

Richard Cooper's apprentices

Engravers' apprenticeships in Scotland are no better recorded than their counterparts in England, and in tumultuous times masters resorted to various means to protect their investment in time. Like Robert Gordon, Cooper sought the protection of the Court of Session in 1738 when Samuel Taylor became bound to him, not as an apprentice engraver but 'in the Art & Calling of Metzotinto Scraping'.⁵⁸ The arrangement was unusual as it was for the period of one year only and he was paid 10s per week, less £2 5s 2d he owed Cooper. Typically in Scotland, we know of engravers' apprenticeships only when craftsmen announce the fact in publication, as did Cooper's apprentices, Andrew Bell and Sir Robert Strange. But it is interesting that in Bell's case, he identified himself as Cooper's 'pupil', a description that emphasised his status as an artist rather than tradesman. The exact agreement with Bell is unknown but Robert Strange was bound for a period of six years on payment of a fee, an arrangement similar to other apprenticeships of the time.⁵⁹

Andrew Hay and Robert Proctor witnessed the document of obligation signed by Samuel Taylor in 1738 where they are described as servants to Richard Cooper and both were still in his service at the time of the Kennedy document. On his marriage in 1738, Cooper became a kinsman of Andrew Hay of Mountblair (died 1751), a barony in Banffshire held under the Earl of Erroll.⁶⁰ This led to a network of relationships with members of the wider Hay family and for example, he worked very closely with Andrew Hay the art dealer and member of the Academy of St Luke, whose nephew Michael Hay, according to Robert Strange, was one of Cooper's more wayward apprentices. Andrew eventually had to buy up his nephew's indentures and packed him off to Jamaica with a large bundle of prints where he apparently made his fortune.⁶¹ The Andrew Hay 'servant to Mr. Cooper' who signed the Kennedy document was not directly involved in engraving the Gordon silver and it seems likely he held a more general role in Cooper's household, possibly as his man of business. Robert Proctor however, from his description as a 'servant' in the 1738 obligation, may have been another of Cooper's apprentices. In the Kennedy document he appears to distance himself from Cooper, saying that he had been 'employed by him' to engrave the seal, possibly suggesting that he was no longer in Cooper's household by February or March 1743. He went on to teach William Berry.⁶²

Andrew Bell (1726–1809) is probably the best known of all the craftsmen involved in the decoration of Robert Gordon's silver but not for the type of work he described in the Kennedy document. There are currently no known examples of engraved silver by him but as the Kennedy document suggests, there is undoubtedly

surviving work that has not been identified. There is a brief and amusing nineteenth-century biography of Bell by James Maidment, that accompanies William Kay's published portrait.⁶³[7]

Mr. Bell began his professional career in the humble employment of engraving letters, names, and crests on gentleman's plate, dog's collars, and so forth; but subsequently rose to be the first in his line in Edinburgh. His success, however, can scarcely be attributed to any excellence he ever attained as an engraver, but rather to the result of a fortunate professional speculation in which he engaged.



7 Andrew Bell (left) and William Smellie, etching, William Kay 1787. (Private collection)

This was the publication of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" of which he was the proprietor to the amount of half, and to which he furnished the plates. By one edition of this work he is said to have realised twenty thousand pounds.

Mr. Bell did not possess the advantage of a liberal education, but this deficiency he in some measure obtained in after life by extensive reading, and by keeping the society of men of letters, of which aids to intellectual improvement he made so good a use that he became remarkable for the extent of his information, and so agreeable a companion that his company was in great request.

Mr. Bell was also remarkable for the deformity of his legs, upon which, however, he was the first person to jest. Once, in a large company, when some jokes had passed on the subject, he said, pushing out one of them, that he would wager there was nowhere in the room a leg still more crooked. The company denied his assertion and accepted the challenge, whereupon he coolly thrust out his other leg, which was still worse than its neighbour, and thus gained his bet.

But this is not the full story. Bell had been apprenticed to Richard Cooper, possibly from as early as 1740 and contrary to the impression given above, he was perhaps the best and most significant engraver in Scotland after his master. In the preface to his *Anatomia Britannica*, published in Edinburgh in 1798 he noted:

In 1742 members of the Medical Society of Edinburgh commenced the laudable attempt of compiling a set of tables for the use of students at the University, and the engraving of them was committed to Mr. Richard Cooper, the princi-



8 Self portrait with two young men, Louis Phillipe Boitard, circa 1750. Most probably a portrait of Andrew Bell (left) with Boitard in the centre and Gavin Hamilton (right). (Yale Centre for British Art, Newhaven)

pal artist at that time in this line. I was then his pupil, with my much-esteemed friend, the late Sir Robert Strange...

The project mentioned here involved copying the magnificent plates from *Tabulae Sceleti et Musculorum Corporis Humani*, perhaps the greatest work of the celebrated anatomist, B.S. Albinus (1697–1770) published at Leiden in 1747. Richard Cooper and Alexander Monro primus had decided to publish a reduced version of the Albinus volume, intended to be a cheap resource for medical students. Cooper engraved new plates based on loose prints sent to Monro from the Netherlands, before the full publication. Their proposed book did not materialise until 1800, in entirely different circumstances but Bell produced his own fine version after Albinus – the *Anatomia Britannica*, leaving out the elaborate backgrounds of the original plates but nevertheless creating one of the great anatomical books of the period.⁶⁴

Bell's earliest known engravings on paper appear in *Observations, Anatomical and Physiological* by Alexander Monro secundus (1732–1817), published in Edinburgh in 1758. But his most significant work was to etch the plates for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, a project conceived with a printer, Colin McFarquhar (1745–93). Together they formed a Society of Gentlemen to publish the volumes and employed the young William Smellie (1740–95) as their editor. The first parts began to appear in 1768 and Bell used the anatomical plates designed by Cooper to illustrate the section on anatomy. The publication was complete by 1771 and on the death of the printer, McFarquhar in 1793, Bell became the sole proprietor and a wealthy man. Bell also had strong Masonic connections not mentioned by Maidment. He was admitted a member of the Lodge St David, Edinburgh No36, on 12 February 1755 and was soon engrav-

ing their letterheads 'at a rate of eighteen pence pr. hundred paper included'.⁶⁵ He also engraved for Grand Lodge, being paid £10 1s 6d in November 1756 for a plate for the Provincial Commissions and other services and in August 1757 'for printing a Charter & Letters'. He was still working for his own Lodge between 1772 and 1782 but his bill, for just over £8, was probably never paid due to their straitened circumstances and his growing success.

The Kennedy document provides, for the first time, evidence to support Maidment's description of Bell's earliest work but there is other evidence in the form of a watercolour at the Yale Centre for British Art at New Haven. The work in question is by Louis Phillipe Boitard (fl 1738–63)⁶⁶ and has previously been published as 'A Chaser at Home' and 'Self Portrait with two Young Men'.⁶⁷[8] In fact, this is almost certainly a portrait of Andrew Bell and his friends, in his tenement flat in Edinburgh, painted between 1745 and 1752.⁶⁸ The central figure is the artist, Boitard, who has depicted himself as the quintessentially neat Frenchman in fashionable clothes and powdered wig. The gentleman on the right looks very like the later portraits of the antiquarian, Gavin Hamilton (1723–98) and it may be him, as he was in Edinburgh in 1750–52 on family business. The figure on the left is almost certainly Andrew Bell with his deformed legs spread-eagled, in a manner that he could not avoid. His face may be compared with the portrait of him playing the fiddle, by Paul Sandby, now at Windsor and inscribed, 'Mr. Bell, engraver of Edinburgh, del 1758'.⁶⁹[9] He is shown in both, wearing what must have been his favourite, and possibly because of his disability, his most comfortable and certainly most flattering item of clothing, the banyan. The face is very similar and the ill-fitting wig is common to both.

There are also specific indications that this is a Scottish interior. The bed hangings are almost certainly an example of 'Musselburgh stripe' – a common feature of Scottish inventories of the eighteenth century. The very steep cove of the roof is typical of a specific type of Edinburgh tenement of the 1680s where the upper windows (often a pair) are set in a gablet rising from the front wall.⁷⁰ There are other indications that this is Bell's accommodation – what appears to be a musical instrument behind the mirror and the presence of the pair of dogs, suggesting more than a strictly commercial interest in these animals. The dog with its nose in the chamber pot is also an amusing dig at Bell's pseudo antiquarianism and may be compared with other contemporary images of antiquarians examining chamber pots.⁷¹ If the figure opposite is indeed the famous antiquarian Gavin Hamilton, this may explain Bell's toast with a broken (antique?) cup and only goes to reinforce the joke. This element of poking fun is continued in the open sash window, which has been (deliberately?) misunderstood. In the arrangement shown, with the lower sash outside the inner, the engraver's bench would have been soaked on a rainy day.

In every respect this is an engraver's workshop and the items sitting around, the tea caddy, the porringer, the tea or saffron pot, the watch cases hanging under the window, the cream jug and the fork, all await the craftsman's touch. The gentleman holding the fork draws attention to the place where the crest would be engraved. But the prints on the wall, the bottles (of *aqua fortis*?) and to some extent the interesting collection of furniture, indicate that this is an engraver with broader interests. Indeed, the entire composition of



Mr Bell, engraver of Edinburgh

9 Mr Bell engraver of Edinburgh, Paul Sandby, 1758. (By gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen)

64 Rock 2000 (as note 49), p38.

65 A.M. Mackay, 'Andrew Bell, of the Encyclopaedia Britannica', *Quatuor Coronati*, vol 24, 1911, pp 2248–50.

66 Cyril Cook, 'Louis P. Boitard and his designs on Battersea enamels', *Apollo* March 1953, p72–75. Madeleine Blondel, 'Louis-Philippe Boitard, Illustrateur Du Fantastique', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Paris 1987, vol CX, pp165–72.

67 Celina Fox, 'Images of Artists and Craftsmen in Georgian London', *Apollo* May 1987 p358. *English Portrait Drawings and Miniatures Yale Center for British Art*, Dec 5 1979 – February 17 1980, no42.

68 Edward Bruce Robertson, 'Paul Sandby and the development of English watercolour', PhD

thesis, Yale University, 1987, was the first to draw attention to the possibility that Boitard had been in Sandby's company but he did not consider that this may have occurred in Scotland, p153.

69 S.T.P (Thomas Paul Sandby) *The Monthly Magazine*, no213 Jun 1st 1811 p437. Stated that his father had learned etching in Edinburgh with Mr. Bell.

70 See other examples in David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, vol 4, figs1044, 1046, 1048 and 1052. Bell lived in a tenement in Mary Kings Close at this period, of which there is no recorded view.

71 Iain Gordon Brown, *The Hobby-Horsical Antiquary, a Scottish Character 1640–1830*, Edinburgh (National Library of Scotland) 1980, p10, fig5.



10 Set of Masonic jewels for Lodge Kirkwall Kilwinning, Orkney, supplied by Richard Cooper, 1743. (Private collection)

Boitard's watercolour is based on the famous suite of prints depicting French interiors, *Les Quatres ages de l'homme*, published by Abraham Bosse (1602–76), most specifically *Maturity* with its small dog, central table, wall mirror and bed to the right.⁷²

Richard Cooper's work

The greatest part of Cooper's work was related to the engraving of plates for publication and is thus beyond the scope of this article, but his earliest collaboration in print is however worthy of attention. In 1727 Cooper supplied a drawing that was etched by H. Fletcher as the frontispiece to a small volume entitled *The Vineyard* published in London in 1727 by the anonymous S.J. Henry Fletcher (fl 1715–38) left Merchant Taylors' School in the same year as Cooper and is best known for his prints of the *Twelve Months of Flowers*, published in 1730–32. Between 1736 and 1737 he published an influential suite of Rococo designs after Getano Brunetti's *Sixty Different Sorts of Ornaments... Very useful to painters, sculptors, stone carvers, wood-carvers and silversmiths*.⁷³ There is evidence that Cooper was involved in the supply of items wrought in precious metals and seals, the latter for the Earl of Stair in the 1740s and for a member of the Kennedy family in 1750.⁷⁴ Other than Robert Gordon, it is not clear who his collaborators were but in one case his involvement with a goldsmith may have been political.

In 1738 Cooper presented an account to the Jacobite 4th Earl of Traquair (1659–1741), 'for the coat of arms painting and other work about it on the gates at ye head of the avenue'. For this work he received £8 14s 8d stg. on 29 June but the accounts record that he received an additional 2 Guineas stg. 'for himself'. The sum is quite large for painting a coat of arms, particularly since the paint was supplied by James Norie and the personal payment is unique to Cooper in the Traquair accounts. It may be explained by a loan, which Cooper made to the goldsmith John Rollo two months later, on 25 August for £9 stg. John was the third son of Robert, 4th Lord Rollo (1708–83), who was involved in the Jacobite rising of 1715 but surrendered and was fortunate to be pardoned in 1717. John was apprenticed to Henry Bethune in 1731, but in 1744 he asked to be taken off the roll of the Incorporation as 'he is in the country about his necessary affairs'.⁷⁵ It seems very likely that he was involved in the Rebellion and that Cooper's loan was a sophisticated piece of money laundering on behalf of the Earl of Traquair. John became 6th Lord Rollo in 1765.⁷⁶

The most remarkable instance of Cooper's activities as a supplier of objects in precious metal, occurred in 1743 when he supplied the Lodge Kirkwall Kilwinning No38, with a set of jewels, to be worn by the officers of the Lodge. At that time the Orkney islands were in the possession of James Douglas, 14th Earl of Morton (1703–68) and Cooper had dedicated a *Map of the Firth of Forth* to the Earl in 1730 followed by a similar dedication of a *Map of the North Coast of Britain* in 1744. The importance of Morton as a patron cannot be overstated; he was a founding member of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh and was Grand Master Mason of Scotland in 1739–40 and Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England in 1741–42. Cooper became his kinsman through marriage in 1738 and between 1749 and 1752 he taught his daughter Lady Mary Douglas drawing. It is perhaps significant that in one of his accounts for 5 October

72 British Museum 1876.5.10.1096. Published in Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland*, New Haven 1978, fig85.

73 *Rococo Art and Design in Hogarth's England*, exhibit cat, Victoria and Albert Museum, London 1984 p38.

74 NAS, GD135/2061/40 'To engraving an arms on an Arran stone. £1 10s', 22 Jun 1745 and 'To his Lordship's crest on a pebble, 15s', 6 Apl 1747 (Stair) and NAS, GD25/9 Box 19, Volume of accounts, January 1748–1754. 'To Mr. Coupar for a seal to Mr. McLoyd, 15s', 7 Jun 1753 and 'To buttons &c. from Coupar, 2s 6d', 27 Jan 1753 (Kennedy of Culzean).

75 Minutes vol 4 p166, 20 Mar 1744. His brother, born in 1720 was christened Clement Sobieski. On 22

Jul 1743, Edward Lothian reported that his apprentice Robert Rollo 'had gone to the army', p159.

76 Dalgleish and Maxwell, 1987 p37. One of his MS ledgers survives in the Edinburgh Public Library.

77 NAS, GD150/2453/4/13 (1749); 14(1749); 15(1751); 16(1752) and 17(1752).

78 B.H. Hossack, *Kirkwall in the Orkneys*, Kirkwall, 1900.

79 Helen Rosslyn and Angelo Maggi, *Country of Painter and Poet*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh 2002, pl 4 p15.

80 Minutes vol 2 p47, 14 Jun 1731.

81 NAS, GD44/51/295/5 and 296/6.

82 Edinburgh City Archives, (as note 43).

1749 he charged for 'mending an ear ring'.⁷⁷ The Earl's political leanings are unclear but he and his wife and young daughter were imprisoned in the Bastille for three months in 1746.

The Masonic jewels were sent to Orkney on 10 January 1743 and in a covering letter recorded in the Minutes of the Lodge, Cooper stated:

I have made as compleat a set jewels as possible and finished them in ye best manner. Vizt. The Masters, the two Wardens, the Depute Masters, The Treasurers, the Secretary's with ye large Square and Compass. The price is 30 shillings. Wishing all success and harmony to yr. Lodge.

According to the Lodge, Cooper supplied seven pieces of which five and part of a sixth survive in a private collection. B.H. Hossack described them in 1900 as being in gold, but having only seen the jewels in a photograph it is difficult to know if they are gold or silver gilt.⁷⁸ The price would suggest the latter but it is also possible that Cooper was making a donation. From the photograph, kindly supplied by the Lodge, the flat surfaces are seen to be magnificently chased, while the secretary's jewel (crossed feathers) appears to be simply cast.^[10] The Master's jewel at the top left in the photograph is very similar to one that appears, suspended from a sash ribbon laced through the small hole at the top, in a full-length portrait of Sir William St Clair of Roslin.⁷⁹ Painted in 1736, the year of his initiation and almost immediate elevation to Master of Canongate Kilwinning Lodge No2, the evidence suggests that Cooper also supplied and possibly designed the jewels for this, his own Lodge. The method of display is certainly unusual and while those for Canongate do not survive, the Kirkwall jewels are the earliest known in the United Kingdom.

The pieces are not marked and this raises an issue that dogged the Incorporation in Edinburgh throughout the

eighteenth century and was exacerbated by the fierce independence of the Canongate craftsmen. As citizens of a separate Burgh, they considered themselves outside the jurisdiction of the Incorporation and this led to considerable trouble. In 1731 the Deacon raided the workshop of an unfree Canongate tradesman, James Farquharson and removed items that were later destroyed.⁸⁰ It is not known if Farquharson, who described himself as a 'toyman', made objects in precious metal but he certainly retailed them. He supplied the Duke of Gordon with 'a fine gold snuff-box, £12 1s 6d' and 'a silver chessed one wt moving picture, £4 4s', in 1740 and further items including 'a set of the Seasons wt best gilt frames, £1 11s 6d' in 1744.⁸¹

The Kennedy document is an illuminating one but from this survey of the *dramatis personae* it is clear that little is what it seems in the world of Jacobite politics or for that matter, in the activities of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh. The scholar is required to delve into unfamiliar territory in pursuit of evidence and the collector to consider alternative reasons for the way things appear. The fleeting Rococo period in Scotland was an imitation of French design, largely through the medium of engravings and not a reaction to the Baroque. It is thus much more classical in spirit and difficult to define but was clearly buoyed up by political sentiments kept alive in France after 1715, which flowered in the decade either side of the '45. Scottish Rococo silver is a subject worthy of further research.

Acknowledgements

This article is dedicated to the memory of my friends Michael Clayton and James Claydon who taught me all I know about silver. I am grateful to Christopher Warner, George Dalgleish and Henry Stuart Fotheringham for their advice and comments. Any errors of interpretation are mine.

Postscript

While this article was in the press the author discovered a remarkable reference to yet another piece by Robert Gordon. In August 1749 he supplied the Town Council of Edinburgh with a gold cup, almost certainly the 'Kings Plate', a trophy

offered annually between 1661 and 1816 for a horse race on Leith sands near Edinburgh. The best known examples are the two gold teapots, James Ker, 1736 and 1737.⁸²

(See below and note 43.)

21 Aug 1749	
To a gold cup weighing 21oz [half] drop at £4 per oz.	84. 2. 6
To making	18. 0. 0
To chassing	2. 0. 0
To engraving the Kings & Town's Arms	0.17. 6
	£105. 0. 0
24 Oct 1749 attested by Edward Lothian and 17 Nov 1749 discharged.	
Received in cash	£102. 7. 6
Balance	2.12. 6

Times past

ERIC J.G. SMITH



Wine cistern, James & Elizabeth Bland, London 1794/95. Height 66.3cm (26in), width 89.4cm (35in), weight 35,671g (1,147oz)

Provenance:

Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex

Christie's, 23 July 1843 lot 250

Christie's, 9 July 1947 lot 110

Christie's 23 May 1962 lot 106, purchased by S.J. Shrubsole Ltd, 43 Museum Street, London

Now in the Gilbert Collection, Somerset House. See Timothy Schroder, The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver, Los Angeles 1988, no82 pp312-15.

Left: The wine cistern outside Shrubsole, having arrived after the sale from Christie's in a taxi; Cecil Shrubsole in the doorway and staff with the cistern

Purchased by auction from Christie's, King Street, on 23 May 1962, the silver wine cistern, originally possessed by Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773-1843) was unloaded from a taxi onto the pavement outside the premises of S.J. Shrubsole Ltd in Museum Street, not far from the British Museum. The taxi driver was not that keen to have such an awkward object in his cab, but was persuaded by a reasonable tip.

It was decided to photograph the cistern before carrying it into the shop. As can be seen from the photograph, the scene shows the cistern on the pavement flanked by on the left, a relatively young Eric Smith, then the manager, and on the right, 'Mac' McLaren, one of the silversmithing staff. Standing with one foot on the doorway step, John Hoskins, Shrubsole's long-serving silversmith, an excellent craftsman - sadly no longer with us. Seen inside the doorway, Cecil Shrubsole; to his right a friend, the two about to go to lunch. Across the street a small crowd gathered to watch the event, some of whom later came into the shop.

It was a long time ago, but I recall we celebrated the occasion with some of our neighbours in Museum

Street. It was suggested that we hire a naked female mannequin from Selfridges, put her into the cistern, her arm raised holding a glass, for display in the shop window. The suggestion was, however, turned down: after all, such a display in a leading and respectable silver establishment might attract the wrong type of clients, with the possibility of losing, of all things, our BADA membership!

In the event, the wine cistern was sent to the New York branch of Shrubsole's, where it was sold by Cecil's brother Eric, to Arthur Gilbert. The cistern, along with the rest of his superb collection, can now be seen at Somerset House.

While the New York Shrubsole's, still managed by Eric, continues to thrive, the Museum Street branch closed some years ago. Sadly Cecil, after a protracted and painful illness, died in 2001. I was privileged to have served as the manager. From Cecil and his father Sidney, who founded the firm and who served under Charles Stuart Harris, I owe much of my knowledge and continued interest in English silver and Old Sheffield plate.

Richard Meyrick – an English engraver working in Philadelphia

GALE GLYNN

This London-made tankard, fashioned in contemporary taste but otherwise unremarkable, was rendered remarkable by being transported to America and, within twenty years of its manufacture, extensively engraved. It appears to be the earliest piece of signed engraving executed in the North American colonies.



1 and 2 (detail) Tankard, Nathaniel Lock, London 1712/13. The engraving is signed R. MEYRICK. SCULP. (S.J. Shrubsole Corp)

It is tantalising that, as research reveals in ever-greater detail the structure and working practices of the silversmithing business in the eighteenth century, we can identify the work of so few engravers by name. The appearance of any silver bearing the signature, either by name or initials, of an engraver is indeed a rare occurrence.

The tankard [1] bears the mark of Nathaniel Lock,¹ London 1712/13. The tankard is of a standard form for the period and closely follows that of another tankard by Lock of 1716/17,² although the noticeable variation between the two is the use of a decorative oval bead rat-tail running down the handle on the earlier tankard. Rat-tail beading on handles is not usually a feature of English tankards of this period, but as a decorative device it is found on Philadelphia tankards.³ Although the style is quite different from that of the tankard by William Vilant engraved by Joseph Leddel,⁴ the concept of an extensive engraved area is similar.

1 Lock was apprenticed in 1680, gained his freedom 1687, and is presumed to be the Nathaniel Lock buried at Christchurch, Newgate in 1749, Arthur G. Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697–1837, Their Marks and Lives*, 3rd edn, London 1990.

2 Christie's London, 6 July 1966 lot 102: London 1716/17, weight 870g (28oz).

3 See Jack L. Lindsey, *Worldly Goods, The Arts of Early Pennsylvania 1680–1758*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1999,

nos 190 and 191: tankards by William Vilant, Philadelphia circa 1725; Martha Gandy Fales, *Joseph Richard and Family, Philadelphia silversmiths*, 1974, fig 7: tankard maker's mark FR in a heart, Philadelphia circa 1725; and Kathryn C. Buhler and Graham Hood, *American silver in the Garvan and other collections in the Yale University Art Gallery*, Yale University Press 1970, vol II no 824: tankard circa 1730–40, Philip Syng Jnr.

4 Lindsey (as note 3), no 191.

5 For engravings of peacocks see a series of playing cards: Jane Peters (ed), *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol 19 part I: 'German Masters of the Sixteenth Century, Virgil Solis', Abaris, New York 1987, p159. I am grateful to Ellenor Alcorn for drawing these to my attention.

6 Buhler (as note 3) no824.

7 Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. For an illustration see *The Silver Society Journal*, no8 1996, p475.

8 I am grateful to Vanessa Brett for drawing to my attention the volume in which these arms are to be found. A vellum-bound account book into which has been pasted a large number of prints, pulls from metalwork and some drawings. The initials WH incised into the cover.

Victoria and Albert Museum, VAM E.3-2003. See also p111 of this journal.

The upper section of the body of the tankard between the rim and the central rib or girdle is engraved with a cartouche and the arms 'A chevron between three holly leaves gules' in a lozenge-shaped shield. Beneath the rim is a band of acanthus scrolls, brickwork and bunches of grapes on one side of the coat of arms and flowers on the other side. Resting on the central rib, on further architectural scrolls with acanthus leaves and brickwork, are a peacock,⁵ a lion sinister passant guardant, an Imperial crown, and a parrot holding a circular disc balanced on its left foot. Following the coat of arms is another parrot head turned to sinister, an Imperial crown and a lion passant guardant. The crowns are positioned above roundels in the lower portion of the tankard enclosing portraits of George II and Queen Caroline.

The decoration on the lower part of the tankard between the central rib and the foot is engraved with four shaped vignettes interspersed with three medallions, the lower attachment of the handle taking the place of a fourth one.[8] Starting on the right-hand side of the tankard in an anti-clockwise sequence they are: Fire, King George II, Water, an amorous couple, Earth, Queen Caroline, and Air. The elements are framed in rectangular reserves with incurved sides and gadroon borders to accommodate the shape of the medallions. Beneath, on a narrow rib, most of these features are identified as follows: IGNIS; GEORGIUS. SECUNDUS; AQUA; R. MEYRICK. SCULP; TERRA; CAROLINA.REGINA; AER. The domed foot is engraved on a brickwork field with the words LES HONNEURS CHANGENT LES MOEURS interspersed with paterae. The cover and handle are also engraved with acanthus, brickwork scrolls and ovolo decoration. Beneath the base is the engraved name Ann Shippen.[3]

The cartouche with its four caryatid figures of the seasons [4] appears to be a sophisticated composition incorporating fashionable elements and has much in common with some of the cartouches on the best London-engraved arms of the period, which is hardly surprising as the engraver, Richard Meyrick, had a London apprenticeship. At this point it is worth turning to the engraved cartouche on the Philip Syng Jnr tankard engraved with the arms of Maddox.⁶[5] The two have strong similarities not only in the use of a mask beneath the arms facing slightly sinister; they also share a vigorous diaper work with roundels at the intersections and horizontal shading which continues as background until it reaches scrolls or architectural features. There is similarity also in the treatment of acanthus scrolls and a horizontal line approximately two thirds of the height of the composition. The lions couchant in the cartouche of the Maddox arms are also distinctive in their style and, taking into account the different positions, are similar to the lions passant in the band of decoration on the Shippen tankard. There is also similarity in the treatment of the figures of the seasons on the Shippen tankard and the two figures in the cartouche of the Maddox tankard. It has been suggested that the Philip Syng Jnr tankard was engraved by Lawrence Herbert, whose presence in Philadelphia was known from an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1748, but there is no suggestion that he was in Philadelphia by circa 1730. However, that date seems nearly 20 years too late for this style. The treatment of these cartouches reinforces the impression that the work on the both tankards is that of a



3 Engraved owner's name on the base of the tankard in fig 1



4 Detail of the engraving on the tankard, a version of the arms of Shippen

London-trained craftsman fully conversant with the fashionable repertoire of the time, and it seems highly probable that Richard Meyrick was the engraver of both tankards.

In turn, the strong similarity of design and decorative detail, particularly the style of diaper work, between the arms on the Philip Syng Jnr tankard and those on a kettle and tripod stand, Simon Pantin, London 1724/25,⁷[6] suggests that Pantin may have employed John Freeman's workshop for engraving this group and, as Meyrick was in the last year of his apprenticeship at this time, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he actually engraved these arms. A further example of this diaperwork interspaced with roundels exists in a pull of the arms of Stanion which also has figures seated on scrolls at each side of the cartouche, but a full-face mask beneath.⁸

Returning to the Shippen tankard, the remaining features in the upper part of the body are a curious combination of motifs. Two of these, the Imperial crowns positioned over the Royal portraits and the lions respecting one another, together with their juxtaposition to the royal crowns, echo the crest of the British Royal arms: 'On an Imperial crown proper a lion statant guardant or, also crowned with the Imperial crown proper' in spite of the fact that these lions are passant rather than statant. The two parrots in different poses and a peacock have no obvious relationship to the arms or the engraving beneath the girdle, whilst that below the upper rim of the tankard depicting brickwork, architectural scrolls and bunches of grapes to dexter and flowers to sinister, seem to continue the theme of the seasons used for the caryatid figures.

The portraits of George II and Queen Caroline are clearly taken from a pair of engravings by the Dutch engraver Pieter van Gunst (1659 – circa 1724),^[10] which in turn are derived from portraits painted by Godfrey Kneller when they were Prince and Princess of Wales; Meyrick appears to have shortened their faces. The laurel-entwined oval frames of the prints have been changed to a circular frame comprising four more restrained panels with leaf scrolls on a hatched ground interspersed by lion's masks. Engraved portraits of royalty on silver are very unusual; however there is double portrait



5 Engraved cartouche enclosing the arms of Maddox, from a tankard, Philip Syng Jnr, Philadelphia, circa 1730–40. (Yale University Art Gallery, Mabel Brady Garvan collection)



6 Engraving of the arms of Bowes, from a tea kettle, Simon Pantin, London 1724/25



7 James Stuart, the Old Pretender, and his wife, Princess Maria Clementina Sobieski, engraved on a tobacco box, probably Richard Richardson of Chester, circa 1715. It is rare to find portraits of royalty on silver. (H.R. Jessop Ltd)



on a tobacco box lid, circa 1715, with a maker's mark which is probably that of Richard Richardson I of Chester, depicting the Old Pretender and his wife Princess Maria Clementina Sobieski.[7]

The elements are taken from a set of prints by Abraham Bloemaert (circa 1564–1651) and are broadly very similar to the source, apart from the adaptation needed to fit them into concave frames. To accommodate this change proportionately, the illustrations are foreshortened so that the figures are moved closer to the viewer. In the case of Fire (*Ignis*) the cannon gains emphasis by being placed behind the legs of the soldier; the elements of the composition remain but are compressed to accommodate the incurved sides of the panel. Air (*Aer*) has been simplified by the omission of many of the rays of the sun, and a landscape to the left of the recumbent figures has been omitted. Earth (*Terra*) remains perhaps the closest to the original, the angle and size of the branches above the figure's head being the only alteration. The final panel, Water, (*Aqua*) has two variations to the original composition: the ship is given greater prominence (perhaps a reference to the Shippens' mercantile activities) and one of the three flying birds to the right of the figure has been moved to the left. In other respects no licence has been taken with the original source and, given the constraints within which the engraver was operating, they are remarkably faithful copies. The source for the central medallion beneath the coat of arms has not been identified: it is suggested that it may come from the frontispiece of a book of circa 1720–30. Considering the accuracy of the reproduction of the sources on the rest of this band of engraving, it would seem to be highly unlikely that it was piece of imaginative work.

The arms in a lozenge are a representation of the arms of Shippen.[4] Although both Bolton's *American Armory*,⁹ and *Colonial Families of the United States of America*,¹⁰ blazon the arms as 'Argent a chevron between three erect oak leaves gules' and the leaves in the coat of arms on the tankard are American holly leaves, the lack of any families using these arms (save the minor and obscure English family of Joce¹¹) leads to the conclusion that this is a minor variation – a matter of

an engraver's licence. The Shippens were a leading and highly influential Quaker family in Philadelphia in the first half of the eighteenth century. The founder of the American branch of this family, Edward Shippen (1639–1712) emigrated to Boston in 1668, and after persecution as a Quaker, moved to Philadelphia in 1693–94. Ann Shippen (1710–90) was a granddaughter of the founder and the youngest daughter of Joseph Shippen (1678–1741). She married in January 1731, at Christ Church Philadelphia, Charles Willing (circa 1706–54) the founder of another important Philadelphia merchant family. Although the Willings were not strictly armigerous they are reputed to have assumed the arms of Lowle of Gloucester 'Sable a hand coupé at the wrist grasping three darts one in pale two in saltire argent'. The fact the arms are in a lozenge and not impaled suggests they were the arms of Ann Shippen before her marriage in 1731.



The engraver

The bold signature R. MEYRICK incorporated into the decorative plan is not a name that has previously been identified with engraving on silver either in North America or in England. However, a Richard Meyrick, the son of Richard Meyrick late pattenmaker,¹² was apprenticed under the London Goldsmiths' Company for seven years to the London goldsmith John Freeman on 3 April 1718,¹³ for a premium of 16gns.[12] Freeman had obtained his freedom by service on 30 September 1715 and Meyrick was also made a freeman by service, on 14 December 1725.¹⁴ John Freeman subsequently took another six other apprentices between 1721 and 1738. His second apprentice, John Bishop, apprenticed for seven years from 1 May 1721,¹⁵ is known by a signed trade card for John Raynes, a gold chain-maker.¹⁶ After John Freeman's death, his widow turned over the final apprentice, William Hague, to John Bishop¹⁷ who was then the most senior ex-apprentice, and clearly working as an engraver. The pattern of apprenticeships and free-



8 Detail of the engraving below the central girdle of the tankard.

Left to right: Fire; King George II; Water; an amorous couple; Earth; Queen Caroline; Air

9 (opposite page below) Detail of Richard Meyrick's signature on the tankard

doms (see appendix) shows a certain consistency in that, apart from the apprenticeship of Samuel Freeman who was turned over to his father immediately, at no time does John Freeman have more than two apprentices. It appears he had a single apprentice during two periods. The first was after John Bishop's apprenticeship in May 1728 and before Freeman took on Cornelius Buckscher in October 1731. However, as Bishop did not obtain his freedom until 1736 it is highly likely he remained as a journeyman, which suggests a steady level of work. The second period was within two years of John Freeman's death, when we find the workshop only has one apprentice, William Hague. The demand for chased rococo decoration may well account for a reduction in work for engravers, whose main contribution had become heraldic by the 1740s. Again excluding Samuel Freeman, on looking at the pattern of freedoms obtained by ex-apprentices at the age of 21 or more (the recognised age), it is noticeable that Richard Meyrick obtained his freedom more quickly than the others, and that Thomas Wall was taken on within three weeks of the end of Richard Meyrick's apprenticeship.¹⁸ This suggests that it was known that Meyrick would not be staying in the workshop. No mark is attributed to John Freeman or indeed his master Anthony Carter,¹⁹ which infers a specialist trade based on subcontracting within the goldsmithing business and it therefore seems that John Freeman ran an engraving workshop. There are no records of Meyrick taking any apprentices²⁰ or as a master.²¹

After the granting of his freedom at the end of 1725 the name Richard Meyrick next appears in an advertisement in 1729 in a Philadelphia newspaper²²

Richard Meyrick Engraver, remov'd from the Lock and Key in Chesnut-street, to the Widow Walker's in Front-street, Philadelphia

This suggests that Meyrick was already established in Philadelphia. Thus in under four years from the end of his apprenticeship, he had made the transatlantic journey and appears to have been, to some extent, established in Philadelphia.

Meyrick is not a common surname, and the weight of evidence that the London-trained engraver Richard Meyrick, and the engraver in Front Street, Philadelphia, are one and the same appears overwhelming. Thus it seems that like the engraver Joseph Leddel, Richard Meyrick emigrated from England to the North American colonies. It is surprising that to date no reference to Richard Meyrick working in Philadelphia or other North American cities has emerged, but it is possible that more information will come to light. A record of his burial may yet be found in Philadelphia. In the



10 Engraving of Queen Caroline, P. van Gunst after Sir Godfrey Kneller. (National Portrait Gallery)

9 Charles Knowles Bolton, *American Armory*, Baltimore Heraldic Book Co, 1964.

10 George Norbury MacKenzie, *Colonial Families of the United States of America*, Genealogical Publishing Co Inc, 1995.

11 Papworth's *Ordinary of British Armorial*, Tabard publications, London 1961, p451/1/16.

12 This is probably misspelt. Patten = a patent; patternmaker = maker of patterns.

13 Corporation of London Record Office (CLRO), ELSL/456/23.

14 Goldsmiths' Company (hereafter GC) Apprenticeship Book 5, p86.

15 GC Apprenticeship Book 5, p124.

16 Sir Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths 1200-1800*, Cambridge 1935, plate LXII.

17 GC Apprenticeship Book 6, p262.

18 See appendix.

19 Neither is listed by Grimwade (as note 1).

20 In the records of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths.

21 In the Inland Revenue records in the National Archives at Kew, London.

22 *American Weekly Mercury*, 27 November 1729.

3. Memorandum that J. Richard Meyrick son of Richard Meyrick, Citizen & Pattenmaker of London doth shew being first paid to my Master's Tye of Ten Guineas I do put myself Apprentice to John Freeman Citizen and Goldsmith of London for the term of Seven Years from this Day.
Richard Meyrick

12 Record of Richard Meyrick's apprenticeship to John Freeman on 3 April 1718. (Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

meantime this tankard remains a notable memorial to his skill.

This article focuses on Meyrick and the workshop in which he was trained. There is still much to discover about the engraving on the tankard, not least the use of a French motto *Les honneurs changent les mœurs* by an Englishman working in America and the reason why the tankard was engraved in such an elaborate manner for a woman, apparently before her marriage.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful for the assistance I have received, and would particularly like to thank: Ellenor Alcorn; Robert B. Barker; David Beasley, Librarian, Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths; Robin Francis, National Portrait Gallery; Eileen Goodway; Joe Hammond, Christopher Mendez; Liz Miller, Victoria and Albert Museum; Timothy Millet; Michael Snodin, Victoria and Albert Museum; Timothy Kent; Lawrence Worms.

Appendix : John Freeman's apprentices

Richard Meyrick, son of late Richard Meyrick citizen and pattenmaker, apprenticed 3 April 1718 at 16 gns. Freeman 14 December 1725 (9 months after apprenticeship ended).

John Bishop, son of Charles Bishop citizen and weaver, apprenticed 1 May 1721. Freeman 24 March 1736 (7 years 10 months after apprenticeship ended).

Thomas Wall, son of Thomas Wall citizen and blacksmith, apprenticed 20 April 1725 at 25gns. ?Free Blacksmiths' Company, freedom of the City of London July 1736 (4 years after apprenticeship ended).

Cornelius Bucksher, son of Cornelius Bucksher citizen and goldsmith, apprenticed 7 October 1731 at £25 5s. Freeman 6 December 1739 (1 year 2 months after apprenticeship ended).

George Corser, son of Thomas Corser of Bridgeworth, Salop, watchmaker, apprenticed 31 July 1733 at £26 5s. No freedom found.

Samuel Freeman, son of Samuel Freeman, citizen and blacksmith, apprenticed 3 December 1734, turned over to his father same day. Freeman 7 February 1741 (2 months after apprenticeship ended). Livery 1746; Court of Assistants 1763; Prime Warden 1779. His name appears on a silver-gilt snuffbox.²²

William Hague, son of Nicholas Hague, Ipswich, anchor smith, apprenticed 2 December 1738 at £30; turned over by John Freeman's widow, Susannah, 2 October 1740 to John Bishop (as above). Freeman 6 December 1758 (13 years after apprenticeship ended).

Apprentice name	1718	1719	1720	1721	1722	1723	1724	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732	1733	1734	1735	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741
Richard Meyrick	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*§																
John Bishop				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*								§				
Thomas Wall							*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				§					
Cornelius Bucksher													*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	§		
George Corser														*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		
Samuel Freeman (possibly not in John Freeman's workshop)																	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*§
William Hague																						*	*	* [§1758]

²² Gale Glynn, 'Some Tontines commemorated on English plate', *The Silver Society Journal*, vol 8 1996, p458.

Pierre Harache I and II

A challenge to current attributions

JULIAN COUSINS

The author's researches suggest that Pierre I's working life in England was circa 1682–1712 and Pierre II's was from 1698 until shortly before his death in 1718. Their marks are shown below. Readers are asked to re-examine pieces that bear the mark of either Harache. Please contact the author (julian@tbcousins.co.uk) or the editor. In this way the Society can assist in creating a list of objects for future publication, in particular those post 1698

In 1682 Pierre Harache I was the first Huguenot goldsmith (of this period) to enter marks at Goldsmiths' Hall in London. Current knowledge of him is scant and entirely confused with his younger namesake Pierre Harache II. They had been generally thought of as father and son until the comparatively recent acknowledgement of the work of Claude Gerard Cassan by Arthur Grimwade,¹ which disproved this relationship, albeit without suggesting an alternative. Further research showed that Pierre I and Pierre II were probably second cousins and this can now be confirmed.² Until now, no date of death had been found for either man and this has led to erroneous attributions, for some very important pieces of English silver. It has been widely assumed that the elder Pierre Harache was dead by 1700³ and items of silver bearing a Britannia standard maker's mark have therefore been attributed to the younger man even though this would involve an apparently seamless transition of styles and craftsmanship from one man to the other.⁴

Pierre Harache I

Little is known of the life of Pierre Harache I before his emigration. Tracing his life, and that of Pierre II, is complicated by the fact that Pierre was a popular name in the Harache family at this time. Pierre I was baptised at Quévilly, the dominant Huguenot church in Rouen, on 24 September 1639. His father was also Pierre, his mother Marie le François; he was one of twelve siblings. His marriage record is incomplete as his wife's name is only recorded as Anne N.... and no date of marriage has so far been found.⁵

As conditions became more difficult for them in the run-up to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, increasing numbers of Huguenots sought refuge in the largely Protestant Netherlands and in England. In order to stem the resultant skills shortage, Louis XIV threatened severe penalties: property would be seized and intercepted, émigrés sent to the galleys, their womenfolk imprisoned.⁶ It was in this climate of fear and violent persecution that Pierre Harache I left his home in Rouen for London with his wife, risking his liberty, his entire stock in trade and his property. Cassan gives the date of his departure as 21 July 1682,⁷ but in view of the date of his denization, it is possible that Cassan used the date of Pierre I's freedom, as recorded at Goldsmiths' Hall, for the date of his emigration. On 20 October 1681 English Customs released to Harache '113



1 Marks of Pierre Harache I (not to scale); left: Sterling standard, from the 1682 mark plate; above right: from his registration for Britannia standard marks in 1697, see fig 4 (both Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths); below right: from a gold cup, London 1705/06 (Christie's)



2 Marks of Pierre Harache II for Britannia standard when he entered his marks in 1698; see fig 5. (Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

1 Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697–1837 Their Marks & Lives*, London 1990, p751.

2 Brian Beet, 'Foreign snuffbox makers in eighteenth century London', *The Silver Society Journal*, no14 2002, p63.

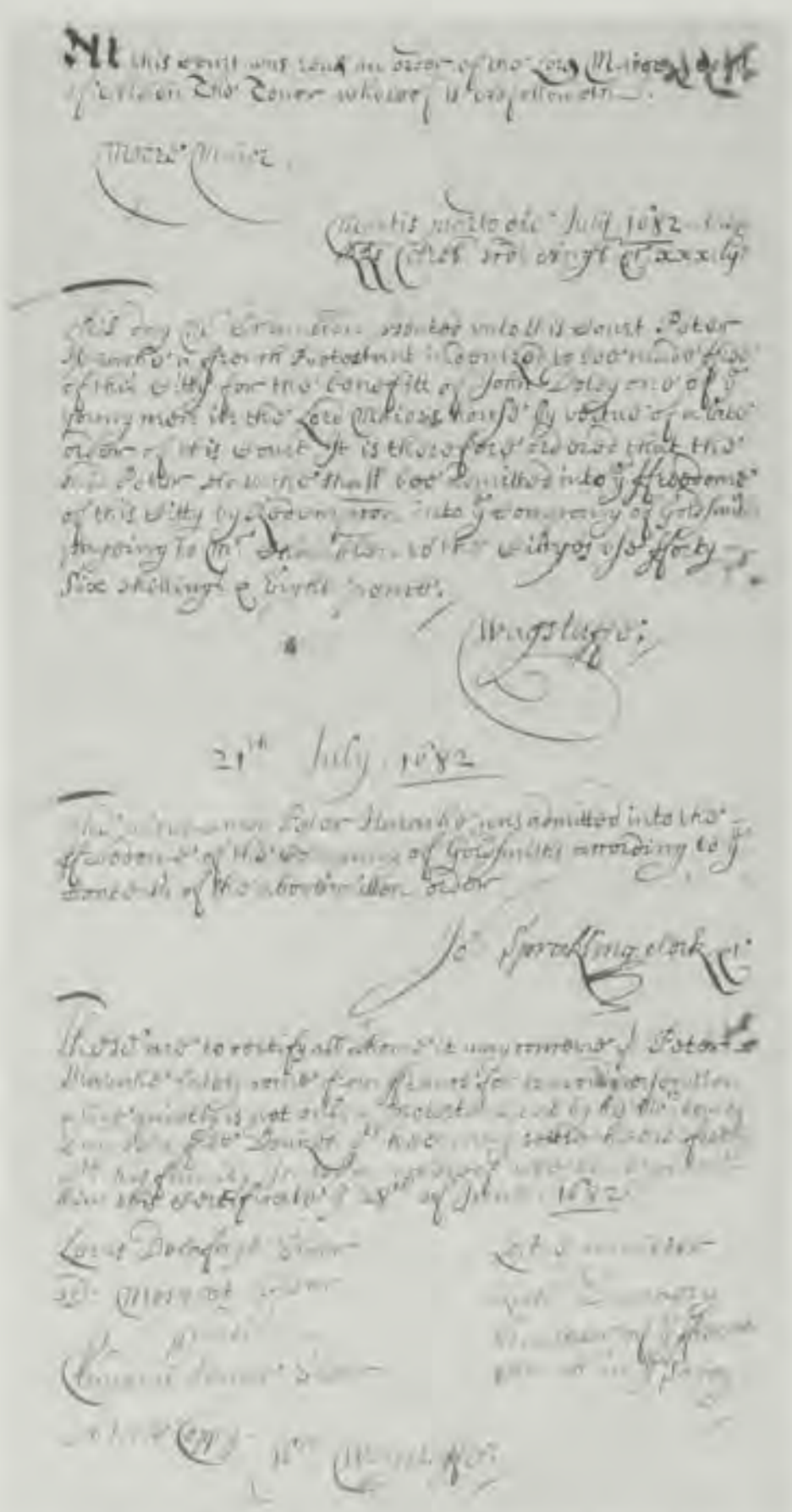
3 Christopher Hartop, *The Huguenot Legacy*, London 1996, p138, suggests a date as early as 1690.

4 The only person to question this was Margaret Holland, in 'Pierre Harache and the Huguenots', *Apollo*, July 1985, pp57–59.

5 Pasteur Denis Vatinel, extract from his unpublished genealogy (work in progress). I am grateful to him for making available relevant details. It should be remembered that a woman continued to use her maiden name long after her marriage.

6 www.newadvent.org/cathen/07527b.htm.

7 Claude Gerard Cassan, *Les Orfèvres de Normandie du XVIe au XIXe Siècle et Leurs Poinçons*, (Paris 1980), p217.



3 Entry for Pierre Harache I's freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company on 21 July 1682. (Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

ounces of new white plate and 125 ounces of old plate which he has brought with him, the customs whereon would be 50s and 3d'.⁸ This suggests an earlier immigration, although it is not known exactly when that may have been.⁹ Contrary to Christopher Hartop's suggestion that Harache had some advantage over later immigrants because he was able to bring his stock with him,¹⁰ the total weight of 238oz was not a significant quantity, representing perhaps the equivalent of one of his basins (of approximately 66cm (26in)), or 12 candlesticks. He may have been able to bring his tools to England (which might have given him an advantage) but whether he did so is unknown.

Harache's importation of plate into England was recorded when he was granted customs-free delivery of the goods. Whether this was part of a general policy at the time to waive duty on precious metals in order to increase the quantity in circulation, or suggestive of powerful patronage even at this early time in his English career, has not yet been discovered.¹¹ Customs-free imports were more usually the preserve of diplomats; for example, a similar award was made to Col Churchill, later Duke of Marlborough, on his return from France in 1675.¹²

A possible clue to Harache's early patrons may be a set of candlesticks bearing Pierre I's mark, London 1683/84, which have been linked to Robert Spencer, 2nd Earl of Sunderland.¹³ Alternatively, bearing in mind that the Customs warrant was issued by the Treasury, we might look to Heneage Finch, who was Lord Chancellor 1675–82 and created 1st Earl of Nottingham in 1681.¹⁴ A set of spoons and forks bearing Harache's mark is engraved with the arms of the 2nd Earl.¹⁵

When he arrived in England Pierre I appears to have wasted little time in obtaining his certificate of denization, which he did on 28 June 1682:¹⁶

Peter Harache lately come from France for to avoid persecution, and live quietly is not only a protestant, but by his Majesty's Bounty is made a free Denizen that he may settle here freely with his family. In token whereof we have given him this certificate of 28 June 1682.

He was made a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company on 21 July 1682 by redemption. This was the alternative route to serving a seven-year apprenticeship, from which his existing skills would make him exempt, and he paid fees of £10 (to be admitted to the freedom of the Company)[3] and 46s 8d (to be admitted into the freedom of the City). The earliest known example of Pierre I's Sterling mark is on a pair of candlesticks, 1682/83.¹⁷

In November 1684 Pierre Harache 'the Frenchman' appears in the minutes of the Goldsmiths' Company due to possible prosecution regarding plates for the Duchess of Cleveland, which seem to have been made in substandard silver.¹⁸ The matter appears to have been concluded the following August, when it is recorded that the Duchess expected to be reimbursed with four new plates. It can be presumed from the lack of fuss in the records, that the error was an innocent one, the matter resolved with replacement goods and the craftsman absolved of further recrimination. It certainly did not prevent Harache from being made liveryman of the Company, a position to which he was elevated in 1687.

Once in England Harache seems to have integrated fully into the Huguenot community. As Schroder suggests,¹⁹ and just as is the case today, immigrants tended to congregate together, and the

Huguenots formed communities in Canterbury,²⁰ Southampton, Norwich and, in London, at Soho in the west and Spitalfields in the east. They persisted in speaking French (as evidenced by the extant church records and perpetuated in the Canterbury Chapel today) and worshipped at their own dedicated Huguenot churches, such as Leicester Fields, Hungerford Market, Swallow Street and Threadneedle Street, among others.

In the new register of 1697 Pierre I's address is given as Suffolk Street.[4] Sheppard, however, gives it as Great Newport Street²¹ and another source gives: 'On the opposite side of the street [Newport St] was the Harache family, Peter Harache to 1700, in which year he appears as ancien at Swallow St. Church and John Harache from 1710'.²² It is, indeed, in the church records that the Harache presence is most consistently found. Combining this writer's research with that of Cassan, Vatinel and Grimwade, there are no fewer than 18 references to one or other Pierre Harache in divers Huguenot churches between 1688 and 1708. Both men commanded sufficient respect in the community to be made ancien or elder, Pierre II at Leicester Fields church, Pierre I at Swallow Street, which seems to confirm that Sheppard's reference is to Pierre I.

Further information on Pierre I is found in the Swallow Street registers for 1691²³ regarding the theft of a goblet whilst in his care:

La coupe d'argent qui servit à la Communion a esté desrobée chez M. Harache par les voleurs entrés par les fenestres de sa chambre, et il a esté résolu qu'on consultera le principaux chefs de famille pour savoir d'eux s'ils trouveront convenable qu'on remplace ladite coupe par une coupe de bois de Calambourg doublée par dedans de vermeil doré, dont le prix ne montera pas à plus de trente shillings que Monsieur Harache a tesmoigné vouloir payer de sa proper bourse, a quoi la Compagnie a unanimement refusé d'asquiescer, attendre que la coupe volée estoit un dépost dont luy dépositaire est tant moins responsable qu'il a eu le malheur d'estre volé aussi luy mesme.

The silver Communion cup (chalice) had been stolen from the house of Monsieur Harache by thieves who had climbed in through his bedroom window and it had been decided to consult the main heads of family to find out from them if it would be considered appropriate to replace the said cup with a cup made of Calambourg wood²⁴ with a gilded metal interior, the price for which would not exceed 30 shillings and which Monsieur Harache declared his wish to pay for out of his own pocket, to which the Company unanimously refused to agree because they do not blame Mr Harache for the theft.

As Grimwade points out, it was commendable of Harache to offer to replace the stolen cup from his own pocket and equally commendable of the church council to decline the offer.

Pierre Harache II

Pierre Harache II was baptised, also at Quévilly, on 7 April 1653, the son of yet another Pierre and his wife Isabeau Guerain. Pierre II was married to Jeanne LeMaignen on 26 July 1681.²⁵ Repeated references to his wife's name enables his life to be tracked separately from his elder relation, once they had arrived in England. Vatinel records Pierre II at Rue du Fardeau in the parish of Saint-Martin du Pont in Rouen. Cassan refers to him as 'travaillant pour les maîtres' – a journeyman. He was in England for a number of years before registering his own mark and could possibly have worked anonymously in his cousin's workshop.

8 *Calendar of Treasury Books 1681-1685*. p279; National Archives.

9 Sir Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths 1200 - 1800*, Cambridge 1935, gives Harache's date of arrival as 1675.

10 Christopher Hartop, 'Silver in the Portland Art Museum', *Magazine Antiques*, June 2002. Hugh Tait, 'London Huguenot Silver', in I. Scouloudi (ed), *Huguenots in Britain and Their French Background, 1550-1850*, Basingstoke 1987, p93.

11 Further research of the *Calendar of Treasury Books* should reveal whether such a policy existed.

12 Arthur Grimwade, 'Silver at Althorp: I. The Marlborough Plate', *The Connoisseur*, October 1962, p85.

13 Until recently at Althorp House, they came to Althorp via the estate of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, whose daughter, Anne married Spencer's son, Charles. Illustrated by Grimwade (as note 12).

14 Finch is known to have had numerous Huguenot informants and Huguenot merchants were known to supply the government with intelligence. They sometimes received commercial privileges in exchange, ranging from the turning of a blind eye to their smuggling activities, or even obtaining pardons for them if they were caught. Sonia P. Anderson (ed), 'Introduction to Report on the Manuscripts of the Late Allan George Finch, Esq., of Burely-on-the-hill, Rutland', *Reports and Calendars* 71 vol 5, General Correspondence 1693, Secret Service Papers 1691-93 and Naval and Military Papers to 1694 vol 5. Also Sonia P. Anderson in a letter to the author dated 6 December 2004.

15 Sotheby's London, 3 May 1990 lots 65 & 67.

16 Goldsmiths' Company Court Minute Book (hereafter GCCB), 9, f17r. It is

usually considered that an immigrant had to be in England for at least six months before applying for denization.

17 Christie's London, 13 June 2001 lot 163.

18 GCCB 9, f100v and f102v, dated 27 November 1684 and 5 December 1684.

19 Timothy Schroder, *The National Trust Book of English Domestic Silver 1500-1900*, London 1998, p140.

20 Where a dedicated chapel was inaugurated in the cathedral for the Huguenots that still exists today.

21 F.H.W. Sheppard (ed), *Survey of London Vol. XXXIV - The Parish of St. Anne Soho*, London 1966, p344. 'Pierre Harache ... held the lease of a house on the north side of the street, probably in the 1690s. His name has not been found in the rate books.' The endnote gives PRO C110/146 as a reference.

22 Huguenot Society Proceedings (hereafter Hug Soc), vol XIV. Clearly more research on the location of the workshops needs to be done but this writer, working to the discipline of a BA, has not yet undertaken this.

23 Hug Soc (as note 22), vol XXXV p 33, quoted by Grimwade (as note 1).

24 Calambourg wood appears to be Agar wood (*Aquilaria agallocha*), a dense, hard wood, either yellow-brown or black in colour, depending on the part of the tree used. According to Jacqueline Viaux-Locquin, (*Les bois d'ébénisterie dans le mobilier français*, Paris 1997, p14) at the time of Harache the wood was highly prized for its aromatic properties and exchanged at Court level as a diplomatic gift. There is therefore no suggestion of 'cheapness' in Harache's offer.

25 Cassan (as note 7); Vatinel (as note 5) has this recorded as 26 July 1682.

4 Pierre Harache I's registration for Britannia standard marks in 1697. (Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

peter harache in Suffolk
Street near Charing Cross
Dead

5 Pierre Harache II became a freeman and entered his marks in October 1698. The mark at top left is annotated '2nd'. (Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

Pierre Harache
Pierre Harache Junior
October 25th 1698
in Compton Street near St Anns
Church

At the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, it was not uncommon for Huguenots to renounce their faith in France in order to safeguard their property and livelihoods²⁶ and Cassan records that Pierre II did so on 2 November 1685. It should be remembered that this was no trifling matter and despite the obvious benefits, and the fact that many would have understood his reasons, Pierre II nonetheless risked being ostracised by his own community as a result of his actions. It therefore seems likely that he had already decided to follow his namesake to England.

Following their renunciation, a Huguenot obtained a special licence (*Témoignage*) from their local priest that this had been done for political reasons and stating that the licensee was in fact a true Protestant.²⁷ On reaching England or the Netherlands the immigrant would undergo a *Reconnaissance* ceremony, to welcome them back to their true religion once they were safe. Such a *Reconnaissance* is recorded for a Madelenne Harech on 13 July 1687.²⁸ It appears that the two Pierres were not the only members of the Harache family to emigrate to England during the early years of the Huguenot influx.

Unlike his older cousin, no information has been found regarding Pierre Harache II's entry into England. An entry for Pierre Harache of November 1688 in the Hungerford Market church register could be either man. The first specific mention (identified by his wife's name) is in the Swallow Street church registers in April 1690.²⁹ It is reasonable to presume that Pierre II worked as a journeyman until he obtained his certificate of deniza-

tion on 29 September 1698 and was admitted to the Goldsmiths' Company by redemption on 18 October. He registered his first marks at Goldsmiths' Hall on 25 October 1698, identifying himself as 'junior' and giving an address of Compton Street, near St Ann's Church.[5] Heal and Grimwade record this address as being valid until 1705, and between 1714 and 1717 his address is shown as Grafton St;³⁰ further research is necessary to establish his whereabouts in the intervening period, or whether the earlier address extends to 1714.

Confusion and clarification

Confusion over the identities of the two Pierre Haraches originated with Heal,³¹ who wrote that Pierre I was in Suffolk Street from 1675 until 1700 and was succeeded by his son, of Compton Street, Soho. Heal listed a third 'Peter Harrache' as working from Grafton Street (which was in fact Pierre II's second address). The idea of Pierre I's death in 1700 appears to have been attributed to Heal's reference to a Mrs Harrache, silversmith of Great Suffolk Street, which itself may have been sourced from the Petworth Archives.³² These record that 'Mrs. Harrache' supplied a dish to the Duke of Somerset weighing 39oz in 1689/90, but rather than considering that Anne Harache (assuming it is she) could have been acting as bookkeeper, Heal appears to have assumed that Pierre's wife took over his business after his demise.³³ Heal's seminal work has been relied upon by historians ever since and, in the case of Grimwade, the

confusion has been compounded by his finding a reference to 'la vefue [widow] Harache' in the Leicester Fields church registers dated 17 June 1694. It seems likely that this lady was one of several relations (such as the previously mentioned Madelenne), who had probably travelled with one of them to England, most likely Pierre II.

The road to clarifying the confusion between the two Harache silversmiths began with a visit to the Worshipful Company of Barbers, where a wine cistern bearing the mark of Pierre I has hitherto been catalogued as dating from 1697/98.³⁴[7&8] First-hand inspection of this cistern, which has been referred to in numerous articles, revealed that it had been wrongly dated. The marks on the cistern are perfectly clear and the cistern can be redated to 1704/05, which suggests that Pierre I was not 'dead by 1700'. The implications of this are immediately apparent – if he was still working in 1704–05, he could have made some of the objects that have been attributed to Pierre II. Between 21 July 1682 when Pierre I was admitted to the Goldsmiths' Company and 1698 (when Pierre II obtained denization, became free and registered a mark), there is no doubt as to the attribution of objects to Pierre I, most of which are Sterling standard. It is only post 1698 that attributions are under review.

It became imperative to find Pierre I's date of death and to re-examine those items that had been attributed to Pierre II, having first obtained clear images of the mark of each man.

The deaths of Pierre I and Pierre II

A search of St Anne's church records³⁵ of deaths up to 1722 showed no entries in the name of Harache, nor indeed for any of the family's associated names already known from the Huguenot church registers, such as Chagneaux, du Faux, Montballier and Bourgain, for whom one of the Haraches acted as godfather or marriage witness. A search of the records of St Martin-in-the-Fields, however, revealed the burial of Mr Peter Harache (followed by the letter M for male), on 9 December 1712.³⁶[6] The absence of mention of the death of any other Pierre Harache leads this author to believe that this is the record for Pierre Harache I beyond any reasonable doubt.

The record cannot be that for Pierre Harache II as his name (still in conjunction with his wife's) is to be found in the Royal Bounty

26 From an interview with Tony Fuller of the Huguenot Society.

27 *ibid.*

28 A Magdelaine Harache was witness to a baptism with Pierre Harache II on 25 January 1691. The author was unable to check these references in time for the publication of this journal.

29 Grimwade (as note 1).

30 *ibid.*

31 Heal (as note 9).

32 Hartop (as note 3), p138.

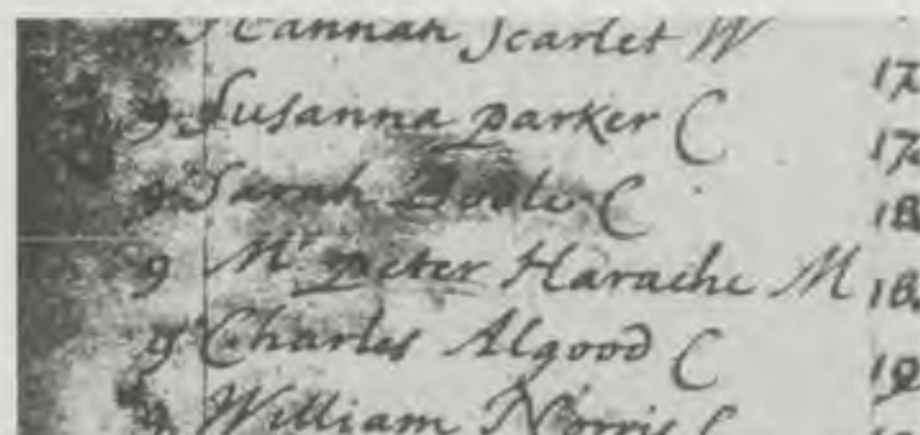
33 Hartop has then been drawn into the same conclusion leading to the possibility that Pierre Harache I 'was in fact dead as early as 1690'.

34 Goldsmiths' Hall, *The Historic Plate of the City of London*, exhib cat, London 1951, no179.

35 Westminster City Archives (hereafter WAC).

36 WAC, St Martin-in-the-Fields Burial Registers, microfilm MF9. By an extraordinary coincidence, the day this was found by the author he was introduced by an archivist to Keith LeMay, a Huguenot genealogist also researching the Harache family, who had come across the same reference independently. His work is to be published in a forthcoming issue.**

**Received as this journal was going to press. 'A Fresh Look at the Harache Family of Goldsmiths', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, vol XXVIII (3) 2005, p364.



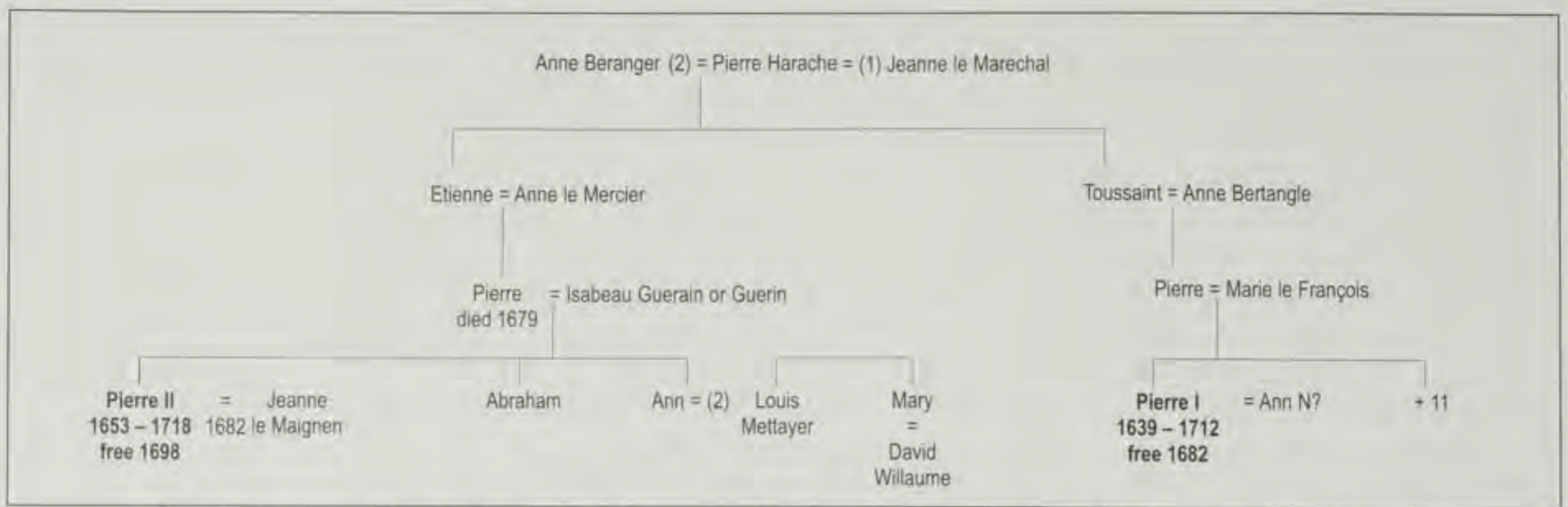
6 Record of the burial of Pierre Harache I on 9 December 1712 from the registers of St Martin-in-the-Fields. (Westminster City Archives)



7 Wine cistern, Pierre Harache I, London 1704/05. (Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Barbers)

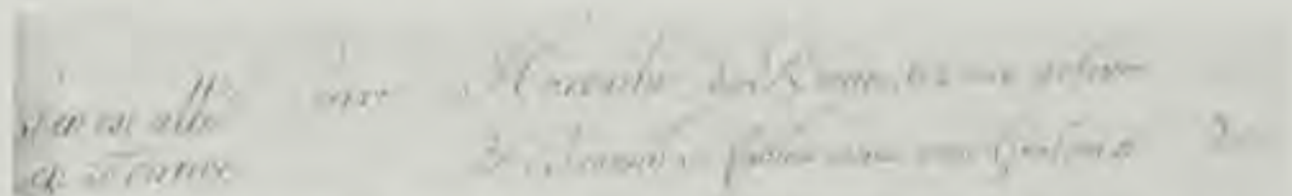


8 Marks on the wine cistern. (Photo: the author)



9 Harache family tree showing Pierre I and Pierre II and their connections with David Willaume and Louis Mettayer

lists between 1713 and 1717.³⁷ The Bounty was a charitable payment made to those of straitened means and Pierre II's appearance in these lists is perhaps an indication of his lack of financial success and that he may have been over-shadowed by his older relation, or even reliant on his relation's support, as his appearance on the bounty list follows closely Pierre I's death. The trail appears to run cold in 1717 at his final appearance in the lists, when he was given an extraordinary payment of £7. However, scrutiny of the original bounty lists, as opposed to the subsequent transcripts, reveals a marginal entry beside Harache's final appearance, which reads 'il s'en est allé en France'.^[10] Presumably, therefore, he was given the considerable sum of £7 to return to France. To confirm this information, a search of the Rouen archives³⁸ ultimately led to the Rouen parish of St Maclou and the record of his burial on 17 September 1718. The record of his death was found with a secondary abjuration of the faith taken by his daughter, three months earlier, on 8 June 1718.^[11] This abjuration was required by the Catholic church in order for Protestant families to have their deceased members buried in a Catholic ceremony.

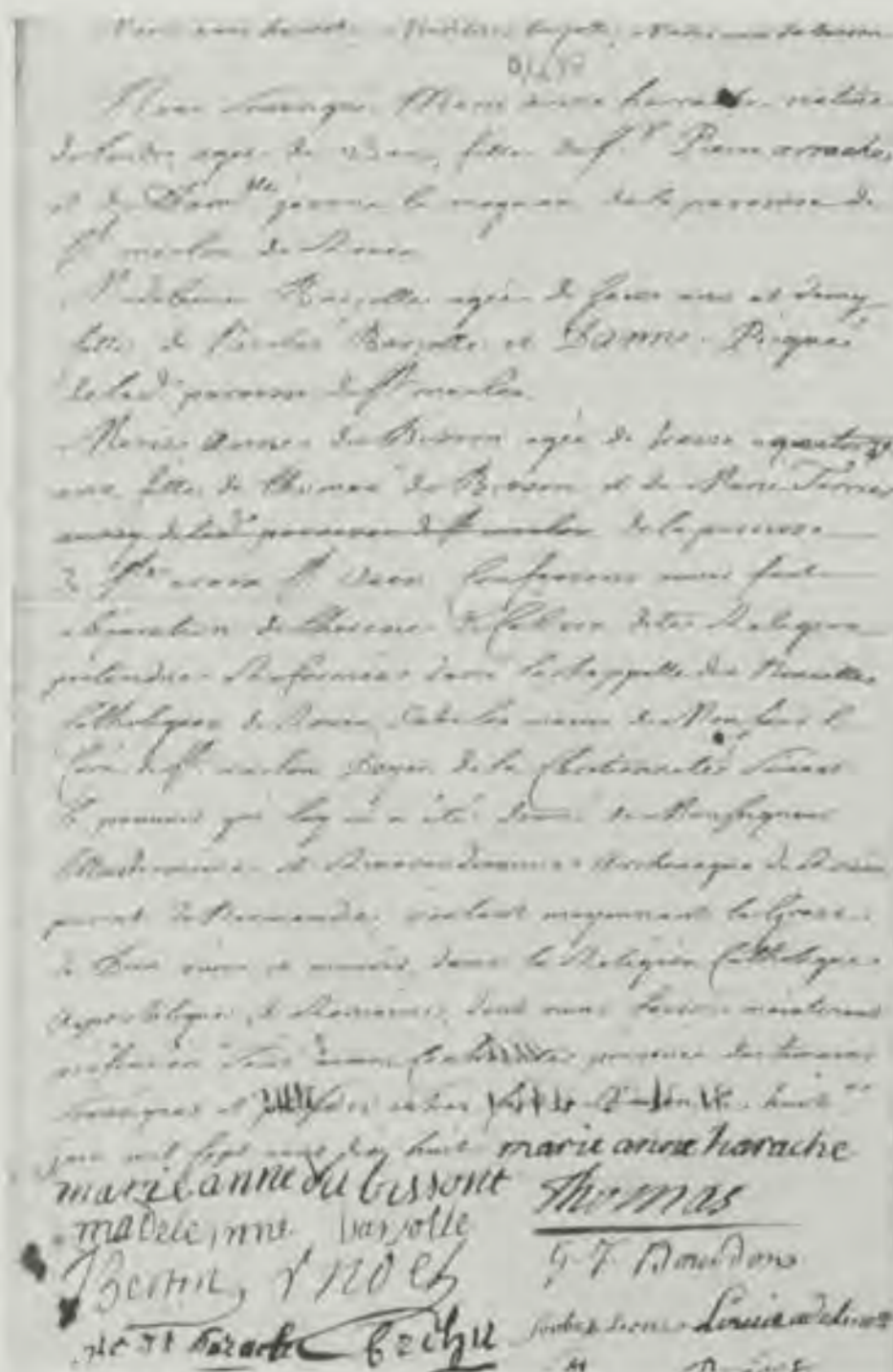


10 Extract from the Royal Bounty list for Pierre Harache II showing the final payment to him. (Courtesy the Huguenot Society)

A reassessment of objects

Having established the death of Pierre Harache I to be much later than was previously thought, the attribution of articles made after 1698, with the Britannia mark, must be reassessed. The difference in the marks of the two men is apparent from Goldsmiths' Hall records which show that the Britannia mark of Pierre II differs from the Britannia mark of Pierre I by the placement of the fleur-de-lis between the letters, or the crescent below the letters; Pierre I's mark has nothing between the letters, nor anything below them.^[1,2,4&5]

It is generally acknowledged that there was significant collaboration between the Huguenot craftsmen of this period,³⁹ evidenced by the shared designs and cast motifs that can be found in the work of Harache and his contemporaries, particularly David Willaume.⁴⁰



11 Abjuration of faith by Pierre Harache II's daughter, Marie Anne, dated 8 June 1718, three months before his death. His signature is bottom left. (Photo: Anne Osselin)

Pierre II's younger sister Anne married Louis Mettayer as her second husband, whose sister Mary was married to David Willaume.[9]

The wine cistern belonging to the Barber-Surgeons' Company [7] was commissioned by Queen Anne and appears in the Jewel House Warrant Book 1677–1710,⁴¹ the warrant ordered 26 May 1704 and executed 16 June 1704.[12] It is signed Charles Godfrey, Master of Her Majesty's Jewel Office. It is likely that the commission was placed via the Royal Goldsmith, who at the time was Charles Shales.⁴² The cistern is recorded by the Barber-Surgeon's Company as weighing 160oz. One other nearly identical cistern by Harache can be found at Althorp dated 1701/02, accompanied by a magnificent wine fountain dated 1700/01.⁴³ Grimwade has attributed this cistern to Pierre Harache II, but, although personal inspection has not been possible, this writer suspects that the hallmarks will reveal this cistern also to be by Pierre Harache I.

Although Harache and the other Huguenot Goldsmiths are noted for their French contributions to English silver, it is important to acknowledge their treatment of peculiarly English forms. This is particularly apparent with the two-handled cup and cover, their subtle treatment of which had a lasting and profound affect.⁴⁴ Two cups and covers previously attributed to Pierre Harache II can be reattributed to Pierre Harache I. One is a cup of 1702/03,⁴⁵ the other is one of the most important items by Pierre Harache to appear at auction recently: the gold Richmond race cup and cover, 1705/06.⁴⁶ The illustration of the hallmarks in the catalogue identifies this cup as being by Pierre Harache I.[1] The same applies to a set of four baluster sticks with a 1702/03 Pierre I mark, until now attributed to Pierre II.⁴⁷ These candlesticks are a reminder that much of Harache's output would have been comparatively utilitarian. Another example of such wares is the shaving basin belonging to the Barber-Surgeon's Company of 1704/05, also by Pierre I, which is completely plain save for a half-round wire applied to the rim.

A number of important wares by Pierre I fall outside the remit of this article by virtue of the fact that they were made during the indisputable period of his working life – ie before 1698, when Pierre II entered his mark. Reassessment of the Methuen dish of 1703/04 in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford has revealed its maker to be Pierre Harache I,⁴⁸ and this writer suspects that the entire repertoire of the Harache workshop bears the mark of Pierre I and that few (if any) objects exist with the mark of his younger namesake. Proving this will be dependent on every attributed piece being re-examined, a task which the writer has not attempted, but pieces that have appeared at auction recently with images of their marks in the catalogue, together with the Barber-Surgeons' cistern and the Ashmolean dish, so far support the theory.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people, all of whom have played a very active, as well as supportive, role in the research for this dissertation: Sonia Anderson; David Beasley; Michèle Bimbenet-Privat (National Archives, Paris); Julia Cook and Kevin Tierney (Sotheby's); Sebastian Edwards (Hampton Court Palace); Eileen Goodway; Elizabeth Lardner; Keith Le May; James Lomax; Jennie Lynch (House of Lords Records Office); Tessa Murdoch; Anne Osselin (Rouen); Donald Pohl and Tony Fuller (Huguenot Society); Stephanie Roger; Judy Rudoë; Timothy Schroder; Timothy Wilson (Ashmolean Museum); Denis Vatinel; Harry Williams-Bulkeley (Christie's).

The image shows a handwritten document in French, which is a warrant for the purchase of a silver cistern. The text is written in a cursive hand and includes the following key information: 'These are to signify her Majesty's pleasure that you provide and deliver a piece of white plate of the value of fifty pounds as a gift from her Majesty to the Surgeons Company to be made up as for such fashion as they shall direct. And for so doing this shall be your warrant given under my hand this 26 day of May in the third year of her Majesty's reign'. The document is signed 'Charles Godfrey' and dated '26 May 1704'. There are also some initials and a signature 'L. S. O. Vallon' at the bottom.

These are to signify her Majesty's pleasure that you provide and deliver a piece of white plate of the value of fifty pounds as a gift from her Majesty to the Surgeons Company to be made up as for such fashion as they shall direct. And for so doing this shall be your warrant given under my hand this 26 day of May in the third year of her Majesty's reign

12 Order for the cistern in the collection of the Barbers' Company, dated 1704. (National Archives)

37 In the Huguenot Library.

38 Anne Osselin kindly undertook an extensive search of the archives on behalf of the author and provided a list of relevant documents for the writer.

39 Schroder (as note 19), p141.

40 Ewers and basins include Willaume's 1705/06 examples for Thomas Wentworth, Baron Raby, which can be compared with either Harache's 1697/98 ewer and basin for William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Devonshire (in the British Museum), or his versions at Althorp for the Duke of Marlborough 1701/02, or indeed the ewer and basin he made for the Duke of Portland in 1702/03. Other Harache single ewers include one of 1697/98 belonging to the Vintners' Company (ex Duke of Sussex), one from the Earl of Ancaster's collection, 1700/01 and another from the Methuen collection of 1703/04.

41 National Archives, LC5/108.

42 Arthur Grimwade, 'Silver at Althorp: II The Candlesticks and Candelabra', *The Connoisseur*, October 1962, p164, note 2.

43 *ibid.*

44 Schroder (as note 19), p176.

45 Christie's London, 13 June 2000 lot 12.

46 Christie's London, 20 November 2001 lot 10, catalogued as Pierre Harache II.

47 Sotheby's New York, 24 October 2000 lot 417.

48 E. Alfred Jones, *Catalogue of the Collection of Old Plate of William Francis Farrer at No 7 St James's Square, London*, St Catherine Press, London 1924, p30 pl 16, catalogued it as 'Harache', without distinguishing between the two makers. See Timothy Schroder's forthcoming catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum collection.

This research was carried out for a BA through Southampton Solent University, awarded the author this year.

Four Nonconformist communion cups for Gloucester

ANTHONY SALE



I was recently shown four silver mugs, John Sutton, London 1702/03 and asked to research their local Gloucester history.

The mugs are engraved 'Independent Meeting GLOUCESTER' and exemplify the early Nonconformist practice of using domestic type vessels as communion cups rather than the designs of the established Church. They are a remarkable survival of the vicissitudes of Nonconformity in Gloucester, having been originally owned by James Forbes, a leading dissenter of the seventeenth century.

Forbes, born 1629, was an MA of Aberdeen and Oxford. As part of Cromwell's policy to appoint men of Puritan and Independent persuasion, he was installed as Weekly Preacher to Gloucester Cathedral in 1654. The Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 brought in intolerance of Nonconformity and Forbes was ejected from office; but he and his congregation continued to meet secretly. As a dissenter he was persecuted for some 29 years, suffering fines, imprisonment on three occasions, threats of death from the authorities and had to flee Gloucester for a period. The Toleration Act of 1689 allowed Nonconformists to worship, by which time he had returned to Gloucester. He fostered the Independent congregation and organised the building of the Independent Meeting House in Barton Street, Gloucester, opened in 1699. He remained minister until his death in 1712. In 1710 he settled on the eight trustees of this Barton Street Chapel his theological library of some 1,300 books, 300 pamphlets and other manuscripts, £90 for charitable use and 'all those four silver cups for the congregation for sacrament at the Lord's Supper'. By the time of his death doctrinal factions were emerging and in 1715 the congregation split. The Presbyterian part, who were later Unitarians, remained at the Barton Street Chapel. The Independents of Trinitarian persuasion left to form a separate fellowship meeting in a room of the Cobblers' Hall, taking with them the library and the four cups. In due course they built Southgate Independent Chapel on the site of old St Owen's parish church in about 1730. It became the focus for evangelical revival across the county in which the minister Thomas Cole encouraged the young George Whitefield; in these years Whitefield found his vocation

and left Gloucester to found the Methodist movement.

Nonconformist changes continued, leading to the Gloucestershire Congregational Union being formed in 1796. The Southgate Congregational Chapel was enlarged and eventually rebuilt in 1851, reflecting continued prosperity. However from the late nineteenth century the fortunes of the Southgate Chapel gradually declined. The Congregationalists put much of their resources into missions, schooling and helping other congregations in the city and county. The upkeep of the Southgate Chapel was neglected and it deteriorated severely. The situation became so desperate after the First World War that financial expedients included the sale of the four communion cups, which had survived together for some 220 years. The library was loaned to the Gloucester city library and later sold to Toronto University.

The cups were sold by Christie's on 24 January 1923 for £75. Shortly after, a letter to the curator of the Gloucester Museum from William Bruford, dealer of Exeter, dated 12 March 1923, said that he had recently got the four 'tankards engraved Independent Meeting Gloucester', and hoped the museum would buy them for £150, which it was not then able to do. A later letter from Bruford dated 2 Nov 1927 revealed that by then he had sold them. The next and last relevant document that survives in Gloucester records is a letter written in May 1928 by a dealer, H.M. Simmons of 384 High Street Cheltenham, offering the 4 'tankards' to Gloucester city council for £250 or near; the council turned down the proposal as too costly. The Simmons business closed about 1930.

The cups were acquired by John Bourdon-Smith at the Christie's sale on 15 June 2004. They were sold on behalf of the Pearson family trust of Parham Park, who, it is thought, had owned them for a long time; the Pearsons had been great collectors of silver in the 1920s and 1930s and so probably had bought the cups from Simmons directly or indirectly. They have now come home and are in the Gloucester City Museum and Art Gallery.

Acknowledgements

For help in unravelling this story I thank J. Jurica, author of the section on Nonconformity in the *Victoria County History of the City of Gloucester*, and H. Williams-Bulkeley of Christie's.

Early French surtouts

Unpublished drawings and documents

PAUL MICIO

Surviving drawings by French goldsmiths are rare, especially in relation to the great number that once existed, not only in the Parisian ateliers but also in the many provincial centres.¹ It is therefore of more than passing interest that a group of approximately 175 drawings has come to light, dating from the mid-seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, whose origin is, as far as can be determined, a single atelier in Orléans.²

Two of the drawings are presented here for the first time.³ [1 & 8] The large sanguine design for a *surtout de table* [1] is among the most interesting and important of the group. There are less than a handful of extant drawings of French *surtouts* known before 1730, of which the present drawing is the earliest known example showing a complete *surtout*.⁴ The heraldic device that crowns the *surtout* appears to be that of the ducs d'Orléans.

The drawing is far from being without problems concerning its attribution, date and function. Was it intended to be presented and executed or, in spite of the drawing's large size and elaborate quality, should we view it as an imaginary study executed by a draughtsman in the workshop as part of routine drawing practice? Is this a copy made after a drawing by a Parisian goldsmith and, if so, how would it have found its way back to Orléans? Because of scant documentation, the flow of drawings between the capital and the provinces has been little studied and drawing definite conclusions is extremely hazardous. It is also important to remember that, in spite of the long tradition of silversmithing in Orléans,⁵ both Monsieur and the Regent (*see table p89*), who owned such *surtouts*, dealt mainly with *mâîtres*



1 Sanguine drawing of a *surtout de table*, before 1723. The image 56.2x65cm (22 $\frac{1}{8}$ x25 $\frac{1}{2}$ in), red chalk on paper 60x77cm (23 $\frac{1}{2}$ x30 $\frac{1}{4}$ in). (Private collection, Paris. Photo: M. Beck Coppola) See colour illustration p97

orfèvres in the capital, such as the 'famous and very rich' Delaunay,⁶ and probably had little to do with Orléans craftsmen. The Parisian silversmith, Jean de Lens, for example, dedicated most of his life to the ducs d'Orléans, first working for Gaston d'Orléans (1608–60) and then for his nephew Philippe.⁷ In studying and transcribing the after-death inventories of the Orléans family from 1671 to 1724, I have not found a single mention of any work bearing either an Orléans hallmark or that of Tours.⁸

1 In the atelier of François Thomas Germain alone, 'Il conservait dans son cabinet de sculpture plus de sept cents dessins d'orfèvrerie, classés dans des boîtes et des cartons ou reliés en volume: surtouts, terrines, pots à oille, toilettes, chandeliers etc... D'autres (une trentaine) encadrés ornaient son cabinet de travail. Les "traits et plans" qui leur correspondaient et permettaient de "conduire les ouvriers" emplissaient sept cartons.' Christiane Perrin, *François Thomas*

Germain - orfèvre des rois, Saint-Rémy-en-l'Éau 1993, pp46–47.

2 The drawings were sold at auction in Orléans and most are now divided between two private collections in France. Some of the sheets are stamped with the seal of the *Généralité d'Orléans*; one of the drawings is signed 'Bardin' and inscribed 'Concours commencé à la fin de frimaire an 5e' ['Competition begun at the end of December, 1796']. Jean Bardin

(1732–1809) was the director of the *École de dessin* in Orléans and was the correspondent of the *Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture*.

3 A selection from the sixty-two drawings that comprise the smaller portion has been published: Peter Fuhring, 'Les dessins d'orfèvrerie', *Les orfèvres d'Orléans*, Paris 2003, pp140–79. The larger collection contains the bulk of the remaining drawings including the two present-

ed here. See Appendix I for further details.

4 A drawing sent to Sweden by Cronström, in 1702, shows the design of a central footed vase with attendant candelabra intended to be used in concert with a *surtout*. See *Versailles à Stockholm*, Paris, Institut Culturel Suédois, 1985, illus p183, noN9. See also note 47.

5 See Fuhring (as note 3).

6 Saint-Simon, cited in Daniel Alcouffe, 'Note sur un portrait de Tournières:

Nicolas de Launay et sa famille', *Revue du Louvre*, 1979, no5/6, p444.

7 Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, *Les Orfèvres et l'orfèvrerie française de Paris au XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols, Paris 2002, vol I, pp40, 109.

8 Orléans silversmiths worked under the jurisdiction of Tours until 1716 when a *hôtel des Monnaies* was finally established in Orléans. Pierre Jouvellier, *Les orfèvres de la Généralité d'Orléans*, Orléans 1986, p35.

portent quantité de choses pour l'usage de la Table; en sorte qu'on ne peut rien souhaiter de nécessaire à un repas que l'on n'y trouve

The *surtout de table* (or *milieu de table*) was the central feature of the dining table among the most élite. The word was used to describe the tiered object with candle arms placed at the centre of the table upon which were found such items as cruets, sugar casters, mustard pots and spice boxes. The *Mercur* of April 1698 stated that these *milieux de table* 'carry a quantity of things that are used at table so that one wants for nothing during the meal that cannot be found there'. Surtouts sometimes also had interchangeable components such as decorative elements that could be inserted into the candle cups during the day. Designs for surtouts developed over several decades and among the first engravings of these centrepieces are those from a suite of plates made by Marguerin Daigremont prior to 1711 after designs by Jean Berain.⁹[2]

It is possible to trace the appearance of the *surtout* in France with some exactitude. In accordance with the *service à la française*, all the serving dishes were placed on the table at one time and then, at the end of each of several courses, were completely cleared. Only such things as the spices and condiments remained in place at the disposal of the guests. The *surtout* was the logical outcome of this custom and these sumptuous 'machines' – often in silver-gilt – united both necessary candlelight and costly seasonings at the centre of the table. A rather maladroit engraving from the 1705 edition of Massialot's *Cuisinier royal et bourgeois* depicts forms typical of the seventeenth century; it is important to observe that it has candle arms.^[3] The meticulously executed portrait by Tournières of 1704¹⁰ [4,10 & p97] represents the *orfèvre du Roi* Nicolas Delaunay (de Launay) proudly pointing to the *surtout* that, because of its specific reference to the Dauphin atop the centrepiece, was possibly made for Louis XIV's son, Monseigneur, le Grand Dauphin.¹¹

Care must be taken when discussing early *surtouts*, as this word has become generalised to include centrepieces that were, in fact, *fruitiers* or *corbeilles pour présenter le fruit*¹² (see below). These were most often low open dishes of different sizes and shapes whose forms loosely intermeshed when grouped together to create a centrepiece, such as the 'eight silver-gilt presentation dishes for fruit for the King's table, that is four round and four oval' delivered to the *Garde-meuble*¹³ by Delaunay on 6 June 1714.¹⁴ There are several drawings and painted images of these *fruitiers* and certain elements



2 *Surtout de table*, engraving by Marguerin Daigremont after Jean Berain, before 1711. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915, transferred from the Library, 1921, inv 21.36.141)

huit fruitiers d'argent doré pour la table du Roy, savoir quatre ronds et quatre ovales

Corbeille à fruit or *corbeille pour présenter le fruit* – Fruit basket. These baskets could hold either fresh or candied fruit and, like *fruitiers* differed from *surtouts* in that they lacked candle branches and the attendant elements used in conjunction with dining (oil and vinegar cruets, sugar casters, spice boxes, etc).

Fruitiers – Low open dishes of different sizes and shapes whose forms loosely intermeshed when grouped together to create a centrepiece used principally for fruit. Other objects, also called *fruitiers*, had attendant small goblets (*chiques*) that were also used to serve either fresh or dried

fruit. *Fruitiers* differed from *surtouts* in that they lacked candle branches and the attendant elements used in conjunction with dining (oil and vinegar cruets, sugar casters, spice boxes, etc.)

Girandole garnie – An early term for a *surtout* before there was any specific name for this type of centrepiece.

Machine – A broad term for a *surtout* that was most often used before there was any specific name for this type of centrepiece.

Milieu de table – Synonym for *surtout de table*.

This term was used in the very first descriptions of *surtouts*.

Salière à branches – A term used to describe the ancestor of the *surtout* which consisted of a salt cellar that had attendant candle branches.

Surtout (or *surtout de table*) – A centrepiece with candle arms, usually of more than one tier, that was generally surmounted by a dish or bowl for fruit and upon whose base were placed the necessary condiments used during the course of a meal such as salt cellars, spice boxes, cruets for oil and vinegar, sugar casters, etc.



3 A 'Machine, autrement dit Surtout, pour servir au milieu d'une grande table, qu'on laisse pendant tous les services', engraving reproduced in Massialot, *Cuisiner royal et bourgeois*, edition of 1705



4 *Tournières* (Robert Levrac), L'orfèvre Delaunay et sa famille, 1704, detail, oil on wood panel, 56x70cm (22x27½in). (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen, inv. 78.2.1.) See colour illustration p97

of the famous example by Elie Pacot (Lille, 1709) have survived.¹⁵ Other objects, also called *fruitiers*, had attendant small goblets (*chiques*) that were also used to serve fruit.¹⁶ However, in manuscript documents, *surtouts* are clearly described as such and are different from these fruit dishes.

Cardinal Mazarin, the richest private person of the Ancien Régime, collected on a royal scale and, by 1653, already possessed 'A salt cellar in the Spanish manner, of Spanish gilded silver, consisting of eleven independent pieces, used to hold salt, sugar, pepper, oil, vinegar and other spices, all weighing five marcs, four ounces, five gros' (about 1.3kg (42oz)).¹⁷ Only candle branches are missing to make this a complete *surtout de table*. In England, among the silver confiscated by Parliamentary troops from the Countess of Derby in 1651, there figured a massive centrepiece with an elaborate arrangement of candle branches, salts and sweetmeat baskets that is believed to have been of French origin.^{18,19} By 1657, the Parisian silversmith Pasquier had in his stock 'a salt cellar with arms supported by two candlesticks'²⁰ and similar *salières à branches* were in the stock of Pierre Delafosse in 1674 and Pierre Merlin in 1689.²¹ By around 1670 these centrepieces were common enough to be given the name 'machine', such as the one made by Claude I Ballin that is recorded in the 1672 inventory of Chancellor Pierre Séguier: 'The machine used on the table, comprising three small salt cellars, two

Une salière à l'Espagnole d'argent d'Espagne vermeil doré, consistante en onze pièces détachées l'une de l'autre, servant à mettre le sel, le sucre, le poivre, l'huile, le vinaigre et autres épices, pesant le tout cinq marcs quatre onces cinq gros (environ 1,3 kg).

une salière à branches portée sur deux flambeaux

la machine servant sur la table, garnie de trois petites salières, deux sucriers, un poivrier, un vinaigrier.

9 It is believed that Daigremont engraved works after Berain between approximately 1670 and 1700. The engravings can in no case be later than 1711, the date of Berain's death. See Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, Gründ, Paris 1999, vol IV, p187.

10 See Alcouffe, (as note 6) p444-48. Delaunay was *orfèvre du Roi* to both Louis XIV and Louis XV as well as being *directeur des balanciers et des médailles du*

Louvre. Bimbenet-Privat (as note 7), vol II, p309.

11 See William Hutton, 'A Louis XIV Table Centrepiece', *Toledo Museum News*, vol 17 no1, p17.

12 Delaunay would deliver 36 of these *fruitiers* in silver-gilt to the Crown between 1699 and 1714.

13 *The Garde-meuble de la Couronne* was the administration that oversaw the furniture and objects used in royal residences.

14 Paris, Archives nationales (hereafter AN)

AN, O1 3308, ff151-52v, nos1497-504.

15 See Nicole and Isabelle Cartier, 'The Elie Pacot Surtout', *The Silver Society Journal*, no6 1994, pp296-301 and 'A Superb Pair of Louis XIV Silver Table Stands', Sotheby's New York, 21 October 1997.

16 See *Versailles et les tables royales en Europe*, exhib cat Paris 1993, pp258-59, nos22a and 23.

17 Duc d'Aumale, *Inventaire de tous les meubles du Cardinal Mazarin dressé en 1653...*, London 1861,

p83, cited in Gérard Mabilie, 'L'orfèvrerie de table royale sous Louis XIV et Louis XV', *Versailles et les tables royales en Europe* (as note 16), p99.

18 Philippa Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London 1990, p116. My thanks to Philippa Glanville for her insights regarding this *surtout*.

19 It should be remembered that, with the French wife of Charles I, Henrietta Maria, there was an enor-

mous influence of things French within aristocratic circles.

20 Bimbenet-Privat, (as note 7), vol II, p175.

21 Bimbenet-Privat, (as note 7) vol II, p176, note 245.

Une salière, d'argent d'Allemagne vermeil doré, composée de sept pièces, celle du milieu à six angles servant de salière, couverte d'une espèce de dôme percé à jour, à l'entour duquel il y a six petits hommes armés assis sur des vases, et tout au hault d'un cavalier armé de toutes pièces. Les six autres pièces qui sont à l'entour de la salière sont: un sucrier, un vinaigrier, un poivrier, un vase à mettre de l'huile, un autre à mettre du verjus, et le sixième pour mettre de la canelle en poudre; le tout posé sur un pied rond hault de 22 pouces ...
Fait et arrêté à Paris, le 20^{me} février 1673. [Signé] Du Metz

Un service de serpentine d'Allemagne [composé d'] une machine ronde à six pans qui sert de chandelier à quatre branches hautes de dix neuf à vingt pouces; compris les bobèches ... une grande salière à l'allemande, sur laquelle il y a six petits vases à mettre de l'huile, du vinaigre, du poivre et autres espiceries haute de sept pouces

Du 2e septembre 1685 - Apporté par le sr de Launay, orfèvre, quatre girandolles à six branches et sept bobèches garnies de douze huisliers, huit sucriers quatre poivriers et quatre vinaigriers de sorte que chaque girandolle dans son estuy est composée de trois huisliers, deux sucriers, un poivrier et un vinaigrier, le tout de vermeil doré et marqué aux armes du Roy, pour servir sur la table de sa Majté, pesant toutes lesd. quatre girandolles garnies des susd. pièces ... [le poids n'est pas mentionné]

une table chantournée, portée sur neuf petits pieds ... trois petits vases à ances ... trois barils à moutarde [et] une cassolette pour la septième bobèche du milieu de ladite girandole

Augmentation tirée du registre journal du Garde-meuble de la Couronne depuis le 22 avril 1697.

- Vermeil doré pour servir sur la table du Roy à Marly*
 704 - *Un milieu de table d'argent doré, composé d'une table ou baze*
 705 - *Une girandole à huit branches*
 706 - *Quatre sucriers*
 707 - *Quatre poivriers à trois séparations et le milieu en salière*
 708 - *Huit enfans*
Un autre milieu de table, tout pareil au précédent, aussy de vermeil, composé de :
 709 - *Une table ou baze*
 710 - *Une girandole à huit branches*
 711 - *Quatre sucriers*
 712 - *Quatre poivriers à trois séparations et le milieu en salière*

sugar casters, a pepper pot and a vinegar cruet'.²²

The earliest of these ancestors of the surtout in the royal inventories also dates from the 1670s and is again composed of several elements around a central salt cellar. It is of German origin and there are not yet any candle holders:

A salt, of German gilded silver, composed of seven pieces, the one in the middle having six sides and being used as a salt cellar, covered by a sort of pierced dome around which there are six small armed men seated on vases and, at the very top, a cavalier completely armed. The six other pieces that surround the salt are: a sugar caster, a vinegar cruet, a pepper pot, a vessel for oil, another for verjuice and the sixth for powdered cinnamon, all of which repose upon a round base that is 22 inches tall ...²³

In the royal inventories of 1673 there is also an unusual service, not made of precious metal, but rather of serpentine which included a good number of complementary elements such as plates and platters:

A service of German serpentine [composed of] a six-sided round machine that serves as a candelabrum with four branches, nineteen to twenty inches tall, including the candle cups [...] a large salt cellar in the German style upon which there are six small vessels for oil, vinegar, pepper and other spices, seven inches tall.²⁴

In September of 1685, Nicolas Delaunay delivered four centrepieces to the Crown that were described as *girandoles garnies*. They represent the earliest known record of a fully-fledged surtout made of precious metal in the royal inventories. The various elements that comprised these centrepieces are clearly described in *Journal du Garde-meuble*:

September 2, 1685 – Delivered by milord de Launay, goldsmith, four girandoles of six arms and seven candle cups, together with twelve oil cruets, eight sugar casters, four pepper pots and four vinegar cruets so that each girandole in its case is composed of three oil cruets, two sugar casters, one pepper pot et one vinegar cruet, all made of gilded silver and marked with the King's arms, to be used at the table of His Majesty, the said four girandoles, along with the abovementioned pieces, weighing ... [blank].²⁵

In August 1699 these pieces were augmented by Delaunay. Each girandole was now placed upon '...a curvilinear shaped base set upon nine small feet' to which were added 'three vessels with handles, three mustard barrels [and] a cassolette for the seventh candle arm in the middle of the said girandole'.²⁶ Four other silver-gilt casters supplemented the original eight, to make what must have been an impressive surtout.

We first find the expression *milieu de table* in the royal inventories in 1697:

- Addition taken from the Journal du Garde-meuble of the Crown since April 22, 1697. Gilded silver to serve at the King's table at Marly:
 704 – *A milieu de table* in gilded silver, composed of a plateau or base
 705 – *A girandole* of eight branches
 706 – *Four sugar casters*
 707 – *Four pepper pots* of three compartments and a salt in the middle
 708 – *Eight infants*
 Another *milieu de table*, exactly the same as the preceding, also in vermeil, composed of:
 709 – *A milieu de table* in gilded silver, composed of a plateau or base
 710 – *A girandole* of eight branches
 711 – *Four sugar casters*
 712 – *Four pepper pots* of three compartments and a salt in the middle

713 – Eight infants that are placed in the candle cups of the said girandole by day.²⁷

Sovereigns of other countries ordered surtouts from different Parisian goldsmiths, especially Claude Ballin whose atelier made a specialty of this type of ware. Thanks to surviving authorisations accorded by the King which permitted the fabrication of surtouts whose weight surpassed the ordinance of 1689,²⁸ (see below) we know that Ballin received an order for a surtout for the King of Denmark as early as 1694. He delivered another to the marquis de Beuvron in 1697 and, as we shall see, Ballin's atelier was also working on a surtout for Emperor Leopold I²⁹ in 1700.

As the eighteenth century progressed, certain surtouts became less and less functional until they served no real purpose whatsoever aside from their decorative role, such as the sculpted table decorations that were part of the never-completed surtout ordered by the Russian ambassador in Paris, Count Chernichev, in 1762.³⁰ As Christiane Perrin remarked, 'The Chernichev surtout was only a piece of sculpture: apparently, in the 1760s, Germain had perfected the formulation of a purely decorative piece that was lacking any functional elements'.³¹

The drawing

The drawing of the surtout [1] is fully prepared and it appears to be a presentation drawing rather than simply a sketch.³² It is on two whole sheaves that have been joined together to form one larger sheet. Keeping in mind the high cost of paper at the time, such an extravagant use of paper would almost certainly not have been expended upon routine drawing practice. Further, the drawing has been done to actual size (the surtout itself measures 56.2x65cm (22 $\frac{1}{8}$ x25 $\frac{1}{2}$ in)). Making a drawing to actual size was a practice that often existed when there was a contract (*marché*) between a client and goldsmith which seems further to indicate that the drawing was intended for presentation and eventual fabrication.

Each of the two joined sheaves has a clear watermark, the letters I and C separated by a heart within a horizontal cartouche. Unfortunately, this mark seems not to be recorded³³ and so a judgement must be made based upon a stylistic reading and upon workshop practices that existed both in Parisian and provincial ateliers.

In spite of the drawing's undeniable charm, it has a naïve and provincial quality, especially if compared with designs executed by Paris masters, such as those of either presumed or sure attribution to Nicolas Delaunay. As we can be relatively sure that the origin of

713 – Huit enfans qui se mettent durant le jour aux bobèches de ladite girandole

All references to Claude Ballin are to Claude II Ballin (1661–1754), nephew of Claude I Ballin (1615–78) except where otherwise noted.

22 *ibid.*, vol II, p175.

23 Completed and registered in Paris on 20 February 1673. [Signed] Du Metz. Jules Guiffrey (ed), *Inventaire général du Mobilier de la Couronne sous Louis XIV*, 2 vols, Société d'encouragement pour la propagation des livres d'art, Paris, 1885–86, vol I, p27 no89.

24 AN, O1 3335, *Inventaire général des Meubles de la Couronne*, dit de 1729, ff25–26; Guiffrey (as note

23) 'Diverses pièces et vases d'agathes – Jaspes, lapis, amatistes', vol I p195, nos155–73.

25 AN, O1 3305, ff74r.

26 Guiffrey, (as note 23) vol I, pp138–39, nos757–73.

27 Guiffrey (as note 23), vol I, nos134–35.

28 Bimbenet-Privat (as note 7), vol II, p176.

29 Leopold I (born 1640, reigned 1657–1705), Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

30 Until the publication of Christiane Perrin's research, historians had thought that these elements were a part of the surtout ordered by the Tsarina Elizabeth for Prince Soltykoff. Perrin (as note 1) pp98–99, ill pp100–01.

31 *ibid.*, p102. 'Le surtout Chernichev n'était que sculpture: apparemment, dans les années 60, Germain avait mis au point la formule d'une pièce purement décorative, d'où étaient absents les éléments utilitaires.'

32 My thanks to Alain Mérot for his insights on this subject.

33 An almost identical watermark, attributed to I. Chabrier, is recorded but is of smaller proportion. This fact, however, is of little help as it is not possible to establish if the larger watermark found in the paper of the drawing was used by this same papermaker or if it is that of another manufacturer. Further, even if the watermark is that of Chabrier,

Raymond Gaudriault found examples used between 1671 and 1754 which does not help to narrow the time frame in ascertaining the date of the drawing. No similar watermark was found in any other source books on the subject. Raymond Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, CNRS Editions / J. Telford, Paris 1995, p295 & pl 145.

the surtout is from a provincial centre, this makes perfect sense. The question that presents itself is how and when did an artisan in Orléans come to make this drawing?

The design shows a number of variants from which to choose and thus indicates that the drawing was not made after an existing piece of silver. An either/or mirror image reading should be avoided as it would then only have had supports for condiments (as shown at left) or candle cups (as at right). From surviving images and inventories, we know that early French *surtouts de table* had both candle branches and supports for condiments and we adhere to this meaning when discussing early *surtouts*. The word *surtout*, in the sense that concerns us, came about too late to be included in Furetière's dictionary of 1690, but it appears in the 1743–52 edition of Trévoux:

It is a piece of silverware, or at least of gilt bronze, that is used on the tables of great lords and upon which one places the sugar caster, the pepper pot, the vinegar cruet, the salt cellars and fruit. The surtout also has several candle arms, according to its size, in which one places candles.

The surtout [1] would have been made of both cast elements (the vertical supports and the enfants) as well as raised elements (the two plates, the shells and the letter P). The height of the executed surtout would have depended on which foot was selected, as each of the two options is of a different size. A surtout from a suite of engravings executed in Augsburg prior to 1724, by Johann Leonhard Wüest,³⁴ shows similar children supporting four shallow dishes.³⁵[5]

The Orléans drawing depicts a small ewer that does not appear in any other known representation of a surtout. It is placed on a tray in the form of a shell.[6] The general form is somewhat similar to seventeenth-century burettes³⁶ but those usually poured directly from the slightly pointed lip at the top of the ewer rather than having a long swan-like spout as is the case here.³⁷ A rare survival of this type is by Philippe-Auguste Boursin, Paris 1681.³⁸[7] We know from the earliest descriptions of *surtouts* that among the condiments presented on these *machines* were oil, vinegar and/or verjus, that is to say the sour juice of unripened grapes or other fruit that was used as a seasoning at the time. From the inventories cited

C'est une pièce de vaisselle d'argent ou du moins de cuivre doré, que l'on sert sur la table des Grands. & où l'on place le sucrier, le poivrier, le vinaigrier, les Salieres & le fruit. Le surtout a aussi plusieurs bobèches à proportion de sa grandeur, dans lesquelles on place les bougies



5 Johann Leonhard Wüest, engraving of a *surtout de table*, Augsburg, before 1724



6 Detail of the 'vase' from the design illustrated in fig 1. Height: 15.5cm (6in)



7 Ewer, silver, Philippe-Auguste Boursin, Paris 1681, arms of Y.L.D. Malet, Conseiller au Parlement 1695–98. Height: 18.5cm (7¼in). (Present location unknown)



8 Sanguine drawing of a 'vase' for vinegar or verjuice. Height: 13cm (5⅛in) on paper 20x15cm (8x6in). (Private collection, Paris. Photo: M. Beck Coppola)

below, we see that these vessels were sometimes called a vase or a *baril*³⁹ rather than a *vinaigrier* or *fiolle*.⁴⁰ The group of drawings from Orléans that includes the surtout in fig [1] also contains four sketches of such vessels, one of which is reproduced in fig [8]. The elongated spout of the vessels in both drawings is placed low. From written descriptions and the first surtouts in precious metal that have come down to us (by Claude Ballin, 1726 and 1727 respectively),⁴¹ it seems that this form was replaced early in the eighteenth century by crystal bottles with silver stoppers that sometimes had attendant chains; already by the time of the surtout shown in the Tournières painting of 1704, such crystal carafes are placed around the outer edge of the base of the plateau.

Aside from the various candle arms, *enfants* and supports for condiments, the surtout is crowned with a ducal coronet (most likely intended to be an open dish for fruit). In the language of heraldry, this is the crown of a Prince of the Blood.⁴² An engraving from an illustrated book of heraldry shows this same crown above the arms of the Regent, Philippe II, duc d'Orléans and his wife Françoise-Marie de Bourbon.^{43,44} [9] Just under the ducal crown of the surtout is the prominent initial P.^{45,46} According to the heraldry expert, Dr Philippe Palasi, when these elements are taken together within the given time period, there is only one possible candidate: Philippe, duc d'Orléans. But which, *père ou fils*?

As we have seen above, the first royal surtouts appear in the 1680s and 1690s. Versailles, its manners and customs were eagerly spied upon and imitated not only by foreign courts and dignitaries, but also by the descending social order and the provincial cities. One has only

to read the correspondence between Tessin and Cronström⁴⁷ or examine the enormous number of prints and drawings that were sent to Sweden at the time to be reminded of how strong an influence Versailles had on all of Europe. Those who saw these new centrepieces were eager to imitate French royalty and obtain their own surtout. In spite of the fact that the royal goldsmiths jealously guarded their models and refrained from publishing them, one can well imagine that a journeyman (*compagnon orfèvre*) working for one of the great Parisian goldsmiths made careful note of what he had seen in the atelier before returning to Orléans. The time-lag between what the Paris ateliers were producing and what came out of the provinces is an important factor in dating the drawing. It should also be kept in mind that the first known images depicting a surtout that can be dated with assurance are the painting of Delaunay (1704) and the engraving in Massialot (1705). Prior to this it would be difficult to imagine a silversmith in Orléans being able to conceive of such a project. Taking these factors into consideration, it seems that the drawing must have been made after the death of Monsieur in 1701. What we have here is most likely a design by an Orléans craftsman whose atelier had hoped to propose it to the prince of their city, Philippe II d'Orléans.

Monsieur, frère du Roi

The first time the word surtout appears in print, in the sense that concerns us, may be in *Mercurie galant*, March 1692, when Monsieur gave a lavish entertainment at the Palais-Royal⁴⁸ to celebrate the marriage of his son, the duc de Chartres. Even the King, who had an aversion to

34 The engravings by Johann Wüest (or Wüst, 1666–1735) were published by J. Wolff (1663–1724). Desiré Guilmar, *Les maîtres ornementistes*, 2 vols, Paris 1880, vol II, p425, no27.

35 My thanks to Vanessa Brett for bringing this suite of engravings to my attention.

36 There were also *burettes d'église* which had similar hinged covers, although those used in church service were most often worked with religious symbols or letters A and V (*aqua* and *vinum*).

37 The forms are known respectively as *bec de corbin* and *bec en col de cygne*. See examples of the former in Bimbenet-Privat, (as note 7), vol II, nos126, 128 & 134.

38 Palais Galliera, Maître Étienne Ader, *Collection Peñarà y Fernandez*, 7

décembre 1960 lot 46. Philippe-Auguste Boursin, received *maître orfèvre* in 1662. Henry Nocq, *Le poinçon de Paris*, 5 vols, H. Floury, Paris 1926–31, vol I, p180 (second *poinçon*); Bimbenet-Privat, (as note 7), vol I, p265.

39 'Baril - Petit vaisseau [...] rond en forme de tonneau. On met le vinaigre, le verjus dans des barils.' *Dictionnaire Furetière*, 1690.

40 'Une fiolle ronde ... pour le vinaigre', in white silver from 1694. Guiffrey (as note 23), vol I p131, no649.

41 Both illustrated, for example, in *Mabille*, (as note 17), pp66–67.

42 The vertical lines of the crown's bonnet in the engraving indicate that its colour is red and that the person is thus *pair de France*. This type of engraving of a crown and bonnet was in the graphic tradition of the Holy Roman Empire,

much used by the English and to a lesser extent by the French. These types of decorative prints should be understood in the context of an engraver who had a general knowledge of heraldry rather than being seen as a set representation taken from a strictly codified rule book. (My thanks to Philippe Palasi, for this information.)

43 In the engraving, she is referred to as Marie-Françoise.

44 From *Méthode facile pour apprendre [sic] le Blason, où l'on a joint les armes accolées des Prince, et Princesses, Ducs et Duchesses, et celles des Maisons des plus Considérables de France, avec les Explications des ornements extérieurs*, Chez P. Gallays, Paris 1728, p6. Françoise-Marie de Bourbon, second Mlle de Blois (1677–1749). The first Mlle de Blois, Marie Anne

de Bourbon (1666–1739), was the illegitimate daughter of Louis XIV and Louise de la Vallière. (The photograph of the engraving was very kindly furnished by Philippe Palasi.)

45 As the vast majority of French silver from this period has perished, it is difficult to find similar examples of a first initial used in a three-dimensional realisation such as seen in this drawing. However, this tradition is common in another area of metalwork: there are innumerable representations of crossed Ls in French wrought ironwork of the period.

46 The strapwork in the right-hand half of the drawing, just below the crown, might also be read as an H, but this is open to interpretation.

47 Nicodemus Tessin le jeune travelled to France from 1677 to 1680 and

again in 1687–88. In 1693, having succeeded his father as Swedish royal architect, Tessin sent Daniel Cronström (1655–1719) to Paris as a sort of cultural ambassador. Their correspondence attests to care taken in the gathering of the drawings Cronström sent back to Tessin that are such an important visual legacy for French silver. This correspondence was published, in part, as *Les relations artistiques entre la France et la Suède*, Stockholm 1964.

48 This palace, originally built by Richelieu between 1624 and 1639, formerly known as Le Palais-Cardinal was Monsieur's Parisian residence from the time of his first marriage in 1661. The King had wanted the only son of Monsieur and la Palatine, le duc de Chartres (future Régent), to marry his illegitimate daughter, Mlle de Blois, an

the capital,⁴⁹ came to Paris for the event. The *Mercure* recounts that, after the opera, the Court gambled at cards:

During this time, they set up two tables in the great Salle des Gardes. Monseigneur presided over the table that had twenty-two place settings which was served by the officers of household of Monsieur who presided at the other table. This other table consisted of twenty-one place settings and was served by the officers of the household of la duchesse de Chartres ... The shape of the table was oval. In the middle, there was a large silver-gilt *machine*, newly invented, called *Sur tout de table*. Aside from the candle branches that these *machines* bear, they are filled with several vessels and utensils, all of which are most useful to those who are at table. I will not even speak of the magnificence and the delicacy of the tables; no one can imagine it. Monsieur's table was very magnificently served ... A *surtout de table* filled the centre of this table as well. It was of very beautiful workmanship and in very good taste but the form was different than the one about which I have just spoken.⁵⁰

Many interesting questions arise from this description. Perhaps the most revealing aspect of this account is that by the beginning of 1692 Monsieur already possessed at least two *surtouts*. Is it possible that one or both of these survived the *grandes fontes*⁵¹ of 1689–90, in spite of the explicit language expressed in the edict of December 1689 that specifically ordered all such important pieces of silver to be melted down? Or, were these *surtouts* made soon after the *fontes* in an effort to renew lost silver? Were they perhaps the work of Delaunay who made other *surtouts* for the King from the mid-1680s? Was one of the Palais-Royal *surtouts* the same as the centrepiece described in *Mercure* six years later when Monsieur gave a fête in honour of the Earl of Portland at Saint-Cloud – or was that yet another *surtout* that was housed at a different residence?

Monsieur's reception for the English ambassador, the Earl of Portland,⁵² is reported in the *Mercure* of April 1698. From this account, we know that the *surtout* was made by Nicolas Delaunay, who made two others for the King and at least one other for the Grand Dauphin two years later:

The 22nd of this month, His Royal Highness, Monsieur, gave a magnificent repast in honour of Lord Portland which was served in the old salon at Saint-Cloud. Monsieur was in the centre of the table on the right side. There were twenty guests at this table which formed a long square. His Royal Highness had on his right the duc de Chartres and, after this prince, was Lord Portland [...] There were four courses. Abundance and delicacy were bound together and one saw everything that the season could produce, even some things that were ahead of season. In the middle of the table there was a large *surtout*, or centrepiece, of gilded silver. It was only a short time ago that these types of objects were invented to decorate the middle of the table. They remain there throughout the meal. They make them in several different ways. They are often enriched with figures and contain a quantity of things that are used at table so that one wants for nothing during the meal that cannot be found there. These sorts of machines are of recent invention and the places where candles are inserted in the evening are hidden during the midday meal by using appropriate decorative elements. The *surtout* of Monsieur is by de Launay who has made two for the King in which all that is creativity, art and beautiful craftsmanship is brought together to embellish a work and to enrich silver and gold, so to speak.⁵³

In the inventory taken after his death in 1701, we have the description of one of the *surtouts* owned by Monsieur. Although it states that the *surtout* was gilt, as in the above account, it gives no indication of what ornaments might have replaced the candle cups. However, it is likely that the *surtout* in this inventory is the same

On dressa pendant ce temps-là deux tables dans la grande Salle des Gardes. Il y en avoit une de vingt-deux couverts, qui fut tenuë par Monseigneur, & servie par les Officiers de Monsieur, qui tint l'autre table. Celle-là estoit de vingt & un couverts, & fut servie par le Officiers de Madame la Duchesse de Chartres ... La table estoit de forme ovale. Il y avoit au milieu une grande machine de vermeil doré de nouvelle invention, appellée *Sur tout de table*. Outre les lumieres que ces machines portent, elles sont remplies de plusieurs vases & d'ustenciles, le tout fort utile à ceux qui sont à ces repas. Je ne vous parle point de la magnificence & de la delicatesse de ces tables ; il n'y a personne qui ne se l'imagine. La table de Monsieur fut asusi tres-magnifiquement servie ... Un *Surtout de table* remplissoit aussi le milieu de celle là. Il estoit d'un tres beau travail, & d'un tres-bon goust, mais d'un plan different de celui dont je viens de vous parler

Le 22 de ce mois S.A.R. [Son Altesse Royale] Monsieur donna un magnifique [sic] Repas à Milord Portland. On mangea dans l'ancien Salon de S. Cloud. Monsieur étoit dans le milieu de la Table du grand côté. Cette Table qui formoit un quarré long, estoit de vingt convives, S.A.R. avoit à sa droite Monsieur le Duc de Chartres, & au dessous de ce Prince estoit Milord Portland [...] Il y eut quatre Services. L'abondance & la délicatesse s'y trouvèrent ensemble, & l'on y vit tout ce que la Saison peut produire, mesme de prématuré. Il y avoit au milieu de la Table un grand *Surtout*, ou milieu de table de vermeil doré. Il y a peu de temps que ces sortes d'Ouvrages sont inventez pour garnir le milieu des Tables. Ils y demeurèrent pendant tout le Repas. On en fait de plusieurs plans differens. Ils sont souvent enrichis de Figures, & portent quantité de choses pour l'usage de la Table; en sorte qu'on ne peut rien souhaiter de nécessaire à un repas que l'on n'y trouve. Ces espèces de Machines de nouvelle invention, cachent dans les repas de jour, sous des ornemens utiles, les endroits où l'on met le soir des bougies. Le *Sur-tout* de Monsieur est de Mr de Launay, qui en a fait deux pour le Roy, où l'on voit tout ce que l'invention, l'art, de la beauté du travail peuvent fournir pour embellir un ouvrage et pour enrichir l'or et l'argent, s'il est permis de parler ainsi

one that was described in the *Mercure* only three years earlier for it was still in place at the château de Saint-Cloud:

... a *machine de table* composed of six candle branches with their bobèches, six small gadrooned dishes, a vinegar cruet, an oil cruet, two sugar casters, four pepper pots, two mustard pots, eight tops for crystal bottles, four small cup supports [...] in mounted gilded silver, marked Paris, weighing [altogether with the other elements in this same entry] two hundred and sixty-one *marcs*, six *onces*, justly valued and without any augmentation, at thirty-one *livres* the *marc*, making the sum of eight thousand one hundred and fourteen *livres* five *sols*.⁵⁴

The *surtouts* made for Monsieur are first documented in 1692 and 1698, that is to say in the decade following the disastrous *fontes* of 1689–90 in which 22 tons of silver were melted down by order of the King.⁵⁵ The *Déclaration* of 14 December 1689 emphatically stated that the decree to turn in all silver above a certain weight to the Mint applied to '...all persons of whatever quality and condition they may be'.⁵⁶ Knowing that *salières à branches* existed from the 1650s and that *machines* existed from at least the 1670s is a key factor regarding Monsieur because it means that there was a large window of time during which an early *machine* could have been made and then melted in the *fontes* of 1689–90 – or even earlier.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, the surviving registers that supposedly inventoried the silver brought to the Mint to be melted down in 1689 and 1690 are incomplete and, when they do record silver consigned by Monsieur, the entries are only given in weight without any descriptions of the individual pieces.⁵⁸ The *fontes* of 1689–90 took place during the long period for which we have no inventories of Monsieur's collection: from the all-important 1671 after-death inventory of Henrietta of England (that includes his silver as well as hers) to his own after-death inventory in 1701.⁵⁹ During that time, Monsieur bought, sold and melted down silver, including pieces that came from his second wife. Like Louis XIV, Monsieur was extremely promiscuous, although his natural inclinations went in a quite different direction than those of his brother. La Palatine was indifferent to her husband's homosexuality, but she complained bitterly about the loss of her silver:

Versailles, March 7, 1696. ... Monsieur has absolutely nothing else on his mind but these young men. He spends entire nights having orgies with them and he gives them enormous sums of money⁶⁰ ... Monsieur has

1212. Item - ... une machine de table garnye de six branches avec leurs bobèches, six petits drageoirs à gaudrons, un vinaigrier, un huillier, deux sucriers, quatre porvriers, deux barils, huit couvercles de bouteilles de cristal, quatre petits porte tasses [...] vaisselle montée vermeil doré poinçon de Paris, peçant [le tout ensemble, y compris les autres éléments qui figurent dans cet item] deux cens soixante un marcs six onces, prisée à juste valeur et sans criée, à trente une livres le marc faisant la somme de huit mil cent quatorze livres cinq sols, cy ... VIII^m CXIII^l V^s

toutes personnes de quelque qualité et condition qu'elles soient

Versailles, le 7 mars 1696. ... Monsieur n'a rien d'autre en tête que les jeunes gens; il passe des nuits entières en orgie avec eux et leur donne d'énormes sommes d'argent ...

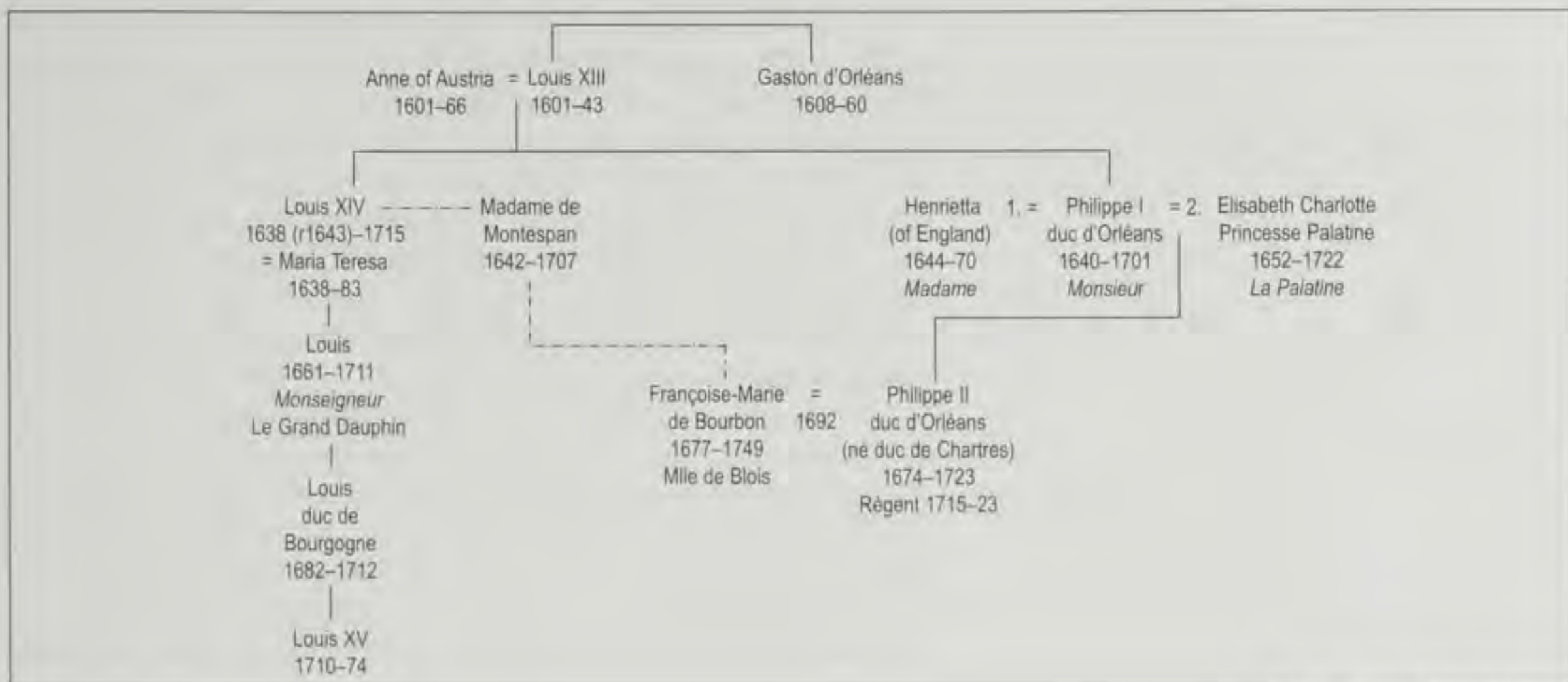
alliance to which la Palatine was violently opposed, for obvious reasons. The King made all sorts of attractive financial propositions to Monsieur to persuade him to accept this union, including the outright gift of the Palais-Royal. The marriage between these two first cousins finally took place in January of 1692. As with the château de Saint-Cloud, Monsieur had spent considerable time and money refurbishing this palace and, as part of the wedding celebrations, he held a reception there for the most illustrious members of the Court.

49 Louis XIV slept in Paris for the last time on 9 February 1671. Milovan Stanic, editor's note in Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Journal de voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France*, Paris 2001, p23.
50 *Mercure galant*, mars 1692, pp9–20.
51 *Fontes*: the melting down of silver that took place throughout French history. Because of pressing war expenditures, Louis XIV felt obliged to consign the *Mobilier d'argent* to the Mint in the *grandes fontes* of 1689–90 and, 20 years later, he again converted objects of precious metal, principally the gold services, into

currency in the *fontes* of 1709.
52 Hans-William Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland.
53 *Mercure*, avril 1698, pp259–63.
54 AN, 300 AP I 746*.
55 The first of the *fontes* dates from 9 December 1689 and they continued to 19 May 1690. During this period, there were 69 *fontes*, AN, K 121, no13.
56 *Déclaration de décembre 1689*, AN O1* 33, f360.
57 The *Déclaration de février 1687* confirmed all of the proscriptions enumerated in the *Déclaration du 26 avril 1672* and renewed the illegality of fabricating or

exposing, among other works, 'chandeliers à branches, girandolles [...] et tous autres utensiles d'argent massif'. (AN, AD+ 505, pp3–4.) As Michèle Bimbenet-Privat noted, 'La déclaration du 10 février 1687 ordonne bientôt la fonte des plus grands ouvrages et interdit aux orfèvres de fabriquer un grand nombre de pièces lourdes. Pour cette raison sans doute, nous ne connaissons aucun objet marqué de la contremarque des grands ouvrages des années 1687–1691 : à la suite de l'arrêt du Conseil du 6 mai 1687, les grands ouvrages, même anciens et dont les droits avaient été

payés, furent envoyés à la fonte.' Michèle Bimbenet-Privat et Gabriel de Fontines, *La Datation de l'orfèvrerie parisienne sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris 1995, p61.
58 *Registre pour servir au premier change du grand bureau*, (1689–90), AN, ZB1B 291 and ZB1B 292.
59 Both of these inventories will be included in the author's forthcoming doctoral thesis, *Les collections d'orfèvrerie des Orléans – de Gaston d'Orléans au Régent*
60 Élisabeth-Charlotte, duchesse d'Orléans, Princesse Palatine, cited in Jean Meyer, *Le Régent*, Ramsay, Paris 1985, p49.



10 The French royal family

quences of this declaration was the appointment of five additional inspectors who joined Louis XIV's special task-force commissioner, Delamarre, in his assignment to purge the Paris ateliers of any works that were not in strict conformity with the severe sumptuary laws. The Archives nationales conserves the report of Jean Regnault, commissioner of the Châtelet district, who performed inspections (raids would be a more appropriate term) in the ateliers of the *maîtres orfèvres* working in the neighbourhood of the Louvre in April of 1700. This report sheds much light concerning the names of the masters of the day and included Nicolas Delaunay, *directeur de la Monnaie des médailles du Roi*, who was lodged in the galleries du Louvre and who had already suffered one such search in 1689. On 1 April 1700, Regnault found Delaunay working on a surtout for the Grand Dauphin. It should be noted that the following detailed description reveals that this surtout was an altogether different model from the centrepiece depicted in the Tournières painting:

The said milord de Launay showed us a *milieu de table* belonging to Monseigneur composed of eight shells, four intertwined dolphins on the consoles upon each one of which sits an infant who each carries a branch, in the middle of these four infants is a vase out of which arise four candle branches, above which vase, terminating the piece, is a small faun who opens the jaw of a panther to place a bunch of grapes in his mouth, the said piece is entirely finished, ready to gild, as my said lord has ordered.⁷¹

Nous a. led. s. de Launay, représenté un milieu de table d'argent, appartenant à Monseigneur, composé de huit coquilles quatre dauphins [en] lassez dans des consoles, sur chacune desquelles consoles est posé un enfant qui porte chacun une branche, au milieu desquels quatre enfants est un vase, duquel vase sort quatre branches de chandelier, au-dessus duquel vase, pour finir la pièce, est un petit faune qui ouvre la gueule d'une pantherre pour luy mettre une grappe de raisin, laquelle pièce est entièrement finie, prête à dorer, ainsy que Mondit Seigneur l'a ordonné

61 Élisabeth-Charlotte, duchesse d'Orléans, *Lettres de Madame, duchesse d'Orléans, née Princesse Palatine*, Mercure de France, Paris 1985, pp126–28.

62 On 11 December 1689, even before the official proclamation of 14 December, Madame de Sévigné was already aware of the news of the *fontes*: 'Sa Majesté, Monseigneur et Monsieur ont envoyé tous leurs meubles d'argent à la Monnaie; cela fait

beaucoup de millions, et redonnera de l'espèce, qui manquait'. Madame de Sévigné, *Correspondance*, Paris 1978, vol III, p775.

63 As yet unpublished. See note 59 above.

64 'Le balustre d'argent de la chambre de la Reyne, contenant vingt deux pièces de balustres portant chacun son vase, et sept pilastres avec les soubassements et entablemens.' This balustrade alone weighed more than 926 marcs (approximately 227 kilos)

and was estimated at 30,574 livres. Jean Cordey, 'L'inventaire après décès d'Anne d'Autriche et le mobilier du Louvre', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1930, p257, no67.

65 Henri Bouilhet, *L'orfèvrerie française aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, Paris 1908–12, vol I, pp44–47.

66 As with earlier *déclarations*, if a silversmith was caught fabricating any of the proscribed items, or if he exceeded the legal

weights that were designated for each type of object, he was subject to a penalty of three thousand livres, a substantial fine. Added to this, any master not conforming to the letter of the law was forever stripped of his *maitrise*, and any *compagnon* or *apprentis* caught working on such proscribed pieces would never be allowed to become a master.

67 Bimbenet-Privat, (as note 7), vol II, p176.

68 *Édit portant règlement sur l'usage des meubles, vaisselle*

et estoffe d'or et d'argent, AN, X1 A, no8694, f192r–201v.

69 Silver spacers, called *porcelaines*, that were used to separate the layers of fresh or candied fruit presented in pyramid form.

70 (As note 68) f193v–94r.

71 Jules Guiffrey, 'Les orfèvres de Paris – Visites et déclarations faites en exécution de l'édit du mois de mars 1700', *Bulletin de l'Union centrale*, nos42–43, février et mars 1878, p130).

The surtout was not confiscated, ostensibly because it was being made for the heir to the throne. However, Delaunay also had in his possession two German *flacons* that he had received in payment from an unnamed client whose total weight, including their chains, was 13 marcs (a little over 3kg (96oz)). As goldsmiths were now prohibited from both fabricating or selling *flacons* 'de quelque poids que ce puisse estre', they were immediately 'rompus en notre presence...' (*destroyed in our presence*).⁷²

The question that now presents itself concerns the number of surtouts that were made for Monseigneur. Aside from the piece made for him in Delaunay's workshop in 1700, he may have possessed other surtouts that were conserved at a different location, such as his residence at Meudon, in the same way that the King had two surtouts at Marly, or Monsieur who probably had surtouts at Saint-Cloud and the Palais-Royal. Unfortunately no inventory was made after Monseigneur's death.⁷³ I would suggest that there was another candidate who may have owned the surtout depicted in the Tournières picture. By the time of the execution of the painting, exhibited in the Salon de 1704,⁷⁴ the Grand Dauphin's son, Louis, duc de Bourgogne (father of Louis XV),⁷⁵ was 22 years old, in his majority, already had his own household and therefore could well have owned a surtout de table with a prominent dolphin motif.⁷⁶ In fact, an entry in the *Journal du Garde-meuble* from the mid-eighteenth century confirms that he owned at least one silver-gilt surtout bearing his arms.⁷⁷

The shop of François Gauchelet, *marchand jouaillier*, was also inspected by Regnault⁷⁸ and soon afterwards, in the atelier of Claude Ballin, Regnault discovered

... a centrepiece called a surtout, surmounted by its girandole from which extended eight branches, [with] two sugar casters, two pepper pots, and eight baskets upon which work had begun.⁷⁹

Normally, such an object would have been seized on the spot but Ballin was able to produce a copy of the special authorisation signed by the King, dated 21 November 1699, which permitted him to work on this piece for the Emperor and he was thus able to complete it. This document is of more than passing interest because it gives the details of the written authorisation that lists what was allowed to be fabricated in conjunction with of the surtout:

The said permission prolonged to have made a *milieu de table*, two *pots à oille*, two services⁸⁰ and eight baskets weighing two hundred and fifty marcs or thereabout

(approximately 61 kilos (1,960oz)).⁸¹ It should be noted that the 1705 engraving of a *machine* from Massialot also comprises a stew tureen.

Louis XIV is said to have regretted his decision to melt down the silver in 1689 and yet he did the same thing 20 years later, in 1709. The gold plate which had escaped the foundry fires of 1689 were now sacrificed upon the altar of the State.⁸² We can understand this decision better when we consider that France had been involved in the bloody and costly War of the Spanish Succession since 1701, that commerce had all but collapsed, that Louis' coffers were again empty, and that the King once more found himself unable to pay his army.⁸³ Aside from the gold plate, the remaining objects wrought in silver and gold filigree, of which the King was so proud,⁸⁴ were taken from Versailles and delivered to Delaunay in Paris to be converted into currency in June 1709. As in 1689–90, the King asked that

un milieu de table appelé surtout, surmonté de sa girandole d'où il sort huit branches, deux sucriers, deux poivriers et huit corbeilles encommencez

lad. permission contenu de faire faire un milieu de table, deux pots d'oïlle, deux services et huit corbeilles du poids de deux cens cinquante marcs ou environ

his subjects give up their plate and what was brought forth to be melted down once again overwhelmed the Mint. Saint-Simon has left us his heartfelt regret concerning '...the inestimable damage and loss of all of these moldings, engravings, chasings, reliefs and so much finished ornamentation that so luxuriantly decorated the silver of all those rich and elegant people'.⁸⁵ Auxilliary furnaces had to be constructed within the confines of Louvre itself.⁸⁶ And yet, after the *fontes* of 1709, the King continued to renew orders for royal plate just as he had done after the *fontes* of 1689. By the end of the very next year, we find the following entry in the *Journal du Garde-meuble*:

November 15, 1710, delivered by milord Delaunay [...] A milieu de table, in silver ...⁸⁷

The Regent

Louis XIV died in 1715.⁸⁸ At the time of la Palatine's demise in 1722, her inventory shows that she possessed no surtout in precious metal.⁸⁹ The silver-gilt surtout that she inherited in 1701, at the time of Monsieur's death, almost certainly perished in the *fontes* of 1709. In keeping with the sumptuary laws, la Palatine owned only a gilt-bronze centrepiece laconically described as, 'Un surtout de bronze doré moulu complet' valued at the modest sum of 400 livres.⁹⁰

The Regent wasted no time in sending more than 63,000 livres' worth of silver he inherited from his mother to be melted down – silver that he obviously considered out of fashion.⁹¹ The inventory taken at the time of his own death the very next year reveals that, unlike la Palatine, the Regent possessed two surtouts in gilt silver;⁹² neither was the one that had belonged to his father. It is difficult to ascertain exactly when these were made. It is probable that, with the treaties formally ending the War of the Spanish Succession in 1714 and the death of Louis XIV the following year, restrictions on expenditure were relaxed, and the surtouts may well have been commissioned after 1715 when the Regent took the reins of power. The description of the more important of these two centrepieces is detailed and demonstrates, alas, that it has nothing to do with the surtout in the Orléans drawing:

72 *ibid.*, p130–31.

73 Members of the royal family very often did not have after-death inventories.

74 Alcouffe (as note 6), p444.

75 Louis, duc de Bourgogne (1682–1712).

76 Care should be taken when considering the dolphin motif as it was far from being reserved uniquely for the *dauphin*.

77 *État de l'argenterie et vaisselle gravée des armes du Roy et des trois couronnes, des armes Bourgogne et des armes Dauphin*, AN, O1 3317, f63, no197.

78 It is of historical interest

to note that his daughter, Anne Denise Gauchelet, would marry Thomas Germain 20 years later on 20 January 1720, Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. Nocq (as note 38) vol II p241).

79 AN, Y15561A.

80 According to Furetière (1690), 'service ... se dit aussi d'un certain assortiment de meubles qui sert à la table ... Un service d'argent de vermeil doré, c'est un certain nombre de plats & d'assiettes, bassins & aiguieres.'

81 AN, Y15561A.

82 *Versailles, le 8 juin 1709* [...] *Le roi est si bien décidé à continuer la guerre, que ce matin il a envoyé à la Monnaie tout son service en*

or, les assiettes, les plats, les salières, en un mot tout ce qu'il avait d'or, pour en faire des louis... Élisabeth-Charlotte, duchesse d'Orléans, Princesse Palatine (as note 60), p275.

83 'On ne cessait de s'étonner de ce que pouvoit devenir tout l'argent du Royaume; personne ne pouvoit plus payer parce que personne ne l'étoit soi-même ... la bonne foi et la confiance abolies ... Le Roi ne payoit plus même ses troupes.' Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, Pléiade, Paris 1947–61, vol III [1709], pp88–89.

84 Paul Micio, 'Filigranes d'or et d'argent du Grand Siècle', *L'Estampille/L'Objet d'Art*, no381, June 2003

la perte et le dommage inestimables de toutes ces moulures, gravures, ciselures, de ces reliefs et de tant d'ornemens achevés, dont le luxe avoit chargé la vaisselle de tous les gens riches et de ceux du bel air

Du 15 novembre 1710, livré par le sr Delaunay [...] Un milieu de table, d'argent...

pp66–73.

85 Saint-Simon (as note 83), vol III ch XI, [1709], p169.

86 *Journal de Verdun*, août 1709, p116, cited in Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la décoration depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, 4 vols, Quantin, Paris 1887–90, vol I p142.

87 AN, O1 3308, f91v.

88 By the time of Louis XIV's death, there are already references to surtouts in the Jewel House records, such as 'A macheene with five smal plates' in 1711 or 'One Sourtoote finely an chased' in 1715, National Archives, Kew, L C 9/45. My thanks to Nicole Cartier for kindly

furnishing this information. (Written communication of 9 September 2005.)

89 The objects in precious metal were valued by Claude Ballin.

90 AN, 300 AP 1 751, no50.

91 *Inventaire fait au décès de Mme Elisabeth Charlotte, Princesse Palatine, duchesse de Bavière, veuve de S.A.R. Monsieur, frère unique du Roi et mere de S.A.R. le duc d'Orléans, Regent*, 19 décembre 1722. Paris, AN, 300 AP 1 751', f125v–27.

92 The objects in precious metal were valued by Claude Ballin and Nicolas Besnier.

Au Palais-Royal [...] 1514. Item - Un milieu de table garni de toutes les pièces qui le composent, de vermeil doré, sçavoir la grande pièce qui pose sur la table, la pièce qui se pose au milieu soutenüe par quatre consolles au milieu de laquelle est posée une figure de Baccante, deux sucriers, deux burettes, deux barils à moutarde, six bouchons de caraffes, quatre poivrières, six salves à coste, dix branches pour les bougies, pesant le tout ensemble cent marcs quatre onces et prisé, à juste valeur et sans criüe, à raison de cinquante livres neuf sols huit deniers le marc, la somme de cinq mille soixante treize livres onze sols six deniers, cy ... Vm LXXIII^l XI^s VI^d.

Pannetière - Vermeil [...]

Une machine, son plateau et six lustres 73^{mi}

8 Burettes et leurs couvercles, 6 petites soucoupes à fruit, six fruits

Le tout garniture de la dernière machine 20^{mi} 3^o

In the Palais-Royal [...] No. 1514. Item - A milieu de table furnished with all of the pieces that comprise it, in gilded silver, that is to say, the large piece that sits on the table, the piece that is placed at the centre supported by four consoles in the middle of which is placed a figure of a bacchante, two sugar casters, two cruets, two mustard barrels,⁹³ six stoppers for carafes, four pepper pots, six salvers with faceted sides, ten candle arms for the candles, weighing all together one hundred marcs, four onces and estimated, at its just value and without any augmentation, at the rate of fifty-nine livres, nine sols, eight deniers the marc, the sum of five thousand and seventy-three livres eleven sols six deniers.⁹⁴

At the end of the inventory is a *Mémoire* in which we find a brief description of the second surtout:

Bread pantry - Vermeil [...]

A machine, its plateau and six candles 73 marcs

8 cruets and their covers, 6 small fruit saucers, six fruit cups

All accompanying the above machine 20 marcs 3 onces.⁹⁵

Louis XV



11 Tournières (Robert Levrac), L'orfèvre Delaunay et sa famille, oil on wood panel, 56x70cm (22x27½in). (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen, inv. 78.2.1.) See colour illustration p97

The picture of Delaunay by Tournières [11] is an important visual legacy, as portraits of silversmiths are few and images of French surtouts are extremely rare, especially when executed with such precision. In the *Journal du Garde-meuble*, there is a reference to a surtout, no 1552,⁹⁶ whose description corresponds to the milieu de table shown in this painting. Unfortunately, the two preceding folios are missing and this loss deprives us of the initial page of the entry. This is a key factor because the *Journal du Garde-meuble* lists both the ingress and egress of existing furnishings within the royal residences as well as new deliveries made to the Garde-meuble. Were the surtout in question a new delivery, the missing first page would have indicated not only the name of the goldsmith but also the colour of the metal. It was long thought that no surtouts were made for the young Louis XV and this assertion has been restated even in the recent past.⁹⁷ In 1980, Gérard Mabilie theorised that the surtout depicted in the Tournières painting, presumably made for the Grand Dauphin, came into the royal collection by descent after the Grand Dauphin's death in 1711 and that it was recorded in 1719 in the so-called *Inventaire général* of 1729.⁹⁸ However, a cross-reference in the *Journal du Garde-meuble* shows that this surtout was, in fact, part of the service of white silver delivered to the Crown by Nicolas Besnier in 1719 for the nine-year-old Louis XV.⁹⁹ The proof resides in an entry in the margin noting that Besnier received old silverware so he could execute the 'vaisselle neuve portée à nos 1552 et suivant jusque et compris 1592', the first item of which is precisely the

93 Aside from the barils encountered as functional elements of a surtout, certain of these barils were independent objets d'art and were fairly luxurious, as in the following two examples from the same inventory: Item 2315 - 'Un petit baril fait de bandes de nacre de perles, doublé et cerclé de ses cerceaux de vermeil, prisé la somme de cent livres'; Item 3279 - 'Un petit baril de cristal de roche garni de son

bondon et couvercle, monté à vis d'or enrichi de petites émeraudes, prisé la somme de cent livres'.

94 *Inventaire après décès de Philippe II, duc d'Orléans, le Régent*, AN, X1A 9162, no1514.

95 'Mémoire général de toute la vaisselle d'or, d'argent, vermeille, batterie, d'argent qui s'est trouvée à la charge des officiers, après la mort de S.A.R. Monseigneur le duc

d'Orléans', *Inventaire du Régent*, *ibid.*, f387.

96 AN, O1 3309, f249.

97 Peter Fuhring, 'The Silver Inventory from 1741 of Louis, duc d'Orléans', *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art*, vol 8 2003, p142.

98 Mabilie (as note 17), p67.

99 Even though the above-mentioned folios preceding the entry in the *Journal du Garde-meuble* were appar-

ently missing from the archives in 1977, Pierre Verlet had correctly assumed that this surtout was, in fact, part of the service d'argent blanc delivered by Besnier in 1719. Pierre Verlet, 'Louis XV et les grands services d'orfèvrerie parisienne de son temps', *Panthéon*, avril-juin 1977, p131.

100 Note in the margin of number 586, AN, O1 3334, f108, in Yves Carlier.

'Remarques sur quelques pièces de l'argenterie royale sous les règnes de Louis XIV et de Louis XV', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1991, p146.

101 *Inventaire après décès de la première épouse de Nicolas Besnier*, 24 janvier 1729. AN, Min. centr. XXXV, 564. My thanks to Yves Carlier for kindly furnishing this classification number.

surtout number 1552.¹⁰⁰

How is it that a description of the surtout of 1719 by Besnier corresponds so exactly to a surtout made approximately 20 years earlier by Delaunay? The answer is quite simple and resides in the fact that Delaunay formed a business partnership with Besnier and the *marchand* Le Brun in 1714. Le Brun withdrew from the partnership the following year leaving the two silversmiths to work together;¹⁰¹ Besnier thus had direct access to the Delaunay models. As Delaunay lived until 1727 it is entirely possible that he participated in the fabrication of this large service delivered in 1719. The entry from the *Journal du Garde-meuble* describing the Besnier surtout reads like a verbal portrayal of Delaunay's masterpiece shown in the Tournières painting:

No. 1552 – A milieu de table composed of the following pieces, weighing together seventy-eight marcs, five onces, four gros, that is:

A square plateau with cut corners supported by four large faceted and fluted feet, the plateau having an open shell on each side to serve as a salt cellar; in the middle of the plateau arises a gadrooned pedestal chased with a rich frieze of shells, lilies and tassels upon which rests a girandole with eight branches supported by four consoles made up of the heads of women and satyrs that terminate in doe feet; four of the branches form horns of plenty out of which come flowers and fruit; in the centre of the candle arms there is a large vase, chased to look like wicker, terminating with a cupid holding his torch and seated on a dolphin; the said plateau weighing ... 63marcs 3onces 4gros

Four sugar casters of about two marcs each, chased on the sides with a band of leaf ornaments at the base, weighing all together eight marcs, that is 8marcs 0onces 0gros

Four large candle cups that are placed in the four candle branches of horns of plenty at night, in place of the flowers and fruit that detach, weighing together 3marcs 4onces 6gros



No 1552 - Un milieu de table composé des pièces qui ensuivent pesant ensemble soixante dix huit marcs, cinq onces, quatre gros, scavoir:

Un plateau carré à pans par les coins, porté sur quatre gros pieds à pans et cannelés, le plateau ayant à chaque face, pour servir de salière, une coquille couverte; du milieu du plateau, s'élève un piédestal ciselé de godrons et d'une riche campanne de coquilles, lis et glands, sur lequel est posé une girandolle à 8 branches, portée sur quatre consoles à têtes de femmes et de satyres terminées en pieds de biche; quatre des branches forment des cornes d'abondance, d'où sortent des fleurs et des fruits; du milieu des branches sort un gros vase, ciselé manière d'osier, terminé d'un amour tenant son brandon et assis sur un dauphin; ledit plateau pesant ... 63m 3o 4g

Quatre sucriers d'environ deux marcs chacun, ciselés sur le corps d'une campanne et de feuilles par bas, pesans ensemble huit mars, cy ... 8m 0o 0g

Quatre grandes bobèches, qui se placent la nuit au haut des quatre branches, en cornes d'abondance, en place des fleurs et fruits qui se démontent, pesant ens^{ble} 3m 4o 6g

Quatre petites bobèches, qui se placent aussy la nuit, sur les quatre autres branches en place des graines qui les terminent et qui se démontent, pes^t ens^{ble} 1m 7o 1g

Et huit petits couvercles d'argent godronnés au tour du bord et terminés d'une graine, pour les caraffes de cristal qui servent sur le milieu de table, pesans lesds couvercles ens^{ble} un marc, six ons, 1 gros, cy ... 1m 6o 1g

[Le tout pesant ensemble] 78m 5o 4g.

12 Surtout de table, gilt-bronze with later marble plaques, Paris 1700–10. Height: 57.8cm (22³/₄in). (Toledo Museum of Art, inv. 1971-178, purchased with funds given by Mr and Mrs Edward H. Alexander)

Four small candle cups that are placed on the four other candle arms at night in place of the seed motif that terminates them and which detaches, weighing together 1 marc 7 onces 1 gros

And eight small silver stoppers that are gadrooned around the edge and that terminate with a seed for the crystal carafes that are used on the *milieu de table*, weighing the said covers together, one marc six onces one gros, that is 1 marc 6 onces 1 gros

[The total weighing] 78 marcs 5 onces 4 gros.¹⁰²

The Delaunay surtout in the Tournières portrait was probably lost in the *fontes* of 1709. As a result of the sumptuary laws, surtouts began to be produced in other materials such as wood, ceramics or bronze that was either gilded or silvered.¹⁰³ The Delaunay model was well known and there is an almost identical copy in gilt-bronze (with later marble plaques) in the collection of the Toledo Museum of Art.¹⁰⁴ [12] The question of who produced the bronze casts of lost pieces of silver – and above all if these casts were made by the royal goldsmiths themselves – is a difficult question that has not, to date, been fully explored and about which even the most eminent experts do not agree.¹⁰⁵

In 1726 Ballin made an elaborate centrepiece for comte de Daun¹⁰⁶ and, although no image of this surtout has come down to us, a detailed description was published at the time of its fabrication.¹⁰⁷ [Appendix II] It dates from the same period as the two surtouts Ballin made for the Russian Court in 1726 and 1727, now in the Hermitage. The drawing for the latter has survived¹⁰⁸ [13] and it shows the cast decorative elements made of fruit and flowers that were inserted into the sconces during the day (as seen at left) in exactly the same fashion as those in Monsieur's surtout that were described by the *Mercur* in 1698: 'Ces espèces de Machines de nouvelle invention, cachent dans les repas de jour, sous des ornemens utiles, les endroits où l'on met le soir des bougies'. From this same period (1725–27) there is also a drawing for a surtout by Nicolas Pineau made in conjunction with the orders placed with Paris goldsmiths

by Russia's most Francophile autocrat, Catherine the Great.¹⁰⁹ We do not illustrate this drawing because the extremely linear elements that make up this piece are set out on a long flat tray that departs stylistically from the early surtouts discussed in this article.¹¹⁰ The Ballin and Pineau designs are from the mid-1720s but the Orléans surtout predates both of these, making it the earliest known drawing for a complete surtout de table. In 2002, in her magisterial work on seventeenth-century Parisian silver, Michèle Bimbenet-Privat lamented, 'We do not know what these early surtouts looked like, except for the one represented in the portrait of Nicolas Delaunay'.¹¹¹ Such a gaping pictorial lacuna makes the emergence of this drawing all the more important to the history of French silver.

Early *surtouts de table* were great luxuries, extremely costly and were illegal for the most part, either because of their weight or because they were outlawed by name once the word for them came into common parlance. Not a single silver or silver-gilt *surtout de table* made during the lifetime of Monsieur, during the reign of his brother or during the Regency of his son has survived. It is only because of foreign commissions that a small number of later eighteenth-century examples still exist. When contemplating the great losses to French silver, one tends to lay the blame at the feet of Louis XIV. However, less well known is the fact that in 1759, at the time of the Seven Years' War (and for the very same reasons that had constrained his great-grandfather), Louis XV sent off to the Mint no less than seven silver-gilt surtouts¹¹² – including the one that had belonged to his father, le duc de Bourgogne – not to mention the surtout made for him in white silver by Besnier when he was a child.¹¹³ Such irreparable losses to royal French silver bring to mind these sobering lines from Shakespeare that so aptly express the ephemeral nature of all worldly things¹¹⁴

Time's glory is to calm contending kings [...]
To ruinate proud buildings with thy hours,
And smear with dust their glittering golden towers.

102 AN O1 3309, f249r–49v.

103 A surtout of silvered bronze from this same period was sold in the sale of furniture of the château de Villarceaux, Val d'Oise, on 8 June 1975, lot 38 bis. Pierre Verlet, *Les bronzes dorés français du XVIIIe siècle*, Éditions Picard, Paris 1986, p142, no181.

104 Gilt-bronze surtout, 1700–10, with later marble plaques, height 57.8cm (22 $\frac{3}{4}$ in), Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art, inv 1971-78.

105 As Gérard Mabilie noted, 'Il conviendrait aussi d'évoquer le destin mystérieux de l'immense répertoire de modèles que constituaient les fonds des ateliers des grands orfèvres du Louvre: quand furent-ils dispersés? En quelles mains tombèrent-ils? Autant de questions jusqu'à présent sans réponse.' Mabilie (as note 17) p265, no34.

106 Philipp Lorenz Wirth, comte de Daun, of the important Luxembourg family whose arms are

reproduced in Jean-Claude Loutsch, *Armorial du pays de Luxembourg*, Luxembourg 1974, pp314–15. (My thanks to Philippe Palasi for kindly furnishing this information.)

107 *Mercur de France*, mai 1726, pp990–93.

108 Attributed to Claude II Ballin, project for a *surtout de table* made for the Russian Court (hallmarked 1727–28), pen and ink, 59x75cm, Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris, inv 9625.

109 Illustrated in Mabilie

(as note 17), p64.

110 The explanation for such a stylistic difference is likely that Pineau had left for Russia in the entourage of Peter the Great in 1716 and was probably still there at the time he made this rendering. Certain biographers place his return to Paris in 1727, others around 1740–41. E. Bénézit (as note 9) vol 10 p949. (My thanks to Michèle Bimbenet-Privat for making this astute observation.)

111 'Nous ne connaissons de ces premiers surtouts que celui représenté sur le portrait de Nicolas Delaunay.' Bimbenet-Privat, (as note 7), vol II p177.

112 AN, O1 3317, ff44v–88.

113 *ibid*, f52, no1552.

114 William Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece* [1594], in *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, Garden City, NY 1936, p1392.



13 Attributed to Claude II Ballin, project for a surtout realised in 1727–28, pen and ink, 59x75cm (23¹/₄x29¹/₂in).
(Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris, inv. 9625. Photo: Laurent Sully Jaulmes, all rights reserved)

Appendix I

Among the supporting evidence regarding the origin of these drawings are certain sheets that are stamped with the seal of the Généralité d'Orléans. One of the drawings is signed 'Bardin' and inscribed 'Concours commencé à la fin de frimaire an 5e' ('Competition begun at the end of December, 1796'). Jean Bardin (1732–1809) was the director of the École de dessin in Orléans and was the correspondent of the Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture.

This group of drawings may well be the same as those described by Pierre Jouvellier in his work published in 1986:

On peut avoir une certaine idée de ce que pouvaient faire nos orfèvres [orléanais] dans ce genre [orfèvrerie religieuse], par les dessins que nous publions. Ils sont extraits d'un ensemble de dessins, généralement peu poussés, d'études plutôt, ou de projets, qui nous a été communiqué par Me Savot, commissaire priseur à Orléans.

Quelques papiers utilisés pour certains dessins, permettent d'attribuer cet ensemble à un orfèvre d'Orléans, vers la fin du XVIIIe siècle. Un dossier de cet ensemble est formé de modèles de dessin et de dessins d'élèves de l'école gratuite de dessin d'Orléans; l'un d'eux porte le nom de Florimond Béchard et la signature de Jean Baudin [*sic* pour Bardin], directeur de l'école. Nous avons pensé que ces feuillets provenaient de l'atelier de Jean-François Béchard, mais nous n'avons pas trouvé trace de Florimond.

(Pierre Jouvellier, *Les orfèvres de la Généralité d'Orléans*, Orléans 1986, p50.) Curiously, although Jouvellier states that a selection of these designs was being published in his book, they are apparently absent. The explanation for this lapsus might be the demise of Jouvellier before the completion of his work that was then edited and published by M^e Louis Savot. M^e Savot kindly informed me that he has no photographs of the drawings sold by him that would have allowed for comparison. (Written communication of 23 February 2005.)

Appendix II

Description of the surtout by Claude Ballin (1726) for the comte de Daun:

Toujours attentifs à saisir tout ce qui peut faire naître l'amour & le goût des Beaux Arts, nous nous faisons un plaisir & un devoir particulier de les célébrer à toutes les occasions qui se présentent. Le sujet qui donne lieu à cet article, a attiré la curiosité des personnes de la plus grande considération de la Cour & de la Ville, qui sont venus

admirer l'Ouvrage de M. Ballin, Premier Orfèvre du Roi, aux Galleries du Louvre, digne héritier des talents du fameux Claude Ballin, son oncle, dont les Ouvrages d'Orfèvrerie, soit pour la composition, soit pour l'exécution, seront toujours estimez comme des Chefs-d'œuvre des plus grands Maîtres.

Il s'agit ici d'un Service de Vaisselle d'argent, du poids

d'environ 2000. marcs, dont on peut dire que le travail surpasse de beaucoup la matière.¹¹⁵

Un grand milieu de table ou Surtout, en fait la principale pièce. C'est une espèce de Temple sur un plan carré-long, à pans coupez, sur lequel tout l'édifice [*sic*] il est élevé. L'ingénieux Artiste a voulu représenter une Fête que donne Comus, Dieu de Festins. Son Simulacre est placé au-dessus d'un Baldaquin qui sert de couronnement à cette riche fabrique. Le Dieu paroît à demi-couché, les bras étendus, dans une attitude, & avec des expressions qui marquent la santé, la joye, & le contentement, & qui semblent inviter aux plaisirs de la table. Ce Baldaquin est élevé sur quatre arcades. Sous les deux plus grandes on voit en Termes les figures de Bacchus & de Cérès, avec leurs Attributs, qui remplissent les deux principales faces des grandes Arcades, sur les bords & le sommet des archivoltes. Ces Attributs distribués avec art enrichissent beaucoup l'Ouvrage, & font une variété admirable. Du milieu des quatre pieds droits qui forment le bas des Arcades, on voit s'élever vers le ceintre, quatre Bacchantes en demi-corps, dont le bas est terminé en manière de console d'un dessein fort agréable. Ces quatre demi-figures, posées sur le repos d'une volute, interrompent les montans, & font un fort bel effet. On a eu grande attention à donner à ces Baccantes des attitudes convenables & extrêmement variées. Elles tiennent les divers instrumens que l'usage fabuleux autorise. Dans toutes ces figures, outre la grâce & la correction du dessein, on y trouve encore cet air d'enjouement & de vivacité qui convient au sujet.

Le milieu au dessous du Baldaquin est occupé par une espèce de Corbeille propre à mettre des Fleurs, des Citrons, des Oranges, & autres Fruits selon la saison. Cette Pièce est posée sur une autre beaucoup plus grande, dont tout le pourtour est enrichi d'ornemens convenables & gracieux.

Le bord est formé par un cordon de baguettes, réunies par des palmes. Cette bordure est interrompue à chaque milieu des quatre faces, par les Armes en relief du Maréchal Comte de Daun, Gouverneur général du Milanais [Milanais], pour qui ce Service a été fait. De ce cordon sortent quatre coquilles couvertes, jonchées de feuilles de Goimont,¹¹⁶ pour servir de Poivrières. Il en sort aussi huit branches des angles, des pans coupez, qui portent chacune leur bassinet pour des bougies.

Au-dessus des coquilles dont on vient de parler, il y a quatre Sucriers d'une forme singulière, & d'une simétrie [*sic*] agréable. Ils sont environnés d'un foyer de cannes de sucre. Sur les flancs & sur les deux bouts, sont posées huit Caraffes de cristal, pour l'huile & le vinaigre, dans des espèces de cuvettes qui embellissent cette riche composition. Elles sont aussi environnées jusques vers leur milieu, de seps [*sic*] de Vigne & de branches d'Olivier, avec des feuilles & du fruit.

Ce magnifique Surtout est accompagné de deux Terrines ovales à ances, avec leurs bassins [c'est à dire doublures] et cuilliers, le tout d'un goût nouveau & d'un travail exquis; de deux Pots à oïlles, de forme ronde, aussi avec leurs bassins & cuilliers. Ces quatre grandes pièces ont chacune leur couvercle ornez d'une manière singulière & ingénieuse; De quatre Caisses à foye gras, d'une invention nouvelle: De quatre Seaux à pans, de grand nombre de Soucoupes, Réchauts, Saucières, Flambeaux, Bassins, Plats & Assietes, de formes & grandeurs différentes, le tout bordé d'un perlé.

M. Ballin travaille actuellement à 32. Corbeilles de différentes formes, grandes, moyennes & petites pour le Dessert, dont la richesse & le goût répondront à la magnificence du Service.¹¹⁷

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Michèle Bimbenet-Privat for the many discussions we had on the subject of early *surtouts de table* and for making numerous suggestions and contributions that greatly improved and enriched the text. I express my deep appreciation to the Fondation Saint-Louis for graciously allowing me to work on the manuscripts that are part of their family archives. I also wish to thank the following colleagues each of whom generously contributed to some

aspect of this project: Vanessa Brett, Martine Beck-Coppola, Yves Carlier, Nicole Cartier, Jean-Marc Chatelain, Ann Eatwell, Philippa Glanville, Sophie Lee, Gérard Mabilie, Gail Meadows, Alain Mérot, Daniel Meyer, Ziane Nadji, Jutta-Annette Page, Philippe Palasi, Bertrand Rondot, Louis Savot, Michel Sénéchal, Sandra Smith and Ubaldo Vitali.

115 In France in the eighteenth century, goldsmiths were required to list the cost of the silver and the charge for the labour separately on each invoice. Traditionally, the cost of the silver was considerably higher than that of the labour and so this comment is of more than passing interest.

116 'Goimont, s.f. Terme de Marine. Varech. Il y en a qui écrivent goémon & gouémon.' *Dictionnaire Trévoux*, 1743-52.

117 *Mercure de France*, mai 1726, pp990-93.



Above
 Tournières (Robert Levrac), *L'orfèvre Delaunay et sa famille*, 1704, detail, oil on wood panel, 56x70cm (22x27½in). (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen, inv. 78.2.1.)



Left
 Sanguine drawing of a *surtout de table*, before 1723. The image 56.2x65cm (22¼x25½in), red chalk on paper 60x77cm (23½x30¼in). (Private collection, Paris. Photo: M. Beck Coppola)

See page 79



*The Yarmouth Collection, oil on canvas, circa 1660–70. (Norwich Castle Museum)
See page 131*

*Opposite page, above
Homer Cup (vine version), Elkington & Co, Birmingham 1844/45,
designed by Benjamin Schlick.
(Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh 1998.15)*

*Opposite page, below
Homer cup, silver, Elkington & Co, Birmingham 1844/45,
designed by Benjamin Schlick.
(Minneapolis Institute of Art, 2003.13)*

See page 5





*Chalice, gold, unmarked, 1632.
(Rosenborg Castle Museum, Copenhagen)
See page 112*



*Beer jug, Thomas Farren, London 1721/22.
(Christie's)
See page 170*

1

Make	Enamel		Silver Sample	
	Number	Colour	Sterling	Germanium
Latham	T2 11 (6216W)	Gold		
	T2 17 (6405W)	Aqua blue		
	T2 31 (6409W)	Emerald green		
	T2 13 (6205W)	Amber		
Professional	PJE 168 (6719)	Light aqua		
	PJE 403 (6700)	Pale turquoise		
	PJE 217 (6704)	Light green		
	PJE 226 (6715)	Mid green		
Soyer	SOJE 17 (633)	Light yellow		
	SOJE 33 (639)	Pale pink lilac		
	SOJE 46 (618)	Green turquoise		
	SOJE 240	Light green turquoise		
	SOJE 612	Rich blue		

Schauer	SJE 93	Violet		
	SJE 146	Dark violet		
	SJE 1729	Wine red		
	ST 41	Arabian Blue		
	ST 29	Chartreuse		
Thompson		Smoke		
	T203	Ruby		
KJE	KJE 166A	Deep pink		
	KJE 105A	Ruby red		
Blythe	BJG VJO (3067)	Charcoal		
	BJG C1 (139)	Medium Flux		
Special Purchase	W1 411	Yellow		
	W8 04	Brown		

2

Make	Enamel		Silver Sample	
	Number	Colour	Sterling	Germanium
Soyer	SOJE605	Dark sea blue		
	SOJE36	Black		
	SOJE718	Moss green		
	SOJE193	Sap green		
	SOJE	Green		
	SOJE726	Turquoise		
	SOJE254	Mid turquoise		
	SOJE76	Bright yellow		
	SOJE701	White		
Latham	C110	Signal red		
	LJE066143	Ochre brown		



3

1 Above, left and right: Comparison of transparent enamels on traditional Sterling and germanium silver.
 2 Far left: Comparison of opaque enamels on traditional Sterling and germanium silver.
 3 Left: The effect of prolonged firing of enamel on germanium silver.

See page 161



Stanley Hill, from a sketch book of circa 1933;
 copy of illustrations to Owen Jones, The Grammar of Ornament
 'Ornament of Savage Tribes'.
 See page 151



*Three stages in the design of a pair of candelabra, Chris Knight, 2005.
Computer-aided design, model in aluminium and copper, the finished product in silver.
See page 160*





*Diana and Stag Trinkspiel, parcel-gilt with translucent lacquers, Joachim Fries, Augsburg circa 1610–20. Height 24.3cm (13in).
(Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)
See page 105*

Recent acquisitions and installations

German silver in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

TRACEY ALBAINY



1 View of the Hanoverian silver installation at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
(Photo: the author)

The European silver collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston comprises nearly 2,000 pieces, dating from the sixth to the late twentieth centuries and representing an enormous variety of forms, styles and centres of manufacture.¹ The strengths in English and French silver are well known. There are, however, remarkable holdings in other areas, due in large part to the generosity of private collectors who have either given works of art or else established endowments for art acquisitions. Beginning with the 1889 bequest of Mrs Turner Sargent, the Museum of Fine Arts has acquired more than 60 pieces of German silver, ranging from an early medieval silver fibula to historicist works of the nineteenth century.

The collection of German decorative arts of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and in particular furniture, glass, porcelain, and silver, has grown dramatically in recent years through gift, purchase and loan. Two major acquisitions of south German silver in 2004 and the opening of an installation of Hanoverian silver in early 2005 transformed the holdings and directed attention to this little-known facet of the Museum's silver collection.

In September 2004, the Museum acquired an extraordinary example of late Renaissance goldsmith's work from Augsburg, a *Trinkspiel* (drinking game) representing the goddess Diana on a rampant stag.² [2 & p104] In this dynamic composition, the silver-gilt stag, luxuriously dressed in a silver caparison, bounds forward, lifting almost completely off the base. Diana, equipped for the hunt with a bow and quiver, rides sidesaddle on its back, grasping its neck to maintain her balance. Hooked to her left wrist are chain leashes for her two hunting dogs, poised at her side. Below, a minia-

1 As of 1 July 2005, the complete silver holdings of the Museum of Fine Arts, except for coins and medals, are accessible on the Museum's website, www.mfa.org. All records are currently undergoing revision.

2 Museum purchase with funds donated anonymously and the William Francis Warden Fund, Frank B. Bemis Fund, Mary S. and Edward J. Holmes Fund, a gift from the Estate of Evelyn E. Bromley and by exchange from the Bequest of William A. Coolidge, acc

no2004.568. There is a large body of literature on the Diana and Stag *Trinkspiele*; see especially Helmut Selig, *Die Kunst der Augsburger Goldschmiede 1529-1828*, Munich 1980, vol 1 pp86-89; Lorenz Seelig, 'Die Gruppe der Diana auf dem Hirsch in der Walters Art Gallery', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol 49/50 1991/92, pp107-18; and Seelig, *Silber und Gold, Augsburger Goldschmiedekunst für die Höfe Europas*, exhib cat, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich 1994, pp154-59.



2 (and colour illustration on p104) *Diana and Stag Trinkspiel*, parcel-gilt with translucent lacquers, Joachim Fries, Augsburg circa 1610–20. Height 24.3cm (13in). (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

ture hunting scene unfolds on the base. A silver-gilt rabbit sprints forward, followed closely by dogs and a galloping horse, now missing its rider. Around them, the base teems with lizards, beetles, and frogs, all painted with brightly coloured translucent lacquers.

This cast of creatures first appeared in north Italian bronze workshops in the fifteenth century, but quickly spread to other centres and media as an expression of Renaissance innovation. At first, south German goldsmiths adapted the small animal bronzes to their own figurative works in precious metals, such as drinking vessels, but by the end of the sixteenth century restricted their use to the decoration of bases and supports, as here. In this group, they assume a symbolic role. Together with the diminutive rabbit hunt, the creatures signify the natural world and mortality, sharply contrasted in scale to the majesty of the celestial sphere occupied by Diana and her attendants.³

Elaborate drinking vessels like this one were a specialty of goldsmiths in late Renaissance and Baroque Augsburg and rank among their greatest artistic and technical achievements. Bearing the mark of goldsmith Joachim Fries (circa 1579–1620; master in 1610), this ‘Diana and Stag’ *Trinkspiel* belongs to a distinguished group comprising more than 25 examples, all produced in Augsburg between the mid-1590s and 1620 and displaying only minor variations from each other. (Many were later embellished with gems and other additions in the nineteenth century, giving the impression of greater variety than existed initially.) The earliest examples can be traced to Elias Zorer and Matthäus Wallbaum, who created what are perhaps the first silver versions by 1600 after a model provided by an Augsburg sculptor. Joachim Fries and Jakob I Miller made their own interpretations in the 1610s. All or most of these later versions may be associated with the celebrations surrounding the coronation of the Holy Roman Emperor Matthias in Frankfurt in 1612. Documentary evidence for another version in Gotha suggests that German nobles participating in the equestrian tournament received these *Trinkspiele* as prizes.⁴ Until 2004, the Boston *Trinkspiel* descended in the family of the princes Reuss in Thuringia, who had presumably received it at the imperial coronation nearly 400 years earlier.

Despite their outstanding artistic merit and imperial associations, these *Trinkspiele* were still drinking vessels, albeit highly impractical ones. Many contained a spring movement, supplied by a specialist craftsman working in collaboration with the goldsmith. The Boston *Trinkspiel* housed in its high octagonal base a mechanism that enabled it to move up to 2.6m (8ft 6in) across the banquet table when fully wound.⁵ Once it came to a standstill, the diner closest to it drank the wine from the body of the stag or the largest dog. Both the stag and mastiff were cast hollow and gilded on the interior to hold the wine; ornamental collars disguise the join at their necks. The stag is attached to the base only by means of two silver pegs extending downward from its rear hooves and could be easily lifted off once the figure of Diana was removed. The mastiff, however, is bolted to the base. For obvious reasons, these *Trinkspiele* quickly moved from the *Silberkammer* to the *Kunstkammer*, as they came to be admired as paradigms of technical and artistic virtuosity rather than amusements for the courtly table.

In 2004, the Museum of Fine Arts also acquired a superb silver and silver-gilt crosier made in 1706 for Abbot Gerhard (r 1696–1714) of St Mang in Füssen, Bavaria.⁶ [3] Resembling a shepherd’s crook,

3 Göran Axel-Nilsson proposed this interpretation in an article on another group of the same model in Göteborg; see Axel-Nilsson, ‘Diana auf dem Hirsch’, Röhsska Konstslöjdmuseet Göteborg, 1950, p47.

4 See Selig, (as note 2), p88.

5 I am grateful to Rolf Lang, a private restorer in Dresden and specialist in antique clockworks, who provided this information based on his examination of the original movement. The movement survives, though is no longer operational.

6 Museum purchase with funds donated anonymously and the William Francis Warden Fund, Frank B. Bemis Fund, Mary S. and Edward J.

Holmes Fund, a gift from the Estate of Evelyn E. Bromley and by exchange from the Bequest of William A. Coolidge, acc no2004.569.

7 Among them are a late Gothic Magnusstab, circa 1500, in the treasury of St Martin’s Cathedral, Wangen, and a parcel-gilt baroque crosier, circa 1680, in the Cathedral in Zwiefalten (see Magnus Drache, Bär, und Pilgerstab, exhib cat, Museum der Stadt Füssen, 2000, pp48–49 and 56–57).

8 Marc Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, Frankfurt 1923, vol 2, pp179–80, nos 2641–42. This crosier is also cited as ‘Kempten work’ in *Unserer Väter Werke*, exhib cat, Altertumsverein, Munich 1876, p257, no2089.

croriers were (as they still are) symbols of office for bishops and abbots and constituted a major category of ecclesiastical silver beginning in the late Middle Ages. Silver croriers (*Magnusstaves*) used by the abbots of St Mang survive from the late fifteenth to eighteenth centuries.⁷ The crorier now in Boston is one of the most important and beautiful to survive from the Baroque period.

The crook is richly decorated with curling acanthus leaves and blossoms, loosely inspired by Gothic crockets, but reinterpreted with a startling naturalism. At centre stands a gilded figure of St Mang (or Magnus), holding the Magnus cross and slaying a dragon at his feet. Below, the knob bears three oval cartouches, framed by acanthus and palm fronds and engraved with the abbey's coat of arms, the arms of Abbot Gerhard, and a dedication from the Benedictine monks at the abbey: 'En Pignus Amoris / Gerardo a fillis / terque qvatera ve favsta / nata litia festa anaVo / Voto exoptantibVo oblatVM'. Concealed in the inscription are Roman numerals totaling 1706, the date of the crorier's manufacture. The staff, assembled from four hollow tubular sections, originally stored splinters of the saint's wooden staff, the abbey's holy relic.

The mark struck on the crorier and its staff (a double-headed eagle and K within a shield) is traditionally associated with the south German city of Kempten, though no town mark is recorded.⁸ Located near Füssen, Kempten had a church dedicated to St Mang, whose miraculous feats included driving a plague of snakes from the deserted city and establishing its parish. Relatively little is known about the life of St Mang, a Benedictine monk who evangelised in the region of Algäu in southern Germany in the eighth century. His *Vita* contains other extraordinary stories of combating demons in the guise of serpents and dragons. At Füssen he expelled a dragon from the lands he needed for an abbey using his cross and staff. The Benedictine abbey erected there during the first half of the ninth century stands on the site of a cell and oratory he built and where he died around 750.

The cult of St Mang flourished in southern Germany during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The abbey was not only a spiritual centre, but also the focus of government and culture in the area. Shortly after his election as abbot in 1696, Gerhard Oberleitner began the transformation of the medieval building into an imposing Baroque palace and acquired splendid new ecclesiastical ornaments for the abbey and church, including large silver lamps and a monstrance. The crorier illustrates the magnificence of the early eighteenth-century silver commissions, all *tours de force* of south German goldsmiths' work.

Its remarkable state of preservation owes largely to its limited period of use. In 1803, by the terms of a treaty negotiated between the Holy Roman Empire and Napoleon Bonaparte, the ecclesiastical state of Bavaria was secularised and the abbey of St Mang and other former church properties in the region transferred to the princely house of Oettingen-Wallerstein. The church's treasury and library were moved to Schloss Wallerstein and, later, to Schloss Harburg, also in Bavaria, where the crorier remained until recently.

Shortly after the acquisition of the *Trinkspiel* and crorier, silver from another German region made news in Boston. In March, the Museum unveiled a new installation of Hanoverian royal silver dating between 1650 and 1830.[1] On view are more than 60 pieces, lent by a private collector and bearing the marks of Hamburg, Hanover,



3 Crozier, parcel-gilt, maker's mark CH within a shield, probably Kempten, dated 1706. Height (with staff) in 204cm (80 3/4 in). (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



4 Livery pot, parcel-gilt, Friedrich Kettwyck, Hamburg circa 1650. Height 69.2cm (27 1/4 in). (Private collection)



5 Sauceboat, silver, Balthasar Friedrich Behrens, Hanover 1744. Width 19.5cm (9in). (Private collection)



6 Beaker, parcel-gilt, maker's mark AHD within a shield, Hanover circa 1725. Height 14.9cm (5⁷/₁₆in).



Right: Detail of the engraved arms of George I as Elector of Hanover and the monogram GLC [Georg Ludwig Churfurst]. (Private collection)

9 See Tracey Albainy, 'Hanoverian Royal Plate in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston', *The Silver Society Journal*, vol 14 2002, pp14-17.

10 The original copy of the 1747 inventory resides in the Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hanover (Dep 103, XXI, N 682); a manuscript copy of an English translation, written in 1914, is in the British Library (BL Add.42,227). The inventory itemises the contents of six lettered services, A to F. Service E was the largest with 1,132 pieces for the table and buffet and a total weight of more than 3,885 Marks. According to Friedrich August Bartels, the Grand Court Commissary at Hanover and author of the inventory, Service E was the so-called Second Service of the 1728 inventory, augmented by orders placed in the 1720s (BL Add.42,227, p169). The inventory marks engraved on some items in this service begin with 'S. 2' rather than 'S. E'.

11 For the mark AHD within a shield, see Wolfgang Scheffler, *Goldschmiede Niedersachsens: Daten, Werke, Zeichen*. Berlin 1965, vol 2, p757, no1429a. Scheffler tentatively associated this mark with Andreas Hornung (circa 1661-1701). However, the items bearing this mark date after Hornung's lifetime.

12 In his notes to the 1747 inventory, Friedrich August Bartels itemised the additional items

ordered by George I in 1724 and 1725 and made 'partly from Old Silver taken from the Silver Chamber' (see BL Add.42,227, pp169-72).

13 Behrens received 12 saucers from Service F 'for the purpose of working and making into new sauceboats' on 18 January 1744, and delivered the 12 sauceboats eight months later (BL Add.42,227, pp254-55). The six sauceboats on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts are engraved with inventory marks 'S.E' for Service E and the numbers 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, and 11.

14 The second goldsmith's mark, HPM within a dotted circle, is not recorded in Scheffler (as note 11).

15 See BL Add.42,227, p17 (under Service C: '16 Dishes of the 3rd sort, from No. 1 to 16' weighing a total of 94 Marks, 15 Lots).

16 Hanover, formerly an electorate, was declared a kingdom at the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

17 The 1747 silver inventory lists three pairs of silver kettle drums made in Celle, Osnabrück, and Hanover, as well as 15 trumpets and other musical instruments (BL Add.42,227, p143).

18 Information on the fourth pair of drums kindly provided by John Ward, Sotheby's, New York. The drums will be offered in the sale of property of the Royal House of Hanover, to be held at Schloss Marienburg, Nordstemmen, October 2005.

Celle, and Osnabrück. The gallery integrates them with the important group of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Hanoverian silver furniture and buffet plate already in the Museum's collection: a pair of wall sconces made in Hamburg by Friedrich Kettwyck [or Kettwich] in the 1660s; a monumental fountain and cistern marked by David Willaume I, 1708/09, which was acquired by the future George II sometime before 1727; and a cast silver chandelier by Balthasar Friedrich Behrens for the Leineschloss, in Hanover, in 1736/37.⁹

The long-term loan comprises principally tablewares dating to the first half of the eighteenth century and forming part of a large service identified in the 1747 Hanoverian silver inventory as Service E.¹⁰ The plates, serving dishes, candlesticks, sauceboats, octagonal salts, and parcel-gilt beakers [6] bear the marks of four different makers in Hanover: Hermann Sander (master by 1691), Conrad Hermann Mundt (active 1709-28), Balthasar Friedrich Behrens (1701-60), and another goldsmith not yet identified.¹¹ Most pieces are engraved with the arms of George I as Elector of Hanover, encircled with a palm wreath and the initials G.L.C. [Georg Ludwig Churfurst].

Even after his accession to the British throne in 1714, George I apparently favoured this coat of arms for silver he ordered in Hanover. In 1724 and 1725, he placed substantial orders for dinner plates, salts, candlesticks, beakers and utensils weighing more than 1,037 Marks, to augment Service E.¹² These additions bear the electoral arms, ostensibly to indicate their intended use in Hanover. By contrast, the plate added by George II after 1727 has the royal arms. Included in this group are three octagonal lidded serving dishes and six double-lipped sauceboats [5] marked by Balthasar Friedrich Behrens. The sauceboats, though an earlier eighteenth-century form, can be positively identified as part of a set of twelve delivered by Behrens on 16 September 1744.¹³

Other services are represented by eight silver-gilt plates of 1722/23, marked by Celle goldsmith Lewin Dedeker (1660-1733) and the rims engraved with the Prince of Wales's badge, motto and initials GP [Georgius Princeps] and four large serving dishes 36.2cm (14¹/₄in) diameter, made by Johann Wilhelm Voigt I (died 1755) and another Osnabrück goldsmith.¹⁴ [7] The plain, broad border of each serving dish bears the arms of Ernest Augustus, the youngest broth-



7 Large serving dish, silver, Johann Wilhelm Voigt I, Osnabrück circa 1715. Diameter 36.2cm (14 $\frac{1}{4}$ in). (Private collection)



8 One of a pair of kettledrums, silver and vellum, Jacob Petersen, Hanover 1830. Diameter 58.4 cm (23in). (Private collection)

er of George I (1674–1728) as Duke of York, who was Prince Bishop of Osnabrück from 1715. After his death, the Osnabrück silver was distributed between Services A, B, and C, as needed to complete those services and depending on their carat weight. The large serving dishes are engraved underneath with a capital letter C, to identify them as part of that service.¹⁵

Turning to other categories of plate, the installation also features four exceptionally rare and important livery pots, Friedrich Kettwyh [or Kettwich] (active 1643–70) with the Hamburg hallmark of 1642–58.^[4] Engraved on each are the arms of Christian Ludwig, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneberg (1622–65), who may have ordered them to mark his succession to the title Duke of Celle in 1648. His nephew, the future George I, inherited the livery pots upon the death of his father in 1698. Though the auricular ornament on the gilded handle and spout was outmoded by that time, the pots remained in the family's possession in recognition of their exceptional quality and impressive scale. Having a combined weight of nearly 31,100g (1,000oz), they are potent reminders of the conspicuous luxury of the silver buffet in seventeenth-century Europe.

The latest pieces displayed, and unquestionably the most popular, are two Regency kettledrums of circa 1830, marked by Jacob Petersen (1790/91–1839).^[8] Applied on each drum are the royal arms above the cipher of William IV, the last monarch to rule jointly Hanover and the United Kingdom.¹⁶ Flanking the monogram are banners and battle honours for Peninsula, Garzia Hernandez and Waterloo, three campaigns of the Napoleonic wars. The tension screws for the vellum top terminate in military trophies, composed of helmets, cuirasses, trumpets, swords, and muskets. Cast acanthus leaves form the three feet of each drum, linked by heavy swags of berried laurel.

Usually made of brass, tympani were traditionally associated with military bands and were used to mark time and signal attack during campaigns, as well as to

denote the pomp and solemnity of state occasions. Although a range of silver kettledrums is recorded in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century royal inventories in Hanover and England, only eight, including this pair, are known to survive.¹⁷ In May 1831 William IV presented another pair of this model to the Second Life Guards, a senior regiment in the British army, (in the collection of the Life Guards at the Household Cavalry Museum, Windsor). An earlier pair, marked by London silversmiths Peter, Ann & William Bateman, was given by George III to the Household Cavalry in 1804 and also remains in the collection of its original recipients. A fourth pair, marked by the Hanoverian goldsmith Frantz Peter Bunsen and bearing the applied arms of George III, was made in 1779 using silver obtained by melting two seventeenth-century Celle kettledrums.¹⁸

Research on the Hanoverian silver is in preliminary stages. My attempts to reconcile inventory numbers, marks, and the 1747 inventory led to some unexpected conclusions and raised more questions than I have been able to answer. I anticipate that some of the information given here will undergo revision over the next several years. German silver and other works of art will be a focus of curatorial activities, especially as the collection continues to grow in significant ways. German silver will certainly occupy a more prominent role in the new European decorative arts galleries tentatively scheduled to open in 2010. In the interim, the virtuosity and creativity of German goldsmiths is aptly demonstrated by the works on display.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank all those who generously shared information with me in the course of my research: in alphabetical order, Susanne Gansicke, Philippa Glanville, Gale Glynn, Christopher Hartop, Diane Hennessy-Walsh, Ian Irving, Rolf Lang, Alexander Rudigier, Gertrud Rudigier-Rückert, Lorenz Seelig, and Kevin Tierney.

People: Lionel Crichton and a Library acquisition

PHILIPPA GLANVILLE



Lionel Crichton (1865–1938) is an intriguing figure in the history of dealing and collecting antique silver. Outstanding objects passed through his hands; he is best known for his selling exhibition in 1924–25 of the Duke of Cumberland's silver, ie the Hanover royal silver. His premises in Bond Street and in New York attracted distinguished clients such as the Farrer brothers, Lord Harcourt, the Earl of Rosebery, the Prince of Wales, Duveen and Armour of Chicago. Paul Storr tableware and earlier silver bought by James Neale of Yale is now in the Yale University Museum and Crichton's American silver, on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum in the 1930s, was sold to Henry Flint and is now at Historic Deerfield.

Author of two silver catalogues in the 1890s, one of St Mary Abbot's, round the corner from his first shop at 29 Kensington Church Street, the other the chapel plate of nearby Kensington Palace, dedicated respectively to Princess Louise and to the Duchess of York (later Queen Mary), Crichton had three royal appointments; Queen Mary's diary records several visits in 1923–25. He bequeathed the still-life paintings of silver hanging in the Whiteley silver galleries to the V&A, and others to the Goldsmiths' Company. However, he remained personally modest, no photograph has been identified and almost no business records have survived other than five scrapbooks of press cuttings recorded at Sotheby's by John Culme in his *Directory* entry for Crichton's.

Happily new information has come from two sources. An engraver's record book 'Book No 2', was given by Cecil Humphrey-Smith FSA to the Society of Antiquaries in 2004. From Crichton's Bond Street business, with annotated engravings, for the years 1914–29 (with one stray of 1944) this has a valuable index of clients' names and a few prints of 'Old Work' such as a tazza of 1712.

Another new factor is a memoir of Lionel's brother P.A.S. Phillips, author of the unparalleled study of Paul de Lamerie. This affectionate and personal account by John Abecasis Phillips,¹ is based on family papers, memories, and research at the V&A, BADA and Goldsmiths' Hall. Crichton is not the main focus; although the brothers worked together as antique dealers, Philip retired from the antique silver business in 1919.

Lionel Crichton was the eldest son of Abraham and Sarah Solomons, née Phillips. He probably took the name Crichton because there were other Phillips already active in the London antique trade. He was the leading British dealer in antique silver, with a retail business too; the Museum of the City of New York holds several Crichton-marked objects. He merits closer attention, since he was an important influence on major collectors. A database of objects now in Canadian, American and English collections which he is known to have sold would be a first step.

1 J.A. Phillips, *Glimpses of my Grandfather Philip A.S. Phillips Antiquarian Collector and Scholar*, Abecasis Verlag Bayreuth and Okayana, 2005.



1-5 (opposite and this page) Examples of new and old heraldic engraving in a scrapbook from Crichton's, circa 1914-29

Museum acquisition

The Victoria and Albert Museum has added to its collection of heraldic engravings and metalwork designs with the acquisition of an intriguing album: a vellum-bound account book into which has been pasted a large number of prints, pulls from metalwork and some drawings. The initials WH are incised into the cover. VAM E.3-2003

The early part of the album consists of a sequence of portraits and landscapes, stuck on the right-hand pages. Around and opposite these have been added engravings of coats of arms, simple crests, monograms, pulls from metalwork and various miscellaneous prints (a sheet of calligraphy, trade cards, animals, shipping, topography, etc). At pages 34-35 this arrangement breaks down and the armorial material bursts across a double-page spread and continues across every opening for the remainder of the filled front pages.

The earliest dated print is 1699 and the latest 1736, although there are a number of earlier seventeenth-century items and many more rococo cartouches from the 1740s and '50s. The most important drawings are indi-

vidual metalwork designs for two ewers and a lidded tankard, all on left-hand pages near the front. The tankard is of a German form not normally made in London. Of these designs, one ewer is signed and dated in ink WH 1709, the initials incised on the cover. English metalwork design drawings of this period are extremely rare.

The importance of this volume lies in the totality of its contents. It provides insights into the use of printed design sources and methods used by engravers of goldsmiths' work to record their output for future reference. This volume can add to public understanding of the interaction between fine art and design, between printmaking and the decorative arts, and between printmaking and engraving on objects.

We are grateful to Liz Miller (V&A) for allowing us to quote from a press release on this album.

See also note 8 of Gale Glynn's article on p66 of this journal.

Protestant communion plate in Germany

JOHANN MICHAEL FRITZ

31 October 1517 is a very important date, not only for the history of Christianity but also for the history of the world. On that day Martin Luther fixed his famous 95 theses on the door of the church at Wittenberg in Saxony. This date was the beginning of the so-called 'Reformation' and the basis of the different Protestant churches which were established later, such as the Calvinists. One of the main demands of the Reformation was the celebration of the Lord's supper in both kinds, with bread and wine, for the laity. The famous woodcut of *The Last Supper* made by Albrecht Dürer in Nuremberg in 1523 intentionally shows on the table the chalice and a large flagon, perhaps of pewter or silver, both vessels for the wine.

What do we know about Protestant church plate for the communion in Germany? The magisterial and comprehensive book by Father Joseph Braun on Christian altar plate¹ mentions and illustrates only very few pieces of Protestant church plate. The book deals principally with Catholic altar plate and therefore it is as if vessels for the different Protestant churches, especially the Lutherans and the Calvinists, did not exist at all. But the reality and the first surprise is that there are preserved and still used today in our Protestant churches many thousands of pieces, a great many of highly theological, artistic and historical value, and this in spite of the Thirty Years War (1618–48) and the Second World War. My new book² illustrates, for the first time, a selection of the most important and interesting pieces – more than 450 items – from the Middle Ages to the end of the old empire.

But could it really be that there is Medieval silver in Protestant churches? Of course it would be impossible in England, where nearly all church silver was melted down, but it is usual in Germany. The Lutheran church has not totally broken with the Catholic tradition, but sees herself as a continuation. The Lutherans,

like the Anglicans in England, used the Medieval churches for their services but in Germany there was no so-called 'stripping of the altars' (to quote Eamon Duffy).³ In the Lutheran churches of Germany we possess marvellous Medieval altarpieces – remember, for example, the churches of Nuremberg which were not despoiled as the churches of the radical Calvinists were, especially in South Germany. In many churches up to four Medieval chalices are preserved and used to this day [7] and I can therefore say that the majority of Medieval chalices in Germany have been preserved in Lutheran churches. I estimate that more than 2,000 have survived. Last summer we were able to display 60 Medieval chalices from east Germany in the Museum of Western Art at Tokyo.

Naturally there are no Medieval chalices in Calvinist churches; the break with tradition was radical and the theologians looked deliberately for new forms. Often beakers were made of the material of Medieval chalices which had been melted down, as their inscriptions record. Two small silver beakers are the oldest for the Calvinian service, made in 1576 in the north of Germany. The most radical reforms were introduced by Ulrich Zwingli in Switzerland, who required only beakers of wood, which were used in Zurich until the nineteenth century.

Most of Germany follows the Lutheran tradition of the Reformation. Therefore most of the vessels – and I must say that they are also artistically the most important – were destined for the Lutheran service. For the Protestant communion four different objects were needed: chalice, paten, flagon and (for the Lutherans) pyxes – or for the Calvinists bowls and plates. You can see in a painting from 1568 the small paten, a flagon and a chalice with high bowl. A 'fistula' or small tube is used to drink through.[2] Most Lutheran chalices, for example in Saxony, the centre of the Reformation, follow the forms





1 (opposite page) Detail of the engraving depicting the Last Supper, on a flagon, Carsten Mundt I, Hamburg 1642. (St Mary's church, Flensburg. Photo: Volker H. Kaiser)

2 (left) The Lord's Supper, by Jesse Herlin and Valentin Salomon, Nördlingen 1568. (Stadtmuseum, Nördlingen)

3 (below and colour illustration on p100) Chalice, gold, unmarked, 1632. (Rosenborg Castle Museum, Copenhagen)



Do oft ir von diem Brot Eßent vmd von diem Kelch Tricker solt ir des Heuen Todt
erkunden biß das er kumpt. Welcher nun vnuürdta von diem Brot Trick. oder vnuürdta

of their late Gothic predecessors. That means they were made in a very conservative manner. The traditional Medieval form was still used in 1632 for a gold chalice decorated with white and black enamel, part of the most precious set to have survived, made for the sister of Christian IV of Denmark, the Duchess of Holstein, today in Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen.[3] The death's head is related theologically to the head of Adam. Another very precious gold and enamelled set from 1720, formerly in Eisenach, was lost after the War. In my opinion it was a work from the famous workshop of the brothers Dinglinger in Dresden.

Pyxes are often in the traditional small Medieval form, but sometimes they are larger. A speciality of Augsburg were big pyxes with complicated theological programmes and scenes from the Old and New Testaments – really marvellous Baroque works which were made to rival the big Catholic monstrances. Traditional forms were used for all Lutheran plate, especially in Saxony, but in two towns in the south we find entirely new forms: covered beakers and bowls for bread, which were nonetheless made in the style of the early Renaissance. A pair of bowls, made in Augsburg in 1536, are well known, but a set of beakers and bowls in the Münster at Basel,

1 Joseph Braun, *Das Christliche Altargerät*, Munich 1932.

2 J.M. Fritz, *Das evangelische Abendmahlsgesetz in Deutschland, Vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches*, Leipzig 2004.

3 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, Yale University Press, 1992.



4 Two bowls and two covered beakers, unmarked, perhaps Basel circa 1530–40. (Basel Münster. Photo: Sara Barth, Basel)



5 Flagon, unmarked, second half of the thirteenth century, called the 'St Elizabeth' flagon. (Fürstliches Schlossmuseum, Braunfels. Photo: Foto Marburg)

made about 1530, are a discovery illustrated here for the first time.[4]

Flagons are the most interesting form artistically and, in the words of James Gilchrist⁴ 'the most impressive pieces' of Protestant church plate. In the Catholic church they were unnecessary since only small cruets were used for wine and water, but now big flagons for wine were required for the Eucharist. The goldsmiths used different forms, borrowed from the secular silver of their time, especially of the sixteenth century. Therefore we have different forms, for example, in Lübeck, Leipzig or Dresden. One flagon is shown in the previously mentioned woodcut by Dürer. But it was not always possible to create new liturgical objects immediately and it is very common for secular vessels to be given for liturgical use in the Protestant church, especially flagons. In German church treasuries are preserved many precious examples, mostly secular flagons of the Renaissance, including two flagons made by Roger Flint in London in 1581.⁵ A little secular flagon in the form of a tankard was given for liturgical service in 1540 and is therefore the oldest Protestant flagon.⁶ The flagon illustrated,[5] an extraordinary work of the mid-thirteenth century, the so-called flagon of St Elizabeth, who died in 1231. It became a Protestant liturgical vessel in 1803. Since the second half of the sixteenth century many flagons were made specifically for the service, but always in different regional forms, such as those from Küstrin, Regensburg, Dresden and Leipzig. However, some churches in Augsburg [6] and in south Germany possess eight or ten flagons of the same type. Many others are decorated with fine engraving, such as one from Hamburg, depicting the Last Supper.[1]

Protestant church plate offers another surprise. Although there was no single capital in the old Reich with a lot of leading goldsmiths, like London in England, we possess two cities which were famous for their goldsmiths: Augsburg and Nuremberg. The finest works of liturgical plate were made at Augsburg, not only for the Catholics but also for the Protestants, mainly in the town itself. Many pieces were exported all over the Reich too. More typically, German Protestant church plate was made in big and small towns across the country. All pieces since the sixteenth century are hallmarked and bear also the mark of the maker. Some of the towns are well known, like Leipzig, Dresden, Hamburg, Lübeck, Danzig, Berlin and Frankfurt. Smaller towns, like Mühlhausen in Turingia, are less well known. We find many very well known masters, such as Christoph Jamnitzer, in Nuremberg, Johannes Lencker in Augs-

4 James Gilchrist, *Anglican Church Plate*, London 1967, p93.

5 Fritz (as note 2), no187 fig 281. From the church of Brackenheim, today on loan in the

Württembergische Landesmuseum, Stuttgart.

6 Fritz (as note 2), no63 fig 108. Dresden, Kreuzkirche.

7 Fritz (as note 2), no196 fig 404. Menzingen.



6 Six flagons and two chalices with covers, Paul Hübner, Johannes Lencker, Jeremias Sibenbuerger, Augsburg circa 1600–30. (St Anna, Augsburg. Photo: Dietmar Hecke, Scheidegg/Allgäu)

burg or Johann Christian Lieberkühn in Berlin, but a lot of others are totally unknown, although many of them were highly qualified.

Because there were so many centres of production we cannot really speak of typical German Protestant church silver. Indeed, its most typical feature is its diversity. The vessels are not homogenous because there are so many different forms across the empire, especially for flagons. For example flagons in Dresden, Leipzig or Lübeck, and neighbouring Wismar, are quite different – the result of many different local traditions and political situations. In this way Protestant church plate reflects the collection of big and small towns, duchies and counties, that made up what we call the 'Flickenteppich des heiligen römischen Reiches', the patchwork of the Holy Roman Empire. Typical for Protestant church plate is also the fact that almost all pieces bear inscriptions with the names of the donors and tell us touching stories about terrible events, for example, during the Thirty Years War.

I conclude with some words about the danger to the continuing existence of these treasures in our present time. Firstly robbery – as in all ages. Two pieces came back last year which were stolen after the War, one to a church in Schleswig-Holstein. The return of another, formerly in the destroyed Sophienkirche at Dresden, was organised by Anthony Phillips of Christie's. We must also mention growing secularisation, especially in east Germany and the loss of the interest of theologians. For example works of high historical interest were given to the mission in Cameroon during the 1970s, but returned 20 years later.⁷

Summing up this short report, I must explain that nearly all these important liturgical works of German goldsmiths were unknown until recently, because they are hidden in sacristies and only seen during the service. A late Gothic chalice in the treasury in St Michael at Schwäbisch Hall, with the hallmark of Würzburg, was used by the reformer Johannes Brenz for his first Mass under both kinds, in 1526. The cupboard [7] contains four flagons which were made by ancestors of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the famous Protestant theologian well known in England as one of the leading members of the German resistance against the third Reich, who was murdered in 1945. The four late Gothic chalices beneath the flagons are still in use. This continuity is wonderful. German Protestant church plate is preserved, as in England, where it originated – in the churches – and is used there for the Lord's Supper. But the question is: for how long?



7 Cupboard in the sacristy of St Michael at Schwäbisch Hall, late Gothic; the flagons mostly seventeenth and eighteenth century. (Photo: Ulrich Ahrensmeier, Evangelische Landeskirche, Kunstreferat, Hanover)

The text of a talk given to the Society in February 2005. Dr Fritz's book *Das evangelische Abendmahlsgerät in Deutschland*, was published in 2004.

From members' collections



*Porringer, maker's mark
TK a mullet below,
London 1670/71
engraved with the
scratchweight 8=14 and
owners' initials. Height
7.5cm (3in), diameter
11cm, 4³/₈in.
(Private collection)*

Our cover photograph is a seventeenth-century two-handled porringer. It was bought by a member of the Society in the early 1970s from Hugh Jessop.

As newcomers to the subject, he and his wife had no idea how to go about the business of buying silver. They began to view sales at Sotheby's and among the many dealers who were regularly there they noticed Hugh Jessop. He looked, in the words of this professional man, 'upstanding, honest and kindly'. Eventually 'we picked up the courage to ask if we could go and see his stock'. They became regular visitors to the shop at 3 Motcomb Street, where tea was served in 'sometimes cracked' green Woods-ware cups and saucers by Gale

Saunders Davies (now Glynn). Other current members of the Society have equally warm memories of their budding interest being nurtured beside the coal fire of Jessop, who is always described as the epitome of the old-fashioned dealer and someone of whom one never hears ill.

The cup has a wonderful colour and the timeless quality that makes so much silver, from any age, modern. It must be hoped that a younger generation, with money to spare, will be enthused by such objects and so learn that, though at present apparently out of fashion, silver has much to offer in combining good looks with an often exciting past – and you do not need mega-bucks to own it.

News

It has been a busy twelve months since the last issue of *Silver Studies*.

For those interested in English silver there have been notable publications on Parker & Wakelin and Rundell & Bridge (see p171).

Leslie Durbin, one of England's leading silversmiths, died on 24 February 2005. A major exhibition of his work, at Goldsmiths' Hall in 1982, was divided into sections that indicate the breadth of his output: swords and maces; church plate; badges, coins and medals; model animals; and general domestic and presentation pieces. His most famous work was the Sword of Stalingrad, presented in 1943, and he went on to become Britain's best-known silversmith in the 1950s and '60s.

Another loss to us all was Hugh Tait, who died earlier this year. He was a good friend to the Society throughout and following his career at the British Museum, from which he retired in 1994 as Deputy Keeper

in the Dept of Medieval and Later Antiquities. His 3-volume catalogue of the Waddesdeon Bequest (*I The Jewels, II The Silver Plate and III The Curiosities*) was published between 1986 and 1991. His range of publications covered also glass, porcelain, jewellery, clocks and watches.

The annual Jerwood Applied Arts Prize was this year devoted to metalwork and was won by a silversmith. Simone ten Hompel was born in Germany in 1960 but has worked in the UK for many years. The judges commented that 'there is a longevity of value to Simone's work – the more you look at it, the more you discover...'. Very true, and she is also a great communicator of her love of metal. Among other competitors were Frances Brennan, Ane Christensen, David Clarke, Chris Knight (see pp103 and 160), Junko Mori, Hans Stofer and Hiroshi Suzuki.

News of an exciting discovery at the National Archives, Kew, has been widely reported. A five-volume

inventory has been found that was compiled shortly after the death of Sir Robert Walpole in 1744, for a court case relating to his debts of some £40,000. The inventory lists part of his residual estate and includes silver. It has been found among records of lawsuits in the Court of Chancery.

The auction of major house contents includes Easton Neston, in the UK (May) and Schloss Marienburg, Hanover (October).

The latest phase of the redesign of the silver galleries at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the church plate galleries, opens in November 2005. It has been a good year for exhibitions, not just those devoted to silver alone, but others in which silver featured alongside other disciplines (see p171).

London goldsmiths in John Stow's *Survey*

ERIC J.G. SMITH

John Stow's The Survey of London, published in 1598, is a seminal work on the history of London. From some 3,500 people mentioned in the book, the present writer has extracted the names of 59 goldsmiths. This year is the 400th anniversary of Stow's death on 6 April 1605.

C.S. Lewis, in his work on English prose and poetry of the sixteenth century, wrote of 'the great John Stow' (1525–1605):

This 'merry' old man, footing it over England in search of antiquities because he could never learn to ride, sometimes suspected by Government of being insufficiently Protestant, now begging with a basin in the street, now spending £200 a year on his library, holds a very high place in learning.¹

Another literary authority included John Stow among such notable contemporary chroniclers and antiquaries as Ralph Holinshed² and Philemon Holland.³

John Strype (1643–1737), antiquary and historian of the English Church, edited and extended Stow's *Survey* in 1720, to which in 1754 an account of Stow's life was added.⁴ However our present knowledge of the *Survey* and biographical details of Stow's life and his other literary works, are to be found in the editions of Charles Lethbridge Kingsford⁵ and H.B. Wheatley.⁶ Kingsford began:

John Stow, or Stowe (he spelt his name indifferently in either way), the first painful searcher into the reverend antiquities of London, was himself most fittingly a citizen of long descent. His grandfather, Thomas Stow, citizen and Tallow-Chandler, had died about the end of March 1527, nearly two years after the birth of his famous grandson ... [He was] a man of some substance, and could leave his son and namesake twenty pounds in stuff of household and £6 13s 4d in plate. Thomas Stow, the younger, followed his father's trade; he inherited the great melting-pan with all the instruments belonging thereto, and supplied St Michael's Church (Cornhill) with lamp-oil and candles; his widow at her death left money to the Company of Tallow-Chandlers to follow his corpse. By his wife Elizabeth, he had seven children, of whom the eldest was the antiquary ... born in the summer of 1525.

So far as it is possible to establish, John Stow was born and spent his childhood years at his father Thomas's house in Throgmorton Street, within the Broad Street Ward.⁷ We know from Stow's *Survey* that the family house had a reasonable-sized garden, part of which was seized by the tyrannical Thomas Cromwell.⁸ It is perhaps surprising, allowing for Stow's literary output, that we have no record of his schooling; both Kingsford and Wheatley considered Stow was self-educated.⁹ Thomas Stow was quite prosperous and it may have been that he employed a tutor for his son.

Even more surprising, John Stow did not follow into his father and grandfather's trade but served, probably the usual seven-year apprenticeship, with the master tailor John Bulley. On 25 November 1547 he was granted his freedom by the Merchant Taylors'



1 Monument to John Stow in St Andrew Undershaft, anonymous engraving, 1792. The figure was replaced in 1908. (Guildhall Museum & Art Gallery)

1 C.S. Lewis, *Poetry and Prose in the Sixteenth Century*, repr 1990, p298.

2 R. Holinshed, *The Chronicles of England, Scotland and Irelande*, 1577, revised and expanded by John Stow in 1585. It was used by William Shakespeare as a source for his plays.

3 William Camden (1551–1623), *Britannia sive florentissimorum regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae Chorographica*, was translated by P. Holland (1552–1637). Both in its original Latin and in Holland's translation (six editions from 1610) was a proven source book for poets.

4 John Strype's revised and extended edition of Stow's

Survey, with an addition of the chronicler's life, was followed by a much later edition in 1754, that was the source for all subsequent publications of the *Survey*.

5 C.L. Kingsford, *A Survey of London, John Stow 1603*, 2 vols, 1908 with later additions in 1971. The present writer counted the persons listed in vol II of the 1971 edition.

6 H.B. Wheatley, *Introduction to Stow's Survey of London*, 1912, Everyman Library repr 1956 edn.

7 *ibid*, pv.

8 *ibid*, p161, Cromwell, Henry VIII's Lord Protector, circa 1485–1543.

9 Wheatley, p161.

- 10 Wheatley, pvii–viii. 12 *ibid.*, p4.
 11 *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol LV, 1898, p5. 13 Wheatley, p ix.
 Neither Wheatley nor 14 Wheatley, p x.
 Kingsford appear to have
 mentioned Stow's wife
 Elizabeth by name.

Company; he did not become a liveryman, nor did he hold any other office within the Company.

Stow set himself up as a tailor in a house '... by the well within Aldgate, between Leadenhall and Fenchurch Street', Aldgate Ward. There Stow traded as a tailor for 30 years and at one stage employed his brother Thomas – but the two fell out.¹⁰ It seemed Stow was quarrelsome and made many enemies. We know little of his married life. It is suggested he married twice; his second wife was Elizabeth and he had two daughters who married well.¹¹

As C.S. Lewis noted, Stow was suspected of supporting the 'old faith'. Thus in 1569, following a search of his house, Stow was charged with possessing the Duke of Alva's manifesto against Queen Elizabeth, circulated by the Spanish ambassador, Guerau de Espes, but was acquitted.¹² Stow's habit of collecting old documents, including some of papist origin, led to him twice appearing before the ecclesiastical commission and before the Lord Mayor and the Merchant Taylors' Company – but again he was fortunate to have been let off.

Much of what Stow earned at his tailoring trade was spent on books and documents, which at times led to virtual poverty. Matters worsened after he gave up tailoring. He received a small pension from his livery company but, although promised a substantial sum by James I, he received virtually nothing.¹³ Stow died, aged 80, on 6 April 1605, before he could have benefited from James's largesse.

We have a good idea of what Stow looked like from two sources. From Wheatley's quoting of Stow's literary executor, Edmond Howes, we learn that he was

... tall of stature, lean of body and face, his eyes small and crystalline, of a pleasant and cheerful countenance; sight and memory very good; sober, mild and courteous to any that required his instructions ...¹⁴

A visit to St Andrew Undershaft, Leadenhall Street, will reveal a replica of the original terracotta head and shoulders bust of the chronicler, the wise bearded face in the process of writing, a quill pen in the right hand, dressed in a ruff collar and quilted jacket. The memorial was erected by Stow's widow Elizabeth and is above their tomb.[1]

Leaving aside those referred to by Stow whose links are doubtful, such as John Somercote (p289) and Sir Richard Gresham, who were not connected with the Goldsmiths' Company (pp241, 274, 470), there is every reason for accepting that the 59 names recorded by Stow were goldsmiths or closely associated with the craft. That Stow made errors in such a complex work is understandable. Where found, these have been corrected as far as possible, using Kingsford's 1971 edition which is based on a revised *Survey* of 1603. Like Daniel Defoe (*A Tour Thro the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 1724–28) and William Cobbett (*Rural Rides*, 1830), Stow would have relied very much on information from others.

The page numbers in italics at the start of each entry refer to H.B. Wheatley, Stow's Survey of London, 1912, repr Everyman, 1956 edition. The goldsmiths are listed in chronological order. The dates given in bold in the first line of each entry embrace known references to each goldsmith.

Abbreviations of standard works of reference given in the following list of goldsmiths mentioned by Stow.

CHAFFERS

W. Chaffers, *Hallmarks on Gold and Plate*, 1896.

FORBES

J.S. Forbes, *Hallmark, a history of the London assay office*, 1988.

GLANVILLE 1990

P. Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, 1990.

HEAL

A. Heal, *The London Goldsmiths 1200–1800*, reprint 1972.

HILTON-PRICE

F.G. Hilton-Price, *Handbook of London Bankers*, 1890.

JACKSON

C.J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, 2nd edn, reprint 1964.

KINGSFORD

C.L. Kingsford (ed), *A Survey of London, by John Stow; with added notes and corrections*, vols I & II, 1971.

PICKFORD

Ian Pickford (ed), *Jackson's Silver and Gold Marks*, 1989.

WHEATLEY

H.B. Wheatley, *Stow's Survey of London*, 1912, reprint Everyman, 1956.