1st Earl of Forth, in the peerage of Ireland. During the rebellion of 1745–46, Panmure was a colonel in the immediate entourage of the Duke of Cumberland.

5 By recommending George Cruickshank to the Crown, Panmure was merely asserting his right as principal landowner in the parish of Kinnell, to install a minister of his choice in the parish church. The National Archives (TNA), John Maule to the Duke of Cumberland, 6 October 1747, SP 54/37/3.

6 Receipts in National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, GD45/18/2407.

7 Dundee City Archives, Records of Forfar Sheriff Court, *Register of Deeds and Processes etc*, vol 17, 9 September 1732, SC47/56.

8 Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin. Commercial and Covert Association in Northern Europe, 1603-1746*, Leiden 2006; Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, Manchester 2005.

9 The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, *Apprentice Book* (hereafter GC ApBk) 1740-63, vol 7, f275.

10 GC Freedom Book, 1742-80, vol 2 f91. The original parchment freedom paper is in the McCord Museum, Montreal.

11 Immediately adjacent to one of the City's most important Presbyterian meeting houses; the Excise Office was in the same street, nearby were Grocers' Hall, Guildhall, the Mansion House, and the main financial district with the Bank of England and the Royal Exchange. Therefore, his workshop was well located within London. John Noorthouck, *A New History of London, Including Westminster and Southwark*, London 1773, pp596-97.

12 GC ApBk 1740-63, vol 7 f361.

13 Guildhall Library, MS 11316, Land Tax Assessment, Coleman Street Ward, St Olave's Old Jewry Precinct.

14 GC ApBk 1763-79, vol 8 ff93, 146.

15 GC Freedom Book 1742-80, vol 2 f135.

16 *Report from the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Manner of Conducting the Several Assay Offices in London, York, Exeter, Bristol, Chester, Norwich, and Newcastle upon Tyne, 1773*, The Register of Large Workers 1758-73 of the Goldsmiths' Company for the period when Cruickshank was active is no longer extant, and there is no other official record of his having a maker's mark, or what it looked like.

17 Though Albin appears frequently enough in silver literature, 'Albion' is the correct spelling.

18 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837: Their Marks and Lives*, 3rd edn, London 1990, p16 no45 and p266 no3769.

19 Grimwade (as note 18) p743, suggested 'He may just possibly be identical with the silversmith of the same name working in Montreal ... whose mark RC in script, pellet between in double-lobed punch is somewhat similar to mark no3769, previously tentatively ascribed to Robert Cox.' Cox might, of course, have continued to retail silver made by others.

London was the locus of a bustling Scottish community of merchants, bankers, entrepreneurs and tradesmen. Alexander Johnston's acceptance of an apprentice from Arbroath was part of a pattern of an expanding and influential network of Scots outside Scotland, which contributed to the development of a vast commercial empire extending to continental Europe, North America and Asia. Robert Cruickshank would benefit from this network.⁸

London

On 4 April 1759, when almost seventeen years of age, Cruickshank was apprenticed to Johnston.⁹ Seven years later, on 9 April 1766, he was made a freeman.¹⁰ He succeeded his master at the sign of the Golden Ball, 17 Old Jewry,¹¹ and Johnston retired to a recently purchased estate at Baldovie, four miles northeast of Dundee. Cruickshank had assumed control of the workshop by 7 July 1766, for on that day Johnston officially turned over his apprentice James Hague to him.¹² This transfer is echoed in the tax assessments for St Olave's, Old Jewry, where in 1766 Cruickshank's name replaced Johnston's, and continued up to and including 1772.¹³ On 6 August 1766 Cruickshank signed an apprenticeship agreement with Richard Warr. On 7 November 1769 he took on one more apprentice, Morris Wood.¹⁴ Evidently only Warr was made free; he completed his apprenticeship in 1774 after being turned over to Benjamin Bickerton by Cruickshank who was 'now abroad'.¹⁵

In London directories Cruickshank is referred to as a 'goldsmith and jeweller', and the Parliamentary Report of 1773 (the year he emigrated to Canada) lists him as 'plateworker'; like Johnston he was a largeworker. His mark would have been registered in the missing ledgers at Goldsmiths' Hall,¹⁶ and largely for this reason no silver has previously been securely identified with his London career.

Persuasive evidence enabling the reclamation of Cruickshank's early output exists, however, in a maker's mark that he used during his early years in Montreal. [fig 2.3] It is a strikingly close variant of that found on a body of work attributed for more than thirty years to Robert Albion¹⁷ Cox (circa 1730-90), if sometimes tentatively. A script RC with pellet between in a bi-lobed cartouche, [figs 1 & 2.2] the mark repeats the format used by Alexander Johnston, [fig 2.1] except the latter has two additional spikes in the cartouche.¹⁸ This RC mark is found only on silver with hallmarks spanning 1766-72, which corresponds precisely with the period when Cruickshank was a working silversmith in London.¹⁹ Also disqualifying



2.1



2.2



2.3



2.4

Cox as its potential owner is the fact that he appears to have ceased producing silver about 1759 becoming, instead, a bullion dealer and refiner and, eventually, a banker [see Appendix]. There was nothing to disallow Cruickshank's use of the same maker's mark in Canada because silver production there was not regulated, and consequently marks did not have to conform to a prescribed local type. The unlikelihood of obtaining specialised tools and punches locally in the colony was another incentive for Cruickshank to bring them with him.

There is a relative consistency between Johnston's output and the early output of Cruickshank, as might be expected between a master and his former apprentice. This affiliation is seen in both the

2.1 *Maker's mark of Alexander Johnston (Grimwade no45).*

2.2 *As fig 1, maker's mark attributed to Robert Cruickshank, London 1766-72*

2.3 *Maker's mark used by Robert Cruickshank in Montreal 1773-86.*

(© Musée des maîtres et artisans du Québec)

2.4 *As fig 10, maker's mark used by Robert Cruickshank in Montreal 1786-1807.*

designs and types of articles. While the articles identified with Cruickshank are not as plentiful in their variety, nevertheless they echo Johnston in serving dishes, salvers, plates, soup and sauce tureens, jugs, teapots, mugs, etc.

A pair of soup tureens of 1768/69, in the Royal Ontario Museum, represents the high end of Cruickshank's London output [fig 3]. They have design precedents in the work of Edward Wakelin, but a more immediate parallel exists in two sauce tureens by Cruickshank from the same year,²⁰ and several similar pairs of sauce tureens by him are known, suggesting they were a specialty during this period. Evoking a comparable refinement is a set of four oval serving dishes dating from 1766/67, with reeded borders with foliate ties.²¹

There is little hard evidence concerning Cruickshank's early customers. He must have inherited some of Johnston's in London's Scots community. He also had customers in the colony of Virginia, as had Johnston before him, which implies a continuity. Cruickshank supplied silver to James Craig, a retail silversmith and jeweller in Williamsburg. In a letter dated 21 April 1768 Craig wrote to John Norton, factor of London and Yorkton, Virginia:²²

You will please to get what things I wrote for from Mr Robert Cruickshank goldsmith in the Old Jewry, he is acquainted wt my manner of describing what things I want as I have had things from him, he will give you the highest price for the silver . . . please desire him to get ye Jewelers work, Toys, & Cutlery from one Mr William Webb, the silver work Mr Cruickshank will make ...

Two weeks earlier Craig advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg) that he had just received from London 'a choice assortment of Jewellery, Plate, Toys, and fine Cutlery'.²³ Cruickshank's commercial relations with Virginia were short-lived. British trade with the American colonies was jeopardised by a series of non-importation agreements enacted during the decade preceding the American Revolution. They were intended to counter the imposition by the British Parliament of customs duties on selected, largely luxury, goods imported into the colonies. Of more immediate consequence to Cruickshank's colonial custom were the Non-Importation Resolutions adopted unanimously by the Virginia House of Burgesses, in Williamsburg, on 16 May 1769. Among goods banned from Great Britain and Europe (Ireland was exempted), whether imported directly or indirectly, were 'Trinkets and Jewellery, Plate and Gold, and Silversmith's Work of all Sorts'. A year later, James Craig's name is found among the Associators, or members of the Non-Importation Association.²⁴ Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to speculate that Cruickshank's business in Virginia must have diminished if not ceased altogether.

In July 1772 Britain underwent a credit crisis and near collapse of its banking system, precipitating an economic depression which extended to continental Europe and North America. Among the many London-based merchants in the Virginia trade that were ruined as a result, were Bogle & Scott. Pertinently it is the only firm for which there is a known record of purchase of silver from Alexander Johnston, for a customer in Virginia.

Could these adverse economic conditions explain why Cruickshank decided to emigrate to Canada? It would otherwise contravene conventional patterns for a successful craftsman, settled in a major urban centre, to uproot himself and leave for the colonies. Aside from political or religious persecution as a motivating factor,



3 One of a pair of soup tureens, maker's mark RC attributed to Robert Cruickshank, London 1768/69. (Royal Ontario Museum, Louise Hawley Stone Charitable Trust Fund, acc.no.2006.31.1.2.1 photo. Brian Boyle © Royal Ontario Museum)

20 Sotheby's New York, 12 October 1990 lot 153. Both pairs are similar in their oval bombé bowls, scrolled feet, foliate handles, gadrooned borders, poppy-head (or pomegranate?) finials and so on. Rococo in character, there is a hint of pending Neo-classical developments in the scrolled feet.

21 Sotheby's Geneva, 16 November 2005 lot 29. The crest engraved on the rim is that of Sutton. Richard Sutton, a lawyer, parliamentarian and an Under-Secretary of State 1766–72,

was made a baronet in 1772.

22 John D. Rocketteller, Jr Library. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, John Norton and Sons Papers, MS 36.3, folder 6. Also see Frances Norton Mason (ed), *John Norton & Sons: Merchants of London and Virginia*, 2nd edn. Newton Abbot 1968, pp45–46.

23 *Virginia Gazette*, 4 April 1768.

24 George Barton Cutten, *The Silversmiths of Virginia*, Richmond 1952, pp190–91.

which does not apply to Cruickshank, silversmiths who emigrated usually fell into one of several categories: journeymen who did not have the financial means to set up their own workshops at home; persons who failed to complete a requisite term of apprenticeship and therefore were not entitled to work in their craft; they came from small provincial towns where prospects were poor as a master silversmith. The only exception to this rule of thumb is when a master craftsman encountered financial difficulties. In the absence of contrary evidence, it appears highly likely that Cruickshank emigrated because of a downturn in business.

Canada

By 1773 Cruickshank was in Montreal, possibly enticed there by persons involved in the fur trade, Canada's major industry, which was being taken over and redeveloped by newcomers from Britain and New York. They were in need of a silversmith to produce Indian trade silver, that is, ornaments traded to the First Nations peoples for furs. While local Francophone silversmiths were capable of making such articles, no doubt the new, Anglophone fur traders preferred someone who was one of their own.

Cruickshank became the major maker of Indian trade silver to the North West Company, the Montreal-headquartered competitor of the Hudson's Bay Company, which controlled commercial activity in the Upper Great Lakes and further west, eventually as far as the Pacific Ocean. Beginning in the mid 1770s, the North West Company evolved from a loose syndicate of fur-trading firms to become a joint stock multiple partnership in 1783. Most of its key partners were Scots, and they were the glue which kept the organisation together and accounted for its great success. Many of them came to Canada by way of London and their links to the Scots community there gave them considerable commercial leverage. The prospect of their support and security probably induced Cruickshank to risk his lot in Canada.

Indian trade silver consisted largely of brooches, bracelets and crosses of rudimentary design which involved little more than cutting from thin sheet silver and adding minimal embellishment, largely through engraving [fig 4]. A glimpse of the character of Cruickshank's production in this category can be gleaned from the account books of the North West

Company partner Maurice-Régis Blondeau. Ten consignments of trade silver were recorded in the period 1781–87. That for 15 July 1785 typifies the composition and value of the average order by Blondeau.²⁵ It consisted of 12 armbands, 36 wrist bracelets, 30 pairs of pendant earrings, 12 wheels, 12 large crosses and 600 brooches. The total value was £32 6s 1d in Halifax currency.²⁶ These were relatively small orders, however, and Cruickshank is known to have furnished other fur traders on a much larger scale. In a letter dated 9 May 1800, Angus Mackintosh, agent for McTavish Frobisher & Co. in Sandwich, Upper Canada, ordered over 30,000 articles of trade silver, including 18,000 small brooches, 5,000 large brooches, 1,500 large ear bobs and 5,000 small earbobs to be of 'good Qualities & well finished'.²⁷

Certainly Cruickshank must have relied on outsourcing to some degree in order to fulfill such a large contract. There was an elaborate local network of outworker silversmiths for Indian trade silver, but the precise interaction of this network remains obscure today. An 1809 inventory shows that the silversmith Nathan Starns, his former apprentice, owed Cruickshank 3,600 *livres* (shillings),²⁸ while the same document shows that Starns owed 2,400 *livres* to David Bohle, another silversmith. As both Starns and Bohle were primarily makers of Indian trade silver, perhaps this debt arose from some agreement to produce silverwork of this kind?²⁹

Cruickshank's involvement with the North West Company soon went beyond silver, however, and grew to embrace the supply of other goods, resulting in his becoming a major hardware dealer. He became sufficiently secure financially so as to allow some customers

large lines of credit, suggesting that he also functioned as a quasi-banker in an era when there were no banks in the colony.

Cruickshank is remembered today for his Canadian silverwork: liturgical pieces, tableware (hollow-ware and flatware), as well as Indian trade silver. By 1781 the silver business was so good that he purchased a building in Notre-Dame Street as a combined residence and workshop. The following year he built a separate workshop adjacent to this building. It measured 23x12ft (7.1x3.65m) and was equipped with a forge.³⁰ Most colonial silversmiths worked from their residences, but Cruickshank needed a separate workshop owing to the scale of his operation. In 1793, he built yet another building of stone in the courtyard behind his



4 Cross of Lorraine, Indian trade silver, Robert Cruickshank, circa 1790–1800.

(Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 890.1.3 photo: Brian Boyle © Royal Ontario Museum)

Colour illustration p40

house. In the contract for its construction, it is referred to as a *voûte* or vault. It was a two-storey building measuring 32x22ft (9.75x3.35m); no doubt it was a warehouse of sorts.³¹

The precise make-up of his workshop has yet to be understood. It is probable that Cruickshank employed skilled journeymen silversmiths, but the only one identified so far is Charles Duval, who worked for him during the late 1780s and early 1790s. In 1782, he also engaged the hammerman George Maclure. Over the years Cruickshank took on a number of apprentices, who comprised a good part of his workforce. Apprentices confirmed through notarial contracts include: Simon Beaugrand (1775), Michel Roy (1791), Frederick Delisle (1795), René Blache (1796), Peter Bohle (1800), and Narcisse Auclair (1805). Nathan Starns and John Oakes were also apprenticed to him during the late 1780s.³²

Another presumed apprentice was Michael Arnoldi, who Cruickshank briefly took into partnership. An early record of this is contained in Blondeau's account book for 14 May 1783,³³ but according to an announcement in the *Quebec Gazette*, the partnership was dissolved on 1 November 1784.³⁴ Nevertheless, they may have continued to work together after this date, because as late as 17 February 1789 a financial settlement was reached in which Arnoldi is referred to as 'Formerly Copartner in Trade with Robert Cruickshank ... under the firm of Cruickshank and Arnoldi'.³⁵ Arnoldi was paid £150, which implies he was a junior partner. In view of their close association, it is not surprising that the character of much of Arnoldi's work exhibits overt affinities with that of Cruickshank.

Church plate

From the outset, Cruickshank's willingness to adapt to the local colonial situation ensured his success. It was not long before he received commissions from the Roman Catholic Church, which was the major source of

patronage for large Canadian-made silverwork during the colonial period. A rapid, natural increase in the French population led to the establishment of many new parishes. Once a church was built, silver altar vessels were a priority acquisition, particularly a chalice and ciborium for Mass and Holy Communion. Cruickshank's involvement with liturgical silver is more easily traced than his domestic output, because the early account books and vestry minutes of churches often survive. Liturgical silver also tends to remain in the church for which it was made, which frequently facilitates the correlation of an actual piece with a document.

Roman Catholic liturgical vessels would have been unfamiliar to him, but Cruickshank had two advantages that enabled him to take over this market in Montreal: importation from France was curtailed, and at this time there was no local silversmith in Montreal who was adequately skilled. His first real competitor, by the late 1780s, was none other than Michael Arnoldi, until others appeared later on. Cruickshank accommodated himself to the expectations of his clerical clients, who were rigidly traditionalist, and must have studied existing French models in churches, which he copied or carefully re-interpreted while adhering to canonical standards. As early as 1775, he made a chalice and ciborium for the newly founded parish of St Michel (Vaudreuil-Dorion) near Montreal, where a church had been built four years earlier.³⁶ Both pieces bear a version of the bi-lobed RC mark that Cruickshank used in London. Payments for them are recorded in the vestry account books, totalling 720 *livres*.³⁷ The year before, the church had provided Cruickshank with silver valued at 72 *livres* for the ciborium, suggesting that is when the pieces were first commissioned.³⁸ While the forms of these vessels echo French and French colonial prototypes, Cruickshank invests them with a pristine simplicity whereby the shape is underscored through the almost total absence of chased ornament.

25 McCord Museum, Montreal, *Account Book of Maurice-Régis Blondeau*, M13027, f117.

26 The more common currency under British rule in Canada was the Halifax (Nova Scotia) pound Sterling, which was rated slightly higher than the English pound, 5 shillings Halifax currency being the equivalent of 4 shillings and 6 pence London currency, as valued against the standard of the Spanish silver dollar. York (New York) currency, valued at 8 shillings against the Spanish dollar, was also used in Montreal during the late eighteenth century. James Powell, *A History of*

the Canadian Dollar, Ottawa 2005, pp11-14.

27 Library and Archives Canada, Angus Mackintosh Fonds, Letterbook (1798-1803), MG19-A31.

28 In Lower Canada, the word *livre* often substituted for shilling in documents written in French.

29 This document is a notary's inventory taken following the death of Starns's wife. Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (hereafter BAnQ), Centre d'archives de Montréal (hereafter CaM), Greffe de Louis Hugué-Latour, 19 April 1809.

30 BAnQ, CaM, Greffe de Pierre-Louis Panet, 23 April

1781; and Greffe de Joseph Papineau, 19 April 1782.

31 BAnQ, CaM, Greffe de Jean-Guillaume Delisle, 16 January 1793.

32 Robert Derome, *Les orfèvres montréalais des origines à nos jours. Catalogue chrono-thématique*, exhib cat., Galerie de l'UQAM, 1996, p46, note188.

33 McCord Museum, Montreal, *Account Book of Maurice-Régis Blondeau*, M13027, f80.

34 14 October 1784.

35 BAnQ, CaM, Greffe de John Gebrand Beek.

36 René Villeneuve, 'Oeuvres d'art de l'église de Saint-Michel: Orfèvrerie', *Les chemins de*

la mémoire, vol 3, *Biens mobiliers du Québec*, Québec City 1999, pp51-52, illus.

37 BAnQ, Centre d'archives de Québec (hereafter CaQ), Fonds Gérard Morisset, Inventaire des oeuvres d'art, 'Vaudreuil, Vaudreuil, Église' file.

38 Neither raw silver nor bullion was readily available in the colony; as a result silversmiths were dependent on recycled old plate and coin (usually Spanish) as their primary sources of material. Nor was there a regulated silver standard. Compositional analysis, though only carried out on a small scale, has shown the silver content of church plate during

the late eighteenth century often ranges about 95-97%, suggesting a reliance on remelted old French plate, which had a fineness of 0.958 parts silver. There is too little evidence about the composition of domestic or Indian trade silver to attempt any conclusions except to state that it was generally of a lower grade and more varied. Ross Fox, *Quebec and Related Silver at the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit 1978, pp153-66; R. M. Myers and J. F. Hanlan, 'The Compositional Analysis of French-Canadian Church Silver', *The National Gallery of Canada Bulletin*, vol 21 1973, pp22-33.



5 (left)
Chalice, Robert
Cruickshank, circa
1775–85
(bowl replacement).
(Dépôt de la Fabrique de Saint-
Laurent, Musée des maîtres et
artisans du Québec, Montréal,
acc.no.SL22.12 photo: © Musée
des maîtres et artisans du Québec)



6 (right)
Chalice, Robert
Cruickshank,
circa 1790–1805.
(The Montreal Museum of Fine
Arts, Ramsay Traquair Bequest,
acc.no.1952.Ds.40 photo: © The
Montreal Museum of Fine Arts)

When Cruickshank copied or was inspired by French designs, the silversmith whose work he looked to most often was the Parisian specialist maker of liturgical silver, Guillaume Loir (active circa 1716–69), who supplied a considerable quantity of silver to New France during the forty years before 1760. His first-hand familiarity with Loir's work is evident from a ciborium by Loir in the Detroit Institute of Arts, the foot of which Cruickshank partially refashioned, apparently because it was damaged, and to which he applied his own mark,³⁹ the characteristic later Montreal script RC in a cartouche with ragged outline [fig 10].⁴⁰ A chalice by Cruickshank for the Church of St Laurent, Île de Montréal [fig 5], closely reproduces a chalice by Loir of 1749/50 for Notre Dame de Montréal, now in the Musée Notre-Dame. It bears a version of Cruickshank's London mark [fig 2.3], which is indicative of its relatively early date of circa 1773–86.⁴¹ An undated but later chalice by Cruickshank, in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, echoes still other known examples by Loir, updated in accordance with the Neo-classical aesthetic. Cruickshank added an exquisitely English element to the vasiform knop and foot, of delicate, bright-cut garlands and foliate ornament, to what is otherwise a thoroughly French design [fig 6]. A Loir-like cast, whether derived directly or indirectly, pervades most of Cruickshank's chalices and ciboria.

A ciborium by Cruickshank in the Winnipeg Art Gallery has dentilled flanges girding the rim, and small double dome on the cover, and the upper foot [fig 7]. An

almost identical design, with the exception of the cross finial, was repeated in a ciborium for the Church of Ste Anne, Varennes, in 1803.⁴² Both ciboria have close references to the previously-mentioned ciborium at the Detroit Institute of Arts and another by Loir of 1748/49 for the Church of St Sulpice, in Saint-Sulpice, except that the Cruickshank pieces lack chased gadrooning on the knops. But Cruickshank did imitate this kind of knop ornament on occasion, as seen on a ciborium of unknown provenance in the National Gallery of Canada.⁴³

Another ciborium by Cruickshank is more unusual owing to its historical connection with St Raphael's Church, St Raphaels [fig 8]. The first settlers were Gaelic-speaking Scots Loyalists from New York State, who had re-located to the former Glengarry County, just to the west of Montreal and within Upper Canada (Ontario), in the aftermath of the American Revolution. In 1786, they were joined by Scots from Inverness-shire under the leadership of Father Alexander MacDonell.⁴⁴ A church was erected in 1789 and St Raphael's was officially recognised as a parish in 1802. Although no church records survive to verify such a claim, it is conceivable that this ciborium was originally made by Cruickshank for that church.

The simplicity, sobriety and fluid cohesion of well-defined and well-proportioned forms, underscored in this piece, may have been for reasons other than the fashionableness of Neo-classicism. It may well be that these recent immigrants wanted a sacred vessel which



7 Ciborium, Robert Cruickshank, circa 1790–1805 (replacement finial).

(The Winnipeg Art Gallery. Acquired with a repatriation grant from the Government of Canada through the Cultural Property Export and Import Act and with funds from Agnes M. Benidickson, acc.no.G-86-505 photo: © The Winnipeg Art Gallery)



8 Ciborium, Robert Cruickshank, circa 1790–1805.

(National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979, acc.no.24814 photo: © National Gallery of Canada)



9 Monstrance, Robert Cruickshank, circa 1790–1805.

(Church of Ste Jeanne de Chantal, Île-Perrot, photo: Robert Derome, professeur honoraire d'histoire de l'art, Université du Québec à Montréal)



10 Maker's mark used by Robert Cruickshank circa 1786–1807.

(photo: Brian Boyle © Royal Ontario Museum)

recalled those familiar to them in Scotland. Most were social and economic refugees who had been displaced by the land clearances. In the remote Highlands, recusant liturgical accoutrements tended to be sparse in number and plain in design, reflecting conditions of relative impoverishment. An undecorated vessel was less expensive and hence suggested frugality. Even in eighteenth-century England recusant silver tended to be austere.⁴⁵ Whatever the explanation for the sober appearance of the St Raphael's ciborium, its form is otherwise essentially French-derived, recalling the ciboria of Guillaume Loir.

The surviving masterpiece of Cruickshank's liturgical output is a monstrance at Ste Jeanne de Chantal, Île-Perrot, near Montreal [fig 9]. There is sparing bright-cut ornament on the knops of the stem and on the foot. Again a Georgian neo-classical decorative element is discretely melded into a design where French classical baroque sensibilities otherwise prevail. Cruickshank's synthesis of English and French, of secular and religious, is at its most charming, if prosaic, in his baptismal ewers. It was he who began the fashion in the Montreal area for Catholic baptismal ewers to take the form of miniature English-style teapots, replacing small jugs or dish-like pouring vessels.

Sanctuary lamps suspended in front of an altar tabernacle were among the more imposing pieces of colonial liturgical silverwork. By the end of the eighteenth century most churches had one of silver. In 1800 Cruickshank made a sanctuary lamp for St Martin, Laval [fig 11]. It is a substantial piece, 60cm (23½in) high and 34cm (13½in) in diameter, and cost the considerable sum of 1,479 livres. By comparison, an average ciborium cost approximately 450 livres. Again, stark simplicity distinguishes Cruickshank's sanctuary lamps from those of other colonial silversmiths. In 1803,

39 Fox (as note 38), pp57–60, illus.

40 Cruickshank used several versions of this mark, their chief difference being in their size. Smaller marks were used for small works and flatware.

41 Gérard Lavallée, *Les églises et le trésor de Saint-Laurent en l'île de Montréal*, Saint-Laurent 1983, p99, fig 46.

42 Gérard Morisset, *Les églises et le trésor de Varennes*, Québec 1943, pl XXVII.

43 Acc no16864.

44 During the late eigh-

teenth and early nineteenth centuries, a large percentage of Catholic Scots emigrated. Indicative of their impact on the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in English Canada is the fact that three Scots were among the earliest pioneering bishops: Alexander MacDonell (first Bishop of Kingston), William Fraser (first Bishop of Halifax), and Angus Bernard MacEachern (first Bishop of Charlottetown).

45 See Charles Oman, *English Church Plate 597–1830*, London 1957, pp257–82.



11 Sanctuary lamp, Robert Cruickshank, 1800.
Height: 60cm (23½in)
(photo: John Langdon)

Cruickshank made a comparable sanctuary lamp for Ste Anne, Varennes.

All known liturgical silver by Cruickshank, with a sole exception, was for Roman Catholic destinations. He made a low, salver-like paten with three claw-and-ball feet for Christ Church, Montreal, the Anglican church of which he was a founding member. The paten was stolen some twenty years ago, but its image is preserved in photographs. An inscription on the underside of the paten read: PROPERTY / OF THE / PROTESTANT CHURCH / OF / MONTREAL / 1786.⁴⁶ If that was the year of its fabrication, then it serves as an approximate *terminus ad quem* for the use of his bi-lobed London maker's mark in Montreal, which was punched on this piece. Thereafter he appears to have used the mark illustrated in fig 10.

Domestic wares

Table silver took second place to liturgical silver in Cruickshank's Canadian output, and tea equipage ranked at the top of this category. During the French régime, tea drinking was confined to wealthy colonists. With the admission of Anglophone emigrants under the British, it became a middle class phenomenon as well, even among the Francophone population. As in Britain, the earliest tea services were assembled, rather than purchased as a matching set. No Canadian-made matching silver service pre-dates the 1790s.

Cruickshank was the first Canadian silversmith to make tea silver in any quantity. Three matching tea services by him have surfaced so far, the largest being a four-piece set at the Royal Ontario Museum [fig 12], consisting of a teapot, tea caddy and two baskets. The presence of two baskets is unusual, as is the absence of a cream jug. The smaller basket may have been for cream, the larger for sugar; or perhaps a cream jug has been lost and the larger basket was used as a slop bowl, in American fashion. Narrow bands of foliate scrollwork in bright-cut technique adorn all four pieces, providing a uniformity of decoration, which accords with contemporary English neo-classical taste. Whatever Cruickshank's receptivity to more current designs, he was dogged by a time lag in their dissemination owing to his remoteness from London. He was also handicapped to a certain degree by what his customers could afford and their willingness to accept new fashions. No doubt a parochial outlook restrained many. The most direct means for Cruickshank to keep informed of English fashion was through imported silver.

Each piece in the Royal Ontario Museum service is engraved '1797 / May', referring to James May (1756–1829) and his family, of Detroit. Presumably it was a wedding gift on the occasion of the marriage of James May and Marguerite Descomp(te)s dit Labadie, on 30 September 1797. May came from Birmingham and emigrated to Canada in 1775, settling in Detroit three years later. He was one of a handful of Cruickshank's well-to-do customers in the Detroit-Windsor area who were associated with the fur trade. These included John Askin (mentioned previously), Angus Mackintosh, and Alexander and William Macomb. The National Gallery of Canada possesses a teapot and some spoons by Cruickshank that descended in the Bâby family. Tradition holds that the original owner was Jacques Bâby dit Duperron (1731–89), a fur trader and lieutenant-colonel of the militia in Detroit, when it was still under British rule. Cruickshank had other clients in Upper Canada, which was in its infancy as a settlement, and not able to support a skilled silver-

46 Frank Dawson Adams, *A History of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal*, Montreal 1941, pp115–17, illus.

47 *Exhibition of Canadian Handicrafts*, Montreal 1905, p22.

48 His father, Michel Chartier de Lotbinière, Marquis de Lotbinière, was ennobled by Louis XVI in 1784, as a reward for his promotion of France's interests during the American Revolution. Michel-Eustache succeeded to his father's seigneurial estates, which were located largely in the vicinity of Montreal. He added considerably to this property,

becoming one of the largest landowners in Lower Canada. Unlike his father, however, he allied himself with the British hegemony. Because of his allegiance he was appointed to the Legislative Council of Lower Canada, which guaranteed him a place in the highest ranks of the colony's social elite. In 1802, he married Mary Charlotte Munro, and the Cruickshank tea service may have been made as a consequence of that event.

49 A soup ladle with date letter for London 1769/70 is presently with Schredds of Portobello. www.schredds.com, accessed 5 May 2008.



12 Tea service, Robert Cruickshank, circa 1797.
(Royal Ontario Museum, acquired with the support of the Count Walter Bieniewski Fund, acc. no. 988.210.1.1-4 photo: Brian Boyle © Royal Ontario Museum)



13 Tea service, Robert Cruickshank, circa 1800-1805. (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, acc. no. 3844.1-4)

smith. The Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, owns a soup ladle and two tablespoons which Cruickshank made for Robert Macaulay (1744-1800) of Kingston, a merchant and freight forwarder in the Montreal-Lake Ontario trade.

The National Gallery of Canada also owns a matching four-piece tea service by Cruickshank consisting of teapot with stand, sugar basket, and cream jug [fig 13]. The teapot, with its compressed-urn shape, flared foot, and swan-neck spout is of more advanced design than its counterpart in the Royal Ontario Museum. The cream jug, on the other hand, has an ungainly look that recalls English cream jugs in ceramic, which were the kind most commonly used by colonists. Could Cruickshank have copied such an example? The teapot stand has outdated claw-and-ball feet, whose immediate references are more likely American than English. Engraved ornament, often found on Cruickshank's tea wares, is noticeably absent. Instead, there is an all-embracing sobriety, as occurs in many of his liturgical pieces. Were these features, either together or individually, a matter of choice, or were they symptomatic of a colonial silversmith working far removed from the technical and design resources of London? Was an ineluctable provincialism inevitable in the distant colonies, no matter how skilful a craftsman might be? It is also probable that Cruickshank did not always have a skilled engraver available to decorate his silver.

According to the catalogue of the *Exhibition of Canadian Handicrafts* (1905), the tea service in fig 13 was 'made of melted Spanish dollars, Montreal, 1804',⁴⁷ a date that is plausible as the teapot denotes a more mature interpretation by Cruickshank of the Neo-classical idiom. The monogram is probably that of Michel-Eustache-Gaspard-Alain Chartier de Lotbinière (1748-1822).⁴⁸

Except for tea articles, most of Cruickshank's tableware consisted of small pieces [fig 14]. Despite the availability of a skilled local silversmith, affluent colonists as a rule preferred to import silver for the dining table, tea table or sideboard, even after 1867, when Canada was granted nation status by Britain and was no longer a colony. Silver was required for display, as well as being functional; it was a symbolic affirmation of loyalty to the mother country and a means of mimicking, if only in a modest way, the rituals of English society.

Flatware formed a sizable part of Cruickshank's trade, large quantities of which survive: spoons, forks and ladles of different sizes and functions, and various other serving implements. Most is in the basic Old English, Old English with bright-cut edge, or English Fiddle patterns. There are also a few instances of the old French Fiddle pattern. By comparison, the writer has come across only one piece of flatware from his London phase.⁴⁹

Cruickshank's degree of involvement in the importation of silver is an obscure subject. In 1798, he supplied



14 Pair of beakers, Robert Cruickshank, circa 1790–1805.

(Royal Ontario Museum, Sigmund Samuel Trust, acc.no.2004.65.1.1-2 photo. © Royal Ontario Museum)

Government House in Montreal with four dozen pairs of dinner knives and forks, two dozen pairs of dessert knives and forks, and two pairs of carving knives and forks. According to a surviving account, the knife handles were of ivory and, therefore, no doubt the knives were imported from England. The cost totalled £15 2s 6d.⁵⁰ Cruickshank also made masonic jewels, rings of gold and silver, and other jewellery-related items. Buckles with his mark exist, but their relative sophistication suggests they were made by a specialist silver bucklemaker and, again, must have been imported. The extent to which Cruickshank may have marked pieces by other silversmiths, and not from his own workshop, remains uncertain. Altogether his Montreal production was broad in scope. Canada entailed a dramatic re-orientation for him, from large tableware in London, to liturgical silver, small tableware, flatware and Indian trade silver in Montreal.

Hardware merchant

By 1805 Robert Cruickshank had gradually reduced his involvement in the silver trade, turning ever more to hardware merchandising. This development was paralleled by the growth of the rival silver workshop of Pierre Huguet *dit* Latour, who supplanted Cruickshank as the major producer of silver in Montreal. But the Huguet workshop did not escape completely from Cruickshank's former dominance of the local craft. The imprint of his designs persisted in some early Huguet silver, particularly church plate. In this way Cruickshank's legacy continued well into the nineteenth century.

Corresponding with the shift in his business interests, Cruickshank is referred to in later documents as a merchant, rather than silversmith. It reflected a self-conscious rise in social status: he was no longer a mere craftsman but a prosperous entrepreneur and prominent member of the community, holding such positions as churchwarden of Christ Church, Justice of the Peace, and lieutenant and then captain of the militia.

On 16 October 1807 Cruickshank assigned power of attorney to his son-in-law Arthur Webster, who was now his partner in Cruickshank & Webster, to 'perform and execute all lawful acts and things whatsoever touching or concerning in any wise' their business. Cruickshank was preparing to visit Britain. The same document conveys something of the far reach of their business for it specifies that Webster's governance extended to their interests 'in the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada or elsewhere in the United States of America'.⁵¹ That same day, Cruickshank transferred his unfulfilled contractual obligations for his apprentice Narcisse Auclair to Nathan Starns, reflecting suspension of his activity as a silversmith.⁵²

In 1809 Arthur Webster, on behalf of Cruickshank & Webster, undertook the construction of a large warehouse in Quebec, no doubt as an entrepôt for the trans-shipment of goods imported from Britain to Montreal.⁵³ These events affirm a re-focused business, a conclusion that is supported by the stock itemised in an advertisement of Webster's in the *Montreal Gazette* for 29 June 1812. After listing hardware items of all kinds, it concludes with 'Indian silver works, and a very general assortment of hardware, cutlery, plated ware and jewellery'. The Indian trade silver was probably old surplus stock or pieces obtained from outworkers. It is not known precisely when Cruickshank & Webster ceased making silver, but they

50 Library and Archives Canada, British Military and Naval Records, RG 8, C Series, vol 223, ff50a-59.

51 BAnQ, CaM, Greffe de Jonathan Abraham Gray.

52 *ibid.*

53 Bastien, Geneviève G., Doris D. Dubé and Christina Southam, *Inventaire des marchés de construction des Archives civiles de Québec 1800-1870*, Ottawa 1975, vol 1, p534.

were still doing repair work as late as 20 January 1810, as indicated by an entry for repairs to a toast rack and saltcellars belonging to the North West Company partner, Joseph Frobisher.⁵⁴

Arthur Webster succeeded to Cruickshank's business through inheritance. He married Cruickshank's daughter Elizabeth in 1803 and was admitted to partnership shortly thereafter. Underpinning these relationships no doubt was the fact that Cruickshank and Webster were compatriots; Webster was a native of Balkaithly, near St Andrews. He is first recorded in Montreal in 1801. There is no evidence that he was a silversmith. Recently a Webster descendant donated a child's cup to the McCord Museum, which is engraved 'EIW' for Elizabeth Isobel Webster, daughter of Arthur Webster and Elizabeth Cruickshank [fig 15]. It commemorated her birth in 1806 and is one of the last datable works with Robert Cruickshank's mark. A family relic, it serves as a poignant reminder of the close family ties that Cruickshank nurtured.

Cruickshank's voyage to England in 1807 was certainly the triumphal return of someone who had succeeded in the colonies. But the principal motives for his trip may have been personal, rather than to flaunt his entrepreneurial achievement. The year before he had sent his nephew, and namesake, to Gosport to be articled with a firm of solicitors.⁵⁵ Cruickshank also had a stepson in London, William Kay, who was there under the wing of Sir Brook Watson (1735–1807). Kay was the son of Sir Brook's niece, Elizabeth Webber, and her first husband, also called William Kay. In 1789 Cruickshank and the widowed Elizabeth Webber Kay had married in Montreal.⁵⁶ It may have been a marriage of convenience, for Cruickshank was middle-aged at the time. Brook Watson had been engaged in business ventures with William Kay Snr, and Cruickshank may have anticipated similar opportunities.⁵⁷

Watson had gained immense wealth through commercial involvement with British North America over six decades. He was an alderman of the City of London, a Member of Parliament, Chairman of Lloyd's of London and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England. From 1793 he held highly lucrative posts as Commissary General to the army and he brought his great-nephew, William Kay, to London to assist him as a deputy in this department. Watson was created a baronet in 1803 with remainder to William Kay. Whether or not Robert Cruickshank knew, before his departure for England, that Brook Watson had just died and that his stepson was now a baronet, remains uncertain. News of Watson's death had reached Montreal by 14 December 1807, when his obituary appeared in the *Montreal Gazette*.

On 16 April 1809, several hours after boarding the North West Company ship *Eweretta* at Portsmouth for his return voyage to Canada, Robert Cruickshank died. The following obituary was published in the *Hampshire Telegraph* for 22 April 1809:

Died, on Sunday last, after a few hours' illness, on board the *Eviretta* [sic] at Spithead, on his passage to Quebec, Robert Cruickshank Esq. of Montreal Canada and uncle of Mr. Cruickshank of Gosport, solicitor.

Robert Cruickshank's body was taken to nearby Gosport for interment in the churchyard of Holy Trinity Church.

Appendix follows on p94: Robert Albion Cox



15 Christening mug, Robert Cruickshank, circa 1806.
(McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal, acc. no. M2005.135.1
photo © McCord Museum)

54 BANQ, CaM, Greffe de Louis Chaboillez, 25 September 1810.

55 Robert Cruickshank Jnr lived in Montreal with his uncle, who was also his guardian, for an indeterminate period before this. This same Robert later amassed a fortune in England as a property developer in Hampshire, which earned him a place of renown in local history.

56 Nothing is known about Elizabeth Cruickshank's mother. The earliest Protestant records were poorly kept and do not supply any answers.

57 Harry Duckworth, 'The Ayrshire Connection: Robert Hunter, Brook Watson, the Patersons and the Kays in the North West Fur Trade', in *Papers of the Rupert's Land Colloquium 2004*, Winnipeg 2004, pp14-15.

Robert Albion Cox

58 Helen Clifford in Grimwade (as note 18) p742 wrote: 'In spite of entering three marks as largeworker up to 1759 it seems probable that he had changed his business to bullion merchant sometime after.' Also see Clifford, *Silver in London: The Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760-1776*, New Haven and London 2004, p77.

59 Grimwade (as note 18) pp476, 742.

60 Cox died on 19 January 1790. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1790, vol 60, p90.

61 Lowndes's *London Directory for the Year 1783*, p40. Ronald E. Wilson, *Two Hundred Precious Metal Years: A History of the Sheffield Smelting Company Limited 1760-1960*, London 1960, p42, dates the beginning of the partnership to 1781.

62 *Kent's Directory for the Year 1768*, p69.

63 17 June 1762.

64 Thomas Mortimer, *The Universal Director, or, the Nobleman's and Gentleman's True Guide etc.*, London 1763, p62.

65 Bennet Woodcroft, *Patents for Inventions. Abridgments of Specifications Relating to Metals and Alloys (Excepting Iron and Steel)*, London 1861, p15.

66 Clifford (as note 58), p77.

67 (as note 16). This information came from Albion Cox, who 'served an Apprenticeship with Mr Robert Albion Cox, a Refiner in Little Britain'. In 1767, at the trial for theft of a workman of Robert Albion Cox, Albion Cox stated that he was a 'relation' of the refiner. POB, 9 September 1767, t176709090073. A few years later, Albion Cox worked as a refiner in Sheffield,

most likely for John Hoyland & Co. He was also one of the first Guardians of the new Sheffield Assay Office, which opened in 1773. Wilson (as note 61) p12; and Gordon Crosskey, 'The Early Development of the Plated Trade', *The Silver Society Journal*, no12 2000, p36. Albion Cox emigrated to New York in 1783.

Connecticut Journal (New Haven), 5 November 1783. In 1786, he was contracted to mint coins for the state of New Jersey, *The New-York Journal*, 29 June 1786. Sometime thereafter he returned to London. In 1793, he returned to the USA, after being appointed the first Chief Assayer of the United States Mint, and died in 1795, *The Philadelphia Gazette*, 4 February 1796. Also see John M. Willem, *The United States Trade Dollar*, New York 1959, pp6-7.

68 POB, 9 September 1767, t177201090024.

69 Kenneth Quickenden, 'Boulton & Fothergill's Bullion Supplies for Assay Silver', *The Silver Society Journal*, no12 2000, pp47, 52.

70 Wilson (as note 61) p12; and Crosskey (as note 67) p33.

71 Henry Marder (circa 1738-1820) is listed as a goldsmith in Dorchester in *Bailey's British Directory or Merchant's and Trader's Useful Companion, for the Year 1784*, vol 2. Later he resided in Weymouth, where he died, *Salisbury & Winchester Journal*, 10 January 1820.

72 *Salisbury & Winchester Journal*, 10 July 1786. The Dorsetshire Bank later amalgamated with the Wilts and Dorset Bank, and eventually Lloyds.

73 *The Times*, 16 June 1790.

Robert Albion Cox's early career in the silver trade was as a master silversmith, until about 1759, when he became a refiner, apparently abandoning his activity as a silversmith.⁵⁸ A native of Somerset, Cox was apprenticed to Humphrey Payne on 16 January 1745, and was turned over to John Payne on 13 March 1750. He was made a free-man on 2 July 1752 and registered three marks in 1752, 1758 and 1759, respectively.⁵⁹ A review of a half dozen pieces in museum and private collections with these marks show that they all bear date letters within the same time-frame. This observation tends to be reinforced by a perusal of the attributions to Cox in auction catalogues over the last twenty-five years, particularly for Christie's and Sotheby's.

From 1759 to 1790, the year of his death,⁶⁰ Cox is consistently listed in London directories as a refiner. Until 1763 he was in the partnership of Mawby & Cox; afterwards the listing is Robert Albion Cox, refiner, until 1783, when it is replaced by Cox & Merle, reflecting a partnership with William Merle.⁶¹ The business, under its different names, was located in Little Britain and, from 1767 at (no2) Cox's Court, Little Britain.⁶²

Re-affirming Cox's early involvement in refining, in 1762 *Berrow's Worcester Journal* reported a fire 'at Mr. Cock's, an eminent Refiner in Little Britain, which burnt with great Fury for some Hours before it could be extinguished'. Damage was estimated at £3,000.⁶³ The next year the *Universal Director* listed 'Mawbey [*sic*] and Cox' among eight gold and silver refiners in London, noting that those engaging in this trade were few 'probably because a large capital is requisite, in order to arrive at any degree of eminence'.⁶⁴ On 8 March 1768 he registered a patent for a new 'method of smelting and refining of gold, silver, copper, lead, and its ores, and the waste and sweepings thereof'.⁶⁵ According to records of Parker & Wakelin, he began supplying silver to that firm the following year.⁶⁶

By 1773 Cox had a considerable business. That year's Parliamentary Report indicates that he had over 200 silversmith customers, supplying them with over 5,000oz of silver weekly.⁶⁷ In the same report, he is included among the 'Goldsmiths, Silversmiths, and Plateworkers now living', confirming that the refiner and the silversmith were one and the same person.

Cox was arguably one of the most important refiners in London. In 1772 he himself testified in a trial at Old Bailey as to his numerous customers: 'We have fifty or sixty come into the shop, sometimes an hundred in a day.'⁶⁸ Many of his customers were outside London. From 1772 until 1778, he was a major supplier of bullion to the Soho Manufactory of Matthew Boulton & John Fothergill near Birmingham.⁶⁹ During the 1770s through to the early 1780s, he was the leading supplier to the silver trade in Sheffield.⁷⁰

Cox's business involvements gradually extended to the more purely financial realm, as seen in 1786 when, together with Henry Marder,⁷¹ he founded the Dorsetshire Bank in Dorchester.⁷² Cox owned an estate at nearby Piddletrenthide.⁷³ Other evidence suggests his entry into the financial domain in London, as a major

provider of credit. For instance in 1787, Cox prosecuted Thomas Wigan Jnr for defaulting on the enormous debt of £50,000.⁷⁴

It is Cox's will, probated on 10 June 1790, which elucidates the nature of his business involvements best. William Merle was referred to as a 'Nominal partner' in his 'Banking and Refining business'. His nephew and namesake, Robert Albion Cox Jnr, son of his brother, William, was a clerk in his firm. But William was clearly left in charge; he was also chief beneficiary.⁷⁵

I will order and direct that my Banking and Refining Businesses now by me carried out at and in Little Britain in the City of London aforesaid shall be used and carried on and maintained by my said brother William Cox and under his direction and management upon trust as to the future profits to be made therefrom to be divided in the following proportions, that is to say one third part thereof to and for the said William Cox and for his use and benefit one other third part thereof to and for the said William Marli [Merle] and for his use and benefit one sixth part thereof to and for my said nephew the said Robert Albion Cox and for his use and benefit and one other sixth part thereof to and for the said Robert Pattison [Patterson] and for his use and benefit and so to be continued as long as they the said William Cox William Marli Robert Albion Cox Junior and Robert Pattison shall think proper.

The stipulation was added, however, that the beneficiaries would remain in their existing positions within the firm, now under the direction of William Cox, for a period of two years.⁷⁶

William Cox may have been associated in the refining trade with his brother all along. The younger brother, William was apprenticed to Robert on 11 January 1753, becoming free on 6 February 1760.⁷⁷ He is listed in London directories as a goldsmith and jeweller, from 1768 until 1772 in Little Britain (from 1767 at 70 Cox's Court), and from 1774 until 1776 at 23 Aldersgate Street and, in 1784, at 11 Aldersgate, which are near Cox's Court.⁷⁸ William was working with Robert at least as early as 1767 when, apparently, he was second in charge.⁷⁹

The firm was reorganised about 1792 as Cox, Merle & Co, with Robert Albion Cox Jnr,⁸⁰ William Merle and Robert Patterson as partners, and this was when the banking division came to the fore. It existed as such until about 1818, when it split into two firms. One was Wm. Merle & Co., the other a partnership of Robert Albion Cox Jnr, George Weston, James Furber and George Cox. The latter failed in 1821.⁸¹ William Merle died in early 1822,⁸² and the refinery holdings of Wm. Merle & Co were put up for sale the following year and included⁸³

the valuable goodwill of the lucrative business of a bullion merchant and refiner, established for near a century, and presumed to be the most extensive in London.

The refinery in Little Britain was taken over by G.F. Allcock & Co, under the ownership of a former clerk of Merle's, George Frederick Allcock.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to David Beasley, Robert Fenwick, Peter Kaellgren, Tessa Murdoch, Beth Carver Wees and Wynyard Wilkinson for information and/or special insights.

74 Stanford University Libraries, Department of Special Collections, M0415, England; Documents, 1461-1871, item 25. Wigan is probably the 'Bristol banker, gold and silver-smith' who went bankrupt two years earlier, *The Times*, 28 February 1785.

75 TNA, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Will of Robert Albion Cox of Little Britain, City of London, PROB 11/1192.

76 As for Cox's co-ownership in the Dorsetshire Bank, he directed that the bank would 'be carried on for and during the term stipulated between me and the said Henry Marder by him and my said brother William Cox'.

77 Grimwade (as note 18) pp477, 742.

78 In 1772 and 1774 he is also listed at St Paul's Church Yard, London.

79 POB (as note 67).

80 Later Robert Albion Cox Jnr (1765-1826) was a Sheriff of Middlesex and Alderman for Aldersgate ward. In 1818 he was also Prime Warden of The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths. For further details, see Grimwade (as note 18) p742.

81 Society of Genealogists, Bank of England Will Extracts, book 17 A-1, no3619.

82 *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, vol 6 1822, p327.

83 *The Times*, 21 March 1823.

Recent acquisition

The perils and pleasures of shopkeeping

The Goldsmiths' Company recently acquired this charming oil painting of a nineteenth-century goldsmith and jeweller's shop. It shows a young couple choosing a ring, encouraged by the shopkeeper. The shop is stocked with a typically mixed range of merchandise, the wall cases filled with domestic silver, the case on the counter with jewellery, and a clock near the open door. Other items, such as a vase or wine cooler are on the floor.



1 Edward Villiers Ripplingille, *Choosing the Ring*, oil on panel, 61x74cm (24x29in). (*The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths*)
Colour illustration p37

The artist, Edward Villiers Ripplingille (1788/9–1859), specialised in portraits and genre scenes, for example *The Post Office* (Leeds Art Gallery), *The Recruiting Party* (Bristol's Museums and Art Gallery), *The Stagecoach Breakfast* (Clevedon Court, the National Trust). He was brought up in East Anglia and by 1817 was living in Clifton, on the outskirts of Bristol. Following the death of his friend Edward Bird, he became the leading genre artist in Bristol. He had irregular domestic arrangements: he married Sarah Reedman [Rudman], who had borne him three children, shortly before he moved to London in 1832; he previously had four daughters with Mary Jellds. The poet John Clare was a close friend, beginning a letter to him in 1826 as 'My dear Rip ...' and after his death S.C. Hall wrote of his liking for debate and that 'that which is very dangerous to artists – a liking to use the pen – stood terribly in his way'. His work was included in an exhibition at Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery in 1973.¹

Karin Walton and John Culme have both kindly responded to my requests for help in finding out more about this picture. John Culme compiled a list of goldsmiths listed in Bristol in the 1830, excluding clockmakers, cutlers and pawnbrokers (see below). Any one of these might have been the model for the interior. Of the townscape viewed through the door, Karin Walton writes that 'while the picture may be loosely

based on Bristol, it does not appear to be topographically accurate'. The only possible church is Christ Church, in which case the shop could have been in Wine Street (for example Mr Barber at no40) or High Street (perhaps Charles Taylor at no37² or James French at no49) but the conclusion is that the combination of shop interior and distant view is most probably a romanticised compilation, the artist taking elements of the townscape to suit his theme. Bristol was, of course, a thriving city and port.

It is interesting to compare Ripplingille's sentimental treatment of the subject with the more robust, or cynical, cartoon illustrated in fig 2, published by G. Humphrey of 24 St James's and 74 New Bond Street, and dated 23 July 1823. Here an elderly jeweller examines what is probably a note or money order, while his fair customer is secretly passing a pilfered watch to her confederate who is in turn the victim of the boy at the door, who is busy stealing his silk handkerchief. The title of the caricature is a facetious reference to a many times reprinted book on indoor games by Edmond Hoyle, first published in the 1740s as a guide to whist.

As with the Bristol view, the precise location of the shop is not known and may be imaginary, but it is worth noting the equestrian statue in the square outside just visible through the shop's open door. Two London squares which had such statues were St James's Square (of William III) and Leicester Square (of George I, destroyed in 1851). St James's Square retained its exclusive quality, but the publisher was nearby; Leicester Square had lost most of its wealthy inhabitants by the end of the eighteenth century and many shops were there and in the surrounding streets, including a number belonging to goldsmiths and jewellers. Eighteenth-century toyshops sold prints, and it is interesting to note that



2 'Hoyle's Games Plate 3d – Cribbage', etching, published by G. Humphrey, 1823. (John Culme)

Grimwade records a Samuel Humphreys at 12 Green Street, Leicester Square from 1822. Might he have been a relation of the publisher in St James's, despite the slight discrepancy in spelling the name?

Vanessa Brett

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Karin Walton, Curator of Applied Art, and Sheena Stoddard, Curator of Fine Art, Bristol's Museums & Art Gallery; and John Culme, for help in researching this painting; and to Philippa Glanville for suggesting its publication in *Silver Studies*.

From Pigot's Directory of Gloucestershire, 1830

William ARTER, working jeweller, Counterslip
 Thomas AUSTIN, watch and clock maker, Bridewell Lane
 Aquila BARBER, silversmith and jeweller, watch and clock maker, 40 Wine Street
 Andrew BARTLEY, watch and clock maker, 17 Merchant Street
 Henry BEARD, working jeweller and silversmith, 5 St John Street
 BROWNE & SHORT, silversmiths and jewellers, 37 Corn Street
 William BUSH, watch and clock maker, 36 Broadmead
 Marmaduke CLYMER, watch and clock maker and jeweller, 36 High Street
 Robert COOPER, silversmith and jeweller, 45 College Green Bristol
 Richard COX, watch and clock maker, 9 Bedminster Causeway
 Henry DANIEL, watch and clock maker, 5 Castle Mill Street and 2 St John Street
 John EDEN, working jeweller, 12 St John Street
 John and Nathaniel EDGE-CUMBE, watch and clock makers, 15 Old Market Street
 John FARR, silversmith and jeweller, watch and clock maker, 27 Clare Street

Thomas FARR, silversmith and jeweller, watch and clock maker, 39 Broad Street
 James FRENCH, silversmith and jeweller, watch and clock maker, 49 High Street
 Thomas GATH, watch and clock maker, Parade, St James
 Henry GEATER, watch and clock maker, 82 Redcliff Street
 James GILLET, gunsmith, hardwareman, silversmith, jeweller and cutler, 24 Clare Street
 James GLASS, watch and clock maker, 31 Old Market Street
 Simon GODFREY, working jeweller, 11 Lower Arcade
 Peter GREEN, watch and clock maker, Power St, Hotwells
 Peter GREEN junior, watch and clock maker, 7 Portland Pl, Clifton
 William GREEN, watch and clock maker, 43 High Street
 George GREENING, watch and clock maker, 8 Philadelphia Street
 Edward HALSALL, watch and clock maker, 19 St Augustins Parade
 John HARMAN, working jeweller, Castle Green
 J. JACKSON & Son, watch and clock makers, 17 St Augustins Parade
 Edward JONES, watch, chronometer and clock maker, 1 Small Street
 Sarah JONES, watch and clock maker, 10 Dolphin Street

JOSEPH & LEVY, silversmiths and jewellers, 7 Union Street
 Benjamin KERBY, watch and clock maker, 4 King St, Queens Sq
 Joshua KNIGHT, watch and clock maker, 20 Bath Street
 William KNIGHT, watch and clock maker, Under the Bank
 Paul LACEY, watch and clock maker, All Saints Lane
 George LANE, watch and clock maker, Jubilee Row, Wilder St
 William LANGFORD, watch and clock maker, 52 Broad Quay
 Isaac LEAPMAN, silversmith and jeweller, watch and clock maker, 17 Lower Arcade
 Moe LEWVY, watch and clock maker, Hammers Buildings, Park St
 Thomas LINDEY, watch and clock maker, 53 Redcliff Street
 MATTHEWS William, working jeweller, 16 St James's Churchyard
 Anthony MEYER, watch and clock maker, 143 Redcliff Street
 Charles MORGAN, working jeweller, Maryport Churchyard, and 4 Tower Lane
 John MORGAN junior, watch and clock maker, 14 & 33 Union Street
 Thomas MORGAN, watch and clock maker, 4 Broad Weir
 Thomas MORGAN junior, watch and clock maker, James Square Lane

William QUICK, silversmith and jeweller, 3 Broad St & 13 St John St
 Henry REVELL, silver plater, 19 Queens Parade
 Henry RITTERBANDT, working jeweller, 14 Upper Arcade
 William SEDWICK, silversmith and jeweller, 2 Tower Lane
 William SOUTHCOTT, watch and clock maker, 4 Lower College Street
 Mark STEWART, working jeweller, 6 St Nicholas Street
 Charles TAYLOR, silversmith and jeweller, watch and clock maker, 37 High Street
 Thomas THACKWELL, watch and clock maker, 95 Redcliff Street
 John Austin TILLEY, watch and clock maker, 9 Bath Street
 Alfred TREMLETT, watch and clock maker, Lower Maudlin Street
 John WALKER, working jeweller, 2 Upper Arcade
 John WARRY, watch and clock maker, 101 Redcliff Street
 George WILLIAMS, watch and clock maker, 61 Broad Quay
 Robert WILLIAMS, silversmith and jeweller, 5 Tower Lane
 William WOODMAN, gold beater and refiner, silversmith and jeweller, 14 Small Street
 George WOOLLEY, silversmith and jeweller, watch and clock maker, 25 Broadmead

1 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; 'Some previously unpublished letters from John Clare', *Review of English Studies*, vol XXV no98, 1974, pp177-85; Luke Herrmann,

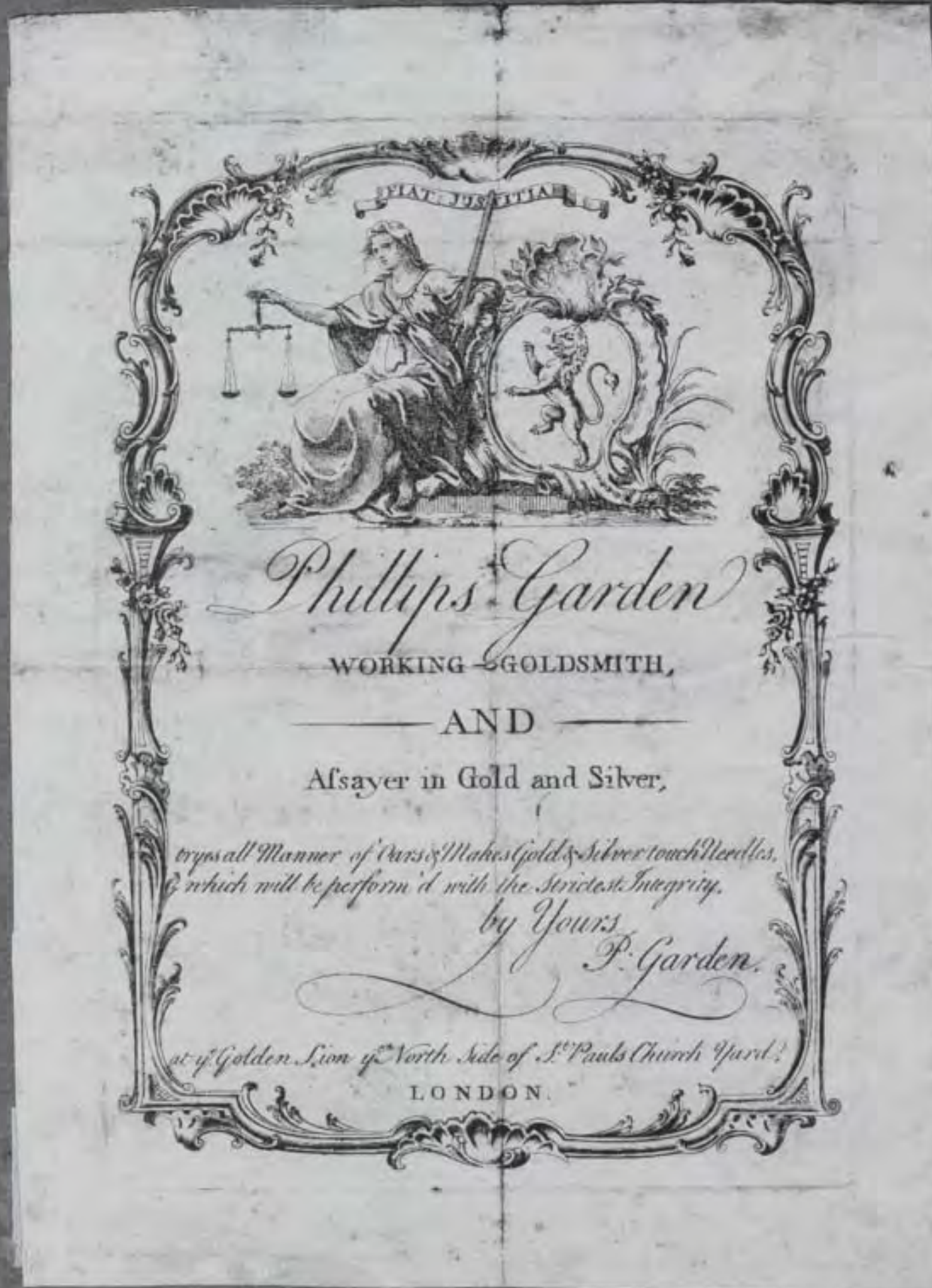
'The Bristol School', *Burlington Magazine*, vol 115 no848, November 1973, pp762-65.
 2 Charles Taylor of 37 High Street, Bristol, had been apprenticed to John Tanner,

a local jeweller and set up on his own in 1805. In 1837 he was joined by his son, Thomas Terrett Taylor, when the style of the firm was changed to Charles Taylor & Son. By then they

were at 9 High Street, Bristol, and in 1848 they moved to 30 College Green, Bristol. Charles Taylor died in 1861. [Culme]

GARDEN PHILLIPS, working goldsmith & jeweller; Gutter lane.
 Golden Lion, North side of St Paul's churchyard.
 Succeeded by John Townsend.

1739
 1739-(Bankrupt) 1762
 1762



67.157

F. Garden and
Dealer 1740 - see book
 Compare another trade card in A. H.'s collection of Phillips Garden at same address
 illustrating the interior of his shop.
 Chaffers' Annals of London gives Phillips Garden of Gutter Lane entered his name
 at Golden Lion in 1739 & again in 1748
 Phillips Garden of St. Paul's Churchyard entered
 of London in 1748
 London Directory 1760 gives
 an advertisement in Daily Advertiser 13 Sep. 1762 announced that John Townsend
 had taken over P. Garden's shop in St. Paul's Churchyard, see his trade card in A. H.'s collection
 London Directory 1768 gives Elizabeth John Townsend 1761 St. Paul's Church yard.

Bought of Phillips Garden Aug 1749 of D. H.

1 Trade card of Phillips Garden. (Heal 67.157).

Trade cards at the British Museum

Charming ephemera or important research source?

JUDY JOWETT

The British Museum, like many of our great institutions, is taking on the huge task of putting images of its collections onto its website. The two collections of trade cards, formed by Miss Sarah Sophia Banks and Sir Ambrose Heal, held by the Museum's Prints and Drawings Department, are particularly suitable for this treatment. Set beside exquisite engravings by Dürer and Rembrandt, trade cards may not be of significance, but this simple means of advertising reveals an extraordinary amount of information and is a fascinating and diverse research tool covering almost 200 years from the early eighteenth century. You are encouraged to explore the website and to marvel at the enthusiasm and tenacity of Sarah Sophia Banks and Sir Ambrose Heal in compiling their comprehensive collections, for these contain not just trade cards of every size and description, but also billheads, calendars, catalogues and a few original sketches.

Born in 1744 Sarah Sophia, the sister of Sir Joseph Banks, the renowned botanist, was by all accounts a great character and an obsessive collector of ephemera of her time. Apart from her 'trade cards', her enthusiasm was for bookplates, theatre and admission tickets and pamphlets, which form yet another collection at the British Museum. She was an acknowledged collector in her lifetime, receiving donations from across Britain, so the items cover a very broad spectrum. She died in 1818 and left her collections to Sir Joseph's wife, Dorothea, who donated them to the British Museum.¹ Sir Ambrose Heal (1872–1959) formed, researched and published his collection over many years.²

The British Museum is very generously allowing free access to the scanned images of trade cards, which are of such quality that it is possible to detect the paper texture. Many images have been scanned to include Heal's short, invaluable, handwritten notes – though at present his copious research notes are not available online. The two collections comprise around 15,000 items which are divided into over 130 sections relating to different trades, some of which overlap. Nearly 3,000 of these are now available to view on the British Museum's website, grouped in fourteen sections (*see panel on right*) which can loosely be termed 'metal trades'; these do not take into account printers, stationers or allied trades. The cards relating to goldsmiths, although an important area of the collection, are by no means the major part of the whole.³

When searching the website it is perhaps advisable to do so with a broad outlook. For example Edward Benton of Elephant Stairs, Rotherhithe, London was a 'Butcher and Toyman';⁴ Mr Cocking, a Clock and Watchmaker of Andover also sold cricket bats and balls;⁵ F. Disborough's change of address card (due to the reconstruction of the approaches to new London Bridge), told of her 'Old-established Toy, Perfumery and Newspaper Business';⁶ and Thomas Hoe's

The online sections of the Banks and Heal trade card collections dealing with metal trades are:

	Section no
Buckle-makers	25
Carvers & Gilders	32
Clockmakers & watchpapers	39
Cutlers	52
Engravers	59
Fanmakers	60
Glassmakers	66
Goldsmiths & Jewellers	67
Metal Trades	85
Includes goldbeaters, sellers of silver lace, jewellery, locksmiths and a coffin plate chaser	
Pewterers	95
Scientific Instrument makers	105
Toolmakers	118
Toymen	119
Various [not yet on line]	132

The complete collection includes over 130 sections relating to different trades, some of which overlap.

The cards are catalogued by collection, then section number, then card number. See figs 10 and 11 for examples.

1 The Heal Collection also includes the smaller Fielden, Gardener and Hodgkin collections. For further information on Sarah Sophia Banks and Sir Joseph Banks see A. Pincott, 'The book tickets of Miss Sarah Sophia Banks (1744–1818)', *The Bookplate Journal*, vol 2, no 1, March 2004, pp 3–30.

2 Sir Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths 1200–1800, A Record of the Names and Addresses of the Craftsmen, Their Shop-Signs and Trade-Cards*, Cambridge 1935, repr Newton Abbot 1972; *London Tradesmen's Cards of the Eighteenth Century*, Batsford 1925; *The Sign Boards of Old London*

Shops, London 1947. For a short article describing Sir Ambrose's working life at the family furniture firm of Heal & Son Ltd, 199 Tottenham Court Road, London W1, see www.millineryworks.co.uk

3 See boxed panel on p104–05 for guidance on using the site. The dates written above the Banks images should not be taken as accurate: it is thought they might be her own acquisition dates.

4 Heal 119.4 Benton, Edward

5 Heal 39.142 Cocking

6 Banks 119.6* Disborough, F



2 Cheapside, London, circa 1780. (BM AN0010785)



3 Trade card of James Lewer. (Heal 119.20)

Glass Manufactory advertised 'All Sorts of GLASSES for Watches and Time Pieces ... Oval Glasses for Minutire [sic] Paintings &c'.⁷ Within *Metal Trades* (section 85), the breadth of merchandise is vast, covering everything from utilitarian to luxury and from the smallest curiosity to immense ironworks crafted, manufactured and sold countrywide. Other cards announced 'Merchants & Captains Supply'd with a Curious Assortment of Goods for Foreign trade' – including 'Holland, Hamburgh, France, Spain, Portugal, etc.' and East India- and West India-Planters.⁸

With the growth of cities, businesses needed to inform their customers of the location of their establishments and what trade they carried on. There was no street numbering until the mid-1760s, so traders differentiated their premises with painted copper or wood signs. Isaac Bedbury⁹ advertised that he

Cuts all sorts of the Finest Prints in Wood ... [for] Shop-keepers Signs, so fine ... that Hundreds have taken them for Copper-Plates ... [and] That One Wood Print will wear out Ten Copper-Plates.

As trade cards evolved a shop's sign, a short description of the shop's location, and its manner of business, were incorporated into a decorative and informative printed format, some printed in colour or on coloured paper. With card in hand a customer could locate the street, easily find the corresponding shop sign and thus the establishment he or she sought. As the idea of hanging a sign outside premises caught on and competition grew fiercer, boards became more numerous and larger, until their weight in gusty winds threatened pedestrians' safety, and they were banned in 1762 [fig 2]. Looking down our streets today, shop signs have made a considerable comeback, but are more modest and less exciting.

The trade card, however, was here to stay. Paper was relatively inexpensive and printing easily commissioned, so there was minimal cost involved in ordering large numbers of trade cards for easy and generous dispersal. As the eighteenth century progressed, so designs became more elaborate – those with decorative rococo scrolls are probably the best known today. The introduction of street number-

ing did not diminish the use or complexity of trade cards – as can be seen from the Banks and Heal collections, which together cover the period up to the late nineteenth century. Later, as handbills (sometimes printed on card), their design and text became less decorative, but still informative.

Shop signs and trade cards came in a huge variety of designs. Although there are many with only the barest details, James Lewer clearly gives his address as 'at ye Elephant &c. Rising Sun Five doors from Friday Street in Cheapside' [fig 3].¹⁰ Images like John Jennion's toolmaker's card¹¹ [fig 14] have engravings of merchandise, but many utilitarian cards are simply listed items, perhaps within a simple frame. Few images are better, for sheer delight, than Richard King's, whose pewterer's touch included a demi-ostrich; he made 'the Best White Hard-Metal Dishes and Plates ... lives at the Ostrich' [figs 4 & 5]. If a business supplied royalty, the appropriate coat of arms or Prince of Wales feathers might proudly form the heading, as with Cripps & Francillon, 'Jouaillers de son Altesse Royale le Prince de Galles et de leurs Altefses Sérénissimes le prince et la princesse hereditaires de wurtemberg, &c' in Norfolk Street.¹²



4 Trade card of Richard King. (Heal 95.22)



5 Touchmark of Richard King, circa 1730–45. (From H.H. Cotterell, *Old Pewter its makers and marks*)

Exteriors, interiors, landscapes and views

Illustrating a smart shop front could attract the eye. Scudamore, at his cutlers, goldsmiths and surgical instrument maker's shop [fig 5] and S. Alderman's premises, two in Barbican and one in Norton Folgate, with busy street scenes in the foreground, are good examples.¹³ Later, Charles Woodward's card shows his shop frontage at 43 Frith Street and the corner of Old Compton Street, Soho, together with floor and street layouts and adjacent occupied premises.¹⁴ Here text is minimal, having been replaced almost entirely by image, without diminishing the impact.



6 Trade card of Scudamore. (Heal 52.94)

7 Heal 66.34
Hoe, Thomas

8 Banks 67.232
Wetherell &
Janaway

Heal 118.9
Laidlers Factory

Heal 85.241
Pontitex, William

Heal 85.211
Nicholls, Gabriel

9 Banks 59.17
Bedbury, Isaac

10 Also Heal 85.135
Harding, Robert

Heal 85.196
Miller, William

Heal 59.173
Varney

11 Also Banks 105.14
Digby, Charles

Heal 105.15
Browne, John

Heal 105.114
Willey, George

Banks 52.3
Best, I.

12 Heal 67.100
Cripps & Francillon

Banks 52.12 (PPA
185963)

Brunn, Samuel

Banks 52.58 (PPA
186035)

Palmers

Banks 32.14
Cooper, S.

Banks 32.15
Cribb, R. & Son

13 Heal 67.7
Alderman, S.

Heal 119.12
Friedeberg, B.

Banks 105.28
Mackenzie

Banks 105.11
Cohen, D.

Heal 32.42
Norcott

Heal 67.201
Hawley

14 Heal 85.336
Woodward, Charles

- 15 Heal 1935 (as note 2), p140.
- 16 Also Heal 105.14
Blunt, Thomas
Banks 32.25* & 32.25* verso
Shepherdson, S.
- 17 Heal 119.21
Markham, G.
Heal 119.24
Pearson, I.
Also Banks 32.23
Gravel, R.
Banks 32.24
Griffith & Payne
Banks 39.35
Crowdhill
Banks 39.140
Woollett, John
- 18 Also Heal 85.286
Sutton
Banks 52.16
Clarke, William
Heal 59.56 recto
Dicey, William & Chuer
Banks 85.178
Wheatley, M. & Co
Heal 85.183
Lloyd, William & John
Grant
- 19 Heal 85.238
Pilton, James
also Banks 85.171
Walkers, Parker, Walker
& Co
Banks 67.214
Collis, George
Richmond & Co
Banks 52.10
Brown, John & Son
Section 85 (Metal Trades)
has a very wide selection
of objects from bird cages,
fan-lights and stair railings
to kitchen 'furniture' -
reflecting the emerging
fashion for cast iron fire-
places, ranges and boilers -
many illustrated to tempt a
purchaser, and a tilting
barrow 'curiously pack'd
for exportation'.
Banks 85.132*
Radcliffe
- In this section too are gold-
beaters, sellers of silver
lace, jewellery, locksmiths
and a coffin plate chaser.
Banks 85.104
Nowell, Thomas
- 20 Banks 39.37
Dickinson
Banks 39.76
Levy, J.
Banks 39.102
Rich
Banks 59.148
Roe
Banks 59.170
Silverlock
Banks 39.87
Morgan, S. & Co
- 22 Banks 59.152 & 153
Sawyer, Richard &
Sawyer Jnr
- Heal 59.132 & 133
Sawyer, Richard
- 23 Also Heal 39.33
Ellicott, John
Heal 39.180
Hill, Thos
Heal 39.182
Houlliere, Jona
- 24 Also Banks 39.48
Fell, Joseph
Heal 39.239
Toulmin, Saml
Banks 39.11
Bayley, Richd
Banks 39.133 & 39.133
Wilkins, Geo
- 25 Banks 39.60
Hirst, Samuel
- 26 Heal 105.24
Cole, Benjamin
Heal 105.116
Whitford, Samuel
Heal 105.91 recto
Senex, John
PPA185166 or Banks
67.178
Rundell, Bridge &
Rundell
Banks 85.126 verso
Pontifex, William &
Russell & E. Goldwin

Interiors, too, are not uncommon, showing how shops were laid out over the years and with customers in contemporary costume examining potential purchases. There are two Phillips Garden cards dated by Heal to 1749.¹⁵ One describes him as an 'Assayer in Gold and Silver ... Makes Gold & Silver touch Needles' [fig 1]; the other is his familiar shop interior, which resembles that of the pewterer Robert Peirce in White Cross Street [fig 11].¹⁶ G. Markham and I. Pearson's cards share an image with just the text altered.¹⁷ A splendid example of goldsmiths working at their benches is that of Stewart of Bristol [fig 10].¹⁸

As the nineteenth century progressed, the idea of trade cards was taken up by industry, who put their factories on record, albeit with romantic foregrounds: 'A View of the Menagerie in the King's Private Road, Chelsea, Middx.' showed off to advantage the railings encircling wild animals which 'James Pilton's Manufactory' in Chelsea could supply from his 'Warehouse, No. 204, Piccadilly, London'.¹⁹ The Banks collection, in particular, has items from locations outside London, such as Newcastle, Lincolnshire and Sussex; presumably these were sent to Miss Banks by local contacts who knew of her interest. The famous Boston Stump was a favourite with Lincolnshire tradesmen, there are views of towns such as Cheltenham and Cambridge,²⁰ and there is a good and detailed view of the river at Bristol.²¹ The two collections do not, on the whole, overlap, but occasionally have the same card, for example the scene from the top of Arundel House looking along the Thames towards the City,²² and a distant view of Cirencester issued by Padbury in the 1790s [figs 7 & 8].

Clock and watchmakers played a significant role in everyday life before standard time was established, by visiting premises to regulate domestic and civic time-keeping devices. Tables were published as trade cards of all sizes, to assist in calculating how a timepiece should be regulated each month to maintain accuracy [fig 15].²³ Calendars fitted neatly on to watch-paper roundels. Often clockmakers simply had their details printed within a circular frame on slips of paper, or their trade cards incorporated a roundel [figs 9 & 12]. These could be cut to fit inside the watch's rear cover to prevent dust penetrating the keyhole into the watch mechanism.²⁴ Once repair or regulation was completed, a new paper recording the watchmaker and his work could be inserted.

Father Time regularly appears on clock and watch trade cards and watchpapers, clutching a sickle, scythe or hour glass. Samuel Hirst, watchmaker of Leeds, has a card with a skeleton reclining on a tomb bearing a doom-laden inscription.²⁵ Slightly more encouraging is James Smith's moralistic poem [fig 9]. The clock and watch sections of the collections provide a wide range of cityscapes and landscapes and show the diverse localities and services covered by the trade over the length and breadth of the British Isles.

Billheads and catalogues

The collections not only contain trade cards, but also billheads and catalogues, which detail the enormous variety of items and work on offer, with prices - for example Benjamin Cole's scientific instruments and other suppliers of optical, mathematical and philosophical instruments and globes.²⁶ Bills show the cost of purchasing ivory patch boxes, razors mounted in silver, carved busts of Virgil and Dryden (£1 12s 0d), engraving work, lighting a lamp for twelve

7 Trade card of Padbury, Cirencester. (Heal 39.207)



*Baillie gives him 1790
Member of Clockmakers' Co.
39.207.*

8 Trade card of Padbury, Cirencester. (Banks 39.94)



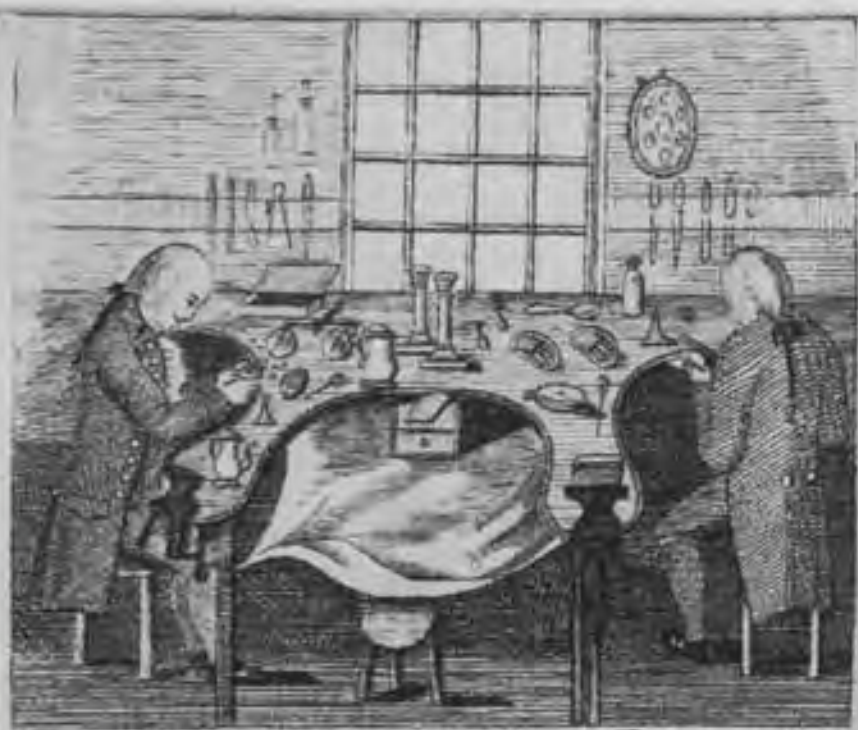
*Could but our tempers move like this machine
Not urged by passion nor delay'd by spleen
And true to nature's regulating power
By Virtuous acts distinguish ev'ry hour*



*Then health & Joy would follow as they ought
The Laws of Motion and the Laws of thought
Sweet health to pass the perfect moments o'er
And everlasting Joy when time will be no more*

9 Trade card of James Smith. (Heal 39.227)

10 Trade card of Stewart of Bristol. (Banks 67.201)



STEWART,
*Working-Goldsmith,
Jeweller, Lapidary, & Gilder,
Nicholas Street,
Bristol.*
*AB All Sorts of Plate & Plated work Repaired
in the neatest Manner*

11 Trade card of Robert Peirce. (Heal 95.27)



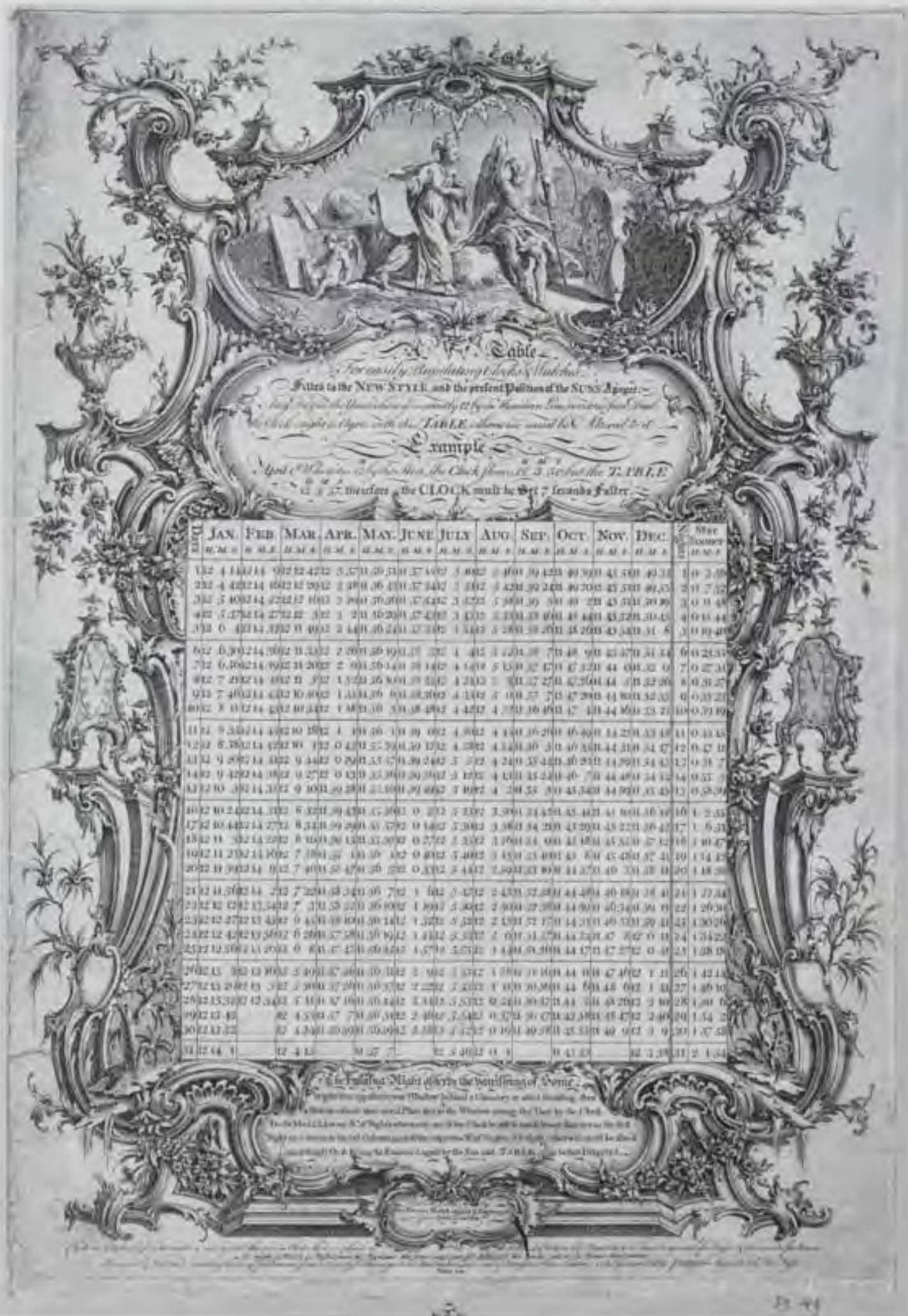
*Robert Peirce
PEWTERER,
in White-church Street,
London.
Makes & Sells all Sorts of Pewter Toys,
Wholesale and Retail.
At the Lowest Prices.*



12 Trade card of Riviere advertising branches in London and the provinces in one card. (Banks 39.103)

1756 Edward Turnour Esq. Dr
 To D^r J. Gignion
 For Work Done To J. Water House 1: 17: 6
 Do Work Done To the Watch Freeman - : 7: 6
 For a Gold Buck Rep. hand } 63: 0: 0
 Do For the pignon }
 £ 65: 5: 0
 Paid by the Old Gold Platey - : 13: 6
 of J. Water House }
 £ 64: 11: 6
 Paid April 26. 1756 of Edward Turnour Esq. the Content
 of this Bill and all Demands for further Help
 J. Gignion

13 Bill to Edward Turnour from Daniel & Thomas Grignon. (Heal 39.46)



15 Trade card of George Furnace. (Banks 39.49)



14 Trade card of John Jennion. (Heal 118.8)

How to use the British Museum website: I
 (correct at the time of writing) more on next page

www.britishmuseum.org ► research
 then either type in the search box
 OR ► search the collection database
 OR go straight to:
 www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_ collection_database.aspx

In the search box enter:
 Banks Collection OR Heal collection OR trade card
 OR to refine your search; trade card silversmith; trade card buckle, etc OR the tradesman's name

OR if you know the reference number, type (for example) either: trade cards Heal 95.27 or trade cards Banks 32.15 OR Heal 95.27 or Banks 32.15

months from 25 October 1758 (£1 10s), gold, silver and clock workers' tools, coppersmiths' prices and a hot bathing machine.²⁷ There is a bill for Richard Hoare's purchase of ironmongery from William & Charles Sparke in 1733; and a bill to the Earl of Winterton from Richard Mason, carver and gilder, in 1766, for what appears to be basic household chores, despite the fact that Mason was a skilled craftsman. In 1756 Edward Turnour settled his account, and an outstanding debt of his father's, with D & T Grignion, which included a 'Gold chas'd Repr. Nam'd Dan. & Tho. Grignion' costing £63 [fig 13]. In the same year Thomas Gilpin, goldsmith, charged Mr Turnour £1,636 1s 10d for, amongst other items, fashioning, polishing and engraving crests on a substantial quantity of flatware, a large 'vine' tea table weighing 234oz 6dwt at £105 8s 6d, six tortoise salts, a tea kettle and coffee pot and 'boyling', burnishing and engraving a set of shaving plates – considerable sums at the time.²⁸

Portraits; ladies' and gentlemen's fashions

At the time of writing, the sections of the collection covering Costume have not been scanned for the website, but within the metal trades sections (which are the subject of this article and which have been scanned), are many examples of fashionable accessories and portraiture.

In Heal's collection are images of King George III, Princess Charlotte and Queen Victoria, which he puts in his watch-paper category. Amongst the Banks collection are portraits of Lady Selina Hastings and Lady Charlotte Johnston, as well as others not named. A possibly lesser mortal, but one of larger proportions, was celebrated by Wm Jolly, Watch and Clock Manufacturer of Leicester, who produced a card to commemorate the death of Daniel Lambert, a jolly gentleman who in 1809 died at Stamford aged 40 years, weighing 52 stone 11 lb. (approximately 335 kg)!²⁹

Nathaniel Bentley was a hardwareman in business with 'Fisher', at the 'Golden Lyon & Case of Knives' in the second half of the eighteenth century. One side of their card sports a portrait above his shop premises of Bentley, known as 'Dirty Dick', and on the other is listed the great variety of articles they could supply, including razors, shoe buckles, spurs and corkscrews, dog collars, fishing tackle, slate and vellum books and London, Sheffield and Birmingham ware.³⁰

At the other end of the market, the trade card of 'Bennet, Gun-Maker & Sword-Cutler to The Prince of Wales, at the Cross Daggers', shows two gentlemen, one with gun, dog and his bag after a successful day's shoot, the other holding a regimental staff; each is attired in the appropriate costume – sporting and military.³¹ Makers and sellers of silver, gilt, steel and horn buttons and buckles, gold and silver lace, regimental and naval accessories all had trade cards, as did George Hurst in Little Compton Street, who Heal records selling Masonic emblems.³² There is a bill of 1759 to Mrs Turner, who bought a pair of 'neat Gold Buckles Wt: 6.12', costing £1 6s plus 13s for fashioning, total £1 19s from Peter Russel at Chenevix's Toy Shop, Charing Cross.³³ Both collections have Fanmakers' cards (section 60). These establishments sold 'India-gold' fans, 'the pocket sliding' fan as well as artists' materials; needlework and shell pictures were framed and 'devices in hair' undertaken. Martin Foxhall, carver and gilder near Seven Dials, supplied hosiery and haberdashery.³⁴



16 Pull from the engraving on a silver tankard, attributed to William Hogarth. (Heal 59.83)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 27 Heal 85.42 | 30 Heal 52.6 |
| Bridgman, Sam. | Bentley, Nathaniel |
| Heal 52.101 verso | 31 Heal 52.5 |
| Tymperon, Edward | Bennett |
| Heal 32.43 | 32 Heal 32.32 |
| Parker & Harris | Hurst, Geo |
| Heal 85.148 | also Banks 52.47 (facsimile) |
| Hinckes, Jno | Hewatt, Richard |
| Heal 85.77 | Banks 59.14 |
| Dare, Gideon | Barnes, John & Co |
| 28 Heal 85.278 | Banks 52.23 |
| Sparke, William & | Dean |
| Charles | 33 Heal 119.30 |
| Heal 32.39 | Russel, Peter |
| Mason, Richard | 34 Heal 32.26 |
| PPA181370 or Heal 67.163A | Gardner, J. |
| and Heal 67.163B recto, | Heal 32.23a & verso |
| verso and verso | Fletcher, Richard |
| Gilpin, Thomas | Banks 67.245 |
| 29 Heal 39.250 WP | Young |
| clockmks.7 (facsimile) | Heal 32.24 |
| Heal 39.250 WP | Foxhall, Marn |
| clockmks.6 or 1902, 1018.54 | |
| (facsimile) | |
| Heal 39.250242 WP | |
| Tyler, G. | |
| Banks 39.113 | |
| Sayer, Robert | |
| Banks 39.112 | |
| Sayer, Robert | |
| Heal 39.250187 WP | |
| Jolly, William | |

How to use the British Museum website: II (correct at the time of writing)

You may notice that in some footnotes the author has put 'verso' or 'recto'. When you search for a trade card, the image that appears on screen may not be the side of the sheet that you wish to see. Look bottom left (under 'print record') and you will find another image, and underneath: 'recto' or 'verso' or 'one of two'. Click on that image, and – hey presto! – we hope you reach what you seek.

THE
IMPROVED PEDIOMETER or WAYWISER,
Which when worn in the Pocket ascertains the Distance the Walker walks,
By SPENCER and PERKINS,
Watchmakers, N^o. 41, Snow Hill.



[Small, illegible text block, likely a testimonial or detailed description of the pedometer's use and accuracy.]

17 Trade card of Spencer & Perkins. (Banks 39.117)

Female and male fashions are depicted when figures are incorporated into designs. Sandylands Drinkwater, a Goldsmiths' Company officer around 1765, headed his card with a coral suspended from an elegantly clad wrist; Thomson, 'Seal Engraver and Jeweller to the Board of Customs' had a female figure wearing the latest 1780s style, complete with plumed headdress; and a young man of fashion displays 'The Improved Pedometer or Waywiser' [fig 17].³⁵

Engravers

Although some trade cards have printers' details, relatively few are signed with either a designer's or engraver's name – most of the work of engravers remains anonymous. Some cards were possibly produced by goldsmiths in-house. However engravers also produced trade cards for their own use, to advertise their specialties in engraving. The standard of design and execution of Engravers cards (section 59) is generally superior to many others. Pastoral scenes with intricate foliage on trees or flamboyant garlands, animals, figures with flowing garments, and lettering, all advertise engraving skills. Some cards have surfaces simulating metal and some display other business's cards, to indicate what could be produced.³⁶ Again, the diversity of work undertaken is vast: seals on steel, stone and silver, maps, bank notes, dice, workmen's marks and stamps, motto rings, heraldic designs and painting, Masonic emblems, copperplates for calico printers and 'Shopkeepers' Bills Curiously Engrav'd'.³⁷

In his notes Heal records how thrilled he was to have acquired a 'very rare' original pull of William Hogarth's engraving on a silver tankard, depicting a pastoral scene within an elaborate cartouche [fig 16].

In his paper 'Trade Cards and English Rococo', read at a Victoria and Albert Museum symposium in 1984,³⁸ Michael Snodin reflected on the over-emphasis placed on the social and historical aspect of the Banks and Heal collections, suggesting that design and engraving of rococo trade cards in particular were neglected. There can be no denying that these two wide-ranging collections are a visual, and often witty, delight, and a mine of information for both social historians and design specialists. They provide details that enable historians of silver and numerous other trades, to understand how craftsmen operated their businesses, where those businesses were clustered, and what they stocked. We are fortunate that the metalworking trades have been the first sections of the collection to go online.

By generously donating their collections to the British Museum for what, at the time, would have been minimal public access, neither Sarah Sophia Banks nor Sir Ambrose Heal could have envisaged their collections being available worldwide at the click of a button. You are invited to view the museum's website either as a researcher or out of curiosity – you will not be disappointed.

Acknowledgements

My thanks go to Antony Griffiths, Keeper of Prints, Prints and Drawings Department for allowing access to the two collections, to Sheila O'Connell, Assistant Keeper, Prints and Drawings Department, for her endless patience and help, and to Mia Jackson, whose workload has been increased significantly by this project.

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To research other collections of trade cards on the internet, go to
www.thesilversociety.org ► research

35 Banks 67.48
Drinkwater,
Sandylands
Heal 59.164
Thomson

36 Banks 59.5
Anderson
Banks 59.18
Bodlidge

Banks 59.28
Brooke, J.
Banks 59.236
Lord, A.
Heal 59.16
Bickham, George
Heal 59.18
Bickham, Geo.
Heal 59.102*
Lilly, Joseph
Heal 59.114
Norman, W.

Banks 59.116
Morris & Clark
Banks 59.133*
Perry, W.
Banks 59.116*
Mottram, John
Heal 59.77
Hayes, Henry

37 Banks 59.29
Brook, R.
Heal 59.95
Kirk, John
Heal 59.48
Darling

Banks 59.115
Morris, L.
Banks 59.9
Barclay

38 Michael Snodin, 'Trade Cards and English Rococo', *The Rococo In England*, London 1986.

Mr Robinson's conviction for counterfeit marks

BRUCE JONES

This is an investigation into the marks on several early nineteenth-century wine labels, or bottle tickets. The silversmith's mark on the labels appears to be that of Thomas Robinson I (Grimwade 2908-09).¹ However the hallmarks on each label are blurred (not worn, as the faces of these labels are in good condition) and these assay marks are of different sizes and variable shapes.

When the hallmarks on these labels are set alongside the marks of other silversmiths, the contrast is clear. The labels bearing other smiths' punches have clean and clear marks, the assay marks are the same size and are in a line, indicating they were held in a stub frame, and the shape of the punches is normal and consistent. Illustrations of several wine labels show these differences.

In *fig 1*, the marks on a SHRUB label, maker's mark TR, date letter T [*fig 1B*] are contrasted with the marks on a Phipps, Robinson & Phipps label with the T date letter for 1814/15 [*fig 1C*].

In *fig 2*, the marks on a SWEET·WINE label, maker's mark TR [*fig 2B*] are placed alongside the assay marks on a William Bateman I label with the U date letter for 1815/16 [*fig 2C*]. The date letter on the SWEET·WINE looks more like a V than a U, although there was no London V date letter between 1735/36 and 1995/96.

In *fig 3*, the marks on a label with the the maker's mark TR, V·DE·GRAVE, do show what appears to be a date letter U. [*fig 3B*]

In *fig 4*, the marks on a label for NOYEAU, maker's mark TR [*fig 4B*] are placed alongside those on a Thomas & James Phipps label [*fig 4C*], both having the date letter a for 1816/17; the date letters look similar but the lions are certainly different, as are the regularity of the punches. The irregularity of the hallmarks on the labels with the TR silversmith's mark was indeed puzzling.

The legal process

A search of the Proceedings of the Old Bailey website² revealed details of the trial and conviction on 11 September 1822 of one Thomas Leathwick Robinson for involvement in the sale of items with counterfeit hallmarks – and these on bottle tickets, a term then commonly used for wine labels. This conviction was the conclusion of a legal process which had begun only a month earlier, in August 1822, a process advanced and financed by the Goldsmiths' Company, whose archives include the account for pursuing the case.³

On 24 August 1822 *The Times*⁴ carried a detailed report of the initial indictment before a magistrate at the Hatton Garden court, under the heading HATTON GARDEN – FORGERY OF THE HALLMARK UPON PLATE:

Yesterday Thomas Leathwick Robinson, a silversmith residing at 9, Francis Court, Berkeley-street, Clerkenwell, was brought up in the cus-



1A



1B



1C



2A



2B



2C



3A



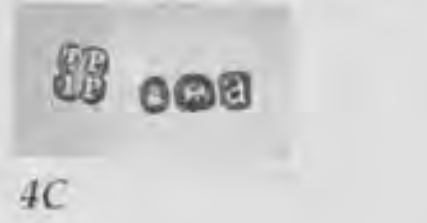
3B



4A



4B



4C



1802 marks from fig 5



1813 marks from fig 6

1 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths, Their Marks & Lives 1697-1837*, London 1976, p206

2 www.oldbaileyonline.org

3 Goldsmiths' Company GII 4/7: The King on the prosecution of the

Goldsmiths' Company against Thomas Leathwick Robinson for selling four Bottle Labels with forged Marks thereon.

4 *The Times*, British Newspaper Library (hereafter BNL): LON MLD1 NPL

tody of John Limbrick, for examination, charged by Mr Sykes, solicitor to the stamp office, with feloniously forging and placing the King's mark on several articles of plate, with intent to defraud the revenue. The case excited a considerable degree of interest and many gentlemen of the trade were present. The following is the particulars of the affair:- On Monday last, a large chest of plate was entered at the Custom-house for exportation: it was from a most respectable gold and silversmith, and consigned to another at Calais. On the plate being examined at the Custom-house it was discovered that many of the articles had the Hall mark forged on them; the consequence was, that the whole chest of plate was seized on; an inquiry was made at the silversmith's who consigned them, when, without hesitation, he informed Mr Mills, inspector of the marks and stamps at Goldsmiths'-hall, of the prisoner's name and address, from whom he bought the articles which bore the forged stamps. Mr Mills, accompanied by Limbrick the officer, proceeded towards the prisoner's house, but happened to meet him on the way, about 6 o'clock on Thursday evening, when we took him into custody, and brought him to this office, whence he was remanded till yesterday, when the following examination took place:-

John Limbrick - I apprehended the prisoner about 6 o'clock yesterday evening; I searched him, and found these three silver bottle labels and chains on his person; I searched his lodgings and found these four dies, from which the labels appear to be struck, also this punch with which they appear to be marked.

Here four other silver bottle labels and chains, part of the property seized in the chest, were produced. The clerk and shopman of the silversmith, from the private marks, identified them to be bought from the prisoner on the 20th instant, and entered as such in the day book.

George Smith - I live at 11, George-street, Minories; I am engraver to the Goldsmiths' Company; the stamps on those four labels (having examined them with a microscope) denoting the duty and silver marks are forged.

George Mills - I live in Goldsmith's Hall, and am inspector of marks; I examined these four labels, and swear that all the stamps are counterfeit; I accompanied the officer in searching the prisoner's lodging, and was present when he found the punch now produced, and have no doubt that the letter "R" impressed on these labels was done by this punch. The prisoner declined making any defence; the witnesses were bound over to prosecute; and the prisoner was committed to Newgate for trial.

From this report, it is clear that the Goldsmiths' company was involved from the outset. 'Mr Mills', the inspector of marks and stamps, was George Miles, then Third Assayer and to become in 1824 Senior Assayer;⁵ he accompanied John Limbrick the officer to take Thomas Robinson into custody. It is interesting to speculate who recognised Thomas Robinson in the street - George Miles recognising an active silversmith, or John Limbrick the officer; and it was a curious coincidence that Thomas Robinson was carrying three labels with him when apprehended. At the indictment 'George Smith' the engraver to the Goldsmiths' Company,⁶

declared that the marks were counterfeit; he was in fact John, not George, Smith.

Following Thomas Robinson's indictment before the magistrate, he 'was committed to Newgate [prison] to await trial, charged with forging the King's mark on several articles of plate with intent to defraud the revenue'.⁷ Within a month his case was heard at the Old Bailey, the central criminal court. The court records⁸ show that on 11 September 1822 he was found guilty on one count but that no evidence was offered on the second indictment. He was sentenced to be transported overseas for fourteen years.

An article in *The Morning Post*⁹ next day, dated Thursday 12 September 1822, gave an account of the proceedings:

Thos Leathwick Robinson pleaded guilty to an indictment, charging him with feloniously selling four silver bottle labels, with forged and counterfeit marks, resembling the Hall-marks of the Goldsmiths' Company.

The Recorder endeavoured to prevail upon him to retract his plea, observing that the Court would not consider his pleading guilty, as any mitigation of the offence with which he was charged; he had, therefore, better retract his plea and put his Prosecutor to the proof, as, his present plea, if recorded, would subject him to fourteen years transportation. He, however, persisted in his plea of Guilty, which was ordered to be recorded.

He was then again placed at the bar, upon an indictment charging him capitally with forging the said mark, with intent to defraud, &c, when Mr Bolland, as Counsel for the prosecution rose, and stated, that in consequence of some useful information the Prisoner has rendered to his Majesty's Stamp Office he was allowed to plead to the minor offence, which subjected him to transportation for fourteen years. The evidence to support the capital part of the charge would not therefore be gone into.

This outcome was the result of some form of plea bargaining. Thomas Robinson pleaded guilty to the sale of four bottle tickets, which resulted in a sentence of fourteen years transportation. He however avoided the capital charge of forgery of the marks with intent to defraud the revenue, which would have carried the death penalty if he had been found guilty. The prosecution did not pursue this latter charge due to a 'deal of valuable information'¹⁰ he had provided - the names of persons to whom he had sold goods.

A detailed account in the archives of the Goldsmiths' Company¹¹ for the prosecution gives an indication of the bargaining:

Attending on Mr Humphrey the Prisoner's Solicitor & on the Sol[icitor] of Stamps on the Prisoner's application to be permitted to plead Guilty to this Indictment [the sale of silver with forged marks] and not to be tried on the other charge [of actually forging the marks] and conferring and advising thereon, perusing a confession made by the Defendant and calling at various Silversmiths for whom the Prisoner had worked and to whom he had sold Silver, examining various Articles on which were forged Stamps

when it was at length arranged that Defendant should plead Guilty [to the lesser charge].

This account shows that it cost the Goldsmiths' Company to pursue this case the considerable sum of £61 15s 10d, a reflection of the expense to the Company of policing the integrity of hallmarking. The bill is dated 7 May 1824 and concludes 'Mr Lane pay this Bill'. Mr Lane was John Lane, Clerk to the Goldsmiths' Company.

As Gale Glynn has noted,¹² almost exactly a year earlier another goldsmith, Jeremy Garfield, was sentenced to fourteen years transportation for 'exposing for sale 12 silver spoons, with forged stamps of the Goldsmiths' Company'. Like Thomas Robinson, he successfully reached an agreement to avoid prosecution on the charge of actually making counterfeit punches. Gale Glynn also lists a number of other goldsmiths sentenced to transportation, often for involvement with counterfeit marks.

Thomas Leathwick Robinson and the other Robinsons

Thomas Leathwick Robinson was born about 1782¹³ and married Mary Jane Rosier on 25 August 1804 at Christ Church, Greyfriars, Newgate Street.¹⁴ At the time of his arrest it was stated that 'he was in a very extensive way of business in Clerkenwell'.¹⁵ Given that, it is curious that the counterfeit marks should be found on something of limited value such as wine labels. The date letters seen on the labels cover a short span, from the T for 1814/15 to the b for 1817/18, though it was in 1822 that he was convicted for selling counterfeit items. His conviction ended his activities in England and he was transported to Australia on *Competitor*, arriving there in 1823.

In Australia he quickly established himself, becoming an assistant at a school in Liverpool in 1824 and then a master at Campbelltown School in 1825; he was also clerk to the church there. He petitioned in 1824 for his wife and five children to join him on a free passage, the children being Mary Ann (born in 1807), Susanna, Frederick, George and Lucy; they duly followed him to Australia.¹⁶

He received a certificate of freedom¹⁷ on 30 November 1836, reflecting the completion of his sentence, and he remained in Australia. He died on 1 November 1864 at Hugundra, Cooma, New South Wales. His death certificate¹⁸ described him as a 'squatter', someone who had occupied unregistered land. He was 82 and had lived in New South Wales for 39 years, nearly half his life. His wife, who died ten years later,¹⁹ and three of his ten children survived him; and there are descendants of his in Australia today.

I have attempted to establish whether Thomas Leathwick Robinson can be identified as a silversmith who registered marks at Goldsmiths' Hall. He does not appear to be associated with the Edward Robinson who, with Thomas Phipps, headed a well regarded firm of smallworkers, noted for their wine labels. There are some indications, however, that he may be identified as the Thomas Robinson I who entered marks at Goldsmiths' Hall, but there is insufficient evidence to be certain about this. The indications relate to the contiguity of addresses and to comparisons of silversmiths' marks.

Thomas Robinson I was the son of William Robinson, a victualler of Goswell Street. He was apprenticed to John Robins on 4 January 1792,²⁰ became free on 1 January 1800 and registered a mark at

5 John S Forbes, *Hallmark. A History of the London Assay Office*, London 1999 pp234-35.

6 Forbes (as note 5) pp242 & 250-51.

7 *The Examiner*, 25 August 1822 BNL: LON MLD63 NPL.

8 POB, September 1822, Thomas Leathwick Robinson (t18220911-1 & 2).

9 *The Morning Post*, 12 September 1822 BNL: LON MLD9 NPL.

10 *The Times*, 12 September 1822 BNL: LON MLD1 NPL.

11 Goldsmiths' Company, G II 4/7.

12 Gale Glynn, 'Criminal proceedings involving silver and silversmiths', *The Silver Society Journal*, no15 2003, pp79-94.

13 His age is derived from information on transportation lists and his death certificate. Although a birth

certificate for a Thomas Robinson has been found, it cannot be proved to be that of Thomas Leathwick Robinson rather than another of the same name.

14 Register of marriages, Christ Church, Greyfriars, Guildhall Library, London, microfilm 10115/1.

15 *The Examiner*, Sunday 15 September 1822 BNL: LON MLD63 NPL.

16 Australian details from archives of the state of New South Wales (NSW) at www.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/colsec/r/F48c_rirroc-16.htm#P7381_236408.

17 NSW archive: Certificate of Freedom 4/4436.

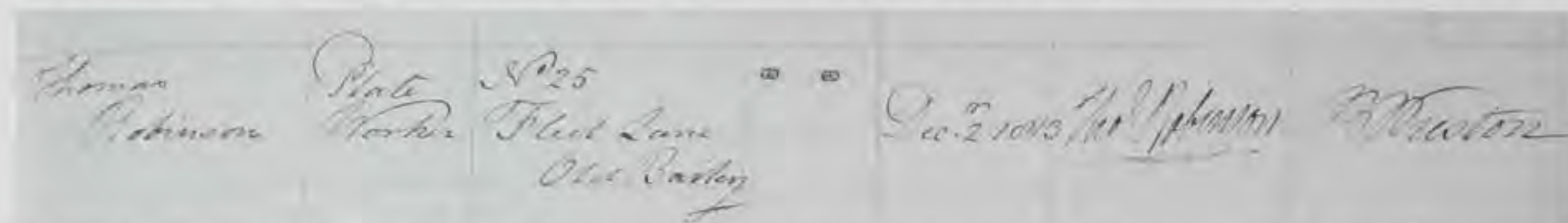
18 NSW archive: Death Registration Transcription 1864/3543.

19 NSW archive: Death Registration Transcription 1874/4484.

20 London Metropolitan Archives (hereafter LMA). COL/CHD/FR/02/1236/57.



5 Registration of marks by Thomas Robinson I in 1802 – Grimwade 2908. (Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, photo: Richard Valencia)



6 Registration of marks by Thomas Robinson I in 1813 – Grimwade 2909. (Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, photo: Richard Valencia)

Goldsmiths' Hall²¹ at Red Lion Street in March 1802. He moved to 13 St John's Square, Clerkenwell in October 1810, recorded there in contemporary directories.²² Land tax assessments²³ show him at this address from 1811/12 until 1821/22. He ceased paying tax there after 1822, coincidentally the year when Thomas Leathwick Robinson was transported to Australia.

Thomas Leathwick Robinson is recorded²⁴ as paying tax at Francis Court, Berkeley Street, Clerkenwell from 1820–21 to 1823–24, his wife probably paying the tax after 1822. This address was just around the corner²⁵ from the premises of Thomas Robinson I in St John's Square.

As for the silversmith's marks, those on some wine labels with counterfeit marks [fig 4b] look virtually identical to those registered by Thomas Robinson I in 1802 [fig 5]. The TR marks on others of the wine labels with dubious hallmarks have rounded corners [fig 1b], and these closely resemble the marks registered in December 1813 [fig 6].

The similarities of address and marks may however be coincidences and the marks perhaps deliberately designed to replicate those of a registered silversmith. Thomas Leathwick Robinson's death certificate states that his father's name was Robert, not William (the father of Thomas Robinson I). The certificate states also that he was 82 years old at death in 1864; if this is correct, and he was indeed Thomas Robinson I, he would have been apprenticed at the young age of ten and free at nineteen. Ten was too young to become an apprentice and freedom was not normally granted until a person was at least twenty-one. So the identity of Thomas Leathwick Robinson remains uncertain though his misdemeanours remain on record and the spurious marks, which are here attributed to him, survive.

Acknowledgements

My thanks to David Beasley, Librarian of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, for his helpful assistance and to the Goldsmiths' Company for permission to quote from their records; and to Rosemary Phillips and Bruce Robinson in Australia, descendants of Thomas Leathwick Robinson, for information about his life there.

21 Goldsmiths' Company Register III p62.

22 Including *Kent's Directory for the year 1811*, London 1811, Guildhall Library, London.

23 Parish of St John, Clerkenwell: Land tax assessments, LMA MS1767–79.

24 *ibid.*

25 Richard Horwood, *A Map of the Cities of London and Westminster, 1799–1819*. Guildhall Library, London.

Further observations on plate duty and its marks

ANTHONY DOVE

My earlier paper¹ dealt with basic duty payments and marks. This present one will go into certain aspects of the matter in more detail. Mention was made of the increases in duty and the different ways the assay offices dealt with this. The London Assay Office recognised the doubling of duty from sixpence to one shilling on silver and eight shillings to sixteen on gold from 5 July 1797, by the insertion of cusps into the mark of the sovereign's head. These were placed in the base and either to the left or right, depending on the position of the head in the stub.²

The marks from a vinaigrette in *fig 1*, assayed in London in 1797/98, are interesting in that they show two different types of duty head on the lid and base. The full set of hallmarks as they should appear on the base [*fig 1.1*], are struck in two double punches, due to the curvature of the base. One stub consists of the lion and leopard's head, the other the date and duty. This latter punch had cusps on the right-hand side and base. The lid, having a flat surface, has a normal part-marked stub (omitting the leopard's head) with a duty head, which has cusps on the left-hand side and base [*fig 1.2*].

Four of the provincial assay offices, namely Birmingham, Newcastle, Sheffield and York, struck the king's head twice for a period during the assay year 1797/98 [*fig 2*]. This was a temporary measure until the trefoil punch or triple cusped duty³ had been received [*fig 3*].

*Not all silver struck with two duty punches is double duty, however.*⁴

I have been shown a number of items struck with the king's head twice which can be considered as mistakes. I believe that I can lay down some ground rules to assist in separating the genuine from the erroneous. In all the cases of genuine double duty, that I have seen, there have been three criteria which are invariably found to be present.

1. The heads must be the same punch. This point is quite logical in that if a duty is to be duplicated deliberately it will be struck twice in succession, there being no need to change to a different punch.
2. The heads must be adjacent and in the same orientation, there being no reason to place them at opposite ends of the hallmark or indeed the item itself.
3. The extra duty should appear in addition to the other marks normally found on the item. This, again, is perfectly logical and a missing punch usually means an error has been committed.



1.1

1.2



1 Vinaigrette, London 1797/98: two variations of London double duty mark.



2 Tablespoon, Newcastle 1797/98: double duty heads.



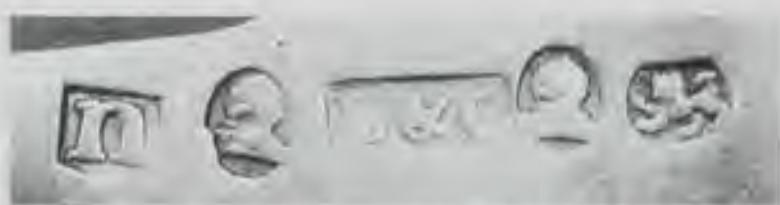
3 Table fork, York 1805/06: trefoil duty head.

1 Anthony Dove, 'Plate duty. Its origins, marks and variations', *Silver Studies, The Journal of the Silver Society*, no22 2007.

2 Dove (as note 1) p109, gives details of London double duty marks and variations.

3 Anthony Dove, 'The cusped duty used at the Assay Offices from 1797', *The Finial*, March/April 2004.

4 Anthony Dove, 'Double trouble - duplicated hallmarks', *The Finial*, Dec 2003/ Feb 2004.



4 Salt spoon, Birmingham 1811/12: double head error.



5.1

5.2



5 Salt spoon, Birmingham 1810/11: error corrected.



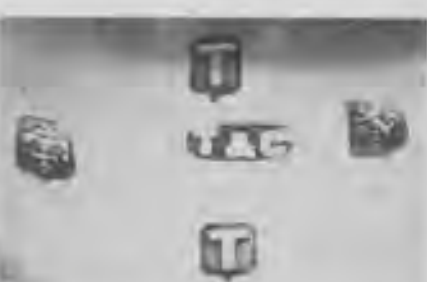
6 Patch box, Birmingham 1797/98: double double.



7 Dessert spoon, Edinburgh 1785/86: double incuse duty.



8 Caddy spoon, Exeter 1797/98: double duty.



9 Sugar tongs, Glasgow 1890/91: double letter.

Erroneous marking

The Birmingham salt spoon [fig 4] is a perfect example of a hall-marking error. Apart from being of the wrong date (1811/12 not 1797/98) it can be seen that the two heads are clearly from different punches. The heads are not adjacent, but placed on either side of the maker, and, finally, this spoon is missing its anchor town mark. The probable explanation for this is that in 1811 a duty mark was inadvertently placed with the anchor punches in error and was not spotted or checked. Notice that the blemish on the left-hand duty head appears to be identical to that used on the salt spoons below, assayed in the previous year.

An example of how mistakes could be spotted – and corrected – can be seen in the two Birmingham salt spoons [fig 5]. In fig 5.1 two anchors have been struck on one spoon, one instead of a date letter. The two anchors seem to be the same, suggesting that the marker was possibly temporarily distracted and picked up this punch again, not realising that he had already used it. He did, however, correct this error by striking the date letter alongside, as can be seen by comparing the two spoons, the other being correctly marked [fig 5.2].

The set of marks on a patch box, also from Birmingham [fig 6] represents what could be termed an example of a double double. The two heads are identical and adjacent (for 1797/98), while it is the lions passant in this instance that are different. Once again, the anchor is missing, together with the date letter. The lack of this latter in 1797/98 with double duty is not uncommon at provincial offices and would not strictly be necessary, as the two heads were known to signify only this specific year.

The Edinburgh dessert spoon of 1785/86 [fig 7] has the only instance so far known of a double incuse head. This could be for the sake of clarity as one of the heads has been badly struck and is incomplete. It is even remotely possible that the additional duty could have acted as some form of drawback mark on exportation of the spoon.

The Exeter caddy spoon of 1797/98 [fig 8] is the only example I have ever seen and I believe it is a genuine double duty – with a difference. As mentioned above, the two heads were struck at all the provincial offices in 1797/98 on a temporary basis until the true double duty mark had been received (the triple cusped or trefoil head).⁵ It seems possible that this trefoil punch had been struck twice in error, when once would have been sufficient, and an attempt was made to remove the offending extra punch by overstriking it with the rear part of a lion passant. This can be very clearly seen overstriking the first duty and appears to be so precise as to indicate that it was deliberate.

A further reason for striking additional marks could have been simply a matter of decoration. For example, the marks on the Glasgow sugar tongs of 1890/91 [fig 9] are interesting as the striking of the extra date letter may well have been deliberate. Glasgow sugar tongs are frequently hallmarked in the arch, with the four marks struck by the assay office surrounding that of the maker. As this letter T was used in the year 1890/91, when duty on plate was abolished in May 1890, it is possible that it was felt that there ought to be a mark at the base. It could be argued that the extra date letter was struck deliberately for reasons of symmetry, perhaps for a short time after the abolition of the Queen's head. I have heard of, but not actually seen, a similar instance where the duty head had been

duplicated, apparently solely for reasons of symmetrical decoration.

The further increases in duty in 1804 and 1815 were shown at the London Assay Office by single cusps and a flat based duty. These were used only in those specific years, as were the 1797 variations. Unfortunately the trefoil duty punch was used, apparently indiscriminately after 1797, until about 1820. There are one or two known variations.⁶ It is possible that the marks on the Exeter [fig 10] or Edinburgh [fig 11] spoons are such examples. I have seen a dessert spoon of Edinburgh assay date for 1804/05 with two clearly struck trefoil duty punches.

Double struck lions passant

Over the years I have been shown a number of items, mainly candlesticks and small hollowware, showing two lions passant. These have all appeared in the period 1720–55. As these give the appearance of being deliberate, there is always the possibility that they could be a means of showing that duty had been refunded or repaid on export/import of the items concerned. A specific case in point are the marks from a snuff box [fig 12]. Normally one would expect to find two lions, in the lid and in the base. This box has no less than five! Even allowing for the one in the flange being to cover a separate strip, the matter of the two in the lid and in the base does, I feel, require some explanation. I think it can be safely assumed that the assay office cannot fail to have noticed the punch already struck, so it must have been intentional. As the double lions appear to be different, it could be suggested that they were punched at different times. Although duty was paid at this date there was no actual punch struck on plate. If this snuff box (marked in London in 1728/29 but French in style) was to be exported, surely some indication was necessary to show that the duty had been repaid, or perhaps if it had been re-imported.

The marks on a pair of London-assayed tongs are rather curious [fig 13]. The tongs themselves are clearly of circa 1780 date, ie before duty punches. Yet not only has a further (smaller) lion passant been struck in the bowl, but an incuse duty punch (circa 1784–86) over the larger lion as well. Could this also be a form of export/re-import mark?

The marks on the two Irish ladles, while not technically duty, did involve the Commissioners of Stamps. On 20 September 1825 the 'allowance of variation' (tolerance) was reduced from 2.5dwt per troy ounce to 1.5dwt, bringing the Dublin Assay Office in line with London. In order to recognise this, the letter E upper case [fig 14] was changed to e lower case [fig 15] on this date. The outline shapes of all the punches were also changed from plain ovals to hour-glass with cusps.⁷

Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to Simon Moore for illustrations 4, 6 and 13 and to the photographers of Daniel Bexfield Antiques for the remainder.



10 Teaspoon, Exeter 1797/98: later variant of duty re increase?



11 Teaspoon, Edinburgh 1809/10: later variant of duty re increase?



12 Snuff box, London 1728/29: four lions passant (a fifth, on the flange, is not illustrated).



13 Sugar tongs, London 1780/81: ? double lion passant and incuse duty.



14 Sauce ladle, Dublin 1825/26: pre 20 September 1825.



15 Saude ladle, Dublin 1825/26: post 20 September 1825.

5 Dove (as note 1) p110, gives further details of trefoil punches.

7 Douglas Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, London 1984, p214.

6 Dove (as note 1) p112 fig 31, for an Exeter example.

Plate tax

ANTHONY SALE

While researching the Blathwayt family archives¹ I encountered some documents relating to William Blathwayt's payment of plate tax, hitherto unknown to me. To find out about this little-known tax I fortunately found mention of it by Anthony Dove.²

Plate tax was introduced in 1756 and lasted until 1777. It is distinct from the well-known plate duty, which took several forms and culminated in duty marks being stamped on Sterling and Britannia silver from 1784 to 1890.

Plate tax falls into the group of taxes later described as assessed taxes. In the eighteenth century taxation was levied on the trappings of wealth, ie on expenditure and perceived wealth, rather than on income; income tax was introduced at the end of the century, by William Pitt the younger. The trappings of wealth for the purpose of this tax were the possession of a coach and four, presumably with attendant footmen, grooms, etc. If one had these, ascertainable from the taxes on coaches and servants, one was deemed to possess silver. Land tax was in existence at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was joined by window tax and other taxes on items of luxury expenditure, including carriages, saddle and carriage horses, livery servants and hair powder. These annual taxes were levied on items that were taken to be evidence of capability to pay.

The procedure for the collection of such taxes was that county commissioners were appointed from the property classes and they, in turn, appointed assessors and collectors. Many of them were lax and the system was open to abuse. The moneys collected were paid to the Receiver General for the county and thence to HM Exchequer at Westminster. There was scope for evasion by not declaring possession of taxable items and by hiding them. However, this would have conflicted with the desire to display one's wealth through conspicuous consumption.

In 1756 Sir George Lyttleton (created Baron Lyttleton that year), Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed a tax on all people and corporate bodies owning silver plate. The Act introduced a sliding scale of annual payment, viz 5s on owning 100–200oz of silver, 10s on 200–300oz and rising by increments of 5s for each additional 100oz up to a maximum of £10 for 4,000oz and upwards. (The exemption on the first 100oz would allow for the possession of, say, a personal flatware service). The tax was to

be paid on every 5th of July and to be under the management of Commissioners of Excise. Those who owned sufficient plate in London were to declare the amounts to the Excise Office at Westminster, while elsewhere they were to make declaration to the Excise Office in their county. They had to do this each year, the penalty for non-compliance being £20. The Act included various provisions for plate held in pledge, for dealers, church plate, plate held at death, etc. Provision was made for rewarding informers if a prosecution was successful.

According to Stephen Dowell,³ when the tax was introduced to the House of Commons it encountered opposition from several members on various grounds. It would teach servants to turn informers. It was, in effect, an appropriation of property of a kind never yet touched except in the case of sieges or civil war. It would provide a register of personal estate of a particular description, very useful to the housebreaker. It was in effect a tax on useful manufacture and would drive our best silversmiths to France. Such were some of the arguments. A more telling objection was advanced when George Greville pointed out that the proposed tax, as a tax to be paid on honour, was not likely to prove a source of returns such as were given for the coach tax it resembled, which was anything but strictly accurate. 'The land tax', he said, 'had at the time of the Revolution been assessed on honour and with what result? The returns had been notoriously incorrect.' Nevertheless, the Act was carried by 245 votes to 142.⁴

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had estimated that the tax would produce £30,000 per annum, but it only yielded £18,000. The tax continued for twenty years, and was repealed in 1777 by Lord North because

... it has been found by experience that the rates and duties arising by the Act are very vexatious and troublesome for the levying and collecting the same and of small advantage to the public.⁵

Records of the collection of plate tax seem rather scarce. In looking for evidence in the Gloucestershire Archives I found no records of the county's Excise Office. However in the Blathwayt family archives⁶ there is a letter showing a problem in the first years of the tax. It was sent to William Blathwayt at Dyrham Park and reads:



Receipt from the Excise Office, dated 13 June 1774, to William Blathwayt of Golden Square, London and Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire, for payment of plate tax. (Gloucestershire Archives)

Sir, It appears by the Register in this office, that you have not this year Enter'd your Plate, that you did in the year 1756. Notices of these Omissions have been lately given in the Gazette & other Newspapers, which I now beg leave to remind you of. I am Sir your most humble Servant W. Hawkesworth, collector of Excise. Excise Office Marshfield 15 Decem 1757

In the 1770s William Blathwayt had his silver at his London house and paid tax to the London Excise Office. Receipts for the modest amount of silver, 300oz, survive in the archives. The illustration shows an example.

Very few ledgers relating to collecting plate tax have survived in the National Archives. One is the yearly list of persons paying plate duty 1756–63.⁷ In this, for example, Thos Nettleship of Cheltenham paid 5s on 100oz each July in the years 1757 to 1762. Another ledger showing attempts to follow up defaulters is the list of persons suspected to have plate who neglected to make any entry.⁸ As an example is this entry:

Nettleship Thos Cheltenham 100oz expiration of last entry entered July 1762. Sold before expiration of last entry hath entered and is deceased.

Stephen Dowell noted that in May 1776, the year before the repeal, the House of Lords ordered the Commissioners of Excise to send a circular 'to all persons whom they have reason to suspect, and also to those who had not paid regularly the duty on the same'; in obedience to which the Accountant General for household plate sent a copy of the order to, amongst others, John Wesley – who answered

Sir I have two spoons in London and two spoons in Bristol. This is all the plate which I have at present and I shall not buy any more while so many round me want bread. I am Sir your humble servant John Wesley.

Acknowledgement

I thank Anthony Dove for valuable advice and Robert Barker for his help.

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| 1 Gloucestershire Archives D1799. | Plate Tax (pp240–42). |
| 2 Anthony Dove, 'House of Commons sessional papers', <i>The Silver Society Journal</i> , no12 2000, p85. | 4 29 Geo II c14. |
| 3 Stephen Dowell, <i>History of Taxation and Taxes in England</i> . London 1884, includes a short section on | 5 17 Geo III c39, s42. |
| | 6 Gloucestershire Archives D1799 E170. |
| | 7 National Archives (TNA) T 47/5. |
| | 8 TNA T 47/6. |

Silver ephemera – a rare survival

LUKE SCHRAGER

* For further information about the Padgett & Braham archive, the majority of which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, see *Silver Studies* no21, 2006, p14. During the final break-up of the contents of the workshops, John Padgett kindly donated objects to the Society, which were sold to benefit its funds in December 2006.

Among the huge variety of items from Padgett & Braham [Barnard]* was a framed document entitled *Assay Office Letters 29th May 1696–29th May 1835*. It was badly damaged, but remained nonetheless an intriguing item and has now been repaired.

It represents a very early depiction of the London date letters.¹ Until now, the earliest known depiction has been that published by Octavius Morgan in 1853,² in which he states that

Alphabet XIV [date letters 1696–1715] and those which follow have long been published, and are well known and authenticated, but as many of the court hand letters of XIV are ill-formed in the published table, I have thought it right to correct as far as possible from the actual marks.

The next extant table was that produced by William Chaffers in 1863,³ in the introduction to which he states that:

The tables of assay office letters here given will be found more complete than any hitherto published. Of those which have already appeared, the first (printed about 20 years since) was a short list of alphabetical letters from the year 1697; but they were badly formed, and printed without being compared with the actual marks on the plate itself.

Morgan and Chaffers suggest that a chart of London date letters had been published around 1840. Chaffers continues that

Some years since I also printed a small sheet of Assay Office Letters; all these are now out of print, and at the request of numerous friends, I have been induced to publish one on a more extended scale...

There appears to be no extant copy of this, nor of the chart that Morgan and Chaffers suggest was published around 1840.

Close analysis of the document from Barnards suggests that it has a link to the Goldsmiths' Company, whose crest and motto are at the top and their armorials in cartouches at either side. On the reverse of the document is a paper label on which are written key dates in the history of the Company. Beneath the date letters are details of the various changes in the laws relating to the duty raised on wrought plate (specifying the changes to the duty⁴). The Goldsmiths' Company, as guarantor of the purity of gold and silver assayed and their marking, would have been one of the few institutions which had reason to note these changes. The date letters would have been taken either from the Court Books of the Company or the plate mentioned by Chaffers. However mark plates now only survive from 1773 onwards and Morgan is not clear as to which letters derive from this source. Previously the plates were likely to have been held by the Assay Office, housed then as now in Goldsmiths' Hall. The Assay Office had the responsibility for assaying plate and applying the hallmarks and it is an interesting coincidence that this chart was produced in 1835, a time when its personnel and procedures were reviewed and the Deputy Warden replaced.⁵

Even though it has not, so far, proved possible to find corroborative evidence in the archives it is tempting to conclude that the table illustrated here was made under the auspices of the Goldsmiths' Company for their own use, prior to the publication of the London date letters around 1840 alluded to by Morgan and Chaffers.



Chart of date letters 1696–1835.

1 For further information see J. Culme, *The Directory of Gold and Silversmiths ... 1838–1914*, Woodbridge 1987, vol I, p xxviii.

2 Octavius Morgan (1803–88), *Royal Archaeological Society Proceedings*, X, pp33–43, p37.

3 William Chaffers (1811–92), *Hall Marks on Gold and Silver Plate, with tables of annual date letters*, London 1863.

4 Anthony Dove, *Silver Studies*, no 22 2007.

5 J. Forbes, *Hallmark: A History of the London Assay Office*, London 2002, pp235–36.

Sold at auction

LUKE SCHRAGER

A pair of silver-gilt baskets, Parker & Wakelin, London 1766/67

On 31 October 2007 Woolley and Wallis, of Salisbury, sold the remaining stock of How of Edinburgh. Lot 386 was a pair of silver-gilt baskets with finely pierced sides assayed in London in 1766/67 and retailed by Parker & Wakelin [fig 1]. These were unusual both in their size and their quality. Due to the survival of the firm's ledgers, it has proved possible to establish their original purpose.

Each basket is engraved with the arms of Heathcote quartering Reynell with Moyer in pretence. These are the arms of John Heathcote, of Connington Castle, Huntingdonshire, second son of Sir John Heathcote Bt, whose father, Gilbert Heathcote (1652–1733), was Lord Mayor of London and reputedly 'the wealthiest commoner in England', worth approximately £700,000 at the time of his death. In 1759 the younger John married Lydia, daughter of Benjamin Moyer, an extremely wealthy 'Turkey Merchant'. Such lineage surely accounts for the ability to purchase, and indeed the taste for, luxury items such as these baskets.

The baskets, rather than being for sweetmeats, formed part of a large silver-gilt dressing table set, costing £295 7s. These 'fine octagon pierced trays' were singled out from the other items, which have no more than the most basic description. The ledger¹ show that on 18 April 1767 John Heathcote received the following items.



1 Pair of silver-gilt baskets, Parker & Wakelin, London 1766/67. Width 23cm (9in); 622g (20oz). (Woolley and Wallis)

	oz	dwt			
To a looking glass frame	53	6			
To a jewel trunk, 8 boxes, 2 essence pots, 2 vases & a pair figure candlesticks	377	3			
[TOTAL]	430	9	9/8	208	10
To 2 fine octagon pierced trays	20	14	5/8	5	17 4
To making at 3/10 ea				7	0 0
To gilding the whole with 451... 3 @2/6 per oz				56	0 0
To graving 17 coats				6	7 9
To cash paid for fashion of the lock & key to ye jewel trunk				1	7 0
To do for looking glass and mahogany back				2	10 0
To a red morocco leather case with a drawer and 2 cushions				6	6 0
To 2 blue glass linings and gilding and 2 philigree caps				1	9 0

A possible purpose for these trays was seen in the recent exhibition at the National Gallery, London, of paintings by Pompeo Batoni. His *Portrait of Duchess Girolama*, circa 1760, shows the duchess seated at a dressing table, on which is a silver dressing table set including two trays. In one tray the Duchess has already placed a pearl bracelet and she appears to be preparing to place a second bracelet in the other..

1 Victoria and Albert Museum, AAD1995/7/7 (Gentleman's Ledger 1765-1776) f154.

2 Pompeo Batoni, exhib cat, National Gallery, London 2008, no46.

Miscellany

Treasure and Privateering

Admiral George Anson (1697–1762) was elevated to the peerage in 1747 as Baron Anson. He is known to collectors of silver for his patronage of Paul de Lamerie. The money that enabled him to make these purchases and furnish his house, Moor Park, Herts, came from his celebrated voyage earlier in the decade. To quote Susan Hare:

In 1740 he was sent in his flagship, *Centurion*, with a squadron of six ships to attack Spanish possessions in the Pacific. Nearly four years later his ship returned alone from a voyage round the world having survived incredible hardships but with great loss of life. Nevertheless, his ship had met the annual Spanish treasure ship sailing from Manila to Acapulco and captured her with a cargo of nearly half a million pounds. He arrived at Spithead in June 1744, the treasure was conveyed to London and paraded through the City in thirty-two waggons, the ship's company marching alongside with bands playing.¹

Not without a hitch, as newspapers reported:²

Yesterday a Cart with Part of the Treasure belonging to Commodore Anson, coming to the Bank from the Tower, one of the Chests Broke, by which Accident a great Part of the Treasure was lost before it was discover'd.

Seaby's *Coins of England*³ notes that

... some of the treasure seized by Admiral Anson during his circumnavigation of the globe 1740–44 and by other privateers, was made into coin which had the word LIMA below the king's bust to celebrate the expedition's successful harassment of the Spanish colonies in the New World.

However this was not the only treasure to be a cause

célèbre. In June 1745 Captain James Talbot set out from England with three ships, his flagship *Prince Frederick, Duke* under Captain John Morecock, and *George* (which sank shortly afterwards). On 10 July, in the Atlantic, they met three French ships which, as it subsequently turned out, were bringing treasure from Callao (near Lima). They captured two, *Marquese d'Antin* and *Louis Erasme*, but the third, *Nostre Dame de Libérance*, escaped. Captain Talbot towed the two French ships to Bristol, arriving in early September. Reports of the total booty vary, but readers may like to have the detail as recorded by *The Bath Journal*, in advance of London newspapers when they were reporting the Bristol end of the story, but with an inevitable time delay when the paper picked up reports from London. It is noteworthy that the calculation of value, by whoever wrote this report, is at the rate charged by many silversmiths at this period.

23 September 1745

The Waggons with the Treasure taken by the *Prince Frederick* and *Duke* privateers will set out from Bristol next Wednesday morning. The route will be thro' Marshfield, Chippenham, Calne, Marlborough, etc.

30 September 1745 [Bristol, 28 September]

This week the Treasure taken by the *Prince Frederick* and *Duke* Privateers was transported from the custom-house in 45 waggons thro' this City towards London escorted by detachments of Foot Soldiers under the Command of two Lieutenants preceded by trumpets, and guarded by the ships crews properly arm'd and accoutred. They went in two Divisions at a Day's Distance; the first, consisting of 22



T. Bakewell, *View of the Tower of London showing waggons with treasure taken by George Anson from the Spaniards*, engraving. (Guildhall Library, City of London)

1 Susan Hare (ed), *Paul de Lamerie*, exhib cat, Goldsmiths' Hall, London, 1990, p113.

2 *The Bath Journal*, 9 July 1744; report from London, 7 July.

3 P. Seaby and P.F. Purvey (ed), *Coins of England*, 16th edn 1978, p221.

waggon passed from the Custom-house to the old Market on Monday about six o'clock in the evening and from thence set out the next day for London, and the remaining part did the same on Wednesday and Thursday. Such an unusual sight drew vast numbers of Spectators, so that the streets were lined with people of all Ranks and Conditions from one End of the City to the other. The Weight and Value, according to the Customs-house Account, is as follows, viz:-

	C	Q	lb
1093 Chests Silver, qt Gros	1573	2	10
Tar at 10 lb per C	<u>97</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>
	1476	0	0

1476 Wt neat is 2,644,992oz
at 5s 6d £727,372 16s 0d

Besides 5 Chests of wrought Plate &c, 600 Tons of Cocoa &c, A Gold Church in Miniature

The Chests were all near the same Dimensions and weighed from 150 lb to 200 each, the heavier being full of Gold, as supposed, that being near the Difference in Weight between Gold and Silver, which greatly increases the Amount, the above being reckon'd as Silver only; but not having the number of the heavy Chests, we cannot come to any Exactness as to the Value of the whole Quantity.

21 October 1745 [London, 17 October]

Yesterday the Proprietors of the *Prince Frederick* and *Duke* Privateers, waited upon his Majesty, and offer'd the sum of 700,000 Ster (their Share of the Money taken by the said Privateers) to be immediately employ'd for his Majesty's service, which he was pleased to accept; and the Money is to be repaid in such Manner as shall be adjudg'd most proper by Parliament. And we hear that the Gold and Silver is immediately to be sent to the Mint, in order to be coin'd.

25 November 1745 [London, 23 November]

Yesterday the Treasure taken by the *Duke* and *Prince Frederick* Privateers, was remov'd from Skinners Hall to the Tower to be coin'd.

The prize money was shared between the crew according to rank, each seaman receiving £850, a lieutenant around £3,500. *The Gentleman's Magazine* published a description of the battle by Captain Talbot in August 1745.⁴ The action was recorded in a painting by Charles Brooking⁵ in a medal by J. Kirk⁶ and in song.

Captain Talbot was later involved with the squadron of privateers which became known as 'The Royal Family' because of the names of its ships.⁷ An estimate of their takings from ships, over a number of years, amounted to some £400,000, which emphasises the immensity of Talbot's original prize. Did he, like Anson, invest part of his prize money in plate?

Almost inevitably, human nature being what it is, it was not long before at least one man tried to benefit from the affair illegally. On 16 October 1745⁸

James Wolfe, was indicted for that he ... did personate one Robert Masterson, as chief mate of the *Prince Frederick* privateer, and in that name did come to the shop of one William Threlkeld of London, goldsmith, and agreed with him to buy several goods and chattels of the said William Threlkeld, of the value of 29 l. 10 s. ... he proposed to leave with him a certain promissory note under the hand of Capt. James Talbot, commander of the said privateer, made payable to the said Robert Masterson, for the sum of one hundred pounds sterling.

Part of the case against Wolfe, for forging a promissory note, was that he got his facts wrong: Edward (not Robert) Masterson was first lieutenant of *Prince Frederick*, not chief mate, and gave evidence; he had previously served with Anson. Captain Talbot was also present at the trial. William Threlkeld explained that when the prisoner was in his shop

I asked him what goods he wanted; he said he should want some watches, some buckles, some gold rings, gold buttons, &c. and desired to have the strongest I had in my shop. Accordingly while he was in the shop there was one pair of silver buckles looked out, four silver watches in double cases, and two pair of gold buttons.

Q. Was there any thing more laid out?

Threlkeld. Not while he was in the shop, but the knee-buckles were to be looked out to the shoes, and some plain gold rings; then this note was produced.

Wolfe was found guilty – punishment: death.

That isn't quite the end of the story, however. On 6 October 1746 *The Bath Journal* reported:

We hear that among the immense Treasure taken in the French South Sea ships ... were found three Chests containing six pieces of Sculpture or Carving in Marble; being a most Curious and beautiful Representation of our Saviour's Life, consisting of upwards of four hundred Figures cut out of Solid, which were designed as a Present to the French King, to adorn his Chapel at Versailles. They are just brought to this City and will be offer'd to Publick View.

On 3 November, the 'exquisite' sculpture

being the Representation of our Saviour's Life from the Institution of the Lord's Supper to his Resurrection, which it includes ... having given great Satisfaction to the Nobility and Gentry at Mrs Wiltshire's [one of the assembly rooms in Bath], they will for some days longer be shewn ... in the Market Place.

Where it was on view for a week. The fate of this sculpture and of the 'gold church in miniature' have not been fully investigated by this writer.⁹

Vanessa Brett

4 Vol XV p418. His report was written from Kinsale dated 31 July. The same issue (p428) contains a letter from a lieutenant who reported that 'there were a vast number of persons of

great distinction [on the ships] ... friars in abundance, one of whom threw a gold chalice into the sea of great value that it should not come into our hands...'

5 Bonhams London, 1 March 2005, lot 83.

6 Christopher Eimer, *British Commemorative Medals*, 1987, p86 no594 pl 18.

7 King George, Prince

Frederick, Duke, Princess Amelia.

8 POB, t17451016-16.

9 I have, however, asked Paul Micio's advice about the sculpture and he, in

turn, has kindly discussed it with colleagues. Their conclusion is that the idea of such a sculpture being destined for Versailles is 'fantasy'.

Miscellany

Nell Gwyn's bedstead

That Nell Gwyn had a silver bed is one of the facts that delights silver scholars, for it conjures up so many images of life at the Carolean court and the sheer scale of such a commission astonishes. The catalogue for a sale at Sotheby's London, on 17 July 2008, included as lot 5: 'A group of household accounts, bills, receipts and other financial records relating to Nell Gwyn, perhaps the best-remembered royal mistress in English history: the orange-seller who as "pretty witty Nelly" (so described by Pepys) became a comic star on the London stage before winning the King himself and remaining his lover for more than fifteen years.' They were acquired by the 12th Duke of St Albans in the late nineteenth century. We quote below from the catalogue:

Two bills from John Cooques, one 'for a new stand ditch weighing 21 ounces ... £7 01s 07d' and other items, and one being a lengthy bill for her famous bedstead. Amongst fourteen receipts were two from John Cooques acknowledging total payment of £500.

The most remarkable individual item is unquestionably John Cooques's 1674 bill for £1,135 3s 1d, mostly for Nell Gwyn's famous bedstead. This extraordinary bed is revealed by this bill to have had incorporated ornate baroque statuary and used over 2,200oz of sterling silver, the centrepiece of the design being 'the Kings head' (which alone was composed of nearly 200oz of silver), which was supported by two 'figures' (one with an unidentified symbol or 'character', perhaps a mono-

gram). It also incorporated 'the slaves and the reste belonging unto it', two eagles, four crowns, and four cupids, as well as – in a comic touch typical of Nell Gwyn – the figure of the famous rope-dancer (and alleged lover of Lady Castlemaine) Jacob Hall 'dansing upon the robbe of weyer worck'. The bill also includes payments to various workmen for assembling the bed, and a cabinet-maker 'for the greatte bord for the head of the bedstead and for the other bord that comes under it and for the boorring the wholles into the head'.

Some of these documents were printed by Peter Cunningham in *The Story of Nell Gwyn* (1851) and they are also discussed in Charles Beauclerk, *Nell Gwyn: Mistress to a King* (2005), ch11.

London goldsmiths 1697–1837. Further additions to biographical entries

Lt Col D.J. Brind has written to the Editor with information he has compiled about Henry and Walter Brind.

William Brind, innholder of Highworth, Wiltshire had three sons, Thomas, Henry and Walter, of whom the latter two were silversmiths.

Henry was apprenticed to Richard Bailey, was free in 1742 and Heal records him in Foster Lane in 1742. Col Brind writes that he returned to Wiltshire circa 1750 and died in 1757.

His brother Walter married Ann, widow of Richard Kersill in 1748. Richard and his brother, Thomas, also came from Highworth, where their father William was a maltster. Richard Kersill was apprenticed to George Greenhill Jones and was free on 7 February 1743/4; Thomas was apprenticed to Walter Brind, turned over on the same day to Dorothy Bates and was free in 1757. Walter and Ann had three daughters and four sons. The third son, Thomas, was a gold refiner, became Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1813 and died on 10 February 1838. He son, Charles, was Prime Warden in 1848. Walter and Ann's fourth son, Walter, was Prime Warden in 1820.

An advertisement in the *Daily Advertiser*, 26 September 1796 (issue 21160) reads as follows:

TO WORKING SILVERSMITHS &c

To be Sold by Auction by Mr. Winstanley

By Order of the Executors of Mr. Walter Brind, Working-Silversmith, deceased, on the Premises, No.34 Foster-Lane, Cheapside, this Day, at Eleven o'clock

All the valuable working Tools and Utensils in Trade, Shop-Fixtures, remaining Houshold Furniture, China and Glass, an Iron Chest, and other Effect. May be viewed, and Catalogues may be had on the Premises, and of Mr. Winstanley, Pater noster-Row.

Walter Brind had made his will on 9 May 1796 and it was proved on 26 July that year (PROB 11/1277):

I give devise and bequeath all that my messuage or tenement (number 8) with the appurtenances situate on the east side of Foster Lane aforesaid now in the tenure or occupation of Messrs Crisp and Goddard unto my daughters Elizabeth Brind and Easter [Esther] Brind ...

He left bequests of money to his children and grandchildren, together with money for rings also to nephews and nieces and his step-daughter and her children. His daughter Mary was married to a tinman, Thomas Patrick of Newgate Street.

The Ormond(e) titles

GALE GLYNN

It will be helpful for readers to remember that an Irish peerage did not entitle the holder to a seat in the House of Lords. He could sit in the Irish Houses of Parliament, but only if he was also given an English title could an Irish peer take a seat in the Upper House in London. The sons of English peers could sit in the House of Commons using their courtesy title, usually a secondary title of their father.

This note is concerned with movement of the titles between the Butlers and Boleyns, and is intended to connect writing in this Journal on the Boleyn cup (pp22–25) and the Ormonde inventories (pp123–134). Family trees are overleaf.

The various Ormond and Ormonde titles appear predominately in the Irish peerage, however Ormond was also used as a subsidiary title as a Scottish royal marquessate and appears briefly in the Douglas family. It is also found in the peerage of the United Kingdom, which enabled the Butlers to sit in the House of Lords in London as well as the Irish Houses of Parliament.

James Le Botilier was created Earl of Ormond in 1328. Although he appeared to live and fight mainly in Ireland for Mortimer's party, he also had properties in England. Prisage of wines imported to Ireland, which he regarded as an appurtenance to his hereditary office of butler, was granted during his life to him and the heirs male of his body. Undoubtedly this made the 'Ormond package' notably lucrative.

The title descended through several generations who held high office in Ireland. The 5th Earl was created Earl of Wiltshire also, in 1449, but in 1462 he and his two brothers were attainted and lost their lands and honours in England; the earldom of Wiltshire would in any case have come extinct on his death. His brother John was pardoned by Edward IV and recognised as 6th Earl of Ormond, the attainder annulled in 1475.

The ascendance of the Boleyns during the later 1520s induced the king to cast around for a more elevated title (and presumably income) than Viscount Rochford for Sir Thomas Bolyen, father of Mary and Anne. His mother was the younger daughter and co-heir of Thomas Butler, 7th Earl of Ormond who had died in 1515, when his cousin Piers succeeded to the title; hence Queen Anne Boleyn's paternal grandmother was a Butler. Doubtless with some Tudor bribery and pressure, Piers and his heirs were persuaded to resign their respective claims to their peerages on 18 February 1527/8. Payback followed five days later when Piers was created Earl of Ossory.

After an interval of nearly two years, on 8 December 1529 Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, was created Earl of Wiltshire in England and Earl of Ormond in Ireland in tail general. Ten years later Piers, Earl of Ossory, was restored to the earldom of Ormond as well as retaining that of Ossory even though Thomas Boleyn only died the following year. The title of 8th Earl of Ormonde appears to have oscillated between the two men, as Piers's son James was considered to be the 9th Earl.

The Butlers continued to have a roller-coaster existence: the 9th Earl died of the effects of poison in 1546, there was also serious run-in with the Crown in 1614 when Walter succeeded his uncle Thomas as 11th Earl. The bulk of the estate was retained by the 10th Earl's daughter and her second husband Lord Dingwall; Ormond refused to submit to the king on the matter and was imprisoned in the Fleet 1619–24. James I also deprived him of his palatine rights in Tipperary and his eldest son, Viscount Thurles, drowned when shipwrecked off the Skerries (the dangerous rocks just west of Anglesey) on his way to answer the summons to England by the king in 1619.

The constant political anxiety about Ireland and the need to keep influential Irish and Anglo-Irish families on side seems to be reflected in the education of some of the Ormonds. The 12th Earl, subsequently 1st Duke of Ormonde, who was the eldest son of the drowned Viscount Thurles, was made a royal ward and educated in the doctrines of the Church of England by Archbishop Abbot at Lambeth 1621–26, having previously been brought up by foster-parents, a carpenter and his wife in Hertfordshire, and placed at a school in Finchley by his mother. His father had married against family wishes Elizabeth Poyntz, an ardent Roman Catholic, which must have caused alarm in royal circles. He wrote that his parents 'lived and died Papists, and bred all their children so, and only I, by God's merciful providence, was educated in the true Protestant religion'. During the Civil War he took a prominent part in affairs in Ireland and was created Marquess of Ormonde in 1642; this form of spelling seems to have been retained thereafter. Upon the Restoration not only was he created Duke of Ormonde but also Baron Butler of Lanthony, co Monmouth and Earl of Brecknock, both in the English peerage. All the lands, honours and rights which he possessed in 1641 were restored to him, after some years waiting upon the exiled king in penury. The Irish dukedom of Ormonde followed in 1661 and he was created Duke of Ormonde in the English peerage in 1683. He was a Commissioner of Claims, Lord High Steward of England and Bearer of the Crown for the coronations of both Charles II and James II. His son and heir, Thomas, Earl of Ossory, was created a peer in his own right as

Lord Butler of Moore Park, Herefordshire; he predeceased his father, dying of a fever in 1680.

The 2nd Duke was born in Dublin in 1665 and educated in France and at Christ Church, Oxford. He was summoned to the English Parliament as a minor on 14 March 1685, and took the oath, even though this was forbidden three days later by Standing Order. At the Revolution, unsurprisingly given his mother's Dutch background, he was in arms for the Prince of Orange and was attainted by James II's Irish Parliament in 1689. He took part in all William III's campaigns, his loyalty unquestioned during the early years of Queen Anne's reign, and he held the Lord Lieutenanship of Ireland twice. Although he was appointed Constable of Dover Castle and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, it became known that he had been in communication with Jacobites. In spite of signing the proclamation of the accession of George I, he was deprived of his offices and commands in 1714, and retired to Richmond in 1715 before fleeing to France that year. He then lived the life of an eminent exile at the court of James II, dying in Avignon in 1745; he and his second wife were buried in Westminster Abbey.

No attainder was passed by the Irish Parliament, but Charles, younger brother to the 2nd Duke, never used the title of 3rd Duke of Ormonde after his brother's death. He was created Earl of Arran in 1693 and Baron Butler of Weston, in the English peerage, in 1694. In 1721 he was empowered by Act of Parliament to purchase the estates forfeited in 1715 by his brother. Upon his death in 1758 all the major Butler titles became extinct.

A descendant of a younger son of the drowned Viscount Thurles was eventually created Marquess of

Ormonde in 1816. He petitioned the Court of Claims for the right to perform the duties attached to the office of Chief Butler of Ireland at the coronation of George IV but died before the event, when the title became extinct, and his younger brother, James, instead officiated at the coronation in this role. He in turn was created Baron Ormonde of Lanthony in the peerage of the United Kingdom in 1821, and in 1825 he was created Marquess of Ormonde in the Irish peerage. It is from him that the later Marquesses of Ormonde were descended. Upon the death of the 7th Marquess in 1997 that title again became extinct and the earldom became dormant.

It is difficult to assess the comparative wealth and spending power of families from this distance. However, when the Crown resumed control of the much-prized hereditary prisage of wine in 1811 the earl was granted £216,000 as compensation. This sum makes an interesting comparison with the £444,984 11s 3d eventually paid by the government in 1844 to buy out the Jones family's interest in the Skerries lighthouse. The 1873 Return of Land Owners in Ireland showed the Marquess of Ormonde held 15,765 acres in co Tipperary and 11,960 acres in co Kilkenny, at a total valuation of £15,431 per annum, which places them as substantial land owners at that period in Ireland.

They were a remarkable family and it is indeed a pity that no recognisable seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century silver seems to be extant to tally with their inventories. For a group of silver from the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and more information on the family, see Peter Boughton, *Catalogue of Silver in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester*, (2000).

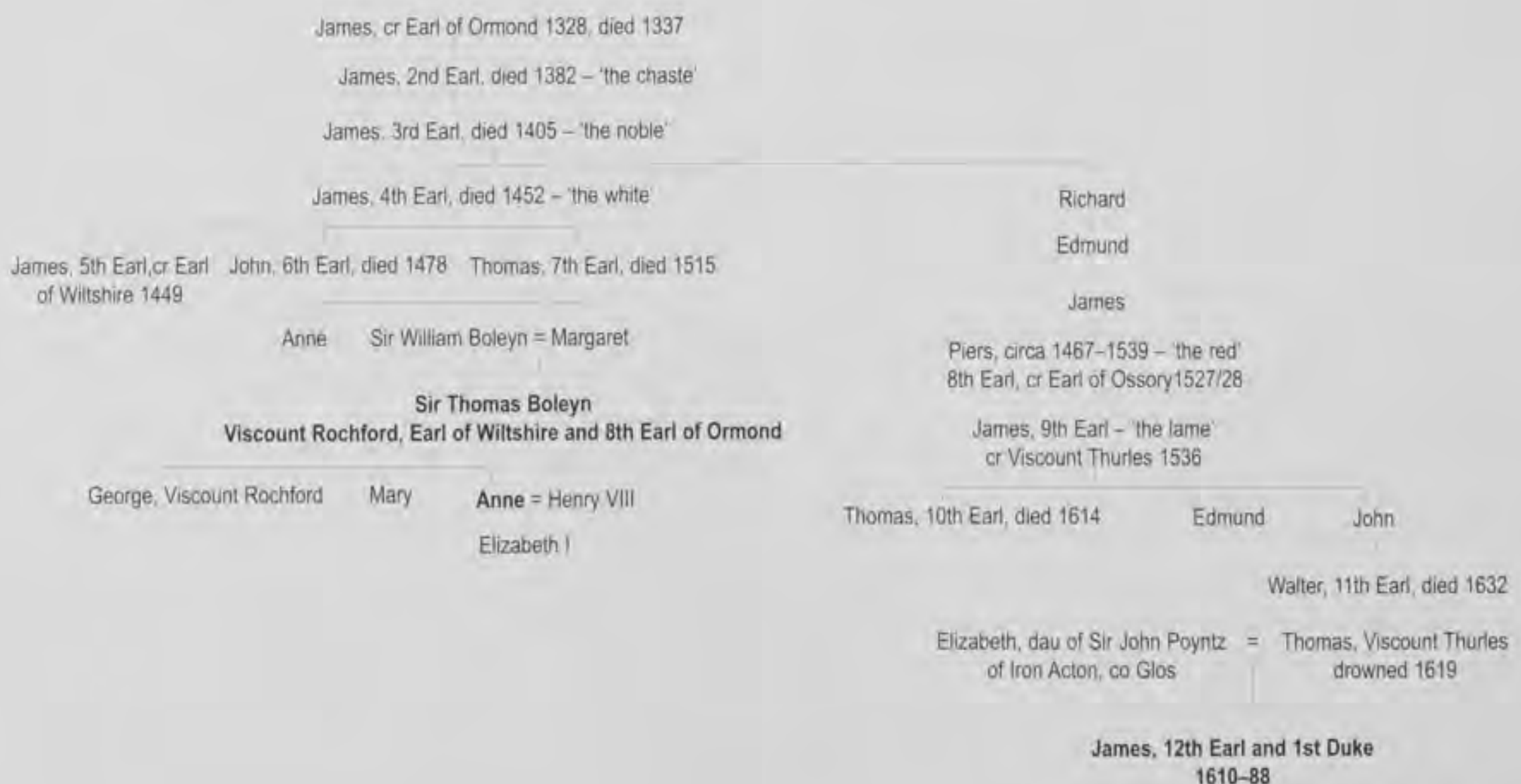


Table continued on the opposite page

Household plate of the dukes of Ormonde

THOMAS SINSTEDEN

Few household inventories survive, and this is particularly true among Irish documents. In recent times considerable work has been done to catalogue the surviving Irish family papers at the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and the Irish Manuscripts Dept, National Library of Ireland, Dublin. Access to this research material has led to several books on life in Irish households and their contents.¹ In 1895–1912 the Historical Manuscripts Commission published the Ormonde household inventories, part of the manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde held at Kilkenny Castle.²

Sadly, only a handful of household plate inventories appear to have survived, although plate books were not only of legal (estate) importance but also an essential means of keeping track of family silver³ as it was moved between one residence and another, depending on where a family was residing. It is understandable that once the silver had been sold there was little incentive to keep the plate books. Silver was treated as household commodity ('a fashionable home bank'), both to elevate a family's status and to have the freedom to convert it into cash when needed. The latter was quickly achieved by sending it to the local goldsmith, where 75–80% of cost price could be realised [fig 5].

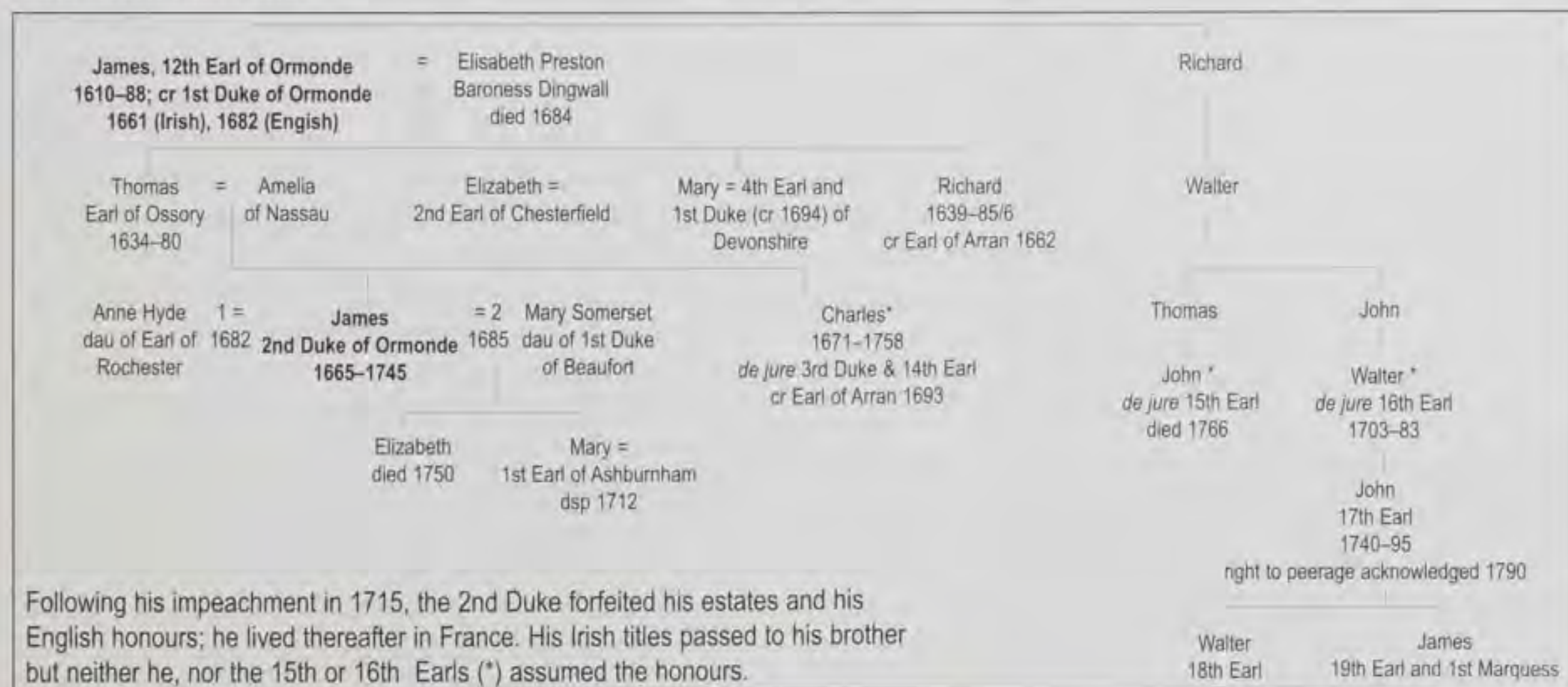
The most complete Irish household plate inventories to have survived are contained in the eleven volumes of *Household Inventory* kept by the 1st and 2nd Dukes of Ormonde, of Kilkenny Castle, Dublin Castle, St James's Square, London and Richmond Lodge, London.⁴ The ledgers cover the period between 1674, when the 1st Duke moved from England to Kilkenny, and 1714, when the 2nd Duke went into exile.



1 Seal of James, 2nd Duke of Ormonde.
(The National Archives, Kew)

1 Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, New Haven 2004; Jane Fenelon, 'The Ormonde Picture Collection', *Dúchas, The Heritage Service*, Belfast 2001, (hereafter Fenelon 2004); Demond Fitzgerald & James Pyle, *Irish Furniture*, Dublin 2007.
2 Historical Manuscripts Commission report. *The*

Manuscripts of the Marquiss of Ormonde, New series, vol VII, 1912, pp512–13.
3 The plate in many cases represented a significant percentage of the family assets.
4 National Library of Ireland, Ormonde Papers MSS 2521–2525, 2527–2529, 2552–2555.





2 Queen Mary's christening gift to Lady Mary Butler, younger daughter of the 2nd Duke, of gilt plates, recorded in the Jewel House Book 26 March 1691. See Appendix 3. (The National Archives, Kew)

The two dukes

James Butler, 12th Earl of Ormonde, was a staunch royalist, in command of the Irish army in 1641 and Lord Lieutenant in 1644. With his wife and children he accompanied Charles II into exile and was raised to the Irish dukedom of Ormonde on 30 March 1661 following the Restoration. He returned to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant from 1662 to 1669. In 1677 he was appointed for a third term as Lord Lieutenant (1677–85). Having been educated at Oxford, he was Chancellor of the University 1669–88. On his death in 1688 he was succeeded by his grandson, James, in the dukedom and in the post of Chancellor (1688–1715).

The 2nd Duke was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland⁵ 1703–07 and 1711–13. On his return to Ireland in the summer of 1703, the city of Dublin held a splendid entertainment for the duke and duchess at the Tholsel (city hall), with corporations marching through the streets. Thomas Bolton, goldsmith, as master of works for the city, was appointed one of the stewards to oversee this entertainment.⁶ Late in Queen Anne's reign rumours circulated that the duke was a Jacobite sympathiser, leading to his exile on George I's succession. His wife Mary remained in England and wrote a note on 10 September 1715, 'Paid the Taylor for clothes my Lord had made when he went away £16:03:00'. The Forfeited Estates Commission auctioned the properties and their contents, including paintings, tapestries and furniture at St James's Square, Richmond Lodge and Kilkenny Castle. Some of the contents were bought by relatives of Ormonde and by an agent, a Mr Hackett. Hackett

appears to have been Ormonde's clerk in Kilkenny⁷ and also appears to have run a lucrative law practice in Dublin and London. He purchased Ormonde House, St James's Square, for £7,500 and George I purchased Richmond Lodge. Although detailed auction records survive of the household contents sold, no silver is recorded.⁸ An appraisal of the contents of Kilkenny Castle made on 7 October 1717 came to £2,320. The entire proceeds from all properties and contents came to £35,566. It is probable that Ormonde sold the plate to the goldsmith bankers Vyner or Child before his exile.

Until an identifiable item from the inventories appears on the market, one must assume the fate of all the plate was the melting pot. However, several silver items associated with the dukes have survived, including a gift from the 1st Duke to Lady Stephens of a set of diminutive cups on stands, by the mysterious goldsmith FS/S, 1686/87,⁹ and a gift from the 2nd Duke of a monteith to Richard Cox in 1703/04.¹⁰ Neither of these items is identifiable in the inventories.

The inventories

Many fascinating insights are gleaned from these ledgers, which were compiled over a period of about forty years, in particular how silver was used to decorate the interior. In Kilkenny Castle, most of the silver furniture, with sconces, silver-framed looking glasses, silver tables, two stands and a silver frame for a myrtle tree were displayed 'in the alcove', although in what room this was is not specified. The bedrooms were enriched with a silver table, a dressing set, sconces,

warming pans and bedpans. A considerable amount of plate was designated for cooking, serving and dining. These ledgers show the Butler family's pride in their possessions and the care taken of them. For example, the captain of the frigate that transported the duke and duchess's household effects and plate in June 1674 was rewarded, in appreciation of safe passage, with a large gilt tankard and cover with two handles [*Appendix 1*]. Several house staff were appointed to take charge of the silver. At Kilkenny Castle in 1674, the panter,¹¹ Daniel Lidford, appears to have been the senior person responsible for the plate. In 1689 Thomas Sturges acted as panter and in 1705 was followed by Stephen Beaumont. Not only did the panter repeatedly make an inventory of seemingly all¹² silver and gold, but they oversaw the distribution of each item throughout the house. For example, the silver headed porter's staff was signed over to the porter Mr Dupond. The panter noted the items 'wanting' or missing and those that were sent for repair or traded for new silver. In 1674 the confectioner, Mrs Jones, was responsible for a considerable amount of silver used for cooking, such as preserving spoons and a skillet with an iron frame. The valet de chambre (surgeon/hairdresser), Mr Mezandere, of whom a portrait with the duke survives,¹³ took charge of the trimming pot with ewer and four porringers 'to lett blood in'.¹⁴

Appendix 1: 1674 and 1684

The first surviving inventory of plate appears to be a record of a shipment of plate made by the 1st Duke from London to Ireland on 23 July 1674. Unfortunately the weights of the objects do not accompany their descriptions. On his appointment for his third term as Lord Lieutenant in 1677, the duke moved a large part of the plate from Kilkenny Castle to furnish Dublin Castle. A detailed account was made in 1684 in Dublin Castle and this time weights are diligently recorded. This 1684 inventory lists the objects recorded in 1674 in much the same order and items left behind at Kilkenny are detailed as such. Thus *Appendix 1* is compiled from both inventories. It is quite possible that some items may be listed twice, but every effort has been made to ensure that weights are not duplicated. For some items no weights are recorded and even without those weights the combined weight of the plate in 1684 is close to 22,000oz.

Appendix 2: 1689

The timing of the next major inventory taken in St James's on 24 January 1689 suggests it was for estate purposes, the 1st Duke having died the previous year. Many of the items listed before appear again, yet the German flagons and the swan pots are gone. Some items appear for the first time, for example three chased tankards, a gilt sideboard dish and a gilt set of communion plate. This inventory also lists items of 'Ould Plate Changed' and 'The new Plate in Exchange of ye ould ye 18 March 1692/3'.

As we have seen, the plate travelled between residences depending on where the Ormondes resided. However on occasion some plate was left behind in residences vacated. For example, a letter from Lady Elizabeth from London in 1682 to her brother Captain George Mathews instructs him to oversee a shipment from Kilkenny via Dublin to London. She asks her brother to ship three of the Dieppe suite of hangings and two boxes of sconces she had

5 Appointed by letter of the Great Seal of England of 19 February 1702/3. A Warrant on 12 February 1702/3 authorised the Receiver-General of Ireland to pay him £3,000, for the cost of his equipage as Lord Lieutenant and of his voyage to Ireland. *Calendar of Treasury Books 1703, vol XVIII p138*.

6 J.T. Gilbert, *Calendar of the Ancient Records of the City of Dublin, 1894, vol VI, p290* (hereafter CARD). It is possible that a set of ambassadorial plate with the royal arms of Queen Anne, Thomas Bolton, Dublin 1703/04 was part of this splendid entertainment. A sideboard dish (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) and ewer (private collection), a pair of covered wine jugs (one in San Antonio Museum of Art, Texas, one in a private collection) and a two-handled cup (private collection) survive. None of these items are identifiable in the inventories.

7 A Robert Hackett served as clerk to Kilkenny Corporation 1718 and is mentioned in the mayor's resolution to award Richard Tighe his 'Freedom of the City in a Gold Box of the value of twenty Guineas... and that Robert Hackett do take care to get the same done'. *Kilkenny Corporation Minutes*.

8 TNA Forfeited Estates Commission. (FEC) 1/880. An extensive record of the

estate sale including a printed catalogue of the Ormonde House sale with prices realised.

9 Inscribed 'A Bartlemew Fairing sent by His Grace the Duke of Ormonde to Fridasweed Lady Stephens, 1686', Sotheby's London, 12 June 1986 lot 126. A 'Bartlemew Fairing' is a seventeenth-century term derived from Bartholomew Fair, held annually for the sale of trinkets, toys and other pleasures. It may be a play on words for sexual favours, more bluntly put in 1641 as a 'fucking exchange'.

10 Art Institute of Chicago, Bequest Mary Hooker Dole; Thomas Bolton, Dublin, 1703/04, Sotheby's London, 8 December 1933 lot 131, property of Villiers-Stuart.

11 A panter as defined by the *Oxford Dictionary* was an officer of the household in charge of the pantry - 1580. Over time the term panter changed to butler. Indeed the Butler family may well have contributed to this usage.

12 Small objects like silver buckles, buttons, spurs, sword hilts and, surprisingly, gold and silver freedom boxes were not recorded in the inventory.

13 Fenelon (as note 1), p15.

14 For a lively discussion on porringers vs bleeding bowls see Cdr G.E.P. How, (*note 14 continued overleaf*)



3 Circle of Sir Godfrey Kneller, James, 2nd Duke of Ormonde (1665-1745). (Christie's)

left behind at Kilkenny. The boxes contained four pairs of large chased sconces with top pieces and double sockets and four lesser ones with double sockets without tops. All were to be put in a strong deal case. She added that it would incur unnecessary expense to buy new hangings and that the plate was to be changed for what would be more useful.¹⁵ Confirmation of that shipment is found in the inventories dated 26 February 1682/3, listing the eight sconces as described by her and the three Dieppe suites (of Desius, of Achilles, and the suit of horses?). A partial suit of Desius hangs today in the castle.

An entry in October of 1685 (at the bottom of *Appendix 2*) lists the plate that was deposited in the Earl of Devonshire's house for the use of the Earl of Ossory. The duke had just completed his last term as Lord Lieutenant and tensions were rising as James II succeeded Charles II.

Appendix 3: circa 1702–03

Although no specific date is recorded for this inventory, it must have been taken around 1702–03 when the 2nd Duke was appointed Lord Lieutenant and planned to move from St James's to Ireland. This inventory probably only covers plate at St James's and not what was at Richmond and Kilkenny Castle. The total weight comes to about 7,500oz only. Again there is considerable change in the type of plate listed. The large gilt sideboard dish and the two round chased basins for 'ye sideboard' are still recorded. The cistern and fountain are not listed, nor are the large looking glasses. New plate includes two ice pails, a tureen and cover, two Irish salvers, three gilt casters boxes, two cups and covers for soup. In the 'Groome of the Chambers' charge we find twelve round candlesticks. There appears to be more gilt plate such as the two sets of a dozen spoons, forks and knives.

Appendix 4: 1705

The inventory made by the 2nd Duke in 1705, resident in Dublin Castle as Lord Lieutenant, with Stephen Beaumont as panter, again shows considerable change in the plate listed, including some items specific to Dublin Castle. This is the only plate inventory where the title page includes all the main residences of the Butler family [*fig 4*]. Because of this, I assume that this inventory lists all plate in the 2nd Duke's possession, even though the plate is not categorised according to residence. Monumental items such as the cistern and fountain and large looking glasses and the silver table and stands are no longer recorded. The total weight of plate was now around 10,000oz, half of what it was in 1684.

This inventory records the Royal Chapel plate for the Royal Chapel at Dublin Castle, brought over by the Earl of Rochester, the previous Lord Lieutenant. The Jewel House entry records their weight, taken by a Dublin goldsmith, John Clifton [*fig 7*]. Fortunately this set still

exists, and is displayed in Dublin's Christ Church treasury vault.

One of the last Ormonde plate inventories made was for Richmond, on 13 February 1713/4. Unfortunately no weights are recorded and so no Appendix has been compiled. Several new items have made their appearance: a cheese and a bread toaster, six jack spits, two flask stands, a bottle handle, two 'sauce' cups and 'tea tongues'.

Specific items of household plate

The very first item recorded in the 1674 inventory is a gold cup and cover, with a note stating that the cup was left behind in London to cover debts. This gold cup was probably a welcoming gift to the duke as Lord Lieutenant from Dublin City Corporation. It is listed in the city records along with a gold freedom box (not found in the inventories) in 1662, at a cost of 350 guineas.¹⁶

Silver furniture features strongly in the earlier inventories. For example a 'rich garniture for one great looking glass five foot tall made by Mr. Welsh', a silver table and further silver garniture for a large table and two stands are recorded.¹⁷ There were at least two sets of figured andirons with garniture for shovels, tongues and hooks for the chimney. The Dublin Castle inventory [*Appendix 1*] lists several more andirons, including a set of globe andirons.¹⁸ Several sets of sconces are listed; four large chased sconces with double sockets and four lesser chased sconces with double sockets. Two perfuming pots or pans, a greater and lesser one are listed for Kilkenny. A cistern 'with a bottom for flowers' weighing 1,858oz is recorded. One is intrigued to know whether the cistern stood on a base or had a liner to hold flowers? In Kilkenny a large fountain with a 'cock and cover' accompanied this cistern. The weight of 306oz seems rather light compared to the Meath fountain of 1,088 oz.¹⁹ The drawing room had a mirror, a pair of sconces with double sockets and a pair of andirons with tools and hooks. A smaller silver table was placed in 'my Lords closet'. The looking glass with ciphers, the large silver table and two stands, the black marble andirons with fire tools and hooks, four sconces with double sockets and the fountain with cover were placed in the alcove – it must have left a great impression on anyone who had the opportunity to visit. In St James's in 1689 all of the alcove items and four more sconces with double sockets were placed in the great bedchamber. The drawing room in St. James's had eight sconces and a pair of andirons with tools.

In a few instances the inventories record a country of origin. 'A pair of German Flagon partially gilded' is recorded as kept in cases.²⁰ There is an entry for five French pottingers and covers in charge of Mr Mezandere. In *Appendix 3*, 'two large salvers made in Ireland' are recorded. There are several interesting

descriptive terms used. For example a 14oz pot of 'college fashion', possibly an oxeye cup, and a pair of large swan pots weighing 638oz. A large pair of water bottles with chains, weighing 185oz, more commonly known as pilgrim bottles, are about half the size of those at Welbeck.²¹

Dining plate represents the bulk of the weight of the silver inventory. In 1674 there are 6 dozen trencher plates accompanied by 6 dozen spoons, 3 dozen knives and forks, 24 large dishes and 12 smaller dishes, 18 'intermesse bottoms' of the larger size and 10 intermesse of small size.²² Six of the larger bottoms had garters engraved. These 'bottoms' are probably plain plates to serve a new course.²³ By 1684, in Dublin Castle, this quantity had increased to 128 trencher plates (approx 20oz each), 36 large dishes (approx 101oz each), 18 of second-size dishes (approx 73oz each), 8 of the third-size (approx 55oz each), 22 large bottoms (approx 37oz each), 10 of second-size bottoms (approx 29oz each), eight of third-size bottoms (approx. 22 oz each) and 24 chased salvers (approx 51oz each). The 24 chased salvers were in Mrs Jones' charge in Kilkenny. One could assume that increased demand for entertaining in Dublin Castle necessitated the enlargement of the dining set. The dining set in St James's before the 2nd Duke returned to Dublin Castle in 1703 was considerably smaller. The first-size dishes in 1703 appear to be similar in weight to the third-size dishes of 1684. Even the table plates (16oz each) were lighter than the trencher plates of 1684. In Dublin Castle in 1705, the large first-size dishes, comparing in weight to the first-size dishes of 1684, have reappeared. However there are only six of first- and second-size, 12 of third- and fourth-size and eight of a fifth-size, weighing a total of 4,053oz. The bottoms seem to no longer exist.

Three dozen forks are recorded in 1674 on the first inventory [Appendix 1]. This is surprising, as forks had not yet become fashionable in England. Most English plate inventories of this time had no forks listed.²⁴ Two silver 'chaffing' dishes and three silver skillets (one with an iron frame) are recorded. Since both the chafing dishes and skillets are of silver they would have been used on the dining table. Seven ring stands (two with whole bottoms) of approximately 20oz each are listed. All of these items appear to have been useful not only for enhancing the display of dining, but also for keeping the dishes hot and saving the tabletop from injury. The two 'shovers' would have been of practical use in centering the hot dishes on the tables.

In the 1674 inventory [Appendix 1] a 'chased frame with five great plates, one of which is fastened to the frame and four smaller plates with chased rims to serve fruit' is an interesting object.²⁵ This is possibly a centrepiece or surtout, an early form of epergne.²⁶ Another table item is a 'frame with four silver pots for oyle, vinegar, pepper and mustard and a little spoon' weighing 88oz. This appears to be an early example of a cruet frame with a mustard pot containing mustard paste served with a little spoon. Mrs Jones, the confectioner in the 1670s, had in her charge, in addition to the surtout, one large deep 'bason without brim', whereas the large deep 'bason with a brim' remained in Daniel Lidford's charge. One wonders if this brim was scalloped and that the descriptive term of montieth had not yet taken hold. The confectioner had several large 'preserving' spoons, one with holes, for her use. The antiseptic nature of silver may explain their use as preserving spoons and different from

Cannaisseur, December 1941, pp157-62. The Dublin Goldsmiths Company recorded a porringer as 'bleeding porringer'. Thomas Sinsteden, 'Dublin Goldsmiths Assay Records part I', *The Silver Society Journal*, no11 1999, p148.

15 HMC, *Manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde*, New series, vol III, 1904, p448, dated 10 February 1671/2, but more likely 10 February 1682/3.

16 CARD (as note 6), vol IV, p243.

17 This set is probably quite similar to one in the Royal Collection.

18 These could compare to those at Rosenborg Castle in Copenhagen, see Mogens Bencard, *Silver Furniture*, Rosenborg 1992, pp52-53.

19 Conor O'Brien, 'In seach of the Duke of Ormonde's wine cistern and fountain', *The Silver Society Journal*, no15 2003, pp63-67.

20 One is reminded of the four Hamburg flagons from the Hanoverian collection at Herrenhausen, now at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; see Tracey

Albainy, 'German silver in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston', *Silver Studies, The Journal of the Silver Society*, no19 2005, pp105-09.

21 Alfred Jones, *Catalogue of Plate belonging to the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey*, London 1935, p7.

22 For a more detailed discussion on dining plate of French fashion, see Michèle Bimbenet-Privat and David Mitchell, 'Words or images: descriptions of plate in England and France 1660-1700', *The Silver Society Journal*, no15 2003, pp47-62 (hereafter Mitchell 2003).

23 A explanation of these bottoms is welcomed. For terminology used in Jewel Office books see Arthur Grimwade, 'New light on the English Royal plate', *The Silver Society Journal*, no7 1995, p376-77.

24 Mitchell 2003 (as note 22), pp53-54.

25 No weight is recorded and this piece is no longer listed in 1689.

26 Paul Micio, 'Early French surtouts', *Silver Studies, The Journal of the Silver Society*, no19 2005, pp79-97.



4 Title page of the 1705 inventory for the 2nd Duke of Ormonde; see Appendix 4. (National Library of Ireland)

the commonplace description as basting, stuffing or ragout spoons. Mrs Jones' successor had a set of gilt plate, comprising two large octagonal salvers, seven small hexagonal plates and six scalloped basins, to serve the dessert [Appendix 3]. These scalloped dishes were not called 'strawberry dishes'. In 1705 the confectioners had eight gilt basins for 'ye compot' [Appendix 4].

A curious but fascinating entry records the weight and cost of two tankards, 24 spoons and 12 salts bought for Mr Wright, innkeeper at Kilkenny, but overseen by Mr Baxter. [Appendix 1] Clearly the tankards (65oz 5dwt at £18 2s), spoons (43oz 15dwt at £12 11s) and salts (24oz and making at £7 17s) were for the use of the Butler family when at the inn. A small ferrule soldered to the outside of a tankard handle, frequently seen on tankards of that period, may explain a practical need at the inn rather than just decoration.

The inventories give us some insight of what happens to household plate during generational hand-me-downs and keeping up with the latest fashions. On succeeding to the dukedom the 2nd Duke sent old plate to be refashioned. Amongst the items traded are two 'mazarins'²⁷ and a basin and ewer, 59 plates, 24 candlesticks, the 2 stands, a shover and a skimmer, and an 'ould' salver. Altogether 2,500oz of old plate were traded in for about 2,100oz of new plate recorded on 18 March 1692/3. The new plate included a new basin and ewer, 7 pairs of knurled and 6 pairs of pillared candlesticks, and

72 plates. Before the 2nd Duke returned to London in 1707 he sold the two large oval dishes and the six first-size dishes and a skillet to Thomas Bolton to raise some cash [fig 5].

Several small domestic objects are worth drawing attention to. These include a silver syringe first listed in 1677 and again in 1684,²⁸ a gilt tongue scraper that is repeatedly recorded from 1674 to 1705, a sponge box (11oz) and a wash-ball box (4oz 8dwt), first recorded in 1702–03. Of the handful or so Irish eighteenth-century household plate inventories I have studied, only one does not list a wash-ball and sponge box. Of this seemingly common household item few English examples have survived.²⁹ Note that by 1705 the sponge ball box has lost 5dwt and the wash-ball box has lost just 1dwt. Weight loss of identifiable silver objects over a period of time, found in these inventories, commonly occurs. However some objects appear to lose a greater percentage of their weight than others. This may relate to more frequent and aggressive cleaning as well as inaccurate weighing.

Few artisan names are revealed in the household inventories and accounts. In January of 1697 Thomas Highmore and Sir Godfrey Kneller were paid £7 and £80 for portraits, and in February 1697 Tompion (watchmaker) was paid £60 for a clock. At Dublin Castle in 1705 details of pewter bought of Mr Handcock in London and of Mr Johnson in Ireland are recorded. With silver, unfortunately, no names of retailer or goldsmith's work-

5 Receipt of old plate sold to Thomas Bolton.
(National Library of Ireland MS 2524)

Plate belonging to his Grace the
of Ormond Sold to Alderman Tho: Bolton
the 20th of July 1707 —

2 Oval dishes w ^{to}	254 .. 15
6 Round Dishes w ^{to}	654 .. 4
1 Old Skillet and 10 ^o of handfrons w ^{to}	72 ..
	979 : 19
979 : 02 & 19 penny w ^{to} at 5 ^s 8 ^d 02	277

I Do Certifye that I was present when
of above Plate was w^{ayed} & delivered
to Ald^m Thomas Bolton at the Price
above mentioned —
T^o Goodwin

27 Mazarines were popular around this time, although we do not know exactly what they looked like at that period, see Timothy Kent, 'The Earl of Romney's Silver', *Silver Studies. The Journal of the Silver Society*, vol 16 2004, pp81–86.

28 Syringes for medical use (removal of ear wax) go back to Greek and Roman times. Arthur Grimwade (as note 23) records that in the reign of Charles II, the

Royal Apothecary was responsible for 1 mouth syringe and 2 glyster (enema) syringes.

29 I am aware of only two Irish surviving sponge boxes and one wash-ball box.

30 By the Lord Chamberlain's warrant on 26 March 1691 the Jewel House was instructed to grant 170oz as a christening gift to Lady Mary. PRO, LC9, Jewel Office Books 1660, p180.

shop are noted and only occasionally are the costs of plate recorded. For example, the cost of Mr Wright's plate at the inn and the cost of a gilt teapot of 24oz 4dwt as £10 4s 8d and one little porringer of 4oz 19dwt as £1 10s [Appendix 3]. It is assumed that most of the silver was made by London goldsmiths but some was surely made by local provincial goldsmiths and Dublin goldsmiths. In Appendix 3 'two large salvers made in Ireland' and '12 Irish spoons' and '12 Irish forks' are recorded in the 1702-03 inventory. The Irish salvers were sent to the goldsmith to make a dessert set. The set of six gilt hexagonal plates (165oz 14dwt) under the confectioner's charge [Appendix 3] were noted as having been given by the queen to Lady Mary (the younger daughter of the 2nd Duke) as a christening gift [fig 2].³⁰ In August 1700 these were returned to the goldsmith to make a new dessert set.

Conclusion

It has been a considerable challenge to extract all the details of plate from the many inventories made, some of which are just quick working lists of shipments, and merge them to provide a comprehensive overview. On several occasions it is unclear whether an inventory includes silver that was left behind in a residence not being occupied by the duke and duchess. Furthermore it is difficult to follow objects from one inventory to the next because of cursory descriptions and, in many cases, no recorded weight for individual items. Even with these limitations, the inventories reveal a tremendous insight into the important role that plate played in a grand household. One is reminded of their contemporary Samuel Pepys, who expressed great pride in being able to entertain his guest on silver plates.

The 1st Duke's close contact to Charles II, the 'Prisage of Wines' held by the Butler family and their large land holdings in Ireland, brought them considerable funds, and they were able to create a substantial inventory between 1660 and 1685. Over 500 pictures, multiple sets of tapestry hangings, and a plate collection of more than 22,000oz, made this household the grandest in Ireland. The 2nd Duke clearly did not continue this pace of

acquisition, yet he commissioned more portraits and readily traded old plate for new and cash. It is somewhat surprising to find that by 1705 the plate holdings had been reduced by 12,000oz or more. This was just after the 2nd Duke's successful campaign at Vigo in October 1702, when 1½ tons of silver bullion were captured from the Spanish.

As a Jacobite sympathiser he would not have been held in the same favour at court as his grandfather. To lose all his offices, his possessions and leave his wife behind in London for the cause of James Francis Edward Stuart, the Old Pretender, must suggest that he was confident of a different future.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to the late Conor O'Brien for encouragement to complete this paper and John Kirwan, archivist, for his help with the Ormonde Papers at the National Library of Ireland.



6 Bookplate of Charles, Earl of Arran, brother of 2nd Duke of Ormonde. (National Library of Ireland MS 2523)

Appendix 1

Inventory of their Graces the Duke and Dutchess of Ormonde Plate as its placed in the Castle of Kilkenny 23 July 1674 and in Dublin Castle 1684

	ozdwt	One large silver fountain and cover	306
		Two ciphers of silver for a lookingglas	9
Gold Cup & Cover engaged in England (placed on ye bill of debts)	56 5 dr	Two silver hooks for ye shovell & tongues	
In the alcove		In the drawing room	
One rich garniture of silver to one greate lookinglasses made by Mr. Welsh	496	One rich garniture of silver to one lookingglas	
One rich garniture of the same(silver) to a large table & two stands	1343	One payre silver andirons fyre shovell and tongues and hooks for ye chimney	
One silver garniture to two payre of black marble andirons ?fyrs shovell and tongues		Three payre of large silver chased sconces with double socketts	
Four payre of chased silver sconces double sockets	466	One gilt basin	
		Two gilt flaggons	
		One gilt cup & cover	

One plate			One tankard of his chiefry for ye year 1680 ending May 1681		
One large silver perfuming pann (pot) at Kilkenny			One silver tankard bought at Oxford for Lord James		
One lesser perfuming pann			In Daniell Lidforde the panters charge		
Two large silver flower pots with six sockets each at Kilkenny			One large cistern with bottom for flowers	1858	
One silver bottle for essence			Two German flagons chased gould & silver in case	248	
One silver suringe			Two large swann potts	639	
One square chased box (frame) to hold myrtle tree	123		Two water potts with chaynes	185	
In my Lords closet			Two round chased silver basons	138	
One silver table			Three chased silver oval basons	374	
In my Lord Dukes dresing roome			Three plain oval basons	220	
Square standish with double lid & round ink box & square sand box	63		Deep bason with a brim (crossed out)	137	
One silver chamberpott			Two small basons without a brim (crossed out)		
The new sett of dressing plate all chased in a case 1677	339	10	One bason for his Grace to spit in (crossed out)	16	8
One looking glass frame			Three chased ewers	135	
Two combe boxes			Three plain ewers	99	
Two powder boxes			Two voyding knives	68	
One cushionett box			Two shovers for dishes	29	
Two candlesticks			Two small silver ladles	17	10
Two small salvers			Ten ring stands two of them with whole bottoms	199	
Two pottingers with covers			Two large silver square salts	45	
Two silver sweet water bottles			Twenty-four trencher salts	54	
Two Jesomy potts			One hundred silver spoons including my Lord James	252	
Two patch boxes			Sixty silver forkes	126	
One brush handle			Fifty-four silver hafted knives	40	
Her Graces plaine chamber plate			One hundred and twenty-eight silver trencher plates	2587	15
One tankard of Plunketts chiefry (crossed out)			One plain salver	41	10
Five French silver pottingers with covers	93		Twelve plates of Mr. Plunketts	188	
One silver pott college fashion	14		Twenty-four chased silver salvers (probably same as under Mrs. Jones)	1238	10
One silver skillet	24	18	Four sugar boxes	53	10
One silver warming pan			Twelve tumblers	90	
Two silver powder boxes			Thirty-six large silver dishes	3640	15
One silver combe box			Eighteen dishes of second size	1316	10
One silver cushion box			Eight dishes of third size	437	15
One brush with silver back			Twenty-two intermesses bottoms of ye large size 6 with garters	842	10
Two Indian cupps (with wood between)			Ten small Intermes bottoms of a less size	288	
One lesser silver perfuming pot			Eight third intermesse bottoms	180	
One tea pot of silver with wooden handle	24	10	Two pie plates	90	
Two silver chamberpotts			Four silver sawcers	33	
Travelling plate in charge with Dan: Lidford			One large chaffing dish with a lamp		
Six small plates			Six small silver chaffing dishes	59	
4 tumblers			Twenty-nine plain 4 square silver candlesticks	639	15
One salt Box			Seven large chased silver candlesticks (one lost in London)	168	
Two knives			Square low candlesticks of Lord James		
Two spoones			Two square panns and snuffers with chaynes	43	
2 forkes			Two silver extinguishers	4	10
Plate in Mrs. Jones her charge			Four silver tankards of Mr. Plunketts chiefry (for years '81, '82, '83, '84)	121	
One silver bason without brim			Six plates of his chiefry		
One small silver ladle			Two silver topps for sweet water		
Two preserving spoons one less than the other with holes	9	10	Two small silver chased sconces		
Three preserving spoons			Silver frame with 4 silver potts for oyle vineger pepper & mustard with a little spoone	88	
One large chased frame with fine great plates whereof one fastend to ye frame & 4 small plates for fruite chased about ye brims			Boxes for pepper & mustard	11	
Twenty four chased salvers			One plain silver pottinger of Lord James		
Two sugar boxes			In James Duport the porters charge		
Silver skillet with an iron frame (weighed with skillet from her graces plain chamber plate)	66	10	Head & ferrell for the porters cane	15	
In Mr. Mezandere charge			In Mr. Baxters charge for Mr. Wright ye innes		
Trimming pott bason and ewer			Two tankards 65 oz 5 dwts at L18:2:00	65	10
One Indian cup of silver			Twenty four spoones 43 oz 15 dwts at L12:11:00	43	15
Two guilt tumblers			Twelve salts 24 oz at L07:16:00	24	
Guilt box			One large gilt tankard with two handles & cover given to Captain of frigate in June 1674		
Two guilt spoones			In ye housekeepers charge Mrs. Burton		
Knife with a guilt haft			Three silver chamber potts		
Guilt forke			Three silver basons deepe with brim ye other two?		
Bodkin (all in a leather case)			In my Lady Dutchess clossett & cabbinnett		
Four pottingers to lett blood in			One silver hand candlestick		
Plate to be added to ye inventory 12 october 1681			One silver extinuiser		
Two square silver candlesticks with square nosells			One silver topp of a skreen	6	
Two silver Tankards gilt			Six pieces of silver garniture		
Eight tumblers of Mr Plunketts chiefrent			One round silver ink box	6	
Two plates more of his					

Dublin Castle fireplaces 1684			Plate wanting of the parcell sent into Ireland in June 1674	
One pair of globe andirons	251		One preserving spoon	
One pair of large chased andirons	246		One power box	
One pair of figural andirons	251	10	Two silver hooks for ye shovell and tongues (found)	
One pair of lesser figured andirons	97		Chapel Plate Kilkenny	304 11
One pair of low chased andirons	115		On gilt basin	
One pair of dogs	48		Two gilt flagons	
One pair of tops for dogs	17	10	One gilt cup and cover	
Twenty nine pieces for garniture for fireshovell, tongs and hooks	87		One plate	
			Total	21,999 12

Appendix 2

An Inventory of Plate belonging to his Grace ye Duke of Ormonde taken 24 Jan 1689/90. In Thomas Sturges butlers charge (No location stated, the year after 1st Duke had died)

	oz dwt	Plate in the groomes of the chambers charge	
One great cesterne		14 round candlesticks	
One great sideboard dish guilt		Ten square candlesticks	
Three chased tankards		Two silver panns & snuffers	
Two round chased basons		One chamber pot	
One plaine bason		One pair of tongs & fireshovell with knobs	
One plaine ewer		One standish	
Three casters		In my Lords dressing room	
Seven tumblers		One pair of andirons chased, fireshovell & tongues with knobs	
Three tankards		In the great bedchamber	
Three large dishes with three bottoms		Eight large sconces with double nossells	
Eight second sized dishes with eight bottoms		A table two stans & looking glass	
Eight third sized dishes and five bottoms,		One great jar or fountain with a cover	
Two fourth sized dishes		One square box for a myrtle or orange tree	
60 trencher plates		One pair of large figured andirons	
16 trencher salts		One pair of doggs fireshovell and tongues	
Two great square salts		One pair of branches on ye chimney	
36 forkes		In Mrs Mary's charge her Graces bedchamber	
48 spoons		One hand candlestick	
One great ladle		One guilt boule	
Four ring stanns (stands)		One spoon	
52 knives		Two tea dishes covered with silver and guilt	
13 square halfted knives		One salver	
2 egg knives		Two combe boxes	
One slice		Two powder boxes	
One shuver		Two patch boxes	
Two chafen dishes, two saucers		Two sweetwater bottles	
Two pey plates		Two candlesticks	
One large salver		Two stans	
One large chamber pot		One salver	
Two square candlesticks		A little cup & cover	
One tankard a gift of chief rent from N.P (Nicolas Plunkett) to ye duke of ormonde		One combe brush	
Travelling Plate (total wt 475.6 oz)		One looking glass	
Four dishes poiz	123 15	A tea pot guilt 24oz:4 dwts cost pounds 10 and 4sh and 8 d	
Twelve trencher plates	181 5	In the nursery	
Four salts	20 1	One skillett, one hanging candlestick	
Two candlesticks	22 15	One porringer	
Three caster boxes	22 18	One little porringer 4 oz : 19 dwts cost 1 pound 10sh	
One tumbler	8 15	In the housekeepers charge	
Six spoones & six forkes	24 18	Two porringers with covers	
Six knives halfts	5 15	The communion plate guilt	
One little spoon and glass	7	One great dish	
Two dishes bo't 4 Jan 89	62 15	Two flagons	
In the valet de chambre charge		One paten	
One trimming bason		One boule & cover	
One pott		Ould Plate Changed	
One box for a wasball		2 dishes, 2 mazareenes, a bason & ewer	395 15
Plate in the confectioners charge		30 plates	605
12 plates		29 plates	575 10
Two basons		2 plates, 1 pott, 2 stands, 5 casters, 1 shover, 1 skimmer	
One skillet		2 tumblers	193
One scummer		11 salts, 1 ladle, 31 spoons, 28 forkes	171
Two sugar boxes		12 plates	30 10
One tankard		1 old salver	30 10
		25 candlesticks & 2 arms branches	503 5
		Sub total	2504 10

The new Plate in Exchange for ye ould 18 March 1692/3

72 plates	1164	10
A bason & ewer	148	12
7 pair of knurled candlesticks	230	15
6 pair of pillard candlesticks		
2 sets of casters	90	4
Knurled salver	50	
48 spoons & 36 forkes	186	
48 haftes & 8 knurled salts	111	16

A ladles & skimmer	17	3
2 snuffer & pans knurled	25	9
6 littled knurled salvers	53	10
2 mustard spoons		
A chamber pott	23	4
A sett of small guilt travelling plate		
12 guilt ribed hafts for her Grace		
Sub total	2101	3

**Inventory of Plate belonging to Duke of Ormonde
put in the Earl of Devonshires House, for the use of the Earl of Ossary 10 October 1685**

Two great dishes	197	
Four dishes of a second size	292	
Four dishes of a third size	222	
Four Mazareens to them	100	
Two small ones	77	
Three dozen plate	745	
Two ring stands	36	
A Bason & Ewer	114	
One dozen knives	18	
Two Dozen spoons & one dozen forkes	96	
One square salt	28	6
Six trencher salts	13	
Three casters	24	
One ladle	9	4
Six tumblers	21	10
Six pair of Candlesticks	203	

Two snuffers & pans	37	
Two chamberpotts	36	
One warming pan	77	
Two pottingers with covers	39	
Two tankards	60	
Two chafing dishes	20	
One skillett	20	5
Eights sconces of bigger size	327	
Four sconces of lesser size	101	
Two branches	32	
One pair of figural andirons	254	
One pair of figural andirons	97	
One pair of topps for doggs	18	
Two pair of fyre shovells & Tongues with silver knobbs	20	
Total	3334	5

Appendix 3

An inventory of plate taken in St James's Square before departure to Ireland circa 1702-03

Inventory of Plate in the butlers charge	ozdwt	
Three large chased tankards	385	15
Large guilt dish for ye sydeboard chast in the middle & nurld at ye edges with knuled rim	285	10
Two chased basons for ye sydeboard	137	10
Two large payles for ice with 2 handles	225	5
Large dish or bason	105	15
Ewer belonging to ye bason	42	5
Sixty plates	955	7
Seven gilt plates	148	5
Guilt porringer with ears & cover	26	
Six small salvers	129	9
Two large salvers made in Ireland (given to goldsmith for a disert was made)	48	2
Large gilt salver	36	15
Four tankards gift of Mr. Plunkett with his & his Graces coats of arms	132	8
Two tumblers gilt on inside	9	3
Thirteen trencher salts nurld (individual weights given)	51	6
Nine caster boxes (from 18.1 to 7.2 oz)	103	
Three caster boxes gilt (18.2, 9.4 and 11.45oz)	39	1
One terreen & cover	131	16
12 gilt forkes	27	10
12 gilt spoons	31	10
12 gilt hafter knives abt	26	
6 big spoons two gilt	36	18
2 marro spoons	3	12
2 large carving knives abt	8	
2 large forkes	12	7
60 silver hafted knives 27 each Irish make with crest abt	135	
12 fforks arms at large	31	6
12 Spoons arms at large	33	4
36 fforkes with crest	100	14
24 Spoons with crest	71	4
12 Irish spoons with crest	31	

12 Irish fforks with crest	28	
Two cupps for soopes with covers	53	2
Two frames for cruetts with two capps and small pepper box to each frame	34	1
Four first sized dishes (av 57 oz)	228	1
Twelve second sized dishes (av 45.3 oz)	544	3
Twelve third sized dishes (av 33.2 oz)	401	14
Eight fourth size dishes (av 26.6 oz)	213	17
Ten fifth size dishes (number 5 and 10 were changed to make beef pan without handles)	164	8
Four Mazereen dishes (given to goldsmith March 22 1700/1)	96	16
One deep salver	26	15
One small terreen pan with two handles	55	2
Small round beef pan without handle	17	15
Small round beef pan without handle	17	6
Plate at the stewards table		
12 silver spoones gilt	27	8
12 fforkes gilt	26	16
12 silver hafted knives gilt abt	20	
4 plain salts	8	8
Plate in the groome of the chambers charge		
Silver furniture to a pair of large andirons, four nutts to the screen of iron	241	6
Plate furniture to a pair of doggs	45	10
Fourteen plate knobbs for 2 fire shovells & tongues & hooks	39	
Eight sconces with figures & single branches	322	16
Figured plate furniture to a pair of andirons rivetted-not weighed. Abt	130	
Eight chast sconces with singles branches one nutt wanting	367	13
Six square candlesticks	71	
Twelve round candlesticks	193	10
Four silver branches & socketts for glass frame	44	
One pair of silver heads for doggs	17	12
Two branch candlesticks with 4 branches each	125	11
One pair of snuffers (given to goldsmith Feb 7th 1700/1)	4	15

One pair of snuffers (given to goldsmith Feb 7th 1700/1)	4 13	One fforke (not weighed)	
Chamber pot	23	Plate in Lady Marys roome	
Chamber pot	28 8	One hanging candlestick (given to the goldsmith feb 1700/1)	15 10
One chololate pot	23 3	One porringer & Cover	20 19
One tea kettle	61 6	One small tumbler (given to Mr. Viner)	4 14
One chaffing dish	44	One spoone (not weighed)	
One ring to it	19 12	One forke (not weighed)	
One lamp to it	12 1	Plate in Lady Harrietts roome	
One coffee pot	23 2	One hanging candlestick (given to the goldsmith feb 1700/1)	15 8
Two large candlesticks with his Grace & Mr. Plunketts coats of arms 1693	31 3	One porringer (given to Nurse Reed)	9 2
Two small candlesticks for her Graces clossett	18 1	Plate belonging to her Grace in Mr. Butlers charge	
Six gilt candlesticks for the disert	85	One pooringe & cover with cypher	17 10
One pair of snuffers from the hall	5 10	One warming pann without arms or crest	78 18
Plate in ye groome of chambers charge at Whitehall		One gilt chocolate pot & cover	24 1
One tea kettle	42	One guilt chocolate cupp without arms (not weighed)	
One chaffing dish	21 15	One small guilt plate without arms (not weighed)	
One lamp	5 12	One tumbler, knife, forke, spoone, box for pepper & salt all guilt being her Graces travelling plate in a shaggreen case. (not weighed)	
One ring	7 8	Plate in the vallett chambers charge	
Two low candlesticks	23 4	One shaving bason	42 10
Six candlestick of a larger size	68 17	One ewer	25 8
One pair of Snuffers (snuffers to the groome of chambers at St. James's)	5 10	One box for almond powder	10 6
One snuff pan (the snuff pan to the goldsmith feb 7th 1700/1)	10 9	One small spoon in said box	0 15
One small milk pot	10 12	One washball box	4 8
One chamber pot	23 13	One small pott with cover to heat water	22 5
Several small tea spoons (not weighed)		One sponge box	11
One copper kettle (no weight)		One gilt tongue scraper (not weighed)	
One nuttmeg grater	2 16	Plate in the confectioners charge (all crossed out)	
One copper coffee pot (no weight)		Six guilt six cornered plates given by the Queen to Lady Mary (given to the goldsmith ye made ye guilt disert in Aug 1700)	165 14
Plate in the confectioners charge		Six small salvers (given to the goldsmith ye made ye guilt disert in Aug 1700)	52 18
Two large eight square salvers gilt	103 5	One silver skillett	28 2
Seven small six square plates gilt	199 7	One silver spoon (not weighed)	
Six scallopt bason gilt	101 5	Plate in the housekeepers charge	
One silver skillett	28 2	One silver skillett	26 10
One silver spoone abt	2	Two silver spoons abt	4
Two small scallopt basons gilt (together 35=17)	35 17		
Plate in Lady Bettys roome		Total	8775 1
One small twisted candlestick (Given to goldsmith Feb 1700/1)	9 15		
One silver porringer	7 15		
One spoone (not weighed)			

Appendix 4

Acc. James, 2nd Duke of Ormonde, Plate Inventory at Dublin Castle, Kilkenny, St. James, Whitehall and Richmond, with their weight, taken May 1st, 1705. Beaumont (Panter)

Plate in charge of Stephen Beaumont	ozdwt	Twelve guilt spoons	31 10
Two oval dishes (121 oz each)	245 10	Four large guilt spoons	25 14
Six first plate dishes (109 oz each)	656	Three marrow spoons	3 13
Six second plate dishes (60 oz each)	363 5	Six large carving knives (no wt)	
Twelve third plate dishes (43 oz ech)	518 19	Six large carving forks	39 5
Twelve fourth plate dishes (33 oz each)	398 8	Six dozen and half forks	199 5
Eight fifth plate dishes (26 oz each)	213 10	Seven dozen and half of spoons	242 10
One deep salver	26 13	Two cupps & covers	52 18
Four terreens and one cover to ye great one	221 3	Two cruitt frames with tops with a small pepper box to each frame	33 17
Three large chest flaggons	386 16	Seven guilt plates	148 10
One large guilt side board dish	285 10	Four old salts	8 5
Two large ice pails	225 10	One ring stand	18 12
One large bason and ewer	447 5	Eight kitchen plates	130 5
Eight dozen plates (17 oz each)	1651 9	Ten large spoons	71
One guilt porringer and cover	36 5	Three new coasters	45
Four tankards	124 5	Travelling Plate (in Richmond)	
Six salvers	128 15	Little pepper box for pepper and salt	
One large salver	36 5	Four plates	
Eighteen salts	76 5	Six tumblers	102
Four tumblers	13 2	Six forks	
Nine casters boxes and four spoons	103 10	Six spoons	
Three gold caster boxes	39 5	Six knives	
Knives twelve with gilt hefts (no wt)		Communion Plate	
Twelve guit forkes	27 10		

One Bason		Instrument for his Graces Tongue	1
Two Flaggons		One box for a washball	4 7
One Chalice & Cover	305	In Mrs. Richardsons custody	
One Salver		One silver skillett	24 18
Two spoons lost		In Mrs. Butlers custody	
In Douglas & Rutherfords charge in ye state bedchamber		One silver warming pann	78 15
Eight sconces	367	In his Graces clossett	1278 117
Two hand irons & tongues and fireshell	107 15	Silver Standish (no wt)	
In ye withdrawing roome		Total	10400 9
Six branches	78		
Eight sconces	323 15	In Stephen Beamonts Custody 7682 oz 14 dwts	7682 14
Hand irons, fireshovell and tongues	155 10	In Douglass & Rutherfords Custody 1434 oz 8 dwts	1434 8
Pair of small guilt candlesticks		In Hadgoods & Wards Custody 597 oz 5 dwts	579 5
One large pair ditto		In Renoe & Bourdieus Custody 466 oz 18 dwts	466 18
Twelve round candlesticks	402 8	In Mr Malen & Mr Reboes Custody 116 oz 10 dwts	166 1
Pair of snuffers		In Mrs Richardsons Custody 24 oz 10 dwts	24 18
Tea kettle & lamp		In Mrs Butlers Custody 78 oz 15 dwts	78 15
Joseph Hadgoods Custody		Total	10432 19
Eights gilt candlesticks			
Two branches for candles		Acc of Plate left at Richmond	
Thirteen candlesticks		Seventeen knives	
Two flat ditto	451 5	Ten forkes and eighteen spoons	
One pair of snuffers		Tw large spoons & two forkes	no wt
Two chamber potts where of one of ym for ye bedchamber		4 salts	
One coffee pott		One large carving knife	
One chocolate pott		Three new casters	
One tea kettle	146		
One lamp		Acc of ye Chappell Plate	
One milk pott		Belonging to her Majestie in the Castle of Dublin which was brought	
Plate in ye Confectioners Custody (Renoe & Bourdieu)		over by ye Earl Rochester now in custody of ye steward.	
Nine gilt squares	302 15	Large guilt Candlsticks	(382oz 6dwt)
Eight gilt basons for ye compot	137 10	Very large guilt dish	(251oz 5dwt)
One kettle	26 13	One small guilt dish	(51oz 10dwt)
One spoon (no wt)		Large flaggons guilt	(213oz 19dwt)
Plate in 'Vallet de Chambre' Mr. Malen & Mr. Reboes custody		Chalice & Cover guilt	(56oz 6 dwt)
One shaving bason	42 5	Guilt salver	(26oz)
One ewer	25 7	Total	(991oz 6dwt)
One pott to warm water	22 2		
One sponge box	10 15		
One box and guilt spoon for almond powder	10 5		



7 Jewel House entry for Dublin Royal Chapel Plate weighed in Dublin (see above). (The National Archives, LC5 108)

A Prussian rediscovery

Two Elizabethan chain bottles in Oranienburg Palace

ALFRED P. HAGEMANN

The display of silver played a key role in court presentation all over Europe for centuries, yet little court silver has survived. The treasuries of most rulers saw times of extreme splendour and wealth alternating with times of destruction and loss – confirming the double function of plate as objects for presentation and display as well as a resource of the state treasury, to be melted down in times of need. In Britain the Civil War was the cause of much silver being melted: thus beside church silver and some smaller pieces, only a few examples of the great wealth of the Royal Jewel House in the Tudor and early Stuart reigns survive today.

Given this background, the identification of a pair of English silver-gilt chain bottles of the late sixteenth century, in the collections of the Foundation of Prussian Palaces and Gardens Berlin-Brandenburg, is a rare and rather marvellous find. Though they have formed part of the royal silver treasure of Berlin for centuries, their real importance and meaning has only recently been understood, and it is the aim of this article, therefore, to introduce this 'rediscovery'.

It is necessary, at first, to write a little about the history of the Prussian silver treasury in order to understand the individual fate of the English bottles in Berlin.

The silver stock of Brandenburg-Prussia saw two major campaigns of melting: one under Frederick II in the mid-eighteenth century and the other during the Napoleonic wars in the early 1800s. The bulk of the tremendous wealth of silver plate, furniture and candelabra amassed by Frederick I and Frederick William I, is therefore lost.¹ Yet on both occasions the heart of the Prussian silver treasury, the grand Augsburg buffet in the Rittersaal of the Berlin Palace, was spared. This is due to the fact that this buffet was not one of the usual temporary displays of plate, but a permanent feature incorporated into the room's design, an immovable and integral part of the wall decoration. In preparing for his elevation to the newly created title of a King in Prussia in 1701, Prince Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg had his architect, Andreas Schlüter, rebuild the old schloss in Berlin in the 1690s. The main room of the new building was the Rittersaal, in which was the throne, facing the Augsburg buffet (made by the Biller-family of Augsburg 1694–1701).² Its prestige was such that not even Frederick II dared to melt it. With relatively few losses it remained for over 200 years the essence of Prussia [fig 1].³

Following the destruction of the palace in the Second World War the buffet is now displayed in the Kunstgewerbemuseum (Museum for Decorative Arts) in Berlin, which therefore houses the bulk of the surviving Prussian court silver. Only relatively few pieces remain in the Prussian palaces, but due to their high artistic and historic value,



1 The Augsburg Silver Buffet (1694–1701), detail of a painting by T. Kjellberg, 1847.

(Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Graphische Sammlung/Plankammer)

1 Paul Seidel: *Der Silber- und Goldschatz der Hohenzollern im königlichen Schlosse zu Berlin*, Berlin 1895, pp36–41.

2 See Alfred Hagemann and Matthew Winterbottom, 'New discoveries concerning the

Berlin silver buffet', *Silver Studies*, no22 2007, p117 notes 1 and 21.

3 Christiane Keisch, *Das Grosse Silberbuffet aus dem Rittersaal des Berliner Schlosses*, Berlin 1997, pp35–40.



2 Detail of the marks on the bottles in fig 3.
(Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg.
Photo: Linder)



3 Pair of bottles, silver-gilt, maker's mark HW, London 1579/80; now displayed
in Oranienburg. Height: 47.5cm and 48.5cm (18³/₄in and 19¹/₈in).
(Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg. Photo: Linder)



4 Basin, maker's mark VV, London 1594/5.
Diam: 40.7cm (16in).
(Kremlin Museum Moscow, inv. No. MZ-715)

4 Julius Lessing, 'Der Silberschatz des königlichen Schloss zu Berlin', *Gesammelte Studien zu Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 1885, p140.

5 Compare, for example, the objects cat nos3 and 6 in Olga Dmitrieva and Natalya Abramova, *Britannia & Muskovy – English Silver at the Court of the Tsars*, Moscow 2006 (hereafter Dmetrieva).

it was decided to create a new display for them in Oranienburg Palace, north of Berlin in 2006. As only a small number of objects was to be shown in one room, the concept of the exhibition was not to dazzle with numbers, but to focus on the individual objects and their specific history.

In preparing the exhibition it soon became clear that there was very little information about the history of most of the objects. The English chain bottles [fig 3] were especially problematic, as nothing was known beside the obvious facts of their height (47.5cm (18³/₄in) and 48.5cm (19¹/₈in), weight (16 Prussian Mark, 8 Lot = 3.73kg and 3.74kg (each approx 120oz), and their origin and date, as indicated by the marks for London 1579/80, with the unidentified maker's mark HW [fig 2].⁴

In style and decoration the bottles match known examples of English Elizabethan silver [fig 4]. Their clear shape is simply decorated with bands of flat chased strapwork with rosettes on shoulder, cap and foot in a form found on many silver objects of the same date.⁵ The main part of the neck and body is filled with finely chased arabesques of carnations and daisies, which curl around empty cartouches. On the neck, wreathes of sea-creatures (fish, crabs, lobsters and turtles) are bound into the flowers while on the body pairs of male and female griffins are placed amidst the arabesques [fig 9]. Yet while the chasing answers to our picture of Elizabethan silver, the form of the bottles defies easy comparison. Though they are defined as chain bottles by the chains running from the caps to cast lions-masks on the shoulder, they do not match the classic type of a chain bottle, which would be of a flattened pear-shape. Their amphora shape is closer to vases, as they were used as chimneypiece decorations.

The only other examples of this type of vase-shaped chain bottle were identified in the Kremlin Museum in Moscow, which houses the largest collection of silver from Elizabethan and early Stuart



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England. Here a group of two pairs and one single example of such bottles survive, previously known as 'the only known group' of this type.⁶ The importance of the Oranienburg examples becomes obvious. Although they had been in Berlin museums for such a long time without attracting much attention, they now turn out to be a real treasure.

The total of seven bottles (three pairs and a single) in Oranienburg and Moscow, in four different designs, obviously form a very distinctive group: The Prussian pair [figs 4 & 8] is the oldest (1579/80) and the most sober in style. The earliest pair in Moscow is dated shortly afterwards, 1580/81, made in London by the maker TF [fig 5]. While the arabesques of flowers on body and neck are very similar to the Oranienburg example, there is an obvious difference in the distinct plasticity of the fish and fruit chased on the shoulder. The single bottle of London 1606/07 (maker's mark GC) has a generally different form of chasing. Instead of the graphically chiselled flowers of the older examples there is a broadly spread, fleshy vegetation on the body of the bottle [fig 6]. The last pair of London 1619/20 (maker's mark IS) is beaten in a bold, protruding manner with a dominating framework of cartouches with sea-animals, fruit-clusters and strap-work [fig 7].⁷

It is possible to follow a stylistic development from the late sixteenth into the early seventeenth century, from the typically English two-dimensional, graphic forms of the bottles now in Oranienburg, of 1579/80, to the decidedly mannerist Dutch plasticity and boldness of the latest Moscow examples of 1619/20.

A comparison with the Moscow pieces also indicates the later alterations to the Oranienburg bottles: for example their chains were obviously changed at some stage. In the Russian examples there is a single chain suspended from the cap down to the shoulder that holds a thicker chain that loops to the masks left and right. The single chain is missing from the Oranienburg bottles, and the heavier chain is awkwardly drawn up to the cap. The lion masks holding the chains in Oranienburg also raise questions: they are fixed slightly askew on the shoulders of the bottles and no attempt was made to integrate them into the decorative scheme of the strapwork. Instead, they sit asymmetrically on top of the rosettes and are soldered on very carelessly [fig 10], which seems to indicate that they were added later in a rushed manner – yet the whole design of the Oranienburg bottles expresses the same offhand manner in the application of decorative elements. While identical patterns of rosettes are used on cap, shoulder and foot – obviously in an

5 Bottle, one of a pair, silver-gilt, maker's mark TF, London 1580/81. Height: 44cm (17¹/₄in).

(Kremlin Museum Moscow, inv. no. MZ-657)

6 Bottle, silver-gilt, maker's mark GC, London 1606/07. Height: 58cm (22⁷/₈in).

(Kremlin Museum Moscow, inv. No. MZ-658)

7 Bottle, one of a pair, silver-gilt, maker's mark IS, London 1619/20. Height 48cm (19in).

(Kremlin Museum Moscow, inv. No. MZ-654)

8 Bottle, silver-gilt, maker's mark HW, London 1579/80; one of the pair shown in fig 4.

(Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Photo: Lander)

Colour illustration p38

6 Barry Shifman and Guy Walton (eds), *Gifts to the Tsars 1500-1700 – Treasures from the Kremlin*, New York 2001, p235. See also C. J.

Jackson, *History of English Plate*, London 1911, vol II, p746.

7 Dmitrieva (as note 5), cat nos 2, 14, 27.



9 Detail of the engraved griffins on the bottles in fig 3.

(Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Photo: Linder)



10 Detail of the lion masks on the bottles in fig 3.

(Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Photo: Linder)

attempt to unify the design – they are not aligned: the rosettes in all three zones have no axial relation to each other. Likewise, the placing of the arabesques on the body does not correspond to the symmetry of the rosette-bands. As every zone is nevertheless in itself a very carefully composed and symmetric design, one has to conclude that the craftsman was applying ready-made patterns in a rather careless manner. This phenomenon is not uncommon in English silver of the time [figs 4 & 8],⁸ and does not necessarily indicate that the Oranienburg bottles were made in a rush: this lack of co-ordination of different zones and elements, and the positioning of the lion masks, seems more to throw light on the negligent way such objects were crafted in silver around 1600.

The fact that the round cartouches on both bottles show no coat of arms or initials is further indication that they were not made for a special purpose or occasion. They were obviously produced as stock for the silversmith's shop, for the Royal Jewel House, or an aristocrat, to be used as presents. This idea of aristocratic households keeping vessels to be finished off with appropriate engraving before they were sent off as gifts is supported by the superficial way coats of arms are often added to diplomatic gifts.⁹ It seems that the Oranienburg bottles were sent at such short notice that there was no time to engrave the donor's or recipient's coat of arms. If this is true, the griffins on the bottles are more likely to hold an iconographic than a heraldic meaning. Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that the griffins, with their lion's paws as front legs, show the form of the Apollonian griffin rather than the eagle's claws of the common heraldic beasts [fig 9].¹⁰ All in all, we have little evidence to decide for whom the bottles were originally made, and when and how they came to Berlin.

What, then, can be established from the records about the history of the bottles?

In the oldest surviving inventory of the Prussian silver treasury of 1715 there is no clear identification of the English bottles. Yet the entry *Zwei gravirte zilvergoldete Kettenflaschen* ('two chased silver gilt chain bottles') may well relate to them, as they stood at that time not on the great buffet in the Rittersaal, but as part of a smaller display of silver in the private dining parlour of the king. While the main buffet displayed modern silver, the more private one was used to present older, venerated silver of his father and ancestors – a perfectly suitable place for the sixteenth-century bottles.¹¹

The first solid proof of the English bottles' arrival in Berlin is given by the engraved weight on the necks; weights were added to the whole treasury by Frederick William I in the 1720s. This shows that they were not acquired in the nineteenth century, when old silver was in vogue, or in the later seventeenth or eighteenth century, when no ruler would have cared to buy old-fashioned English silver. Besides, the massive melts of the stock of the Royal Jewel House in London make it very unlikely that such Elizabethan pieces could have come from London any later than 1620.¹²

From the 1720s onwards, the bottles remained on the Great Silver Buffet in the Rittersaal. After single parts of the great Augsburg ensemble had been melted down in 1763, the gaps were filled with especially treasured pieces, such as the Oranienburg bottles. As the arrangement of other pieces was in permanent flux over these 200 years, it is obvious these bottles were considered especially valuable, although they were relatively plain compared to the German silver of the time.¹³

A drawing of the late eighteenth century shows the new arrangement after the melt: several objects that are not visible in the drawing were listed by the artist, for example 'zwei gravirte silbervergoldete Vasen' (two chased silver and gilded vases).¹⁴ These 'vases' are certainly the English bottles, as an inventory of 1793 describes them in the very same place and mentions their correct weight:¹⁵

Silver and gilded wholly chased Vase, of which two golden chains suspend, which are held by two lions-heads, weighing 16 ½ Mark.

The first pictorial representation is in a picture by T. Kjellberg of the Rittersaal of 1847 [fig 1]; later they can still be traced in the same position on the presentoir in photographs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries [fig 11].

If the bottles have been venerated heirlooms since the early eighteenth century, it is necessary to establish the relations between the Brandenburg-Prussian and the English courts in the early seventeenth century to find a possible occasion that brought the bottles to Berlin. The most promising period is that of 1609 to 1614, when the conflict over the succession in the territories of Jülich-Cleve forged an alliance between King James I of Great Britain and Prince Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg. As the catholic house of Wittelsbach and the protestant Prince of Brandenburg claimed the succession alike, this conflict achieved European importance in the delicate balance of religious denominations. While the Emperor supported the Wittelsbach claim, Berlin gained the support of England and the Netherlands. With the help of English diplomats a war was just avoided with the Treaty of Xanten, that ended the dispute with a compromise in 1614 and split the territories in half.

In the early stages of the conflict the Venetian ambassador in London recorded the visit of an envoy of Brandenburg to London. The delegation obviously tried to further a match between the Prince of Wales and a Brandenburg Princess and in October 1609 had an audience with Queen Anne, at Hampton Court, who warmly supported the idea of a match.¹⁶ Such an alliance would have strengthened the position of Brandenburg considerably, not only in the virulent conflict about Jülich-Cleve, but would also have added to the prestige of this German principedom. A year later little had come of the match, as Prince Henry Frederick showed little inclination to the princess and a 'German match would not gain him any-

Nro.7 Eine silberne und vergoldete, gantz gravirte Vase, von deren Deckel zwey vergoldete Ketten, deren Enden in den an dem Knauf angebrachten Löwenköpfen befestigt sind. Diese wiegt 16 ½ Mark.

8 Compare Dmitrieva (as note 5), cat. nos 6, 9, 14.

9 Compare the Warwick cup in Moscow – see Dmitrieva (as note 5), cat. no 24.

10 For this information I thank Mrs Gale Glynn.

11 Seidel (as note 1), p16.

12 For this information I am indebted to Philippa Glanville.

13 In 1888 they were removed to form part of a new silver arrangement in Charlottenburg Palace. After Frederick III had become Emperor, he moved to this palace and obviously some of the most venerated silver objects had to follow to give this palace the right amount of tradition. After his death in the same year they came back to the Berlin Palace.

14 *The great Silver Buffet in the Rittersaal*, drawing in ink and watercolours, circa 1790, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, Graphische Sammlung / Plankammer.

15 *Inventory of the Royal Silver stock in Berlin Palace, 1793*, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, Graphische Sammlung / Plankammer, no45, vol 192–204.

16 *Report of the Venetian ambassador in London to the Doge*, no658, 7 October 1609, in John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions and magnificent Festivities of King James the First, his royal Consort and family, etc.* London 1828. I am indebted to Philippa Glanville for this source.

17 (as note 16), Report no657, 5 October 1610.

19 Paul Seidel (as note 1), p3.

18 Gary M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives 1509-1688*, London 1990, pp140-41.

thing as all the German princes are allied to him or the queen by blood'.¹⁷

The Brandenburg delegation undoubtedly made Queen Anne presents of silver in 1609, and she would have been obliged to give something in return. The Oranienburg bottles, being a bit out-dated by then, not first class, and obviously not a specially prepared gift, are a likely choice for a present to a second-rate European prince. The iconography of the bottles with the male and female griffins would also suit the occasion of match making: griffins are not only symbols of Apollo, (ie of beauty and harmony), but are also famed in ancient mythology as especially truthful and monogamous creatures. For the prince electors of Brandenburg in Berlin this gift would have been a highly treasured proof of a link with the kings of England, important allies in the conflict about Jülich-Cleve. Even the mere possibility of a marriage would have been an honour.

A less likely alternative is that the English envoys to Brandenburg, John Dickenson and Sir Henry Wooton (who travelled to Berlin in the context of the Treaty of Xanten in winter 1613 and November 1614), brought the two bottles. They certainly would have carried decently prepared gifts with the coat of arms of the king.¹⁸

All this unfortunately provides no solid proof of the route by which the Oranienburg bottles arrived in Berlin, but it gives a convincing scenario. In this context, it is telling that the bottles seem to be the only remainders of the Brandenburg silver that survived melting in 1631, during the Thirty Years War.¹⁹ Furthermore it fits into the picture that, at the turn of the eighteenth century, Frederick III should especially treasure this royal gift to his ancestors, at a time when he aimed at becoming king himself.

Ironically the high esteem in which the English bottles were held by the Prussian monarchs, was the reason for their being overlooked by scholars until now. After they were displayed on the grand buffet in the Rittersaal for 200 years, they were reintegrated into the display of the buffet in the Museum of Decorative Arts in (East) Berlin, after the silver had miraculously survived the Second World War [fig 11]. Thus they totally lost the character of individual pieces and became part of a greater whole. In addition, their relative plainness did not catch the eye of German scholars, who traditionally focus on Nuremberg and Augsburg silver. In consequence they remained in obscurity, although they were always on open display.

Only when they were removed from the buffet ensemble in 2005 did the bottles re-emerge as objects in their own right. The very complex history of the contents of the Prussian palaces since the Revolution of 1918, which was followed by the Second World War and German Separation, had led to complicated questions of ownership. Since the 1990s it has been possible to sort out the position between the two state institutions who keep the heritage of Prussia: the State Museums of Berlin and the Prussian Palaces and Gardens. As one consequence of this, the English bottles were handed over to the Prussian Palaces and Gardens and became part of the new display in the Silberkammer of Oranienburg. As their outstanding importance as rare examples of Elizabethan silver has come to light, they are once more an especially appreciated part of Prussian history.



11 The Augsburg Buffet with the English bottles, as displayed in the Museum of Decorative Arts Berlin 1982-98.

(Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg)

Acknowledgements

This article is based on a talk given at the conference *Britannia & Muscovy* at the Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London, 24 November 2006. I want to thank here Philippa Glanville and the Mellon Centre for the wonderful opportunity to introduce our discoveries at this occasion at such short notice.

'Perfume for a lady's chamber'

A seventeenth-century perfume burner

SOPHIA DICKS

Gloves as sweet as damask roses,
Masks for faces and for noses,
Bugle bracelet, necklace amber,
Perfume for a lady's chamber.

William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*

The Puritans' proscription of the use of perfume during the Commonwealth tacitly acknowledged the potential of scent to evoke emotion and to serve both sacred and profane purposes.¹ We still acknowledge the emotional potency of scent, and its power to attract and repel. The seventeenth-century perfume burner shown in *fig 1* is redolent of a time when perfumes and spices were fundamental weapons in the apothecary's armoury against poor hygiene and infection. That such a burner was depicted by one of the most renowned painters at the court of Charles II indicates its status as an emblem of wealth, its intrinsic and artistic value emphasising the importance of its contents. This article focuses on this piece of silver and draws on other similar examples of the same gourd-shaped, three-tiered form of burner; the context in which it would have been used; its artistic and decorative features; the question of its origins; and the depiction of such a burner in the still life paintings of Pieter Gerritsz van Roestraeten.

In every society and culture, perfume has been burnt in sacred settings to enhance the experience of worship. Although certain aspects of its design are enigmatic, the perfume burner evidently owes some of its features to the sacred censers used as an integral part of Catholic ritual.² The teeming of the smoke that gave perfume its name – the word comes from the Latin *per fumum*, meaning 'through smoke' – was identified with the ascension of both prayers and souls to heaven. The thurible, or swinging censer, was brought into use from the ninth century; its pierced metal body was suspended from chains attached to loops on the shoulders of the burner and swung to fan the coals and distribute the perfume. This seventeenth-century burner echoes the form in the coiled borders that define each of its three sections and in the vine tendrils that curl out from its top section, the silversmith creating a decorative feature from a redundant purpose.

Although the burner derives from an ecclesiastical form, its purpose in late seventeenth-century Europe was temporal. Foul odours were believed to carry infection and sickrooms were often kept closed; Charles II caused dismay to the Queen Consort's doctors when he flung open the windows of her chamber during a life-threatening fever. It was believed that sweet smells, in banishing unpleasant odours, provided some protection from illness. Apothecaries had been granted a charter only in 1617; perfume was central to their work at a time when poor personal hygiene was the



1 Perfume burner, unmarked, English or Dutch, circa 1670. Height 20.5 cm (8.1 in), weight 21 oz. (Private collection)

1 Frances Kennett, *History of Perfume*. London 1975, p164.

2 Edmund Launert, *Perfume and Pomanders*. London 1987. p11.



2 Perfume burner, unmarked, circa 1675. Height 37.5cm (14³/₄in). (Photo: Sotheby's)



3 H. de Saint-Jean, *Femme de qualité deshabillé pour le bain*, engraving. (Bibliothèque nationale de France)

norm and infectious illnesses were commonplace and often fatal.³ As plague cast its dark shadow over late seventeenth-century London, physicians resorted to the burning of perfume (which had been advised as far back as the fourth century BC by Hippocrates). In 1665 Samuel Pepys reported that the deanery of St Paul's was fumigated weekly with frankincense, sulphur, hops and pepper,⁴ and watchmen were employed to keep fires burning all night. The Great Fire finally cleansed London of the epidemic a year later.

For the rich, perfume was a central part of personal grooming: Catherine of Braganza included a 'Jewish perfumer' in her retinue when she travelled to England to marry Charles II.⁵ The late seventeenth century saw the manufacture of extensive toilet sets, imposing plate that indicates the extent to which grooming had become ritualised at Court. The small size of the burner that is the focus of this article (20.5 cm (8in) high) suggests that it might have been designed to stand on a high surface such as a dressing table; burners of similar size are extant in other forms.⁶ The six surviving contemporary examples of the same 'gourd' form vary in size but are all above 33cm (13in) – the larger ones would have occupied the corner of a room [fig 3]. A burner of different form, attributed to Philip Rollos and from Chatsworth House, shown recently at Versailles,⁷ is substantial enough to be considered a piece of furniture. It is clear that while a large proportion of such pieces have been lost to the melting-pot, both large and small examples of many different forms were considered essential equip-

ment in the stifling atmosphere of Court. The Jewel House warrants for the 1660s and 1670s make several references to perfuming pans and 'potts' as well as a 'perfumer', and Charles II's wife, mother and sister all had perfume-related silver detailed in their inventories.⁸ For the less wealthy, a copper version could be created, such as the example in the Victoria and Albert Museum, measuring 26.7cm (10¹/₂in).⁹

The purpose and importance of the burner and its contents is encoded within its decorative language. First and foremost, it is made of silver, of high intrinsic value and with proven antiseptic qualities. The flame finial that surmounts it and the floral openwork that ornaments it are a reference to its function. One of the many flowers depicted on the surface is the rose, a popular ingredient in medicines. Gertrude Dawson recommended it as one of the flowers to be used to deck windows at times of plague in *A Rich Closet of Physical Secrets*, published in 1652. Household guides of the time gave recipes for the making of perfume to be burned. *The Compleat Cook* urged the 1680s housewife to mix benzoin, musk, civet and rose petals with sugar before '[making] them up into little cakes',¹⁰ whilst Gervase Markham, writing in *The English Housewife* included several recipes for musk balls, pomanders and 'a perfume to burn'¹¹ of which cypress wood was a central ingredient with ambergris.

Of equal value to the essential oils were the substances used to fix them: musk, civet, ambergris and castor. These were all of animal origin: the ambergris (often

referred to as amber) from the intestine of the whale; musk from the male musk deer; castor from the beaver and civet from the civet cat, an animal which often featured on perfumers' signs. These fixatives were often referred to independently for their distinctive scents and high value; in the sixteenth century, Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas wrote of 'snuffing with a wrythed nose the Amber, / The Musk and Civet that perfum'd the chamber'.¹²

The Dutch/English question

The artistic and intrinsic value of the silver perfume burner was also a reflection of the importance and cost of its contents. The Dutch influence on the decoration of the perfume burner is obvious. Its luscious floral decoration, including not only roses but also tulips, vines and tendrils, typifies the floral style of late seventeenth-century Dutch design, which also became the vogue in England. In Dutch silver, floral decoration was popular from around 1640, and 'spring flowers such as tulips, carnations or anemones'¹³ were special favourites. This fashion had undoubtedly been fired by the 'tulip-mania' of the early seventeenth century, together with the many botanical illustrations and designs in the pattern books of the time. Indeed, floral decoration dominated the fine, as well as the decorative, arts.

The censer or thurible depicted in a still life painted in 1672 by Dirck de Bray [fig 4] shows robust floral openwork similar to that on the perfume burner shown in fig 1. Its luxurious decoration contrasts with the clean, precise piercing on thinner metal – so akin to the pure lines of cut-card work – on the pierced censers created by Huguenot craftsmen only a decade later.

The burner in fig 1 derives an eastern accent from its gourd-like form, which may be a reference to the origins of imported spices and oils, or perhaps the cultural influence of Catherine of Braganza, the Portuguese Infanta who married Charles II in 1662. However, in overall terms, the form and decoration of the burner, which is unmarked, suggests that it is either English or Dutch, and this mixed origin is supported by other surviving examples.

I have identified another six documented and extant examples of burners of this form. Of these, two are unmarked: one was sold at auction [fig 2],¹⁴ and one is now in the Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio.¹⁵ Interestingly, the museum accession notes reveal that whilst the scratch weight of the Toledo piece is 59oz 12dwt, the actual weight is 48oz, and the museum suggests that the scratch weight may have included 'hanging chains', another reference to the ecclesiastical origins of incense burners. Of the four other burners, one bears Dutch marks for 1678, from the workshop of Nicholaes Loockemans of The Hague (Welbeck Abbey).¹⁶ An example held in the Hermitage bears English marks for 1680/81 but 'reveals in its form and decoration the influence of Dutch masters'.¹⁷ A burner from the collection of the Duke of Rutland, at Belvoir Castle, bears London marks for 1677/78 and the maker's mark IH.¹⁸ Another bears the maker's mark TL and has the arms of Sir John Bankes, who was created a baronet in 1661. This burner is linked to furniture, not only because it stands 45cm (17¾ in) tall and weighs 102oz 7dwt (3,183g), but also because it bears the same maker's mark as the embossed silver table at Knole in Kent.¹⁹ To summarise, of the six burners (other than the one under discussion in fig 1), two are unmarked; one has Dutch marks; and three have English marks. All



4 Dirck de Bray, *Still Life with symbols of the Virgin Mary*, oil on panel, dated 1672. (Museum Ons'Lieve Heer op Solder, Amsterdam)

3 Kennett (as note 1), p121.

4 Launert (as note 2), p13.

5 A. Fraser, *King Charles II*, London 1979, p207.

6 For example the drum-shaped burner illustrated in E.A. Jones, *Old Silver of Europe and America*, London 1928, pl XLII.

7 Height 87.6cm (34½ in). Catherine Arminjon (ed), *Quand Versailles était meublé d'argent*, exhib cat, Versailles 2007, no72, fig 194.

8 Jewel House Warrants, PRO LC5/107 – I am most grateful to Dr David Mitchell for providing this information.

9 No M.56-1939 – I am most grateful to Mr J. de Boer and Philippa Glanville for referring me to this information.

10 R. Price, *The Compleat Cook*, London 1974, from MSS of circa 1681, p314 (Dr David Mitchell).

11 G. Markham, *The English Housewife*, London 1615, p133 (Dr David Mitchell).

12 'Divine Weekes and Workes' (second week, third day, pt. III), GIGA USA.

13 A.L. Den Blaauwen, *Dutch Silver*, Amsterdam 1979, p xxxvii.

14 Sotheby's London, 1 February 1968 lot 100; and 17 June 1971 lot 164. Height 37.5cm (14¾ in). 78oz 19dwt.

15 Acc no1979.11. Height 33 cm (13in). Illus in C. Oman, *Caroline Silver*, London, 1969, pl 74.

16 E.A. Jones, *Catalogue of plate belonging to the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey*, London 1935, p87. Height 35.6cm (14in), scratch weight 65oz 4dwt.

17 <http://www.hermitage-museum.org>. Height 40.9cm (16 in, illus in C. Hermarck, *The Art of the European Silversmith 1430-1830*, London 1977, vol 1 p224, vol 2 pl 553.

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19 Sold Sotheby's London, 28 January 1965, lot 152. Y. Hackenbroch, *English and Other Silver in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*, New York 1963, p32.



5 Pieter Gerritsz van Roestraeten, *Still Life with wine cooler*, oil on canvas, signed and dated 1678. (Collection Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD), The Hague)



1

are of the same 'gourd' form with similar pierced decoration influenced by the Dutch floral style. Clearly, the course of history had caused a mingling of cultural influences.

When the English court scattered during the Civil War, many noble families spent their exile in the Low Countries, and the exchange of craftsmen and ideas was intense in the years following the Restoration. The extent to which the king encouraged foreign goldsmiths was resented in London, and as a result he was petitioned in 1664 by those who felt neglected 'in favour of the multitude of strangers (Dutchmen and others) in London'.²⁰ The king's patronage is hardly surprising, considering that he had been in exile on the continent since boyhood. Some Dutch craftsmen had actually accompanied him on his return journey to England, including the silversmith John Coquus, famous for making the massive silver bed that Charles II presented to Nell Gwynne.²¹ Coquus also created a chandelier for Queen Catherine, now thought to be that in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch.²² A large number of the celebrated Dutch silver pieces at Welbeck Abbey are without hallmarks, as plate for the king's use and that of his entourage was exempt from duty.²³

One would hope that science could offer some resolu-

tion to the English/Dutch question of an origin for the burner under discussion. However, although analysis of the silver has found that the alloy is seventeenth century, the silver content falls between English Sterling silver (92.5%) and Dutch Grote Keur (93.4%). The samples taken show range from 93.48% to 91.98% silver, with an average of 92.97%. There was a similar finding when plaques on the Duivenvoorde andirons were tested and produced a result of 93.0%.²⁴

Although the origins of the perfume burner remain uncertain, it is appropriate that a perfume burner, of the same form and scale as that in *fig 1*, was painted by a Dutch artist living in London. *Still Life with wine cooler* [*fig 5*] was painted in 1678 by Pieter Gerritsz van Roestraeten, an artist born in Haarlem and trained by Frans Hals. Roestraeten married Hals's daughter and came to England in the 1660s, where he became known for his still life paintings of gold, silver and porcelain pieces. At least two of his other paintings include perfume burners as the main subject.²⁵ Roestraeten's success derived not only from the quality of his painting, but in recognising the demand in England for Dutch art and creating his own niche in a market previously dominated by portraiture.²⁶ His patrons were the courtiers of Charles II, members of an aristocracy recovering from



6 Pieter Gerritsz van Roestraeten, *Still Life with an incense burner*, oil on canvas. (Private collection, photo: © Sotheby's Amsterdam)

exile, and with particular skill he evoked the renewed status and luxury of their world, which a generation before seemed to have been lost forever. Far from being mere descriptive pieces, his works are layered and contemplative. The enduring qualities of precious metals and porcelain were sometimes seen as a *vanitas*, as in *Still life with ginger jar and a skull*, in the Royal Collection; in other works this element is more understated: amidst the splendid silver and porcelain documents are scattered and cups lie on their sides.

When Roestraeten depicted a perfume burner in his *Still Life with wine cooler*, the painting would not only have represented the Dutch tradition of *pronkstilleven* or 'sumptuous' still life, but also served as a *vanitas*. As smoke rises to heaven, we are made aware that we too will pass from this world. It is ironic then, that this silver perfume burner still shines as brightly as it did on the day when Roestraeten first set his brush on the canvas.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the support of my colleagues at Wartski, especially Geoffrey Munn, who commented on the drafts of this article. David Beasley offered invaluable help, as did Dr David Mitchell, who generously shared his research with me. Jaap de Boer kindly brought to my attention the appearance of a van Roestraeten at auction. I would also like to thank Vanessa Brett, Philippa Glanville, Alastair Dickenson and Lindsey Shaw-Miller for their assistance.

20 E.A. Jones (as note 6), p232.

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24 T. Deelder, 'Andrew Moore of Bridewell', *The Silver Society Journal*, no11 1999, p152.

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Through its Endowment Fund the Society has made financial contributions to several publications over the past few years. This policy was extended, in 2008, to a DVD, which Claire Grindey reviews here:

Kenneth Quickenden, *Virtual Gallery of Contemporary Fine Metalwork*, Birmingham City University 2007. ISBN 978-1-904839-22-4.

This is an interactive DVD-ROM about contemporary fine metalwork. Not all the objects are silver, but the quality of metalwork presented is of a high standard, from ninety established designer-makers encompassing Northern America, Western Europe, Australia and parts of Asia.

The DVD promises a virtual gallery of 'visual delights', contemporary in their design as well as their age. On opening the DVD, you are immediately

launched into a slideshow. It fulfils its promise to instruct as an exhibition would, guiding you through each object with a zoom facility for every high resolution image to view the objects in detail. An information button takes you to further details about the materials, dimensions and the artist, for each object. Furthermore, you are at liberty to take your own tour, through the use of a search and filter option. You can filter awards, objects, religious, sculpture and giftware, and you can search for criteria such as artist, material, techniques and country. Five essays, discussing techniques, materials and the range of wares prove to be very informative.

And if that isn't enough, you can watch up to twenty-two video interviews of designer-makers, gallery owners, critics and academics, by taking the whole tour, or by simply clicking on the highlighted question that intrigues you the most.

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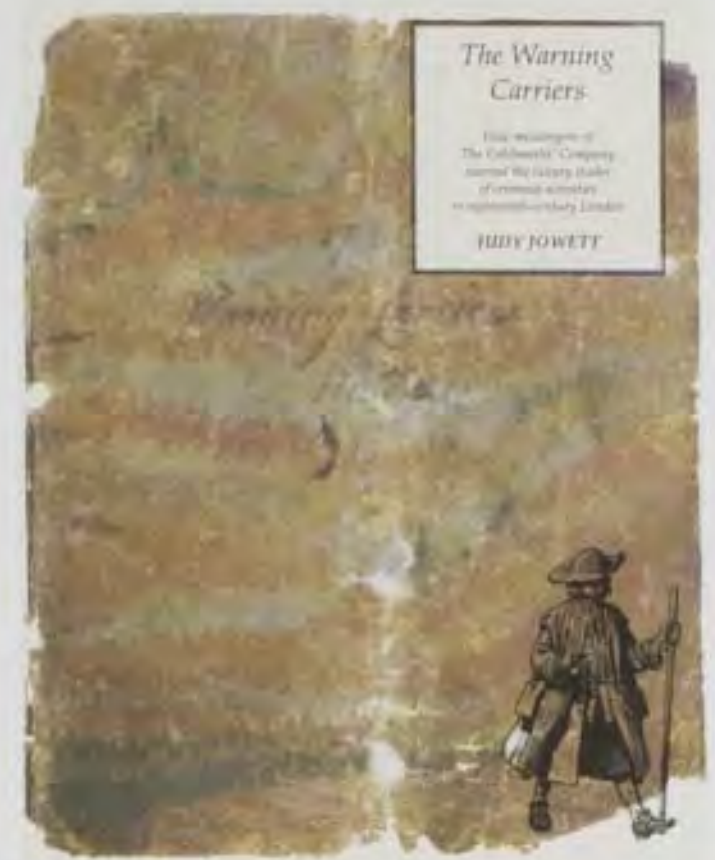
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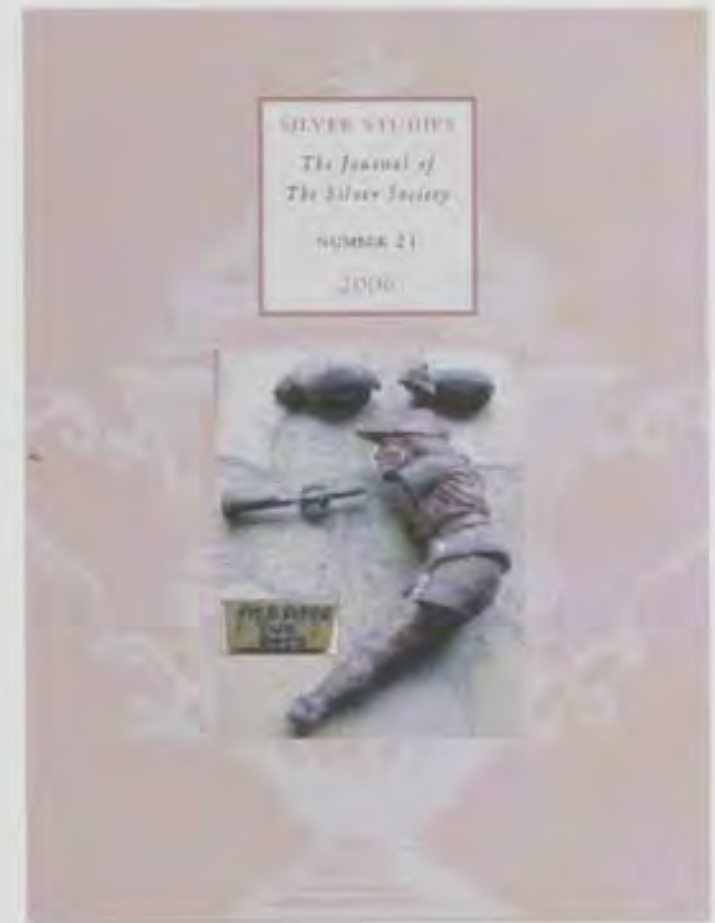
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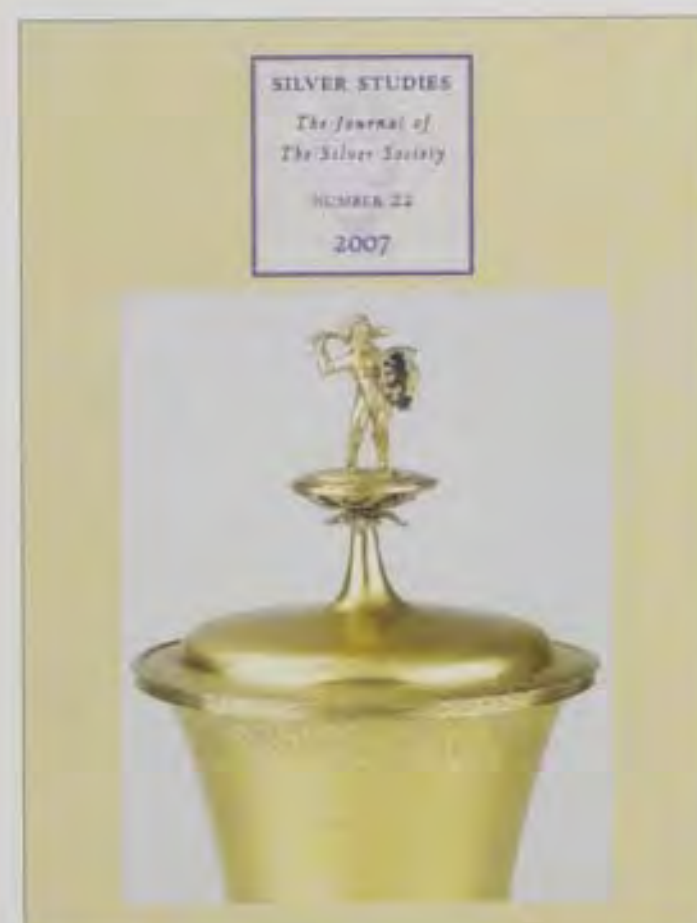
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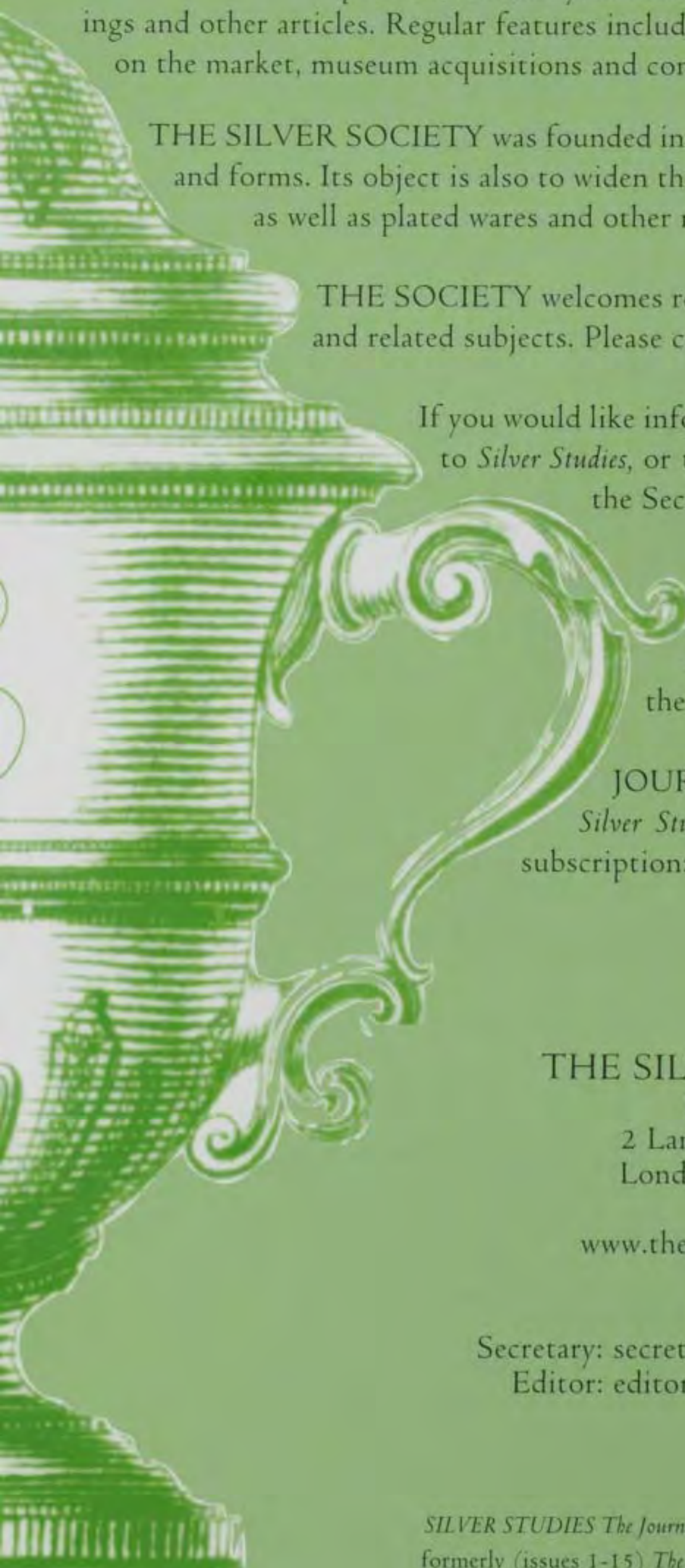


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SILVER STUDIES The Journal of the Silver Society: ISSN 1743-2677
formerly (issues 1-15) *The Silver Society Journal*: ISSN 0960-8745