



27 South Street, Exeter: Baptist. Pair of two-handled cups, John Elston, Exeter, 1725/26.
(Exeter City Museum and Art Gallery)

cups for the South Street Baptist Church in 1725.[fig 27] With certain exceptions, such as Robert Cooper who made the handsome chinoiserie-decorated two-handled cup at the Ipswich Unitarian meeting, the silversmiths whose silver appears in Nonconformist contexts are not the most fashionable or prestigious of their time. Nor is the silver itself particularly innovative in form or decoration. The only initiative, as we have seen, was the invention of the individual cups. The importance of the vessels comes from their meaning within the community.

What place did the communion plate hold in the religious life of the congregations? There are very few accounts of communion services, but those that survive can explain how the silver was used and valued. From the early days of dissent kneeling was regarded as idolatrous and a preference emerged to stand to receive communion, or to sit at the communion table symbolically to emulate the Last Supper.³² In some congregations, those receiving communion came forward to sit at the table row by row. This was still reported to be taking place in some Presbyterian meeting-houses in the nineteenth century.³³ Another common procedure was for the minister or deacons to take the bread and wine to the communicants seated in the pews. The most detailed account of a service to survive comes from the church book of the St Andrew's Street Baptist Church in Cambridge in 1761. The communion took place after the public service in the afternoon. Spectators could sit in the gallery.

Mary Morris, the servant of the church, covered the table with a clean linen cloth, and sat thereon bread in a basket, the crust being taken off: two borrowed silver cups: and three pints of red port wine.³⁴

The minister sat at the upper end of the table with two deacons on each side and the older men. The younger men sat in pews on the minister's right, the women on the left. A minimum of liturgy was used to perform the ceremony of breaking the bread which was distributed to the members by the deacons. Similarly the wine was poured from bottles into the two silver cups and distributed to the congregation by the four deacons. The service was largely conduct-

32 S. Mayor, *The Lord's Supper in Early English Dissent*, London 1972, pp154-57.

33 *Transactions of the Congregational Historical*

Society, vol V 1911-12, p327, Reminiscences of the old dissent at Witham.

34 As note 10, pp926-28, 28 June 1761.



28 United Reformed Church, Southwark. Four beakers, London 1691/92 and 1766–72; plates, Edward Fernell, London 1788/89.

ed in silence apart from the minister's reading of the scriptures and meditation upon the sufferings of Christ. A hymn concluded the service which took three-quarters of an hour.

This account does not tell us if the two cups were given directly to each member or were passed along the rows by communicants in the pews. A two-handled cup would facilitate the passing and it might be argued that services conducted in this way promoted the continuance of the form.

One of the commonly held beliefs is that the number of communion cups and plates was related to the number of deacons in the congregation. As the description of the Baptist church demonstrates, four deacons managed with two cups. Later the congregation bought two pewter cups and three plates. There are many similar examples where there is no direct correlation of the number of deacons to cups. The Norwich Old Meeting had five deacons but six cups and over 100 members in the mid-eighteenth century.³⁵ The size of the congregation may have been more of a determinant as well as the wealth of the members.

Apart from the practical need for vessels to distribute the elements of the communion which puts the silver at the heart of the ceremony, we looked for evidence that the forms were chosen to express the organisation of the congregation, as has been found to be the case in America. Two types of church organisation there, characterised as on the one hand democratic and egalitarian and on the other more hierarchical, can be seen reflected in the choice and use of silver according to Barbara McLean Ward. Her article published in 1988 proposed that a set of the same form of matching communion vessels, for example two-handled cups, expressed the congregation's commitment to equality.³⁶ Where there were a number of different vessels then a hierarchy, particularly in the giving of wine, could be maintained. Samuel Sewall's diary for 1724 appears to confirm this intention.

Deacon Checkly deliver'd the cup first to Madam Winthrop, and then gave me the tankard ... Twas humiliation to me and I think put me to the Blush.

35 *Norwich Old Meeting Church Book* (1635–1839) records for example 5 deacons in 1768 and 4 in 1808, Norfolk Record Office, FC 19/1.

36 Barbara McLean Ward,

"In a feasting Posture": Communion Vessels and Community Values in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century New England', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 23:1 Spring 1988, pp1–24.

we told him there was thirteen Silver Bakers two Silver Tankards one Silver
 Flagon we sent 6 Bakers & 2 Tankards on one side 7 Bakers & 1 Flagon
 on the other & asked him what he would have he replied the 6 Bakers
 & 2 Tankards we told him he should have if accordingly he went the plate
 & we delivered him of 6 Bakers & 2 Tankards there was 7 pewter plate
 he had 4 & we kept 3 six candlesticks of web he had 3 there was two
 Board cloths & 2 napkins he had one of each & carried away the
 23rd April 1732. & does still remain in their custody. so far as
 they have to dispute is the other moiety of the church plate, what
 they have now to pretend is if they only borrowed of which is an
 fiction. We are ready to perform our part in assigning over the
 plate to these Bakers & Tankards pursuant to the agreement.

29 The division of assets owned by Yarmouth Meeting, 1732. (Norfolk Record Office, FC 31/31: Middlegate Congregational Papers)

According to McLean Ward, Sewell was humiliated by being served after Madam Winthrop and with a vessel of lesser prestige.³⁷

We have not so far been able to find any evidence of a hierarchical use of silver in English Nonconformity. The surviving silver inevitably meets the criteria for matching sets of the same vessels. Often identical vessels were ordered to match existing types as the community grew.

One document from 1732 does, however, show that the silver was regarded as an important part of a congregation's material assets. The congregational church in Yarmouth divided due to a doctrinal difference of opinion and a record of the splitting of the property between the two new communities survives. The silver consisted of 13 beakers or 'bakers' and may have been the most extensive set ever owned by a Nonconformist congregation. These beakers, as well as two tankards, one flagon, seven pewter plates, six candlesticks, two board cloths and two napkins, were evenly divided, along with the church's stock and property. One member had demanded that the stock and plate stay together but a satisfactory compromise was reached with the other faction.³⁸ [fig 29]

Lastly, although the place of communion plate in Nonconformist worship has always been secondary to that of the scripture, this is not to suggest that the ves-

sels themselves, even those that were simple and unadorned, meant nothing to a congregation. The acquisition and use of cups was often intimately tied to the history of the chapel. As the Revd A. Gordon states, when the congregation of the Old Bent Chapel in Atherton, Lancashire were forced to leave their place of worship and build a new one in 1715, the only items they took with them from the old chapel were the communion cups and table. These, the only and most precious relics of their Old Bent Chapel are naturally cherished by the congregation today. One loves to think of these sacred symbols as the aids to worship which our fathers most valued – the communion table and the communion vessels – for were they not the emblems at the very heart of worship and of the Lord's sacrifice?³⁹

These conclude our preliminary remarks based on a recent survey of Nonconformist silver and associated documents. As our questions posed throughout the article suggest, there is ample room for further study, should time permit in future. As we have shown, the silver itself, while not being always the most prestigious or innovative, is nevertheless important material evidence of the aspirations and choices of a group of people whose use of, and relationship with, silver has been very little researched.

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This text is based on a talk given at the 'Sacred Silver' conference held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in November 2005, following the redesign of the museum's church plate gallery, for which this research was undertaken.

37 M. Halsey Thomas (ed), *The Diary of Samuel Sewell, 1674-1729*, vol 2, New York 1973, p1023 (6 December 1724) quoted in Barbara McLean Ward, (as note 36), p12.

38 Middlegate Congregational, Great Yarmouth (United Reformed) papers.

Contemporary draft statement concerning the secession of 1732 and the division of church property at the time, Norfolk Record Office, FC 31/31.

39 John James Wright, *The Story of Chorlton Chapel 1645-1721-1921*, Manchester 1921, p43.

Norwich goldsmiths 1700–1800

CHRISTOPHER HARTOP

Famous for Worthy Chiefs and Splendid State,
Let Norwich Flourish to the Longest Date,
Admird for those none can her Glory hide,
Whilst She's their Honour, they the City's Pride

— inscription on a goblet (Alice Sheen, London 1702/03)
presented to Norwich Corporation by John Atkinson in 1702.

Between 1568 and the beginning of the eighteenth century, Norwich had periods of organised hallmarking, but clearly working in silver and gold had been carried on at an advanced level from Saxon times onwards. In the Middle Ages Norwich was a major financial centre, with a mint and a large community of goldsmiths which included, until their expulsion, many Jews. The goldsmiths of the city financed Henry V's French campaign and held his crown as surety for the debt.¹

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, goldsmithing in Norwich had declined and, although Norwich was one of the cities allowed to resume hallmarking when the Act of 1697 (initiating Britannia silver) was amended in 1701,² only a handful of pieces so marked survive.³ On 1 July 1702 Robert Hartsonge was sworn 'assayer of gold and silver to the Company of Goldsmiths of this City', but it is evident that shortly after this the marking of precious metal in the city ceased. The Norwich Company of Goldsmiths may have continued to control the activities of the dwindling number of those with shops in the city, while still enjoying their uneasy relationship with the London Company of Goldsmiths, but there are no surviving records of the Norwich guild. Searchers from London carried out inspections in Norwich in 1703, 1705, 1706 and 1719 and fined members of the guild for sub-standard wares, but no organised hallmarking appears to have continued in the city after about 1702. Some pieces struck only with the mark of Thomas Havers, one of the most prosperous Norwich shopkeepers of the time, can be dated by inscriptions as late as 1706,⁴ and a few snuff boxes are recorded with Elizabeth Haslewood's mark which stylistically date from the end of the first decade of the century.⁵

The industry of silversmithing in Norwich had become nothing more than a craft, confined to repairs and the making of items that were small enough to be exempt from hallmarking, such as snuff boxes, mounts and clasps for book bindings, bodkins, needle cases, pens and inkpots. But even these items were increasingly being made in London in specialist workshops, or imported. A century earlier, dress clasps had been imported in large quantities from the Low Countries.

Set against this centralisation of the industry was the gentle decline of Norwich in economic if not social terms during the eigh-

1 *Norfolk & Norwich Notes & Queries*, First Series, 11 July 1896, p34.

2 Stat. 12, W. III. C. 4. The Corporation evidently felt the passing of the new Act provided an opportunity to convert some of the old civic plate into modern pieces: a committee was appointed to consider what should be disposed of, but evidently nothing was done as the only surviving piece from around this time in the collection is the cup donated in 1702 (W. Hudson and J.C. Tingey, *The Records of the City of Norwich*, vol 1, Norwich 1906, p cxlvi).

3 The communion cup dated 1707 and paten dated 1706 of St Margaret's, Kirstead, and a tankard. All three pieces are struck with Britannia, lion's head erased, Gothic A in oval and a maker's mark HA in rectangle, which may have been used by Robert Hartsonge, Arthur Haslewood III, or Thomas Harwood. Thomas Havers appears to have continued to use his pre-1697 mark TH over a star. For the cup and paten see E.C. Hopper, 'Norfolk Church Plate: Deanery of Rockland', *Norfolk Archaeology*, XVII (1910), p. 270; the tankard is illustrated here, fig 5.

4 For example, a communion cup and paten inscribed 'E. Dono Theophili: Williams. 1706' struck only with TH over a star, belonging to SS Peter and Paul, East Harling; see Hopper (as note 3) p174.

5 C. Hartop (ed), *East Anglian Silver 1550–1750*, exhib. cat. Cambridge 2004 (hereafter EAS), pp62–63, nos 32 and 33.

It has been suggested that some of the marks struck on the numerous small spoons and forks engraved with foliate scrolls, usually silver-gilt, which have survived from about 1685 to 1720 (for example TH, and AH crowned) may be marks used by Norwich makers during this period (C. Ticktum, *Norwich Silver, From the earliest times to the closure of the Assay in 1702*, Norwich, 2006, pp103–05). These items are, however, highly-finished products of large, specialist workshops most likely run by Huguenots in London: for attributions of some of these marks to members of the Har(r)ache family, see D. McKinley, 'AH crowned cinquefoil below and HA crowned cinquefoil below: a possible attribution', *Silver Studies*, no16, 2004, pp77–80.



1 Market Place, Norwich, by Robert Dighton, 1799. The brick façade in the centre of the far side conceals what was probably the goldsmiths' guildhall up until the early eighteenth century. At street level, this side of the market place had always been known as Goldsmiths' Row and had had goldsmiths' shops since the Middle Ages. The two shops occupying the right four bays at ground level were occupied by silversmiths through the eighteenth century; the one on the far right was occupied by the Rossi family until 1936. (Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery)

teenth century. The city remained at the centre of the richest farming area of Britain, but sea trade, that other reason for the county's greatness in earlier times, was turning away from East Anglia, favouring those ports on the western side of Britain which traded with the Americas, the Indies, Africa and Asia. Norwich went from its medieval role as the second city in the kingdom to that of moderately-sized cathedral city. However it would be a mistake to think of Norwich as a backwater in the eighteenth century, either politically or economically. The Norfolk tradition to 'do different', manifested in its traditional extremes of religion, both Protestant and Catholic, in the sixteenth century, continued in its radical politics. When the silversmith Thomas Havers was Mayor in 1708, he sought to stop the Duke of Norfolk's players from entering the city not, as has often been said, out of any puritan zeal, but because of a fear of Catholic – and by extension Jacobite – unrest.⁶ Later in the century, city and county politics were played against a backdrop of periodic outbursts of mob-driven radical Jacobinism. Economically, the city became the centre of a new banking industry based not on precious metal as practised by the goldsmith bankers of the late seventeenth century, but on a paper economy. Largely driven by Quakers, who found Norwich a tolerant city, this network of banks serviced the increasingly prosperous large-scale tenant farmers of the great estates which had pioneered 'improved' agriculture such as Holkham and Houghton, as well as the smaller land-owning farmers of the east and south of the county.

All this contributed to make Norwich a vibrant social centre with shops selling luxury goods, but what large-scale silverware was sold was made in the large specialist workshops of London and, later in the century, in Birmingham and Sheffield. Isaac Marsh's shop in the Market Place stocked 'London, Sheffield and Birmingham Wares'.⁷ Yet although the market for luxury goods was strong in provincial centres such as Norwich, large capital expendi-

6 EAS (as note 5), p63.

7 The shop can be seen to the right of the King's Head in Dighton's view. [fig 1] The large late seventeenth-century façade in the centre of the far side is located on what was known in the Middle Ages as Goldsmiths' Row. It evidently occupies the site of the Norwich goldsmiths' guildhall (see Jonathan Mardle [Eric Fowler], 'A Fine Norwich Building', *Eastern Daily Press*, 20 June 1973 and Christopher Garibaldi, 'The guildhall of

the Norwich company of goldsmiths' in EAS (as note 5), pp31–35. The shop on the right side of the building, now no9, was occupied from the 1830s onwards by George Rossi, who was succeeded by his son Theodore in 1875. When Theodore Rossi retired in 1936 it ended the continuous occupation of the site by a goldsmith since the Middle Ages. A subsequent article will discuss the Rossis and other goldsmiths and retailers of Norwich in the nineteenth century.

tures on silver took place in London. In the seventeenth century the grandees had never patronised the goldsmiths of Norwich – they had ordered their silver from the shops of Lombard Street or Cheapside when business and the court took them to London. At the end of the eighteenth century the same was true. The ledgers of Parker & Wakelin and their successors list a succession of Norfolk landowning names: Bacon, Bagge, Wodehouse, Townshend and Beauchamp-Proctor.⁸ James Woodforde, parson of Weston Longville, dined at the bishop's palace in Norwich on 4 September 1783 and marvelled at the circular temple in the middle of the table, obviously purchased from Wakelin & Tayler or some other fashionable London shop.

But the growing consumer base for luxury goods demanded something in between the vast neo-classical service ordered by the Earl of Leicester from London in the 1780s and small personal items in silver and gold. Pairs of sauceboats, sets of forks and coffee pots were sold by the Norwich retailers. The Norwich civic plate has work bearing the marks of Alice Sheen, Richard Bayley, Joseph Sanders and others. In 1734 the Corporation turned to Nathaniel Roe I, a goldsmith with a shop on the Market Place, to convert a selection of old plate into more modern salt cellars and the sauceboats needed for the new ways of dining. He in turn ordered them from London manufacturers. In 1761 further culling of outmoded pieces in the civic plate enabled the court to purchase more sauceboats (with the mark of William Cripps) and 25 spoons.

As communication with London became faster and cheaper, more and more of those who Daniel Defoe described as the 'middling sort' also made their larger silver purchases in London. Local shops stocked, in addition to watches and inexpensive jewellery, only small silver items such as the second-hand butter boat, salver, pint mug and spoons the diarist James Woodforde purchased from Isaac Marsh, next to his inn at the sign of the Eagle and Pearl, on 31 May 1776 (see below, p78). On the same day he visited Marsh's establishment, Woodforde, in Norwich to buy furnishings for his newly-acquired parsonage house at Weston Longville, attended an auction in St Giles's Street and purchased more spoons, a half pint mug, a 44oz salver and a whale bone-handled punch ladle, paying between 5s 10d and 6s an ounce for them.⁹

Depictions of the interiors of eighteenth-century goldsmiths' shops are virtually non-existent. A hitherto unpublished drawing of a shop, part of a recently-discovered album of views and scenes of local life by Charles Catton Snr and his son, also Charles, gives us a glimpse into a Norwich goldsmith's shop during this period with Rowlandson-like humour.[fig 2] It could depict Marsh's, or Nathaniel Roe's, both of which were on the Market Place. The album was acquired by Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery in 2005.



2 Interior of a silversmith's shop in Norwich, by Charles Catton Jnr, circa 1780. This may depict Nathaniel Roe's shop on the Market Place which had exhibited 'curious and costly' automata of James Cox a few years before, or Isaac Marsh's, at the sign of the Eagle and Pearl.

(Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery)

See colour illustration p20



3 Riding whip, tortoiseshell and silver, inscribed 'Elizabeth Lubbock Norwich 1713'. Typical of the small unmarked wares which no doubt continued to be made in Norwich well into the eighteenth century, often attracting the attention of the London Goldsmiths' Company's visiting Wardens. (Private collection)

8 For the customers of Parker & Wakelin, see Helen Clifford, *Silver in London: The Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760–1776*, New Haven 2004, pp210–12; see also Garrard Ledgers,

Gentleman's Ledger 1812–16 (VAM 36, GL2).

9 R.L. Winstanley (ed), *James Woodforde, Diary of the first six Norfolk years 1776–1781*, vol 1, 1776–1777, London 1981, p49.



4.1 and 4.2 Spout cup, silver, Norwich ?1701, struck with pseudo-hallmarks of a figure of Justice above a backwards N and F:/SIL in an oval and with maker's mark JD above a star. (Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery)



5 Tankard, Norwich 1702-03, maker's mark HA for Robert Hartsonge, Arthur Haslewood III or Robert Harwood. Struck with the new standard marks of Britannia, lion's head erased and date letter, and with a maker's mark HA. (Christie's)



6 Marks from a tankard, silver, Norwich, ?1697-1702, struck with F SIL/N flanked by a leopard's head and lion's head erased in a rectangular punch and with Elizabeth Haslewood's maker's mark. (Christie's)

Nathaniel Bolingbroke

Born in 1757, the son of James and Susan Bolingbroke. Describing himself as a 'Working Jeweller, Silversmith, Engraver, Sword Cutler, and Grinder' in an advertisement in the *Norwich Mercury* for 30 March 1782, Bolingbroke had recently moved from Haymarket to the Market Place. He is listed in Chase's 1783 *Directory* as 'Working Cutler' at no53 Market Place. His brother-in-law was Sir John Harrison Yallop of Dunham and Yallop (see p79). Bolingbroke died in 1840.

Cairns and Frears

Listed as 'Silversmiths and Cutlers' at no42 London Lane in Chase's *Norwich Directory* of 1783.

James Daniell (EAS, pp68-70)¹⁰

Daniell was Sheriff in 1707 and was one of the witnesses to Elizabeth Haslewood's will in 1715. A spouted cup engraved with the date 1701 in Norwich Castle Museum is struck with his maker's mark JD above a star and pseudo-hallmarks of a figure of Justice above a backwards N and F:/SIL in an oval.¹¹[figs 4.1 & 4.2] Two trefid spoons are also in Norwich Castle Museum struck with his mark and F SIL/N flanked by a leopard's head and lion's head erased in a rectangular punch which appears to be the same punch used by Elizabeth Haslewood on a tankard (see below).

Robert Hartsonge (or Harsonge or Hartstonge)

Apprenticed to Edward Wright II, he was admitted a freeman 17 October 1672.¹² He was appointed assay master on 1 July 1702.¹³ The father of his late master, Edward Wright I, is recorded as assay master of the Norwich guild between 1624 and 1635. The Wright's workshop may have used the pseudo-hallmarks of a leopard's head, fleur-de-lis, TS or ST conjoined and an initial, usually G, recorded on items between about 1649 and 1683.¹⁴ Robert Hartsonge's son William was admitted to Caius College, Cambridge, in 1700, his father described as a clockmaker.¹⁵

Bartholomew Harwood

Born in 1698, the son of Thomas Harwood, he was admitted a free-man in 1728. He served as Alderman in 1742 and Mayor in 1760.¹⁶ He had many business interests. He was assessed for £20 land tax in the parish of St Peter Mancroft in 1749.¹⁷ He owned property in Catfield, Sutton and Hickling. He was a founder member of the first Masonic Lodge in Norwich in 1724.¹⁸ He married Frances, daughter of William Russell, ironmonger, of St Peter Mancroft. He died intestate in 1768 and is buried in the nave of St Peter Mancroft.

Thomas Harwood

The son of the Revd John Harwood, vicar of Catton and Lakenham, Thomas Harwood was apprenticed to John Leverington in London.¹⁹ He was admitted a freeman of Norwich as a goldsmith on 6 April 1698. He may be related to the London goldsmith John Harwood, who was apprenticed in 1722 to William Scarlett, a London specialist spoonmaker who came from East Dereham, Norfolk.²⁰ Harwood served as Sheriff in 1713, Alderman in 1718 and

was Mayor in 1728. The mayoral election in that year was hotly contested: Harwood received 1,262 votes and his rival, the Whig Captain Black, 1,262. Despite a recount in which 20 bad votes were found, Harwood was confirmed as Mayor. He was Treasurer of the Anguish Charity Schools; a portrait of him by John Theodore Heins, commissioned by the trustees in 1737, is in the civic portrait collection.²¹[fig 7] Harwood lived in St Peter Parmentergate. He was fined by the London Goldsmiths' Company for substandard silver on their visits in 1703, 1705, 1706 and 1719. His death is reported in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 4 July 1746. The *Norwich Mercury* for 31 July 1736 records:

Last Wednesday one Samuel Yemms went to Mr. Harwood's shop in the Market-place, and offered to sell a Piece of Plate, which appeared to be some Plate cut in pieces, and very much Battered; upon which he was stopt and searched, and several other pieces were found in his Pockets, and being carried before Mr. Mayor, he there confess'd it was stolen out of a House at Wisbech, and his wife is in Wisbech Gaol on Account of the said Robbery. The said Yemms is committed to our Gaol.

The Haslewood family (EAS, pp49–63)

Elizabeth Haslewood died 22 January 1714/5, aged 71. Her will mentions 'charges of plate' suggesting that she was still managing the family shop in Cockey Lane, although her son, Arthur III, had been admitted a freeman on 1 July 1702. He was fined for substandard silver by the London Goldsmiths' Company in 1703, 1705 and 1719 indicating possibly that plate continued to be made in the Haslewood shop after the end of hallmarking in the city. Small items which were exempt from hallmarking still had to be of the required standard of alloy. Elizabeth Haslewood's maker's mark appears in conjunction with pseudo-hallmarks of F SIL/N flanked by a leopard's head and lion's head erased in a rectangular punch on a tankard.²²[fig 6] Arthur Haslewood III was churchwarden of St Andrew's in 1717. In the Nelthorpe Papers in the Lincolnshire Archives is 'An account of plate belonging to Thomas Seaman esq. weighed and valued by Arthur Haslewood at £187'.²³ He died in 1740 and was buried with his parents in the nave of St Andrew's church.

Thomas Havers (EAS, pp63–67)

Mayor in 1708, Havers appears to have continued to produce silver after official hallmarking ceased, until at least 1706. The *Norwich Gazette* records his death in March 1732/3: 'Norwich, March 10. On Saturday last past died Thomas Havers, Esq: The Senior Alderman of this City above the Chair, who was Sheriff here in 1701 and



7 Thomas Harwood (?1664/5 - 1746) by John Theodore Heins, signed and dated 1737, oil on canvas, 244.8x153.3cm (8x5ft). (The Corporation of Norwich, presented by the Trustees of the Charity Schools, 1737)

10 For references to EAS, see note 5.

11 Robin Emmerson, *Norwich Silver in the collection of Norwich Castle Museum*, Norwich 1981, p19, no6.

12 Percy Millican (ed), 'The Register of the Freemen of Norwich 1548–1713', and W.M. Rising and P. Millican, 'An index of indentures of Norwich freemen Henry VII –

George II', *Norfolk Record Society*, vol 29, 1959.

13 Court Book, no26, p129d.

14 For a discussion of this group and its possible attribution to the Wright workshop, see EAS (as note 5), pp71–84.

15 Clifford and Yvonne Bird (eds), *Norfolk & Norwich Clocks and Clockmakers*, Chichester 1996, p111.

16 Millican; and Rising and Millican (as note 12).

17 G.N. Barrett, *Norwich Silver and its Marks 1565–1702*, Norwich 1981, p86. Grimwade records a Bartholomew Harwood (seemingly not connected) as a smallworker working in Southwark (Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697–1837*, 3rd edn, London 1990, p539, with additional material from Robert Barker, p75).

18 Basil Cozens-Hardy and Ernest A. Kent, *The Mayors of Norwich 1403–1835 being Biographical Notes on the Mayors of the old Corporation*, London 1938, p129. H. le Strange, *History of Freemasonry in Norfolk, 1724–1895*, Norwich 1896, p11.

19 Cozens-Hardy and Kent, (as note 18), p117.

20 Grimwade (as note 17), p539.

21 Andrew Moore and Charlotte Crawley, *Family and Friends, A Regional Survey of British Portraiture*, exhib cat, Norwich 1992, p205, no38.

22 Sold with Victorian chased decoration Waddington, McLean & Co., Toronto, 17 March 1976 lot 80 and again, without chasing, Christie's London, 13 June 2001 lot 152.

23 NEL IV/22/5.



8 Trefid spoon, Norwich
?1697–1702, struck
with F SIL/N flanked
by a leopard's head and
lion's head erased in a
rectangular punch and
with Thomas Havers'
maker's mark. (Private
Collection)

Mayor in 1708'; described in the administration papers of his estate (he died intestate, perhaps suddenly) as 'late of the city of Norwich', suggesting he had retired from business by then. He used the pseudo-hallmark of F SIL/N flanked by a leopard's head and lion's head erased in a rectangular punch, which was also used by Elizabeth Haslewood, in conjunction with his maker's mark.²⁴[fig 8] He was fined for substandard silver by the London Goldsmiths' Company in 1686, 1703 and 1707.

Richard Hutchinson (EAS, pp96–98, 117)

Admitted free, by birth, in 1736, he was one of a large family of goldsmiths who worked in Great Yarmouth, Colchester and other East Anglian towns. He had a shop in Cockey (later London) Lane which appears to have been continued by his son, also Richard, described as a jeweller in 1787. The Norwich newspapers recorded in that year that a labourer who found a 'metal basin of antique design' while fishing for eels at Saham Mere took it to Hutchinson who pronounced it to be of brass.²⁵ Richard Hutchinson is listed as a 'Goldsmith and Jeweller' at 19 Cockey Lane in Chase's Norwich Directory of 1783.

Isaac Marsh

Married Elizabeth Clarke in 1767. Evidently the successor to the Harwoods in 1769. Listed in Chase's 1783 Norwich Directory at no31 Market Place. In his diary for 31 May 1776, James Woodforde records:

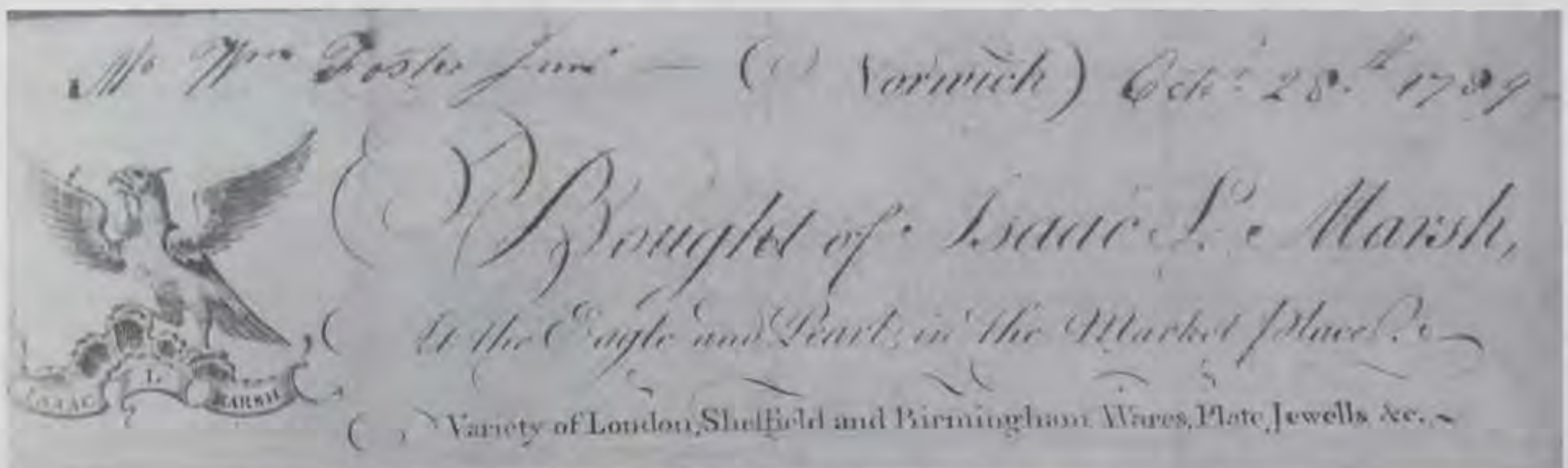
I stepped into a Toy Shop adjoining the King's Head, kept by a Mr. Mash [sic] and bought there first of all a brace of Pistols second-hand and old-ish, steel-mounted, for which I paid 0: 12: 0.

Woodforde also purchased a pint mug, a small salver, four dessert spoons and a butter boat, all second-hand.²⁶ A billhead dated 28 October 1789 records Marsh at the Eagle and Pearl in the Market Place, Norwich, listing a 'Variety of London, Sheffield and Birmingham Wares, Plate, Jewells &c'. [fig 9] The bill, for mourning rings and a locket, totalling £25 13s, was receipted 27 November 1798 by R. Dunham. This shopman evidently succeeded to the business around the turn of the century and went into partnership with John Harrison Yallop. Trading as Dunham & Yallop, they advertised frequently from 1806 onwards as the 'Lucky Lottery Office' and 'Goldsmiths and Jewellers'. A billhead of 1814 records them as

24 Recorded on two trefid spoons (EAS (as note 5), p67, nos39 and 40).

25 Norfolk & Norwich Notes & Queries, Series 3, 13 August 1904, p64.

26 Winstanley (as note 9).



9 Bill from Isaac Marsh dated 28 October 1789, 'at the Eagle and Pearl in the Market Place, Norwich' receipted by R. Dunham who, in partnership with John Harrison Yallop, occupied the same premises from 1806 onwards. (Norfolk Record Office, BOL/4/16/f46)

'Goldsmiths, Silversmiths & Cutlers, Dealers in Tea, Coffee and Chocolate. State Lottery Office, no.10 Market Place'. Yallop, who was knighted in 1831, was Mayor in 1815 and 1831.²⁷ The shop was later occupied by George Etheridge and William Ellis who continued to use the eagle and pearl symbol. An advertisement for them of 1869 lists them as 'Goldsmiths, Jewellers and Watchmakers, Electro Platers and Gilders &c'.²⁸

Nathaniel Roe I

The son of Mathew Roe, a cutler of Norwich, he was apprenticed to William Scarlett (see above sub Thomas Harwood) in 1702, and admitted a freeman of the London Company of Broderers, like his master, in 1710. Although he entered a mark as a largeworker at Goldsmiths' Hall sometime between October 1710 and June 1712 with an address in Foster Lane, no work is recorded bearing his mark. His entry in the ledger is annotated 'Gon to live at Norwich'.²⁹ He was admitted a freeman of Norwich on 23 November 1717 and in 1724 was, along with Bartholomew Harwood, admitted as one of the founder members of Norwich's first Masonic Lodge.³⁰ He was appointed churchwarden of St Peter Mancroft in 1727. In 1734 Roe re-gilt the Reade salt and was commanded by the Corporation to 'melt down the 2 belly potts, 6 salvers, five pottingers & 12 Salts & 6 spoons' weighing a total of 273oz 15dwt and replace them with modern silver. The following March he presented the court with:

4 Salvers	wt.	119 oz	15 dwts
1 pair of Sauce Boats		36	9
8 Salts		24	4
12 Spoons		28	0
		208	8

With the exception of the salvers and seven of the spoons, these items remain in the civic plate. The sauce-boats bear the mark of Joseph Sanders and hallmarks for 1735/36, while the salt cellars are marked by James Smith.³¹ Roe was Sheriff of Norwich in 1737 and in 1749 he was assessed for Land Tax at £250.³² The Roes and the Harwoods evidently had the two largest shops that sold silver, jewellery and watches in Norwich. The *Norwich Gazette* on 14 February 1736 recorded

At Nathaniel Roe's, Goldsmith, in the Market Place in Norwich, is to be seen a curious Repeating Musical Clock made by William Newman of Norwich: which for neatness of work and the great variety of its motions, may be justly called a Masterpiece. It plays 12 several tunes to great perfection and has given entire satisfaction to all who have heard it. This extraordinary machine is either to be sold for 50 gns. Or raffled for by 13 persons at 4 gns. each.³³

In 1744 a stolen watch described as 'upon the Dial Plate, Roe, Norwich' was advertised in the *Norwich Gazette or Accurate Weekly Intelligencer*.³⁴ He married Anna Heins, daughter of John Theodore Heins, the German emigré artist who worked in Norwich, in 1749. Nathaniel Roe made his will on 12 March 1757 and it was proved on 24 March 1760. He is described as 'dealer in wines'. He appoints his son Nathaniel executor and leaves £1,000 to his grandson Nathaniel (see below) on his twenty-second birthday

and not before ... and it is my Will and Positive Order that Mrs Heins the Child's Grandmother or any of her Family shall not have any part of my Grandson's Fortunes in their hands or have anything to do with him in his Education or any other way whatever.³⁵



10 Nathaniel Roe I's mark entered at Goldsmiths' Hall, London between October 1710 and June 1712 (Grimwade no2396). (The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

Nathaniel Roe II

The son of Nathaniel I, he was admitted a freeman of Norwich in 1749. A Tory, he served as Sheriff in 1767 and Mayor in 1777.³⁶ His wife Frances died in 1752 leaving a son, also Nathaniel, who died aged 12 in 1764. He is recorded as 'Goldsmith and Jeweller' at no45 Market Place in Chase's *Norwich Directory* of 1783. Later he is recorded living in St Giles. He died aged 69, in 1795 and is buried along with others of his family, in St Peter Mancroft. He and other members of his family are buried in the nave of St Peter Mancroft.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Francesca Altman, Nigel Bumphrey, Andrew Moore and Norma Watt for their advice and assistance with this essay and to my wife, Juliet, for photographing the billhead and the Catton watercolour.

27 Norfolk Record Office Bolingbroke Papers, BOL/4/16/f22. Cozens-Hardy and Kent (as note 18), pp150-51.

28 Advertisement in the back of A.D. Bayne, A

Comprehensive History of Norwich, London 1869. See also *Norfolk & Norwich Notes & Queries*, 2 November 1901.

29 Grimwade (as note 17), p644.

30 Millican; and Rising and Millican (as note 12); le Strange (as note 18), p11.

31 Charles Oman, 'The Civic Plate and Insignia of the City of Norwich 2: The Civic Plate', *The*

Connoisseur, vol 156, 1964, p9.

32 Barrett (as note 17), p91.

33 Bird (as note 15), p136.

34 *ibid*, p150.

35 NA[PRO] /PROB/11/854.

36 Cozens-Hardy and Kent (as note 18), p135.

Miscellany

Gale Glynn has been reading Jeremy Black's The British Abroad. The Grand tour in the eighteenth century. Here are a few extracts from the paperback edition, 2003.

pp28-29. [Cherbourg 1768] Our landlord conducted us upstairs into a chamber, (for the French inns have no Parlours, nor Dining Rooms, but all Bedchambers) where they laid the cloth for supper, put for each of us a four prong silver fork, a silver spoon, and a small glass tumbler, which held about a quarter of a pint, but no knives; for it is the custom in France for every Frenchman to carry a knife in his pocket, with which they eat their meat: We told them we had got no knives and we must have some, they could only raise amongst the whole family a few old rusty ones (for they never clean them) and then they serv'd up supper, which consisted of soups boil'd and roast fowls, without any sauce, and so overdone that you might tear them to pieces. We asked for some melted butter and they brought up a silver porringer full, turned to clear oil, which we could not eat.

p31. Most tourists hurried through Lyons, but it was generally thought agreeable, and had many attractions. In 1765 Sir William Farrington found 'the situation wonderfully romantick, tis a most beautiful and noble city'.

He visited the factory making gold and silver wire with his servant who found it 'a most surprising sight. I drew some myself'.

p163. [Paris 1699] ... Here we did not eat on plate though at other public houses we did, and is very familiar in Paris among the better sort of people, particularly the coffee houses seem to abound in it, and have most of their vessels in silver, the room hung with tapestry, and 5 or 6 large looking glasses in one room, their chocolate, coffee and tea are dear, the former is 10d, the other[s] 4d a dish, but the liquor is good, and the measure large, and served on a silver salver with silver sugar dish and spoon, much spirits are drunk in their coffee houses, some biscuits or cakes being eaten with all sorts of liquors.

p261. [Edward Mellish, Paris, 1731] Last week I went to see the treasure of Saint Denis ... while I was observing these curiosities with much attention; a Priest told me seriously that if I would but touch those Holy Relicks, it might convert me, upon which I replied, that if by touch I could but convert those previous stones into gold and silver for my own use, I should make a better use of them, upon which he laughed, and so ended our dispute upon Religion.

On ascending the stairs, the Miss Dashwoods found so many people before them in the room, that there was not a person at liberty to attend to their orders; and they were obliged to wait. All that could be done was, to sit down at the end of the counter which seemed to promise the quickest succession; one gentleman only was standing there, and it is probable that Elinor was not without hopes of exciting his politeness to a quicker dispatch. But the correctness of his eye, and the delicacy of his taste, proved to be beyond his politeness. He was giving orders for a toothpick-case for himself, and till its size, shape, and ornaments were determined, all of which, after examining and debating for a quarter of an hour over every toothpick-case in the shop, were finally arranged by his own inventive fancy, he had no leisure to bestow any other attention on the two ladies, than what was comprised in three or four very broad stares; a kind of notice which served to imprint on Elinor the remembrance of a person and face, of strong, natural, sterling insignificance, though adorned in the first style of fashion.

Marianne was spared from the troublesome feelings of contempt and resentment, on this impertinent examination of their features, and on the puppyism of his manner in deciding on all the different horrors of the different toothpick-cases presented to his inspection, by remaining unconscious of it all; for she was as well able to collect her thoughts within herself, and be as ignorant of what was passing around her in Mr Gray's shop, as in her own bed-room.

At last the affair was decided. The ivory, the gold, and the pearls, all received their appointment, and the gentleman having named the last day on which his existence could be continued without the possession of the toothpick-case, drew on his gloves with leisurely care, and bestowing another glance on the Miss Dashwoods, but such a one as seemed rather to demand than express admiration, walked off with an happy air of real conceit and affected indifference.

Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, ch.XXXIII. (Previously in Newsletter 31.)

'Wicked William' was rather a mild nickname for the rotter William Wellesley-Pole, who married Catherine Tylney-Long (of Wanstead, Essex and Draycote, Wilts), dissipated her vast fortune and then left her. The following extract, quoting contemporary sources, is given to record their wedding favours:

The bride's dress exceeded in costliness and beauty the celebrated dress worn by Lady Morpeth at the time of her marriage, which was exhibited for a fortnight at least by her mother, the late Duchess of Devonshire. The dress of the present bride consisted of a robe of real Brussels point lace over white satin. Her head was ornamented with a cottage bonnet of the same material with two ostrich feathers. She likewise wore a deep lace veil trimmed with swansdown. The dress cost seven hundred guineas, the bonnet one hundred and fifty, and the veil two hundred, and she wore a necklace which cost £25,000. ... It was to elude the eager curiosity of the crowd that they retired from the Church by the south door. Yesterday the wedding favours were distributed among their numerous friends (the number exceeded eight hundred), composed wholly of silver, and unique in form, those for the ladies having an acorn in the centre, and gentlemen's a star; each cost a guinea and a half. The inferior ones, for domestics and others, were made of white satin ribbon, with silver stars and silver balls and fringe.

... The Bridegroom was applied to by Dr Glass for the ring; but he had forgotten to procure this necessary testimonial ... as he left Church with his bride after the wedding he was tapped on the shoulder for £20,000.

Tim Couzens, *Hand of Fate, the history of the Longs...in Wiltshire*, 2001. (Previously in Newsletter 46.)

There's that dressing-case cost me two hundred, – that is, I owe two for it; and the gold tops and bottles must be worth thirty or forty. Please to put that up the spout, ma'am, with my pins, and rings, and watch and chain, and things. They cost a precious lot of money. Miss Crawley, I know, paid a hundred down for the chain and ticker. Gold tops and bottles, indeed! dammy. I'm sorry I didn't take more now. Edwards pressed on me a silver-gilt boot-jack, and I might have had a dressing-case fitted up with a silver warming-pan, and a service of plate. But we must make the best of what we've got, Becky, you know.

William Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*, ch XXX. (Previously in Newsletter 31.)

Lady Sarah Spencer (1787–1870) daughter of George, 2nd Earl Spencer, married 3rd Baron Lyttelton, writing to her favourite brother, the Hon. Robert Spencer, a Naval officer:

By the by, do you know, My Bob, that a thing has happened here in poor old England, which almost makes me fear that I shall live to see the time when we shall all paint our faces blue & yellow, wear rings thro' our noses, & dance round a bonfire where a few prisoners of war are roasting for our supper; when we shall hang up human bones for ornaments to our rooms, & in short be complete savages, as bad as any in Robinson Crusoe – What will you say when I tell you this thing? A young officer in our army, ay an officer, a man of rank & fortune, a man who was educated at Harrow & Cambridge, a schoolfellow of yours & Althorp's, Sir Godfrey Webster went with one of the expeditions to Spain (trembling all the way I am sure, he must be a coward) to fight the French. Well in some battle he somehow or other fell in with a French trumpeter, dead or alive; he says alive, I say dead, because If he had been alive tho' he had no arms, I am sure Sir Godfrey would never have ventured to go up to him and do what he did, cut off his head. When he had done this, what do you think happened next? Perhaps you think he did what you would have done, what any brave man would have done after having performed the duty of a soldier, (tho' why a soldier is to kill an unarmed enemy I don't see very well) that he felt something like pain at having had such a duty to perform, and then that he passed on leaving the wretched corpse & head to themselves – Not a bit of all this – He took the nasty head, and says he to himself 'this fellow has a fine round skull of his own, and a good set of teeth – I'll carry the skull away with me, and see what can be done with it' – He did carry it home, and having properly prepared it, took it aboard his transport and brought it to England, his barbarous thoughts running all the time on the best way of having it set. Yes Bob, he has had it set – He has employed Wirgman the jeweller (whom I shall abhor for ever after having done it) to set, to mount with gold, the trumpeter's skull in the shape of a drinking cup, with all the teeth left in, and the top taken out, to pour in the wine he means to drink out of this skull of a fellow creature whom he has killed – He gave 100 guineas for the mounting of this thing, and then it was to be seen at Wirgman's shop till t'other day; it is now sent home – All London has been made sick by it. There is no name of horror & disgust which has not been showered upon the amiable youth; till at last they say he is rather ashamed of himself pretty innocent, and won't show it to anybody.

From: Betty Askwith, *The Lytteltons. A Family Chronicle of the Nineteenth Century*, London 1975. (Contributed by Karel Citroen. Previously in Newsletter 21.)

Basics

Teapots: small, large and in films

Teapots of any period are not popular at present: fashion has passed them by. A quick brew of a teabag in a mug has temporarily replaced the formal ceremony of afternoon tea. When a teapot is used, for some reason people too often choose to use a ceramic example, often cracked and usually a bad pourer, to a silver example that probably functions better and retains heat. Many eighteenth-century silver teapots are, of course, well past their sell-by date, having been much abused in the past: 'tired' is the polite expression for an example such as *fig 6*, but most are still watertight. Don't bother about polishing – just use them!

From the 1840s onwards the fashion was for matching teaset of increasing size, both in terms of capacity and number of utensils, and a surprisingly high proportion of such sets are still wholly or partly complete – not necessarily for use but for decoration. These will be the subject in a future journal, except for the following point, which can be illustrated with an eighteenth-century set and one of a hundred years later.

Those who enjoy costume dramas, either on screen or

on stage, are nearly always sure of a hit when playing the game of 'spot the error' and focusing on silver. While furniture and costumes are researched with enormous care, the drinking of tea or coffee is the graveyard of historical accuracy, the most commonly seen mistake being the use of reproduction or revival objects such as *fig 2* in place of the real thing. In a recent version of *Vanity Fair*, Becky Sharp was seen (at the time of Waterloo) using a teaset made some fifty or sixty years later – but that was the film that replaced the street lamps in Great Pulteney Street in Bath with reproductions of gas lamps which, in order to meet modern regulations (they have been left *in situ*), are several feet too high! They tried ...

The ability to see the sometimes very subtle differences in shape and size and proportion is crucial to recognising pieces that have been altered or faked, or are reproductions.

With some exceptions, all the illustrations are of British silver. Continental teapots and tea sets will be the subject of a future *Basics* page.

Further reading

Philippa Glanville and Hilary Young (eds), *Elegant Eating* (2002)

Stockspring Antiques, *Tea, Trade and Tea Canisters*, (2002)

R. Emmerson, *British Teapots and Tea Drinking*, (1992)

Marking

Most teapots are marked on the underside or, from the early nineteenth century, on the body (usually to the right of the handle) and also on the lid. A silver handle should also be marked, so too a detachable finial and its screw. Look to see that the marks match. Under new EU regulations, only the body is assayed.

Handles

It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a handle is the original. Most were made of fruit-wood, but bone or ivory were also used, sometimes stained. Silver handles were used in Scotland in the eighteenth century, but in England are usually from the early nineteenth century onwards, with ivory fillets to stop heat spreading from the main pot to the handle. Composition or plastic handles were often used through the twentieth century. Stylistically, a C- or S-curve is sometimes replaced by an angular design.



1 Richard Crossley, London 1797/98



2 Roberts & Belk, Sheffield 1882/83



3 Sarah Holaday, London 1723/24.



5 Thomas Bradbury & Sons, London 1918/19.



4 Marks of Edward Vincent, London 1723/24.

Many octagonal and spherical teapots of the early eighteenth-century have later armorials but those in *fig 3* appear to be contemporary. The popularity of the form has led to faking and alterations, and *fig 4* was withdrawn from a sale in the 1960s when doubts were raised about it. There is no record of the exact complaint, but concern probably focused on the shape of the octagonal foot and the cover hinge. *Fig 5* is in the spirit of the revived 'Queen Anne' style so popular from about 1880 onwards.

Fig 6 has obviously been well used; the surface is careworn and the engraving softened by cleaning. The condition of *fig 7* in comparison is vastly better, the depth of the bright-cut engraving still resulting in clarity and crispness of line. The teapot has a stand, but the button finial is probably a later replacement.



6 Robert Hennell, London 1793/94.



7 John Hutson, London 1788/89.



8 London circa 1810.



9 London circa 1815.



10 Emes & Barnard, London 1817/18.

In previous issues of the journal

Basics:

Spoons (no16 2004)

Sauceboats (no 19 2005)

Visual identification:

Beakers (no 16 2004)

Chalices and goblets

(no15 2003)

Sauceboats and sauce tureens (no 19 2005)

All photos: Sotheby's (not to scale)

Continued on next page.

Whilst silver was the most popular material for teapots in the early years of the eighteenth century (if you could afford the tea, you might well afford the silver) the market for tea wares, but not coffee pots, was largely lost to porcelain and pottery mid-century, so there are few teapots in rococo taste.[*fig 21*]

Not all Georgian silver is as well-proportioned as people like to believe. *Figs 8–10* show the transition from late eighteenth-century elegance [*figs 6–7*] to pots of greater capacity but also clumsy proportions, during the Regency period. Numerous examples of this type survive, often in poor condition. Note that all three have silver handles.

A visual approach to identification: 4



11

Joseph Clare, London 1716/17.



12

Daniel Fueter, New York, circa 1755.



13

Christopher Canner, London 1722/23.



14

Robert Harper & Son, London 1881/82.



15

John Edwards, London 1731/32



16

Sampson Bennett, Exeter 1759.



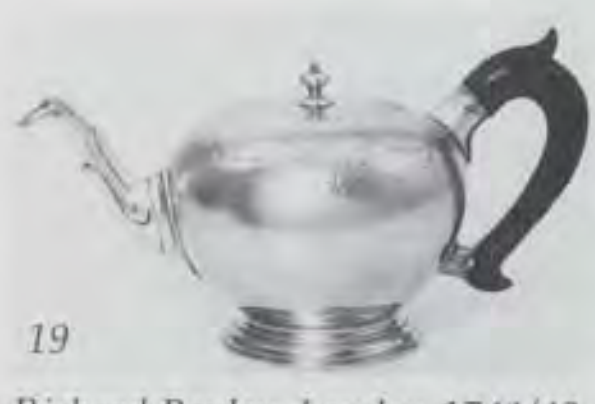
17

Jacob Hurd, Boston circa 1735.



18

Edward Barnard & Sons, London 1862/63.



19

Richard Bayley, London 1741/42.



20

John Main, Edinburgh, 1731.



21

Francis Crump, London 1767/68.



22

Benjamin Smith, London 1829/30.



23

Henry Wilkinson & Co., Sheffield 1853/54.



24

Maker's mark possibly Harleux, French, circa 1900.



25

Paul Storr for Storr & Mortimer, London 1834/35.



26

Philip Rundell for Rundell, Bridge & Rundell, London 1820/21.



27

London circa 1780.



28

R & S. Garrard & Co., London 1874/75.



29

Birmingham Guild of Handicraft, Birmingham 1899/1900.



30

Napper & Davenport, Birmingham 1922/23.

Museum collections

Museums are the repositories of objects that cover the full spectrum of quality, condition and desirability. Although curators, in their writings and in the display of their collections, put understandable emphasis on the finest pieces, they are all conscious of the fact that somehow over the course of time they have become guardians of a range of every-day objects, some of no particular significance, but which are excellent teaching tools and which may be more comprehensible – closer to home – than masterpieces, for many of their visitors. In Journals 8 and 9 John Hyman had the excellent idea of highlighting such pieces in Colonial Williamsburg's collection; the plan to continue this series somehow sadly went awry, but was not forgotten, and it is here revived with two pieces from the reserve collection of the Indianapolis Museum of Art, both with an agricultural interest.

I very much hope that other curators will take up the idea and contribute to future issues.

VB



Dish, maker's mark J.S, Dublin 1869/70, retailed by West & Son. Diameter 40.6cm (16in).

The dish is inset with 16 medallions presented to Thomas Seymour of Ballemoy Castle, for various agricultural events between 1838 and 1869; their inscriptions are abbreviated below:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Cattle show 1848 | best 10 Hogget Rams, long wool, |
| 2. Royal Agricultural | 1838, cattle shew autumn |
| Improvement Society of Ireland | 9. Royal Dublin Society |
| (instituted 1841) [RAIS] 1845 | 10. RAIS 1844 |
| 3. Ballinasloe District Farming | 11. Royal Dublin Society; for the |
| Society 1853; for the best 3-yr old | second best ten Hogget Rams, 1839 |
| heifer | autumn shew |
| 4. Ballinasloe District Agricultural | 12. RAIS 1843 |
| Society 1869; Best five ewe hoggets | 13. National Horse Show 1866, for |
| 5. Royal Dublin Society; for best | 4 year old filly and best action 1st |
| Scotch Polled Milch Cow 1842 | class |
| 6. Ballinasloe Union Agricultural | 14. RAIS 1843 |
| Society; for the best bull 1844 | 15. Royal Dublin Society, for the |
| 7. RAIS; 1842 | second best pen of Hogget Rams |
| 8. Royal Dublin Society; for the | 16. RAIS 1845 |



Tankard, Benjamin Mordecai or Benjamin Mountigue, London 1787/88, with an added spout and finial, maker's mark HH, probably for Henry Holland. Engraved:

Presented by Sir P.P.P. Acland, Bart, at the Taunton Agricultural Association to Wm M. Gibbs, for the best Two Year old Heifer. Bred by the owner Novr 23rd 1819.

It is interesting that the spout, finial and chasing were added some 20 years after the presentation of the tankard. Perhaps it served as a trophy twice over, or maybe the owner wished to make the original tankard into a more useful pouring utensil and at the same time succumbed to the fashion for adding decoration, in which case the chaser chose to illustrate the already-existing inscription. The practice of later chasing seems to have begun in the 1820s. The firm of Henry Holland is described as 'silver-smiths, polishers and dealers in second-hand plate' in the 1850s.

The present acquisitions policy at the Indianapolis Museum of Art is for pieces of a rather different nature to the above. A pendant by Henry Wilson (1864–1934) made about 1908, was purchased in 2005; a cup by Jean-Valentin Morel was illustrated in colour in *Silver Studies* no16; and a ewer and basin, Antonio Cortelazzo, circa 1870, featured in no15, p169.

We are grateful to Barry Shifman for his assistance with these entries.

Miscellany

Although Lady Charlotte Schreiber is not known primarily as a collector of silver, her journals mention numerous items that she saw on her travels. Her writings are fascinating, too, for their descriptions of the many dealers in 'curiosities' that she visited and details of domestic life and travel. Here is a sample.

27 June 1878 Odessa

In our search for a curiosity shop we had the good fortune to find out a watchmaker who buys and sells such fine things as he can pick up. We got from him a little Jewish lamp of prettily worked silver. He tells us that the Poles had many treasures which, by marriage, etc, have frequently come into the hands of the Russians; the war has occasioned many of these to be brought into the market; he has promised to let us know if he meets with anything in our line during our stay in these parts – and after dinner he came to our Hotel to look at our objects and learn more particularly what we sought for; his name, Maurice Stern, Deribas St. – he is an Austrian brought up in Switzerland.

30 September 1879 Leeuwarden

We also bought a few trifles of de Vries, whose shop I do not like; he showed some important pieces, which purported to be repoussé silver.

1 October 1879

Our first care was to call on M. Dirks ... who received us very cordially, and, though he was very busy in numismatic studies, changed his dressing gown for his walking dress and came out with us. ... [he] took us also to the house of one of the Directors of a Hospital at Marsum.

This Hospital is in the happy possession of some most beautiful silver 'schotels' and ewers, of repoussé work of the finest period, and said to be the productions of Viana. It so happened that this Director had the said silver objects at his house for their more safe keeping, and thus we had an opportunity of examining them at leisure. ... We learnt [from M. Wigersma] that the great authority on plate in the town was M. Keiker, himself a worker in metals, and who had executed some very fine work in repoussé silver ... we ventured to make ourselves known to him, and got him to accompany us to De Vries' to look at their specimens, which he at once declared (as we had shrewdly suspected) to be 'galvano plastique'. M. Keiker is a charming old man.

5 October 1880 Dresden

Bought a piece of ornamental silver at Berthold's, and an ancient measuring staff at Salomons'. Afterwards in passing the shop of the great jeweller in the Alte Markt, C.S. saw a curious old repoussé dish with the effigy of George I of England of which we have taken the particulars.

Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals, confidences of a collector of ceramics and antiques, edited by her son Montague J. Guest, London 1911; these extracts taken from vol II.

At her house there was a little silver basket-strainer, and once remarking on this, she showed me a silver saucer pierced through with holes, and told me it was a relic of the times when tea was first introduced into England; after it had been infused and the beverage drank, the leaves were taken out of the teapot and placed on this strainer, and then eaten by those who liked with sugar and butter, 'and very good they were', she added. Another relic which she possessed was an old receipt-book, dating back to the middle of the sixteenth century. Our grandmothers must have been strong-headed women, for there were numerous receipts for 'ladies' beverages', &c., generally beginning with 'Take a gallon of brandy, or any other spirit.' ...

Mrs Gaskell, *The Last Generation in England*, 1849, originally published in Sartain's Union Magazine, printed as an appendix to *Cranford*, OUP paperback edition 1992. (Previously in Newsletter 36.)

19 August 1794

During our ride this morning Her Majesty and the Princesses went to Delamotte's [a local retailer] and bought many things from his shop which they made presents of. Her Majesty was so good as to give me a silver stand with a set of little glass bottles for vinegars, etc. Princess Elizabeth gave me a silver wine Gullet [sic] and Princess Elizabeth and Princess Mary made me a joint present of 12 large silver Table spoons. I have since received another present from the purchases of this morning and have added to this list a silver mustard pot the gift of Princess Augusta.

The following day :

I received today a present from Princess Royal of a silver cream jug bought at Delamotte's so that by this time my collection of plate from thence has become considerable.

F.M. Bladon (ed), *The Diaries of Col the Hon Robert Fulke Greville*, 1930. (Contributed by Timothy Kent. Previously in Newsletter 44.)

Greville was a member of George III's household and attendant on him at Weymouth.

The royal and aristocratic patronage of Wakelin & Tayler, 1776–92

LUKE SCHRAGER

The 'Garrard Ledgers',¹ running from 1735–1950, were rescued from oblivion by members of the Silver Society, one of whom, Arthur Grimwade, noted 'the wealth of material and insight into the goldsmiths' business, both particular and general that lay waiting to be mined'² from the ledgers. They form an overview of the business that was set up by George Wickes in Panton Street and continued there until well into the twentieth century under various styles of the name of Robert Garrard. The extant ledgers for Wakelin & Tayler give a detailed picture of the firm's clients but are very limited in the information they give as to their network of suppliers.

It is important to consider the Wakelin & Tayler partnership, that ran from 1776 to the death of William Tayler in 1792, as the successors of the first two phases of the business, which have been studied in detail by Elaine Barr in her 1980 book on George Wickes (1735–60) and by Helen Clifford, whose work on Parker & Wakelin (1760–76),³ was the basis for the dissertation from which this article derives. Both authors have demonstrated that the detail in the ledgers can be used to reveal much about the social history of the eighteenth century. This can be seen through the customers served by this important firm of retail goldsmiths and the items and services for which these individuals were invoiced.

Although this article concentrates on some of the royal and aristocratic customers supplied by Wakelin & Tayler, the list of clients in *Appendix A* shows that they were just a small portion of the client base. Some had been clients of the previous partnerships of the firm. In some cases this was a personal connection, such as the family of a former partner in the Panton Street concern, John Parker: his elder brother, Thomas, and also his mother-in-law Mrs Nixon. Wakelin & Tayler were the obvious choice for the '27 nurl'd motto rings' and 'enamelling a widow ring' commissioned following Mrs Nixon's

1721/22	George Wickes (1698-1761) registers first marks
1730-35	Wickes in partnership with John Craig, Norris Street
1735	Wickes moves to Panton Street
1747	Edward Wakelin joins Wickes and registers first mark
1750-60	Wickes in partnership with Samuel Netherton
1760-76	John Parker & Edward Wakelin (died 1784) in partnership as successors to Wickes
1776-92	John Wakelin & William Tayler
1792-1802	John Wakelin & Robert Garrard I
1802-18	Robert Garrard (died 1818)
1818-1946	Various partnerships and styles (Robert Garrard & Bros, etc) within the Garrard family, until the death of Sebastian Henry Garrard in 1946
1990-2006	Garrard merged with Asprey's.

In the words of Helen Clifford (p13) 'The ledgers up to 1818 comprise twenty books of customers' accounts, called 'Gentlemen's Ledgers' which run from the foundation of the business in 1735, and two Workmen's Ledgers covering the periods 1766-70 and 1793-99, as well as a few cash, stock and supply books.'

The Wakelin & Tayler records comprise eight Gentlemen's Ledgers (1776–92), one volume detailing the goods supplied to the partnership by the Crespell family, one day book and a small amount of correspondence.

Helen Clifford, in Appendix 1 (p208) lists suppliers from workmen's ledger no2 (circa 1766-73) and in Appendix 2 customers for 1766-70 from Gentlemen's Ledgers 6 & 7.

For the location of the Panton Street shop see *Silver Studies* special issues, no18 or no20.



1 Billhead for John Wakelin & William Tayler. (Private collection)

1 Now held by the Victoria and Albert Museum (hereafter VAM), in Blythe Road under reference AAD/1995.

2 Elaine Barr, *George*

Wickes, Studio Vista/Christie's, 1980, ppvii–viii.

3 Helen Clifford, *Silver in London, the Parker and Wakelin Partnership*, Yale University Press, 2004.

death⁴ and Thomas Parker continued to use the firm of Wakelin & Tayler as his agents in London⁵ as well as commissioning silver, including a set of ecclesiastical plate of 1791.⁶ The most unusual expenditure laid out on Parker's behalf was the £5 5s paid 'to Sir John Fielding for apprehending Matthew Furly' and the £1 10s 'for conveying him on board the hulk'.⁷ Furly was interred in the hulks for three years but there is no record of either his crime or his fate.⁸

Other patrons of the partnership had dealt with Parker & Wakelin, for example the 2nd Duke of Newcastle, whose bills issued by that partnership from 1774 remain in his papers⁹ and whom they had supplied from as early as 1772. Alongside significant plate orders¹⁰ Wakelin & Tayler invoiced Newcastle £25 in 1792

to have persons (Mr. Tayler and Wm. Brodie)¹¹ time to go to Clumber taking inventory & weighing plate & returning [] days, travelling expenses to & from there, carriage of the seals of W&T.¹²

This demonstrates the wider services that the firm provided for their patrons, including the royal family.

Wakelin & Tayler was the first Panton Street partnership to be given the accolade of Royal Goldsmith. In the eighteenth century to be 'Goldsmiths and Jewellers to His Majesty' was a signal honour. The earliest-noted bill-head with the title dates from 1782, [fig 1] which coincides with parliamentary reform of the Jewel House as part of the Economical Reform Act and Thomas Heming's subsequent loss of the royal monopoly.¹³ However junior members of the royal family, namely the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, had consistently patronised the Panton Street partnerships, as had their father Frederick, Prince of Wales¹⁴ and the ledgers show significant transactions invoiced to them.

The Dukes of Gloucester¹⁵ and Cumberland¹⁶ were the most senior peers of the realm and if their brother George III had died or been rendered incapacitated during the minority of the Prince of Wales they would have been senior parties in any Regency council, however unlike the aristocracy, the princes had relatively little

inherited wealth or property. In previous generations wealth had been generated through foreign marriages but both men made romantic matches to Englishwomen without substantial fortunes, which displeased the King. At least for a time, the Dukes appear to have been deprived of loans from the Jewel House.

The dealings of Gloucester and Cumberland with Wakelin & Tayler demonstrate how they appear to have solved this problem – they borrowed plate for important functions. Throughout the ledgers there are frequent references to 'loan[s] of a large quantity of plate with portage, men's time etc'.¹⁷ Often as much as 5,000oz, an amount significantly greater than the service commissioned to celebrate George III's return to sanity in 1789, was lent at any one time. For a loan of this magnitude a charge of £15 5s 0d was imposed. As well as being indicative of the dilemma of the royal dukes this reveals much about Wakelin & Tayler: they had significant stock that could be removed from the Panton Street shop without denuding this important resource; and they were able to make profits without the outlay involved in the retailing aspect of their activities.

However, both dukes also commissioned new plate from Wakelin & Tayler. The Duke of Cumberland commissioned a series of 'fine chas'd cup[s] & cover[s] with sailing boat and boy at top & case complete'¹⁸ at a regular cost of £21, while one example of 1782 cost £42.¹⁹ Combined with the regularity of the orders, the 'inscription opposite the medallion' on this example shows that these cups were commissioned for a specific purpose – possibly a prize of some description. There were also orders for smaller domestic wares such as 'a pair of gold enamelled sleeve buttons' (perhaps similar to those in fig 4) ordered by the Duke of Cumberland in 1777. The transactions show that the dukes did possess plate of their own, as there are frequent repairs to it detailed in the ledgers. In 1778 the Duke of Gloucester was invoiced for '[making] a handle to a tumbler & covering it with red leather' and the 'regilding of the inside of the tumbler'²⁰ costing a total of £1 6s.

The receipt of the Royal Warrant was an important mark of favour for the firm and undoubtedly increased



2 The remaining pieces of the service commissioned to celebrate the return to health of George III, retailed by Wakelin & Tayler, London 1788–90. (The Royal Collection © 2006, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)
See colour illustration p21

its prestige, both among its competitors and potential customers. In spite of the Royal Warrant there is no evidence of any orders from the Jewel House²¹ and the first orders received from the King appear in the ledgers in 1789 and were the most important that Wakelin & Tayler were to fulfill.

The portrait of George III [fig 3] illustrates an elaborate snuff box depicting important national events. It celebrates the recovery of George III from his debilitating attack of porphyria, then deemed insanity, on 10 March 1789. Fig 2 shows the neoclassical tureen, sugar vases, sauce boats and ladles which seem to be all that is left of the monumental service ordered by the King from Wakelin & Tayler for the feast to celebrate his recovery. This was a prestigious commission and Mrs Papendiek²² records that 'the new gold service of plate' was first used at a ball and supper held by the Queen and Princesses at Windsor Castle on 1 May 1789 'which exceeded anything of the kind ever given in this kingdom'. It warranted a full description and was included in the Annual Register.²³ The ledger entry for this 2,461oz 14dwt service, supplied to the King at a cost of £1475 9s 8d, is the only evidence of the original scale of the commission, as the bill is no longer in the Royal Archives.[Appendix B]

Together with the Hanover service, now at Waddesdon Manor,²⁴ this service represents the apex of royal neoclassical silver in the reign of George III. It is perhaps the best indication of his taste and his practical and economical nature, in contrast to that of George IV, so much in evidence in the royal silver extant today. It also shows George III's adherence to the laws of England – his laws. It has always been assumed that because significant amounts of earlier diplomatic and royal plate were exempt from hallmarking, commissions for the King and royal family were similarly exempt. The payment of £61 10s 0d in duty on the service shows that the King paid the duty that his government had introduced.²⁵

The supper at which this service was first used was of unusual grandeur even for the royal household. As part of the original order on 25 March Wakelin & Tayler were instructed to 'tak[e] out' not only 'the bruises' from existing plate but also the 'ciphers and coronets' from a number of knives, though it is unclear why it was necessary to do this. The knives could either have been of old manufacture, though this is unlikely as they would not have matched with the up-to-date design of the newly commissioned pieces, or he had acquired relatively newly fashioned, but second-hand pieces from elsewhere.

On 10 December 1789 the ledger entry headed 'the King' details 8 'ciphers & coronets' taken out from two dozen of each of the sizes of flatware, from the four dozen originally supplied. Although the financial transaction is not noted in the ledger it appears that they were sold back to Wakelin & Tayler, as Lord Hawkesbury, later 1st Earl of Liverpool, purchased '14 second hand table spoons, 30 3 prong 2nd hand forks, & 30 knives (were the King's)' as part of his extensive dinner service.²⁶

Although no list of the outworkers employed to make this service exists, it is possible to gain an impression of those employed. The ladles that remain in the Royal Collection bear the maker's mark of Richard Crossley, a leading flatware maker of the time, and the following items appear in the ledger detailing the pieces supplied by the Crespel workshop:²⁷

4 AAD/1995/7/13/f68.

5 AAD/1995/7/11/f252 et al.

6 AAD/1995/7/16/f212. See Clifford (as note 3), fig 165.

7 AAD/1995/7/11/f252.

8 The National Archives. T/539/1/270.

9 Newcastle Papers in Nottingham University Library.

10 AAD/1995/11/f71, AAD/1995/16/f60 & 312, AAD/1995/7/17/f154.

11 I have not been able to ascertain the exact status of William Brodie within the firm but presume that he was a shopman.

12 AAD/1995/7/f154.

13 James Lomax, 'Royalty and Silver: the role of the Jewel House in the eighteenth century', *Silver Society Journal*, no11 1999, pp133–39; a number of firms including Jefferys & Jones submitted cheaper tenders to supply plate to the Lord Chamberlain than Thomas Heming, and so took over the latter's role.

14 See Barr (as note 2) pp137–76 for his commissions.

15 Prince William (1743–1805), 3rd son of Frederick, Prince of Wales.

16 Prince Henry (1745–90), 4th son of Frederick, Prince of Wales.

17 AAD/1995/7/14/f12.

18 AAD/1995/7/11/f109.

19 AAD/1995/7/11/f109.

20 AAD/1995/7/11/f267.

21 The entries in Appendix A for Sir Horace Mann and Charles Frazer are the only obviously diplomatic patrons and these appear to be personal accounts, though AAD/1995/7/113 contains correspondence regarding outstanding debts and citing Secretary of State Broughton as a guarantor.

22 Assistant keeper of the wardrobe and reader to Queen Charlotte.

23 Jane Roberts (ed.), *George III and Queen Charlotte*, exhib cat, Royal Collection, 2004, p329.

24 Robert-Joseph Auguste, Paris 1776–85. See *The Silver Society Journal*, no14 2002, p18.

25 It has often been asserted that, due to the appearance of unhallmarked plate in the Royal Collection and in the surviving ambassadorial services, plate for these sources did not necessarily have to be passed by the assay office.

However, the £61 10s duty on the service shows that the King paid the tax his government had introduced in 1784.

26 AAD/1995/7/16/f233.

Lord Hawkesbury.

27 AAD/1995/7/31/f131.



3 Engraving, published by J. Clark, 1824. One plate from 'Representations of the embossed, chased & engraved subjects and inscriptions, which decorate the Tobacco Box and Cases, belonging to the Past Overseers' Society of ... Westminster'. It depicts one of the cases, commemorating George III's return to sanity. (Private collection)

	Weight			Cost		
2 fine chased tureens covers and stands	402	7	5/	100	10	
2 linings for do	55	3	1/	2	15	0
4 round gad. & shell bordered dishes	108	1	1/9	9	9	0
10 soup plates	199	15	9?	7	18	4
26 table plates	481	6	1/9?	19	0	19
8 fine chased sauce boats with lips	161	10	4/6	36	4	6
4 fine chased salts and 4 ladles	42	2	0	10	10	0
3 gadrooned waiters	67	14	1/	3	7	0
2 tureens	284	5	5/	71	0	0
linings to do	37	8	1/	1	17	0
3 bases	44	6	£5ea	15	0	0

Every item except these must, therefore, have emanated from one of the other unknown suppliers used by Wakelin & Tayler. The profit margins on all of these items are interesting to note. The tureen appears to be one of the '2 fine chased tureens, covers and stands' mentioned in the first entry and supplied by the Crespels for £100 10s – George III paid £136 8s 3d.

Royal patronage enhanced the reputation of any concern as it brought patronage from all levels of the Court. Many of the senior courtiers and aristocracy had either patronised Wakelin & Tayler before the Warrant or had chosen an alternative goldsmith and jeweller, but several lower ranking courtiers appear to have opened their accounts with the firm soon after 1782. Colonel Garth, one of the King's equerries and later rumoured to be the father of an illegitimate son by Princess Sophia, ordered his first items '4 oval beaded antique salts (shape of Salusbury's but without handles)'²⁸ on 30 August 1782 and was still a customer in 1792. After the Queen placed her first order in April 1788, her confidante and Mistress of the Robes, Mrs Schwollenburg, began to place orders for herself and 'for the Princess Royal', a teaset in the ledger for 10 September 1790.²⁹ This entry shows a negative aspect of royal patronage as Wakelin & Tayler were owed £30 10s 0d and were forced to make an 'abatement by compulsion'³⁰ of £13 4s.

Some departments of the royal household had employed Wakelin & Tayler long before the warrant was issued. From the beginning of the partnership the silver commissioned for the 'Chaplain's Room, St. James's' (presumably where they dined) had been produced by Wakelin & Tayler, in succession to Parker & Wakelin. None of this plate appears to have survived so that the 'inscription'³¹ added to each piece remains as much a mystery as the 'engraving dates of years on 12 plates 64 figures' for which 3s was charged on 2 October 1781.³² If this was simply the dining room for the royal chaplains it was exceptionally well funded, as in 1778 they were supplied with the following:

	Weight			Cost		
1778, June 4th: To 41 Gadroon'd plates	695	16	6/8	231	19	2
1778, June 4th: To Engraving an inscription				7	3	6
1778, June 4th: To 7 Baze bags 2/ each				0	14	0
1778, June 4th: To Engraving an additional inscription				0	3	6

Royal patronage of Wakelin & Tayler was undoubtedly important to their prestige but the Warrant was only granted six years into the partnership and tangible monarchical patronage began six years after that, unlike Rundell, Bridge & Rundell, whose meteoric rise stemmed directly from the patronage of the monarchy.

The royal family were the most high profile clients holding

28 AAD/1995/7/13/£269.

29 AAD/1995/7/16/£209.

30 It was customary to make a small deduction for prompt payment, known as an abatement.

31 eg AAD/1995/7/11/

£150.

32 AAD/1995/7/11/£74.

33 Clifford (as note 3), pp210–11.

accounts with Wakelin & Tayler but in purely financial terms their patronage alone would not have been sufficient to make a viable business, let alone enable it to continue. A nucleus of aristocratic clients had been inherited from the previous partnerships of the firm and the ledgers from 1776 to 1792 include 15 dukes, 6 marquesses and more than 50 earls among their pages. Helen Clifford records a number of these as having been customers in 1770.³³

Among the customers inherited from Parker & Wakelin was Lord Frederick Cavendish, uncle of the 5th Duke of Devonshire. The duke, three of his uncles and his uncle by marriage, the 2nd Earl of Bessborough, all used Wakelin & Tayler as their goldsmith. The personal orders placed by the duke range from 'a gold oval breast buckle'³⁴ for 9s and 'a fine gilt snake handled cup and cover (was Price's)'³⁵ weighing 87 oz 12dwt and sold for £35 0s 10d. The duke's uncles ordered substantial amounts of plate, Lord George Cavendish ordering 'a small measure of liquid and 2 cups'³⁶ for £19 and a dinner service costing over £300 in the time preceding his marriage to Lady Elizabeth Compton, daughter and heir of the Earl of Northampton, in 1782.³⁷ Despite these large orders of plate by various members of the Cavendish family, a silver bread basket, hallmarked 1781/82 and bearing the arms he adopted on his marriage, is the only piece of Wakelin & Tayler plate now in the Chatsworth collection. There appears to be no reference to the sale of plate in the family archives so that the fate of the remaining plate is unknown.

One explanation for this mystery lies in an unusual transaction between the 5th Duke and Wakelin & Tayler on 25 May 1791. 'By sundry old plate as per WB [to the] weight of 8584 13';³⁸ the duke raised £2,217 13s 11d and the entry is followed by a statement 'he has our note for this amount to be paid eight months after the above date – due 25/28 Jan 1792'.³⁹ In 1791 the first intimations of the extent of the gaming debts of the duke's wife, Georgiana, began to emerge. A sanitised list given to the duke at this time stated them to be £61,917⁴⁰ though they were later declared to be significantly higher. Wakelin & Tayler had compiled an inventory of the duke's plate in 1788⁴¹ and, as the family goldsmiths, it appears that he returned to them to raise the money secretly. This demonstrates one method by which the aristocracy could raise money in times of difficulty. The duke had vast assets but his income was derived from his estates, which were under a legal entail and therefore could not be sold without an expensive and public Act of Parliament, so that large sums could not be accessed at short notice. Possessions had to be sold to raise money, in this case 'sundry old plate' in great quantity. Wakelin & Tayler issued a promissory note due eight months later, so it would appear that their business would not allow them to release £2,000 immediately. This enabled them to have time to raise the money and begin to sell the plate, in order to do so.

This seems to be the only example of Wakelin & Tayler buying plate from the Duke of Devonshire, but among the other transactions are two that are revealing about his life and the charity that he dispensed. On 2 August 1788 he placed an order for 'a very strong deal packing case with iron hinges to hold 3 dressing cases'⁴² at a cost of £1 10s. The ménage-à-trois consisting of the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire and Lady Elizabeth Foster was public knowledge at the time – an unusual occurrence. That he had a mistress was not unusual for him, or for the times in which he lived, but

34 AAD/1995/7/14/f7.

35 AAD/1995/7/11/f60.

36 AAD/1995/7/15/f153.

37 AAD/1995/7/14/f18 and 69.

38 AAD/1995/7/16/f279.

39 AAD/1995/7/16/f279.

40 A. Foreman, *Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire*, Flamingo 1999, p253.

41 AAD/1995/7/16/f279.

42 AAD/1995/7/15/f261.

43 C. Brooke-Coles, *A Guide to Chiswick Parish Church*, circa 1970, p10.

the high status of the mistress and the close relationship that grew between her and the duchess was unusual. The wealth of material now held at Chatsworth shows that the relationship was a stable one, and the deal packing case confirms that all three of them travelled together, as the silver dressing case was something without which a member of the aristocracy would not have travelled.

On 8 October 1785 there was a robbery at the Church of St Nicholas, Chiswick and a reward of £50 was offered for the return of the plate, without success.⁴³ It had consisted of: 2 large silver flagons gilt, 2 silver plates gilt, 1 silver dish gilt, 2 silver cups gilt and 1 silver chalice gilt. The Church of England, as an institution, was not responsible for the replacement of the plate and as patron of the manor of Chiswick the Duke of Devonshire presented the parish with a new set on 16 December. It is to be presumed that this was to allow the full celebration of the Christmas services, as any items lent by other churches would then have had to be returned. The ledger entry records the new plate as follows:⁴⁴

	Weight	Cost
To 2 quart flagons (duty only on one of em)	52 15 8/4	21 19 7
To a pint chalice Go. 0 8	13 5 7/4	4 17 2
To golding the inside Go. 3 0		0 16 0
To a patten Go. 2 0 fa. 14/6	8 0	2 8 6
To a polished tablespoon fa 2/9 2 9 0		0 15 10
To a waiter with raised centre Go. 0 8	26 3 7/4	9 12 0
To King's Duty on 75 Oz. at 6d/oz.		1 17 6
To engraving 6 glories and inscriptions Go. 6 0		1 16 0
To a wainscot lined with green cloth Go. 5 18 0		1 10 0

This donation not only reveals an important responsibility of a landowner in Georgian England but also specifies what was perceived as a full set of church plate, as the Wakelin & Tayler set contains different elements from the assembly it replaced. Furthermore it shows that Wakelin & Tayler held stock not only of domestic wares but also specialist items such as church plate. Only one flagon had duty paid on it and as duty was re-instituted on 1 December 1784⁴⁵ the other must have been assayed before that date.

An important group of entries in the ledgers are for the Earl of Aylesford and his family, including unusually 'the Ladies Finch'. Like the Devonshires, very few pieces survive in the family collection; interestingly a pair of wine coolers do not appear in the Wakelin & Tayler ledgers and may have been retailed by Wakelin & Garrard. Similarly, an ice pail supplied to Sir Joseph Copley Bt by Robert Garrard in 1806 was assayed in 1786/87; Garrard merely fitted it with a new collar before the sale.⁴⁶

In 1786 the Earl of Aylesford was supplied with 'a chased cup (without handles or cover) to drawing' at a cost of £20 8s 11d,⁴⁷ 'a coffee pot to drawing' for £4 13s 2d⁴⁸ and this was followed by a 'fine chased square inkstand with boxes to drawing' which had 'gilding in 2 colours'⁴⁹ and cost £58 6s 0d. These purchases display an unusual concern with design on the part of the patron, and although a 'silver port crayon' was purchased for 'Lady Maria Finch' in 1783,⁵⁰ it seems likely that they used a professional designer for these purchases. It is interesting to note that the family were also design conscious about the interiors they created at Packington Hall in Warwickshire, in particular the Pompeian room. In particular the earl's sixth son, Seymour Finch,⁵³ placed a series of unusual orders including in 1783 'a pair of gold enamelled buttons with the

44 AAD/1995/7/14/f150.

45 A.B.L. Dove, 'Some New Light on Plate Duty and its Marks', *Antique Collecting*, September 1984, pp39-42.

46 Christie's New York, 10 January 1991 lot 57.

47 AAD/1995/7/15/f42.

48 AAD/1995/7/15/f42.

49 AAD/1995/7/17/f293.

50 AAD/1995/7/13/f272.

51 AAD/1995/7/12/f202.

52 AAD/1995/7/15/f160.

53 Seymour Finch, 6th son of the 3rd Earl of Aylesford, 1758-94.

54 AAD/1995/7/17/f176.

55 AAD/1995/7/18/f53.

56 AAD/1995/7/11/f185.

57 AAD/1995/7/11/f190.

crest of Seymour' and 'a sett large plain shoe and knee buckles'⁵¹ that were supplied, plain, on 18 January when he had them blacked for an additional 1s 6d and on the 30th paid another 4s for 'taking off the black from do and smoothing and polishing'. In 1786 he ordered '60 Roman letters loops at the back for bargeman's caps' and '2 plain tumblers, with glass bottoms to hold a wine pint each'.⁵² These appear incongruous when combined with the inexpensive plated dining wares also invoiced to him. These orders give an impression of the extravagance of his retinue and, perhaps, of the cabins of the ships he commanded during his naval career. In 1790 he had further silver letters made including 'new making the Os and Ns and altering the Ds into Js'.⁵⁴

The scarcity of extant pieces supplied to the Aylesfords, either in the family's collection or in the records of the salerooms, demonstrates the transient nature of plate, a fact further exemplified by the Duke of Devonshire's wholesale disposal in 1791. Thus it is difficult to gain a true indication of the importance of a single item of plate to its owner.

Appendix C contains a transcript of all the purchases made by Lady Mary Coke. The daughter of the 2nd Duke of Argyll, she was unhappily and briefly married to Edward, Viscount Coke, who died shortly after they divorced in 1749. She was a great traveller, known for her diaries and letters. The ledgers illustrate the variety of her acquisitions, peculiar to a widow, as her orders combine domestic items with significant numbers of entries for jewellery. In the ledgers for most other clients, the domestic items were ordered by men while jewellery was the traditional province of women. The purchases of jewellery show an important market for

Wakelin & Tayler, in addition to flatware and holloware. Lady Mary was also notable in having been scrupulous in the prompt settling of her accounts with tradesmen. Viscount Melbourne was less prompt. A sum of £7 12s outstanding in 1792, the year of William Tayler's death, was only rendered in December 1802,⁵⁵ by when his partner John Wakelin had retired. This attitude to debt was not unusual in aristocratic circles as can be seen in the, albeit unusually high, debts of the Duchess of Devonshire.

The majority of those who held accounts with Wakelin & Tayler were not, however, from the aristocracy and a good comparison between the spending of the aristocracy and the gentry is between the Earl of Egremont and that of the Calvert family. The orders placed by John Calvert, the eldest of the three brothers in the ledgers, are not significantly lower than those of the Earl. In the period between 1776 and 1792 Egremont spent £831 12s 11d, only exceeding the sum spent by John Calvert by £93 10s. 3d. Furthermore the items ordered by Calvert were often more costly than those made for the Earl of Egremont. In 1777 Calvert ordered 'a pair fine chased branches to his chimney fixt (Added)' which although only weighing 10oz 8dwt cost £21 1s 11d including gilding 'the candlesticks in 2 colours'.⁵⁶ In the same year Egremont ordered '4 pr. Bracket candlesticks' weighing 50oz 1dwt at a cost of £21 7s. 10d.⁵⁷ One pair of Egremont's candlesticks therefore cost approximately £4 5s compared with the £11 8s of those ordered by Calvert.

It is indeed arguable that one of the roles of the royal and aristocratic customers supplied by Wakelin & Tayler was to create a model for the other groups in society to emulate.

Appendix A

An alphabetical index of those who held accounts with Wakelin & Tayler (1776–92) as referred to in the ledgers (AAD/1995/7/11-18)

Ackland, Lady Harriet	Althorpe, Viscount	Ashburnham, Earl	Bagge, Miss
Adair, William Esq	Alvensleben, Baron	Ashton, Mr	Bagge, Thomas Esq
Adams, Mr	Ambrose, Miss	Astley, Mrs	Bagot
Adamson, Esq	Amherst, Lord	Aston, Mrs	Bagot, Doctor
Adean, Esq	Ancaster, Duchess of	Atherton, R.V.A Esq	Bagot, Lord
Aislabie, William Esq	Ancaster, Duke of	Atkins, Esq	Bagot, Richard (later Richard Bagot Howard)
Alburn, Mr	Angelo, Mr	Atkyn, John Thomas Esq	Bagot, Sir William Baronet
Aldborough, Earl	Annesley, The Hon. Mr	Aubyn, Madame St.	Bailey, Mr
Alderson, M.	Arabin, Captain	Aufrere, George Esq	Baker, George Esq
Alderton, Mr	Araiyo, Chevalier	Austen, Mrs	Baker, Sir George
Aldridge, Mr	Archer, Captain (later Colonel)	Aylesbury, Earl	Baker, The Reverend Mr
Alexander, Mr	Archer, John Esq	Aylesford, Countess Dowager	Banks, Sir Joseph
Allanson, Mrs	Archer, Mrs	Aylesford, Earl	Banks, William Esq
Allardyce, Alexander Esq	Arden, Lord	Ayliffe, Mr	Barker, Mr
Allen, Miss	Armistead, Mrs		Barkley, Captain
Allen, Mr	Armstrong, General		Barkley, Miss
Allen, Reverend	Armstrong, Miss	Bacon, Miss	Barlow, Hugh Esq
Alston, Sir Rowland Baronet	Arundell, Esq	Bacon, Reverend	Barlow, James Esq
Altamont, Lord	Arundell, Lord	Bacon, Sir Edmund	Barnard
Altham, Sir William Baronet		Bagg, Doctor	

Barnard, Edward Esq	Best, Mrs	Bray & Co.	Burrell, Peter (later Sir Peter Knight and Baronet)
Barnard, Miss	Best, Reverend	Breton, Esq	Bush, Mr
Barnard, Mr	Best, Thomas Esq	Brett, Esq	Butler, Doctor
Barnard, Reverend Doctor	Best, Thomas Jnr Esq	Brett, Reverend	Byne, Charles Esq
Barnett, Benjamin Esq	Bethell, Esq	Brettel, Mr	Byrne, Mr
Barnett, Charles Esq	Bicknell, Mr	Brickenden, Mrs	Byron, Col
Barnett, Mr	Biddulph, Mrs	Bridger, John Esq	
Barnston, Captain	Biggs, Esq	Bridges, Lady	
Barnston, Roger Esq	Bingham & Co.	Bridges, Sir Brooke Baronet	Cage, Lewis Esq
Barrett, Captain	Bingham, John	Bridgewater, Duke	Caillaud, General
Barrett, Mr	Birch, Esq	Bristol, Bishop	Caldwell, Captain
Barstoy, Mr	Bishop, Sir Cecil Baronet	Bristow, Miss	Callow, Captain
Barton, James Esq	Blackmore, Mr	Bristowe, William Esq	Calthorpe, Sir Henry
Baseley, Captain	Blackmore, Mr Snr	Brockill, Mr	Calvert, G. Esq
Basil, Edmund Esq	Blagrove, Esq	Broderick, Edward Esq	Calvert, George Esq
Bastard, Mr	Blair, Alexander	Bromfield, Mr	Calvert, John Esq
Bastard, Mr Jnr	Blair, Esq	Bromfield, William Esq	Calvert, Mrs N.
Bath and Wells, Bishop	Blair, Mr	Bromley, Robert	Calvert, Peter Esq
Bath, Marquess	Blake, John Esq,	Bromley, Sir George	Calvert, Richard Esq
Bathurst, Earl	Blake, Mr	Brooke, Charles Esq	Calvert, Thomas Esq
Batt, Mrs	Blandford, Marquis (later Marlborough, Duke)	Brooke, Doctor	Camelford, Baron
Bayford, Doctor	Blittenburg, John Esq	Brooke, Miss	Campbell, Hon. John
Bayntun, Andrew Esq	Bludworth, Mrs Augusta	Brooke, Mr	Campbell, John Esq
Bayntun, Esq	Boardman Esq,	Brooke, Mrs	Campbell, J. Pryce Esq
Bayntun, Lady	Boardman, Captain	Brooke, Thomas Esq	Campbell, Lord Frederick
Bayntun, Sir Edward	Boardman, Miss	Brown, Captain	Canterbury, Archbishop
Bearsley, Mr	Boardman, Thomas Esq	Brown, Daniel Esq	Canterbury, Dean
Beauchamp, Captain	Boehm, Esq	Brown, Esq	Capel, Rt. Hon. Mr
Beauchamp, Esq	Bogle, Captain	Brown, Lancelot Esq	Cardigan, Earl
Beauchamp, George Esq	Boisdaune, Reverend	Brown, Miss	Carlisle, Earl
Beaulieu, Earl	Bolton, Duke	Brown, Mrs	Carpenter, General
Beauvoir, Richard Esq	Boodle, Edward Esq	Brown, Samuel Esq	Carpenter, Lady
Beavour, Mr	Boone, Charles Esq	Browne, Henry Esq	Carter, Mrs
Bedford, Duke	Booth, Miss	Brown(e), J. Hawkins Esq	Carteret, Lord
Beecher, Mrs	Booth, Mr	Browne, Mrs Hawkins	Carteret, Thynne Esq
Benezette, Claude	Booth, Sir Charles Esq	Browner, H. Esq	Case, Captain
Bennett, G.R. Esq	Boothby, Brooke Esq	Brudenell, James Esq	Case, Mr Edward
Bennett, Miss	Boothby, Doctor B.	Buccleugh, Duke	Case, Philip Esq
Bennett, Miss E.	Boothby, Mr	Buckler, Mr	Cavendish, Lord Frederick
Bennett, Richard H.A.	Boothby, Sir Brooke Baronet	Budgen, J.S.	Cavendish, Lord George
Bentley, Charles Esq	Bosenberg, Mr	Bulkeley, Hon.	Cavendish, Lord John
Bentley, Mr	Boston, Baron	Bulkeley, Hon. Coventry	Cecil, Hon. Henry
Benyon, Richard Esq	Bosville, Godfrey	Bull, Richard Esq	Ceptonville, Miss
Berens, Esq	Boteledge, Miss	Buller, Doctor	Ceptonville, Mr
Berens, Herman Esq	Boteler, Captain	Buller, John Esq	Chadwick, Esq
Berens, John	Boughton, Mrs	Buller, Reverend	Chadwick, Mrs
Bergman, Mr	Boucher, Charles Esq	Bunbury Esq	Chamberlain, Reverend
Berkeley, Hon. Mrs	Bourchier, James	Bunbury, Matthew Esq	Chandos, Duke
Berkeley, Reverend	Bouverie, Edward Esq	Bund, Thomas Esq	Chaplains Room, St. James's
Berkley, Captain	Bouverie, Hon. Bartholemew	Bunney, Esq	Chapman, Dowager Lady
Berkley, Hon. Mrs	Bouverie, Hon. Philip	Burch, Mr Jnr	Chapman, Sir John
Berners, Charles Esq	Bouverie, Hon. William	Burch, Mrs	Chase, Sir Richard
Berners, Henry Esq	Bouverie, Mrs C.	Burch, William Esq	Chesham, Mr
Berners, Reverend	Bowlby, Lady Mary	Burch, William Snr Esq	Chespillion, Mrs
Berners, William Esq	Boyd, Esq	Burdett, Esq	Chester, Bromley Esq
Berney, Lady	Boyd, John Esq	Burdett, Francis Esq	Chester, Robert Esq
Berney, Sir Hanson Baronet	Boyd, Lady	Burdett, Sir Robert	Chesterfield, Earl
Berney, Sir John	Boyd, Mrs Augustus	Burgess, Mr	Chesters, Miss
Bertie, Col	Boyd, Sir John	Burgoyne, General	Chesters, Mrs
Bessborough, Earl	Brackenbury, Carr Esq	Burrard, Colonel	Chetwode, Sir John Baronet
Best, George Esq	Brackenbury, Mr	Burrell, Doctor	Chetwynd, C. Esq
Best, James Esq	Bradbourne, Mr	Burrell, Mr	Chetwynd, Hon. Mrs
Best, Miss	Bradshaw, Esq	Burrell, Mrs	Chetwynd, Miss
Best, Miss Charlotte	Brand, Beal Esq	Burrell, Mrs Peter	Chetwynd, Mr
Best, Miss Dolly		Burrell, Mrs Senr	Chetwynd, Mrs

Chetwynd, Mrs Deborah	Cooksey, Mr	Damer, Lionel Esq	Drummond, Andrew Esq
Chetwynd, Viscount	Coote, Major	Dance, Esq	Drummond, Henry Esq
Childers, Esq	Copley, Joseph Moyle	Dandridge, Esq	Drummond, Henry Esq Snr
Chippendale, Mrs	Corbet, Mr	Daniel, Reverend W.B.	Drummond, Henry Jnr Esq
Chiselden, Miss	Corbett, Esq	Darby, Admiral	Drummond, Hon. Mrs
Cholmondeley, Earl	Cork, Earl	Darell, Lionel Esq	Drummond, Lady Elizabeth
Cholmondeley, George	Cork, Countess	Darlington, Earl	Drummond, Major
Charles Esq	Corneille, Governor	Darnley, Countess	Drummond, Messrs
Christie & Ansell	Cornwall, Captain	Darnley, Countess Dowager	Drummond, Robert Esq
Christie, Captain	Cornwall, Mrs	Darnley, Earl	Dublin, Archbishop
Chute, Mr	Cornwall, Wolfran Esq	Dartrey, Baron (later	Duckett, Miss
Clanett, Mr	Cornwallis, Captain	Cremorne, Viscount)	Dudley and Ward, Viscount
Clark, John Esq	Cornwallis, Earl	Darwin, Mr	Dummer, Esq
Clark, Mrs	Cotes, Mrs Francis	Daser, Captain	Dunbar, Charles
Clark, Reverend Mr	Cotes, Samuel Esq	Dashwood, Sir Henry	Dundas, Henry Esq
Clarke, Colonel (later	Cotterell, Esq	Baronet	Dundas, Lawrence Esq
General)	Cotton, C. Esq	Davis, Mark Esq	Dundas, Sir Thomas Baronet
Clarke, John Esq	Cotton, Captain	Davis, Miss	Dundas, Col
Clayton, Miss	Cotton, Henry Esq	Dawes, Esq	Dundonald, Countess
Clayton, Sir Robert	Courtenay, John Esq	Day, Mr	Dupre, Mrs
Clayton, William Esq	Courtenay, Mr	Dayrolles, Mrs	Durham, Bishop
Clement, Esq	Courtenay, Viscount	Dayrolles, Solomon Esq	Durrant, Thomas
Clements, Captain	Courtoun, Earl	Degan, Francis Esq	Duvall, Doctor
Clements, Esq	Coventry, Earl	Delamain, Mr Jnr	
Clementson, Esq	Coventry, Mr	Delamain, Snr Esq	Earle, Thomas Esq
Clementson, John Esq	Coventry, Thomas Esq	Demierre & Christien,	East, Hinton Esq
Clementson, Mr	Cranburne, Lord (later	Messrs	Easte, Edward Esq
Cleveland, John Esq	Salisbury, Earl)	Denman, Doctor	Eden, Lady Richard
Clifden, Viscount	Cranston, Captain	Dennison, John Esq	Edgcumbe, Viscount
Cliff, Mr	Cratcherode, Miss	Denoyer, Philip Esq	Edge, Mrs
Clifford, Lady	Cratcherode, Reverend	Derby, Earl	Edgcumbe, Hon. Richard
Clifford, Lord De	Crathorne, Henry Esq	Dering, Sir Edward Baronet	(later Valetort, Baron)
Clinton, Sir Henry	Crawley, Esq	Deschamps, Mrs	Edie & Laird
Clinton, Sir William	Crawley, J. Esq	Deval, Mr	Edwards, Captain
Clive, Esq	Crawley, Miss	Devonshire, Duke	Effingham, Earl
Clive, George Esq	Crawley, Mr	Dicconson, Edward Esq	Egerton, Major
Clive, Robert Esq	Crawley, Mrs	Dickenson	Egerton, Mr
Clive, William Esq	Crawley, Samuel Esq	Dickings, Mr	Egerton, Mrs
Clonmore, Baron	Crespigny, Esq	Dickinson, William Esq	Egerton, Sir Thomas
Cochran, Robert Esq	Creuze, Francis Esq	Digby, Col	Egleton, Lady
Cockburn, Captain	Creyk, Ralph Esq (and	Digby, Hon. Reverend	Egremont, Earl
Cockrell, Mr	Captain)	Digby, Lord	Elgin, Lady
Cocks, Reverend	Croft, John Esq	Digby, The Hon. Col	Elliott, General
Coddrington, Miss C.	Croft, Reverend Herbert	Digby, Wriothesley Esq	Elliot, Esq
Coddrington, Mrs	Crofts, John Esq	Dighton, Mr	Elliott, Mrs
Coffin, Henry Esq Jnr	Crompton, Mr	Dimsdale, Baron	Ellis, Welbore Esq
Coffin, Mr	Cross, Richard Esq	Disbrowe, Esq	Elton, Edward Esq
Coke, Lady Mary	Crouch, Mr	Dod, Major (later Colonel)	Elton, Isaac Esq
Coke, Mrs	Crowle, Mr	Dormer, Esq	Elton, Mrs
Colemore, Charles Esq	Crowley, Mrs	Douglas, Thomas Esq	Englefield, Esq
Coles, Charles Esq	Cullum, Mr	Dowdeswell, Mrs	Errington, Esq
Coles, Samuel Esq	Cumberland, Duke	Downes, Mrs	Errington, Henry Esq
Colhoun, Mr	Cummings, Esq	D'Oyley, Captain	Erroll, Countess Dowager
Colle, Captain	Cunningham, Col	D'Oyley, Mr	Este, Mrs
Collet, Esq	Cunninghame, Sir William	D'Oyley, Reverend Mr	Estridge, John Esq
Colmore, Mrs Snr	Curson, Mr	D'Oyley, Reverend Mr M.	Evans, Mr
Compton Esq Jnr	Curzon, Penn Assheton Esq	D'Oyley, Reverend Mr	Evans, Thomas Brown Esq
Compton, Henry	Custance, John Esq	Thomas	Evanson, Reverend
Compton, John Esq	Cutts, Mrs	D'Oyly, Christopher Esq	Everard, Edward Esq
Constable, Maxwell	Cuttare, Mr	Drake, Mr	Everard, James Esq
Constable, Reverend		Drake, Sir Francis Baronet	Everard, Mr
Conyers, Mr	Dalling, General	Draper, Sir William Knight	Exeter, Bishop
Conyers, Mrs	Dalling, Mrs	Drax, Esq	Exeter, Dean
Conyers, Reverend.	Dalrymple, General	Drew, Mr.	
Cooke, Sir George Baronet	Damer, John Esq	Drosier, Edward	Fairfield, Richard Esq

Fairford, Viscount (later Earl of Hillsborough)	Fothergill, Green Esq	Gossett, Mr	Harding, Mrs
Falkner, Edward Esq	Foulis, John Esq	Gott, Henry Thomas Esq	Hardy, Lady
Fane, Francis Esq	Fraser, C. Esq	Gough, Sir Henry	Hardy, Sir Charles Baronet
Fane, Hon. Henry	Fraser, Charles Esq	Grafton, Duke	Hare, Reverend Mr
Fane, Hon. William Henry	Fraser, Esq Jnr	Graham, Esq	Hargrave, Christopher
Fane, John Esq	Fraser, William Esq	Graham, George Esq	Harland, Lady
Fanshawe, Mrs	Frazer, Mrs	Graham, Mr	Harland, Sir Robert Baronet
Farnaby, Captain (later Major)	Freeman, Mr	Grant, Mrs	Harley, Hon. Thomas
Farnaby, Sir Charles	Freeman, Samuel Esq	Grantham, Lady	Harrington, Earl of
Farr, Miss	Freeman, Strickland Esq	Grantham, Lord	Harris, Charles Esq
Farrington, Mr	French, Mrs	Graves, Admiral	Harris, John Potter Esq
Fauquier, Francis Esq	Fuller, John Traylon Esq	Gray, Mr	Harris, Miss
Fellows, Miss	Fuller, Rose Esq	Greaves, Mrs	Harris, Mrs
Fellows, H.A. Esq	Fuller, Stephen Esq	Green, Mr	Harrison, John Esq
Fellows, Robert, Esq		Green, Reverend Mr	Harrison, Mrs
Fermor, Mr	Gainsborough, Earl	Greene, Edward Burnaby Esq	Hart, Sir John Baronet
Fielding, Lady	Galbraith, Esq		Harte, Mr
Fielding, Sir John Baronet	Galloway, Earl	Gregg, Francis Esq	Hartopp, Esq
Filmer, Sir John Baronet	Gallway, Payne Esq	Gregg, Mrs	Hatch, Reverend Mr
Finch, Captain	Galway, Viscount	Gresham, Sir John	Hatchett, Mr
Finch, Captain Seymour	Galway, Viscountess	Greville, Mrs	Hatton, George Esq
Finch, Captain William	Gardner, Captain Allan	Grey De Wilton, Viscount	Hatton, Mr
Finch, Hon. Charles	Gardner, Captain	Grey, Hon. Booth	Hatton, Mrs
Finch, Hon. Seymour	Gardner, Commodore	Grey, Hon. John	Hatton, Mrs (G.?)
Finch, Reverend	Gardner, Major	Grey, Viscount	Havard, Neast Esq
Finch, Saville	Gardner, Thomas Esq	Grey, Sir Harry	Hawkins, Christopher Esq
Finch, The Ladies	Garner, Mrs	Grosett, Mr	Hawkins, Esq
Finlason, Captain	Garnett, Mrs	Grosett, Mr Jnr	Hawkins, Penel Esq
Finlater, Earl	Garth, Colonel (later General)	Grossett, John Esq	Hawkins, Thomas Esq
Firmin, Mr	Garthwaite Esq	Grossett, Mr	Hawtrey, Reverend Mr
Fisher, John Esq	Garvey, Mr	Grossett, Mr James	Hay, Miss
Fitter, Samuel Esq	Gaskell, Mr	Grosvenor, Erle Drax Esq	Hayes, Esq
Fitz Gerald, Mrs	Gee, Mr	Grosvenor, Thomas Esq	Hayes, Samuel Esq (later Baronet)
Fitzgerald, Lord Henry	Gibbins, Miss	Guildford, Earl	Hayter, Mrs
Fitzgerald, Lord Robert	Gibbons, Dowager Lady	Guise, Sir William	Hayward, Esq
Fitzgerald, Mrs	Gibbons, John Esq	Gwilym, R.V.A. Esq	Haywood, Mr
Fitzhugh, William Esq	Gibbons, Sir William Baronet		Heald, Reverend Mr
Fitzroy, General	Gibbs, Esq	Haddock, Miss	Heathcote, Mrs
Fitzwilliam, Earl	Gilbert, Esq	Hagar, John Esq	Heathcote, Sir George
Flaxman, Mr	Gillies, J. Esq	Hagar, Mrs	Heathfield, Lord
Fletcher, Captain	Glenton, Mr	Hale, Mr	Heaton, Esq
Foley, Richard Esq	Gloucester, Bishop	Hales, Sir Philip	Heaton, Mr
Folkestone, Viscountess	Gloucester, Duke	Halifax, Doctor	Herbert, Henry Esq
Fonnereau, Caroline	Godfrey, William Esq	Hall, Hugh Esq	Hervey, John Esq
Fonnereau, Henry Esq	Godolphin, Baron	Hallward, Thomas Esq	Hewettson, Mr
Fonnereau, Isaac	Godolphin, Baroness	Halsey, Mrs	Heywood, Esq
Fonnereau, Martin Esq	Goldsworthy, Colonel	Halsey, Thomas Esq	Hibbert, Thomas Esq
Fonnereau, Miss	Gooch, Reverend Doctor	Hamilton, Duke	Hibbert, William Esq
Fonnereau, Miss Cary	Gooch, Sir Thomas	Hamilton, Sir Robert	Hickford, Mrs
Fonnereau, Mrs	Goodall, Reverend	Hammond, Andrew Esq	Hildyard, Sir Robert Baronet
Fonnereau, Thomas Esq	Goodene, Mrs	Hammond, Horace Esq	Hill, Captain
Forbes, Esq	Gooden, Mrs	Hammond, Miss	Hill, Mr
Forbes, Mrs	Gordon Esq	Hammond, Mrs Rich[ard]	Hillcote, Captain
Ford, J. Esq	Gordon, Colonel (also listed as Lieutenant Colonel)	Hammond, Reverend Mr	Hillsborough, Earl
Ford, Mr Jnr	Gordon, Lord George	Hammond, Richard Esq	Hobart, Hon. George
Ford, Mr Snr	Gordon, Lord William	Hanbury, Charles Esq	Hobbs, Mr
Fortescue, Hon. Captain	Gordon, Miss	Hanbury, William Esq	Hodges Esq
Fortescue, Right Hon. James	Gordon, Mr	Hancock, Mrs	Hodges, Col
Forward, Mrs	Gordon, Mr Hess	Hancox, Mr	Hodges, Esq
Fosbrooke, Esq	Gordon, Mrs (Rochester)	Hand, Reverend Mr	Hodgkinson, Esq
Foster, Esq	Gordon, Mrs (London)	Hanger, Hon. William	Hodgkinson, Robert Esq
Foster, Mrs	Gore, Charles Orlando	Harbord, Hon. Mr	Hodson, Mr Thomas
Foster, Richard Esq	Gore, Miss	Harcourt, Captain (later Colonel and General)	Hoghton, Sir Henry
	Gore, Thomas Esq	Harcourt, Earl	Holbert, Mr

Holderness, Countess	Jackson, Miss	Lamball, Mr	Lockhart, Mr
Holderness, Earl	Jackson, Mr	Lambert, Captain	Lockwood, Thomas Esq
Hole, G. Esq	Jackson, Mrs	Lambert, Reverend Mr	Lodge, Mr
Hole, Mr	Jamaica Merchants	Lampriere, W.C. Esq	Lomax, Edmund Hallett Esq
Holland, H. Esq	Jauncey, Reverend Mr	Lance, David Esq	Long, Beeston
Holland, Mr	Jebb, Sir Richard Baronet	Lance, Mr	Long, Charles Esq
Holt, Lady	Jenkins, Captain	Landaff, Bishop	Long, Miss
Hook, Mr	Jenkinson, Charles Esq (later Hawkesbury, Baron)	Lane, Reverend Mr	Long, Mr
Hope, Captain	Jenney, Mrs	Langford, Doctor	Long, Mrs
Hopkins, Richard Esq	Jennings, Esq	Langford, Reverend Doctor	Long, Samuel Esq
Hopper, Esq	Jennings, Mr	Langley, Mrs	Lonsdale, Earl
Hornby, Mr	Jennings, Mrs	Langley, Richard Esq	Louth, Earl
Horsfall, Col	Jersey, Earl	Langlois, Benjamin Esq	Lowther, James Esq
Horton, Sir Watts	Johnes, Colonel	Langlois, Christopher Esq	Lowther, Sir James Baronet
Horton, Sir William	Johnes, Mrs	Langlois, John Esq	Lucan, Baron
Hotham, Commodore	Johnson, Benjamin Esq	Langstaff, Mrs	Lukin, Mr
Hotham, Miss	Johnson, General	Lansdown, Marquess	Lushington, Esq
Hotham, Sir Charles	Johnson, John	Laroche, Sir James Knight	Luther, John Esq
Houblon, Jacob Esq	Johnson, Miss	Lauderdale, Earl & Foulis, Sir William Baronet	Luxmoore, Reverend Mr
Houblon, Miss	Johnson, Mr	Lauderdale, Earl	Lynch, Sir William Knight
Houblon, Mrs	Johnson, Mrs	Laurence, Miss	Lynd, Esq
Houblon, Mrs Leticia	Johnson, William Esq	Laurence, Mr	Lynes, Mr
Houblon, Mrs Snr	Johnston, Godshall	Laurence, William Esq	Lynes, Mrs
Howard, Esq	Jones, Henry Esq	Law, Evan Esq	
Howard, Hon. Richard (Bagot)	Jones, Inigo Esq	Lawrence, Doctor	Macclesfield, Dowager Countess
Howard, Richard	Jones, Jenkin Esq	Lawrence, Mr Jnr	Macclesfield, Earl
Howe, Earl	Jones, Lady	Lawrence, William Esq	Mackenzie, Lady Caroline
Howe, General	Jones, Miss	Layard, Reverend Mr	Mackenzie, Miss
Howe, Lady Dowager	Jones, Mr	Leaf, Mr	Mackenzie, Miss Elizabeth
Howe, Miss	Jones, Mrs	Leathes, John Esq	Mackenzie, Mr
Howe, Miss	Jones, Reverend Edward	Leathes, Mrs	Mackenzie, Mrs
Howe, Sir William	Jones, Sir William Baronet	Lee, George Esq	Mackenzie, Mrs Humbarston
Howe, Viscount		Lee, Mr	MacQueen, Esq
Hubbald, Mrs	Kay, Sir John	Lee, Mrs	Mahon, Maurice Esq
Hudson, Mr	Keene, Mrs	Lee, Sir William	Mahon, Mr
Hudson, William Esq	Keene, Whitshed Esq	Lee, William Esq	Majindie, Captain
Hughes, Reverend Mr	Kell, Miss	Leece, Herman Esq	Majindie, Mrs
Hule, Mr	Kelly, Mrs	Leech, Mrs	Majindie, Reverend
Hulse, Colonel	Kemmes, Thomas Esq	Leese, Mr	Maldon, Viscount
Hulse, Edward Esq	Kemy, Esq	Legard, Sir John	Man, Captain
Hulse, Reverend Mr	Kendrick, J. Esq	Legge, Heneage Esq	Manger, Mr
Hulse, Richard Esq	Kennion, Mr	Legh, Mrs	Mann, James Esq
Hulse, Sir Edward Baronet	Kenrick, John Esq	Legh, Mrs Anne	Mann, Miss
Hulton, Reverend Mr	Kenrick, Reverend Doctor	Legh, Peter Esq	Mann, Mrs
Humbarston, Colonel	Kenrick, Reverend Jarvis	Leigh, Mrs	Mann, Sir Horace
Humphreys, Admiral	Kent, Charles (later Baronet)	Leigh, Peter Esq	Mann, Sir Horace snr
Humphreys, Esq	Keppel, Hon. Augustus (later Keppel, Viscount)	Leinster, Duke	Mapes, Captain
Hunloke, Sir Henry Baronet	Kerr, Lord Robert	Leith, Sir Alexander Baronet	Markland, Bertie Esq
Hunt, Mr	Keswick, Esq	Lewis, Edward	Markland, John
Hutchinson, Captain	Kilby, Mrs	Lewis, Mrs	Marlborough, Duke
Hutton, Mrs	Kilvington, John Esq	Lewis, Rachel Mrs	Marriott, Joshua
Hutton, Reverend Mr	King, The	Lewisham, Viscount	Marriott, Mr
	Kingman, William Long	Ley, Sir William	Marriott, Mrs
Ibbetson, John Esq	Kingsborough, Viscount	Lincoln, Earl	Marshall, J.W.
Ilchester, Earl	Kingsman, Mrs	Lindsay, Sir John Knight	Marshall, Mr John
Imhoff, Baron	Kingsmill, Captain	Lindsey, William Esq	Marsham, Esq
Inglis, Miss	Kinnard, Mr Jnr	Lisle, Macey Esq	Martin, Byam Esq
Irby, Hon. Mr	Knight, Esq	Lismore, Viscount	Martin, James
Iremonger, Esq	Knill, Mr	Little, Esq	Martin, James Esq
Irwin, Viscount	Knipe, Edward Esq	Little, Richard Esq	Martin, John Esq
Irwin, Viscountess	Kuhffs, Messrs.	Littleton, Lord	Martin, Major Charles
Isted, Mrs	Kynaston, Thomas Esq	Livingstone, Mrs	Martin, Reverend Joseph
Isted, Samuel Esq		Lloyd, James Esq	Massingberd, Henry Esq
		Lloyd, Thomas Esq	Massingbird, Mrs

Master, Major	Morin, John Tirel Esq	Oakes, Mr	Pauncefort, Edward Esq
Maude, Lady	Mornington, Countess of	Offley, Esq	Payne, Mr
Maxton, Esq	Morse, Beecher Esq	Ogilvie, Captain	Pearse, Miss
May, Joseph Esq	Morse, Colonel	Ogilvie, Mr	Pearson, Sir Richard
Mayhew & Ince	Morse, Esq	Ogilvie, Mrs	Pecchell, Samuel Esq
Mayhew, Mr	Morse, Leonard Esq	Ogle, Mrs	Pechell, Augustus Esq
Maynard, Viscount	Morshead, Esq	Ogle, Sir Chaloner	Pechell, Colonel
Mayne, Mrs	Morton, Countess of	Ogle, Sir Charles	Pechell, Mrs
Mayne, Robert Esq	Morton, Reverend Mr	Oldershall, Reverend Mr	Pechell, Thomas Esq
McEune, Mrs	Moss, Reverend Mr	Olier, Mrs	Pelham, Charles Anderson
Mead, Miss	Mowbray, William Esq	Onslow, Dowager Countess	Esq
Mead, Mrs	Muirhead, John Grossett	Onslow, Earl	Pelham, The Hon. Henry
Meade, Dom Esq	Mundy, Edward Millar Esq	Onslow, Hon. Mr	Pelly, Henry Esq
Meade, Mrs	Mundy, F.N.C.	Onslow, John Williams	Penfold, Charles Esq
Mee, Mr	Munt, Miss	Onslow, John Williams Esq	Penruddocke, Charles Esq
Melbourne, Viscount	Murray, Captain	Orde, Governor	Penruddocke, Esq
Messrs Bell and Woodmass	Murray, General	Orde, Rt Hon. Thomas	Penruddocke, Mrs
Metcalf, Esq	Musgrave, C. Esq	Orde, Sir John Baronet	Penton, Henry Esq
Methuen, Paul Cobb Esq	Musgrave, Christopher	Orde, Thomas Esq	Perrot, Mr
Meynell, Mrs	Musgrave, George Esq	Orlton, J. Esq	Pery, Rt Hon. Henry Sexton
Michell, Mr	Musgrave, John Esq	Orlton, John	Petty, Mr
Milar, Sir Thomas	Musgrave, Joseph Esq	Osborne, Miss	Peyton, Admiral
Milbanke, John Esq	Musgrave, Philip	Otway, Mrs	Peyton, Sir George
Milbanke, Ralph Esq	Musgrave, Sir Philip	Owen, Arthur Esq	Peyton, Sir Yelverton
Milbanke, Sir Ralph	Myddleton, Esq	Owen, Colonel	Philips, Mr
Miles, Mr	Mydleton, Richard	Owen, Mr	Philipson, General
Miles, Mr John			Phillimore, William Esq
Miller, John Esq	Napier, Mrs	Pack, Mr	Phillipson, Col
Miller, Mr	Nash, Doctor	Packe, Colonel	Phillipson, General
Miller, Reverend	Nassau, George Esq	Packe, Miss	Phillipson, Reverend Mr
Miller, Sir James Baronet	Nassau, Mr	Packington, Lady	Phipps, Constantine Esq
Miller, Sir Thomas Baronet	Neave, Thomas Esq	Paget, Baron	Phipps, Major
Milles, Jeremiah Esq	Nelthorpe, Sir John Baronet	Palairer, Mrs	Pickard, Esq
Milles, Reverend Mr	Nepean, Evan Esq	Palliser, Sir Hugh Baronet	Pigou, Charles Edward Esq
Milles, Thomas Esq	Nesbit, Esq	Palmer, Esq	Pigou, Frederick Esq
Milnes, James Esq	Netherton & Parker	Palmer, Miss	Pigou, Mrs
Mitchell, Charles Esq	Netherton, Samuel Esq	Palmer, Sir John Baronet	Pigou, William Esq
Mitchell, Mr	Nevill, Reverend Mr	Palmerston, Viscount	Pinfold, Charles Esq
Mitchell, Mrs	Neville, Mrs	Pares, Reverend William	Pinfold, Governor
Mitford, Esq	Newcastle, Duke	Parish, Mrs	Pinfold, Joseph Esq
Mitford, Mrs	Newdigate, Sir Roger	Parker & Wakelin	Pither, Mr
Moetjens, Mr	Baronet	Parker, Baron	Pitt, General (later Baron
Moetjens, Mr James	Newnham, Counsellor	Parker, Admiral	Camelford)
Molesworth, Sir William	Newton, Esq	Parker, Edward Esq	Pitt, Mr
Baronet	Newton, Col	Parker, Esq	Pitt, Stephen
Molesworth, Viscount	Newton, Francis Esq	Parker, Hon. General	Pitt, Thomas Esq
Moline, Mr	Newton, Michael Esq	Parker, John Esq	Plestow, Reverend Mr
Molineaux, Viscount	Newton, Mr	Parker, Lady Mary	Plumer, William Esq
Molloy, Captain	Newton, Mrs	Parker, Mr Thomas	Pochin, William Esq
Monckton, John Esq	Newton, Robert Esq	Parker, Mrs	Pocock, George (later
Monckton, Hon. Mr	Nicholas, Esq	Parker, Robert Esq	Knight)
Monson, Lord	Nickols, Mr	Parker, Sir Hyde	Pollard, Edward Esq
Montagu, Esq	Nixon, Mr	Parker, The Hon. General	Pollard, Esq
Montagu, Mrs	Nixon, Tayer & Hutton	Parker, Thomas Esq	Pollard, Mr
Mordaunt, John Esq	Nodes, Mr	Parker, Viscount	Pollock, William Esq
Mordaunt, Reverend Mr	Noel, Esq	Parkhouse, Mr	Porchester, Viscount
Mordaunt, Sir James Baronet	Norman, Esq	Parkhurst, John George	Porten, Mrs
Mordaunt, Sir John	Norman, Richard Esq	Parkhurst, Mr	Porten, Sir Stanier
Morell, Reverend Mr	Norris, Mr	Parkyns, Sir Thomas Baronet	Porter, Lady
Moreton, Lady	North, Baron	Parrot, Reverend	Potts, Samuel Esq
Morgue, Esq	Northampton, Countess of	Parry, David Esq	Poulet, Earl
Morgue, Miss	Norwich, Bishop	Parry, Governor	Poulet, Lady
Morgue, Mrs	Nun, Mr Robert	Patershall, Mr	Powyes, Reverend Mr
Morice, Right Hon.	Nuneham, Viscount (later	Paulet, Lady	Poyntz, Captain
Humphrey	Earl Harcourt)		Poyntz, Mrs

Pratt, Esq
 Pratt, Mr
 Pratiel, Captain
 Prescott, Esq
 Prescott, G.W. Esq
 Preston, Reverend, Mr
 Price, Sir Charles
 Proctor, George Beauchamp
 Esq
 Proctor, Sir Thomas
 Beauchamp
 Protheroe, Mr
 Protheroe, Philip Esq
 Purling, Charles Esq
 Pusey, Hon. Philip Bouverie
 Pye, B. Esq

Queen, The
 Quich, Esq
 Quinton, Sir William

Radnor, Dowager Countess
 Radnor, Earl
 Ragoumowski, Count
 Ramsden, Sir John Baronet
 Ransom, Mrs
 Rastall, Dickinson Esq
 Ravenscroft, Thomas H. Esq
 Read, Mrs
 Renshaw, Mr
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua Knight
 Rich, Miss
 Rich, Sir Thomas Baronet
 Richards, Esq
 Riddell, Esq
 Riddell, Sir James Baronet
 Ridge, Richard
 Ridings, John Esq
 Rigby, Richard Esq
 Ripley, Esq
 Ripley, Horace Esq
 Ripley, Mrs
 Ripley, Reverend
 Ripley, Richard Esq
 Ripley, Thomas
 Rivers, Baronet
 Robarts, ? William
 Roberts, Mr
 Roberts, William Ailsby Esq
 Roby, Mr
 Roche, George Esq
 Rochford, Earl
 Rochford, Mr
 Rodney, Captain
 Rogers, Captain
 Rogers, George Esq
 Rogers, Mr
 Rolt, Reverend Mr
 Rooke, Esq
 Rooke, George Esq
 Rose, Mr
 Rosebery, Earl
 Ross, Hercules Esq,
 Ross, Reverend Doctor
 Roules, Mr

Rous, Thomas Bates
 Rouse, Boughton Esq
 Rouse, C.W. Boughton
 Rouse, Sir C. Boughton
 Rouse, Thomas Bates Esq
 Rowe, Mrs
 Rowles, Mr
 Roxburgh, Duke
 Roy, Lieut Col (later General)
 Royal Exchange Assurance
 Company
 Ruck, Mr
 Ruck, Mrs
 Rumbold, John Thomas
 Rush, Samuel Esq
 Ruspini, Mr
 Russell, Claude Esq
 Russia Company
 Ruthvane, Captain

St Albans, Duchess
 St Asaph, Viscount
 St Quentin, Sir William
 Sainthill, Mr
 Salisbury, Dean
 Salisbury, Earl
 Saltern, John Esq
 Sandel & Co.
 Sarjent, John Esq
 Saunders, Esq
 Saunders, Mrs
 Sawbridge, John Esq
 Sawyer, Admiral
 Sawyer, Anthony Esq
 Sawyer, Captain
 Sawyer, Mrs
 Scarborough, Earl
 Schallar, Mr
 Schulenberg, Countess
 Schwellenberg, Mrs
 Scott, Esq
 Scott, George
 Scott, Miss
 Scott, Mr George
 Scott, Mr Thomas
 Scott, Thomas
 Scrimshaw, Mrs
 Scrimshire, Mrs
 Sedley, Hon. Mr
 Sedley, Hon. Mrs
 Sefton, Earl
 Selwyn, George Augustus
 Esq
 Serres, Mr Jnr
 Serres, Mr Snr
 Shadwell, Captain
 Shadwell, Mrs
 Shadwell, Richard Esq
 Shadwell, Thomas Esq
 Sharpe, Miss
 Sharratt, Mr
 Shaw, Dowager Lady
 Shaw, Sir John Baronet
 Shee, Mr
 Sheffield, Miss

Sheffield, Robert Esq
 Shelburne, Earl (later
 Marquess of Lansdowne)
 Shelly Esq
 Shelly, Henry
 Shepart, Captain Alexander
 Shephard, Miss
 Shephard, Mr
 Shergold, Mr
 Shergold, Mrs
 Shiffner, Mr
 Shirley, George Esq
 Shirley, Hon. George
 Shirley, Hon. Mrs
 Shucknell, Esq
 Shutz, Captain
 Shutz, Esq
 Simpson, Mr
 Simpson, Mrs
 Sims, Major
 Singleton, Jnr Esq
 Singleton, Sydenham Esq
 Skippe, Esq
 Skipwith, Sir Thomas
 Baronet
 Sleech, Mr
 Sleech, Mrs
 Sloane, Esq
 Sloper, Charles Esq
 Sloper, William Charles Esq
 Smee, Mr
 Smith, Aston Esq
 Smith, C.L. Esq
 Smith, Captain
 Smith, Charles Lorain
 Smith, Colonel
 Smith, John Esq
 Smith, Mr
 Smith, Sir John Sylvester
 Smith, Sir William
 Smith, William Esq
 Smithyes, Reverend Mr
 Smyth, Mr
 Snarling, Mr
 Sneyd, Esq
 Sneyd, Hatton Esq
 Sneyd, Walter Esq
 Sonds, Lord
 Southampton, Baron
 Southgate, Mr
 Spencer, Countess Dowager
 Spencer, Earl
 Spencer, Esq
 Spencer, Lord Robert
 Stainforth, Captain
 Stainforth, George Esq
 Stainforth, Richard Esq,
 Stamford, Earl
 Stanfield, David Esq
 Stanger & Griffin
 Stanley, Hon. Thomas
 Stapleton, Lady
 Staypleton, Rt Hon.
 Chetwynd
 Stephens, Col

Stephens, Esq
 Stephens, Philip Esq
 Stephens, Hon. General
 Stephens's Friend, Admiralty
 Stert, Mr
 Stewart, Col
 Stibbert, General
 Stirrup, Mr
 Stone, Esq
 Stoney, Miss
 Stopford, Hon. Mr
 Stopford, Viscount
 Stott, Mr George
 Stracey, Mr
 Straitfield, Mr
 Strange, Sir Robert
 Stranger & Co., Messrs.
 Strangways, Major
 Stretton, Mrs
 Strickland, Mr
 Strickland, Sir George
 Baronet
 Strode, Miss
 Strode, Samuel Esq
 Strode, William Esq
 Stuart, Col
 Stuart, Hon. Colonel
 Stubbs, Mrs
 Sturt, Charles Esq
 Sturt, Henry Esq
 Sturt, Mrs
 Suffolk, Earl
 Sutton, Sir Richard Baronet
 Swain, Mr
 Symes, Mr
 Symmonds, Mr
 Symmonds, Sir Richard
 Symmons, John Esq
 Symmons, Mr
 Symmons, Reverend Mr
 Symons, Reverend Mr

 Talbot, Captain
 Talbot, George Esq
 Talbot, J.C. Esq
 Talbot, Mrs
 Talbot, Hon. Mrs
 Tankerville, Earl
 Tarleton, Thomas Esq
 Tate, Mr
 Tayler, William
 Taylor, Edward Esq
 Taylor, Esq
 Taylor, John Esq
 Taylor, Lady
 Taylor, M.A. Esq
 Taylor, Mr
 Taylor, Mrs
 Taylor, Reverend Mr
 Taylor, Robert
 Taylor, Robert Esq
 Taylor, Sir Robert
 Taylor, William
 Taylor, William Esq
 Temple, Sir Richard Baronet

Templetown, Baroness	Vanderstop, Esq	Wheat, Captain	Worcester, Bishop
Terry, Mr	Vatchell, Captain	Wheate, Sir Jacob Baronet	Worcester, Marquess
Tharp, John Esq	Velley, Captain	Whetham, Thomas Esq	Wordman, Mr
Thelwald, Carter	Velley, Major	Whitbread, Samuel Esq	Wormull
Theobald, Esq	Vere, Baron	White, John	Wrenford, Mr
Theobald, James	Verelst, Mrs	Wilbraham, George	Wrey, Sir Bouchier Baronet
Theobald, Samuel Esq	Vernon, Hon. Mr	Wilbraham, Roger Esq	Wright, Captain
Thistlethwayte, Esq	Vernon, Sir Edward	Wilkins, Nathaniel	Wright, Esq
Thistlethwayte, Reverend	Viera, Mr	Wilkinson, Esq	Wright, James Esq
Thistlethwayte, Robert Esq	Vincent, Lady	Wilkinson, Johnson Esq	Wright, John Esq
Thompson, Esq	Viner, Col	Willes, Edward Esq	Wright, Mrs
Thompson, Mrs	Viner, Mrs	Willes, John Esq	Wright, Reverend Mr
Thompson, Robert	Vitou, Mrs	Willes, Judge	Wright, Sir James Baronet
Thompson, Sir Charles		Willes, Mr	Wright, Sir Sampson Knight
Baronet	Wadelove, Mr	Willes, Mrs	Wyatt, Mr
Thornhill, Mrs	Wakeham, Mr	Willet, Augustus Salter Esq	Wyndham, Esq
Thornton, Col	Wakelin and Tayler. Shop	Willet, Augustus Saltoun	Wyndham, Hon. Charles
Thornwill, Mr	account	Willet, Mrs	Wyndham, Hon. Percy
Tichborne, Mrs	Wakelin, Edward	Williams, James Esq	Wyndham, Mrs
Tierney, George Esq	Wakelin, John	Williams, John (later	Wynne, Rt Honorable Watkin
Tinker, Captain	Walbancke, Edward Esq	Onslow)	Wynter, Mr
Tirney, John Esq	Walcot, Esq	Williams, Jnr Esq,	
Todd, Mr	Walcot, John Esq	Williams, Mary	Yeomans, Mr
Tomlinson, Miss	Waldegrave, Earl	Williams, Mr	Young, Admiral
Townley, Charles Esq	Walker, Alexander Esq	Williams, Mr Percey	Young, Governor
Townley, Mr	Walker, Mr John	Williams, Sir Booth	Young, Reverend Doctor
Townsend, Mr	Walker, Reverend Mr	Willis, Doctor	Young, William Esq
Townshend, Charles Esq	Wallace, Mr	Willis, Mr	Younge, Governor
Townshend, Mr	Wallar, Reverend Mr	Willis, Reverend Thomas	Younge, Reverend Mr
Townshend, Hon. Charles	Waller, Esq	Willock, Mrs	
Townshend, Thomas Esq	Wallop, Hon. Reverend Mr	Willoughby De Broke, Baron	
Tracey, Mrs	Walsingham, Hon. Mrs	Willoughby, Esq	
Tracy, Mrs	Walton, John Esq	Wilmot, Sir Robert Mead	
Trannion, John Esq	Walton, Miss	Baronet	
Trefusis, Miss	Warburton, Mr	Wilson, Daniel Esq	
Trefusis, Miss Anne	Ward, Esq	Wilson, Miss	
Trefusis, Mrs	Ward, Hon. William	Wilson, Mrs	
Trefusis, Robert Cotton Esq	Ward, Mr	Wilson, Reverend Mr	
Tripp, Reverend Mr	Wared, Mr	Wilson, Sir Thomas	
Tryon, George Esq	Watridge, John	Winchester, Bishop	
Tryon, Thomas Esq	Watson, Alexander	Winchester, Dean	
Tuam, Archbishop	Watson, David	Windham, Mrs	
Tucker, Martin Esq	Watson, Doctor	Windham, William	
Tuckfield, Mrs	Watson, Hon. Mr	Winford, Miss	
Tuite, Mrs	Watson, Miss	Winnington, Edward (later	
Tully, Miss	Watson, Mr	Baronet)	
Turing, Mr	Watson, Mr David	Winter & Shee	
Turner, Mrs	Watson, Rt Hon. Mr	Winton, Bishop	
Turney, Miss	Wattlington, Mr	Withers, Mrs	
Tweeddale, Marquess	Webb, Captain (later	Wodehouse, Reverend	
Twopeny, William Esq	Colonel)	Wodehouse, Sir John Baronet	
Tyler, Mr	Webb, Lady	Wood, Captain	
Tyrconnell, Earl	Webb, Mr	Wood, J. Esq	
Tyre & Barrett, Messrs	Webber, Mr	Wood, Mr	
	Webber, Reverend Mr	Wood, Mrs	
Usbourne, J. Esq	Webster, Mr	Wood, Thomas Esq	
Usbourne, Mrs	Wedgwood, Mr	Wood, Thomas Esq Jnr	
Usburne, Mrs	Wells, Mr	Wood, Thomas Jnr	
Uxbridge, Earl	Wells, Mrs	Wood, William Esq	
	West, Esq	Woodcock, Mr	
Valetort, Lord	Westmoreland, Earl	Woodd, Captain	
Valle, Barto	Westmoreland, Lady	Woodd, Mr	
Valle, Mr Berto	Weston, Mr	Woodley, William Esq	
Valle, Mr Peter	Weston, Reverend Mr	Woodman, Mr	
Vandergucht, Mr	Weymouth, Viscount	Woolaston, Doctor	

Appendix B

Transcript of the Wakelin & Tayler ledger entry for the dinner service made for George III

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		Weight			Cost		
1789, March 25:	To a jointed silver cup for an ink holder	Go	1	0	0	7	0
1789, Mar. 25:	To 2 fine chased tureens and stands		402	17 13/6	271	18	6
1789, Mar. 25:	To 2 linings to the tureens		55	3 7/	19	6	3
1789, Mar. 25:	To 2 small tureens and stands to correspond		284	5 13/6	191	7	14
1789, March 25:	To 2 linings		37	8 7/	13	1	8
1789, March 25:	To four round shell bordered dishes		108	1 8/	43	4	5
1789, March 25:	To ten gadroon soup plates to match		199	15 6/6	64	18	8
1789, March 25:	To 26 table plates to match		481	6 6/6	156	8	6
1789, March 25:	To 8 lipd sauce boats to match the tureens		161	10 11/8	8	16	6
1789, March 25:	To 4 fine chased salts and ladles to match		42	2 5/6	11	11	7
1789, March 25:	To making the salts and ladles 63/				12	12	0
1789, March 25:	To 1 large, 2 small gadroon waiters		67	14 7/6	25	7	9
1789, March 25:	To an orange strainer, making 14/		4	9 0	1	18	6
1789, March 25:	To 3 fine chased vases for sugar, pepper and mustard £6 6 ea		44	6 0	31	1	8
1789, March 25:	To 3 spoons for the vases, making 31/		3	7 0	2	9	6
1789, March 25:	To 2 glass linings for the mustard				0	4	0
1789, March 25:	To 4 doz. Shell head table knives to match		68	12 5/6	18	17	4
1789, March 25:	To making 7/ ea				16	16	0
1789, March 25:	To 18 desert knives to match		14	12 5/6	4	0	0
1789, March 25:	To making 7/ ea				6	6	0
1789, March 25:	To 4 doz. Four prong forks to match						
1789, March 25:	To 4 doz. Tablespoons, one doz. Desert forks, one doz. Spoons, one doz. Ragout spoons, four fluted tureen ladles & 8 butter ladles		486	7 5/6	133	14	11
1789, March 25:	To making the table forks 8/ea, spoons 7/ ea				36	0	0
1789, March 25:	To making the desert forks 7/6ea, spoons 6/ ea				8	2	0
1789, March 25:	To making the ragouts 18/ea, tureen ladles 25/ea				21	16	0
1789, March 25:	To taking out the bruises, part of the engraving, repairing, smoothing for gilding the following articles: 6 round salts & spoons, 47 plates, 2 soup plates, 3 salvers, 16 oval dishes, 12 round dishes, 12 salad dishes, a fish plate & trowel, 20 covers, 2 large oval dishes & 2 small waiters				15	15	0
1789, March 25:	To mending a round crewitt frame & furnishing nuts				0	5	0
1789, March 25:	To taking out ciphers & coronets & repairing 24 table knives, 18 desert knives, 18 silver blades & 2 pr carvers				0	2	2
1789, Dec.10th:	To 2 very large mahogany cases lined with velvet to hold				9	9	0
1789, Dec. 10th:	To new lining: lacing & repairing 3 old ones	Go	15	18	3	13	6
TOTAL is					1,212	0	7
1789, Dec. 10th:	To taking out ciphers & coronets from 24 table knives, 24 desert knives repairing several of the hafts, taking out ciphers and coronets from 2 prs of carvers, & repairing 24 silver desert blades				15	2	2
1789, Dec. 10th:	To taking out ciphers & coronets from 24 table spoons, 24 table forks, 24 desert spoons & 24 desert forks				4	16	0
1789, Dec. 10th:	To duty on 2461 14 @ 6d/oz.				61	10	0

Appendix C

The purchases of Lady Mary Coke

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		Weight			Cost		
1776, Dec. 21:	To 6 gold pins				1	1	0
1776, Dec. 23:	To a glass mirror to a silver toothpick case				0	3	6
16/1/1777:	To a filigree quadrille tool				2	12	6
3/2/1777:	To a shank to a gold watch key added				0	8	6
3/3/1777:	To a pair asparagus tongs fa 18/		5	10 0	2	9	7
10/4/1777:	To lackering the branches of a pair of ormolu candlesticks				0	5	0
27/11/1777:	To a new glass to a toothpick case				0	3	6
2/9/1778:	To a pr plain oval salts		6	19 5/8	1	19	5

2/9/1778:	To making 16/ ea, gilding insides	4/ea				2	0	0	
2/9/1778:	To 2 plain spoons		0	19	1/20	0	0	8	0
2/9/1778:	To engraving 4 cyphers & coronets					0	5	0	
2/9/1778:	To setting 2 rose diamonds to 2 hat pins					0	6	0	
1/3/1779:	To 4 scollop shells		9	10	5/6	2	12	3	
1/3/1779:	To making 12/ea, engrav cyphers and coronets 1/3ea					2	13	0	
15/3/1779:	To setting a large jesamine pin with her own brilliants					5	5	0	
15/3/1779:	To 8 pearls to match	@3/				1	4	0	
15/4/1779:	To a pierced fish knife		3	18	5/6	1	1	6	
15/4/1779:	To making 25/, Eng cypher and coronet	1/3				1	6	3	
15/4/1779:	To a silver gilt butter trowel with ivory handle		1	2	0	1	4	0	
15/4/1779:	To engrav. A cypher and coronet					0	1	3	

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20/5/1779:	To a pair of silver shoe buckles					1	6	0	
22/5/1779:	To mending a mustard ladle					0	1	0	
24/6/1779:	To a gilt butter trowel like the last with ivory handle eng.								
	A cypher and coronet	1/3	1	5	0	1	6	3	
8/1/1780:	To 4 small twisted skewers with rings to match		3	11	5/7	0	19	10	
8/1/1780:	To making	2/6ea				0	10	0	
11/1/1780:	To a pierced gilt bottle ticket to match 9/, & gilding the old one 3/					0	12	0	
29/1/1780:	To mending a plated hand candlestick					0	1	0	
2/2/1780:	To a small stand for 2 lights		18	11	5/7	5	3	7	
2/2/1780:	To making (no graving)					3	3	0	
2/2/1780:	To a small pincushion stand, gilt, and cushion for 2 pins		0	19	0	1	11	6	
21/2/1780:	To fixing joints to a pair emerald and brilliant earrings					0	6	0	
20/5/1780:	To making a rose diamond stay hook		1	1	0				
10/6/1780:	To mending a plated hand candlestick		0	1	6				
17/3/1781:	To furnishing a stone to a paste shoe buckle		0	1	0				
23/3/1781:	To a toilet ink stand with a nozil for a candle gilt					4	14	6	
23/3/1781:	Additional nozzle					0	10	6	
7/4/1781:	To 2 fine antique terrines and covers		165	10	9/7	4	9	6	
7/4/1781:	To engr. 4 cyphers & coronets	2/ea				0	8	0	
8/5/1781:	To setting a single ruby for a pin					0	6	6	
8/5/1781:	To altering the size of a brilliant ruby ring					0	3	0	
8/5/1781:	To a pair fine paste shoe buckles					3	13	6	
29/5/1781:	To a pair silver buckles					1	5	0	
25/6/1781:	To a tortoiseshell toothpick case with concave glass					0	10	0	
5/7/1781:	To links to pair metal sleeve buttons					0	0	6	
2/11/1781:	To setting 19 rose diamonds out 3 pins into one flower pin		Go.	2	15	0	18	0	
1/1/1782:	To 3 glass Figine shades		wt	13	1/9	1	2	9	
12/1/1782:	To setting a cluster rose diamond pin					1	4	0	
18/5/1782:	To mending the hook of a Bt drop					0	3	0	
22/5/1782:	To stringing a pair of bracelets of 3 rows each					0	7	6	
9/7/1782:	To a job					0	6	6	
24/8/1782:	To furnishing a stone to a paste shoe buckle					0	1	0	
17/9/1782:	To mending a reading candlestick adding new nutt & furnishing a tin shade								
	to do painted green shade	go 0 9	0	2	0	0	5	6	
15/1/1783:	To setting a brilliant hand pin, diamonds her own		Go.	4	12	1	8	0	
23/1/1783:	To a pair silver buckles	go 8 0				2	2	0	
29/1/1783:	To setting sundry Bts for 2 necklaces and repairing & altering many Collars of her own					8	10	0	

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17/2/1783:	To setting large brilliant jasmine pin out of a bow		Go.	7	12	6	16	6	
15/3/1783:	To a box of diamond powder (not to be charged)					0	0	0	
30/4/1783:	To making a tortoise shell toothpick case to a glass and resilvering					0	9	0	
18/7/1783:	To a pair shoe buckles					3	3	0	
26/7/1783:	To 3 pearls	1/4d ea				0	4	0	
28/7/1783:	To 4 beaded teaspoons		2	6	5/11	0	11	10	
28/7/1783:	To making 2/3ea, eng 4 cyphers and coronets 1/3 ea					0	14	0	
20/9/1783:	To a globular tea vase (was Ramgartner's [sic?])		68	17	8/6	29	5	3	
20/9/1783:	To eng. a cypher and coronet on the body 3/ do on the foot & cover 3/					0	6	0	
20/9/1783:	To gilding					10	0	0	

20/9/1783:	To red leather case				0 18 0
20/9/1783:	To setting a diamond pin				1 16 0
2/10/1783:	To setting a diamond hand pin				1 11 6
31/10/1783:	To a tortoiseshell trunk toothpick case with concave glass				0 10 0
5/1/1784:	To a silver bodkin	0	2	0	0 4 0
15/3/1784:	To fixing a cipher in a diamond bracelet				0 3 0
18/3/1784:	To stringing a pair of pearl bracelets				0 7 6
18/3/1784:	To furnishing 5 pearls to match @ 2/6 ea				0 12 6
20/3/1784:	To stringing a pearl pin and furnishing a frame				0 10 6
26/3/1784:	To a black jett pin 5/, a hand pin 2/6				0 7 6
8/5/1784:	To regilding a large chased sugar basket in 2 colours in the best manner	Go	9	0	2 4 0
20/5/1784:	To a pair silver buckles				2 6 0
5/6/1784:	To setting an oval brilliant buckle for a hatt	Go	10	12	2 12 6
23/6/1784:	To a copper box for a gilt tea vase to receive a heater	Go.	0	12	0 4 0
25/6/1784:	To regilding part of the foot of a globular tea vase	Go	1	12	0 8 0
25/6/1784:	To new lining on the handles	Go.	0	18 0	0 4 6
30/8/1784:	To a muffineer				0 16 0
11/3/1785:	To a plain gold bracelet clasp	Go.	3	18	0 18 0
14/4/1785:	To stringing a small pearl Jesamine pin on a pearl frame				0 5 0
22/4/1785:	To stringing a star hand of pin & furnishing pearls				0 18 0
30/5/1785:	To 4 gadrooned kidney shaped comport dishes		65	0 7/4	23 16 8
30/5/1785:	To a bag 2/6 Kings duty 6/ oz				1 15 0
30/5/1785:	To a wainscot case to contain sundrys	Go	9	0	2 2 0
31/5/1785:	To mending a buckle				0 1 6

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14/7/1785:	To setting a brilliant hand pin	Go.	7	0	1 14 0
22/2/1786:	To setting a very large brilliant jesamine pin 492 bts,	Go	116 (Simes)		11 11 0
28/2/1786:	To a pair fine fluted candlesticks		25	18 5/5	7 0 4
28/2/1786:	To making and filling £5 15 6, duty 13/, eng. 2 crests and coronets 2/6				7 0 4
28/2/1786:	To making a pair round plain nozzles to candlesticks fa 7/5		2	1 7	1 3 0
31/3/1786:	To setting a large rose diamond pin (Simes)				2 2 0
24/4/1786:	To a pair fine cut shoe buckles				1 15 0
24/4/1786:	To repairing a tortoiseshell toothpick case 3/, do a gold toothpick 1/6				0 4 6
3/6/1786:	To pair shoe buckles 26/, a pair patent knees 10/6				1 16 6
24/4/1787:	To fixing the bottom of a candlestick and covering				0 2 0
18/6/1787:	To making a new stem to a diamond pin (Simes)				0 3 0
2/2/1788:	To setting a rose diamond stay hook				2 10 0
10/5/1788:	To mending a diamond bracelet and a new gold stem to a hand pin				0 7 0
30/5/1788:	To boiling and burnishing a filigree Pool Go. 0 12				0 4 0
9/7/1788:	To mending the string of a bracelet				0 1 0
26/7/1788:	To a fluted green ivory table knife with silver cap and ferrule				0 6 0
26/7/1788:	To a plain pol. 4 prong table fork and a spoon		5	1 5/6	1 7 4
26/7/1788:	To making the fork 3/6, spoon 2/9, eng. 3 cyphers and coronets 3/9, Duty 2/6				0 12 6
26/7/1788:	To a fish skin case for do				0 7 6
29/11/1788:	To a new stem for a diamond pin	Go.	0	1 2	0 3 6
10/3/1789:	To pinning a diamond bracelet (Simes)				0 2 0
27/3/1789:	To soldering 2 hooks to a brilliant drop (Simes)	Go.	0	9	0 4 6
1/4/1789:	To setting a cluster brilliant & emerald button, fine gold setting,	Go.	13	6	3 3 0
1/4/1789:	To furnishing emeralds	Go.	0	10 1/2 ea	1 0 0
9/4/1789:	A silver bodkin	Go.	0	12	0 3 6
17/4/1789:	To altering a pair of diamond earrings into buttons	Go	1	6	0 10 6
4/6/1789:	To 6 engraved teaspoons		3	6 5/6	0 18 2
4/6/1789:	To making 2/, gilding 2/5ea, duty 1/8, no graving				1 8 8
18/7/1789:	To a muffineer gilt outside with glass				1 2 0
4/8/1789:	To 24 fluted table knife shafts		28	17 5/6	7 18 9
4/8/1789:	To making 3/6 ea, no engraving, 24 best blades 24/				5 8 0
4/8/1789:	To 12 plain polished French'd table spoons		27	16 5/6	7 13 0
4/8/1789:	To making 3/ea, no engraving				1 16 0
4/8/1789:	To cash paid King's Duty on 56 13				1 8 4
4/8/1789:	To setting to right & polishing 36 table forks				0 6 0
4/8/1789:	To a mahogany case lin'd & partitioned with green cloth for sundry knives forks etc	Go.	11	6	2 15 0
19/8/1789:	To fixing the bottom of a candlestick				0 1 0

18/1/1790:	To stringing a diamond necklace				0	2	0	
18/1/1790:	To a pair of chased candlesticks	26	17	0	12	12	0	
18/1/1790:	To a pair oval salts with square feet to match	6	10	5/6	1	15	9	
18/1/1790:	To making and gilding the insides 20/ea, eng. ciphers ornamental in oval 1/3 ea				2	2	6	
18/1/1790:	To 2 gadrooned salt spoons to match (no eng)	0	11	0	0	8	0	
18/1/1790:	To King's Duty 7 1 3/7				0	3	7	
4/2/1790:	To stringing [a diamond necklace crossed out]				0	2	0	
4/2/1790:	To a new blade to a table shaft				0	1	0	
23/4/1790:	To repairing a diamond pin				0	4	6	
11/9/1790:	To Colouring and burnishing 2 salvers				1	5	0	
11/9/1790:	To regilding 12 knives & 9 fork hafts				2	12	6	
11/9/1790:	To gilding 3 new fork hafts				0	9	0	
11/9/1790:	To regilding 12 fork prongs				1	4	0	
11/9/1790:	To new making 3 fork handles				0	7	6	
29/11/1790:	To a black handkerchief pin				0	4	6	
23/10/1790:	To a large hand pin				0	12	0	
19/2/1791:	To 2 oval gadrooned compote dishes and covers	65	10	8/6	27	16	9	
19/2/1791:	To cash paid Kings Duty				1	12	9	
31/5/1791:	To mending a mustard ladle				0	1	0	
11/6/1791:	To fine brilliant cluster ring with brilliant urn on enamel				80	0	0	
11/6/1791:	To regilding 6 chased tea spoons, a strainer and a pr tongs				0	18	0	
26/8/1791:	To regilding 12 knife and 12 fork handles	2/6 ea			3	0	0	
26/8/1791:	To do 12 fork prongs	2/ea			1	4	0	
11/10/1791:	To gilding 2 escallopd shell dishes	Go	1	6	1	6	0	
4/11/1791:	To repairing a tortoiseshell toothpick case				0	1	6	
9/1/1792:	To 6 second hand teaspoons and a pair sugar tongs				4	4	0	
9/1/1792:	To taking out the engraving & polishing as new (Crossley)				1	6	6	
9/3/1792:	To filling a plated candlestick				0	1	6	
9/3/1792:	To 2 beaded teaspoons	0	17	0	0	9	9	
9/3/1792:	To engraving 2 cyphers and coronets				0	2	6	
12/3/1792:	To repairing a shell toothpick case	Go	0	9	0	2	0	
12/3/1792:	To 4 2nd hand teaspoons		1	8	6/6	0	9	2
31/3/1792:	To furnishing a silver stem to a pearl pin	Go.	0	9	0	2	6	
15/6/1792:	To gilding the rims of a china jug and altering the foot	Go.	1	18		0	10	0

Letters from America: James Dixon & Sons and the American market, 1835–63

RACHEL CONROY

James Dixon & Sons was one of the largest and most prolific manufacturers of flatware, hollow-ware and cutlery in Sheffield. Their importance to Sheffield, its people and the industry endures 200 years after they were first established. The firm is perhaps best known for its achievements in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, particularly sporting trophies, silver goods and the designs by Christopher Dresser. However, it has a fascinating early history that provides a good context for its later successes.

The early days, 1806–35

The earliest stages of the company are slightly unclear. It appears that James Dixon (1776–1852) founded his own business in 1806, making Britannia Metal goods from a workshop in Silver Street.¹ By 1807, he was in partnership with Thomas Smith, trading as Dixon & Smith.² The partnership appears to have been dissolved in 1822–23, perhaps as a result of Smith's retirement.³ The business was clearly profitable, as the famous Cornish Place factory opened during the final stages of the partnership in 1822. This building was located on the River Don, enabling the use of steam power to drive the machinery, increasing the rate and capacity of production and, consequently, the ambitions of the firm.

A trade card gives an insight into Dixon & Smith's marketing strategy.⁴ [fig 1] The card describes the firm as 'Dealers in Cutlery and Manufacturers of Britannia Metal Goods, Tin Patty Pans, Scollops &c'. The imagery employed is suggestive of trade: a tall ship sails in the background and an anchor lies in the foreground. A beehive perhaps symbolises industry. Interestingly, the firm is listed in an 1814–15 directory as 'canteen makers'.⁵

The aspirations of the middle classes meant that the Britannia Metal market was growing rapidly in Sheffield during the early 1800s. Dixon & Smith created a range of goods designed to appeal to this consumer group. The firm produced hand-finished goods with the appearance of silver at a fraction of the cost. Britannia Metal could be used to make a vast range of objects, though its softness meant it was not particularly suited to knives, forks or highly elaborate designs.⁶ Firms in Sheffield replicated fashionable designs produced in silver and Old Sheffield plate, often making use of the same dies. In June and July 1806 Dixon placed orders with Mark Tyzack for dies and tools.⁷ These included a 'cream jug model', 'oblong tee pot part', 'die cutlery' and a 'fluting punch'. The order amounted to £14 6s, a considerable sum of money. As well as the desire to create fashionable objects, the sheer expense of manufacturing equipment also goes some way to explain the use of the same die for producing goods in different metals.

At least in the earliest years, most of Dixon's trade was in Sheffield and London, supplying both individuals and retailers.⁸ A price list from around 1816 gives an indication of some of the tin table and cooking wares that Dixon & Smith were producing.⁹



1 Trade card of Dixon & Smith, circa 1807–1822.
(Sheffield Local Studies Library)

1 J.L. Scott, *Peawter Wares from Sheffield*, Baltimore 1980, p40.

2 This date is based on entries in the name 'Dixon & Smith' in an 1807 sales ledger, Dixon Archive, Sheffield Archives (hereafter Dixon), B266.

3 Dr Joan Unwin, personal communication 2006.

4 William Fawcett's Scrapbook, Sheffield Local

Studies Library, 082.2 SSTQ (hereafter Fawcett).

5 Wardle & Bentham Commercial Directory 1814–1815, Sheffield Local Studies Library, 914.274 S.

6 Scott (as note 1), p32.

7 Dixon (as note 2) B266, p86.

8 Dixon (as note 2) B266.

9 Bradbury Archive, Sheffield Archives, BR266.



2 Trade card of Dixon & Son, circa 1823-24.
(Sheffield Local Studies Library)



3 Trade card advertising 'Best Sheffield Plate' goods,
circa 1835. (Sheffield Local Studies Library)

'Crinkled Patties' were available in round, oval, oblong or square shapes and in a range of sizes. Large oval varieties were the most expensive, at 34s per gross. Large scallop shells were more expensive still, at 48s per gross. Tin plates for 'table', 'table soup', 'small soup' and dessert were available and sold by the dozen.

A catalogue of the same date also gives an indication of the surprising range of goods being produced in Britannia Metal.¹⁰ This includes not only the expected teapots and tea wares in various sizes and patterns, but a significant range of other affordable and desirable household and personal goods: casters, mustard pots, standishes, snuff boxes, snuffers and candlesticks. In addition to these everyday objects, there are a number of goods that suggest Dixon & Smith were attempting to appeal to a wealthier clientele with a taste for fine dining, as evidenced by the presence of a range of table accoutrements of varying degrees of elaboration and cost. Perhaps most surprising is the availability of an ornate cruet frame comparable in design to those often found in Old Sheffield plate made from the late eighteenth century.¹¹ The frame has three glass bottles and three different price options for customers. The cheapest makes use of 'common glass' and is priced at 15s; the middle range is 'half cut' at 18s 6d and the most expensive is 'best cut' at 22s. Dixon & Smith also appear to have been catering for the ecclesiastical market: a 'christening bason' is illustrated in this catalogue.

After Thomas Smith had left the partnership, William Frederick Dixon (1802-71), aged 21, joined his father to create James Dixon & Son. In the initial stages, production was carried out at both Silver Street and Cornish Place. A trade card dating from this time gives both addresses and describes the firm as 'Manufacturers of Britannia Metal Goods' and 'Silver and Plated Manufactory [sic]'.¹² [fig 2] At this point they were also still maximising their market appeal by making tin goods.¹³ Around 1824, Dixon & Son eventually moved operations entirely to Cornish Place.

As well as continuing to produce its successful Britannia Metal range the firm expanded further by capturing new markets. James Dixon registered the mark D&S as a silversmith, with Sheffield Assay Office, in 1829. The firm were able to begin producing silver and Old Sheffield plate by purchasing the assets of the firm Nicholson, Ashforth & Cutts in 1830.¹⁴ By 1833 they were listed as 'manufacturers of silver, silver plated and Britannia metal goods, copper powder flasks, shot belts &c, and silver and metal rollers'.¹⁵

James Willis Dixon (1813-76), the second son of James Dixon, joined the firm in 1835 and James Dixon & Sons was finally formed. This was also the year that Dixon's registered their first Old Sheffield plate mark, D*S. Trade cards indicate that plated goods were marketed under slightly different trade names at around this time. Trade cards for James Dixon & Sons (ie shortly after plate began to be made by James Dixon & Son) tell us that goods marked D*S were marketed as 'Best Sheffield Plate' with 'silver mountings'. [fig 3] This type of finish caused disputes between London and Sheffield craftsmen during the 1790s as the silver mounts masked the underlying copper visible at the edge of Old Sheffield plate goods, enabling a closer replication of silver.¹⁶ Dixon's also began to manufacture British Plate goods (silver on a core of nickel silver) around this time.¹⁷ [fig 4] Goods in German silver (also known as nickel silver), an alloy of nickel, copper and zinc, also began to be made in 1835.

10 Bradbury (as note 9)
BR266.

11 See Frederick Bradbury,
History of Old Sheffield Plate,
London 1912, pp271-74 for
examples in Old Sheffield
plate.

12 Fawcett (as note 4).

13 Commercial Directory
of Sheffield 1825, Sheffield
Local Studies Library,
914.274 S.

14 Scott (as note 1), p44.

15 Bradbury (as note 11),
p496.

16 P. Glanville, *Silver in
England*, Unwin Hyman,
London and Sydney 1987,
p111.

17 Harold Newman, *An
Illustrated Dictionary of
Silverware*, London 1987,
p51.

James Willis Dixon in the United States, 1835–36

It is against this strong background that the firm was able to begin a serious attempt to break into the American market. Trade between Sheffield and the east coast of America had been continuing since the late seventeenth century and was of marked importance to the development and success of Sheffield's metalwork industry.¹⁸ Trade boomed around the 1850s as a result of massive population increase and high demand for affordable goods of a quality that could not be achieved by American craftsmen.¹⁹

The task of establishing an American consumer base appears to have been given to the young James Willis Dixon during his first year in the family business. At just 22 years of age, James Willis spent time travelling in the United States establishing clients (including both retailers and wealthy individuals), taking orders and organising shipments of goods via Liverpool. A short series of letters written by James Willis to Cornish Place give a clear impression of some of the difficulties he faced, as well as the excitement of expanding the business overseas.²⁰ [fig 6] These letters date from October 1835 to June 1836 and give an account of his travels in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and New York. Although the letters provide only a brief glimpse into the firm's history, they do so at a key point in time and can inform us of the firm's aims, ambitions and shortfalls.

Writing from Tremont House in Boston on 28 October 1835 (incidentally the first hotel with indoor plumbing, built in 1829), James Willis complains that the 'Brig in which I shipped my patterns at Baltimore had not arrived (nor has it yet) in consequence of bad foggy weather'. This highlights the unpredictable nature of transporting goods by cargo ship. This problem would be particularly pertinent when an Atlantic crossing was undertaken. James Willis reports that business is otherwise healthy. One Boston retailer, Jones Lows & Ball, had written to Cornish Place to duplicate their order with 'minor exceptions'. He reports having sold all fourteen casks of goods that had recently been sent from Cornish Place to Boston, remarking 'they literally want more. Let them have goods'.

On a slight deviation, while waiting for his shipment of goods to arrive James Willis headed to Lowell in Massachusetts, 'The American Manchester ... and well does it deserve the name'. Francis Cabot Lowell, an American businessman, had established this purpose-built mill town in 1822. He reported seeing 'carpet, printing & woollen' mills, 'with which I was very much pleased'.

It is clear that James Willis was a shrewd businessman and was carefully planning to ensure the long-term stability of the American market. He warns

[n]ext season you may expect large orders for flasks & German Silver & am of the opinion your increase will be much needed to supply the demand. German Silver (we call it here) will be a far more important branch than it is now so prepare for it.

Also in this letter, James Willis lists a number of companies interested in making orders that will contact Cornish Place directly, including a 'Y S & Co for about 11 casks'. He states

... if you execute all their orders to time, may expect double next season. So pray do - if not, they will be on shelves till fall season, & orders consequently very small. Excuse the mentioning of this so often, but I now see its very great importance.



4 Trade card advertising British Plate, circa 1835. (Sheffield Local Studies Library)

18 D. Hey, 'Introduction', in *The Cutting Edge. An exhibition of Sheffield Tools*, organised by the Ruskin Gallery, Sheffield, Collection of the Guild of St George. Sheffield Design & Print, Sheffield 1992, p11.

19 J. Symonds (ed), *The Historical Archaeology of the*

Sheffield Cutlery and Tableware Industry 1750-1900, 2002, pp4-6. T.G. Tweedale, *The Sheffield Knife Book. A History and Collectors' Guide*, The Hallamshire Press, Sheffield, 1996, p27.

20 Documents c/o Florence Milo Hunt (née Dixon).

In addition to aiming for the highest standards and speed of production, Dixon's were willing to extend themselves further to please their fledgling relationships with American customers. The letters indicate that they were willing to invest in the creation of goods that replicated popular American styles in order to make orders. James Willis writes:

[t]rust you are in due receipt of parcel ... containing samples of spoons for Philadelphia & Baltimore. If we are to do an extended trade in this article German Silver in these cities, must comply with their patterns.

These were presumably fashionable patterns that Dixon's could copy back at Cornish Place and supply in silver, Britannia Metal, German silver or Old Sheffield plate at a lower cost to the customer than examples made in America. This expansion of styles would have financial implications for Dixon's, as expensive dies would have to be bought to achieve the new patterns.

There are a number of duplicate orders dating to 27 October 1835 among these letters. Although perhaps no more than a snapshot, they give an impression of the kinds of the goods that appealed to the American market, which were not dissimilar to those popular in England at this time. One of these is a duplicate order for Jacob Daley of Baltimore, presumably a merchant or dealer. His order is for a large number of goods in Britannia Metal and German silver. The Britannia Metal goods include pairs of candlesticks, trays, glass 'castors', pickle frames, baskets, tumblers, snuffers and oblong plate warmers. A second duplicate order is for a John E. Pigden of Baltimore, consisting of orders for several dozen flasks, also chargers, spoons, bottles, ladles and glass 'castors'. There is a note at the bottom, which states

[t]o be sent with the previous order, when you are in receipt of the cash. He is rich, but very troublesome to settle with. So he shall never stand Dr [in debt] on our books.

The American perception of Sheffield goods was that they were of impeccable quality. Savvy American import companies used this reputation and desirability as a marketing tool. Having received a shipment of goods firms would advertise these exciting, newly-arrived articles in city newspapers. A number of these survive in William Fawcett's scrapbook of ephemera dating from the 1830s–50s, which is part of the collection at Sheffield Local Studies Library.²¹ [fig 5] Fawcett, James Dixon's son-in-law, became a partner in the firm after James Dixon retired in 1842 and was inaugurated as Mayor of Sheffield in 1855. As well as giving an impression of how these goods were marketed in their destination country, they also give a further indication of the types of goods that the American consumers were demanding. Britannia Metal appears to be the predominant concern, though this may reflect a bias in Fawcett's interests, as he was head of the Britannia Metal side of the business.²² Several of these advertisements from

around 1836 are transcribed below:

Britannia Ware. – We have factories in this country of Britannia Ware in successful operation, but we believe the largest establishment of this and plated ware is that of James Dixon & Sons at Sheffield. It has been thirty years in operation, and employs 400 workmen. Some very choice and elegant specimens have been imported by Delavan. 36 Maiden lane [sic], particularly a pyramidical salver of elegant and tasteful workmanship, which, among other elegant articles, is really worth seeing.

An advertisement placed by the firm W. & J. Jameson, The Furnishing Warehouse, 252 and 255 Greenwich:

Britannia Tea Setts – Dixon & Son's Britannia Ware of various patterns, just received, together with a large assortment of Block Tin COFFEE AND TEA URNS and a variety of Fine Gothic and Sandwich TEA TRAYS AND WAITERS. Also, polished steel FIRE SETTS.

An advertisement placed by Elisha Knight & Son, 93 John Street (no city given):

BRITANNIA WARE, – The subscribers have a great variety of TAUNTON, DIXON & SONS, Tea and Coffee Urns, Tea Sets &c. together with a complete assortment of common Britannia and Block Tin Ware, which they offer at extremely low prices, wholesale and retail.

A letter book held at Sheffield Archives indicates that James Willis seems to have been primarily communicating with his elder brother, William Frederick.²³ Transcriptions of numerous letters from William Frederick sent between 1835 and 1841 are recorded in this book. These letters detail orders placed and also the timing of orders to be made up and shipped, as well as general notes on negotiating prices, etc. A letter from William Frederick dating to 30 August 1836 gives a very different impression to the buoyancy described by James Willis a year earlier.

We are sorry to hear there is so little desposition to order on present terms and prices, perhaps this is the most unfortunate season that you could have possibly gone out, and will call for all your patience and christian [sic] fortitude, but we would recommend you not to be or appear too anxious to make sales, but that our friends exercise their own opinion whether it is prudent to buy at this season...I must again repeat what I have before said don't be too anxious to make sales this season the consumption is going on and the goods will be wanted next season if they are not this.

There are many reasons as to why business might have peaks and troughs, for example increased costs in raw materials or transporting goods. However, another interesting advertisement from Fawcett's scrapbook suggests an additional factor; it was placed by Young, Smith & Co., 4 Maiden Lane (no city given):

Taunton Britannia Ware – The subscribers, agents for the manufacturers have constantly on hand a supply of these goods, made after the most approved patterns of Dixon & Sons of Sheffield, of equal finish and superior metal, and consisting of Tea and Coffee Pots, Sugars and Creams, Slop Bowls, Urns, Castors, Communion Service, Baptismal

JUST RECEIVED,



Per ship Alleghany, a large assortment of rich and elegant **PLATED WARE**, consisting of Tea and Coffee Sets, Coffee Urns, Cake and Bread Baskets, several sets of Dishes, and covers of the richest plate and various patterns; a large quantity of the most fashionable Castors, with rich cut glass, &c.; rich double plated Waiters, of all sizes, 50 full sets of Church Plate, consisting of Flaggons, Cups, Plates and Christening Bowls, of the richest double plate, and as handsome as any silver sets, the plating of which will last for ages; a variety of patterns of Candlesticks; Chamber do; Table and Tea Spoons, at all prices; Table and Dessert Forks, plated on steel—also, German Silver Table, Dessert and Tea Spoons; Table and Dessert Forks, &c. &c.; Britannia Ware, of every pattern from Dixon & Son's Manufactory, Sheffield; a constant supply of Silver Plate, Spoons, Forks, &c. kept on hand, or made to order at the shortest notice.

R. & W. WILSON,
may 11 S. W. corner of 5th and Cherry st.

5 American advertisement announcing the arrival of a new shipment from Dixon's. (Sheffield Local Studies Library)

Founts [sic], Coffin Plates and Shaving Boxes, which they offer for sale in quantities to suit purchasers on favourable terms.²⁴

The threat of competition from American retailers must have been an issue for Dixon's, particularly if their patterns were being copied at a cheaper retail price, as this advertisement suggests.

Expansion and troubled times, 1835–63

Though there are gaps in the records at Sheffield Archives, it appears that Dixon's American trade followed the general trend by continuing to develop and strengthen between 1835 and 1860. James Willis Dixon Jnr (1838–1917) was born in New York and became an important figure in the family firm. It is likely that he continued the groundwork made by his father in the 1830s by helping to manage the American side of the business.

A ledger covering the period 1846–57 helps to understand how things developed a decade or so after James Willis' initial letters.²⁵ It is certainly apparent that foreign trade had expanded. In this document are records relating to one A.J. Hoffstaedt of 4 Bridge Street, Blackfriars, London. Transactions relating to Mr Hoffstaedt are described as 'Sales on Commission'. He seems to have acted as an agent for Dixon's between 1849 and 1857 working in foreign sales, most often with individuals rather than firms. His list of orders is impressive, including clients in Manchester, Amsterdam, Frankfurt, London, The Hague, Cologne, Brussels, Vienna, Geneva and Aix la Chapelle.

21 Fawcett (as note 4).

22 Unwin (as note 3).

23 Dixon (as note 2) B40 letter book 1835–41.

24 Fawcett (as note 4).

25 Dixon (as note 2) B243, North American private ledger.

Innocent House, Boston
28th Oct 1835.

Mr. James Dixon Yours
Very Dear Father & Mother

Having had

the pleasure of receiving your parcel this day
containing newspapers, letters from Mr. W.W.F.D.,
& Sarah Maria. very much to my satisfaction,
for which I heartily tender my thanks.
Was sorry to hear my Father was un-
well but trust long ere this he is re-
gaining convalescent.

6 Extract from a letter written by James Willis Dixon, October 1835. (By kind permission of Mrs Florence Milo Hunt (née Dixon))

Many payments were paid through the Bank of Commerce, others through James Hale, who appears to have worked as an agent or representative in Philadelphia 1847–53. Also in this ledger are entries of payments made by and to him and the names of companies and individuals who had placed orders through Hale.

A list of 'Bills Receivable' in this ledger lists bills (ie bank payments) received from various clients, including Tiffany & Co. and Ball, Black & Co. The latter was owned by Henry Ball, William Black and Ebenezer Monroe. They were based on Broadway, occupying a large building opposite New York City Hall. A contemporary advertisement described them as 'Manufacturers & Importers of Silver & Plated Ware, Diamonds, Watches &c'.²⁶ In addition to New York, orders were coming in from Toronto, Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Montreal, among others.

It is certain that the introduction of American import tax in 1861, the year the Civil War began, considerably reduced the American market for a time.²⁷ An American sales ledger dating from this period indicates that some firms were still placing orders up to 1863, but no orders after this date are recorded in this document.²⁸ More widely, trade between Sheffield and America saw a short-lived downturn during the 1860s. However, by the early 1870s the market had increased its momentum and even surpassed pre-Civil War expectations.²⁹

The sales ledger lists the monies owed by particular firms and individuals and the dates and means by which these were settled. Unfortunately, they do not give details of the particular items ordered, aside from the odd reference to, for example, 'Canada Pattern'. By

1858, James Willis Snr's groundwork appears to have reaped considerable rewards. In New York alone Dixon's were supplying a number of notable firms. These included Tiffany & Co., who placed orders amounting to \$2,166.19 between July and November 1860. The onset of the Civil War seems not to have had an immediately devastating effect, as transactions continued through 1861–63. However, the orders amounted to only \$4,472.65 over this period, a considerable reduction compared to 1860.³⁰

E.V. Haughwout & Co., based in a seven-storey building on Broadway, placed small orders with Dixon's during 1858–59. This company manufactured goods, as well as importing objects from specialist European manufacturers on a large scale. They stocked a wide range of luxury goods, including silver, silver plate, antiques, chandeliers, porcelain and wholesale crockery for hotels and liners.³¹ Haughwout & Co. would often decorate or embellish goods bought in from manufacturers, presumably to cater for the taste of their wealthy clientele.

The same ledger records several large orders placed by Ball, Black & Co. 1858–63. An engraving of the interior of their premises shows they operated on a large scale, with a lower shop floor lined with the usual tall, glass-fronted cabinets and a show room on the upper floor. As well as trading with these and other significant retailers, Dixon's were also providing goods for the service industry. One such firm was Treadwell Whitcomb & Co., proprietors of the St Nicholas Hotel.³²

The situation is not entirely clear, but some firms listed in the ledger may have been acting as middlemen. One example is Courtney & Tennent (possibly New York), who have large numbers of orders listed.

However, these are unusual as the entries suggest orders were placed on behalf of individuals. For example, on 11 August 1859 an order totalling \$19 is recorded as 'To Goods "Arthur Kendell"',³³ The bill is recorded as having been settled in cash received from this individual on 11 January 1860. Arthur Kendell is listed again on 26 April 1860, placing an order for \$14 of goods, which was paid on 30 November 1862.

A number of orders seem to have considerably delayed payments. This is even true of some of the large companies that appear on the books. Tiffany & Co. are an exception to this rule, settling orders in good time and sometimes seemingly in advance of orders being sent out.³⁴ The two orders listed for E.V. Haughwout & Co. described above took months to settle. Orders placed in April and May 1858 were not paid until the December. An entry for Wagner & McCullough of Boston lists orders dating to between August 1860 and January 1861 (totalling \$167.11) that were not settled until October 1863. A note written on this account states 'Very long Credit And no Interest'. It is possible that the firm in question had financial or organisational problems (they appear to change their name several times between 1858 and 1863). However, this was probably not the best way for Dixon's to run a profitable trade business.

The firm Bailey Chapman & Co. of Boston also appear to have caused Dixon's some problems. An 1859 order for \$263.48 was not paid in full, leaving a \$209.92 unpaid debt.³⁵ A pencilled note added to the record in May 1860 suggests the firm partnership of Bailey and Chapman had split, leaving an agent in charge of the business. It reads 'Stock selling slowly- the agent Mr [illegible] not allowed to purchase anything. Bailey is now assistant at a Watchmaker. Chapman is Clerk with J Watts & [illegible]'.

It is unclear whether the order dates recorded in the ledger refer to the date the order was placed, or the date the order was despatched from Cornish Place. In either eventuality, payments were often delayed considerably. It is easy to imagine that this could have created significant cash flow problems for Dixon's. There are possible explanations for the delayed payments, not least the considerable journey undertaken by the dispatched goods. Upon leaving Sheffield, they would have been sent to Liverpool and after being placed on a cargo steam ship, the lengthy Atlantic crossing would have been undertaken, which could last up to several treacherous weeks.³⁶ Upon arrival at Boston Dock or Battery, New York (the journey to Boston being slightly shorter³⁷), the goods would have been dispatched to their respective destinations.

An additional factor is that the vast majority of transactions were settled in cash, presumably with the money being received by an agent, or perhaps James Willis or James Willis Jr. This was certainly the standard method of operating business deals at this time. Other entries indicate bills were settled by 'Goods Return'd'. These are presumably goods that a firm or customer was unhappy with, those that remained unsold (referencing back to J.W. Dixon's letters), or damaged goods. The New York firm J. & J. Conroy are listed as returning goods with a value of \$6.75 in 1859, 'By Return York key damaged'. Also listed are payments, 'By Stock inc Returns'.

Though cash is by far the most common method, a number of transactions are settled 'By Note', usually with a reference number. These appear to indicate bank payments. We know that Dixon's had an account with the Bank of Commerce in New York from at least

26 A.D. Jones, *The Illustrated American Biography: Containing Correct Portraits and Brief Notices of The Principal Actors in American History: Embracing Distinguished Women, Naval and Military Heroes, Statesmen, Civilians, Jurists, Divines, Authors, and Artists: Together with Celebrated Indian Chiefs From Christopher Columbus Down to the Present Time*, Volume III, J. Milton Emerson & Co., New York, 1855, p5.

27 Bradbury (as note 11), p58.

28 Dixon Archive B246, Sheffield Archives.

29 Tweedale (as note 19), p99.

30 Dixon (as note 2) B246, pp5, 63.

31 C. Hoover Voorsanger, and J.K. Howat (eds), *Art and the Empire City. New York, 1825-1861*, exhib cat, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2000, pp21-23.

32 *The New York Herald*, 30 August 1861.

33 Dixon (as note 2) B246, p21.

34 Dixon (as note 2) B246, p63.

35 Dixon (as note 2) B246, p58.

36 Tweedale (as note 19), p27.

37 A list of steamship destinations and distances is listed in Fawcett (as note 4), p170.

1846 and bank transactions were probably processed through this establishment.³⁸ A bill for the Boston firm Newell Harding & Co. gives further detail, being listed as 'By Note Dec 4 Posted at Bank of Commerce'.³⁹ Thomas Day of San Francisco is recorded as partly settling his account 'By Bill received in England'.⁴⁰ Incidentally, the vast majority of transactions appear to have taken place in US dollars. Some firms paid in part using Sterling, though this was uncommon.

Within the space of two decades Dixon's had established, in geographical terms at the very least, an incredibly diverse market. In addition to New York, this ledger records orders throughout North America, including Philadelphia (J.E. Caldwell & Co., William Wilson & Son, etc), Toronto (J.G. Joseph & Co., Thomas Howarth, etc), Montreal (Ferriers & Co.), Cincinnati (Beggs & Smith), St Louis (E. Jaccard & Co.), Boston (Newell Harding & Co.), Washington DC (Joseph L. Savage), San Francisco (Thomas Day), Charleston (Graveley & Pringle) and Baltimore (Cortlan & Co).

By 1898, Dixon's had spread their influence further still.⁴¹ At the front of the ledger is a list of open accounts, which includes firms and individuals in Cairo, Toronto, Paris, Leipzig, Nuremburg, Hamburg, Milan, Rouen, Strasbourg and Vancouver. Of additional interest is a separate list of orders for 'Pattern Books' between 1886 and 1898, most likely referring to trade catalogues. This is interesting as it gives an indication of the extent of Dixon's market and influence. The names on the entries suggest that they were being ordered mostly by firms (eg Perry Bros of Brisbane, Cuthbertson & Harper of Calcutta), though some probably refer to individuals (eg Armin Tenner of Berlin). Within the timespan 1886–98 catalogues were being distributed to locations as diverse as Spain, India, the Canary Islands, Buenos Aires, New Zealand, Turkey and, of course, across North America.

Conclusion

It is clear that a significant factor in the long-term success of James Dixon & Sons was their ability to innovate. By using new materials and techniques and by creating a vast range of desirable products catering to a wide spectrum of tastes, interests and purses, they were able to capture new markets. However, throughout their rapid expansion in the early 1800s, they never lost sight of their core consumer base, nor their determination to

manufacture goods of the highest standards of craftsmanship.

The American export market was of key importance to James Dixon & Sons and played a vital role in their continued success and growth during the nineteenth century. Though their path to a lucrative export relationship with America was not without early setbacks and problems, it flourished and instigated wider trade connections. The development of this international market was an essential contribution to the establishment of James Dixon & Sons as a global brand synonymous with the highest quality. The reputation achieved by Dixon's, merited by the sheer quality of the work produced by their craftsmen, adds to the poignancy of their steadily declining fortunes during the latter part of the twentieth century.

This paper has resulted from preparatory research undertaken for the exhibition *Silver City: James Dixon & Sons 1806-2006*, held at the Millennium Galleries in Sheffield in 2006. It includes the study of a series of letters owned by Florence Milo Hunt (née Dixon). I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Mrs Hunt for allowing me to study these wonderful and important letters. Original trade cards and news clippings from William Fawcett's Scrapbook, held at Sheffield Local Studies Library, offered another window into this important period in the firm's history. The Dixon Archive, held at Sheffield Archives, was an invaluable source of evidence. The archive comprises over 800 ledgers, files and papers. These are often incredibly difficult to decipher and do not provide a continuous, intelligible stream of evidence. I must emphasise that the work conducted for this paper barely scratches the surface and much remains to be discovered in this veritable treasure trove. I would certainly like to delve into its depths in the future.

Acknowledgements

I would firstly like to thank Dr Joan Unwin (Research Associate, The Hawley Collection Trust, University of Sheffield and Archivist, The Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire) for kindly providing invaluable information and guidance during my preparation for the exhibition and this article. My sincere thanks are also extended to the following people (in alphabetical order): Mr John Bradshaw (Sheffield Hallam University), Ms Dorian Church (Curator of Decorative Art, Sheffield Galleries & Museums Trust), Ms Ruth Harman and the staff at Sheffield Archives, Ms Medill Harvey (Research Associate, Department of American Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), Mr Douglas Hindmarch and the staff at Sheffield Local Studies Library and Mrs Florence Milo Hunt (née Dixon).

³⁸ Dixon (as note 2) B243, North American private ledger.

³⁹ Dixon (as note 2) B246, p28.

⁴⁰ Dixon (as note 2) B246, p35.

⁴¹ Dixon (as note 2) B182a.

Further reading:

J. Culme, *The Directory of Gold and Silversmiths, Jewellers & Allied Traders 1838-1914*, Woodbridge 1987.

Exhibition Catalogue. *The Art-Journal*, 1851 vol III.

'Cubistic claptrap'? Erik Magnussen's *The Lights and Shadows of Manhattan* of 1927

SIMON BLISS

The major exhibition *Art Deco 1910–39*, held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 2003, opened with a section called 'the style and the age'. A few choice exhibits were put forward as key examples of the style. These items included the Danish designer Erik Magnussen's 'cubic' coffee service, known as *The Lights and Shadows of Manhattan*, made for the Gorham Manufacturing Company in 1927.[fig 1] It is a well-known piece and it occupies a unique position in American twentieth-century silver. The accompanying exhibition catalogue places Magnussen's 'dazzling' design firmly within the development of American modernism in the 1920s.¹

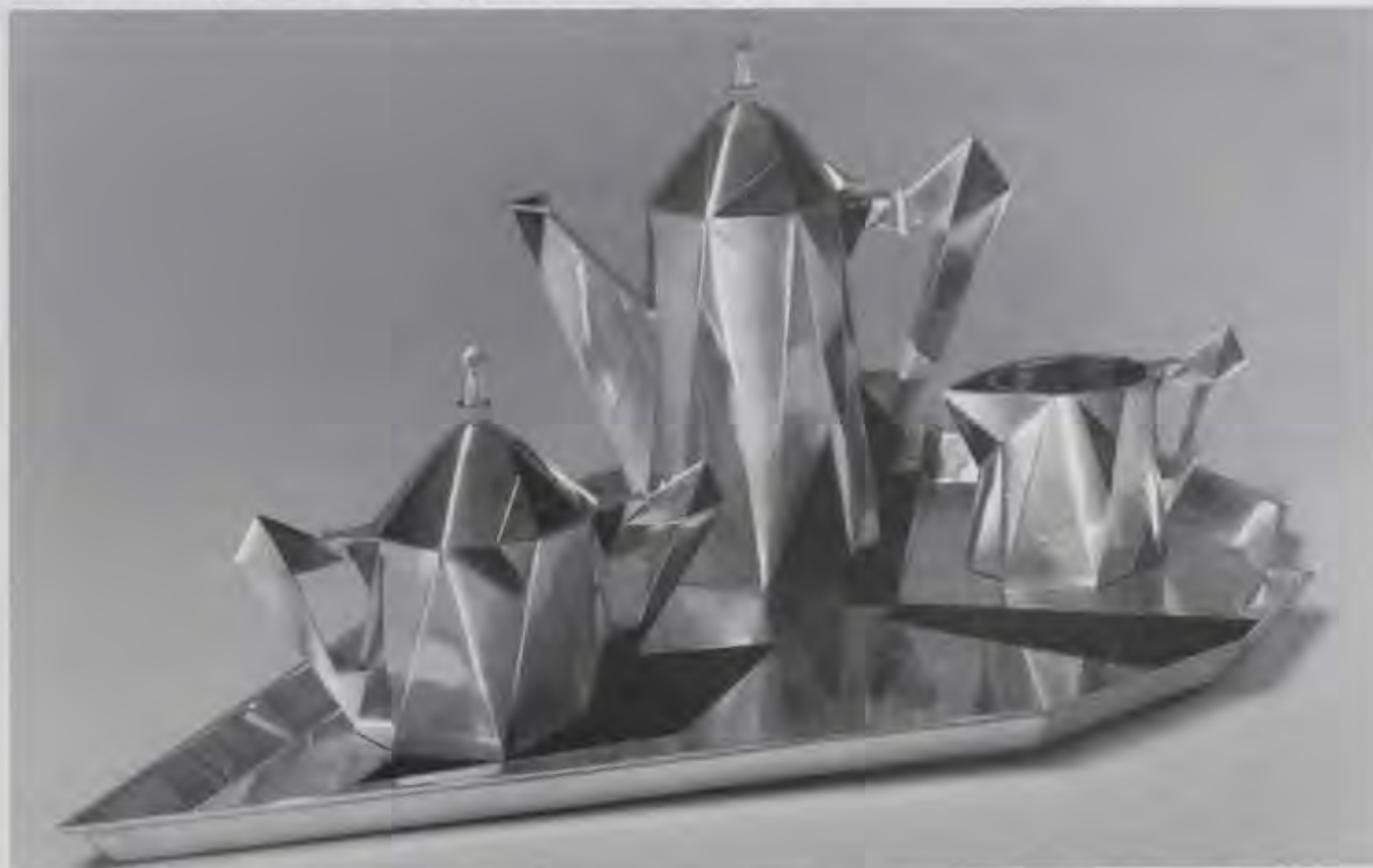
It is discussed as part of the development of the Gorham Company in Charles H. Carpenter's *Gorham Silver* and plays a significant part in Charles L. Venable's account of *Silver in America*.² Very recently, Jewel Stern's *Modernism in American Silver* devotes considerable space to a discussion of Magnussen's work for Gorham, including *The Lights and Shadows of Manhattan*.³ In addition, thanks to the efforts of the Rhode Island Silver Society, we can now access copies of some interesting documents held at the Gorham Archive at Brown University on CD-ROM. Although this archive material covers the period 1880–1909, it also includes some later material pertinent to Magnussen's time at Gorham.⁴

1 See W. Kaplan, 'The Filter of American Taste: Design in the USA in the 1920s', in C. Benton, T. Benton, and G. Wood (eds), *Art Deco 1910–39*, Victoria and Albert Museum 2003, pp335–43.

2 C.H. Carpenter, *Gorham Silver*, Alan Wofsy Fine Arts 1997, pp204–13. C.L. Venable, *Silver in America 1840–1940: A Century of Splendor*, Harry N. Abrams Inc 1997, pp276–91.

3 J. Stern, *Modernism in American Silver*, Yale University Press 2005, pp26–33.

4 CD-ROM: The Gorham Design Library, Gorham Annual Catalogues (1880–1909). Production by Newbook Inc. 2003. The complete set consists of eight CDs. CD5 also contains a reproduction of the 1928 flyer for Gorham's 'Modern American' range, referred to later in this article. At time of writing, there does not appear to be a copy available in any UK library. The copy consulted was kindly loaned to me by the library of the Newark Museum, NJ.



1 Erik Magnussen for Gorham Manufacturing Company, 'Cubic' coffee service, 1927 ('*The Lights and Shadows of Manhattan*'). Silver with patinated, oxidised and gilt decoration. Height of coffee pot 24cm (9½in). (Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design. The Gorham Collection. Gift of Textron Inc. Photo: Cathy Carver)



2 Gorham window display, circa 1928, with 'The Lights and Shadows of Manhattan'. (Brown University Library)

This short paper is indebted to the above material, but its principal aim is to consider the wider artistic influences on Magnussen's design and to speculate on its relationship with aspects of design theory in the inter-war years. I have also included some thoughts on the meaning of reflection and the ability of Magnussen's work to express movement and the cubist painters' preoccupation with simultaneity. The application of the latter concept into silverware is particularly interesting, as attempts to incorporate the formal language of cubism into architecture and the decorative arts in the 1920s has been the subject of some debate. The following represents, principally, a discussion of one of the most complete expressions of the cubist sensibility in the applied arts, although the vicissitudes of Magnussen's modernistic work and his relationship with the Gorham Company are also important.

After apprenticeship and an early career in his native Denmark (where he also studied sculpture) Erik Magnussen (1884–1961) was engaged in 1925 by Gorham of Providence, Rhode Island, to design pieces in the modern style. He was given his own studio and resources for the production of what was hoped to be a groundbreaking series of designs which would help to improve the fortunes of the company after a recent reorganisation.⁵ Although his initial work for Gorham was in a familiar Scandinavian style, he quickly adopted a more radical aesthetic through the production of his 'cubic' ware.

The set consisted of a teapot, a coffee pot, a jug and tray.⁶ The pieces are based on an interplay between triangular facets, some of silver and some of silver-gilt (the 'lights' and 'shadows' respectively). This is carried through in the design and fabrication of the tray to produce an ensemble which, formally, is very consistent. Magnussen fabricated the piece himself and it was set up as a demonstration window display, probably in late 1927.⁷ [fig 2] The accompanying promotional stand (the architecture and typography of which is remarkably reminiscent of a German expressionist film set) bears the legend 'silver like this has never been seen before' and it is worth noting here the efforts that Gorham went to in the promotion of a one-off piece.

Magnussen's design certainly had a mixed critical reception. A photograph of the pieces was included in an article on home furnishings in a late 1927 edition of the *New York Times Magazine*. [fig 3] Here, Walter Rendell Storby draws attention to the 'modernistic' style of Magnussen's creation in the context of contemporary experiences of American architecture. He is at pains to point out how much more relevant its modern forms are to an American audience compared with modern work from Europe:

Taking its inspiration from the lights and shadows of the streets of New York and the architecture of its buildings, this new ware is more closely related to our everyday life than the forms of silver recently created in Paris by such men as Gustav Sandoz and Jean Puiforcat ... In the foreign silver, abstract geometrical forms are suggested, while in this American ware the simple planes of high buildings are brought to mind.⁸

Perhaps Storby's praise for Magnussen's design was based on the literalness of the title given to the set. The pieces which make up the set, though, are more abstract than any other attempt to suggest the experience of modernity by designers at this time who were busy popularising the so-called 'skyscraper style'.⁹

In marked contrast to the praise conferred on the piece by the *New*

5 Venable (as note 2) p278. Also important are the efforts on the part of the US Government to enhance the appreciation of modern design around the time of the 1925 Paris Exposition. See Stern (as note 3), pp22–26.

6 Magnussen also produced other 'cubic' style pieces for Gorham in 1927, including some serving pieces, a bonbon dish and a mirror. See Carpenter (as note 2), p210 and Stern (as note 3), p29.

7 This photograph is from the Gorham company archives at Brown University but few details are known about it.

However, it has been pointed out that the set was exhibited in Gorham's Fifth Avenue show window, so it is highly likely that this is a true record of the exhibit. See J. Stern, 'Striking the Modern Note in Metal', in J. Kardon (ed), *Craft in the Machine Age*, Harry N. Abrams Inc 1995, p126.

8 W.R. Storby, 'Lamps That Lend Harmony to the Home', *New York Times Magazine*, 11 December 1927.

9 For a brief discussion of the influence of skyscrapers, see Stern (as note 3), pp73–77.

York Times, a scathing attack on *The Lights and Shadows* was published in *The New Republic* for 4 January 1928, where the architectural pretensions of the design are summarily dismissed:

Our skyscraper worship has produced some pretty sad results; but I think this cubistic claptrap in silver is about the worst I have seen.¹⁰

In the context of the contemporary fad for applying 'modernistic' features (including an architectural sensibility) to silver objects, this reaction is perhaps understandable. However, the writer goes on to say that the overall effect of the design is 'painful because the designer had applied a cubistic technique to surfaces that, in the sheer nature of things, cannot be treated cubistically'.¹¹

This is clearly an invitation to consider the relationship between cubism and the applied arts. Given that the development of cubism is primarily associated with developments in painting and sculpture, is it really impossible to apply the cubist language of form to a three-dimensional object designed for use as the above reviewer suggests? In order to do this, it is necessary to consider the relationship between the language of cubism and the experience of modernity.

Famously, Erik Magnussen was inspired to create *The Lights and Shadows of Manhattan* by a flight taken above New York where he noted that 'the entire city made a picture of triangular patches of sun and shadow'.¹² This is an archetypal experience for the early modern artist for, from the Futurists to Le Corbusier, the impact of the aeroplane was crucial in the development of the modernist outlook.

However, the resulting pieces were never meant to be literal interpretations of the architectural features of a city seen from above. With the exception of the finials on the top of the two pots, all the architectural qualities of the pieces are based on an experiential approach. The 'lights and shadows' are expressed by the colouring of the metal, but the faceting and lack of literalness put the pieces firmly in the domain of the cubist sensibility, as the development of cubism in painting and sculpture was primarily about expressing notions of time, changing conceptions of space and of using material to suggest, ironically, the inter-relatedness of forms rather than their closed separateness from one another. Thus it is possible to consider the pieces in relation to influences from both European and American modernism where, for some, the experience of modernity was brought about by the transformatory qualities of the machine.

Historians have described how views of the ground from the air formed part of the development of modernist practice in the arts and this is an interesting aspect of the development of Magnussen's pieces.¹³ In her 1938 account of Picasso's work, the American writer and Paris-based cubist patron Gertrude Stein described her early experiences of flight and noted that:

When I was in America I for the first time travelled pretty much all the time in an airplane and when I looked at the earth I saw all the lines of cubism made at a time when not any painter had ever gone up in an airplane.¹⁴

This experience may be usefully compared to that of the young Le Corbusier who, in 1909, craned his neck out of the window of his 'student's garret' to witness the Comte de Lambert, who:

LAMPS THAT LEND HARMONY TO THE HOME



Metal and Pottery Blend With Use
Bricks Have a Modern Note
That is Seen in Color



3 'The Lights and Shadows of Manhattan', illustrated in the *New York Times Magazine*, 11 December 1927.

10 Quoted in D.H. Pilgrim, 'Design for the Machine' in R.G. Wilson, D.H. Pilgrim, and D. Tashjian, *The Machine Age in America*, Harry N. Abrams Inc 2001, p294.

11 As note 10.

12 As note 1, p. 343.

13 See for example, M. Chan, 'The Conquest of the Air', in J. Elderfield, P. Reed, M. Chan and M. González (eds), *Modern Starts: People, Places, Things*, Museum of Modern Art, New York 1999, pp253-57.

14 See G. Stein, *Picasso*, Batsford 1938, p50.

... having succeeded in 'taking off' at Juvisy, had descended towards Paris and circled the Eiffel Tower at a height of 300 metres. It was miraculous, it was mad! Our dreams could turn into reality, however daring they might be.¹⁵

The technology of flight, aerial photography and other legacies of the First World War created a new-found relationship between the viewer and the environment which offered not only new insights into the relationship between people and the earth below, but offered the promise of a new kind of experience brought on by the machine. For the modernists, the airplane was the ultimate symbol of this through the experience of shifting perspectives allied to the 'new' experiences of speed and motion. Given Erik Magnussen's familiarity with the European *avant garde* both prior to and during his sojourn in New York, he would certainly have been susceptible to these influences.¹⁶ Further, he has clearly expressed, through the faceted forms, a shifting restlessness brought about by the way that both the silver and gilt facets reflect surrounding spaces in varying degrees of depth and intensity.

Could a coffee set, then, be a repository of ideas about dynamism, movement, technology and the city in the same way that, for example, the cubo-futurist paintings of Boccioni or Delaunay were? In Czechoslovakia a number of architects and designers had introduced fragmentation and the faceting of form into the design of architecture, furniture and interiors before the First World War in an attempt to bridge the gap between cubist painting, sculpture and architecture. Earlier, Raymond Duchamp-Villon's *maison cubiste* (exhibited in model form at the 1912 Salon d'Automne in Paris) had managed to introduce little more than a vague adaptation of the painters' language onto certain traditional decorative features of a façade. The Czech examples were more successful and, for a while, made an impact in *avant garde* circles in central Europe and Paris.¹⁷

The Czech experiments with the faceting of surfaces can be seen in furniture, applied arts, industrial design as well as buildings. The relationship between cubist painting and three-dimensional form is, however, an uneasy one and has been treated with scepticism by some who have preferred to label the style 'cubistic' rather than 'cubist'.¹⁸ Nevertheless, however one might wish to view this relationship, the Czech architect and designer Josef Gočár's work perhaps best illustrates the early modern tendency towards cubism in design. His brass clock of 1913 uses a regular series of facets to produce an effect whereby the actual solidity and heaviness of the material from which it is made is to some extent undermined visually. [fig 4] Though the faceting of forms is clearly ordered (unlike in Magnussen's pieces, which are more irregular) the effect does create some spatial ambiguities and a sense that the object is shifting and evolving, belying its bulk. As Ivan Margolius has pointed out, works like these 'clearly foreshadowed asym-

metrical compositions of geometrical forms in the applied art of the 1920s and '30s'.¹⁹ The ability to consider a design for a building, or indeed a clock, as a relation of volumes rather than as a closed mass was a significant development in modernist design, leading to an emphasis on the organisation of volume (rather than mass) in later modernist design. It is possible that Magnussen would have known these works from his training and his exhibiting career in Europe before moving to America.

Since the cubist approach to the faceting of form is usually considered to be an anti-rational tendency, it could be argued that Magnussen's pieces, in allowing for the introduction of a restless shifting surface, produce an effect which is achieved by exploiting both the qualities of movement and, crucially, reflection. Here, the characteristics of silver become significant.

The potential of silver to exploit qualities of reflection, plasticity of rapid movement and fragmentation may not be unique to the material, but it is significant that Magnussen's use of silver and gilt helps him to express his idea more successfully.

In the design, there are degrees of reflection as well as the potential for distortion (brought about by the angles and slight imperfections of the hand-made surfaces) and the expression of movement and time. The last two concerns are those we can find in cubist painting – simultaneity. The cubist technique allowed the artist to move away from the fixed artificial perspective systems of the renaissance to one which made it possible to indicate a number of viewpoints of the same object(s) simultaneously. Arnold Hauser described this very effectively when considering how the experience of simultaneity was crucial to modern man's search for the topical and contemporary:

He experiences the greatness of his cities, the miracles of his technics, the wealth of his ideas, the hidden depths of his psychology in the contiguity, the interconnections and dovetailing of things and processes

adding that:

The fascination of 'simultaneity' ... is perhaps the real source of the new conception of time and of the whole abruptness with which modern art describes life.²⁰

Surely it is not too far-fetched to map this characterisation of modernist experience on to the faceted and 'contiguous' forms of Magnussen's pieces? Each facet not only literally reflects different views of the surroundings, disrupting the conventional way that the surface of a silver object 'draws in' the surrounding space, but this disruption actually serves to bring the objects to a point of contiguity with their surroundings, to become part of the space and not a mirror to it.

Though expressed in a form designed to fulfill a specific function, Magnussen has cleverly used every opportunity to exploit the possibilities of reflection. The

effect of this in three dimensions, aided by the qualities of reflection inherent in the materials, made it possible for Magnussen to use surfaces in quite a complex way.

The use of reflection in Magnussen's piece is, therefore, crucial to its success. As Jonathan Miller writes:

... when a surface approximates to the condition of a perfect mirror it is no longer to be seen as a surface. Nevertheless, as long as observers have good reason to identify what they see as a reflection, they 'see' the surface notwithstanding the fact that there is nothing visible to justify such a perception.²¹

Miller's observations are interesting because in Magnussen's piece we are, obviously, intended to read the surfaces as reflections and the success of the piece is dependent on our ability to judge the way reflections occur. The value of this approach in a series of objects which were meant to be held, tipped and passed around is clear. In use, the service could become an obvious demonstration of refraction and dynamic movement – in effect, an embodiment of simultaneity and a celebration of the machine age. One is tempted, then, to imagine how the pieces may have reflected the movements of vehicles and passers-by when on display in Fifth Avenue.

It is interesting, if not ironic, to note that some of the great essays in movement and the 'new vision' produced by the cubist artists were not always expressed through radically modern subject-matter, but were rather worked out through fairly traditional subjects – the still-life, for example, where often ubiquitous objects (bottles, glasses, pipes, chairs, tables) were the ciphers through which cubism's epoch-making contribution to the conceptualisation of space took place. In the more openly commercial arena of the applied arts, it is also worth noting that this small collection of silver containers, dazzling though they may be, became a very strong expression of what many would refer to as the dynamism of modern life.

It has been noted in all the accounts of *The Lights and Shadows of Manhattan* that the pieces were a commercial failure yet gave rise to a number of derivative 'cubic' designs produced by American manufacturers.²² There is clearly much evidence to support the idea that Magnussen's 'cubic' designs were never really intended to be put into production on any meaningful level. What the pieces did do, however, was to draw attention to the attempts by Gorham drastically to up-date its design direction. Although this was partly achieved (whether intentionally or not) by the adverse reaction to the display on Fifth Avenue, there is an interesting postscript to the saga of the pieces in the form of Magnussen's 'Modern American' range of silver, first produced in 1928.

Gorham produced a flyer for this new range. In it, the company is keen to point out the experimental nature of Magnussen's previous work, as well as some of its practical shortcomings:

His original creations for this company were received with acclaim ... one was an impressionistic tea set called "Lights and Shadows of Manhattan" based on tall buildings seen from various perspectives and from sun shadows on set-back skyscrapers ... if you have seen the set you have sensed the fact that it was intended merely for exhibition ... a piece of Fine Art ... Everyone quickly sensed the fact that this set was a significant contribution to modern art ... but as for the fact that it was intended for exhibition not for daily use ... that was harder to grasp ... Erik Magnussen smiled to himself ... he had long been busy on something more vital.²³



4 Josef Gočár, 'Cubist' clock in brass, 1913.
(Museum of Decorative Arts, Prague)

15 Le Corbusier, *Aircraft*, Trefoil 1987, p6. (First published 1935).

16 Between 1901 and 1922, Magnussen had exhibited in Copenhagen, Berlin, Paris (Salon d'Automne 1922) and Rio de Janeiro. See Carpenter (as note 2), p208.

17 For an account in English of Czech cubism, see I. Margolius, *Cubism in Architecture and the Applied Arts*, David and Charles 1979.

18 See Yve-Alain Bois, 'Cubistic, Cubic and

Cubist', in E. Blau (ed.), *Architecture and Cubism*, MIT Press 1997, pp187–94.

19 As note 17, p82.

20 A. Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, vol 4: 'Naturalism, Impressionism, The Film Age', Routledge & Kegan Paul 1962, p231.

21 J. Miller, *On Reflection*, National Gallery Publications 1998, p9.

22 See Stern (as note 3), pp70–77.

23 Gorham Manufacturing Company flyer *The Modern American*, 1928 (see note 4).

The new range of wares was easier on the eye, more in tune with the rational aesthetic of the times and, frankly, easier to manufacture. The name for the new range, as well as the description of its conception, also indicated that a certain distance was being put between European-inspired modernist forms (ie cubist/cubic) and a new 'American' aesthetic, intended to assuage the critics of Magnussen and to give fresh impetus to Gorham's attempts to produce a truly popular range of silverware in an acceptable modern idiom. Indeed, the impact of early modernism in America was viewed suspiciously in some quarters. Dianne Pilgrim has pointed out that 'Americans rejected a good deal of early modernism because it was not functional, straightforward, or simple – characteristics that had appealed to Americans since the seventeenth century'.²⁴ This is an acute observation and is backed up by a description of the new range in the flyer:

... it is the silver of the age ... it is the silver of America ... not of Europe ... it goes with all fine American things ... Magnussen could not have designed it when he came to America ... it took three years of study and travel and life in America to give him the American tradition ... We see in it clean straight lines and soft restful curves.²⁵



5–7 Gorham Manufacturing Company, flyer for the 'Modern American' range of silverware, 1928 (details).

The illustrations for the flyer also tell an interesting story. One of them clearly shows Magnussen's cubic ware being made [fig 5] and, in another, being admired.[fig 6] In both illustrations, one of Erik Magnussen's first designs for Gorham (a sweet jar of 1926) can be seen on a plinth in the background. A further illustration shows the cleaner lines of the 'Modern American' being appreciated.[fig 7] These illustrations neatly tell the story of the rapid changes in Magnussen's work since joining the company in 1925. An overview of the new range reveals that apart from a triangular spout, all traces of the cubic forms have disappeared.[fig 8] The designer (Magnussen himself?) is portrayed as a serious creator, working steadily towards the creation of pieces which exhibit a clear, rational aesthetic rather than the more daringly intellectual forms of the cubic ware.[fig 9] More River Rouge than rive gauche.

²⁴ As note 10, p293.

²⁵ As note 23.

Although Erik Magnussen's association with Gorham was short-lived (he left Gorham in 1929 and returned to Denmark a decade later) he is, arguably, best remembered for *The Lights and Shadows* than anything else even though, at the time, Gorham's promotion of the piece was clearly something of a *débâcle*. It is clear, now, that these pieces can be appreciated as being more than just a spectacular evocation of a spurious 'jazz-age' aesthetic, for in its evocation of movement, simultaneity and the contrasting and shifting perspectives of the modern city it is hard to think of any other piece of applied art from the period which surpasses it in its ambition. There are far more spatial ambiguities present here than in any other piece of design or applied art from the twenties which claimed to be influenced by cubism. In recognising this, it is important to acknowledge the contribution of silver in achieving such remarkable results.

Acknowledgements

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modern - truly beautiful - an achievement in sterling silver -

designed by - Erik Magnussen and wrought by - Gorham master craftsmen

These pieces, designed by Erik Magnussen and wrought by the Master Craftsmen of the Gorham Company under Magnussen's personal direction are now in production and will be available within a month or so in the following prices:

Teapot (12 pieces)	\$125.00
Cups and saucers (12 pieces)	\$125.00
Knives and forks (12 pieces)	\$125.00
Spoons (12 pieces)	\$125.00

the MODERN AMERICAN

Designed by Erik Magnussen and wrought by Gorham Master Craftsmen



8 & 9 (right) Gorham Manufacturing Company, flyer for the 'Modern American' range of silverware, 1928.

The sound of the hammer from Japan

Masae Uchiyamada has commissioned a number of Japanese silversmiths to create objects that relate to Western tea equipage, restricting these to caddy spoons, tea caddies and teapots. She showed English examples of such pieces to the craftsmen, many of whom were unfamiliar with these kinds of objects. She has chosen a representative selection from her collection, putting them in four categories in order to explain the silversmiths' approach to the commission.

How do Japanese artists create tea-equipages born from Western culture, using Japanese traditional techniques and designs?[figs 1-3]



2 Syoji Shimomura, 2006, teapot 'Seikaiha', 970 silver. Height 8cm (3¹/₈in), 451g (14oz).

A teapot chased with a wave pattern called *Seikaiha* – a traditional Japanese pattern of blue ocean waves derived from Japanese *Gagaku* music. The handle is ebony.



1 Hiroaki Nakayama, 2005, caddy spoon 'Iki', 999 silver, 18ct gold, tortoiseshell. Length 13.7cm (5³/₈in), 49g (1oz 10dwt).

The bowl, in the shape of a Japanese fan (*uchiwa*) is checkered by a technique of overlaid gold leaves. The lattice pattern is called *Ichimatsu*, a word taken from the name of a Kabuki actor of the Edo era who wore a *Hakama* (traditional Japanese trousers) of a pattern checkered with

squares of white and blue colours. It has since become a typical Japanese pattern. The handle is of *Kougai* with inlaid gold cranes. *Kougai* is an accessory for a traditional Japanese hairstyle for women from the Edo era.



3 Hoseki Okuyama, 2005, caddy spoon, 'pine-bamboo-plum', 999 silver, *syakudo* (an alloy of copper and gold), 18ct gold, *shibuichi* (an alloy of copper, silver, and gold). Length 9cm (3¹/₂in), 50g (2oz).

The matted bowl is in the shape of a plum flower. The handle is decorated with stylised pine-bamboo-plum, representing happiness and felicity, such as at a wedding.

When the collection was exhibited in London in 2005 it allowed Westerners to understand, through tea wares that are familiar to them, traditional Japanese techniques.

In Japan the silver pieces with *furubi* finishes, produced by means of surface treatment techniques, are preferred to patinas that have developed over more than 100 years. This Japanese view of beauty is from a sense of *wabi-sabi*, that represents a comprehensive world view or aesthetic discipline. The Japanese prefer quiet and modest expressions, for example matted surfaces and *furubi* finishes, to shining and bright ones.

There are two kinds of inlay techniques used in these pieces: *Uchikomi-zogan* is a metal pattern that is cut out, soldered onto the body, and hammered, using wooden mallets and metal hammers. *Nunome-zogan* is a fine textile pattern that is cut by a tool into a pattern base into which gold or silver leaf is built, giving a textile expression.[figs 4-5]

Two DVDs have been made about Hoseki Okuyama and his work, filming him creating his marvellous bowls. One has the narrative in English: 'Decorative Metalwork, the skills of Hoseki Okuyama', made by the Japan Foundation Film Library – ed.



4 Hoseki Okuyama, 2005, tea caddy 'Cherry blossom', 999 silver, 14ct gold. Height 6.5cm (2⁵/₈in), 125g (4oz).

The tea caddy is hand raised, and 14 gold petals of cherry blossom are made with *Uchikomi-zogan* technique. *Kin-furubi* is made on the surface. The finial of the lid is a tiny cherry blossom.



5 Koshiro Izumi, 2006, caddy spoon 'Hanakuidori', 999 silver, syakudo, silk. Length 9cm (3½in), weight 100g (3oz).

The spoon is composed of two layers, surface in silver and reverse in *syakudo*, the bowl engraved with *hanakuidori* on *Kin-furubi*. The reverse side is decorated with the gold and silver petals

inlaid in a textile pattern. *Hanakuidori* is a pattern of birds grasping flowers or small branches in their beaks. The bird symbolises the phoenix with a ribbon, a Persian motif frequently seen in Byzantine art that came to Japan through China.



6 Nobuo Tamagawa, 2003, caddy spoon 'Mokumegane', 999 silver, copper, syakudo. Length 8.5cm (3⅓in), 50g (1oz 10dwt).

The one-piece caddy spoon is *Mokumegane*, which is made by fusing together multiple layers of different metals. Carving and removal of metal exposes the layers which present a *moiré* or wood grain pattern.



7 Hiroaki Nakayama, 2005, caddy spoon 'Leaves of maple', 950 silver, amber. Length 12cm (4¾in), 35g (1oz 2dwt).

The bowl is hand raised, the handle is cast. *Gin-furubi* maple leaves flowing on stream; one of the patterns of Japanese *Yamato* pictures.

The tea-equipages made in Japan after the Second World War have been mostly in imitation of the Western designs, partly due to financial reasons. For Japanese artists today, the Western tea-equipage is different from Japanese green tea-equipage and is a new area for their artistic expression. I asked them to be brave enough to take up the challenge, making pieces that might be very artistic or for practical use.[figs 8-9]



8 Konan Ishiguro, 2000, tea caddy 'Hexagonal hailstone', 999 silver. Diameter 6cm (2⅓in), 310g (10oz).

The tea caddy is hand raised with the *Arare* dots forming hexagonal patterns on a fine matted surface.



9 Kazuo Hirose, 2005, caddy spoon 'TEA', 925 silver, designed by Masae Uchiyamada. Length 7.5cm (3in), 30g (1oz).

The bowl is covered with *Kirimoji* TEA and has a stylised lily

handle. The back of the bowl is engraved with the Japanese Goddess of Mercy.

I started to study silver having been attracted by its patina. Using tea-equipages for daily life will bring contrasts and harmonies in the colour of the silver, between ever-shining diamonds and colour-changing precious stones, and the patina of silver. How will the pieces attract people after 100 years?[figs 10-12]



10 Hiroaki Nakayama, 2005, caddy spoon 'Sound of sea', designed by Masae Uchiyamada, 999 silver, coral. Length 10cm (4in), 50g (1oz 12dwt).

The bowl is a shaped clam-shell with a pink stick coral handle.



12 Hiroaki Nakayama, 2005, caddy spoon 'Grape', designed by Masae Uchiyamada, 999 silver, precious stones. Length 12.8cm (5in), weight 60g (2oz).

The covered grape-shaped bowl with precious stones has coiled vines and *Gin-furubi* stalk handle.



11 Yosuke Inoue, 2005, tea caddy, 925 silver, diamond. Height 11.5cm (4½in), 300g (9oz 12dwt).

The tea caddy is hand raised. The soft curve of the outline and delicate line of the rim of the caddy give such comfort as classical music, which may create an interest in the future in the contrast between the silver patina and the diamond.

Jerwood Applied Arts Prize 2005: Metal

VANESSA BRETT

In last year's journal I included (on p116) a very short note on the Jerwood Applied Arts Prize – deadlines did not allow more. Shortly afterwards I received an email from the winner, Simone ten Hompel, asking if we would write about the award as she was disappointed at the minimal press coverage it had received. Simone was not so much seeking publicity for herself as for her craft, for which she is a passionate advocate. Indeed the comment of the judges in awarding the prize to her acknowledged her 'innovation, technical virtuosity and outstanding contribution to contemporary metal in the UK'. Publicity slowly picked up and has included Helen Clifford's excellent article in this year's *Goldsmiths' Review* and articles in *Apollo* and *Craft* magazines.¹ Nonetheless Simone's initial frustration is understandable if the coverage is compared with attention the Turner Prize receives. The fact that a major prize such as the Jerwood has been extended to metalwork (not just to silver) and has had its prize money doubled to £30,000 (more than the Turner) is important recognition from the 'arts establishment' for practitioners, perhaps more important than who was the actual 'winner'; for all the participants are making common cause – indeed Simone ten Hompel and another finalist in the 2005 Jerwood, David Clarke, share a workshop. However until the major daily newspapers and mainstream magazines give more column inches to silver, public awareness will be limited.

It can be an up hill struggle for craftsmen of the first rank, leaders in their field worldwide, to seek the recognition they know they deserve. Silver is not alone in having been sidelined, as a minor no-longer-fashionable material, by art critics and commentators in this country, but there is no doubt that Britain's central position in the world of metalwork is at last being recognised – as is the position of metalwork in the world of the arts and those who appreciate them. In a society devoted to another field that is of personal interest to me, that of wood engraving, a similar struggle is waged and discussed as exponents seek to develop their work and achieve the rewards of personal fulfilment and outside recognition:

First, one must absolutely respect the integrity of one's colleagues as artists; ... it has been fascinating to watch people [extend their range] as internal demand or external commissions provide the opportunity ... the only art one can actually change or extend is one's own. If that works, it may raise the game for others too. I try to extend my work not only in response to my own muse, so to speak, but also for the sake of wood engraving at large – because what wood engraving at large is thought to be is, of course, the context of one's own work. All you can do is push from within. ... Most major artists have been ambitious ... Those in other art-forms who grab the limelight in the hope that fame equals greatness, we may suspect of being merely greedy. Is it possible to be ambitious for the work – personal and communal – without being ambitious personally?²

Silversmiths are more than capable of speaking for themselves, but their real language is through their hands – what they make. Nonetheless, one of the most inspiring aspects of the display of the Jerwood submissions has been the taped interviews with the eight finalists talking about their work,³ and I have included the preceding extract merely to prove that synergy in any field can achieve what might have seemed impossible even ten years ago. The reality of the last 20 years has been a step-by-step increase in interest in contemporary silver, the most recent stride forward being the inclusion of metalwork in the cyclical awards by the Jerwood Foundation. One of the judges acknowledged that

...metalwork has become the most inventive and exciting area of contemporary craft. It's noticeable that, taking all the arts, metalwork is the most dynamic. There is both an intellectual content and a skill in making that is very exciting.⁴

The Jerwood Foundation was established in 1977 by John Jerwood (who died in 1991) and Alan Grieve, who continues to develop its role as executive chairman. It operates in five major areas: capital projects, the Jerwood Space in Southwark, the Jerwood Sculpture Park (Ragley Hall), the Jerwood Charity (which funds the Applied Arts Prize) and a collection of painting and sculpture; funding also covers a broad range of the performing arts.⁵ The Jerwood Applied Arts Prize was

¹ Helen Clifford, 'The Jerwood applied arts prize', *Goldsmiths' Review*, 2005/2006; Emma Maiden, 'Polished Performance',

Crafts, January/February 2006; Susannah Woolmer, 'Contemporary design: Simone ten Hompel', *Apollo*, December 2005.

² Simon Brett in *Multiples*, the newsletter of the Society of Wood Engravers, September 2006.

³ Exhibition catalogue, ISBN 1-903713-15-3 and transcripts available from the Crafts Council library.

⁴ Corinne Julius, one of the judges, quoted in the *Independent*, 16 February 2005.

⁵ www.jerwood.org



In my workshop ... the material takes over, my hand becomes an extension of that. ... Metal is just a canvas that allows me to manipulate my vocabulary and my hands are simply doing that – and maybe now, having worked for thirty years in metal – I don't really think about what my hands are doing. Simone ten Hompel

Function needs to work well ... that it needs to handle well; that pours out the wine and doesn't chuck it out; ... then there's another aspect ... it is about holding things together; it deals with a vessel that holds a body, a spirit together or two objects making one; one being unable to be without the other; together they function, on their own they don't. Simone ten Hompel

For me, silver has no meaning as a material. It is wonderful to work with but has no more importance than felt. Simone ten Hompel

1 Simone ten Hompel, 'Ohne 3', 2005 (detail).

See p23 for a colour illustration of twelve beakers by Simone ten Hompel



2 Ane Christensen, fruit bowl, 2003.



3 David Clarke, 'You Bermondsey Beauty'. See colour illustration p22.



4 Hiroshi Suzuki, 'Aqua Posey V', 2001 (999 silver).

Figs 2, 4 and 5 are in the collection of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths and did not feature in the Jerwood Prize.

Figs 1, 3 and colour p23 are courtesy the silversmiths.

started in 1995, in collaboration with the Crafts Council, who organise the awards and exhibition of a different category of craft each year. 2005 was the first time that metalwork had been included in the cycle, the others being ceramics, glass, furniture, jewellery and textiles, each of which have had two bites of the cherry over the past 11 years. The majority of exhibits were for sale, prices ranging between £600 and £15,000. Things are getting more expensive, but are surely still a bargain in comparison with other fields and bearing in mind the cost of the raw material that this includes.

We, and especially readers of this journal who enjoy old silver, have to accept that two concepts, central to what silver has traditionally stood for, are now in the melting pot – function and material (and I hope you will excuse the terrible but intended pun). These are themes that Helen Clifford focused on in her previously mentioned article, and they are focused on here too, because they are at the heart of modern metalworking.

All the selected finalists work in a variety of metals, often combining precious and base metals. This is partly fashion amongst craftsmen but is possibly also a reflection of the devaluation of silver, not just in monetary terms but also in the eyes of the buying public, who are beginning to question why silver should be considered a 'precious' metal, when others can be just as attractive, and at a time when blacksmithing is also enjoying a critical success. New techniques bring an increasing variety of metals within the range of silver-smiths. Design is nowadays more important than material but the cost of silver still limits potential purchasers. Some silversmiths, such as Hiroshi Suzuki, choose to work in 'pure' silver (999), others (including Simone ten Hompel) choose sometimes not to hallmark their work and sell it as 'precious white metal'. Does this in any way reflect the globalisation of, possibly obtundent, current hallmarking regulations?

'What role does functionality play in your work?' was one of the five questions each finalist was asked when interviewed. Their answers are enlightening and I recommend that you read the full transcripts of these interviews, soundbites of which are included on the page opposite. Key to their thinking is the distinction between function and utility. The function of a piece can be that it looks good, or that it makes you think, or that it conveys a message of some kind; but if its function is to be utilitarian, then it must work well on a practical level also. Apart from *schatzkammer* objects and nineteenth-century centrepieces and trophies, most of the 'old' silver that has come down to us is utilitarian and, as a result, we may unwittingly have abandoned the concept of silver as a material for non-utilitarian objects – be they labelled as 'craft' or 'art' – but this is what is being rediscovered.

I suspect function and material are not the only reasons why some of you (in my view wrongly) shun the



5 Junko Mori, 'Organism vessel no43', 999 silver.

contemporary. Like old silver, the new requires study and time to understand, perhaps even come to terms with. As the judges commented:

There is a longevity of value to Simone's work – the more you look at it, the more you discover ...

This may sound rather daunting and academic, but it's not. Most contemporary silver is very liveable-with and very tactile. And there is one hugely rewarding aspect to this learning curve which is not available in the study of the past: we can talk to the makers. We can meet them at exhibitions, discuss their work at the major selling fairs; Ane Christensen was at the Crafts Council the day I went to see the Jerwood show. A conversation I had with Simone ten Hompel many years ago, when we spent a long time discussing the surface techniques that she and others use, and the emotions that led her to a completely different 'end product' to her ancient predecessors, converted me utterly.

I freely admit most 'contemporary art' leaves me uncomprehending, and secretly believe that little of it will stand the test of time, but over the last fifteen years and more I have seen in metalwork the development of new techniques, seen the influence of teachers such as Simone ten Hompel reach a new generation of silver-smiths, and I marvel at what is and has been achieved. I know some of them are creating masterpieces that deserve to stand alongside those of the past. It in no way demeans the achievements of Simone ten Hompel and her seven short-listed colleagues, to know that there are at least the same number again of makers of the first

It seems that there is a move to avoid craft skills in art colleges now. ... I know that you need basic skills (not necessarily to make a functional form) in order to go off and do something different ... unless you have that framework and solid background, it's very difficult to jump off at a tangent. So I would like to see those craft skills come back to our colleges. Frances Brennan

My greatest source of inspiration is ... the process of working with the metal itself. Ane Christensen

The end product for me is not the final piece. The end product is the piece in a domestic setting being used.
Ane Christensen

A lot of people associate copper with something less precious; it's a base metal or 'steel is a very industrial metal and silver is a precious metal and therefore they should be used for different types of work'. I want the first thing the viewer to see is the object itself. I want them to think about if they enjoy the object rather than the value of it.
Ane Christensen

The design and the production process for me goes hand in hand. David Clarke

Functionality ... is normally the starting point ... What's it going to contain? Does it contain anything? Is it decorative?
David Clarke

Silver ... has practical properties; it's a joy to work with, it's also very hygienic, it's more hygienic than stainless steel as a domestic material. Chris Knight

As far as the silver goes, functionality is the most important aspect, it's almost everything. And that's not to make objects utilitarian or blandly convenient, but the objects are there to discuss or challenge function; our use of objects in our little domestic rituals. Chris Knight

... trying hard to get people to question their preconceived ideas of what objects should be. Any object you use to enhance your life; your kettle, your cup – anything – you should take note of it, it's all feeding you and feeding your imagination and lifestyle. Chris Knight

Lots of people believe that craft equals functionality or craft equals domestic objects, but for me, craft is a skill; craftspeople have a skill to make objects. For me fine art is a philosophy about aesthetic form, but craft is a making skill and an obsession with a material as well. Junko Mori

I make things – once I've made it, it actually doesn't mean that much to me, once it's done; it's the process that is the product – that's what you buy. You don't buy a lot of gold and silver or whatever, you buy the idea ... function is a

very particular part of the design ... In fine art you don't have that; you don't have to have a function. Hans Stofer
I don't want to divide the design and making process; for me, creation should be developed; design through making. It's risky but if I don't take risks, it's not going to be interesting.
Hiroshi Suzuki

My work can be interpreted as decorative vases or sculptural vessels, but not sculpture. It can be used, but is not a utilitarian object for everyday use. In my creativity, functionality equals accessibility, so the function of the object is to attract people and offer an audience [the opportunity] to see or interpret objects ... I've never explored or made utilitarian objects; the idea of functionality is a very grey zone.
Hiroshi Suzuki

I want people to sense it, not to understand or interpret it.
Hiroshi Suzuki

Metalwork is such a small discipline in this country at the moment ... if Jerwood Metal could give a strong message to the audience, our work might encourage some young people to come into this field, I think that would be fantastic.
Hiroshi Suzuki

What will happen with silver is that this exhibition will liberate it even more as a material. Silver, as a material has come to a point where a lot more can happen. Hans Stofer

Quotations are taken from transcripts of interviews with exhibitors for the Jerwood Prize; they are © Crafts Council 2005.

See pp22 and 23 for colour illustrations.

The finalists were :

Frances Brennan, born 1951 in the UK; based in London.

Hans Stofer, born 1957 in Switzerland; based in London.

Simone ten Houtpel, born 1960 in Germany; based in London.

Hiroshi Suzuki, born 1961 in Japan; based in Nottinghamshire.

Chris Knight, born 1964 in the UK; based in Sheffield.

David Clarke, born 1967 in the UK; based in London.

Ane Christensen, born 1972 in Denmark; based in London.

Junko Mori, born 1974 in Japan; based in Manchester.

rank working in the UK today, and there were some 70 initial applicants for the award.

I am happy for much of what the twenty-first century

has to offer to pass me by – but not the Jerwood, not those working in silver, and not the products of their hands and minds: those will stay on my agenda.

Milestones on the road to recognition

www.thegoldsmiths.co.uk

www.whoswhoingoldand-silver.com

www.craftscouncil.org.uk
44a Pentonville Road,
London N1 9BY

www.silvertrust.co.uk
54 Jermyn Street, London
SW1Y 6LX

www.theabds.co.uk

www.bishopsland.co.uk

<http://adriansassoon.com>
14 Rutland Gate, London
SW7 1BB (by appt only)

www.themetalgallery.com
49 Curzon Street, London
W1J 7UN

www.scottish-gallery.co.uk
16 Dundas Street,
Edinburgh EH3 6HZ

www.caa.org.uk
Contemporary Applied
Arts, 2 Percy Street, London
W1T 1DD

www.flowgallery.co.uk
1-5 Needham Road, London
W11 2RP

www.rca.ac.uk
Kensington Gore, London
SW7 2EU

www.camberwellarts.ac.uk
Peckham Road, London SE5
8UF

www.jerwood.org

Graham Hughes started the collection of contemporary silver at the Goldsmiths' Company, which is still growing. From the 1950s the Company revived its active encouragement of patronage, advising livery companies, universities, businesses, the church and private individuals on how to commission silver. It has begun to tour a selection of their silver round the country, which was recently at the Harley Gallery, Welbeck, for instance. The Company website shows the work of selected makers.

The Crafts Council has built a collection of twentieth-century silver and a library of images and information about makers. It plays a significant role in the Jerwood Prize and two major London fairs (see below), but unfortunately recently announced extensive cutbacks in its operations due to financial restrictions.

The idea of commissioning a number of craftsmen to contribute to a collection was taken up by others, including Seymour Rabinovitch (whose collection of servers is now in the V&A) and The Silver Trust (for 10 Downing Street). Both have been widely exhibited.

The ABDS (Association of British Designer Silversmiths) was started in 1996 to encourage silversmiths to help each other promote and sell their work and give advice to students, often sharing bench space. They hold an annual exhibition of members' work; this year it was in Bath.

The Bishopsland Educational Trust, the beneficent brainchild of Oliver and Penelope Makower, gives workshop space and advice to those who have just left college – helping them to find their feet before launching out on their career. Their annual exhibition of students' work is held in the summer, usually in Reading.

Dealers now specialise in contemporary metalwork and galleries include it in selling exhibitions. Francis Raeymaekers (of The Metal Gallery) wrote in the Jerwood exhibition catalogue, on the dilemmas of the market place. The following is a selection only: Adrian Sassoon; The Metal Gallery; The Scottish Gallery; Contemporary Applied Arts; Flow.

Annual fairs, most importantly the Crafts Fair organised by the Crafts Council, (formerly at Chelsea Town Hall, this year renamed *Origin*, *The London Craft Fair* and held at Somerset House), and *Goldsmiths' Fair* (at Goldsmiths' Hall), both held in October, allow silversmiths to display and sell their work. These have now been joined by *Collect*, held at the V&A and also organised by the Crafts Council (8-12 February 2007). Metalworkers, like those in the fine arts, are increasingly working in association with dealers, who act as their agents.

Museums are actively buying contemporary silver. See, for example, the article on Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery's collection in *Silver Studies* no16 (2004); Sheffield, Hove and Gateshead are amongst other museums who have recently acquired pieces.

The UK attracts craftsmen from all over the world, many of whom have studied and worked here for several years, including several on the Jerwood short-list. The Royal College of Art and Camberwell College of Art, in London, are the leading colleges. The end of year student shows (usually May/June) give a first opportunity to see the work of future professionals.

The Jerwood Foundation has included metalwork in its cycle of awards from 2005.

Contemporary Judaica made in Britain and America

LOUISE HOFMAN

In the 1880s thousands of Jews fled to countries such as America and the United Kingdom out of the Pale of Settlement (Russia and Poland) due to pogroms.¹ The two World Wars and the Holocaust were thereafter major events which influenced the settlement of Jews and undoubtedly were reflected in the production of Jewish ceremonial silver in the twentieth century.

The present Anglo-Jewish community in Britain has its roots in the seventeenth century. Many Sephardic and Askenazic Jews settled here after 1656 when Cromwell granted them re-admittance and freedom to worship. Jewish communities formed in major cities such as London, Manchester and Birmingham as well as Plymouth and Exeter and with this began the commissioning of silver for public as well as private use.

In Britain some of the more known silversmiths to produce Jewish ceremonial silver in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were Abraham de Oliveyra (1657–1750),² Jacob Marsh (free 1741–72), Charles Kandler (active from 1727) and Solomon Hougham (circa 1746–1818).³ Abraham de Oliveyra, from the Spanish Portuguese Sephardic community in Amsterdam, came to live in London in the late seventeenth century. Charles Kandler, of German origin and a Catholic, like many other non-Jewish silversmiths made silver for Jewish clientele. In the nineteenth century companies such as Joseph and Horace Savory also provided Judaica.⁴ After the pogroms in the late nineteenth century many skilled silversmiths from Eastern Europe settled and worked in Britain.

In Europe from about 1900 artists were designing Judaica in the styles modern to the period using both precious and non-precious metals. By the middle of the twentieth century silversmiths of European or Israeli origin, such as Moshe Zabari (b 1935), Ludwig Yehuda Wolpert (b 1900 active 1920s–1981), Zelig Segal (b 1933), Ze'v Raban (1890–1970, b Lodz, Poland) and David Gumbel (b 1909) were producing innovative designs for ceremonial objects. Ludwig Yehuda Wolpert and David Gumbel, two Jewish designers of German origin, left for Jerusalem when the second Bezalel Academy was founded in the 1930s, to become influential teachers and train generations of silversmiths, teaching them the fashionable Bauhaus aesthetic of the time.⁵ In the late 1950s Ludwig Wolpert moved to New York, where he was made director of the newly-established Tobe Pascher Workshop at the Jewish Museum; his influence is evident in Judaica made by the next generation.

While in the past centuries Judaica in Europe mirrored the styles and regions where the Jews settled, contemporary artists work for a global audience and their designs increasingly reflect the spirit of their time. Rituals in the synagogue and in the home have remained

1 Pale and Pogrom
<http://www.wzo.org.il/home/politic/pale.htm>

2 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697–1837 Their Marks and Lives*, Faber & Faber, London 1976, pp490 and 592 (for A. de Oliveyra and J. Marsh).

3 Raffi Grafman (ed V. Mann), *Crowning Glory. Silver Torah Ornaments of the Jewish Museum New*

York. The Jewish Museum 1996, p229.

4 A.B. Savory & Sons, see John Culme, *The Directory of Gold and Silversmiths, Jewellers and Allied Traders 1838–1914*, Woodbridge 1987, vol 1, p405.

5 *Continuity and Change, 92 years of Judaica at Bezalel*, Municipality of Jerusalem, Department of Culture, Jerusalem 1998, p4.

the same, and the type of objects and their functions have experienced little change, however twentieth-century designs have become more ambiguous and their Jewish origins less recognisable.

In the second half of the twentieth century both Orthodox and Progressive synagogues, as well as individuals, have commissioned work for the synagogue and the home. These new commissions are likely to adopt styles more in keeping with contemporary silver and incorporating new materials and techniques. To be seen in parallel with the applied arts is the growth in the commissioning of new synagogues, particularly in the United States. In the 1950s and '60s leading architects devised the most astonishing architectural concepts for Jewish synagogues, integrating Jewish symbolism with individual interpretations; for example Frank Lloyd Wright designed the Beth Shalom Synagogue in Elkins Park, Pennsylvania in 1957, and Walter Gropius the Temple Oheb Shalom (Place of Peace), in Baltimore, Maryland in 1960.⁶ The great number of synagogues built in the past 50 years in America confirms that new communities are being established and that they are likely to commission contemporary silver and textiles to match, although not always.

Jewish ceremonial objects form part of religious observance. What binds Jews is a sense of common history, mutual responsibility and adherence to the Torah and the Talmud (the great compendium of Rabbinical law and lore). For the fulfilment of religious practices at home and in the synagogue a number of ritual objects are required which can be used on holy days such as the Sabbath (Friday sunset to Saturday sunset), or festival days such as Passover. These originated in ancient times and like all other festivals embody multiple layers of meaning, from agricultural pilgrimages to historical events. The religious norms followed by those who commission pieces ensure both opportunities and restrictions for the silversmith; otherwise there is complete freedom as to how objects can be shaped or designed, giving the silversmiths free artistic licence. For example, the Torah scroll must be hand-written by a scribe without vowels and according to strictly laid-down rules, there must be no mistake in the text of the Torah;⁷ the Hanukkah lamp⁸ requires that the lights are all on one level, except the *shamash* (the servitor lamp). The concept of *hiddur mitzvah* (lit. beautifying the commandments) refers to the principle of enhancing the fulfilment of a religious duty through the use of beautiful objects: 'Make a beautiful *sukkah* (booth) in his honour, a beautiful *lulav* (palm branch), a beautiful *shofar* (ram's horn), beautiful fringes and a beautiful scroll of the Law...' (*Shabbat* 133b). Objects in Jewish ceremony are used with this principle in mind, to beautify and enhance the ceremony. *Hiddur Mitzvah* denotes the importance attached to beauty in Judaism, 'this is my God and I will glorify Him' (*Exodus*).

Six contemporary artists have been chosen, from a number of silversmiths working today, for their diversity in design and individual approach in interpreting Judaica. Their artistic backgrounds vary from those born and trained in Israel, to those who have been participants in the Spertus competition, which in recent years has proven to be most influential for promoting contemporary Jewish silver. Two of the artists, Paula Newman and Daniel Lehrer, have both exhibited their work in the Spertus competition, which was inaugurated in 1994 by Philip and Silvia Spertus.⁹ The format of the competition has been based on functionality (but is currently being re-thought), and is sponsored by the Spertus Museum, Chicago, with the aim of encouraging excellence in contemporary design. The bi-annual competition has become a showcase for new and talented artists from around the globe and enables Jewish art to reach a wider audience.

From the 1950s artist silversmiths have distanced themselves more and more from traditional designs and symbols of the past; instead their personal environment and inspiration have led to unique creations. These six silversmiths have both Jewish and non-Jewish backgrounds and have been trained in Britain, the United States or Israel.

Moshe Zabari (born 1935 in Jerusalem), trained in Jerusalem at the Bezalel Academy between 1955 and



1 Torah crown, Moshe Zabari, 1969, silver and pearls, 40.6x39.4x20.3cm (16x15½x8in). (Jewish Museum New York and Moshe Zabari)

1958. His Torah crown [fig 1] is an exceptional design from the 1960s.¹⁰ Orbits made of silver, in free movement form an abstract crown from which pearls on fine chains are suspended. It reflects his interest in new discoveries in the science of the time and kinetic sculpture. In the 1950s and 1960s interest in scientific imagery became fashionable; the space age was in its early phase and the secrets of atoms had already been revealed. Zabari's imagination was undoubtedly caught by these revelations when artist-in-residence in the Jewish Museum in New York (1961–88) and he was obviously much inspired by modern-day America. His objects for Jewish ritual respect traditional function, whilst referring to current movements in the arts and science. The Torah crown, a powerful symbolic object, here also becomes a free sculptural form.

In 1960s Britain, Gerald Benney (born 1930) was a pioneer in taking Judaica into the modern era. His artistic language is, though, very different to that of Zabari. He translates traditional forms into contemporary pieces through his choice of ornament and colours. In his early years he studied under Dunstan Pruden at the Guild of St Joseph and St Dominic, where he gained valuable experience in silver for religious use, before moving to London. Benney's career in the production of Judaica took off rapidly in the 1960s when the writer and silver connoisseur Jonathan Stone encouraged his mother Dorothy to commission from Benney a *Ner Tamid* (eternal lamp) for a synagogue.¹¹ Having become familiar with the ritual function of Jewish ceremonial silver, Benney went on to receive other commissions for Judaica from Ethel Wix, such as a pair of Torah *rimmonim* (pomegranates), breastplate and a pointer which are all items that are used to adorn the *Torah* (the scroll containing the first five books of the Hebrew Bible, the most revered object in Judaism).

One of Benney's best-known pieces of Judaica is a Torah crown, made in 1996, today on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.[fig 3] A crown in Judaism may symbolise the Crown of the Law, the Law contained in the Pentateuch. Benney conveys in his crown the image of the burning bush on Mount Sinai, where Moses received the Ten Commandments from God, by covering it with bright red enamel to symbolise the fire that burned, but did not consume the bush. At the base of the crown are twelve gemstones applied round a silver band, each of them representing one of the twelve tribes of Israel. The crown is not only an extraordinary achievement of virtuoso enamelling, but also has a wonderful presence, demonstrating the spirit of Majesty that the Law of Torah contains.

The silversmith Daniel Lehrer (born 1956) may represent the strongest links to the origins of Judaism and the Middle East, as over the years he has been honoured with commissions from Royal families and Heads of States throughout the area.¹² Lehrer's work is steeped in tradition, both in rituals and function. In his Esther scroll (Hebrew: *megillah*) case, made in 2000 for a private collection, he combines a Persian-style turret with imagery from the story of Esther.[fig 2] Daniel Lehrer holds a degree in Advanced Crafts in Gold- and Silversmithing from the Sir John Cass School of Art, London, and was apprenticed to Georges Weil. During this period he improved his skills in the traditional techniques of soldering gold and silver, which is extremely complex due to their differing melting points. His mastery of these skills is shown in the *megillah* case used on the festival of Purim, a day which recalls the bravery of Esther, the Persian Queen who saved her people from extermina-



2 Megillah case, Daniel Lehrer, London 2000, parcel-gilt with gemstones. (Courtesy Daniel Lehrer)



3 Torah crown, Gerald Benney, London 1996, parcel-gilt and enamel. Height: 24cm (9½in). (Victoria and Albert Museum, private collection).

Illustrated in colour p22

6 S.D. Gruber, *American Synagogues, A Century of Architecture and Jewish Community*, Rizzoli, New York 2003, ISBN 0-8478-2549-3.

7 R.D. Burnett (ed), *Catalogue of the Jewish Museum, London*, Harvey Miller, London 1973, p3.

8 A Hanukkah lamp is used on the festival of Hannukah (lit. the Feast of Dedication) which commemorates the victory of the Hasmoneans over their Greco-Syrian overlords in 165BC.

9 Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies, *The*

Haodalah Spice Container, Spertus Museum, Chicago 1998, p4.

10 N. Berman, *Moshe Zabari: A Twenty-Five Year Retrospective*, The Jewish Museum New York, The Hebrew Union College Skirball Museum Los Angeles 1986, p8.

11 Graham Hughes, *Gerald Benney Goldsmith*, Starcity, East Alfriston, Sussex 1998, pp12 and 162.

12 *Eternal Light. The 2004 Philip & Sylvia Spertus Judaica Prize Competition*, Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies, Chicago 2004, p43.



4 *Ner Tamid* (Eternal lamp), Daniel Lehrer, London 2004, silver, amethyst crystal and amethyst. Height: 48.2cm (19in). (Courtesy Daniel Lehrer)



5 *Etrog*, Mila Tanya Griebel, London 2000. (Courtesy Mila Tanya Griebel)

6 *Rimmonim*, Mila Tanya Griebel, London 1993. Height: 30cm (11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in). (Courtesy Mila Tanya Griebel)

tion in the fifth century BC. Lehrer's *megillah* case contains an illuminated manuscript by Mark Negin with images depicting the story of Esther in full colour on parchment. Along the base are inlaid gemstones, diamonds, cabochon rubies and at the top, rock crystal. This piece was displayed in the millennium exhibition *Judaica 2000* at the Jewish Museum, London.¹³ In 2002 Lehrer was a finalist in the Spertus Judaica competition and in 2004 was short-listed for his *Ner Tamid* (Eternal light).[fig 4] In this piece he mounted a large amethyst above a panoramic view of Jerusalem in repoussé silver.¹⁴

For the *Judaica 2000* exhibition Mila Tanya Griebel (born 1963) made an *etrog* container (Hebrew: *citron* [a citrus fruit]) titled *Seasons Go Round*. [fig 5] An *etrog* is used on the feast of Sukkot (Feast of Tabernacles). The citron fruit which is inserted into the *etrog* container must be perfect, without blemish, and it must have its pitom; so protecting the ends is very important. The container's shape echoes the shape of a *citron*, the silver is cut through revealing the Hebrew text 'the fruit of the tree', whereby the cut section enables the citron fruit to breathe and to allow its fragrance to be inhaled or experienced. Mila Tanya Griebel, a graduate from the Royal College of Art, London, is today represented in various international collections such as the Skirball Museum, Los Angeles; Yeshiva University Museum, New York; Jewish Museum, Amsterdam and Goldsmiths' Hall, London. Griebel has demonstrated in her *etrog* how a truly modern form can fulfil ancient traditional ritual demands.

The Feast of Tabernacles is a harvest festival. Its observance is commanded in the Bible (*Deuteronomy* XVI, 13) and celebrated for a week. This involves the obligation to take all meals in a temporary booth (*sukkah*) which is decorated with fruits and flowers of the season. In the synagogue the *lulav* (palm branch, with bunches of myrtle and willow) as well as the *citron* are carried, both symbolising autumn fruits. (*Lev. xxiii, 39-44*) It concludes after seven days with the Festival of the Rejoicing of the Law, when the reading of the Pentateuch at Sabbath services comes to an end – and is begun again with much rejoicing.¹⁵

Mila Tanya Griebel's *rimmonim* [fig 6] (adornments for the staves of the Torah) reflects contemporary architecture with its asymmetrical compositions, and vividly demonstrates how Jewish ritual objects can be fully abstract in form and function; they have a very sculptural feel. The *rimmonim* were made in 1993 for the Hertsmere



Liberal Synagogue and Mila Griebel was asked to make the *rimmonim* to be specific to that synagogue. They also had to fulfil the important purpose of being 'tops' to the staves on which the Torah scroll is wound. The Hertsmere synagogue has a simple interior and the *rimmonim* needed to be visually very strong. The *rimmonim* are made out of one sheet of folded silver, so that only the inner tubes are separate; the bells are inside and not hanging outside as on a traditional pair. Griebel has applied here her early experiments at the Royal College of Art, based on folding paper to create volume – achieving in silver a very contemporary look.

A contemporary approach is also taken by the American silversmith Paula Newman (b 1971), with her spice container.[figs 7 and 8] The choice of an *Echinacea* flower is taken from a purely Western tradition and is then translated into a Jewish function. The vessel form is free in its choice of shape, but at the same time meets the demands of a spice container used in the Jewish ritual of *havdalah* (a ceremony that marks the conclusion of the Sabbath, and is celebrated with the recitation of three blessings said over wine, a flame and spices). The spices symbolise the fragrance which the Sabbath leaves behind, and is thought to refresh the person who loses the 'extra soul' of the day of rest. In 1998 Paula Newman entered the Spertus competition on the theme of *havdalah* spice containers and received an award.¹⁶ Her spice container is in Sterling silver, with black silicone for the thorns, and 32 individual petals which shift up and down on a ring, as the flower is moved. The artist chose the *Echinacea* flower because it is known for its healing qualities, analogous to the spiritual strengthening that the Sabbath provides, its abilities to boost the immune system and strengthen the body. Her work of elegance and beauty reflects the *hiddur mitzvah*, the Jewish commandment to enhance the performance of a religious ceremony. Paula Newman has a Master of Fine Arts from the California College of Arts and Crafts, in Oakland, California and runs a metal-smithing design studio and gallery. Her work is shown worldwide in numerous collections such as the Jewish Museum, Berlin; the Judah L. Magnes Museum, Berkeley, USA and many private collections.

In contrast to the preceding silversmiths Tamar de Vries Winter (b 1946) has embraced modern-day technologies.¹⁷ The Israeli-born metalsmith and enameller studied at St Martin's School of Art, London (1966–69), and taught as a guest lecturer on 'Enamelling on precious and non-precious metals' at the Shenkar School of Engineering and Design, in Ramat Gan, Israel (2001–06). In 2005 she was a visiting artist, at the Jewellery Department in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts school. Her work includes several commissions such as, in 2004, a *kiddush* cup [fig 9] for the new display of contemporary Judaica in the Sacred Silver and Stained Glass Galleries at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which was sponsored through the generosity of the Kessler Foundation. The *kiddush* (lit. sanctification) cup is used whenever a blessing over wine is recited, for example at the beginning of the Sabbath. The Sabbath is the holy day of the Jews and the beginning is marked by the recitation of a prayer to set it apart from the rest of the working week. De Vries Winter designed the cup to be distinctly Jewish, yet with a design that had universal appeal. The ornamental pattern on the central band of the vessel is made up of Hebrew letters which spell three Hebrew words from the ancient Jewish benediction over



7 & 8 Spice box, Paula Newman, 1998, silver, silicone and stainless steel, Height: 29.5cm (11 $\frac{5}{8}$ in). (Photo: M. Lee Fatherrees)



9 Kiddush cup, Tamar de Vries Winter, silver, enamel and gold foil, 2005. Height: 9cm (3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in). (Victoria and Albert Museum M.19-2005) Detail: fig 10; illustrated in colour on p22.

13 *Judaica 2000 Contemporary British Ceremonial Art*, exhib cat, The Jewish Museum, London 2000, p14.

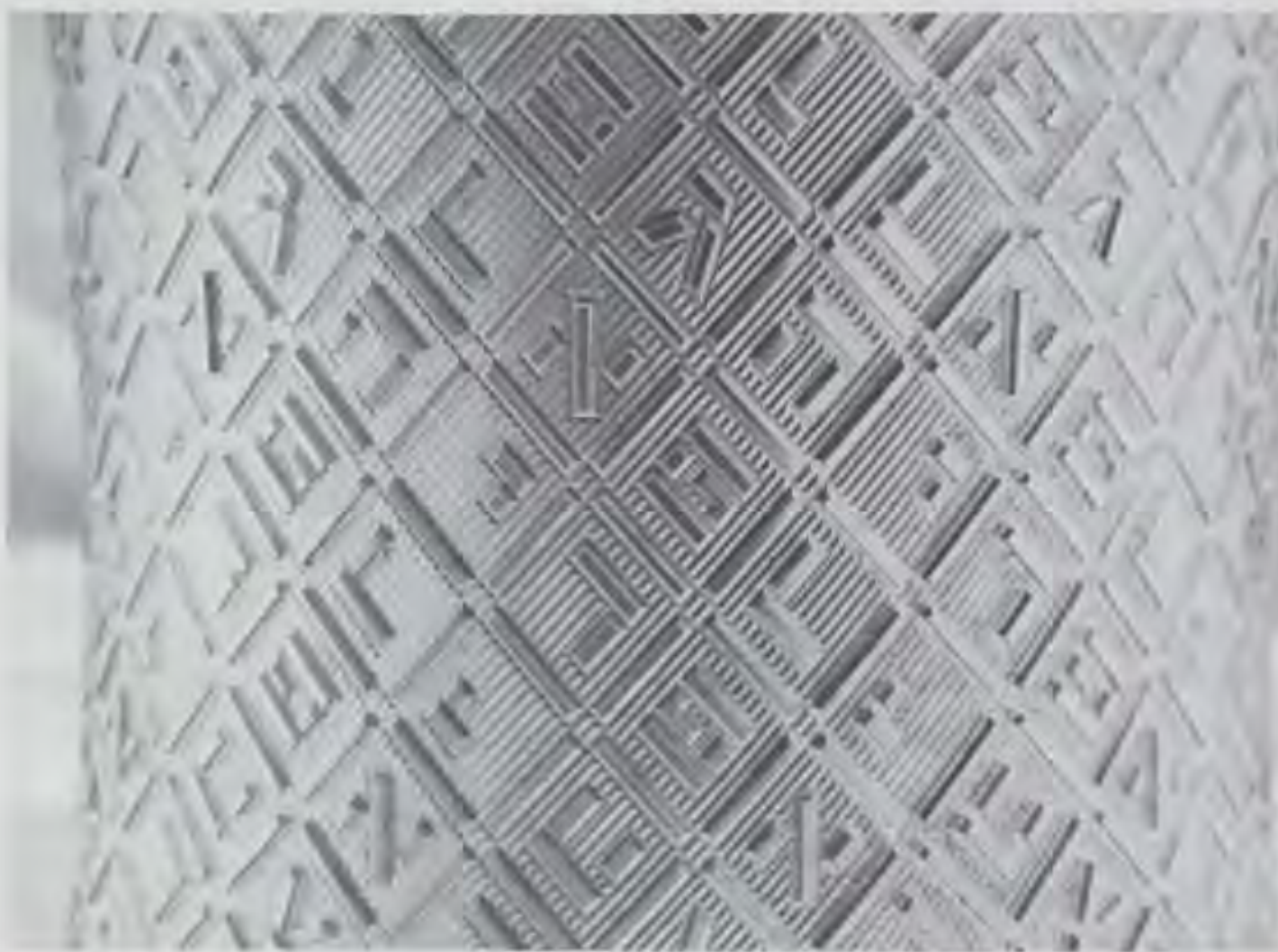
14 An amethyst is one of the gemstones found on the breastplate of the High Priest in the Temple. (The High Priest Aaron wore a breastplate which had 12

stones on it, each one representing one of the twelve tribes of Israel.)

15 Barnett (as note 7), p43.

16 Spertus (as note 9), p22.

17 www.studiofusion-gallery.co.uk/winter This website illustrates a selection of Tamar de Vries Winter's work.



10 Detail of fig 9. Computer-aided engraving of words from the Jewish benediction: *Borei peri Ha-gafen*. (Photo: Mary Bernard)



11 Hanukkah lamp, Tamar de Vries Winter, 2005, slate, silver and enamel silver foil. Length: 31.7cm (12½in). (Photo: Peter Mennim)

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18 Jewish Virtual Library, a Division of the America-Israel Co-operative Enterprise, 2005, (www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaism/jewpop.html).

19 An invitational is where the artist is encouraged to

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20 (as note 13).

wine, referring to God as the 'Creator of the fruit of the vine'. The words (*Borei peri Ha-gafen*) are shown in diagonal rows in such a manner as to be legible both by the person holding the cup and by the viewer.[fig10] Whilst using traditional enamelling and engraving methods for her ornamentation, she applies modern technology such as computer-aided engraving, originally developed by Jack Perry. Subsequent to the *kiddush* cup Tamar de Vries Winter made a *Hanukkah* lamp in slate with enamelled silver ornament.[fig11] It conforms to the Jewish precept of having the lamps on one level, with the servitor lamp slightly raised to indicate it is the one that must be used to light the others. Much of her work is characterised by an exceptional balance of Jewish rituals and modern-day technologies, giving her pieces a contemporary feel

whilst respecting traditional values.

In essence, silversmiths from varying backgrounds make Jewish ceremonial silver with an individual artistic approach and richness of interpretation. From the second half of the twentieth, and in the early twenty-first century, the ceremonial object has in many cases become an abstract work of art. It then transcends its primary functional purpose and engages the observer in a more aesthetic and spiritual way.

With larger populations and prosperity, reached in areas of safety for the Jewish people, the production of ceremonial objects has become more extensive. Compared to the UK, with its Jewish population of approx 302,207 (the seventh largest demographic group), the USA has a population of 5,914,682, just exceeding that of Israel with 5,021,000.¹⁸ On a global level, events such as the Spertus competition, inaugurated in 1994, have gained in importance and encouraged the development of innovative design in ritual objects; accompanying exhibition catalogues have made Jewish ceremonial art known to a wider audience.

The Contemporary Jewish Museum, San Francisco (formerly the Jewish Museum San Francisco) has published several catalogues on their invitationals devoted to different ritual object types.¹⁹ In Israel the Bezalel Academy regularly publishes catalogues of contemporary Judaica. The UK has neither a Judaica prize nor a college specialising in this field, and religious silver is mainly either acquired through commercial companies or by special commission from the artists. Publications in the UK on Judaica are rare: the Jewish Museum's millennium exhibition catalogue²⁰ highlights the leading makers of Jewish art in Britain and the progress in contemporary British design. In recent developments of Judaica in the UK and the USA the continuity of Jewish religious life is expressed in the unique designs of the artists very much reflecting the culture and life of their times.

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Christie's New York, 27 October 2005, including a large group of silver by Georg Jensen; models by Buccellati; lot 278, sideboard dish, attr to Reinhold Vasters, circa 1880, \$307,200 (£172,032); lot 296, silver-gilt dessert service, Thomas Germain, Paris 1744, 40 pieces in a nineteenth-century case, \$396,800 (£222,208), [colour ill, p19]; lot 409, pair of candelabra, John Scofield, London 1796/97, arms of William, Earl of Lonsdale, \$96,000 (£53,760).

Bonham's London, 8 November 2005, including a large group of caddy spoons and vinaigrettes.

Sotheby's Geneva, 16 November 2005, the Diane collection. 124 lots of French silver including several lots by Henri Auguste: lot 121, pair of verrieres, Paris 1789/90, SFr 333,600 (£146,784, \$253,536).

Sotheby's London, 29 November 2005, including early spoons from the collection of Charles L. Poor; lot 68, the Macready Testimonial, Benjamin Smith, London 1841/42, £60,000 (\$103,800); lot 166, a set of German silver-gilt knives, forks and spoon, Augsburg, circa 1695–1700, £14,400 (\$24,912) [*below*]; lot 187, a Netherlandish or German engraved dish, early seventeenth century, £96,000 (\$166,080).



Christie's London, 1 December 2005, included as lot 514, 'the Altenstetter service', an enamelled silver and parcel-gilt service, David Altenstetter, Augsburg, 1615–17, £1,240,000 (\$2,145,200). [colour ill, p18]

Sotheby's Paris, 9 December 2005, collection Ghislain Prouvost, including (lot 133) a portrait of a boy in a suit trimmed with silver and with silver buttons.

Sotheby's Paris, 13 December 2005, including (lots 108 & 109) silver-mounted Imari porcelain pots.

Duke's, Dorchester, 15 December 2005. 'Fire of London' tankard, commissioned by Sir Edmund Berrie Godfrey, maker's mark IN a mullet below, London 1675/76, known as the Lushington tankard, recently on loan to the Ashmolean Museum; £70,000.

Sotheby's Amsterdam, 19 December 2005, included a group of Dutch toys.

Christie's Amsterdam, 20 December 2005. Lot 196, Willem van Laer, rare first edition of a manual for gold and silversmiths, 1721, €1,920 (£1,315).

Sotheby's New York, 20–22 January 2006, Americana, lots 42–184 silver and gold.

Christie's London, 26–27 January 2006, HRH the Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester, including a broad range of silver, many engraved with royal armorials, monograms and inscriptions.

Sotheby's London, 22 February 2005, John Jesse.

Sotheby's New York, 5–6 April 2006, mixed sale included 171 lots of silver; lot 41, pair of wine coolers designed by Giuseppe Valadier, Rome 1815–22, \$108,000 (£61,560).

Christie's New York, 26 April 2006. Lot 42, gold freedom box, John Mackay, Edinburgh 1833, presented to Charles, 2nd Earl Grey, \$96,000 (£53,760); lot 73, a silver-gilt service, Puiforcat, Paris circa 1930, \$108,000 (£60,480); lot 195, tea equipage in a tortoiseshell case, Burrage Davenport, London 1771/72, \$79,200 (£44,352).

Christie's Rome, 29 May 2006, including a small group designed

by Gabriele de Vecchi, Milan.

Sotheby's London, 1 June 2006, lots 51–58, property of Lord Robert Mercer-Nairne; lot 137, pair of figural salts, Albrecht von Horn, Augsburg, 1640–45, £117,600 (\$218,736).

Bonhams Knightsbridge, 6 June 2006. Lot 293 coffee pot, Peter Donovan for Kilkenny Design, Dublin 1973, £1,440 [below]



Christie's London, 12 June 2006.

Sotheby's Milan, 21 June 2006.

Sotheby's Paris, 29 June 2006

Bonhams London, 5 July 2006.

Christie's London (South Kensington), 13 July 2006, collection of James Walker.

Sotheby's London (Arts of the Islamic World) 5 April 2006, lot 120. Vase, iron damascened with gold and silver, Placido Zuloaga, 1881, height 106cm (43 $\frac{3}{4}$ in); £321,600.

Christie's New York, 17 May 2006. Sale following the change of ownership of Partridge, the Bond Street, London, dealer.

Pandolfini, Florence, 20 May 2006. Etruscan mirror, 4th century BC, the reverse chased with figures; €26,000 (£18,570), report in *Antiques Trade Gazette*, 3 June 2006.

Spink's, 29 June 2006. Edward III florin (double leopard), one of three known; £400,000+premium, report in *Antiques Trade Gazette*, 22 July 2006.

Holloway's, Banbury, 6 June 2006, property from Wardington Manor. Musical travelling games compendium, signed Biennais on the lockplate; £15,000. Jade tankard, Qianlong, with later silver-gilt mounts inscribed 'Slark fecit'; £80,000. Report in *Antiques Trade Gazette*, 1 July 2006.

Bonhams, London, 27 June 2006, French mantua circa 1770, sewn with silver lace, from the collection of Countess Fitzwilliam, report in *Antiques Trade Gazette*, 24 June 2006.

A checklist of selected exhibitions follows, for most of which catalogues or accompanying books are listed on p134:

Britannia and Muscovy [Yale Center for British Art; and Gilbert Collection, London]

Le Banque des Animaux [Seneffe, Belgium]

Princely splendor: The Dresden court 1580–1620, 2004–2005 [New York, Hamburg, Rome, London]

German Treasure Houses – Art in Aristocratic collections [Haus der Kunst, Munich]

Hague Gold and Silver [Gemeentemuseum, The Hague]

Ten Masterpieces from the Hermitage Treasury [Sotheby's New York]

Paul de Lamerie silver in the Cahn collection [V&A, London]

The Art of Rundell & Bridge 1797–1843, [Koopman, London]

International Arts and Crafts [Indianapolis; V&A, London]

Modernism in American Silver: 20th century design [Smithsonian, Washington]

Eleven Decades of Modern Silver: A Taste for Coffee and Tea [Portland]

Feeding and Desire [Cooper-Hewitt, New York]

Christofle, [Sterckshof, Antwerp]

'At the Sign of the Falcon: H.G. Murphy: Art Deco Jeweller and Silversmith' [Goldsmiths' Hall, London]

Gerald Benney [Goldsmiths' Hall, London]

Comment

Be alert to focussed, well-designed marketing techniques, particularly at Christie's South Kensington and Bonhams. New catalogues are a cross between a magazine and a mail order catalogue – it's clever, it's slick and it makes you want to buy! Instead of being presented as low-cost unfashionable antiques, the silver (and all decorative arts) is perceived as usable and perfect for gifts and furnishing your home. It's what the things were made for, after all. Auction houses are rightly aiming to lure those starting out on the property ladder away from out-of-town retail parks and high street chain stores, persuading them that 'old' doesn't necessarily mean mega-bucks and doesn't have to be thought of as 'an investment': it's furnishings to be used, not esoteric art.

Let's hope it helps to boost interest in 'old things', and that it brings in a new generation who will develop into tomorrow's connoisseurs of silver.

VB

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Postscript ...

The image top left is one of the base metal patterns from the workshops of Padgett & Braham (*see p17*).

The mask is based on a similar head seen on two-handled cups bearing the mark of Paul de Lamerie, and was presumably used on a reproduction of the cup. The best-known example is in the collection of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, London 1739/40, the same year as the example illustrated here (far left and detail). They come from a group of cups that share features such as handles, finials and applied decoration, with the marks of several different London makers. See *Rococo silver in England and its colonies*, a special issue of this Journal (no20) published in 2006.

The cover illustration, from the same archive, shows items approximately life-size, together with the (out of scale) cardboard box, suitably labelled, in which the models for the Pied Piper and his rats were stored. We do not yet know with what object they were made.



Two-handled cup, Paul de Lamerie, London 1739/40; detail below right. (Sotheby's)



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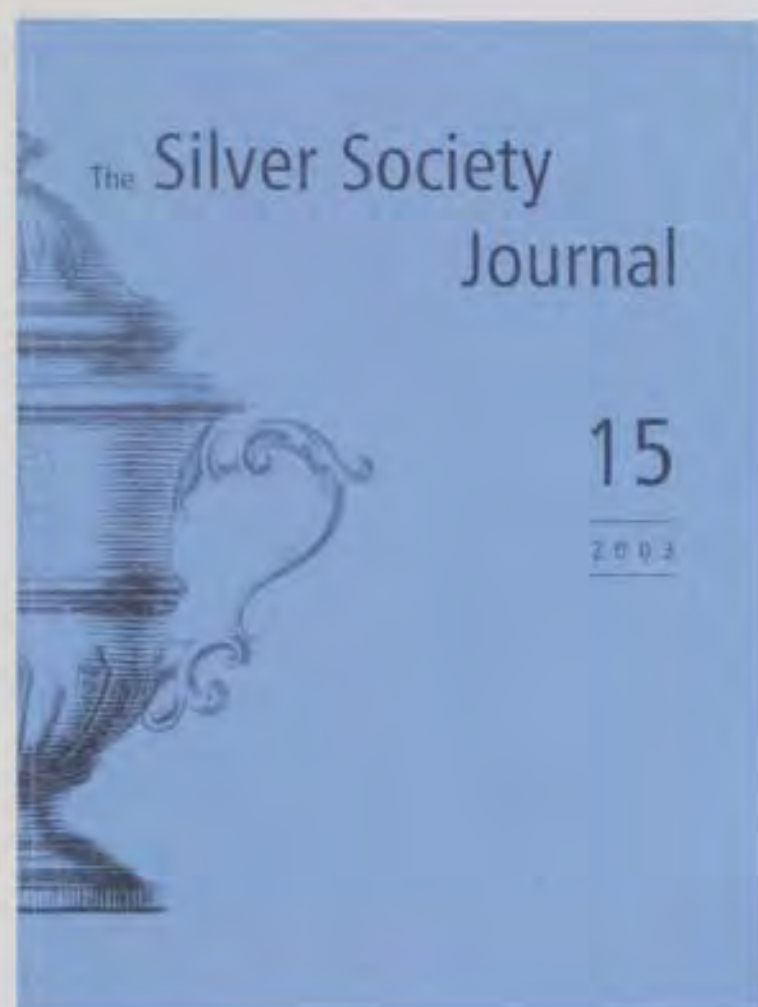
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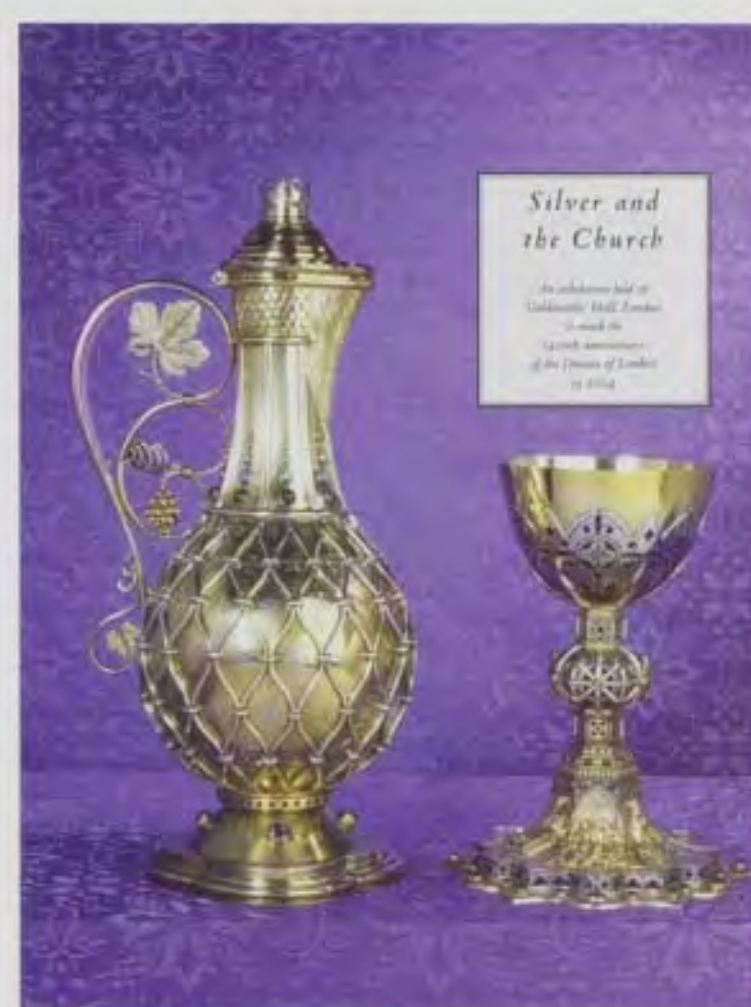
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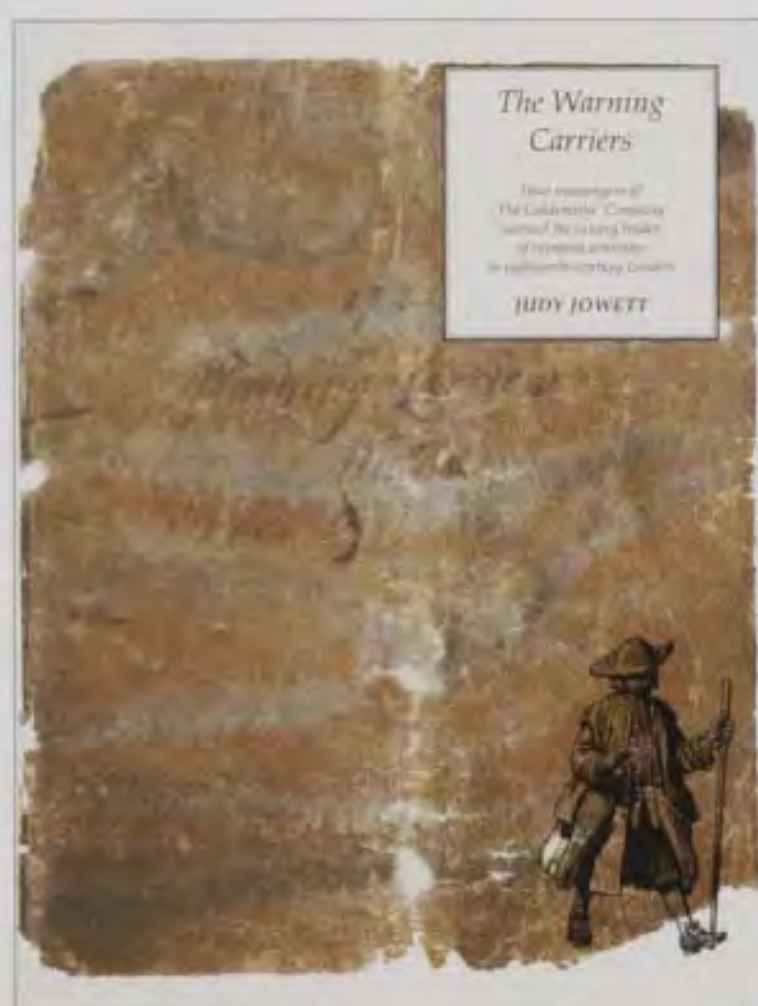
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