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COVER

Junko Mori, *Uncontrollable Beauty; Cloud/Tanka*, fine silver, Sheffield, 2018, maker's mark of Junko Mori. *(Image courtesy of Adrian Sassoon, London. Photography: Laurence Rundell and Sylvain Deleu)*

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WEIGHTS

The weights given in *Silver Studies* are in troy ounces unless otherwise stated, followed by the metric weight. There are 20 pennyweight (dwt) to the troy ounce (oz)

1 troy oz= 31.103g

100g = 3.2 troy oz (approx)

MONETARY VALUES

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

12 pennies (d) = 1 shilling (5p)

20 shillings (s) = £1 (100p)

£1 1s = 1 guinea (105p)

DATES

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

All items are silver unless otherwise stated.

UNCONTROLLABLE BEAUTY: LARGE SCALE WORK IN SILVER BY JUNKO MORI

RACHEL CONROY

FIG 1
Junko Mori, hand forged silver 'square spike' components.
(© Junko Mori)

Junko Mori (born 1974) is one of the most exciting and innovative metalworkers in Britain. Born in Japan and now based on the beautiful Llyn Peninsula in north-west Wales, Mori studied 3D Design at Musashino Art University in Tokyo (1993-7), where she explored many different materials including plastics, textiles, ceramics and metal. Mori then undertook a move that might seem slightly unconventional and spent a year in industry, working as a fabricator and welder in a factory, creating a wide range of consumer goods: from bikes to temple gates.[1] This allowed her to refine her skills but also to save up the funds she needed to undertake a BA in Metalwork and Silversmithing at Camberwell (1998-2000). Guided by exceptional tutors, including Amanda Bright, Hans Stofer and Simone ten Hompel, it was here that her work began to reach a point of conceptual clarity as well as technical brilliance.[2]

After graduating Mori successfully applied to the Crafts Council and North West Arts Board's 'Next Move' residency scheme. She was encouraged to experiment with silver by Chris Knight while working as artist in residence at Liverpool Hope University where he was course tutor. In 2001 Sheffield Assay Office provided Mori with fine silver and asked her to make something for its collection. A new world of creativity and expression opened up to her.[3] The resulting commission was *Organism*, the very first piece made in silver by Mori, weighing 102 oz 18dwt (3,400g). She also worked for a while as a studio assistant to Hiroshi Suzuki who she had met while studying in Japan. Both Knight and Suzuki seem to have influenced Mori's work: through Suzuki's absorption with the natural world as a form of inspiration and his masterly handling of metal, and Knight's approach to surface, creating works that are immediately tactile and yet potentially dangerous to touch.

Mori's practice is centred on the use of two metals, mild steel and fine silver, and the manipulation of these very different materials through her virtuosic skill and innovative interpretation of traditional methods, especially hand-forging.[4] She enjoys the malleability of silver when it is forged, saying

> "I feel like I can stretch the metal as if the hammer tip is my finger tips".[5]

Her work is represented in major public collections across the world including the V&A, the British Museum, the Museum für Künst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, Manchester City Art Gallery and National Museums Scotland and she was a finalist in the prestigious Loewe Craft Prize in 2019. Most of her publicly held works are in steel and, until recently, the only examples in silver were from her *Organism* series.[6] These densely constructed pieces use a repeated single motif or component combined by welding to create a sculptural form typically up to 5.9in (15cm) in diameter *[Fig 1]*. They are abstract in form but often inspired by, for example, sea urchins, pine cones or flowers *[Fig 2]*. Those made in steel are waxed to protect the surface and are often combined with natural elements such as dried flowers, seed pods or chillies, emphasising the natural world that has inspired them.

Mori does not work to preconceived designs, but does explore form and repetition on paper, which she describes as "doodles" *[Fig 3]*. While these can form the genesis of an idea they are not used directly as a reference point while she is actually making a piece. Grant

1. Pippa Shirley, 'Junko Mori: Sculpted Nature', *The Goldsmiths' Review*, 2019, p 18.

2. Grant Gibson, 'Real Steel', *Crafts,* July/August 2013, p 53.

3. Pippa Shirley, op cit, see note 1, p 21.

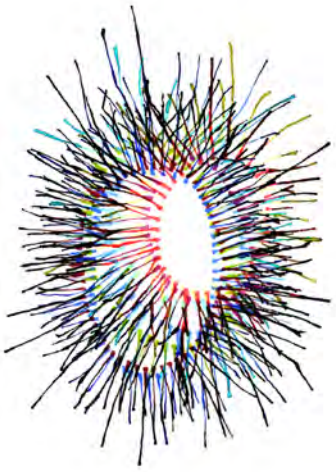
4. Mori has recently begun combining fine silver and 24 carat gold. *Organism Hybrid; Gold Petal* (2019) can be seen on Adrian Sassoon's website (last accessed 31 August 2020).

5. Junko Mori, personal communication, 3 February 2020.

6. Mori works most often in series although these are led by the development of a particular working process rather than being driven by a concept. These unique working processes can be used to create an enormous variety of works in terms of volume and shape and Mori applies the series name as a "blanket or [a] theme". Junko Mori, personal communication, 3 February 2020.

FIG 2
Junko Mori, *Silver Organism; Cananga*, fine silver, Sheffield, 2016, maker's mark of Junko Mori. The cananga tree is native to India and the perfume ylang-ylang is extracted from its flowers. *(Image courtesy of Adrian Sassoon, London. Photographer: Sylvain Deleu)*

FIG 3
Junko Mori, 'Doodles'
(*Image courtesy of Junko Mori*)



Gibson described a visit to Mori's studio, where she has a large collection of drawings from the past decade, stored away from her workshop. She explained to Gibson the relationship between her drawings and three-dimensional objects:

> If I put these these drawings on the wall, it becomes a fact, doesn't it? If it's stored in my head it's going to be distorted and changed. Then when I'm making, making is my outcome.[7]

As a child Mori was fascinated by microscopes and the contrast between the macro and microscopic details within nature: an interest that has continued through her life and artistic practice. While undertaking research, she has described noticing, for example, the similarity between patterns on Mars and those in human vein structures which sparked "an infinite impression of repetition in nature." In her words:

> My work consists of multiples of individually forged steel or other metals, and the subtle difference of each piece results from hand hammering. No piece is individually planned but becomes fully formed within the making and thinking process. Repeating little accidents, like the mutation of cells, the final accumulation of units emerges within the process of evolution. The uncontrollable beauty is the core of my concept.[8]

Larger-scale pieces have long been part of the artist's repertoire, but the levels of Mori's ambition, creativity and skill seem to have been on an exciting trajectory in recent years. This is particularly true of her work in silver, both alone and in combination with steel and, very recently, gold. One of her earliest experimentations with scale (and with mixed metals) was a bold commission for Sheffield Assay Office completed in 2008 while the artist was in the city for a residency at the Yorkshire ArtSpace studios.[9] *White Rose* was created for the exterior of Sheffield Assay Office's newly built headquarters in Hillsborough as a piece of public art *[Fig 4]*. A further layer of significance is found in its status as the first large scale work made in mixed metals - stainless steel, copper and fine silver - to be assayed following the 2007 changes to the Hallmarking Act, which permitted items made of different metals to be hallmarked. The design was inspired by Mori's research into Henry Clifton Sorby, a pioneer of microscopic research on steel, and it is a direct play on the city's mark of a Yorkshire rose, adopted in 1974, which she saw repeatedly while studying the Assay Office's collection. The outcome is a segmented piece that may be arranged in different compositions, reducing the rose to a minimal but recognizable number of curving parts.

Junko's work in steel has also been increasing in size and volume. A wonderful example is *Plants Exotica, Chatsworth Chandelier* commissioned for the *Modern Masters* exhibition at Chatsworth House *[Fig 5]*.[10] It is unusual for the artist in that it is both a functional and sculptural object; it is the first of a

7. Grant Gibson, op cit, see note 2.

8. Artist's statement, www.junkomori.com, accessed 24 August 2020.

9. My sincere thanks to Emma Paragreen, Curator and Archivist at Sheffield Assay Office, for sharing this information.

10. *Modern Masters,* selling exhibition, Sotheby's and the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, 18 September-23 December 2013, lot 12

FIG 4
Junko Mori, *White Rose*, 2008, stainless steel, fine silver and copper. The fine silver elements marked 999, Sheffield, 2008, maker's mark of Junko Mori.
(© Terry Robinson / Sheffield Assay Office 'Artwork with words', Beulah Road, Hillsborough, Sheffield / CC-BY-SA 2.0)

FIG 5
Junko Mori, *Chatsworth Chandelier – Plants Exotica*, 2013, steel
(Image courtesy of Adrian Sassoon, London. Photographer: Sylvain Deleu)

small number of chandeliers that she has made. It was inspired by the Devonshire family's long history of collecting plants and the important botanical books in the library at Chatsworth. The theme was also explored in her *Botany* works, combining silver and steel, shown at the '*Silver Speaks: Idea to Object*' exhibition at the V&A.[11] In essence it is a very simple and typical form, a ring with a central hanging point, but it is then overloaded with an incredible abundance of plant life in an asymmetric form that gives it sense of organic growth that Mori has described as "a powerful mass of ripeness", almost defying the fact that it is created from steel rather than a reflective precious metal or polished brass.[12]

Following the creation of her first piece in silver for Sheffield Assay Office Mori had a window of opportunity to develop her technique and scale when she had a quantity of silver in hand with no intended plan for it. Late in 2002 she attempted to create a 192oz (6,000g) silver *Organism,* although this was beset with technical challenges, not least the realisation that the soft silver components on the underside were being squashed and distorted by the weight carried from above. This difficult experience meant that she was not comfortable handling more than 160oz (5,000g) of silver for any single piece for a number of years.[13] A residency and joint exhibition with Kate Malone at the Portland Gallery at Welbeck Abbey provided an opportunity for Mori to develop a different technical approach to the creation of large scale work.[14] The large *Frozen Forest* sterling silver candelabrum (2006), weighing 164oz (5,100g) and a smaller pair of candlesticks (2007) *[Fig 6]* were made in response to a pair of naturalistic eighteenth-century silver-gilt candelabra in the Portland Collection. Mori wanted to create something similar using specimens from her collection of dried plants and seed pods, so made directly from nature, rather than just imitating it. The objects were cast in moulds created by setting small arrangements of plants into a fine casting matrix of investing plaster. They were cast in sterling silver and the components were then assembled and welded together to create the finished pieces. The specimens were burnt out as part of this process, so destroying the artist's original collection, while preserving their reinvented image. The beautiful unpolished finish does indeed make it seem as if a layer of frost has settled upon them.

11. *Silver Speaks: Idea to Object*, exhibition, V&A, 8 March 2016 - 2 July 2017

12. Op cit, see note 10.

13. Junko Mori, personal communication, 3 February 2020.

14. *Kate Malone and Junko Mori: A Natural Obsession*, exhibition, the Harley Gallery, Welbeck Abbey, 27 October – 24 December 2007.

FIG 6
Junko Mori, *Frozen Forest Candlesticks; Banksia and Magnolia*, Sheffield, 2007, maker's mark of Junko Mori.
(Image courtesy of Adrian Sassoon, London. Photographer: Matthew Hollow)

FIG 7
Junko Mori, *Silver Poetry; Spring Fever Ring*, fine silver, Sheffield, 2014, maker's mark of Junko Mori.
(© Junko Mori 2014, c/o Leeds Museums and Galleries. Photographer: Norman Taylor)

Silver Poetry; Spring Fever Ring has been described as Junko's masterpiece in silver *[Fig 7]*. It is an outstanding sculptural work and the first contemporary work of art to be acquired specifically for Temple Newsam house, which is part of Leeds Museums and Galleries. It is the most significant piece of silver by the artist currently in a public collection and I hope its acquisition marks an exciting future direction for Temple Newsam's collection, an important element of which is historic silver. The point of departure for the object was the 2009 Schoonhoven Silver Award, which asked applicants to respond to the brief of "poetry in silver". Mori's submission, *Spring Fever*, was awarded second prize and signalled the beginning of an incredibly rich vein of work *[Fig 8]*. In addition to its poetic inspiration (the seventeen different components used correspond to the number of syllables in a *haiku*) the work is a response to the phenomenon of 'spring fever', the explosion of life on the forest floor after a long, cold winter, closely observed by the artist in Japan and, more recently at her home on the sublime Llyn Peninsula. Where the *Frozen Forest* candlesticks embody a sense of stillness, this piece and those that have come since, capture an authentic spirit of movement, beauty and organic growth. Mori has described this series as being meaningful in terms of opening up to her the possibilities of silver for making a more diverse range of shapes far more efficiently than in steel, whereas previously her work in both materials had been very closely aligned.[15]

Silver Poetry; Spring Fever Ring captures Mori's full creative and technical range.[16] It is created from almost 289oz (9,000g) of fine silver, mostly left in the white, giving the surface a lusciously

15. Junko Mori, personal communication, 3 February 2020.

16. A film of the artist speaking about the inspiration behind the piece and demonstrating some of the technical elements was created by Digifish as part of the exhibition 'Showstoppers: Silver Centrepieces', Temple Newsam, 13 May – 15 October 2017, and may be accessed through the Leeds Museums YouTube channel (last accessed 29 August 2020).

FIG 8
Junko Mori, *Spring Fever*, fine silver, Sheffield, 2008, maker's mark of Junko Mori.
(Image courtesy of Adrian Sassoon, London. Photographer: Matthew Hollow)

FIG 9
'Ball point' components made by holding lengths of silver wire over a flame until the end melts and forms a bead, then quenching in water. In *Silver Poetry; Spring Fever Ring* they are used in clusters but also individually to give a sense of flower stamens and the ends are polished.
(© Junko Mori)

silky, delicate surface that defies the viewer's preconception of the material. Some elements are polished to a more recognisable shine though this is used very sparingly. The richness and density of the object is extraordinary. It includes thirty-one different components, made from silver rod and wire, many of which are suggestive of flowers or leaves *[Fig 9]*. The number of elements chosen for the piece references the Japanese poetic tradition of the *tanka*, which uses thirty-one syllables. These components are repeated, clustered and welded with a tungsten inert gas (or TIG) welder to form a gently undulating ring to create, in the artist's words, "a gift from nature itself". The welding technique requires no solder, only the very occasional addition of a small piece of silver wire. The ring is entirely freestanding and made without any internal support or structure. There is a point at which the two ends were connected to form the ring, which Mori described to me as "almost impossible", comparing it to a three-dimensional jigsaw puzzle.

More recent pieces in the series have combined a fantastically rich assemblage of elements with the compact form that Mori has traditionally explored in the

FIG 10
Junko Mori, *Silver Poetry; Spring Fever Tanka*, fine silver, Sheffield, 2019, maker's mark of Junko Mori.
(Image courtesy of Adrian Sassoon, London. Photographer: Sylvain Deleu)

FIG 11
Junko Mori, *Silver Poetry; Spring Fever Tanka*, 2019, detail of a cluster of components. *(© Junko Mori)*

FIG 12
Silver Poetry; Spring Fever Tanka, image taken during the cleaning process. *(© Junko Mori)*

Organism series to brilliant effect. The most recent iteration of this series, *Silver Poetry; Spring Fever Tanka* weighs a stupendous 366oz (11,400g) *[Fig 10]*. As with *Silver Poetry; Spring Fever Ring* (and, indeed, all of her work) the object was made by welding together individual components. As a starting point, the first component is held in a vice and the others welded to it, one by one. When the cluster is large enough, it is moved onto a copper surface and more components added to gradually create the overall form *[Fig 11]*. Mori stops once she has reached what she describes as a "beautiful moment" and the piece is then complete.[17] The object is cleaned using small tools to remove any specks of dirt or oil before using sulphuric acid to remove a very thin layer of the surface. The acid is rinsed off and the piece heated up to the annealing point of 760°C *[Fig 12]*. This process is repeated at least four times to enhance the purity of the silver and its whiteness. Lastly, a polish is applied to the tips of some components to provide contrast.

Uncontrollable Beauty is another concept that Mori has continually returned to over the past few years. While the inspiration behind it is similar to that of the *Silver Poetry/Spring Fever* series it is quite different in character. Pieces in this series typically include fewer elements in repetition and they often have a specific focus on a particular plant, flower or natural form. *Uncontrollable Beauty; Cherry Bud*, for example, is a subtle interpretation of the relatively bare branches of the cherry tree before its buds begin to swell and blossom: the time at which they are more usually celebrated. The polished tips seem suggestive of the energy and potential contained within *[Fig 13]*.

A decade on from her difficult experience of making a 192oz (6,000g) silver *Organism* Mori created the fine silver centerpiece *Uncontrollable Beauty; Lichen Clear Cloud*, weighing 208oz (6,500g) *[Fig 14]*. The seed from which this incredible object grew was Mori's personal challenge to make something extremely large in volume, but light enough to be lifted with one hand.[18] One day she looked up at the sky above her home and the idea was born.

FIG 13
Junko Mori, *Uncontrollable Beauty; Cherry Bud*, fine silver, Sheffield, 2016, maker's mark of Junko Mori.
(Image courtesy of Adrian Sassoon, London. Photographer: Sylvain Deleu)

17. Junko Mori, filmed at SOFA New York, 2009, published on the sofaexpo YouTube channel (last accessed 2 September 2020).

18. 'Working with Silver: The Lichen Cloud', Digifish, published on the leedsmuseums YouTube channel (last accessed 2 September 2020).

FIG 14
Installation of *Uncontrollable Beauty; Lichen Clear Cloud* at Temple Newsam, 2017.

FIG 15
Junko Mori, *Uncontrollable Beauty; Cloud/Tanka*, fine silver, Sheffield, 2018, maker's mark of Junko Mori.
(Image courtesy of Adrian Sassoon, London. Photographer: Laurence Rundell and Sylvain Deleu)

Uncontrollable Beauty; Cloud/Tanka neatly brings the two major conceptual series together in a magnificent sculptural centerpiece weighing over 385oz (12,000g) *[Figs 15* and *16]*. The main components used are incredibly fragile 0.5mm thin discs of fine silver made from melted down silver grain that are then hammered, hand perforated and joined together with a TIG welder, one by one. As with all her work, the form emerges through the making. The TIG welding torch is designed to weld very thin sheet materials so the method is very much suited to this design but is nevertheless precarious: the discs are so thin that they could easily melt away. The visual lightness of these cloud sculptures is remarkable. The pierced holes allow light to enter and escape to wonderful effect. When it was displayed, alongside incredible eighteenth-century centerpieces at Temple Newsam, including the Kirkleatham centerpiece by David Willaume II and Anne Tanqueray of 1731-32, I was thrilled that it was Mori's *Uncontrollable Beauty; Lichen Clear Cloud* that seemed to hold visitors attention above anything else, with endless questions of "what is it?" and "how was it made?" The Leeds-based poet Calum Gardner wrote in response to it:

> i can only imagine the patterns
> that would be produced from the
> middle of 'lichen cloud'; i picture a
> fat pillar candle melting at its heart,
> wax clogging the tiny star-pores and
> pooling in its strange cellular crevices
> as the light lances the semidarkness,
> soft and sharp like pine needles.[19]

Gardner's prose captures for me the sheer sense of wonder that Junko Mori's work evokes. This is as true for her seemingly impossible technical achievements, as it is for her unique aesthetic and distinctive point of view.

19. Calum Gardner, 'Silver', '#40 Objects I have been – Review', *MAP Magazine*, September 2017.

FIG 16
Junko Mori, *Uncontrollable Beauty; Cloud/Tanka*, fine silver, Sheffield, 2018, maker's mark of Junko Mori.
(Image courtesy of Adrian Sassoon, London. Photographs: Laurence Rundell and Sylvain Deleu)

To look at Mori's work is to be transported to an imaginary world inhabited by extraordinary plants and curious creatures that seem to move, bristle and explode with life. Every piece is an expression of the infinite joy and beauty that can be found in even the tiniest details of nature. I cannot wait to see where her imagination and skill takes us next.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank, most sincerely, Junko Mori for giving me permission to use photographs of her work and for very kindly providing me with images demonstrating her working methods. I am also very grateful for her generosity in answering my questions. My thanks are also due to Adrian Sassoon, Junko Mori's principal dealer, Laurence Rundell (Digital & Antiques at Adrian Sassoon) and to the photographers Sylvain Deleu and Matthew Hollow for generously providing such wonderful images for my article. My gratitude is also due to my former colleagues, Yvonne Hardman (Head of Collections and Programmes) and Adam Toole (Curator, Temple Newsam) of Leeds Museums and Galleries for permission to reproduce *Silver Poetry; Spring Fever Ring*. Huge thanks are due to the Art Fund, V&A Purchase Grant Fund and Leeds Art Fund for supporting the acquisition of this important work. I would like to thank Emma Paragreen, Curator and Librarian at Sheffield Assay Office, for providing information about its commissions. Finally, thanks to the Silver Society, and especially James Rothwell, for the opportunity to speak on a topic so close to my heart, which formed the basis of this paper.

Dr Rachel Conroy joined the National Trust as Lead Curator for the North Region in 2019 and prior to that worked as Curator of Temple Newsam and of Decorative Art for Leeds Museums and Galleries. She studied archaeology at the University of Manchester and has worked in a number of museums, specialising in decorative and applied art since 2004. Her specialist interests are British pottery and silver of the eighteenth century, and contemporary craft.

A SURVEY OF SILVER HELD IN SUFFOLK CHURCHES

JONATHAN ELLIS

FIG 1
The arms of the Norwich Goldsmiths' Company. (Denton Church, east window)

FIG 2
The arms of the city of Norwich: note the similarity to the Norwich hallmark . (Denton Church, east window)

Over four years from 2012 to 2016 a survey of the plate held in churches in the county of Suffolk was undertaken by an intrepid band of volunteers (to whom I am inordinately grateful). The prime purpose of the survey was to record the church plate and to try and glean more information about what was being made, and by whom, between approximately 1560 and 1710. The presumption is that plate has tended to remain in the ownership of the original parish unless it has been replaced by an incumbent when fashions have changed or a piece has been stolen or lost. Unlike domestic plate there is a far greater chance that locally made ecclesiastical silver will remain in the area from which it originated. Many of the smaller parishes would not have had the same financial resources as some of their larger neighbours with the result that many of them still possess the plate that was acquired after the Reformation over 400 years ago.

In 1904 Henry Casley[1] listed all the surviving provincial pieces in Suffolk churches, together with their marks, but we suspect that much of this information was gleaned from an earlier survey of 1894/7[2] rather than exclusively from personal observation. We identified a number of discrepancies and found that nine Elizabethan pieces have been subsequently lost or stolen and that the marks on another two have been lost, as a result of wear or possibly later repair. Our research did however reveal a dozen pieces not recorded by Casley at all. The 1898 survey was conducted independently by a number of different individuals and there is, therefore, a lack of consistency when it comes to the descriptions of the hallmarks.

We visited over 530 churches in Suffolk over the period of our survey and are extremely grateful to the incumbents of these churches for allowing us access. There were a few, a dozen, 'refuseniks' who have to date rebuffed our requests for access.

I make no apology for the quality of the photographs: I probably spent over 400 days on this project and, if proper lighting had been used, it would have added another 100 days or more to the work, testing both my energy levels and the patience of the volunteers who took part.

Before reporting on our findings, a few comments are necessary to place them in context.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Although a formal assay office was established in Norwich in 1565 *[Figs 1* and *2]* its authority only extended to the city limits and consequently the Goldsmiths' Company of London remained responsible for monitoring silversmiths' activities throughout the rest of the county. Provincial goldsmiths such as those in Suffolk continued, meanwhile, to enjoy the same latitude in the marking of their wares as before. There was certainly no requirement that their wares should be submitted for assay in London, although there is ample evidence of the Goldsmiths' Company checking the quality of the silversmiths' wares in Suffolk and fining miscreants. So, if a piece is marked at all (there are some 175 pieces in churches in Suffolk that are unmarked), it is frequently struck with only one mark, presumably an indication of the maker or of where the piece was made.

Enter Matthew Parker: born in Norwich in 1504 he was to become Anne Boleyn's chaplain and it is, therefore, no coincidence that he was made

1. Henry Casley, 'An Ipswich worker of Elizabethan church plate', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, 1904, vol XII, pp 169-83

2. H C Hopper and six others, 'Church Plate in Suffolk', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History*, 1894, 1895 and 1897, vols VIII and IX.

Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559 by her daughter Elizabeth, shortly after her accession to the throne, a position he held until his death in 1575. In 1559 the Act of Uniformity effectively abolished the Catholic mass and authorised the use and contents of the Book of Common Prayer and it was Parker who had to enforce the adoption of the 'new' liturgy. First and foremost every parish was to have a communion "cup for all the people"; both it and its cover were to be of silver, although wood or base metal (e g pewter) could be used for other liturgical items. The massing chalices previously used would have been too small and they, and any patens, might have been embellished with 'inappropriate' Catholic iconography and so would have needed to be replaced. Such items, if retained, were at risk of confiscation without recompense: it must, therefore, be assumed that many, if not most, of the pre-Reformation chalices were melted down to help pay for their replacements.

Given the unprecedented demand created by his decision, Parker appears to have decided on a rolling programme for its implementation starting with the dioceses of London (which also covered much of Essex) and Canterbury in 1560/1. Norwich's turn followed in 1567; at this time the diocese covered most of Suffolk. It is thought that it was the anticipated influx of this work that prompted the goldsmiths of Norwich to apply to have their own assay[3] and the same could well be true for reforming the ordinances of the craft in York (1560) and Exeter (1570).

The introduction of the new communion cups was further enforced by the Bishop of Norwich, John Parkhurst, prompted by the articles for a visitation by the Archbishop,[4] and was followed up in his Inquisitions of 1569.[5] 400 pieces of Norwich-marked ecclesiastical plate survive from around this date: nearly 90% are marked for 1567-68 and of the others, fourteen were made in the two preceding years, and another thirty in the following three years.[6] From this evidence it is reasonable to assume that at this time there was very strong pressure on the parishes to conform and this was presumably enforced across the whole diocese.

For the reason mentioned above there is no date letter, on which we may rely, used on Suffolk pieces. Unlike many of the pieces made in Norwich, if there is an inscription, it tends to refer to the location alone and not to a date. Ten Suffolk cups definitely pre-date 1567: of these six refer to 1566, the earliest to 1561 and eight of them were made in London. Perhaps these cups were introduced by clergy wanting to follow the example shown by others in the neighbouring diocese?

While studying the earliest dated pieces in each parish, we found eighteen parishes with cups and/or covers with Norwich marks, ten examples with London marks and fifteen with an engraved date: all date from between 1567 and 1569 and very few bear a later date. This is wholly consistent with the Norfolk area of the diocese and, therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the bulk of the surviving Elizabethan Suffolk-made communion cups would also have been made between 1567 and 1570.

A number of covers bear later dates but it is quite possible that they were supplied later, as and when funds permitted; some are somewhat inferior in quality to the accompanying cup and may have been sourced locally and/or be by another maker. Not as many covers survive as their accompanying cups but this is not surprising because the domed shape of some would have made them unsuitable for cutting the bread (this practice replaced the use of wafers in the seventeenth century).[7] A considerable

3. Charles Oman, *English Church Plate 597-1830*, London, 1957, p 137.

4. Ibid.

5. Mary Fewster, 'East Anglian Goldsmiths: Dimensions of a Craft Community 1500-1750', unpublished doctoral thesis, 2004.

6. G N Barrett, *Norwich Silver and its marks 1565-1702; The Goldsmiths of Norwich 1141-1750*, Norwich, 1981, p 21.

7. James Gilchrist, *Anglican Church Plate*, London, 1967.

FIG 3
Fleur-de-lys mark, associated with Bury St Edmunds, circa 1570.

FIG 4
Communion cup, circa 1570, showing the defined line at the 'shoulder' of the cup where the arc of the curve changes: a common characteristic of cups marked with a fleur-de-lys punch and others found in the area around Bury St Edmunds.

FIG 5
G mark associated with Ipswich, circa 1570. The mark may refer to the Gilbert family, the pre-eminent goldsmiths of the town, or to *Gippeuicum* the town's Latin name.

number of footed patens were acquired after the Restoration in 1660 and a replacement would not doubt have been partly funded by trading in its predecessor. Flagons made of silver began to appear in numbers circa 1700.

Today there are two separate commercial centres in Suffolk: Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds (Bury), and the same was true in the Elizabethan period. In the 1560s goldsmiths were operating in both towns and Jackson records seven in Bury and a similar number around that time in Ipswich.[8] There were two other 'liberties', administrative groupings, in Suffolk during the period, namely Woodbridge, and along the Waveney valley: the county boundary with Norfolk.[9] When the cups held in the different parishes are plotted on a map there is a clear delineation between those in the geographical area serviced by Bury and those in the area that would have been supplied by Ipswich.

One should also consider the influence of the trade routes through the county, of which there were four main ones; these are:

London – Bury – Diss – Norwich
London – Ipswich – Beccles – Norwich – Great Yarmouth – Beccles – Bury
The River Waveney which was navigable to within five miles of Diss.

BURY ST EDMUNDS (BURY)

The mark associated with Bury is that of a fleur-de-lys incuse *[Fig 3]*. Forty-nine pieces survive in the parishes surveyed, of which 90% are situated within fifteen miles of Bury; none of these have any marks other than that of the fleur-de-lys (on two cups the mark has been struck twice). One paten has the date of 1576 inscribed on it, although this could have been made at a later date to the Bury cup it accompanies). Some marks are inevitably better struck than others but all seem to be made by the same punch.

Erasmus Cooke (first mentioned in 1567; d 1590) was the pre-eminent Bury silversmith of the time but there is no evidence to attribute the mark exclusively to him. It should also be noted that that a fleur-de-lys mark appears on the bells made by Stephen Tonney, a bell-founder in Bury at the same time.[10] This may be just coincidence because the fleur-de-lys in Christian symbolism is representative of either the Trinity or, as probably in this case, the Virgin Mary, to whom the church was dedicated.

There is one stylistic difference which occurs quite often on Bury-made cups: the 'shoulder' of the cup, instead of having a smooth curve often has a defined line *[Fig 4]* where the arc of the curve changes. This is not unique to Bury pieces, but about two-thirds of the cups marked with a fleur-de-lys have this characteristic to some extent, as do another ten unmarked cups which are similarly made and found in the area around Bury.

Christopher Hartop illustrates one piece of domestic silver of the period struck with the same incuse mark.[11] A number of later spoons, also struck with a fleur-de-lys mark survive, but none appear to have the same incuse mark.

IPSWICH

The mark most often associated with Ipswich is a G *[Fig 5]* and forty-six ecclesiastic pieces struck with this mark survive. There has been some debate as to whether the G refers to the Gilbert family, the pre-eminent goldsmiths of the town, or to *Gippeuicum* (sometimes spelt *Gippovic* or *Gippeswic* on memorials) the town's Latin name; the River Gipping flows through Ipswich and is a tributary of the Orwell. Only one piece struck with this mark is dated, in this case 1564, but

8. Ian Pickford (ed), *Jackson's Silver and Gold Marks of England, Scotland and Ireland*, Woodbridge, 1989, pp 342 and 345.

9. Christopher Hartop, *East Anglian Silver 1550-1750*, Cambridge, 2004, p 13.

10. Henry Casely, op cit, see note 1.

11. Christopher Hartop, op cit, see note 9, p 108, figs 35 and 36.

FIG 6
G mark.

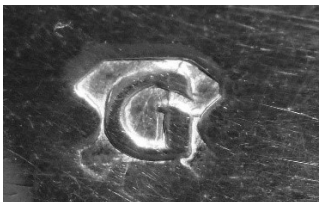


FIG 7
G mark struck in conjunction with a wavy cross incuse.

FIG 8
G mark struck in conjunction with a wavy cross centred by a pellet.

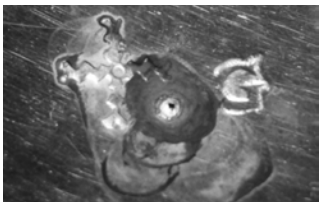


FIG 9
G mark struck in conjunction with the mark of a cross within a shield.

FIG 10
Maker's mark of William Whitinge (working 1609-35) of Ipswich.

again we may assume that the majority of the pieces were made in the period 1567-1570. Given that Laurence Gilbert is first mentioned in Ipswich in 1573 it is unlikely that the G is a mark used by him although his father Jefferye was working in 1560 and died in 1579.

Our research has revealed one instance of a different G mark *[Fig 6]* and four cases with a second mark (three of them different); these are as follows:

Four pieces are marked with a wavy cross incuse *[Fig 7]* alone, one of these was dated 1569, but in two further instances this mark accompanies a G mark

On one piece the wavy cross has a central pellet *[Fig 8]* and accompanies a G mark

One piece is struck with the mark of a cross, within a shield *[Fig 9]*, next to a G mark.

Wilfrid Cripps refers to another piece struck with a G mark together with a fleur-de-lys and a TS monogram but he does not describe the piece or refer to its location.[12] No such piece was seen in our travels although the mark sounds similar to that associated with Timothy Scottowe of Norwich (d 1645) and would have been a Norwich-made piece: a number of examples are shown in *East Anglian Silver.*[13]

It is very unlikely that two different makers would have marked the same piece, in which case it is reasonable to assume that one of the two marks must refer to where the piece was made. Casley refers to the fact that the wavy cross mark seemed to predominate around Woodbridge,[14] although this may be coincidence, and one must bear in mind that, of the six remaining pieces, two are in Ipswich and another is located well to the south and on the opposite side of the River Orwell: I would suggest this is too small a sample on which to hypothesise where they were made.

A careful study of the G mark on forty-five of the pieces suggests that same punch was used throughout. On some pieces the mark has been double-struck but on one cup there are two clear marks side by side, one of which is upside down in relation to the other. Would a maker have struck his own mark twice? Against that nothing has been reported as to the existence of a guild/company of Ipswich goldsmiths or of any ordinances regulating their craft. Cripps suggests that the wavy cross is some form of assay scrape but personal inspection confirms that it is made by a punch.[15] Apart from the wavy cross alone, two other Ipswich makers' marks are in evidence. William Whitinge (working 1609-35) used his initial in a shield surmounted by a distinctive crown *[Fig 10]*. Jackson illustrates the crown beside the shield but this only occurs in one instance when there was insufficient room on the edge of a cover to stamp one above the other.[16] Twelve pieces with this mark survive in the parishes surveyed and most have remarkably clear hallmarks but none are dated.

12. Wilfrid Cripps, *Old English Plate*, London, 1878, p 134.

13. Christopher Hartop, op cit, see note 9, pp 74-84.

14. Henry Casley, 'An Ipswich worker of Elizabethan church plate, with a schedule of pre-Reformation or Elizabethan plate with provincial worker's mark', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History*, 1905, vol XII.2, pp 164.

15. Wilfrid Cripps, op cit, see note 12, p 134.

16. Sir Charles Jackson, *An Illustrated History of English Plate*, London, 1911, p 344.

FIG 11
Maker's mark of Jeffreye Gilbert (b 1614) of Ipswich, circa 1620.

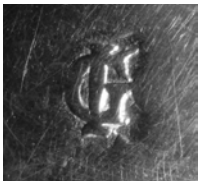
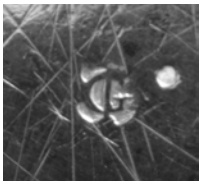


FIG 12
Maker's mark I G, another version.

FIG 13
Maker's mark I G, another version.



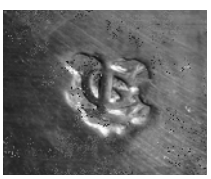
The other later mark is the monogram I G[17] for another Jeffrey Gilbert (b 1614) by whom six pieces remain in the parishes *[Fig 11]* but this mark is somewhat problematic. Christopher Hartop makes reference to three cups with this mark[18] but we found none of them and have not seen images of them so are uncertain as to their age. The pieces that we saw were patens and/or covers that could have been made at any time over a fifty plus year period. There are however three versions of the mark, in that the shape of the shield differs, and one mark has the bifurcated upper stroke of the G (similar to the G mark) *[Figs 12* and *13]*.

COLCHESTER

After reviewing *The Church Plate of the County of Essex*[19] and a fleeting visit to twenty-nine Essex parishes we could find no evidence of any Suffolk-made pieces in Essex, suggesting that London goldsmiths were quicker off the mark to satisfy the demand for the new cups. We did however locate and see fifteen pieces in Essex by Laurence Gilbert (one with the inscribed date of 1567) and he is thought to have been working in Colchester from the mid-1560s until his return to Ipswich circa 1573. In Suffolk we found no pieces with his monogram, which is sometimes incuse and, at other times, in a shield-shaped punch *[Figs 14* and *15]*.

FIG 14
Maker's mark of Laurence Gilbert, probably of Colchester, circa 1570.

FIG 15
Maker's mark of Laurence Gilbert, probably of Colchester, circa 1570.



OVERVIEW AND THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The influence of the silversmiths of Bury and Ipswich was not all pervading throughout the county. A quantity of pieces in the area were made in Norwich and supplied over a period of some 130 years (some for parishes as far south as Stansfield, just north of Clare). As already mentioned, thirteen surviving pieces were made in Ipswich during the early decades of the seventeenth century, and there appear to be no other initialled/marked pieces of local manufacture, apart from a couple of items by Caleb Manley (Beccles and Yarmouth) made circa 1700. About twenty unmarked pieces survive (mainly patens and plates); no doubt made locally but without any provenance.

The Britannia Act of 1697, under which the Britannia standard was introduced, stated that silver articles made and sold anywhere in England had to be hallmarked and any goldsmith had to register a maker's mark at the Assay Office in London. The act was revised in 1701 to allow assay offices in provincial cities to mark silver but only Norwich, out of the East Anglian centres, had the right to assay. The incidence of Norfolk/Suffolk, locally-marked pieces reduces to a trickle after this date.

17. Ibid, p 344.

18. Christopher Hartop, op cit, see note 9, p 113.

19. G Montagu Benton, F W Galpin and W J Pressey, *Church Plate of the County of Essex*, Colchester, 1926.

FIG 16
Maker's mark CM, probably for Caleb Manley, probably of Beccles, circa 1720.

FIG 17
Mark of four hearts, Harleston/Beccles centric, circa 1570.

FIG 18
Sweetmeat dish, circa 1650, maker's mark of four hearts.

Along the Waveney valley and in the eastern part of the county over sixty pieces have been found with over fourteen different marks. In order to try and assess the origin of these pieces we plotted the incidence of the different marks on a map to illustrate the geographic spread and to try to determine the town which may have generated them. These different marks are now addressed below.

OTHER DEVICES PREVALENT IN SUFFOLK

Apart from some marks associated with Ipswich, as discussed above, most goldsmiths stamped a device (as distinct from initials) on their wares with two recorded exceptions.

The initials B T are recorded in the original 1898 survey and are referred to by both Casley and Hartop.[20] They occur on two pieces in Bungay and are engraved and not punched. In one instance there is an engraved B * T below 1567 on the button of a cover and, in the other, they are engraved below the rim of the cup. These initials are far too large to be those of the maker and it is far more likely that they refer to the location, Holy Trinity Church, Bungay, rather than to any maker.

The letters C M *[Fig 16]* are struck on two identical patens and are thought to relate to Caleb Manley who was presumably working in Beccles at the time, given that his son Daniel was born there in 1705.[21]

The introduction of Britannia standard silver in 1697 was accompanied by the obligatory use of a maker's mark comprising the first two letters of a maker's surname. By this time all churches should have had the necessary silverware for the proper performance of their services, so there would have been limited opportunity for local silversmiths to make plate for the church, and we found no evidence of any local pieces apart from two which, in any event, appear more like domestic pieces in design.

The other devices in evidence fall mainly into several broad categories namely: hearts, a sort of wagon wheel, a sexfoil and pelleted circles. In most cases, but not exclusively, these have been found in the north of the county/along the Waveney valley and down the east coast.

HEARTS

FOUR HEARTS *[Fig 17]*: Unadorned and with the shape of a cross between the hearts. Fifteen pieces with this mark survive in the parishes visited and it seems to have remained in use for some time, given that there is a sweetmeat dish of circa 1650 bearing this mark in Christchurch Museum, Ipswich *[Fig 18]*. This, unlike the ecclesiastical pieces, has a second mark (G A?) which suggests the mark may refer to location. The alms dish from Mendham (now in a private collection) was a plate owned by Bridget Freston of Mendham, and is pricked with the date 1666. It is also marked with four incuse hearts, another incuse device (the letter A) and two incuse crosses with five pellets *[Fig 19]*: is this an early example of four marks being used to suggest it had been formally assayed?

The incidence of these pieces (apart from a slight concentration in north Suffolk) follows the Waveney valley and both Harleston and Beccles are well placed to be the source of these items: the more angular incuse marks listed below occur some years later.

FIG 19
Mark of four incuse hearts, another incuse device (the letter A) and two incuse crosses with five pellets, circa 1650.

20. Christopher Hartop, op cit, see note 9, p 114.

21. Mary Fewster, op cit, see note 5

FIG 20
Mark of four hearts with a central boss, circa 1570.

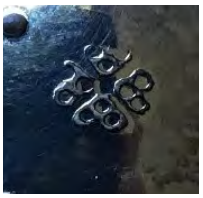


FIG 21
Mark of four hearts with three pellets in each, circa 1620.

FIG 22
Mark of four hearts incuse. Found on only one piece and accompanied by the mark of H F conjoined, thought to be the mark of Henry Fenn of Harleston, circa 1670?

FIG 23
Mark of six hearts incuse, circa 1570.

FIG 24
Mark of a cartwheel with a central hub and five spokes, between each of is a tulip head, 1570-1650?

FOUR HEARTS WITH A CENTRAL BOSS *[Fig 20]*: Some of the examples of this mark are much worn but three pieces struck with it have survived and are found over a completely different area: the east coast of the county and both north and south of the River Waveney.

FOUR HEARTS WITH THREE PELLETS IN EACH *[Fig 21]*: For a number of years this mark has been associated with Beccles[22] but we found no pieces struck with it in the churches in the area. The mark frequently occurs on spoons (seven examples are illustrated in *East Anglian Silver*) and it is entirely possible that the maker in question only made flatware.

FOUR HEARTS INCUSE *[Fig 22]*: This more angular mark was only found on one piece during our travels and it was accompanied by the mark of H F conjoined which is thought to be the mark of Henry Fenn of Harleston.[24] The author is aware of three trifid spoons with similar marks (one in Christchurch Museum, Ipswich, and two in private collections).

SIX HEARTS INCUSE *[Fig 23]*: Three pieces with this mark were found, including one in the treasury at Norwich Cathedral. There are not enough examples of the mark to propose a suggested place of origin but, like the cart wheel below, the location pattern would tend to suggest Bury.

CART WHEEL

This mark comprises a central hub with five spokes, between each of which there is a tulip head *[Fig 24]*. It has been suggested that this mark was associated with Beccles[25] and there are many examples of seal top spoons with this mark. To date we have located nine items in churches in Suffolk struck with this mark but their location extends well beyond Beccles. If anything the pattern of distribution reflects that of the fleur-de-lys mark which infers a maker in the Diss/Bury St Edmunds area.

SEXFOIL

SIX PETALS AROUND A FLOWER HEAD INCUSE *[Fig 25]*: Six pieces struck with this mark survive in Suffolk parishes. The mark is similar to that used later by Thomas Hutchinson of Yarmouth, but for the fact his flower-head mark has a slight pellet in each petal. These pieces were all found just south of the Waveney valley but have no obvious epicentre.

SIX PETALS (PELLET WITHIN) AROUND A CENTRAL BOSS *[Fig 26]*: This appears to be a poorly made punch and few clear examples survive but there are fourteen pieces with what appears to be this mark. The parishes concerned tend to be in the eastern part of the county: the maker was possibly based in Framlingham.

SIX GEOMETRIC SHAPES *[Fig 27]*: This mark is spread much more widely across the county and can be found in nine churches most of which are situated between Diss and Bury.

FIG 25
Mark of six petals around a flower head incuse, circa 1570.

FIG 26
Mark of six petals (pellet within) around a central boss. Pieces struck with this mark are found mostly in the eastern part of Suffok and the maker may have been based in Framlingham, circa 1570.

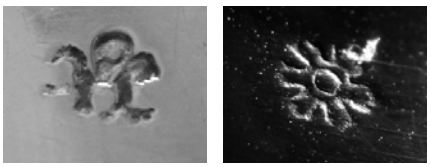


FIG 27
Mark of six geometric shapes. Pieces struck with this mark are spread widely across the county and can be found in nine churches most of which were situated between Diss and Bury, circa 1570.

22. Christopher Hartop, op cit, see note 9, pp 92-5.

23. Ibid, pp 93-5.

24. Ibid, p 92, fig 29.

25. In discussions with Timothy Kent and other members of the trade.

FIG 28
Mark of a pelleted circle around a four leafed clover, circa 1600?

FIG 29
Mark of a pelleted circle around five large and four small pellets, circa 1620?

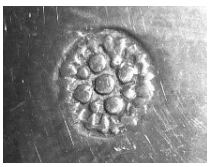


FIG 30
Mark of a pelleted circle around seven pellets, circa 1570.

FIG 31
Mark of an incuse cross, found near Clare, circa 1570.

PELLETED CIRCLE

We found a number of variations on this theme but in some cases we were hampered a poor punch.

Pelleted circle around a four-leaf clover *[Fig 28]*
Pelleted circle around an unidentified device
Pelleted circle around five large and four small pellets *[Fig 29]*
Pelleted circle around seven pellets *[Fig 30]*

There were seven pieces in total struck with one of these four variants but no more than two examples of each hallmark were found; although broadly similar to each other none of these marks match any described by Christopher Hartop in *East Anglian Silver 1550-1750* with the possible exception of one piece: an unidentified device.[26] All the examples were found in the north of the county within a few miles of the Waveney valley but over a twenty-five mile stretch (ie from the west of Diss to the east of Beccles).

THE IDENTIFICATION OF MAKERS' MARKS AND OTHER MARKS

We occasionally had the opportunity to see the church records relating to the period but Mary Fewster undertook a far more detailed study of these as part of her thesis.[27]

The clerks of the time seemed to delight in identifying by name all the widows and orphans who received charitable gifts worth a few pennies or shillings but, when it came to the purchase of a communion cup, the reference would usually be to a 'silversmith' and we found no evidence of one being named. This lack of evidence results in the need to rely on distribution as a guide to the place of origin of these pieces, but it is impossible to make any meaningful comment when only a few examples of certain marks survive, such as the single example of an incuse cross *[Fig 31]* found near Clare in the south-west corner of the county.

STYLISTIC COMMENTS

The Elizabethan cups we saw tended to be bell-shaped (although some Norwich-made pieces were often bucket-shaped), frequently on a spool stem with a slightly raised foot and, occasionally, the foot would have an egg-and-dart rim. The name of the parish is sometimes recorded in the central strap around the bowl (often found on Norwich-made pieces) otherwise a floral/arabesque strap was the most common form of decoration *[Fig 32]*. Twin concentric lines often embrace the central strap but wriggle-work bands were also much in evidence when decorating the bowl of the cup or a paten.

As mentioned earlier, the cups from Bury often had a 'shoulder', and those from Ipswich often have a more generous bowl *[Fig 33]*. On one occasion we had four locally made pieces displayed side-by-side which enabled us to see that the same hand had engraved the arabesque straps on all of them, but this work could have been out-sourced by the silversmith. In the absence of an arabesque strap, geometric designs were used, including rows of dashes (known as 'hit and miss'), and the greater proportion of cups with this type of decoration are to be found in the north and eastern parts of the county. The same designs tend to be repeated on the cover.[28]

The covers to the cups were either flat or domed but usually incorporated a button; no doubt for the added purpose that it could then be held more securely between the officiating priest's fingers when using the upturned cover as a paten. (The continued use of wafers was common practice for the next eighty years.)

26. Ibid, p 88, item 63.

27. Mary Fewster, op cit, see note 5.

28. Ibid, p 110.

FIG 32
Communion cup, circa 1570, with floral arabesque strap and wriggle-work border.

FIG 33
Communion cup, circa 1570, Ipswich, circa 1570: note the more generous bowl.

OTHER OBSERVATIONS REGARDING NORWICH HALLMARKS FOUND IN SUFFOLK CHURCHES

A number of pieces bearing the marks of Norwich silversmiths appear on pieces in Suffolk churches and, of these, William Cobbold of Norwich (maker's mark an orb and cross) was the most prolific, followed by the maidenhead mark (of John Basyngham?) and the trefoil (associated with William Rogers?). Thomas Havers and Arthur Haselwood II made a considerable number of footed patens in the post Restoration period. The marks of over thirteen different Norwich makers were found on more than sixty pieces inspected.

We were excited to discover three new makers' marks for Norwich; in two cases they were on Elizabethan communion cups and the other was on a later flagon. The author later discovered a reference to one of them (a cowled bust facing to the left) in Gilchrist and in George Levine's article on Norwich goldsmiths' marks *[Fig 34]*,[29] but the other two: an acorn (1569) and I D (on a flagon of circa 1660 and therefore too early to be the mark of James Daniel) appear to be unrecorded *[Figs 35* and *36]*. We were also left with the impression that there are two, if not three, different maidenhead marks, one of which looks more like the mask of a lion. The author therefore intends to do some more research/ retrace some of Geoffrey Barrett's steps and will report anon.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A particular thank you to Christopher Hartop, who proposed this project, the Silver Society who kindly contributed towards my considerable travel costs, and to Mary Fewster and Nigel Bumphrey who got me started in north Suffolk. My thanks also to the intrepid team of volunteers who accompanied me on various occasions including Jane Ewart, Gale Glynn, Helen Jonas, Tim Kent and Matthew Schuter. Most of the 'heavy lifting' was done by Simon and Cathlyn Davidson, Paul Holmes, Geoffrey Vevers and last, but by no means least, Richard Jonas, with whom I shared innumerable bowls of chips over lunch. Their energy, knowledge and enthusiasm were invaluable and infectious.

Jonathan Ellis was brought up in the Waveney valley, the Norfolk/ Suffolk border, by parents who were inveterate magpies, so he was dragged around antique shops from an early age (and came to love this). As is the way of the world, parents die, and he was left various bits and pieces: do you sell them or learn more about them? At this point he met Tim Kent and Christopher Hartop. The latter, who lived only a few miles away, then introduced him to the Silver Society for whom he has now been the treasurer for the last four or five years.

Jonathan was an accountant in general practice until his retirement in 2011; at which point it had been his intention to attend the Fine Arts course at the V&A but it was Christopher who persuaded him it would be more fun going round 500 to 600 churches in Suffolk and the adjoining counties; he was proved right!

FIG 34
Maker's mark a cowled bust, Norwich, 1666.

FIG 35
Maker's mark an acorn, Norwich, 1569.

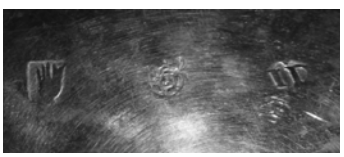


FIG 36
Maker's mark I D, Norwich, circa 1660.

29. James Gilchrist, op cit, see note 7 and G Levine, 'Norwich Goldsmiths' Marks', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 1968, vol 34, part 3, p 301.

THE LONDON PRIVATE BANKER: STATUS, CULTURE AND COMMERCE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SOCIETY

PERRY GAUCI

This article examines the transformation of London's goldsmith-bankers into a distinctive banking profession during the course of the eighteenth century. While scholars have already contributed much to our understanding of the business side of this important development, this study will prioritise the social and cultural resonances of this process as a guide to wider metropolitan change. It will not use material objects as a core source, but it will analyse a wide variety of consumer activity as a means to understand the strategies and impact of London's private bankers as they sought status for both professional and personal reasons. Their experience can cast important light on the interaction of the commercial and landed classes at a key stage of societal transition.[1]

To this end, this article focuses most directly on how private bankers in their private, professional and public capacities adapted both policy and manners to secure a productive working relationship with both the upper and middling orders.[2] Although City-based bankers were less likely than their West End colleagues to have nobles and gentry in their customer ledger, the development amongst bankers of common professional practices and principles reflected a wider dialogue of converging propertied priorities and outlooks. In particular, the aspiration for an inter-connected public status and stability aligned this banking group more closely with the upper orders than any other commercial sector. The private bankers remained in essence a commercial group, most of whom came from a trading background and actually worked quite hard. However, whether it was in their choice of residence, their development of customer-lists, their relationship with partners and staff, or their cultural associations in public and private life, these bankers developed a form of commercial respectability which aimed to ensure the mutual accommodation of the propertied elites. They were the quintessential middle-men by dint of occupation, and it is predictable that their overall success ensured them both enmity and respect. Nevertheless, their experience highlights that even within a largely stable social hierarchy, social and commercial agencies, and not just an elite-led polite culture or an elite-led polity, were working hard to ensure greater understanding within the propertied elites.

As a priority, the article seeks to encompass both the professional and private lives of the bankers, for it is impossible to disaggregate their strategies for success at work and at home. Attention will turn first to the development of bank premises, whose appearance and organisation highlight the ways in which bankers communicated core values as they sought to develop intimate relationships with clients. Their professional reputation was tied very closely to their personal standing, and study of their position within wider society reveals how they had to make disciplined choices if they were to preserve the respectability of both banking house and private home. The example of Thomas Coutts (1735-1822) will illustrate these processes in the course of his rise as a leading West End banker at a key stage for the profession in London.

FROM GOLDSMITH TO BANKER: THE RISE OF A COMMERCIAL PROFESSION

Historians of banking have rightly seen the evolution of private banking in

1. I am very grateful to the organisers and speakers of the 'Goldsmiths and Bankers as Collectors' conference, held at the Goldsmiths' Hall, London, on 28 October 2019, where a version of this paper was aired. Such gatherings of curators, collectors and academics are very much needed, and its productive exchanges recalled those of a conference held in November 2002, whose proceedings were published as Mireille Galinou (ed), *The City Merchants and the Arts 1670-1720,* Wetherby, 2004. This earlier collection highlighted the range of the cultural activity of the 'monied men' of the late Stuart period, and, in common with this recent event, engaged socio-cultural developments across a very broad front.

2. Using contemporary trade directories, this study will centre on three samples of private bankers: fifty-eight goldsmiths (in forty-four partnerships) who kept running-cashes in 1677, forty-five goldsmiths and bankers (in twenty-eight firms) from 1736-40, and 193 banking partners (in fifty-four firms) in 1785-6.

3. For a useful summary of the economic forces behind the development of private banking, see Youssef Cassis and Philip L Cottrell, *Private Banking in Europe: Rise, Retreat and Resurgence*, Oxford, 2015, pp 29-51.

4. The decline of membership of the Goldsmiths' Company among banking partners was notable from mid-century: 1677: 79.3% of fifty-eight running-cash merchants were members; 1736-40: 51.1% of advertised "bankers" were members; 1785-6: 8.8% of bankers were members. Goldsmiths continued to provide banking services in the 1730s, as shown by the career of Henry Jernegan. In 1736 the Kent Directory listed him as a goldsmith of Covent Garden, although in the same year the press heralded him as "the great banker" when he made "the finest set of jewels" for the Duke of Lorraine (Henry Kent, *The Directory*, London, 1736; *Stamford Mercury*, 12 February 1736). For his own part Jernegan referred to himself as a goldsmith for most of his career, although he called himself a banker and goldsmith in 1738, and a banker in his will (proved in 1746) (The National Archives, C11/2073/24; PROB11/745/135).

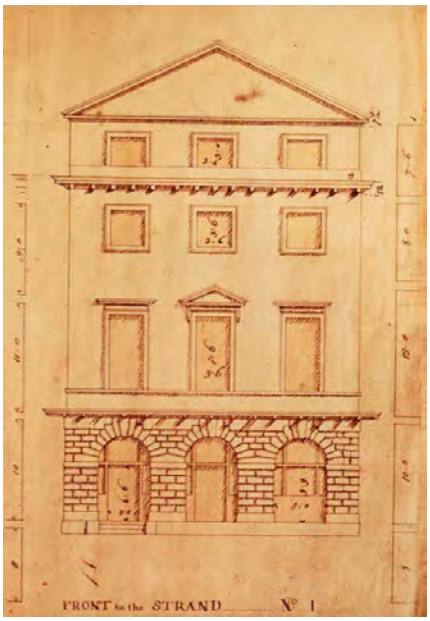


FIG 1
Middleton's Bank on the Strand, London, circa 1738-9.
(Coutts Bank archive 838. Reproduced by kind permission of Coutts & Co © 2020)

London as a drawn-out and uncertain process, stretching back into the sixteenth century, and gaining greater momentum in the Restoration metropolis. A range of City trades played an important part in the development of banking, but the goldsmiths were most prominent, and their businesses were the most obvious providers of a range of banking services to private clients.[3] These early banks were often slow to give up on the goldsmithing trade, and even in the 1730s half of all banking partners were still members of the Goldsmiths' Company. However, by the 1780s, this figure had fallen to less than 10%, a decline which confirmed the development of specialist private banks to provide for a range of clienteles.[4] The emergence of a distinctive cadre of private bankers attracted much contemporary comment, much of it highly critical, and it is clear that the bankers themselves were put on their mettle to develop a public reputation which would bolster their trade in important ways. As traders, they needed to assure clients of their reliability, honesty and durability, and this could be a particular challenge in a sector which had seen significant upheaval in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. They also had to interact with a variety of customers across the propertied social scale, and this put bankers under pressure to communicate the integrity of their personalised services. All these considerations informed key decisions regarding the organisation of their businesses and were readily reflected in the development of banking premises.

Architectural historians have indeed led the way in highlighting the more cultural strategies maintained by bankers to attract and retain customers. Most notably, the work of Iain Black has demonstrated how the transformation of the exteriors of the West End banks in the late eighteenth century reflected the aims and values of their partners. Significantly, bankers adopted a range of styles to communicate the durability and respectability of their commercial houses, although, as guardians of their customers' wealth, they eschewed any displays of magnificence.[5] A wider perspective would suggest that these principles could also be espied in the City banks to the east, where by the early nineteenth century a more settled template for banking premises had emerged.[6] Sober durability and functionality were very much the norm in terms of designs, although this should be seen as a variation on a broader metropolitan theme, for an image of measured respectability was important to private bankers at both ends of town. However, these exteriors were adapted to their differing metropolitan contexts, and helped to form common expectations of both City and West End banks *[Fig 1]*.

While the exteriors were clearly very important for projecting the banker's reputation, the interiors were just as vital and have received little systematic attention. It is fortunate that the plans for George Middleton's banking house on the Strand survive to provide an early example of a bank's organisation in the late 1730s. This was clearly an important moment for the business, and probably signalled the firm's full transition to the banking trade.[7] The smart exterior was an important statement in itself, especially as it overlooked one of the major metropolitan east-west axes, although its communication of the internal arrangements was just as important.[8] In particular, the central first floor pediment highlighted that above the 'shop' floor, there was a further 'principal' floor, in which 'the Great Room' (of some 500 square feet (15.25 square m), and 13ft (3.96m) high) was intended for private conversations with clients. In the architect's specifications, it was to be "finished in every specie

5. Iain Black, 'Private banking in London's West End, 1750-1830', *London Journal*, no 28, 2003, pp 29-59; John Booker, *Temples of Mammon: The Architecture of Banking*, Edinburgh, 1990, pp 1-36; Daniel Abramson, *Building the Bank of England : Money, Architecture, Society, 1694-1942*, New Haven, 2005. In terms of layout and design, a bank clearly presented different requirements to a goldsmith's shop, see Claire Walsh, 'The design of London goldsmiths' shops in the early eighteenth century', David Mitchell (ed) *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers: Innovation and the Transfer of Skill, 1550-1750*, Stroud, 1995, pp 96-111.

6. For example, see both the designs and built façade of Martin's Bank in Lombard Street by George Dance the Younger (Sir John Soane's Museum, D3/10/1-4; George Chandler, *Four Centuries of Banking*, London, 1964, vol I, pp 313-4).

7. Edna Healey, *Coutts and Co 1692-1992: The Portrait of a Private Bank*, London, 1992, pp 59-60, notes that Middleton had started in business in nearby premises designed for a goldsmith (his former partner, and active goldsmith, John Campbell).

8. The exterior shows that Robert Taylor's more horizontal street-emphasis at Asgill's Bank in Lombard Street was anticipated twenty years earlier (see Daniel Abrahamson, op cit, see note 5, p 64).

FIG 2
Thomas Hosmer Shepherd, Hoare's Bank, Fleet Street, 1829.
(London Metropolitan Archives, Pr 236/FLE © London Metropolitan Archives (City of London)

the same" as the Great Room of Lady Rachel Morgan's home at Argyll Ground. Thus, the bank was aiming to emulate the polite elegance of the elite West End houses, and even turned down the opportunity to save money by scrimping on wainscoting, carving and marble chimney pieces. Their attention to detail extended to the water closet on the shop floor, which was to have "a mahogany seat with a marble stool", with an oaken cistern above. Thus, there is no doubt that Middleton wished his up-market clients to feel at home, although there were also significant differences which his clients would also have appreciated. On the shop floor, "the strong room" was demarcated by iron doors and frames, and the only difference from Lady Rachel's Great Room was to be its "locks and fastenings", fifty-nine of which were provided for the property in total. Once again, bankers recognised that they were providing a commercial service to their elite customers, even while they attuned their premises to the latter's sensibilities. Banks had to be careful to project the right image.[9]

There can be little doubt that such improvements helped to elevate the banking profession at both ends of town. When the 1784 Shop Tax was introduced, there was much debate whether banks qualified, such was their distinctive position within the metropolitan economy among businesses which were "publicly kept open for carrying on any trade". City banking partner Nathaniel Newnham rose in the House of Commons to declare that "no judge could ever convince him that he was a shop-keeper", and the City tax commissioners were ready to agree with him.[10] However, not all observers were so impressed by this commercial grandeur, and critics were keen to aim their barbs at the typical London banking house during the hard-pressed 1790s, with one commentator censuring what he saw as the "empiricism of bankers", or their efforts to prove their financial integrity through self-presentation. He saw this as no less than deliberate deception, and blamed

> their magnificent shops, plate-glass windows, mahogany counters, and shovels full of gold

for the fact that they had

> obtained from the world a very dangerous credit, which they often are not entitled to.

The financial crashes of the era placed an even greater onus on bankers to provide their customers with such reassurance, and the restrained grandeur of banking architecture faithfully reflected the common need of banker and client *[Fig 2]*.[11]

Beyond issues of design, all bank proprietors recognised that the foundations of the business were maintained by their salaried staff, especially the clerks who sustained the core functions of the banking house. As the partners at Drummonds readily conceded by the later eighteenth century, "the execution and management

9. Coutts Bank archive 838, papers concerning first banking shop, circa 1738-9.

10. William Cobbett's, *Parliamentary History of England*, vol 27, p 176; *Whitehall Evening Post*, 10-12 July 1787; *The Age of Paper, or An Essay on Banks and Banking*, 1795, pp 24-5.

11. The re-building of one of the oldest banks, Hoare's of Fleet Street, in the later 1820s, epitomised the delicate balance needed, for the bank rejected a classical façade with columns on the grounds that "they would give rather too magnificent an appearance to a House of Business" (see Victoria Hutchings, *Messrs Hoare Bankers: A History of the Hoare Banking Dynasty*, London, 2005, pp 113-17).

FIG 3
The Dollar Chancellor, Child and Co, 1797. (NatWest Group Archives, Edinburgh, CH/306. Reproduced by kind permission of NatWest Group Archives © 2020)

of the whole" was now beyond the direct supervision of the partners, and staffing at the London banks grew in tandem with the increase in their business. However, beyond the practical need to have extra eyes and hands to undertake the rigorous book-keeping required by the business, partners recognised that the commitment of their staff was vital to the success of the banking-house, and eagerly sought to recruit both able and dedicated individuals. Ideally, they wanted men who were of "integrity and abilities" but also

> entirely devoted to the business of the shop and really interested in promoting its reputation and prosperity, from a point of honour in themselves, as well as a point of duty to their employers.

If they could identify such men and make them "easy and comfortable in their situations", the core values of the firm could be easily communicated.[12]

Thus, while the banking-premises may have contributed much to setting the tone of banker-client relations, the daily interactions of staff and customers were critical to the reputation of the banking-house. Banks clearly took great care to ensure that their clerks dealt with customers with discretion and due courtesy and were quick to apologize for any errors or misunderstandings. They also encouraged a measured respectability within the shop, whether through the smartness of their staff's attire, or an attentiveness to customer needs. These qualities resonate strongly in a set of cartoons of daily bank life at Child's at the turn of the nineteenth century, where a member of staff provided a rare clerk's-eye view of proceedings. *The Dollar Chancellor [Fig 3]* focuses on a dramatic moment of a run on the bank during the financial crisis of 1797, where the clerk retains his poise by pretending not to hear the demands of alarmed customers at the counter. More mundanely, *Samples of Gentility [Fig 4]* sees the clerks gently guide a female customer whose bearings have been encumbered by an overlarge hat.[13] The existence of these cartoons

12. NatWest Group, DR/22, paper of clerks' salaries, n d [circa 1780s].

13. The identity of the artist is not known although he was clearly very familiar with the daily workings of the business, and socialised with the clerks in the private quarters of the bank (NatWest Group Archives, CH/306).

FIG 4
Samples of Gentility, Child and Co, undated. (NatWest Group Archives, Edinburgh, CH/306. Reproduced by kind permission of NatWest Group Archives © 2020)

FIG 5
M Darly, *The Bank Macaroni*, 1773. (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

more readily attests to the tedium of the routine tasks of the clerks rather than any possible disaffection, and they underline the importance of their role as the public face of the bank. If bank-staff failed to attain the high standards of propriety set by the partners, this could imperil the bank's standing, and critics of the profession were quick to censure any perceived abuse of their position as custodians of their customers' fortunes. *The Bank Macaroni* of 1773 *[Fig 5]* sought to satirise the pretentiousness of clerks in their attire, which is taken to exaggerated heights of affectation as a way to mock the banks for their excessive politeness in their treatment of customers. In common with the contemporary fop, the clerk becomes a fawning peacock addicted to thoughtless expense, the very antithesis of the values the banks wished to communicate. In reality, banks took great care to both discipline and reward their key staff for their service, recognising that the staff could provide vital continuity and confidence among their customers.

All these strategies were designed to develop the personality of the bank as a supportive corporation. Just as the partnership agreements were keen to stress the continuity of the bank as an institution, so this more abstract corporate strength was matched by a more intimate, quasi-familial tone, which was key to the success of the private bank. The Bank of England might stand as a symbol of the solidity of public credit, but the private banks could aspire to a more personal relationship with their customers, and they could speak a language of friendship even while undertaking essentially commercial services. Scholars now recognise that friendship was widely applied to express and confirm affinities throughout the social order, and there is no doubt that it held a direct appeal for bankers as they negotiated a wide set of societal relationships.[14] It was particularly useful for their connections with the upper orders in a West End context, however, where the bankers represented the closest elision possible between the commercial and polite worlds. With its connotations of mutual trust and obligation, friendship expressed the values both sides sought, and locked the City and the countryman into a durable partnership which could hopefully stay the long course. As the banker Andrew Berkeley Drummond grandly asserted in 1788, it was critical for bankers to recognise that their deposits were

> the sacred and unalienable property of those friends who place such unlimited confidence in our faith,

and to act accordingly. Thus, in every aspect, internal banking arrangements sought to communicate the essential mores of the business, and its fitness to serve the client's needs.[15]

In an age which saw debate of political economy, fanned by continuing financial volatility, such professional reputations underwent ever greater public scrutiny, with commentators calling for both durability and probity in the financial sector. Naturally, bankers' virtues were contested, and such debates put the bankers on their mettle, especially professionally, but also in their wider public profile. To an unusual extent, they were subject to public scrutiny on account of their basic commercial functions, and they could expect their actions (and those of their wider household) to be commented upon,

14. Naomi Tadmor, *Friends and Family in Eighteenth-Century England*, Cambridge, 2001.

15. NatWest Group, DR/159, A B Drummond to his father, July 1788.

FIG 6
After William Beechey, engraved by R W Sievier, *Thomas Coutts*, 1822.
(© The Trustees of the British Museum)

especially in an age of social upheaval. Just as importantly, their claims to durability and probity would chime more directly with the outlooks of the landed elite, and we should see this alignment as a key motivation in their consumption patterns. These actions should not simply be regarded as an emulative instinct to achieve the standards of the polite elite; in their socio-cultural strategies the bankers would seek to self-fashion in accordance with their professional image as well as more standardised markers of social status. Thus, across a broad range of consumerism, they exhibited an amphibian quality which reflected important accommodations within the propertied elites. As one bitter critic suggested in 1796:

> Empiricism marks bankers, even in case of insolvency, and the same dignified farce, which commences with a carriage and country house, attends the banker in the last stage of his career.

The career of Thomas Coutts, who prospered as a banker and society figure for half a century, will exemplify both the opportunities and challenges facing the profession in late Georgian London.

COMMERCE, CULTURE AND FRIENDSHIP: THE RISE OF THOMAS COUTTS

The vigilance of their customers certainly informed the consumption of bankers when they came to decide how to spend their own time and money. While many bankers built considerable fortunes, developed impressive estates, and became important patrons of the arts, it would be wrong to assume that they simply aspired to become members of the landed elite. In fact, their private consumption often mirrored their professional practices, and indeed directly complemented the business of the banking-house.[16] Bankers of more modest means were particularly careful to align their sociable practices with the needs of their business, and would readily think of themselves as commercial gentlemen rather than members of polite society. A more holistic review of their sociable and cultural strategies reveals these enduring commercial associations, even if there can be no doubting the social advancement of the banking profession across a broad front. The carefully-curated rise of Thomas Coutts as a West End figure demonstrates both the opportunities and challenges which private bankers faced when engaging with wider society, although his ultimate success as a trusted confidante of the upper classes highlights the importance of attuning sociability and cultural investment to the needs of business *[Fig 6]*.

It would be easy to label Coutts as an exemplar of the aforementioned "empiricism" of the private bankers by the later eighteenth century. With a client list headed by royalty and nobility, and an elegant banking house on the Strand, he appeared to epitomise the rapid advancement of the banking breed, and many contemporaries commented on his wealth and connections. However, this success was built on both financial

16. Only a minority of very wealthy bankers in the 1785-6 sample chose to establish significant country estates within their lifetimes, and most bankers appeared content with a West End address, a suburban villa, or a retiring house and park in the Home Counties. Nevertheless, compared to other commercial occupations in the late Georgian metropolis, private banking could more readily provide the time and regular profits for a successful amphibious lifestyle over several generations.

acumen and a finely-tuned public profile, which highlighted the fine balancing act bankers had to perform when traversing the social hierarchy. Few bankers could match his success, even in the West End, but it is vital to see that the general principles of his domestic and professional self-fashioning were widely followed within the developing profession.[17]

There can be no doubt that the success of Coutts Bank was based on sound commercial principles, and Coutts always sought to retain a reputation for financial integrity through sheer industry and honest plain-dealing. However, while profits were never far from his mind, he recognised that his role brought him into the inner confidences of his clients, and he responded to such trust with impeccable discretion and a willingness to provide counsel on a range of matters often far beyond a mere financial brief. His ability to navigate such intimate matters rendered him a friend and counsellor to the social elite, often over many decades. This language of 'friendship' resonated in the correspondence of many other bankers with their upper-class clients, and helped to bridge the social divide without according the bankers the status of social equal.

This familiarity was also maintained through more sociable interactions with polite society. Given the extent of his cultural patronage, there can be no doubt of Coutts's genuine interest in the arts, but it is also clear that he used this to advantage. He retained a box at the theatre, which he gifted to clients on occasion. However, in common with most of his peers, he was not a connoisseur or significant collector, and, given his considerable fortune, he was very restrained in his own material needs.[18] Away from the Strand, he maintained a smart town-house at Stratton Street, Picadillly, but had no country villa or estate until his second marriage led to his instalment at his modest Holly Lodge retreat in Highgate. Even in his dress he was very modest, and this was reflected in his surviving portraits. More generally, he watched his family's public activity like a hawk, especially in the case of his three daughters, and was mortified by the prospect that their indiscretions might undermine his reputation. His name clearly became his social currency, and despite many trials, he successfully passed this to his banking successors at his death in 1822.[19]

While the afore-mentioned relationships helped to secure the prestige and business profits of the firm, the benefits of 'friendship' cut both ways, and it is clear that clients could manipulate such intimacy. Indeed, Coutts could at times let his commercial judgement be clouded by his favouritism for some clients: the painter Sir Thomas Lawrence being a particularly difficult customer in the course of over twenty years with the firm. Lawrence's capricious regard for his finances, combined with the inherent uncertainties of his profession, put great pressures on their relationship, even though it is clear that Coutts had a great regard for the artist and his abilities. By 1804, with an overdraft of over £1,000, the bank was keen to instil greater discipline into Lawrence's fiscal regime, and drew up a "New Plan" of regulations to put him "in a situation of independence and comfort". Lawrence wriggled on the leash and resisted several proposals to limit his access to credit, arguing that they were of

> the most essential importance to my comfort at home, and the peace and quiet of my mind in my professional labours.

The painter was calculating that Coutts would want him to stay in work to repay his debts, and played up to the

17. For Coutts's success as a banker, see Edna Healey, op cit, note 7, especially chapter 16. The younger son of an Edinburgh merchant and banker, he had entered the Strand House in 1761, and established himself as head of the bank by 1775. By the time of his death in 1822, the bank's accounts had increased eight-fold, and its profits nearly six-fold (Edna Healey, ibid, image of Marjoribanks memoir, between pp 296-7.

18. Edna Healey, ibid, pp 134-7. The 1785-6 sample suggests that most bankers were not active patrons of the arts, although all could afford to indulge in polite leisure pursuits. The more prominent patrons were invariable West End bankers, and they usually had the advantage of a more extensive education (beyond a training in trade).

19. David Wilcox, 'The Clothing of a Georgian Banker, Thomas Coutts: A Story of Museum Dispersal', *Costume*, no 46, 2012, pp 17-54.

banker's status as a public patron, acknowledging him as "a generous friend acquainted with the situation of artists". Not surprisingly, other partners were less tolerant of Lawrence, especially Edmund Antrobus, whose bank-learnt patience was clearly tested to its limits by Lawrence's endless excuses for settling his affairs. In this case, a banker's 'friend' had been less than faithful, with the painter still owing £2,000 at Coutts's death in 1822.[20]

Tellingly, the worst scandal Coutts experienced was caused indirectly by his engagement with the arts: his marriage to the actress Harriot Mellon. For a banker to be exposed to such public ridicule was a nightmare come true, for it threatened to expose all the patient, backstairs politicking he has maintained over the decades, as well as undermine a prized reputation as a steady-headed business of discretion. He had confided to the Countess of Chatham in 1792 that

> it was never my ambition to appear in print, and I conceived it one advantage of an humble situation that you might live unobserved.[21]

His marriage in 1815, when aged eighty, to the young actress Harriet Mellon, caused a rift with two of his daughters and exposed Coutts to the sneers and guffaws of a wider public. Coutts insisted that it was a love-match, and there does appear a genuine tenderness in his relations with Harriet, but the family's internecine warfare spilled over into Coutts's carefully-constructed networks right through to the Court itself, where Harriet was snubbed to Coutts's dismay. In common with the subsequent celebrated Queen Caroline affair, this domestic scandal sparked a more wide-ranging debate on the domestic order and harmony of the Coutts household, and Coutts was clearly aghast to find himself no longer in control of the situation. As he mused, he only wished

> that my voice, which in anything else I know would be listened to and observed, could in this cruel matter produce some good effect.

The scandal did not materially affect his bank, which defiantly continued to use his name after his death to underline his enduring commitment to his clients. However, it ensured him the scathing criticism of radical critics on his deathbed, who enjoyed the opportunity to pour scorn on the hollowness of his claims to familial harmony and security in both his professional and private life. Their barbs demonstrated that they regarded Coutts as a man of the elite, whose values (and perceived hypocrisy) intersected with his gentle clients in every way.[22]

CONCLUSION

In George Colman's comedy of 1774, *The Man of Business*, the central character Beverley was cast as a young partner in a West End bank. In a pretty formulaic knockabout comedy of modern manners, one exchange highlights the impact of the banking profession on contemporary society

> FABLE (Beverley's servant): What has a man of business to do with men of pleasure? Why is a young banker to live with young noblemen?
>
> MRS GOLDING: And why not, Mr Fable? Is not the business of the house carried on at the polite end of town? Does not he live in the very centre of persons of fashion? And has not he constant dealings with them? – Not shut up in Lombard Street – within the sound of Bow-bell, or in sight of the Monument – not cramming turtle and venison at the King's Arms, or the London Tavern – but balloted into the Macaroni, and a member of the Scavoir Vivre.[23]

20. National Library of Scotland, MS 10999, ff 122-154.

21. The National Archives, PRO30/28/9, Thomas Coutts to the Countess of Chatham, 6 April 1792. The occasion for Coutts's lament was merely a press reference to his daughters' attendance at a fashionable London assembly.

22. Bodleian Library, MS Eng Lett C.63, f. 23; *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, 30 March 1822.

23. George Colman, *The Man of Business, A Comedy*, London, 1774, p 2. The portrait of banker Beverley contrasts to the staid, plain-speaking central character of Colman's *The English Merchant* of 1767.

In essence, this exchange highlights the real and enduring differences between the Beau Monde and the City world in the later eighteenth century, but it also demonstrates how, for at least one commercial group, economic and social change had helped to foreshorten that distance. Writing in the wake of the Ayr Bank crash of 1772, Colman sought to capitalise on the current distaste for bankers and monied men in general, but he had touched on an important social phenomenon. This article has examined some of the ways in which bankers sought to make this relationship work, hoping thereby to highlight how the commercial world adapted to traverse a still evident social divide. Critics may have accused them of "empiricism" for such calculated self-presentation, but there is no mistaking the pressure of public scrutiny on the bankers. As Edinburgh banker Sir William Forbes observed:

> as from the nature of our business as bankers, we are almost entirely dependent on the regard and confidence of the public, it ought to be our duty to study and comply with the prejudices, whether well or ill founded, of those who are pleased to employ us.[24]

There are other bankers' stories that could be told here, and more focus could be given to other socio-cultural strategies. For instance, the remarkable parliamentary success of London bankers by the turn of the century would also show how their influence and their propensity to work with both local and government interests helped them to be assimilated by the power elite. Such studies would also show them acting in different (and illuminating) ways to their mercantile or other commercial brethren, whose socio-cultural impact was itself determined by the peculiar demands of their own economic world. Their goldsmithing past prepared bankers well for the challenges of accommodating the upper orders, but they could not completely desert their commercial roots. Bankers did often mirror the leisure choices of the aristocratic elite, but their penchant for the hunt and the theatre should not obscure a deeper and more intimate rapprochement, in the course of which the banker helped to transform the man of business into a figure of more reassuring familiarity. At a most intimate (and successful) level bankers like Coutts did not simply try to ape the fashionably polite but sought to provide a variety of services which would encourage their clients to consider them as friends, and durable ones at that. City-based bankers would not mix so readily with the upper orders in the course of their business, but they too needed to reassure a wider public of their innate trustworthiness, which would be represented in both a business and private capacity. Efficient financial services were naturally expected, but clients also sought a discrete and reliable confidante, who would eschew the riskier aspects of business, and would share their commitment to friends and family. In these ways, bankers did become another professional, although firmly ensconced in City ways.

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24. Sir William Forbes, *Memoirs of a Banking House*, London and Edinburgh, 1860, pp 52-3.

A PLATE INVENTORY FROM HOAR CROSS, STAFFORDSHIRE, 1927

JAMES LOMAX

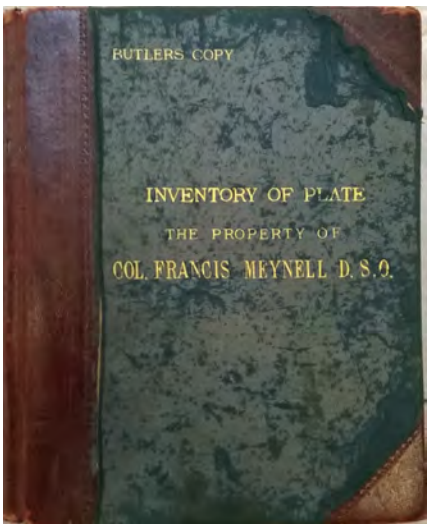

FIG 1
'Inventory of Plate the Property of Col Francis Meynell D.S.O. Hoar Cross Burton on Trent Butler's Copy (1927) compiled by Carrington & Co Ltd, 130 Regent Street, July 1927', front cover. (Image courtesy of Leeds Museums and Galleries)

In 2018 a typed and bound MS inventory of the plate at Hoar Cross, Staffordshire, compiled by Carrington & Co of Regent Street in 1927, appeared for sale on the internet in Australia *[Fig 1]*. The then-Curator at Temple Newsam, Rachel Conroy, realised its significance for the continuing repatriation and research into the silver collections of the Meynell and Ingram families and bought it for the museum's archive with a grant from the Silver Society.[1]

Hoar Cross *[Fig 2]* is a large Victorian country house, some seven miles from Burton-on-Trent, built between 1869 and 1871 by the architect Henry Clutton for Hugo Francis Meynell Ingram and his wife Emily Charlotte, née Wood, daughter of Charles, 1st Viscount Halifax. It was a new-build, some half a mile from the much smaller Old Hall and at the centre of the large estate bought in 1793 by Hugo Francis's grandfather, Hugo Meynell (formerly of Bradley and Ashley, Staffordshire), a celebrated sportsman and considered 'the founder of modern fox hunting in England'. Alas, the new house was barely complete before Hugo Francis died from complications arising from a fall while riding. His inconsolable childless widow inherited his entire estate outright.

Grand as it was, Hoar Cross was only the secondary seat of the Meynell Ingrams. Their main seat was Temple Newsam, Yorkshire, the great Tudor-Jacobean mansion re-built by the financier Sir Arthur Ingram 1622-42, but with associations going back to Lord Darnley and the early medieval Knights Templar. This property (and another sixteen other associated smaller estates in three counties) had been inherited in 1841 by Hugo Francis's father, Hugo Charles Meynell, through the latter's mother, née the Hon Elizabeth Ingram, the third daughter of the 9th, and last, Viscount Irwin of Temple Newsam. As the last male descendant of Sir Arthur Ingram Hugo Charles had perpetuated the name Ingram by adding it to his own.

Emily now found herself, at the age of thirty-one, one of the wealthiest independent women in England *[Fig 3]*. Strong minded but with little personal experience of estate management she

FIG 2
Hoar Cross, Staffordshire, 2015. (Photograph: the author)

1. Acc no LEEAG.2019.0185. The Ingram family plate has been published by the present author in 'The Grandeur of Plate', *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 1990, pp 3-24 (including transcripts of most of the archive documents) and in an edited version in *Silver Studies the Journal of the Silver Society*, 1994, no 6, pp 256-66. An update was provided in 'Family Silver Returns to Temple Newsam', *Silver Studies the Journal of the Silver Society*, 1997, no 9, pp 610-12. The plate of Littleton Poyntz Meynell was first published by Peter Cameron, 'Henry Jernegan, the Kandlers and the client who changed his mind', *Silver Studies the Journal of the Silver Society*, 1996, no 8, pp 487-501.

FIG 3
Sir William Blake Richmond, *Emily Charlotte Wood* (1840-1904), 1884, oil on canvas. (Photograph: Norman Taylor)

employed a series of professional men to develop her inheritance particularly for their mineral and real estate potential. So successful was she that, at her death in 1904, she had an income of over £100,000 per annum and the probate valuation of her property amounted to some £2.25 million. Despite this she always maintained she lived a 'quiet life' peregrinating between her fully-staffed households in Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and Eaton Square, and on her yacht, the 360 ton schooner the *Ariadne*, with its full time crew of thirty-six (spending at least two months each spring and autumn cruising the Mediterranean or the Baltic). In her private life she spent much time supervising the building and beautification of the Church of the Holy Angels at Hoar Cross as a shrine to her deceased husband, working in fruitful collaboration with her architect George Frederick Bodley (and also on other church building campaigns, always for the Anglo-Catholic cause). She was also a subscriber of a number of carefully-vetted philanthropic and ecclesiastical causes.[2]

For moral support and guidance Emily relied heavily on two of her four brothers: the eldest Charles ('Charlie'), later 2nd Viscount Halifax, and the youngest, the Hon Frederick Wood (Freddie). The latter, who had no other expectations, was persuaded to abandon his promising career at the bar to become his sister's full-time companion, manager, and general representative. Proper financial provision was made for him and all went well until he married the beautiful Lady Mary Lindsay and produced four children. The story of this strange ménage is outside the scope of this short paper but it must have been made endurable to Freddie and Lady Mary in the knowledge that their patience would ultimately be rewarded by a share in Emily's estate.[3]

Sure enough, on her death in 1904, Emily bequeathed Hoar Cross and her other Staffordshire property to Freddie, who now changed his family's name to Meynell in order to perpetuate the historic name in their adopted county. Not unexpectedly, the bulk of Emily's estate, all the Yorkshire properties, were bequeathed to her eldest brother Charlie's eldest surviving son, the Hon Edward Wood, later 3rd Viscount and 1st Earl of Halifax.

Emily's inheritance at her husband's death had also included the works of art at both Temple Newsam and Hoar Cross, collected by the Ingrams and the Meynells respectively. The former included a major group of Old Master paintings including works by Titian, Rubens, Rembrandt and Claude. The plate at Temple Newsam was good, if not exceptional, consisting of mainly the large dinner service ordered by the heiress Frances Viscountess Irwin from William Grundy just before her marriage in 1758 (subsequently enlarged by Parker and Wakelin), although there was a significant residue of items dating from earlier periods and campaigns.[4]

At Hoar Cross the lack of any important paintings was entirely compensated by the magnificent group of plate made by Charles Kandler and Frederick Kandler for Littleton Poyntz Meynell (circa 1695-1752) and probably bought through the retailer Henry Jernigan. This Meynell's place in the history of eighteenth-

2. For a full biography see the author's *Victorian Chatelaine: Emily Meynell Ingram of Temple Newsam and Hoar Cross*, Leeds, 2016.

3. Lady Mary Meynell, *Sunshine and Shadow over a Long Life*, 1933, passim.

4. James Lomax, op cit, see note 1.

FIG 4
The dining room sideboard, Temple Newsam, circa1900, showing juxtaposed Meynell and Ingram family plate.
This illustration was first reproduced in *Silver Studies the Journal of the Silver Society* (1994, no 6, p 261) with speculative identifications which can now be corrected.

TOP SHELF: all the items are described in the 1927 inventory. The Baltic tankards and Irish two handled cups were probably bought from curio shops by Mrs Meynell Ingram on her travels; the two circular salvers were probably supplied by Parker and Wakelin to Lord Irwin of Temple Newsam in 1773; the large shaped tray of 1726-27, engraved with the arms of Littleton Poyntz Meynell, is marked by Francis Nelme and is now in the Gilbert Collection.
MIDDLE SHELF: all the items are described in the 1927 inventory. The Baltic or York tankards were probably bought by Mrs Meynell Ingram from curio shops; the two tureens, circa 1730, have the arms of Littleton Poyntz Meynell and are now in the Cahn Collection. The two "vase castors" (sic, from a set of three) are from Lady Irwin's order to William Grundy, 1758, were re-engraved in 1773, and are now at Temple Newsam. The circular salver in the centre may be a Meynell piece and dates from 1755-56.
BOTTOM SHELF: the embossed two handled cup and cover is probably the "chased pott and cover with figures waying 31 oz quarter" supplied to 1st Viscount Irwin of Temple Newsam by John Pargiter in 1663 and is mentioned in the 1927 inventory; likewise the candelabra are probably those supplied by John Parsons of Sheffield to Lady Irwin in 1791. The small oval trays and miniature tankards cannot be identified. (Image courtesy of Leeds Museums and Galleries)

century English silver is well known and has been much documented, not least his patronage of the Kandlers and his role in commissioning "the largest and finest Silver Cistern that ever was or could be made", and his subsequent refusal to pay for it. Examples of the Kandlers' work, always highly distinctive, bearing Meynell's arms, survive in the Cahn Collection,[5] the V&A,[6] and the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Hartman Collection).[7] A unusual large, shaped, tray of 1726-27, engraved with his arms and marked by Francis Nelme, is in the Gilbert Collection.[8] Smaller Meynell pieces by the Kandlers and Francis Nelme have appeared on the market from time to time.[9]

Although Emily appears to have kept the two families' collections of heirlooms, paintings and other chattels separate and distinct in their respective houses, both during her lifetime and in her testamentary dispositions, this did not apply to the plate. The evidence suggests that whatever plate was required by her for entertaining at any of her properties was removed to wherever it was required. A photograph of the dining room sideboard at Temple Newsam, circa 1900, shows Meynell and Ingram plate happily juxtaposed, together with items probably bought by Emily herself in her quest for 'curios' *[Fig 4]*.

In her will Emily made no mention of how her plate was to be disposed of. From the evidence of the newly discovered inventory it appears, however, that Freddie must have taken possession of it all, possibly from as early as 1905: perhaps it was at Hoar Cross at the time of Emily's death and was therefore included in Freddie's inheritance of the whole property. Only a very few items of 'heirloom' plate at Temple Newsam appear to have been inherited by Edward Wood, again probably because these items were in the house at the time of Emily's death. Whether or not her silence was deliberate is not known but it is possible she thought that Edward would be well supplied with plate from the Wood family's collection in due course.

The fifty-eight page inventory reveals that the plate was kept in nineteen chests (and one additional chest "containing metal goods"). Their contents were mainly grouped by type: dinner plates,

5. Two tureens, circa 1730, Ellenor Alcorn, *Beyond the Maker's Mark: Paul de Lamerie Silver in the Cahn Collection*, Cambridge, 2006, pp 49-52.

6. Kettle and stand, circa 1730, acc no M.49.1 to 3 – 1939.

7. Two candlesticks, 1730, Christopher Hartop, *The Huguenot Legacy: English Silver 1680-1730 from the Alan and Simone Hartman Collection*, London, 1996, pp 380-2, no 100.

8. Tray, 1726, Timothy Schroder, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver*, London, 1988, pp 184-5, no 44.

9. These include tea caddies and casters, sale, Christie's, 4 November 1998, lots 109 and 110; and four deep dishes and covers, sale, Sotheby's New York, 24 October 2000, lot 326.

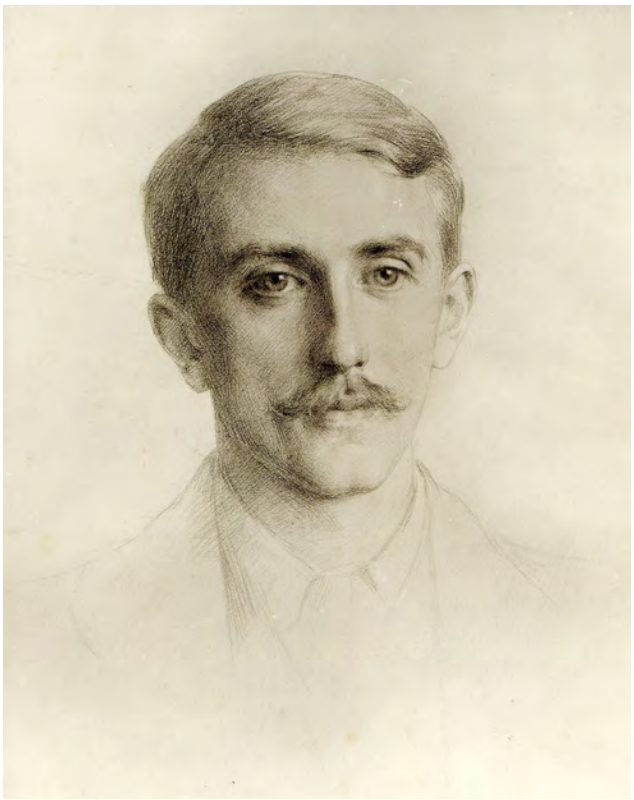

FIG 5
Unknown artist, *Francis Meynell as a young man*, circa 1900.
The Hoar Cross inventory was commissioned by him.
(Image courtesy of Leeds Museums and Galleries)

dishes, tureens, sauce boats, casters and cruets; flatware; candlesticks and candelabra; toilet silver; the chapel silver, tea wares; plated wares etc. But within these groups there was absolutely no attempt to separate the items by date, style or provenance. In a number of instances a date is provided but, for the most part, the compiler described the items as "antique", "Georgian", "foreign", "modern" etc. There is not a single maker's name, nor weights, and armorials (usually crests) are only occasionally described but never identified. There is a tabulated schedule showing the movement of the various chests between Coutts Bank, London, the National Provincial Bank at Burton-on-Trent, Hoar Cross and the London house at Grosvenor Crescent. Other hand-written annotations record later movements.

The reason for compiling the inventory can only be surmised. Ready money was usually in short supply at Hoar Cross after the First World War and it is possible that some members of the family had already begun to dispose of pieces, or at any rate have been tempted to do so. Freddie's son, the scrupulously correct Francis Meynell *[Fig 5]* who had inherited the property on the death of his father in 1910, evidently commissioned the document and his annotations are the most prominent.

Despite these disappointments the inventory is of interest not only in locating certain items, which have survived and are now in the public domain, but also for describing hitherto unrecorded items which may yet emerge on the market. Thus, for example, a tantalizing "heavily chased and gilt" twenty-two piece toilet service occupied the whole of Chest No 4: no other description is given, and it is impossible to speculate further. Was it a Meynell or an Ingram heirloom, Victorian, eighteenth-century, "modern", or what? There are no other documents or records to provide even a glimmer of an answer. Similarly, in Chest No 7 there was a fine epergne with

> a shaped pierced base with chased medallions and festoons, on 4 shell & scroll feet, 2 plain scroll arms with round pierced dishes, centre dish with screw-in vase.

This has been crossed through and initialed "DM" for Dorothy Meynell, daughter-in-law of Francis, who was probably responsible for many of the disposals between the 1940s and her death in 1993.[10]

Nevertheless, there are many references to items which can be readily identified. From the Meynell inheritance there are the two tureens now in the Cahn Collection made for Littleton Poyntz Meynell:

> 2 soup tureens & covers, oval, fluted, 2 chased horses head handles. Antique.[11]

Representing the later Meynells is an elegant figurative centrepiece by Garrard's of 1842-43, with two huntsmen investigating a fox earth beneath a tree, which occupied a chest of its own and was last seen at auction in 1994 *[Fig 6]*.[12]

From the Ingram (Temple Newsam) inheritance are sixteen from the set of twenty candlesticks ordered in 1717 by

10. The list of sales is too lengthy and complicated to include here. Recorded disposals probably began at Christie's on 21 June 1933; a large quantity of plate sold there and on 7 March 1946 and 27 April 1946. A significant group of dinner plate was sold, at Sotheby Parke Bernet, 28 October 1980, and at Christie's, 7 March 1990, lots 135-140. Later sales (from subsequent owners) include nine dinner plates by William Grundy from Lady Irwin's 1758 dinner service repatriated for Temple Newsam, sale, Sotheby's New York, 5 December 2015, lot 104.

11. Op cit, see note 5.

12. Sale, Sotheby's, 9 June 1994, lot 214.

FIG 6
The Meynell centrepiece, London, 1842-43, maker's mark of Robert Garrard for R & S Garrard. Inscribed 'Presented to Hugo Charles Meynell Ingram by the members of the Hoar Cross Hunt at the Friary Hotel, Derby, on the occasion of the recipient's thirtieth season as Master of Fox Hounds' and dated 1846.
(Image courtesy of Sotheby's)

the 5th Viscount Irwin from William Lukin via his banker, Daniel and Joseph Norcott (now repatriated to Temple Newsam). Lukin's two handled cup, also acquired at this date, later discovered to be a duty dodger, and also now returned to Temple Newsam, and its accompanying salver signed and spectacularly engraved by Joseph Sympson (now in the V&A[13]) are also listed, together with a modern replica of each.

At least four significant pieces from the Meynell group are not listed in the inventory and one can only speculate as to whether they had already been disposed of by the family, either since Emily's death in 1904, or much earlier. They include two pieces by Charles Kandler from the early 1730s: the rococo tea kettle and stand of circa 1730-32 in the V&A,[14] and the unusual pair of candlesticks in the Hartman Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston.[15] More absences include the large tray of 1726-27, by Francis Nelme, now in the Gilbert Collection (which appears in the photograph of the Temple Newsam sideboard);[16] a large silver-gilt tea tray of 1802-3 by Digby Scott and Benjamin Smith;[17] and the Louis XVI oval tureen by Jean-Baptiste-François Cheret of 1784.[18]

The inventory is a salutary lesson in how two historic collections can converge through inheritance, resulting in the loss of their separate identities, and all within a very short time. Nevertheless, the lists, however vague, give pointers and clues towards a fascinating backstory of two families and the lives and times of many generations. In the case of the Meynells and the Ingrams there is sufficient additional evidence elsewhere to flesh out the bald lists of the inventory with the stories of those who once owned and used these objects.

It is poignant too knowing that almost nothing in the inventory now remains with the descendants of these two families. The sting of regret is partly obviated in the knowledge that, by 1927, both families had already, strictly speaking, become extinct in the direct line.

James Lomax is a Curator Emeritus at Temple Newsam, Leeds where he worked for thirty years. He was Chairman of the Silver Society from 1998-9 and President from 2013-18. He has written extensively on the decorative arts and curated numerous exhibitions, most recently (with Adam Bowett) for the tercentenary Thomas Chippendale 1718-1779: a celebration of British Craftsmanship and Design *(2018).*

13. Acc no M.41-1947.

14. Op cit, see note 6.

15. Op cit, see note 7.

16. Op cit, see note 8.

17. Sale, Christie's New York, 11 April 2003, lot 231.

18. Sale, Sotheby's, 18 June 1964, lot 34.

DAVID PAPILLON, PHILIP BURLAMACHI AND THE ROEHAMPTON SET

MALCOLM AIRS

FIG 1
Unknown artist, *David Papillon* (1581-1659) aged seventy-three, 1654, oil on canvas.
(Image courtesy of Leicestershire County Museums Service)

As a result of the influence of three inter-related Huguenot families the small rural hamlet of Roehampton between Richmond Park and Putney on the south bank of the River Thames became a favoured country retreat for wealthy courtiers and jewellers in the early years of the seventeenth century. The families had all sought refuge in London to escape religious persecution in Italy and France and they were all involved in dealing in precious stones amongst other commercial activities which enabled them to establish substantial fortunes. The ties between them were strengthened by marriage as well as business. Two of the families, that of Philip Burlamachi and Jean Calandrini, were in partnership and by 1620 were the joint occupants of a large house in Putney High Street. Philip was married to Elizabeth Calandrini, Jean's daughter, and shortly after they had taken up residence in Putney they were joined by David Papillon who five years before had married Anna Maria, another of Jean's daughters *[Fig 1]*. Amongst his other business activities, Papillon was a developer and he seems to have identified the potential of Roehampton as soon as he moved to the locality.

Papillon's arrival in England had been particularly dramatic. He was the younger son of the Captain of the Guard to the future Henry IV of France. In 1588 his mother fled France in a small boat with the seven year old David and his two older sisters.[1] Tragically the boat was shipwrecked off Hythe and his mother was drowned but the three children were all rescued. They were brought up in the French community in London. The two sisters, Anne and Esther, were married on the same day in May 1594 to two brothers, David and Abraham Chambrelan, who came from a merchant family originally based in Rouen. Papillon himself was apprenticed to a master jeweller in 1597 and on the completion of his apprenticeship in 1604 he left England for a European tour to study contemporary fortifications in the company of Philip Burlamachi. Burlamachi was to become the leading banker to the Stuart court and a major figure in European finance but at this stage in his career he was principally a dealer in precious stones. He had been born in France of Italian stock and had been active in the Netherlands before settling in London in 1605. His friendship with Papillon had presumably been forged within the jewellery trade and was later cemented by marriage into the Calandrini family.

Papillon remained in Europe for a lengthy period and did not return to London until 1609 when he set up in business trading in precious stones. A book of his letters and accounts dating from 1609 to 1612 shows that most of his dealings were with his brother-in-law David Chambrelan, who had returned to Rouen, but he also did a significant amount of business with the Calandrini family. Papillon became a deacon of the French church and in 1611 he married Marie Costel, the daughter of the pastor. She died in May 1614 and in the following July he married Anna Maria.

No doubt using the profits from his jewellery business, Papillon established a side-line in property speculation and was involved in a number of housing developments in the City and the suburbs including projects in St Giles, Islington and Finsbury. Shortly after his marriage to Anna Maria he moved south of the river from his house in Islington to Putney to join the Calandrini and Burlamachi families. Philip Burlamachi had established himself as an

1. A F W Papillon, *Memoirs of Thomas Papillon of London, Merchant*, London, 1887, provides a thoroughly researched family history which draws on records that are no longer available. The most comprehensive modern account is Malcolm Airs, 'David Papillon: Architect, Military Engineer, Developer, Author and Jeweller', *The Georgian Group Journal*, XXV, 2017, pp 1-14. This is fully referenced so the sources are not repeated here.

FIG 2
Robert Mylne, *George Heriot*, Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh.
(Image courtesy of Malcolm Airs)

indispensable source of finance to the Crown. In 1613 he had loaned James I £6,000 and it is testimony of his value to the government that in 1619, when he was fined £2,000 in the Star Chamber for illegally exporting gold, his fine was remitted in return for a further loan of £10,000 to the king. These large sums pale into insignificance in comparison to his dealings during the war years of 1624-9. During that period he loaned the Crown more than £127,000, much of it to finance English and foreign military operations. In addition he stood security for the government for its borrowings and provided funds for the payment of English ambassadors abroad and the purchase of art treasures for the royal collection.[2]

It was into this world of high finance that Papillon moved when he joined his brother-in-law south of the river. He bought an estate in Roehampton adjacent to Putney in January 1620 and built himself a large house later known as Elm Grove which was rated at twenty hearths under the Hearth Tax of the 1660s.[3] Whether he intended this as a speculation is not clear, but he only lived in it for two years before selling it to George Heriot. Heriot was part of the Scottish court of James I which moved to London in 1603 when he succeeded Elizabeth I as monarch. He was a goldsmith and jeweller who had effectively acted as banker to Queen Anne, wife of James I, in response to her insatiable love for jewellery. He lent her significant amounts of money, often secured on jewellery he himself had sold her. It was estimated that between 1593 and 1603 he did £50,000 of business with her. When the court moved to London he was appointed Jeweller to the King on a modest annual stipend of £150. He continued to make loans to the Queen from which he drew sizeable amounts of interest. He had a town house in the Strand and he only enjoyed his country retreat for two years before dying in 1624. His principal legacy was Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh which was begun in 1628 to provide free education for the children of deceased burgesses in that city[4] *[Fig 2]*.

Having sold Elm Grove, Papillon immediately built himself another house on an adjacent plot where one of his sons was born in 1623. Again, he only lived in it for a short period before selling it in 1625 to Sir Richard Weston, 1st Earl of Portland *[Fig 3]*. Whether Burlamachi's court connections were responsible for attracting Heriot to Roehampton is uncertain but, given his close business relationship with Weston it is highly likely that he introduced the latter to Papillon. Weston had been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1621 and he played a key role under Charles I in finding ways of

FIG 3
Studio of Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599 -1641), *Sir Richard Weston, 1st Earl of Portland KG (1577-1634/5)*, circa 1638, oil on canvas.
(Kingston Lacy © National Trust)

2. A V Judges, 'Philip Burlamachi: A Financier of the Thirty Years War', *Economica*, no 18, 1926, 285-300. See also the entry for Burlamachi *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004.

3. For the various houses in Roehampton see the following publications by Dorian Gerhold; *Putney & Roehampton Past,* 1994, *Villas and Mansions of Roehampton and Putney Heath*, 1997, *Roehampton in 1617*, 2001. I am deeply indebted to him for generously sharing his extensive knowledge of the locality with me.

4. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004.

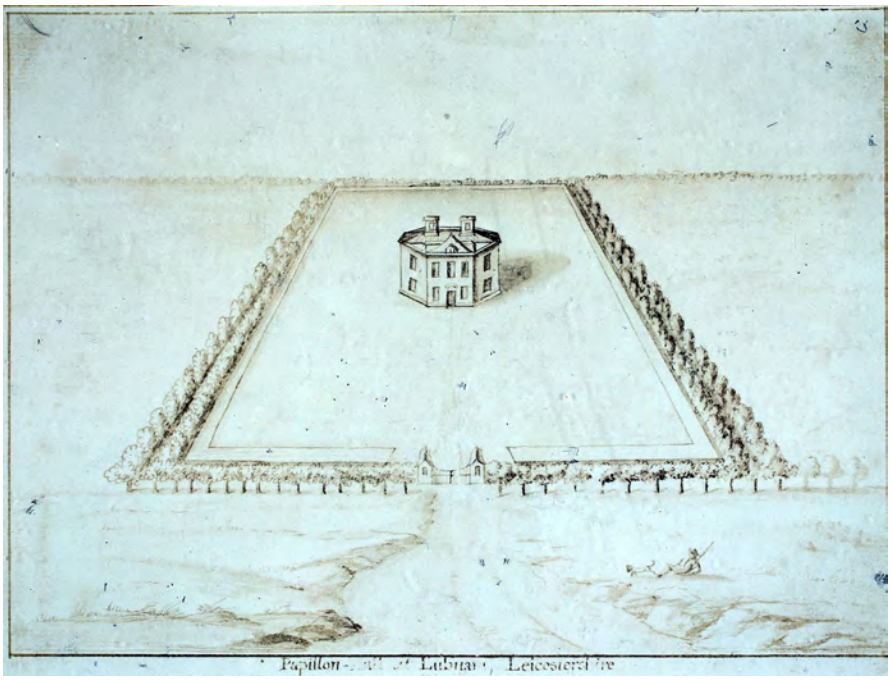

FIG 4
Papillon Hall, Lubenham, Leicestershire.
(Image courtesy of Leicestershire County Record Office)

securing the revenue necessary to support the Crown during the period of personal rule.[5]

He was directly responsible for the enormous loans negotiated with Burlamachi and in June 1626 he spoke in Parliament in favour of a petition from Burlamachi for the reimbursement of the money he had secured on behalf of the Council of War, stating that the "armies in the Low Countries could not have subsisted" without Burlamachi's credit. Having purchased Papillon's house, he enlarged it with a private chapel, extended the surrounding park, and laid out formal gardens under the supervision of Balthasar Gerbier, another Huguenot. It is a mark of its status that the Great House, as it was later called, was by 1674 the largest private house in Surrey with fifty-six hearths and was owned by the dowager Countess of Devonshire.

During the brief period that Papillon was living in the Great House he built himself a third house in Roehampton which he let to Samuel Neast, a London goldsmith. This was undoubtedly a speculation and in 1624 he sold it to Anthony Thayre, a citizen and leather seller of London. All three houses were later demolished and sadly no images survive of any of them. He almost certainly designed them himself and, given his subsequent architectural projects, they probably had a very distinctive form. By 1626 he had severed his ties with Roehampton and in the following year he purchased a country estate at Lubenham in Leicestershire. He continued to retain a London house in Islington and remained active in the jewellery trade. In 1629 he accompanied Burlamachi on an expedition to Amsterdam to sell the crown jewels at a commission of 2% which netted him £272. His Leicestershire estate cost him £2,010 and he spent a further £800 on building a country house and laying out the gardens. Compared to the enormous sums that Heriot and Burlamachi were lending the Crown, this was a relatively modest investment. He named his new house Papillon Hall and it was later enlarged by Lutyens before being demolished in 1950.

Its singular design caused a great stir in the county *[Fig 4]*. It was octagonal in plan with a viewing platform on the roof and it was set within a rectangular moated enclosure. Here Papillon re-invented himself as a country gentleman. He took on the office of Treasurer of Leicestershire and pursued a cultured life with a particular interest in political theory and theology, publishing a number of books on these subjects. His advice on architectural matters was solicited by Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex in 1636 when he was making improvements to his country seat at Milcote in Warwickshire.[6] Cranfield was Weston's predecessor as Lord Treasurer to James I and it was Papillon's brother-in-law, Pompee Calandrini, who conveyed Cranfield's appreciation to Papillon for his "sage advis & conseil". Clearly the world of government finance provided

5. Michael Van Cleave Alexander, *Charles I's Lord Treasurer: Sir Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, 1577-1635*, London, 1975, *and Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004.

6. The house was demolished in 1644. See Geoffrey Tyack, *Warwickshire Country Houses* , Bognor Regis, 1994, pp 255.

the connection between the patron and the architect. Later in 1651 Papillon was consulted by his near neighbour Sir Justinian Isham on plans for extending his house at Lamport in Northamptonshire. Some of his ambitious designs for Lamport Hall survive although Isham eventually rejected them in favour of a more modest extension by John Webb.

During the Civil War Papillon took the Parliamentary side and used the experience that he had gained more than forty years earlier on his European tour with Philip Burlamachi to publish *A Practical Abstract of the Arts of Fortification* in 1645. On the strength of the book he was commissioned to fortify Gloucester, Leicester and Northampton against the Royalist forces. He died in 1659 a wealthy man. From a traumatic start in a sinking refugee boat in the English Channel he had risen to become a respected member of county society. His business acumen as a jeweller had been the foundation for his later achievements as a property developer, author, architect and engineer. His relationships by marriage with the Calandrini and Burlamachi families had brought him into court circles and had helped to establish Roehampton as a fashionable location for the country seats of successful business men. Philip Burlamachi was the catalyst who had made all this possible and had first introduced him to the development opportunities in Roehampton. Papillon used his wealth wisely but Burlamachi was not so fortunate. The coming of peace on the Continent had ended his usefulness to the government and he was massively in debt. In 1632 it was calculated that he owed interest payments of £14,763 and in the following year he was declared bankrupt, largely as a result of the failure of an undertaking by the Lord Treasurer to keep up payments to him. The Treasurer was, of course, Richard Weston his near neighbour in one of Papillon's houses in Roehampton.

Burlamachi was given royal protection from his creditors and in March 1633 Weston signed an order to repay him £200 which he had spent on the king's behalf in payment to the painter Van Dyck. The Crown's principal debt to him was discharged in 1637, two years after the death of Weston. His claim for interest and expenses, however, was not allowed. In 1641 he was imprisoned for alleged defiance of a parliamentary order and he died in penury in 1644. It was a sad end for a man who had once effectively been the banker to the government and who was noted as the first person to propose a national clearing bank. That project only came to fruition in 1694 with the establishment of the Bank of England.

This article is based on a paper originally presented at the conference *Goldsmiths and Bankers as Collectors* which took place at Goldsmiths' Hall on 28 October 2019.

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He has published extensively on both architectural history and conservation and in 2019 was awarded the OBE.

FABERGE: A CULTURAL PHENOMENON OF THE MODERN AGE

MARINA LOPATO | *Translated by Catherine Phillips*

FIG 1
Business card of Carl Fabergé, France, early twentieth-century.

When Marina Lopato died she was full of plans for future exhibitions and publications, most of which must remain unrealised. The following article was the last that she completed and was still untranslated at the time of her death: it is thus not edited as she would perhaps have wished. We have decided to publish it nonetheless, for it covers an important subject, one on which she felt strongly, and calls on us to reflect on the need for serious scholarship in order to withstand the pressures of those market interests that dominate the world of Fabergé, as well as other comparable fields, in the twenty-first century.

Today the name Fabergé is a brand. A brand on which thousands of people make money or make their name, which they use to win a popularity that is at times highly ambiguous. When the firm closed in 1918 it was employing some 500 people. If each of those was one of a family of five, some 2,500 people were living off Fabergé's earnings. That number can now be multiplied many times. Not only are there hundreds of stone-carvers, jewellers and enamellers quite openly creating imitations and fakes, or objects 'in Fabergé style' (as they say somewhat euphemistically) but there are dealers and collectors, all kinds of 'experts' and agents claiming to be connoisseurs or skilled valuers, through whose agency ever more fakes and imitations are allowed to enter the market. Publishers and their employees, gallery owners, journalists, writers of books, catalogues and articles, archivists and photographers, artists and exhibition designers: these are all part of the business that is what Fabergé has come to stand for. And each of them has a family. No less incredible is the geographical scope of the Fabergé phenomenon: while members of this 'community' are active mainly in Russia, the USA and Europe, they are also to be found further afield, in Turkey, South Africa and Australia. Their activities are supported through the media, through newspapers and magazines, radio and television, which in turn make money out of Fabergé by creating programmes and films. Fabergé exhibitions have become blockbuster entertainments, the walls plastered with blow-ups of Russian churches against a blood-red sunset, of coronations, of members of the Russian royal family and Rasputin, creating a setting for glamorous fashion shows within the exhibition space.

What does any of this have to do with Carl Fabergé and his indisputable achievements?

Fabergé owed much of his success to his understanding of people and their tastes, to a perspicacity and sound

FIG 2
Kettle, aluminium, circa 1915, Fabergé.
(The Russian National Museum, Moscow, on loan to the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. Photograph by Aleksey Pakhomov)

FIG 3
Carl Bulla, photograph of a charity exhibition of the products of Fabergé, von Dervis Mansion, St Petersburg, silver-bromine print, 1902.

business sense that allowed him to find his own niche even in the midst of serious competition. Standards, however, were always maintained, whether an object was part of his mass output or a unique piece commissioned by someone of wealth and rank. Whatever one's attitude to Fabergé's creations, there can be no doubt that Carl Fabergé himself was proud of his firm's products and where a genuine item seems to depart from his high standards, it was nearly always in reaction to some specific request from a particular client.

Fakes, imitations and repetitions represent the most acute problem faced by Fabergé scholars and collectors. More than a hundred years have passed since the firm ceased to exist, yet at times one almost feels as though its output is as intensive as it was at the start of the twentieth century: 'Fabergé' works regularly turn up at auction or in the hands of dealers or collectors. It has been estimated that Fabergé sold about 250,000 pieces in total, but of the 50,000 to 60,000 works known today, on the market, in museums and in private hands, according to Geza von Habsburg (who coined the phrase 'Fauxbergés'[1]) only about 20,000 are genuine. I myself have visited workshops where the shelves are stacked with plaster casts of elephants, bulldogs, pigs and monkeys used as models for stone carvings that are often of the very highest quality, but which are not true Fabergé.

Craftspeople have looked to the past throughout the history of silver and jewellery; they have absorbed its lessons,

1. Géza von Habsburg and Marina Lopato, *Fabergé: Imperial Jewellery*, exhibition catalogue, State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, 1993, pp 165-7.

FIG 4
Decorative *kovsh*, silver-gilt, House of Fabergé, 1899–1908.

using them to create their own individual style. Were not ancient engraved gems the touchstone for Italian Renaissance gem-engravers, inspiring them to imitate and to innovate? Outright fakes have always been a different matter, however, not least because no buyer or owner likes to think they have been deceived. In the end, making fakes is largely a matter of technical skill: it is much easier than creating a new work, even one in a similar style. To innovate one has so many options: to take the original and use it to resolve one's own artistic aspirations, to produce a subtle reflection of its inner essence, or merely replicate its characteristic forms and patterns. All too often, those who declare themselves to be 'continuing the tradition' are simply adopting the most superficial aspects of Fabergé's output, saccharine-sweet and not without a large dose of kitsch. It is not only the less-demanding and less well-informed who approve of such work: at times, even professionals are enthusiastic. Dangerously, it is often hard to see the dividing line between these pieces 'à la Fabergé' and deliberate fakes.

A HISTORY OF FAKES

Imitators were a problem even during Fabergé's lifetime and it is not always possible to distinguish the finer works of the Petersburg jewellers Ivan Britsyn, Alexander Tillander or Karl Gahn from his firm's mass output. European competitors, meanwhile, sought to tempt wealthy clients by 'borrowing' aspects of the Fabergé style, particularly after his success at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1900. Amongst the larger firms were Kochert in Vienna, Collingwood and Co in London, and the Friedländer Brothers in Berlin, but perhaps the greatest rivals were Cartier (representatives visited St Petersburg several times) and Boucheron (who opened a branch in Moscow in 1897). Von Habsburg has demonstrated that Cartier's books record 169 flower compositions and 200 hardstone animal figures, many acquired from craftsmen who were supplying Fabergé, such as Mikhail Ovchinnikov, Karl Werfel and Alexey Denisov-Uralsky, and has pointed out that most are probably now mixed up among the objects attributed to Fabergé. The question inevitably arises as to whether this was Cartier's intention at the time.

On Carl Fabergé's death, his sons Eugène and Alexander established Fabergé & Cie in Paris selling, among other things, stone figures made to Alexander's designs in the town of Idar Oberstein, in Germany. Some of these too have inevitably been identified with Carl himself, whose close contacts with the town saw him acquiring stones there, and perhaps even ready-made objects.

True fakes started to turn up in large numbers in the USA in the late 1920s and 1930s, not without some assistance from Armand Hammer and one of the several Soviet bodies responsible for foreign trade. Emerging in major centres, these objects did much to promote a wave of interest in Fabergé.

In Russia itself, fakes came to prominence in the 1960s, thanks to Naum Nikolaevsky and his brother-in-law Vasily

FIG 5
Pig figurine, beloretsk quartzite, wood and diamonds, 1900s, House of Fabergé.

Konovalenko. They specialised in the sale of genuine enamels, from which they had removed old marks, replacing them with those of Carl Fabergé, but their greatest success was to come with carved stone figures of people and animals, which found their way onto the Western market.

When Nikolaevsky and Konovalenko were arrested and sentenced in 1969 the void was soon filled by Mikhail Monastyrsky. In 1977, after a stint in prison, he met a black-market dealer and handler of stolen goods, Albert Heifetz (known as Alik), who suggested that they turn out stone and silver items in the manner of Fabergé. Their well-organised enterprise involved numerous individuals, most of whom had no idea that the small pieces they were producing were to become part of larger objects put on sale in Leningrad, or further afield, via middlemen. Well-known artists, jewellers and stone carvers, as well as younger unknown individuals, found themselves caught up unawares in a large criminal operation. Although fully aware of what was going on, the law-enforcement agencies intervened only when foreign buyers started taking goods abroad. Monastyrsky was arrested for hard currency offences and illegal dealing in antiques, but the 'fake machine' continued its workings, gaining momentum and intensity.

WHY FABERGÉ?

To more fully understand the reasons behind, and the scope of interest in, Fabergé's products and to comprehend how they came to exert such a strong influence on the revival of craftsmanship in Russia (above all on the carving of coloured stones), we need to consider the context in which this interest emerged. The ideological and spiritual vacuum left by the failure of the Communist system did much to promote a fascination with Russia's imperial heritage and with pre-1917 cultural traditions: a fascination that affected every layer of society to some degree. Idealised and mythologised, the past became a lost paradise contrasting with the grey reality of 'developed socialism', while the tragic end of the last tsar and his family did much to facilitate their elevation to the pantheon of hero-gods. But amongst the other symbols of 'Old Russia' was court jeweller Carl Fabergé, who encapsulated the image of Russian magnificence, of Russian skill and the Russian art of stone carving. By the late 1980s, not surprisingly, the art of Fabergé had come to be seen as the benchmark of aesthetic quality and as a model of impeccable taste, shaping the artistic preferences of a generation of collectors and admirers of jewellery and hardstones in the new Russia. For many years, such collectors judged contemporary pieces by their similarities to the products of the famous pre-revolutionary firm. This inevitably had an effect on those craftsmen and artists whose livelihood depended on their clients' desires. The growing market needed to be fed, and demand led to increased production of both more-or-less precise replicas and outright fakes. But the use of precious stones and metals was strictly regulated by the authorities and such items were increasingly exported illegally, avoiding customs duties and leading the law-enforcement agencies to take a closer look.

Ironically, it was this situation that did much to stimulate specialist study of the firm's history and output for, when objects were confiscated, museum

FIG 6
Fish-shaped ashtray, silver, 1890s, House of Fabergé, master Julius Rappoport

FIG 7
Framed miniatures of the Russian Imperial family, watercolour on ivory, gold and silver-gilt, circa 1896–1905, House of Fabergé, master Johan Viktor Aarne (Cleveland Museum of Art, the India Early Minshall Collection)

specialists were asked to provide an expert opinion. Until the 1980s Fabergé had been largely ignored: there were no publications save for a slender brochure published in 1971 by Irina Alexandrovna Rodimtseva[2], whose status as director of the Armoury in the Moscow Kremlin allowed her to bypass the unspoken ban on publications dealing with this symbol of tsarist Russia. Works in museums were kept in store and the Hermitage had no scholarly literature, save a copy of Kenneth Snowman's *The Art of Carl Fabergé*[3] that someone had brought back from a rare trip abroad.

When I was approached by the authorities for information on fakes I was forced to dig into the archives. With beginner's luck I immediately discovered fascinating documents relating to the first Fabergé Easter eggs and other early pieces, as well as to Fabergé's work as restorer for the Hermitage. Thus began a new stage in the study of the firm's history, fed by a rich body of archive material. Publication continued to be controversial, however, and it was only after a battle royal that I was able to publish an article in 1983: 'Metalwork by Fabergé'.[4] Permission was required from the Ministry of Culture before this material could be published abroad, but in 1984 an English version appeared in *Apollo* under the title 'Fresh Light on Faberge'[5] followed by another article in English in 1991.[6]

By this time Fabergé was on everyone's lips. In 1989 Vyacheslav Vasilyevich Mukhin, Director of the Elagin Island Palace Museum in St Petersburg, had the idea for an exhibition entitled *Great Fabergé*, still a daring move. Not only was it the first display of works by the firm of Fabergé in the USSR but, thanks to Ulla Tillander-Godenhielm, it included loans from foreign collections. The exhibition was the catalyst that sparked interest in the art of coloured hardstones for a whole new generation of enthusiasts.

In 1992 Mukhin initiated a second exhibition, *The Fabulous Epoch of Fabergé*, held in the Catherine Palace at Pushkin (Tsarskoe Selo), south of St Petersburg. That same year the Armoury held its own *World of Fabergé* exhibition in Moscow, organised by Rodimtseva. Already in the planning stage in 1991 was a large show organised by the American Fabergé Arts Foundation jointly with the Hermitage Museum, *Fabergé: Imperial Jeweller*. With loans from museums in St Petersburg and Moscow and from major foreign lenders, it was held in the George's Hall of the Winter Palace in 1993–94, before moving on to Paris and London.[7] Running in parallel was an exhibition of works by contemporary St Petersburg metalworkers and stone carvers, entitled *Under the Mark of Fabergé*. The Fabergé Arts Foundation did much to support contemporary craftspeople, holding exhibitions and

2. Irina Alexandrovna Rodimtseva, *Ювелирные изделия фирмы Фаберже*, [Jewelled Objects of the Firm of Faberge], Moscow, 1971.

3. Kenneth Snowman, *The Art of Carl Fabergé*, London, 1953.

4. Marina Lopato, '*Ювелирные изделия Фаберже*' [Metalwork by Fabergé], *Декоративное искусство СССР* [Decorative Arts in the USSR], no 6, 1983, pp 41-3.

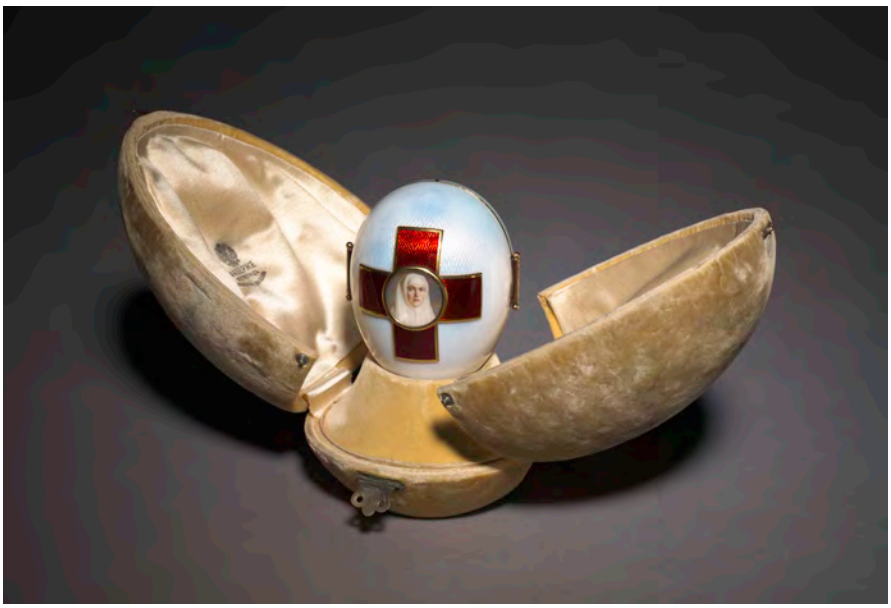
5. Marina Lopato, 'Fresh Light on Fabergé', *Apollo*, January 1984, no 263, pp 43-9.

6. Marina Lopato, '"Faberge Eggs". Re-dating from New Evidence', *Apollo*, February 1991, no 348, pp 91-4.

7. Géza von Habsburg, Marina Lopato, op cit, see note 1.

FIG 8
Kremlin tower clock, rhodonite, silver, enamel, emerald and sapphires circa 1913, House of Fabergé
(Cleveland Museum of Art, the India Early Minshall Collection)

FIG 9
Imperial Red Cross Easter Egg, gold, silver gilt, enamel, glass and ivory, 1915, House of Fabergé, master Henrik Wigström
(Cleveland Museum of Art, the India Early Minshall Collection)



competitions, bringing them together to talk about their plans and their problems. On the initiative of the Foundation three shows were held in the Blue Bedroom of the Winter Palace between 1997 and 2000, under the common title *Great Fabergé in the Hermitage*. Many articles and books have appeared since, the work of Valentin Skurlov, Tatiana Muntyan and Alexander Ivanov, and new authors continue to emerge, who have concentrated on specific aspects of the firm's history or on individual works.

The advancement of Fabergé studies relies on archival work, in which context we must draw particular attention to the catalogue of the 1993 exhibition which set a high standard, matched by only a few since, notably Rifat Gafifullin, whose publications reflect his unparalleled knowledge and understanding of the archives.[8] Only careful use of archival material can help us sort out the vast body of objects that go under the name of Fabergé, to understand the cultural, social and philosophical aspects of the Fabergé phenomenon and to be of service to scholars, dealers and collectors. As we approach the thirtieth anniversary of that ground-breaking exhibition of 1993, and interest in Fabergé continues to grow, we must always keep this in mind.

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8. Notably Rifat Gafifullin, *Изделия фирмы Фаберже конца XIX – начала XX века в собрании ГМЗ "Павловск"* [Works by the Fabergé Firm Late Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Century in the Collection of Pavlovsk State Museum Reserve] IX/ I, St Petersburg, 2013 (Pavlovsk State Museum Reserve Full Collection Catalogues).

PAINTED IN GOLD: JACOB VAN DORT (circa 1575–1629) AND HIS FAMILY

ELSABETH DIKKES

FIG 1
Jacob van Dort, *Christian IV of Denmark*, portrait miniature, gouache on parchment, dated 1623. (The Danish Royal Collection, Copenhagen)

The relationship between the art of the goldsmith, the jeweller, and the newly emergent art of the miniature painter, in the early modern period has long been noted.[1] An example of a family that managed to combine all these professions for over a century is that of the van Dorts who migrated from Antwerp to the north German territories of the Holy Roman Empire in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.[2] This article takes the court artist Jacob van Dort (circa 1575-1629) as a starting point and investigates his family's connections to other goldsmiths, primarily in Antwerp, Hamburg and Scandinavia.

THE YEARS OF PROSPERITY

Jacob van Dort was identified, in the nineteenth century by Danish academics, as a foreign artist who had come to Denmark in the early 1600s.[3] He was resident in Hamburg at this time but travelled frequently to the courts of Gottorf in Schleswig-Holstein, Copenhagen and Stockholm to carry out commissions for his patrons, Duke Johann Adolf von Schleswig-Gottorf (1575-1616), Christian IV of Denmark (1577-1648), Gustav II Adolph of Sweden (1594-1632) and their royal consorts, Princess Augusta of Denmark (1580-1639), Anna Katharina von Brandenburg (1575-1612), Kirsten Munk (1598-1658) and Maria Eleanora von Brandenburg (1599-1655). It is known from the archives in both Gottorf and Copenhagen that, during the period in which he worked at these courts, he was paid for a wide variety of objects ranging from life-size sculpted busts to large paintings and miniature portraits for which he used wax, silver, gold and gouache.[4]

Two miniatures by van Dort of Christian IV and his second wife Kirsten Munk, in the Royal Danish Collection in Copenhagen,[5] provide the visual evidence for his use of these materials. *[Fig 1* and *Fig 2]*: he applied silver and gold and bright red and blue pigments to render the splendidly attired royal couple. The images demonstrate his close observation of the materials used by the court costume makers and jewellers: Christian IV is shown wearing a sash trimmed in gold and a sword belt with a gold/gilded clasp and Kirsten Munk is depicted wearing a dress with golden corded knots on the sleeves and bodice, a necklace embellished with a pearl, hair jewels and an exquisite enamel and gold pendant on her chest showing the letters K and C intertwined over a figure of Mars and Venus holding hands.[6] *[Fig 3* and *Fig 4]*.

Painted about six years before his death, the stylistic qualities of these portraits demonstrate the technical accuracy

FIG 2
Jacob van Dort, *Kirsten Munk*, portrait miniature, gouache on parchment, dated 1623 and signed XD.
(The Danish Royal Collection, Copenhagen)

1. Katherine Coombs, ''A Kind of Gentle Painting': Limning in 16th-Century England', *European visions: American voices*, London, 2009, pp 77-8. Michael Bycroft and Sven Dupré (eds), *Gems in the Early Modern World: Materials, Knowledge and Global Trade*, 1450–1800, London, 2019, p 180.

2. This article draws from the results of my previous research, Elsabeth Alicia Dikkes, 'From Antwerp to Gottorf – New Archival Findings in Relation to Jacob van Dort (c 1575-1629)', Kirsten Baumann, Constanze Köster and Uta Kuhl (eds), *Wissenstransfer und Kulturimport in der Frühen Neuzeit. Die Niederlande und Schleswig-Holstein*, Petersberg, 2020, pp 203-15.

3. Niels Laurits Høyen, *N L Høyens Skrifter*, Copenhagen, 1874, vol 1, p 246; Karl Madsen, *Studier fra Sverig*, Copenhagen, 1892, pp 70-1.

4. Harry Schmidt, 'Niederländer in den Gottorfer Rentekammerbüchern', *Oud Holland* 35, 1917, pp 83-4.

5. Jørgen Hein and Peter Kristiansen, *Rosenborg Castle: a guide to the Danish royal collections*, Copenhagen, 2005, p 128.

6. Jacob van Dort probably repeated both portraits in a large format. One of Kirsten Munk is currently preserved in the National Museum of History at Frederiksborg Castle, Hillerød, Denmark.

FIG 3
Jacob van Dort, *Christian IV of Denmark*, portrait miniature, dated 1623 [Fig 1], detail of sash and sword belt.
(The Danish Royal Collection, Copenhagen)

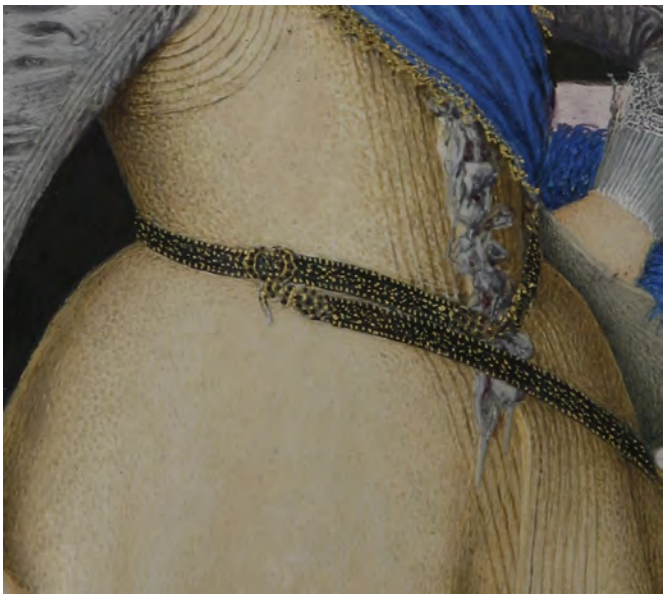

FIG 4
Jacob van Dort, *Kirsten Munk*, portrait miniature, dated 1623 and signed XD [Fig 2], detail of the bodice and jewels.
(The Danish Royal Collection, Copenhagen)

that Jacob van Dort had come to master during his career. For a long time it was not known where he trained and underwent the artistic education that contributed so significantly to his skills. Earlier this year, however, I identified him as a second-generation artist whose parents had migrated from Antwerp between 1576 and 1584.[7] During his journeys to northern Germany and Denmark Jacob van Dort probably kept in close contact with his father, Cornelis II van Dort (1546-1603?), who lived with him in the same house in Hamburg.[8]

Cornelis II van Dort, previously unknown in relation to Jacob van Dort, was descended from a wealthy family of jewellers and goldsmiths from the southern Netherlands that can be traced back to 1523. His early life and paternal lineage in Antwerp can be reconstructed using the goldsmiths' registers in the Antwerp City Archives. On 7 May 1561, when he was fifteen his own father, Cornelis I van Dort (1523-81), opened a jewellery shop at what is now 55 Lange Nieuwstraat in the heart of Antwerp.

The building was called the *Witten Engel* (the White Angel) and had been occupied by goldsmiths since the early fifteenth century.[9] It was located next to the Church of St Jacob and close to the Cathedral of Our Lady which still stands at the end of the street. From the early 1500s many jewellers, who worked as both craftsmen and as dealers, had set up their workshops on the same premises as their shops where they received their clients.[10] Cornelis II grew up in one of the busiest streets in Antwerp, near the Korte Nieuwstraat, also known as the Jeweller's Street, and the Predikherenpand, where goldsmiths' wares were displayed.[11]

Cornelis I was a prominent member of the Antwerp Guild of St Luke which he had joined in 1555.[12] On 11 September 1557 he signed a petition from the Nation of Gold and Silversmiths, a much older guild, founded in 1456, which suggests that he was a member of both guilds.[13] A separate guild for diamond and ruby cutters was established in 1582.[14]

7. Elsabeth Dikkes, op cit, see note 2, p 209-12.

8. Ibid, pp 206-8.

9. Ibid, p 211.

10. Oscar Gelderblom, 'Het juweliersbedrijf in de Lage Landen, 1450-1650', unpublished working paper, Utrecht, 2007, pp 16-8.

11. Piet Baudouin and Anne-Marie Claessens-Peré, *Zilver uit de gouden eeuw van Antwerpen*. Antwerp, 1988, p 28.

12. Philippe-Félix Rombouts and Theodoor van Lerius, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, Amsterdam, 1961, p 192.

13. Jan van Acker, *Antwerpen: van Romeins veer tot wereldhaven*, Antwerp, 1975, p 495. Godelieve van Hemeldonck, *Het Grootwerk: Goudsmeden, zilversmeden en juweliers vermeld te Antwerpen, 13de - 19de eeuw. Biografische nota's en geschiedenis van het ambacht*, Antwerp, 2005, vol 3, 16-606.

14. Michael Bycroft and Sven Dupré, op cit, see note 1, p 313.

Initially Cornelis I van Dort would appear to have prospered. The records in the Antwerp City Archives give a detailed insight into the business that he ran at his shop and the kind of objects in which he traded. For example on 26 May 1560 two notaries showed him a gold cross set with five emeralds from Peru, a pair of enamelled golden bracelets set with four diamonds, two rubies and forty-eight pearls, a golden sword hilt and a velvet belt decorated with thirty-seven rubies.[15] His expertise lay in the evaluation of these objects. He also bought several objects which later were to be used as lottery prizes and these included expensive pieces of jewellery set with diamonds, emeralds, rubies and a statue of the goddess Pallas, estimated at 400 Carolingian guilders.[16]

From the beginning of his career in Antwerp Cornelis I was involved in the local network of goldsmiths: his wife, Catlijne Verbeke, was the daughter of the jeweller and goldsmith Adriaen Verbeke whose wife, Catharina Boudaens, previously owned the *Witten Engel* in the Lange Nieuwstraat.[17]

As a young boy Cornelis II van Dort must have watched how his father run his business which must have been visited by people who came to pay their debts or to offer their own pieces for sale. In 1571, for the first time, at the age of twenty-five, he was mentioned as a free master, a status that he would retain for the next three years.[18] To attain this status he would have been required to complete an apprenticeship that usually lasted for about four years.[19] A year after becoming a free master his family became involved in helping him to run the business. Catharina Beys, whose family owned interests in various properties in the Lange Nieuwstraat, was chosen as his spouse and they married, when he was twenty-five, on 18 January 1572, at the Church of St Andrew's, Antwerp.[20]

The choice of Catharina as his wife was an important and strategic step in Cornelis II's career: she was descended from a family of wealthy goldsmiths from Breda. Her parents, Anthonis Beys and Maria van Halle, the daughter of an Antwerp official, were present at their wedding.[21] Beys's involvement in the silver trade must have provided his daughter with a lot of experience in both making and trading in precious metals. She probably knew from a young age how to act as a business agent and how to conduct trade and she was permitted to teach their children, in her husband's absence, about the business.[22]

More than a year after their marriage the couple had their first child: a daughter. Susanna van Dort was baptised on 5 October 1573 in St Andrew's Church. One of the witnesses to this event was the goldsmith Simon Hasuaert who received a commission for over twenty silver plates from the agent of Frederik II of Denmark (1534-88).[23]

Antwerp baptism records show that two more children were born in the following years: Abraham van Dort (1575-1640), who was later to become Surveyor of the King's Pictures and Keeper of the art collection of Charles I of England (1600-1649),[24] was baptised in the Cathedral of Our Lady on 1 January 1575.[25] Goldsmiths also witnessed this ceremony and one of them was Abraham Leeuwaerts whose name frequently appears in the archives of the Antwerp goldsmiths.[26] On 22 July 1576 Catharina and Cornelis had their second son Isaac, who was later to work in Rostock,[27] baptised at the cathedral.[28]

The church records in the Antwerp City Archives do not actually provide information on the birth of Jacob van Dort himself but the connection between him and Cornelis II becomes clearer from later sources found in the Hamburg City Archives. These show him to be the son of Cornelis van Dort and indicate that

15. Godelieve van Hemeldonck, op cit, see note 13.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid, 16-606, 16-1842.

18. Ibid, 16-607. Van Hemeldonck does not mention which guild he was associated with at this time.

19. Piet Baudouin and Anne-Marie Claessens-Peré, op cit, see note 11, p 24.

20. Antwerp City Archives, inv no PR#244, marriage records St Andrew's Church 1570–1603.

21. Ibid.

22. In 1532, Emperor Charles V (1500-58) issued an edict which allowed the widow of a goldsmith to continue the business after her husband's death; she was also allowed to teach her children. Frans Hendrik Mertens and Karel Lodewijk Torfs, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen, sedert de stichting der stad tot onze tyden*, 1845-54, vol 4, pp 199-200.

23. Antwerp City Archives, inv no PR#98, baptismal records St. Andrew's Church 1567-1589, Godelieve van Hemeldonck op cit, see note 13, vol 3, 16-871.

24. For the life of Abraham van Dort, see the articles by Oliver Millar, 'Some Painters and Charles I', *The Burlington Magazine*, 1962, 104:713 and 'Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I', *The Walpole Society* 37, 1958-1960.

25. Antwerp City Archives, inv no PR#7, baptismal records of the Cathedral of Our Lady 1570-1576.

26. Godelieve van Hemeldonck, op cit, see note 13, 16-1133.

27. Antwerp City Archives, inv no PR#244, baptismal records of the Cathedral of Our Lady 1570-1603.

28. Isaac van Dort was paid in 1595 in Rostock by Christian IV for wax sculptures. He may have been part of a large group of artists who travelled to Rostock and nearby cities to prepare for the coronation of the King. Francis Beckett, *Kristian IV og Malerkunsten*, Copenhagen, 1937, p 33.

in 1603 they were living in the same house.[29]

After the prosperous early years in Antwerp the economic circumstances of the van Dort family became increasingly troubled. After becoming involved in several lawsuits, Cornelis II was forced to sell his property at the *Witten Engel* and it was bought back by a member of his wife's family, Gheeraert Boudaens, who in turn sold it to Catlijne Verbeke Cornelis I's wife.[30] The political turmoil that hit Flanders in the 1570s made Antwerp increasingly problematic from a business perspective and then in 1576, several months after Isaac van Dort was born, the Spanish Fury: the sacking of Antwerp by Spanish forces, resulted in the city joining the Dutch cause against Habsburg rule.[31]

Threats created by the Reformation and the gathering risk of war disrupted daily commercial activity in Antwerp and for both these reasons artists and tradesmen and their families began to leave the city and to settle elsewhere. For an established tradesman like Cornelis I van Dort, whose family had probably followed the same profession for many generations, it must have been a difficult decision but it was only a few fortunate craftsmen who continued to receive commissions, usually from abroad, who could afford to stay in Antwerp.[32] That Cornelis I's business was still prospering prior to the Spanish Fury is evident from a record of 3 July 1564: it describes how he received a large emerald set in gold from the jeweller Michel Bacler, to display in his shop window.[33] Even after the lawsuits he could still afford to continue to live in the same street and in 1567 he was recorded as resident at the present number 57, just two houses down from the *Witten Engel*.[34]

Cornelis II's son Jacob who, after his own marriage, had recently started up a business, and who was still young, differed from his father and this becomes clear when looking at Antwerp's demographic sources, created at the beginning of the city's decline, shortly before it was taken by the Spanish general Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma in 1585. Shortly before the siege, in order to allocate the city's food supplies fairly to the number of people living within its walls, the city magistrate sent out several quartermasters who recorded the names of every individual present in the city in 1584. The quartermasters visited every residential building and registered the number of occupants. The *Witten Engel*, occupied by Cornelis I van Dort prior to 1567, was now rented by the Portuguese merchant Matheo Fernandez.[35] The names of Catharina, Cornelis II van Dort and their children are not mentioned anywhere, suggesting that they had left the city at some time after their last son was born in 1576, and before the census was taken in 1584. Cornelis I stayed behind but did not live long enough to witness the fall of Antwerp. His name is mentioned for the last time in 1581 when he was recorded as a former occupant of the premises at the *Witten Engel* and the goldsmith Nicolaes Buys was recorded as involved in selling his furniture.[36]

HAMBURG AND COPENHAGEN

After the van Dort family left Antwerp they apparently continued to work in the same profession. Although no pieces by Cornelis I survive there is a record of him having an apprentice in Antwerp named Carle Moens which shows that he had been involved in passing his knowledge on to others and this would imply that he would also have taught Cornelis II whose jewels were being sold in Sweden and Denmark from early on in his own career.[37]

In 1603, more than twenty years after the family had left Antwerp, Cornelis II and his son Jacob were still living together in Hamburg. The house that they occupied

29. Elsabeth Dikkes, op cit, see note 2, pp 206-8.

30. Godelieve van Hemeldonck, op cit, see note 13, vol 3, 16-606.

31. Gustaaf Asaert, 1585. *De Val van Antwerpen en de Uittocht van Vlamingen en Brabanders*, Lannoo, 2004, p 49.

32. Ibid, pp 49-54.

33. Godelieve van Hemeldonck, op cit, see note 13, *Het Grootwerk*, vol 3, 16-606.

34. Ibid.

35. Gilberte Deguelre, *Kadastrale ligger van Antwerpen (1584-1585): proeve van reconstructie op de vooravond van de scheiding der Nederlanden*, Antwerp, vol 11, p 3 (corpus), pp 7-9, 13 (introduction to the eleventh neighbourhood).

36. Godelieve van Hemeldonck, op cit, see note 13, vol 3, 16-606.

37. This is clear from the order of Hendrick Bertels, a jeweller from Odense in Denmark, who ordered stones from him. Ibid, vol 3, 16-607.

38. Otto Beneke, 'Zur Geschichte der nichtlutherischen Christen in Hamburg 1575-1589. Schriftstücke des Superintendenten Penshorn', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische, Geschichte* 6, 1875, p 331.

39. Elsabeth Dikkes, op cit, see note 2, pp 207-8.

40. Harry Schmidt, op cit, see note 14, p 82.

41. Ibid, p 84.

42. Harry Schmidt, 'Gottorfer Künstler. Aus urkundlichen Quellen im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen. I. Teil.' *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins* 4, 1916, pp 269-71.

43. Tawrin Baker, Sven Dupré and Sachiko Kusukawa (eds), *Early Modern Color Worlds*, Leiden; Boston, 2016, p 151.

FIG 5
Jacob van Dort, *Christian IV of Denmark* and his wife *Anna Katharina von Brandenburg*, portrait miniatures, gouache on parchment, dated 1611 and 1612 and showing the reverse of the contemporary locket cases, gold, enamel and rock crystal.
(The Danish Royal Collection, Copenhagen)

was located on the Mönkedamm in the north-western part of the city, in a street occupied for about twenty years by many of the refugees from the Netherlands.[38] Jacob and his father were members of the Netherlandish Reformed Church in Altona, a city located on the Elbe to the west of Hamburg.[39]

At this time Cornelis's sons Abraham, Isaac and Jacob began to take frequent trips across European and Scandinavia to offer their services at different courts: in 1596 Abraham van Dort was paid on three occasions by Duke Johann Adolf of Schleswig-Gottorf for wax sculptures and paintings.[40] Gottorf is located to the north of Hamburg in Schleswig and it could easily be reached by carriage.[41] Two years later the Duke provided Jacob van Dort with a contract of employment which included the financial costs of an assistant, gold and silver paint and a writing table with a small booklet inlaid with crystals and diamonds.[42] It is likely that these materials were used for painting miniatures. As an early master of this art form Jacob van Dort has become known as the first artist to introduce the miniature to Scandinavia.[43] The early modern origins of the techniques used in miniature painting may be traced back to England where the celebrated court artist Nicholas Hilliard (circa 1547-1619), a contemporary of Cornelis II van Dort, wrote his *Treatise on the Art of Limning*, which described how miniature paintings possessed a gem-like quality.[44] As a trained goldsmith Hilliard achieved these effects through crushing and mixing mineral gems and applying them as painting media to parchment.[45]

Hilliard's treatise foreshadowed a technical revolution which was to spread across Europe and by the early 1600s miniature painting was practiced at the courts of England, France, the German states and Scandinavia. The culmination of the art form in Denmark can be seen in another pair of pendant portraits, now in the Danish Royal Collection; these depict Christian IV of Denmark and his first wife, Anna Katharina von Brandenburg *[Fig 5]* and were painted by Jacob van Dort in 1611 and 1612, not long after he was first recorded at the court in Copenhagen.[46]

The artist would have relied on goldsmiths to supply the gold lockets he required to mount these small paintings: both portraits were executed in gouache on parchment and are mounted in enamelled gold lockets behind polished rock crystal. The back of the locket containing the Queen's portrait is ornamented with grotesques in red, blue, green, yellow and white champlevé enamel and was possibly made by a contemporary of Van Dort, although when his father's background is taken into account, it cannot be ruled out that the artist was not somehow involved in the production of the locket. Jacob was certainly capable of working precious metals and stones as the account of a payment made to him by Christian IV for a pair of castings for medals executed in wax which were later to be cast in gold makes clear. [47]

The King's mother, Sophie von Mecklenburg-Güstrow (1557-1631), also employed van Dort, as well as the King's goldsmith Jørgen Preus (circa 1575-1617), at her own residence in Nykøbing in Denmark in 1616. They both were given commissions of portraits of the Dowager Queen, of which a medal by Preus survives *[Fig 6]*.[48] She placed a large order for jewels and plate with the

44. Robert K R Thornton and Thomas G S Cain, *Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning*, Ashington, 1992, pp 100-1.

45. Katherine Coombs, op cit, see note 1, p 77.

46. Jørgen Hein, *The Treasure Collection at Rosenborg Castle I-III. The Inventories of 1696 and 1718. Royal Heritage and Collecting in Denmark-Norway 1500-1900*, Copenhagen, 2009, vol III, pp 8-9.

47. In the original payment account of the Danish royal treasury, it was noted that the master received money for castings that "han har pousseret til en Form at efterstøbe i Guld" (he has modelled into a form to be cast in gold). Francis Beckett, *Frederiksborg, udgivet af det Nationalhistoriske Museum: II Slottets Historie*. Copenhagen, 1914, p 259.

48. Sale, *Historical Medals. Jerry Meyer's Collection*, Bruun Rasmussen Auctioneers, Copenhagen, 3 May, lot 5816.

FIG 6
Medal, *Sophie von Mecklenburg-Güstrow*, silver-gilt, attributed to Jørgen Preus.
(Image courtesy of Bruun Rasmussen, Copenhagen).

goldsmith Hans Mores from Hamburg in the same year: a further indication of the important role of the Hanseatic goldsmiths as suppliers of such objects to the Scandinavian courts.[49]

An exquisite silver-gilt medal that appeared at auction in Copenhagen furthermore suggests a close collaboration between Jacob van Dort and the medallist and designer of coins, Nicolaus Schwabe (circa 1570-1629) *[Fig 7]*.[50] The surface of the medal is finely chased; it depicts Christian IV in profile, with blue, white, green, burgundy and red enamel decoration, and it is contained in a frame ornamented with a pearl. Portraits such as this varied in their design and function, ranging from collectible objects for display, to jewels and designs for coinage.

Schwabe came from Saxony and, after his appointment as the official mint master of Christian IV, he produced several important pieces. He cast a medal to commemorate the coronation of Christian IV in 1596 and, in 1624, as recorded in the King's diary, he presented the King with the first Danish-Norwegian *speciedaler* struck from newly-discovered silver mined in Kongsberg in the Norwegian mountains. In Copenhagen Schwabe continued to mint coins using a rolling metal press which had been developed in early sixteenth-century Germany.[51]

The royal accounts of payments to Schwabe suggest that he worked from patterns provided by other masters and indicate that Jacob van Dort may have contributed to either the preparatory design or the execution of the coronation medal.[52] This becomes more plausible in the knowledge that Jacob van Dort's brother Abraham performed similar duties at the English court as a medallist, wax modeller and later, from 1625, as the first Surveyor of the King's Pictures.[53] During his early years at the English court, payments to him for various objects and projects, including patterns for coins and medals, portrait cases, coloured wax sculptures and preparatory drawings for large portrait paintings were recorded in the royal household accounts. The Queen, Anne of Denmark (1574-1619), wife of James I of England (1566-1625), and Christian IV's sister, recognised his specialist knowledge of coins and medals in particular and left in his care a group of royal portraits in silver, gold and wax for the use of her son the young Prince Charles, later Charles I.[54]

FIG 7
Portrait medal, *Christian IV of Denmark*, attributed to Nicolaus Schwabe and Jacob van Dort. The contemporary setting, gold, enamel and pearl.
(Image courtesy of Bruun Rasmussen, Copenhagen)

49. Frederik Reinholdt Friis, *Bidrag til Dansk Kunsthistorie*, Copenhagen, 1890-1901, pp 157-8.

50. Sold as a probable collaboration between Jacob van Dort and Nicolas Schwabe, sale, *Coins & Medals. The Poulsen Collection I,* Bruun Rasmussen Auctioneers, 12 May 2020, lot 4661.

51. This process passed the coin between two closely aligned rollers which, by means of a crank, slowly rotated towards each other and engraved a metal sheet with a row of stamps, front and back. Sven Aagaard, 'Valseprægede mønter fra Christian IV - skilling 1595 og udvalgte mønter fremstillet 1602-1607 af Nicolaus Schwabe', *Numismatisk Rapport,* no 133, 2017, pp 6-7.

52. George Galster, *Danske og norske Medailler og Jetons*, ca. 1533-ca. 1788, Copenhagen, 1936, pp 27-36.

53. Derek Fortrose Allen, 'Abraham Vanderdort and the Coinage of Charles I', *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, Sixth Series, 1:1/2, 1941, p 57.

54. Abraham van Dort probably came to England in 1609 and may have brought objects with him from the court of Emperor Rudolph II (1552-1612), including a life-sized embossed head in coloured wax. This attracted the interest of the young Prince Henry (1594-1612) who had just started the construction of a Cabinet Room for his collections at Whitehall. Oliver Millar, op cit, see note 24, 1960, p xiii.

FIG 8
Attributed to Jacob van Dort, *Gustav II Adolph of Sweden*, portrait miniature, gouache on parchment, dated 1629.
(Husgerådskammaren, Royal Palace, Stockholm)

THE LEGACY

When the Kalmar War between Denmark and Sweden ended in 1613 Denmark's financial situation was considerably worse than previously and it was for this reason that artists at the court received fewer commissions and some left to work for other nobles and royalty. Jacob van Dort remained connected to the Dowager Queen Sophie von Mecklenburg's court in Nykøbing and to the Dukes of Gottorf until the last years of his life. He was last mentioned in the Gottorf court records in 1628.[55]

In 1629 Jacob van Dort travelled to Stockholm where Christian IV's rival Gustav II Adolphus had hired many Netherlandish craftsmen to furnish his residences but it was to be in this year that the artist's life was suddenly came to an end from an unknown cause. That his death was unexpected becomes clear from the Stockholm royal accounts which reveal that he had been very productive during the summer months. On 9 July the office of the Queen, Maria Eleanora, paid him over 1,500 Swedish rixdollars for paintings, wax busts and miniature portraits of the King, the Queen and their two-year-old daughter, later Queen Christina (1626-89).[56]

In 1629 plague ravaged Stockholm and killed about a third of the city's population, making it likely that this was the cause of the artist's death.[57] The last payment to mention him was issued on 4 November to Heinrich Diener, a bookbinder who owned an inn in the city, and it was for the artist's accommodation and his food.[58] Later in the month his inventory was sold and his wife Margareta van Dort, who was named as his widow,[59] received large sums of money for artworks, as yet unpaid for, from the Queen.[60]

Judging from the Swedish royal accounts Jacob van Dort seems to have primarily focused on the production of portrait paintings and miniatures during the last months of his life. A framed portrait miniature depicting Gustav II Adolph, in a gold case, and dated 1629 may be attributed to him on the basis of the style and the corresponding description of the piece in the accounts *[Fig 8]*.[61] Jacob van Dort would not have been able to branch out into this profession without the expertise of his father, the goldsmith Cornelis II van Dort of Antwerp. His miniatures testify to his affinity with the same materials that were fundamental to the craft of the goldsmith: gold and silver and indeed, Nicholas Hilliard's treatise emphasises that a miniature artist should not imitate the gold by using yellow paint but, rather, should use real gold.[62]

Records from both Hamburg and Stockholm describe how Jacob's descendants also became involved in the goldsmith's trade. In 1633 an Abraham van Dort, possibly named after Jacob's brother, became a student of the Flemish goldsmith Daniel Wymel in Hamburg. The record states that his father Jacob had died about five years previously and this corresponds with the date of his death.[63]

The record of another goldsmith, named Hans van Dort, is in the National Archives in Stockholm. He too came from Hamburg but established himself in Stockholm and became a member of the German church, also called St Gertrude's Church, whose congregation included the large Hanseatic community who had received royal consent to hold their own services in 1558.[64]

Hans von Dort's long residency in Stockholm indicates that he must have received frequent commissions and maintained a sizeable client base. A rock crystal tankard with silver-gilt mounts and a cover set with a medal of 1632 by the court medalist Sebastian Dadler (1586-1657) has been attributed to him *[Fig 9]*.[65]

55. Harry Schmidt, op cit, see note 42, p 84.

56. Karl Erik Steneberg, 'Jacob van Doordt. En nordisk furstemålare', *Scandia* 7:2, 1934, p 258.

57. Ibid, pp 258-9.

58. Ibid.

59. A woman by the name of Margareta van Dort married the goldsmith Nicolas Trebbin on 18 June 1646 in the German church in Stockholm. If Margareta was younger than her former husband, it cannot be excluded that this woman was indeed Jacob van Dort's widow. Margareta died in or before 1651 without leaving any children from this marriage and Nicolas Trebbin remarried a woman with whom he had children. National Archives of Sweden, St Gertrude's Church, marriage records, 1639-1688, ref no SE/SSA/0017/C I/1a, p. 7.

60. Karl Steneberg, op cit, see note 54, 1934, p 258.

61. A second miniature portrait depicting Gustav II Adolph attributed to Jacob van Dort is in the collection at Frederiksborg Castle. Karl Steneberg ibid, p 261. Carl Nordenfalk, *Christina, Queen of Sweden: A Personality of European Civilization*, Stockholm, 1966, p 301, no 1252.

62. Katherine Coombs, op cit, see note 1, p 77.

63. Wolfgang Scheffler, *Goldschmiede Niedersachsens: Daten - Werke – Zeichen, Aerzen;* Hamburg, 1965, p 435.

FIG 9
Tankard, rock crystal and silver-gilt, circa 1655, marked H D, attributed to Hans van Dort; set with a medal by Sebastian Dadler.
(Husgerådskammaren, Royal Palace, Stockholm)

Although a direct relationship between Hans and Jacob van Dort cannot be established, their shared profession and connection with Hamburg, and the Flemish-speaking community there, does not exclude the possibility that the van Dort family also had descendants in Stockholm.

The network of Jacob van Dort, which may be traced back to early sixteenth-century Antwerp, reveals the complex interaction of different professions which were mostly related, but not limited, to the practice of goldsmithing. From his early years Jacob van Dort was surrounded by craftsmen who had mastered various professions which handled gold and silver and also applied these materials to canvas, parchment, embossed wax and metal. The background of Cornelis II has revealed that his son Jacob could have very well been a competent goldsmith from the outset; he later combined these skills with his new profession as that of a painter, probably under another master who is yet to be identified. This enables us to view his success as the result of, not a single profession, but of a range of combined specialisations in which goldsmithing played a crucial role. The legacy that he and his father created was fostered under the patronage of the German and Scandinavian courts and continued well into the 1630s and beyond.

Elsabeth Alicia Dikkes earned two M A degrees in art history and Asian studies from Leiden University. She is particularly interested in court culture, the networks of trade and goods and people moving between the Netherlands, Scandinavia, East Asia and the New World between 1500 and 1900. Her career as an art historian started in 2015 when she became associated with the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD) in The Hague. As part of her studies she has held a research position at Rosenborg Castle and Amalienborg Palace (The Danish Royal Collection) in Copenhagen. Over the past five years she has travelled extensively in Germany and Denmark to carry out advanced archival research for her two M A theses. She currently lives in the United States where she works as a gallery director at Stanford Fine Art, Nashville's leading fine art gallery specialising in American and European paintings, sculpture and works on paper from the nineteenth century to the present.

64. On 4 January 1653 he married Maria Eleanora Bischof the daughter of his own master the goldsmith Salomon Bischof. Their marriage resulted in at least four children: Jacob, Maria Eleanora, Johannes and Salomon van Dort. National Archives of Sweden, St Gertrude's Church, marriage records, 1639-1688, ref no SE/SSA/0017/C I/1a, p 16. Hamburg, 1965, p 435.

65. Carl Nordenfalk, op cit, see note 61, p 301, no 1252.

DON PORRITT SILVER: LIGHT, TEXTURE AND FORM

1 – 26 October 2019, Butcher Works Gallery, Sheffield

JOHN ANDREW

FIG 1
Don Porritt with his Axa Equity & Law Sunday League Trophy of 1993 displayed in the vitrine to his right; the trophy is made of plated silver with inset panels of coloured acrylic. The design on the wall behind him is for his etched aluminium, stainless steel and clear acrylic 'Building' Innovation Award commissioned by *Building* magazine produced from 1976-78.

All images are courtesy of Don Porritt unless otherwise stated.

This retrospective exhibition of Don Porritt's work was sponsored by Sheffield Assay Office and curated by Carole Baugh in conjunction with Don Porritt himself. Butcher Works, where the exhibition was held, is one of Sheffield's few surviving cutlery factories and dates back to 1819-20 but was mostly built circa 1855-60. Edge-tools (i e those with a cutting edge such as a chisels), cutlery and files were made here by independent workmen known locally as 'Little Mesters' who hired workshops from factory-owners, in this case the Butcher brothers. The Works is a quick walk from Sheffield's Millennium Gallery and is now a multifunctional building with residential apartments, craft studios, a retail outlet and the Fusion Café, a social enterprise and bakery. It is also home to Freeman College and of course the gallery.

The exhibition was extremely well designed and, in addition to showing Don's work spanning some seven decades, it gave an insight into his design and making processes. Some of his initial designs and maquettes were displayed together with the specially designed tools needed to create the exacting details of design, techniques and experiences learned over a lifetime. Don gave four talks over the period of the exhibition and I had the pleasure of attending two and was impressed with the way he engaged with his audience; the silversmithing students from Sheffield Hallam University listened intently. I also noticed one silversmithing undergraduate in the audience who had travelled all the way from Dundee.

Don's career is interesting and unconventional, even for the time. Born at Pudsey, West Yorkshire in 1933 he left school aged fourteen and took a trainee position with a local cabinetmaker. A year later he felt he could achieve more than he was being taught so he moved on to work for a family jeweller in nearby Leeds as a junior sales assistant. This soon resulted in his being offered a five-year apprenticeship at the bench with Marcus Thain. During the day he had hands-on training as a jeweller, silversmith and diamond-mounter, while in the evening he studied at Leeds College of Art (LCA).[1]

At the LCA Alann Fisher, a very accomplished Sheffield-trained silversmith, was in overall charge of the course. Don initially studied jewellery and engraving and later, encouraged by Fisher, silversmithing. At the end of Don's apprenticeship, like all those who were youngsters during the Second World War, he was obliged to undertake two years of National Service. As a REME trained armourer he served most of his time in Malaya, attached to a Gurkha infantry battalion, working on the repair of small arms in a challenging open-air environment. He soon learned

1. The college underwent several name changes over the years; for simplicity it will be referred to as Leeds College of Art; it is now known as Leeds Arts University

to improvise when faced with limited equipment and material resources: a skill he was to find useful in later life.

Discharged from the army he returned to the bench at Marcus Thain's workshop and, although now undertaking higher-grade work, he felt he needed further stimulus. His apprenticeship over he decided to return to the LCA evening classes although it was only later that he realised his tutor Allan Fisher was taking interest in his work. Don eventually realised that he was the only member of the trade attending the classes, the other attendees were members of the public who wanted to make silver or jewellery as a pastime. There were some full-time students who were working away in the corners of the room on various projects and Don was impressed at the high level of their motivation. Without knowing it, he was entering into territory that was life-changing.

One evening Alann Fisher walked into the classroom with a wide smile on his face and made a bee-line for Don and shook his hand while congratulating him. As part of his City & Guilds of London Institute Examination in Diamond Mounting Don had designed and made a silver brooch in the form of a tied bow set with white spinels. He had been awarded the City & Guild's First Prize Bronze Medal: not only was this a great achievement for Don but it was also good for the LCA's reputation, albeit that this was already high.

The City & Guilds award was the life-changing catalyst: it convinced Don, then aged twenty-five, that he should move away from a career in the jewellery trade and undertake a full-time course at LCA. In other words he wanted to add design to his repertoire. The usual route for a student seeking admission to an art college was to undertake a foundation course at art school and then to submit their portfolio of work when applying for the course at the college of their choice. LCA accepted Don's City & Guilds award in lieu of a portfolio.

Don began the four-year course to secure an Intermediate Certificate in Art and Craft (Silver) and a National Design Diploma, Industrial Design.[2] It is my opinion that mature students extract more from such a course than those who enter via the usual route and this certainly appears to have been the case for Don who recalls

> These four years were the best years of my life. Leeds was buzzing and I was not the same person at the end of the course. Life drawing was one of the major influences in my training. The model is a living entity, there is movement, so you have to capture this collection of forms that is the human body. You are looking for structure – and lineal rhythms. It is not about technique. It is really about the study of form. When you can transfer that feeling for form – the plastic form – to paper, it is then much easier to create forms in hard materials like wood and metal. It was possibly the most significant influence in bringing about the conversion of the craftsman into a designer.

The LCA was a cutting-edge institution for design in the 1950s and 1960s with talks given by leading people in the field as well as first class silversmithing tuition. Don's course was closely based on Bauhaus influences which championed stark simplicity and for him these were certainly formative years. Looking back recently he sums up his experience of 1959-1963:

> Exposure to this heady mixture of theory, argument and practice was a significant experience – it effectively shaped my future artistic career even if, at the time, I was not fully aware of the influence being exerted.

2. These two qualifications were obtained by the successful completion of two separate but concurrent courses, each of two years. The course for the Certificate spanned years 1 and 2 while that for the Diploma took place in years 3 and 4.

FIG 2
Teapot, Sheffield, 1962, maker's mark of Don Porritt.
Designed and made while Don Porritt was studying at Leeds College of Art. With its organic form and profusion of curves, it is still one of his treasured possessions.

These were interesting times: even before the Second World War the British government was keen to raise general standards of design in the country and then, during the war it was recognised that, to repay vast borrowings after the hostilities, strong exports would be essential. The art colleges were viewed as vehicles to improve standards of design in the country by training students to be industrial designers. From the late 1950s recently graduated designer silversmiths began to reject the Scandinavian influences (derived from the Bauhaus school), which they considered too stark or sterile. Indeed, in the early 1970s, Gerald Benney told a *Daily Telegraph* features writer that in the late 1950s he was consciously "trying to break away from the long, cool Scandinavian design,"[3] In June 1962 *House Beautiful* ran an article on British design which highlighted the difficulties faced by young designers in getting manufacturers to produce their modern designs. It starred Benney, "one young designer who has reached the top".

Benney's designs for cutlery and other household items were being mass-produced by Viners in stainless steel. He was however certainly not a pioneer like two silversmithing graduates who had become industrial designers two or three years earlier. David Mellor was appointed a design consultant to Walker & Hall in 1954 and the following year Robert Welch received a similar appointment at Old Hall, the UK's first stainless steel production company. Wearing his silversmithing hat, Benney is quoted as saying in the *House Beautiful* feature

> What I am trying to do, and what four or five others in my field are trying to do, is to recreate an international image of English silver in modern terms.

This small group did not collaborate but worked independently.

In 1962 Don was in the third year of his course and was expected to design and make one item of silver: he decided that he would make a teapot *[Fig 2]*. The Leeds students were not aware of how Benney and a few other silversmiths were working on changing the face of British silver but what they did know was that although austerity had prevailed for much of the 1950s, an underlying feeling of hope was surfacing as the next decade approached. Don described the atmosphere at LCA as "akin to a pressure cooker". He explained that

> Staff were fully engaged with the students and a healthy sense of competition prevailed. Students could also observe that staff, including the principal, were involved with their own specialised field of activity. I believe this four year experience influenced the course of my own career development, particularly in respect of the combined role of teacher and designer.

The 1960s was an era where decades of change were compressed into ten short years making it widely regarded as Britain's most defining decade; London evolved from a 1950s grimy and gloomy capital to a temple of style that positively buzzed. The two ingredients that combined to create the catalyst for this remarkable transformation were simply youth and money. The post-war baby boom resulted in 40% of the population being under twenty-five; there was virtually no unemployment and national weekly earnings outstripped the cost

3. Gwyn Jones, 'Silver Turns to Gold', *Daily Telegraph Supplement*, 27 April 1973

FIG 3
Coffee pot, Sheffield, 1967, maker's mark of Don Porritt.
One of the few silver commissions Don undertook in the 1960s. It was presented to P Q H Simon, the retiring chairman of the Guild of Yorkshire Craftsmen by members of the Guild in 1967.
(Image courtesy of The Pearson Silver Collection, photographer Bill Burnett)

of living by an enormous 183%. This combination of youth and affluence led to a blossoming of music, fashion and design, all of which acted as an antidote to post-war austerity.[4]

Don also wanted something different. He disliked the prevalence of sharp edges he was seeing in silver designs at the time. The teapot that he made in his third year at LCA has neither Scandinavian nor Bauhaus influences: it is very organic in form with a profusion of curves and although he designed and made it nearly sixty years ago, it is still one of his favourite possessions. It features what has become a continuous characteristic of his work: a curvilinear line. Don explains

> Nature is full of curvilinear lines rather than straight ones, so possibly I relate more to the countryside in preference to a city with its dominant reliance on rectilinear forms. My creative imagination is stimulated by nature – but not just to the extent that naturalistic motifs are directly incorporated into the design. Flowing water, waves, rapids or 'white water' and coloured surface patterns invoke a response which – after much experimentation- can produce fluid interpretations in metal.

Don completed his studies in 1963 when he was thirty and he then enrolled as a trainee designer with the electrical manufacturing company Crompton Parkinson in Doncaster.[5] For twelve months he worked on industrial and commercial light fittings and then in 1964 he established his own studio as an industrial designer, silversmith and sculptor. In 1965 he was appointed as an industrial design lecturer at LCA. He was the first fully qualified industrial designer to be appointed at the college. Having left school at fourteen it is remarkable that he achieved both of his ambitions almost simultaneously and as an added bonus won five awards between 1962 and 1964.

Before taking up his appointment at Leeds, with the assistance of a bursary from the Royal Society of Arts, he visited both Holland and Finland and the latter had a significant influence on his work as a silversmith. Often individuals who become educators find that teaching takes a great deal of their time at the expense of their own creative output but this was not the case for Don. It was his business and role as an educator that drew him away from silver.

From the mid-1960s Don started receiving commissions for his sculptural work from a variety of local sources; these included a double-headed eagle for Williams Deacon's Bank. From the late 1960s commissions for a variety of trophies and achievement awards flowed into his studio. I categorise these as 'sculptures in miniature'. His creations were well-received and his reputation in this field grew. There is only one phrase that one could use to describe the resultant body of work, 'a multiplicity of diversity'. The awards varied from an expedition to the south-west face of Everest to building, from canoeing to overcoming language barriers when exporting to non-English speaking markets. The materials used were equally varied: acrylic, aluminium, brass, bronze, silver plated nickel silver *[Fig 3]*, slate, stainless steel and wood together with different production processes including casting, machining and etching *[Fig 4]*.

4. The statistics in this paragraph were taken from *History* (formerly the History Channel) a pay TV network owned by N+E Networks: a joint venture between Hearst Communications and a division of the Walt Disney Company.

5. Now part of Brook Crompton.

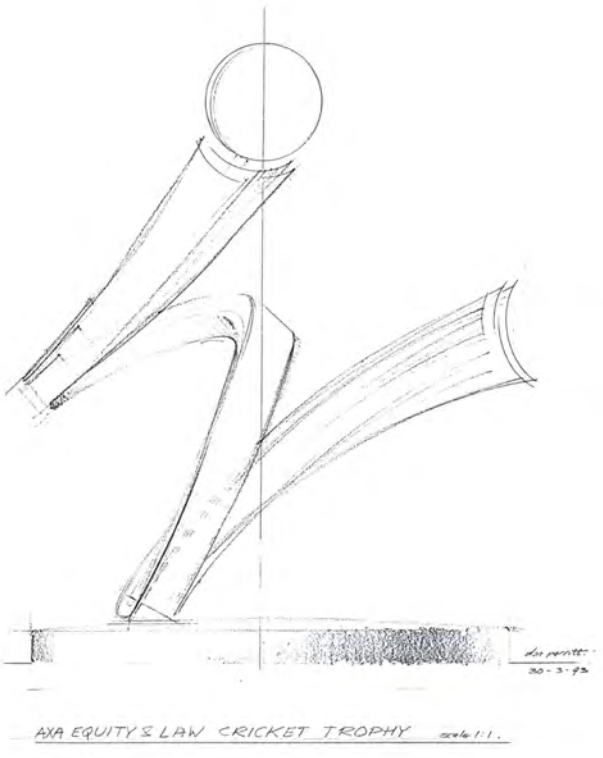

FIG 4
Sketch for the Axa Equity & Law Sunday League Trophy, Don Porritt.
The design signifies the dynamics of three cricketing actions: the delivery speed of the ball, the batting stroke and final trajectory of the ball as it is struck upwards and away.

FIG 5
Don Porritt working at the bench during the 1970s.

Another life-changing event occurred in 1973 when the Goldsmiths' Company awarded him a prestigious ten to twelve week travelling scholarship. He visited Poland (in Krakow he was impressed by the structured education system and when he returned to LCA he increased the documentation given to students), the USSR and Finland, a country that had impressed him during his 1965 visit and which had an even more profound effect on him eight years later. On this occasion the stay was enhanced by the exchange of homes with a Finnish family. I asked what appealed to him about Finland. The response included,

> I warmed to the place … there is no graffiti … the architecture appeals … the winters are cold and dry and the trees grow straight.

He remembered leaving Leningrad (now St Petersburg) which he had found muggy but on the return train journey to Helsinki, with the windows open, he could again breath in the distinct quality of the Finnish pine forest atmosphere. The overwhelming impact was one of colour, texture, form and, particularly, light.

Light had long since been of great significance to Don. In 1951, when working for Marcus Thain, he had designed and made an amethyst and silver brooch whose Scottish theme and general Celtic motifs are typical of the influences of its time, but what is not typical is the finish given to the silver. Instead of a highly polished mirror-like surface he used a satin one which contrasts more dramatically with the dark purple hue of the stones.

While in Finland, the modern Scandinavian silver he saw in visits to museums and galleries re-awoke Don's interest in the medium and on his return to the UK he returned to making domestic silver using the traditional technique of hand-raising. In 1974 Don had a small exhibition of his silver at the Goosewell Gallery in the village of Menston on the edge of Wharfdale, one of the Yorkshire Dales' longest and most beautiful valleys *[Fig 5]*. Don moved there in 1965 and his studio is still in the village. It was, however, not until he relinquished his full-time teaching commitment at LCA in 1992 that he was able to devote the time he wished to his true passion: silver.

In 2017 a mini retrospective of Don's work was staged at his alma mater which explored the impact of the National Design Diploma on his work. Don was interviewed and the last question was "Were there challenges to overcome to being based in the north?" In his response Don mentioned the fact that there were fewer opportunities to exhibit work in the north compared to London and, on a practical point, it was challenging to source both metal and tools. Sheffield, the centre for

FIG 6
The Minster teapot, Sheffield, 1998, maker's mark of Don Porritt.
Exhibited, *Silver and Tea – a perfect blend*, Goldsmiths' Hall in 1998.

FIG 7
Curvilinear Jugs, Sheffield, 2000, maker's mark of Don Porritt.
First exhibited at the Goldsmiths' Fair in 2000, they received considerable exposure in both the media and marketing material. They are the first of a related series of vessels with a flowing curvilinear formation based on the pouring action of liquid.

silversmithing in the north of England, was of course only an hour away, but there were very few serious designer silversmiths working between Leeds and the Scottish border. Don certainly felt that he was working in isolation and missed the technical and social interaction with fellow smiths.

In 1996 he was able to secure this interaction and a platform for his work through a group of silversmiths who formed the Association of British Designer Silversmiths (since 2009 it has been known as Contemporary British Silversmiths or CBS). Its main objective is

> to promote the best of modern British silversmithing and to that end emphasis will be placed on the highest standards of modern design as well as craftsmanship.

CBS has exhibited throughout the UK, Scandinavia, Taipei and the US. It also undertakes skills training initiatives for both young and established silversmiths. Don has played an active role in CBS and it has been a vehicle for deservedly bringing his work to the fore and to the attention of an appreciative wider audience. He also enjoys the interaction with his fellow smiths, both young and old.

CBS was not the only vehicle Don used to promote his creations. In 1998 he participated in the annual summer exhibition of the Goldsmiths' Company. The title was *Silver and Tea – a perfect blend*: it was an unusual exhibition as it was also a competition. There were sixty-six entries and the quality of both design and craftsmanship was high. Don's entry is intriguing as the principal elements of the body shape, including the integral spout and the handle socket, were created by developing a single sheet of silver *[Fig 6]*. This is quite a technical feat and it is no surprise that Don first had to make a model to satisfy himself that it could be done.

My first impression of Don when I met him in 1997 was of a thoughtful man. He not only heeds the advice of Allan Fisher speaking about a teapot all those years ago, "You need a good spout and handle and it has to work", but his designs are aimed at enhancing the functional qualities of an object. Don comments,

> Spouts are designed to flow smoothly from the body shape and handles are configured to spring out in a positive and elegant manner.

The exhibition teapot certainly ticked those boxes. Enhancements to function form an integral part of Don's designs so as to "contribute to a fused aesthetic totality". Don believes that designing and making the teapot for this exhibition kicked off his focus on silver; he has certainly became prolific in the early part of this century.

The work he has produced during the last few years is a revelation. When he launched his *Curvilinear Jugs* at the Goldsmiths' Fair in 2000 they were show-stoppers and were featured in the promotional literature for the event

FIG 8
Viking cargo longship, circa 1040, Roskilde Museum, Denmark.
Don Porritt feels that the overlap technique of the construction of his curvilinear vessels could have been subconsciously influenced by the beautiful lines of the Viking longships which he so enjoyed seeing when visiting museums in Scandinavia.

FIG 9
Jug, Sheffield, 2004, maker's mark of Don Porritt. Don confessed that this water jug is a slight divergence as he wanted to create a plainer body while still retaining the curvilinear line. The top repoussé-worked section of the jug is inset into the plainer oval body form. The junction between these two contrasting surfaces is emphasised by a curved step line that flows upwards from the rear of the jug into the tip of the pouring lip. He summarises his design principles: "I have always sought to create a unity of form in the design of a single vessel. Spouts are designed to flow smoothly from the body shape and handles are configured to spring out in a positive and elegant manner. These individual elements should reflect their functional roles but must also contribute to a fused aesthetic totality."

[Fig 7]. That they were created and made by a man in his late sixties as opposed to someone much younger is incredible. Don neatly summarised his approach to launching himself as a designer silversmith at an age when most people are thinking of retiring:

> I create my pieces with no particular market in mind. Just as an artist paints with no regard to a specific gallery or price range, I follow my inner compulsion to create a statement, a significant piece of silver, rather than conforming to a market-led demand. People have said, "Oh your work looks Scandinavian in character of quality." But, if it does, it is a very, very deep subconscious stream of influence which emerges as a particular feeling, rather than any defined stylistic imagery.

As the Millennium approached Don started designing and making a series of vessels with a curvilinear formation based on the pouring action of liquid. This 'ripple effect' is created by an overlap technique, which is used to build the body section by section. The process is similar to clinker boat-building practice, that of fixing wooden planks to each other, so they overlap, but in reverse: the development progressing internally as opposed to working towards the external surface *[Fig 8]*. The surface detailing and textured quality of the finished designs evolve in a natural manner, directly from the process of construction.

The explanation of the technique is one thing but having the skills to actually undertake the work is another. How does he know all the overlapping pieces will fit? Don always smiles when he is asked that question. He starts by making the outer shell, including the spout, in silver then, using cardboard, he makes a provisional template for the first overlap. However, it is not just a case of replicating this in silver. The actual overlap is cut from the silver, after allowance is made for the different thickness between the card and the metal; it is all trial and error. "It's patient work, but you get quicker" Don adds. Having cut the silver and ascertained that it will fit, it then has to be soldered into place. This difficult process requires heating the jug and then using high-melting solder to ensure that the two sheets fit together as closely as a hand in a glove. By repeating the process with solder melting at decreasing

FIG 10
Water flagons, Sheffield 2008 and 2007, maker's marks of Don Porritt.
Both vessels are an extension of the *Curvilinear jugs [Fig 7]*. They have no handles but have been designed so that the oval bodies can be easily grasped with one hand.

temperatures, Don builds-up the layers. It all sounds deceptively simple, but rest assured it is not. "Why torture yourself?" his colleagues ask. "Because it is the only way get a crisp line", Don responds. No wonder he no longer uses time sheets: on average each jug takes fifty hours to make. For a master craftsman who is a perfectionist, it takes as long as it takes to make one of these pieces.

Over the past twenty years Don has produced a diverse body of work. Apart from the *Curvilinear Jugs* just described, there are water jugs *[Fig 9]* and flagons *[Fig 10]* of various sizes and even a complete tea service *[Fig 11]*. There are centrepieces, bowls and boxes with a water theme. In the vessels section Don explores the theme of related but not necessarily identical pairs of vessels and he also looks at the proportional relationships between objects of similar form which results in an interesting group of jugs, flagons and flasks (the latter also could be used as vases).

FIG 11
Tea Service, Sheffield, 2010, maker's mark of Don Porritt.
The biennial Museums Sheffield National Metalwork Award was launched in 2008; the organisers were looking to reward the best examples of bold, brave and innovative metalwork design. Although an exciting competition it was quite a commitment for the participants: Don calculated that he worked on designing and making this tea service over a three-month period for the 2010 competition. Don was one of ten finalists and although his service was greatly admired, it did not win but a UK collector acquired it when it was exhibited at Pangolin London during British Silver Week in 2011

FIG 12

Water jug, Sheffield, 2008, maker's mark of Don Porritt.
The origin of the concept for jug may be found in a sketch featured in the catalogue of Don's retrospective at the Platform Gallery, Clitheroe in 2005. Three years earlier he had designed and made a pair of water jugs for Lord Hartington, now the Duke of Devonshire. The interpretations of the flowing action of liquids when poured from a vessel fascinate Don and after the commission was completed he had further ideas: "These flowing forces, in part imagined, but also directly observed, are initially captured in freely drawn sketches and then further developed into models, in paper, card or wood." The result was this jug. The repoussé techniques used at the back of the jug simulate the flow of water while the wavy, highly polished line, slanting vertically to the top of the jug, further accentuates the concept of flow. The simulation of the water flow becomes horizontal as the liquid is gently poured into a glass. The thought processes and the different stages of design from a free-flowing sketch to a more refined version and subsequently a three-dimensional model are of course not apparent when looking at a completed piece of silver.

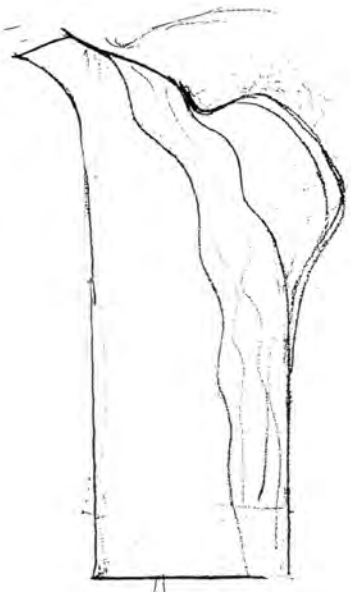

FIG 13

Don Porritt, preliminary sketch design for the 2008 water jug [Fig 12].
Exhibited at the Platform Gallery, Clitheroe in 2005.

FIG 14

Cocoon box, Sheffield, 2020, maker's mark of Don Porritt.
This is the latest of Don's creations and was inspired by the silky cocoon spun by the larvae of many insects for protection as pupae. It has been acquired by The Pearson Silver Collection.

Don's career is unusual in the sense that he came to silversmithing as a mature student and because of his commitment as an educator, his own creativity did not come to the fore until later in life. Given that the majority of the silver in the exhibition was designed and crafted after Don had reached three score years and ten, one has to marvel at its contemporary twenty-first-century nature. He was a student when the post Second World War renaissance in British silver was just getting under way. He just 'rode its wave', despite having been schooled in the Bauhaus influences which the first wave of post-war British designer silversmiths wanted to break away from. He is a designer who is passionate about silver. Since the late 1990s he has developed his own highly distinctive style which draws on decades of observation and his leaning towards a curvilinear line reflects his love of the countryside. His peers, many of whom cannot believe the lengths to which he will go to achieve perfection *[Fig 14]*, hold him in high regard.

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FREEMEN GOLDSMITHS AND THEIR APPRENTICES IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY EDINBURGH

WILLIAM IRVINE FORTESCUE

FIG 1
Snuffer scissors and tray, Edinburgh, 1722-23, maker's mark of William Aytoun.

A seven-year apprenticeship system was a common characteristic of goldsmiths` guilds and incorporations in eighteenth-century Europe. This was certainly the case with the goldsmiths` incorporation in Edinburgh, known still as the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of the City of Edinburgh. The aim of this article is to examine how, in the case of eighteenth-century Edinburgh, the apprenticeship system operated and how apprentices and freemen goldsmiths related to each other. This study is based on the minutes of the meetings of the Incorporation, and of Edinburgh Town Council, apprenticeship records and the proceedings of the Edinburgh Bailie Court (a civil court which heard cases mainly involving financial disputes).[1]

In eighteenth-century Edinburgh there were fourteen incorporated trades, the Goldsmiths being the second most senior after the Surgeons.[2] According to a charter granted by James VI on 3 January 1586 the freemen of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths alone enjoyed the privilege of maintaining workshops in Edinburgh for the production and sale of gold and silver work (along with the Scottish Mint until 1707). This was a valuable privilege and could also confer social prestige. Particularly during the first half of the eighteenth century goldsmiths could be prominent figures in Edinburgh society. Edinburgh newspapers reported their deaths and sometimes the marriages of their children. Since a freeman goldsmith provided bed and board for his apprentices, having a son apprenticed to a goldsmith must have often seemed an attractive proposition for parents with large families to support and especially for widows of slender means, as is suggested by the surprisingly large number of fathers described as deceased when the apprenticeships of their sons were registered. An apprentice to a goldsmith had the opportunity to learn his trade and become a journeyman goldsmith even if he were never admitted as a freeman. Should he become a freeman he could open a workshop, take on his own apprentices and employ journeymen goldsmiths. He, his widow, his children and, in some cases even his grandchildren, could qualify to benefit from the charitable funds of the Goldsmiths' Incorporation. His daughter or daughters might be admitted to the Trades Maiden Hospital, an Edinburgh school for the daughters of craftsmen and tradesmen. He himself became eligible for admission as a burgess of Edinburgh. As a member of the Incorporation he could speak and vote at Incorporation meetings and assume positions of responsibility in the Incorporation and in the city. If he were elected deacon he would automatically become a member of Edinburgh Town Council. As such he might join Town Council committees, benefit from Town Council commissions, vote in parliamentary elections and play a role in the city`s official, political and ceremonial life.

SOCIAL ORIGINS

Goldsmiths tended to have a somewhat ambiguous social status. They were craftsmen who at least at the beginning of their careers worked with their hands, but they could also become employers, significant civic figures and in rare cases extremely rich. George Heriot (1563-1624), jeweller to James VI and his wife,

BCP: Bailie Court Proceedings
ECA: Edinburgh City Archives
NRS: National Records of Scotland
TCM: Town Council Minutes

1. Rodney and Janice Dietert, *The Edinburgh Goldsmiths I: training, marks, output and demographics*, Lansing, New York, 2007, is an essential secondary source. See also Henry Steuart Fothringham, 'Scottish Goldsmiths` Apprenticeships,' *The Silver Society Journal*, 2002, no 14, pp 79-86.

2. Charles Kinder Bradbury and Henry Steuart Fothringham, *The Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh*, Warsaw, 2018.

FIG 2
Teapot, Edinburgh, 1736-3, maker's mark of William Aytoun, engraved with the arms, crest and motto of Brown.

Anne of Denmark, left a fortune for the endowment of Heriot`s Hospital, still one of the largest single buildings in central Edinburgh and home to a school that flourishes to this day. William Law (1636-84), father of the notorious financier John Law, amassed enough capital to buy Lauriston Castle and 180 acres (72.84 hectares) of land near Edinburgh. In the eighteenth century James Ker (1700-68) acquired the estate of Bughtrigg in the Scottish Borders, married as his second wife a daughter of Lord Charles Ker (second son of the 1st Marquess of Lothian), served as Edinburgh`s sole Member of Parliament (1747-54) and had his portrait painted by Allan Ramsay.[3] With less effort, John Rollo (1708-83), born the third of the four sons of Robert, 4th Lord Rollo, became, as a result of a series of deaths, 6th Lord Rollo in June 1765. Admittedly these were exceptional cases; they all (apart from John Rollo) made at least part of their fortunes through money-lending, and George Heriot owed the bulk of his wealth to his time in London, not Edinburgh.

At the other end of the spectrum were the Edinburgh goldsmiths who died so poor that the Incorporation contributed to the costs of their burials, such as Thomas Leslie (circa 1690-1757), Patrick Murray (circa 1702-61) and Alexander Farquharson (circa 1712-44). While extremes of wealth and poverty were unusual, most eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths, and even more so their widows, experienced fluctuating material circumstances during their lifetimes. Even on a weekly basis, an Edinburgh goldsmith might move from one social category to another. In his written testimony (dated 12 April 1744) to the Edinburgh Bailie Court James Ker explained that in December 1725 he could not accompany a lady down the High Street "for in those days he would not have had on his Cloaths from the Monday to the Sabbath."[4] In other words in 1725, when he still worked as a goldsmith rather than as the manager of a workshop, he dressed as a craftsman from Monday to Saturday, but as a gentleman on Sunday, when he would probably have attended church twice.

That eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths belonged to an occupational group rather than a social class is confirmed by an analysis of the 282 apprentices of eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths where there is an indication of the father`s occupation or social status. Eighty-nine, the largest equal group, had fathers who were stated to be 'of' a place, indicating they were property-owners. The property could be an estate, as in the case of the following apprentices: William Aytoun, son of Alexander Aytoun of Inchdarnie, apprenticed to William Ged (13 December 1706); Robert Cheape, son of Henry Cheape of Rossie, apprenticed to Henry Bethune (17 June 1713); Ebenezer Oliphant, son of James Oliphant of Gask, apprenticed to James Mitchelson (13 September 1727); Emilius Irving, son of William Irving of Bonshaw, apprenticed to Henry Bethune (24 November 1731); and Peter Spalding, son of David Spalding of Ashintully, apprenticed to David Mitchell (30 March 1737). In other cases the property might have been more modest such as a farm or a house. Three apprentices besides John Rollo even had titled fathers: Andrew Drummond, son of Sir John Drummond of Machany, apprenticed to Colin McKenzie (4 May 1705); John Hope, son of Sir John Hope of Kinross Bt, apprenticed to Patrick Graham (14 February 1733); and Robert Nairne, son of John, 3rd Lord Nairne, apprenticed to Dougal Ged (9 April 1735). In addition three apprentices

3. William Fortescue, 'James Ker, 1700-45: master goldsmith and Edinburgh politician,' *Silver Studies the Journal of the Silver Society*, 2011, no 27, pp 33-53, 'James Ker and Ker and Dempster, 1745-68,' *Silver Studies the Journal of the Silver Society*, 2012, no 28, pp 117-145, and 'James Ker Member of Parliament for Edinburgh, 1747-1754,' *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, New Series, 2014, no 10, pp 17-44.

4. ECA, BCP, Box 111, Bundle 281 (111/281), Lady Dalwinton against James Ker.

FIG 3
Chamberstick, Edinburgh, 1765-66, maker's mark of James Gilliland.

had fathers who were clan chiefs or the equivalent: James Walkinshaw, son of James Walkinshaw of that Ilk, apprenticed to George Main (9 September 1702),[5] John Kincaid, son of John Kincaid of that Ilk, apprenticed to Alexander Kincaid (7 February 1728), and Duncan McLeod, son of Norman McLeod of that Ilk, apprenticed to Edward Lothian (31 January 1759). Of course the grander the parentage the greater the chance that it would have been recorded, so if the status or occupation of the fathers of all apprentices to eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths were known, the titled, land-owning and property-owning would be proportionally much less prominent. In the second half of the eighteenth century the younger sons of land-owning and property-owning families were also significantly less likely to become goldsmiths` apprentices as more exciting, lucrative and socially prestigious career and job opportunities opened in the army, navy, East India Company and Britain`s expanding empire.

Another eighty-nine apprentices had fathers who were skilled workers or tradesmen: ten tailors, six cordiners or shoemakers, six wrights or joiners/ carpenters, five brewers, five smiths or blacksmiths, four baxters or bakers, four gardeners, four shipmasters, four vintners or wine merchants, three cabinetmakers, three barbers and or wigmakers, three dyers, three weavers, two candlemakers, two coopers, two glovers, two masons, two servants, two stablers, two staymakers, a beltmaker, a butcher, a carter, a causeway-layer, a flax-dresser, a haberdasher, a journeyman goldsmith, a linen printer, a lister or cloth dyer, a painter, a pewterer, a watchmaker and a yarn-boiler. There was also a door keeper and David Monro, whose son James was apprenticed to Alexander Henderson in 1794, and who was Henderson`s cook. In addition to the social differences between these skilled workers and tradesmen on the one hand, and the land-owners and property-owners on the other, the vast majority of the skilled workers and tradesmen were Edinburgh residents, whereas many of the land-owners and property-owners lived for at least part of the year outside Edinburgh.

The next largest group, fifty-five apprentices, were the sons of freemen goldsmiths, although in some cases they may have been nephews or cousins. It was quite common for a freeman goldsmith to enrol one of his sons as his own apprentice. William Cunningham, Charles Duncan, Alexander Edmonston, Alexander Forbes, Kenneth McKenzie, James Mitchelson, James Penman and Alexander Zeigler all enrolled two sons, George Auld, Patrick Cunningham, Charles Dickson and Robert Inglis enrolled three, and George Main enrolled four. In eighteenth-century Scotland sons often followed in their father`s trade or profession. Sons of freemen goldsmiths paid lower admission fees, the regulations were more likely to be bent in cases involving them and, since apprentices normally lived in their master`s house, a son might be more easily accommodated than a stranger. A freeman goldsmith might also take on a nephew or cousin as a favour for family ties, embracing the extended family, tended to be strong in eighteenth-century Scotland.

Thirty-five of the apprentices were sons of merchants. This was an imprecise classification with no indication of wealth or social status but a merchant would have been engaged in some sort of business and some merchants were wealthy. After merchants came

5. He was distantly related to Clementina Walkinshaw (circa 1720-1802), mistress of Prince Charles Edward Stuart.

FIG 4
Teapot, Edinburgh, 1758-59, maker's mark of William Dempster.

those belonging to the professional and office-holding class: nine Church of Scotland ministers, six lawyers, six Writers to the Signet (the equivalent of a Q C) and two advocates (the equivalent of a barrister), five schoolmasters or teachers and two music masters, three town clerks, two medical doctors and a surgeon, two excise officers and a banker. Single office-holders included a Bishop of St Andrews, a factor to the Duke of Atholl, a Master of the Revels, an officer of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths, a post office clerk and a principal of King`s College, Aberdeen. Thirteen of the fathers were described as farmers and a further seven as tenants, possibly tenant farmers. Altogether the fathers of the apprentices of eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths constituted an interesting social and urban/rural mix.

THE INDENTURE

The signing of the indenture was the culmination of the recruitment process. How the sons of land-owners and property-owners, particularly those who lived all or much of the year outside Edinburgh, ended up with particular freemen goldsmiths is not known. In some cases purchases of silver and jewellery may have led in turn to the arrangement of an apprenticeship. A freeman goldsmith belonging to a land-owning or property-owning milieu would probably have recruited at least some of his apprentices from a similar social background. Thus Colin McKenzie, the son of Colin McKenzie of Pluscarden, who had married (23 April 1696) Jean Kennedy, sister of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Kirkhill, recruited as apprentices Mungo Murray, son of John Murray of Touchadam (22 February 1714), Colin Chisholm, son of John Chisholm of Straglass (28 September 1720), and two sons of John McDonald of Balcony: Donald (27 March 1717) and Donal (28 September 1720). A freeman goldsmith with Jacobite sympathies might similarly recruit at least some of his apprentices from families with the same dynastic loyalties. William Aytoun`s apprentices included Dougal Ged, Alexander Farquharson and James Wemyss who all seem to have been Jacobites; James Tait and his apprentices Andrew Aytoun (probably related to William Aytoun), William Gilchrist, Robert Gordon and his son Adam also harboured Jacobite sympathies at least for a time. Ties of family and friendship were another factor, sometimes reinforcing a shared political and/or religious identity. Many Edinburgh goldsmiths belonged to a tight-knit community, with their workshops in the Parliament Close or Square, their homes nearby and their families often linked by marriage. For instance the Aytoun, Ged, Oliphant and Wemyss families were all linked by marriage and, to a greater or lesser extent, by shared Jacobite and Episcopalian loyalties.[6]
A freeman goldsmith might also have wanted to help a fatherless boy: James Gilliland assisted with the education of the orphaned Henry Raeburn at George Heriot`s Hospital, then enrolled him as his apprentice (27 June 1772), and finally encouraged him to pursue a career as an artist. In the Liberton Papers there is an account, dated 6 June 1773 and paid 23 December 1773, according to which William Charles Little of Liberton paid James Hewitt two guineas for setting a Masonic jewel and 10s 6d for "a painting of St. John."[7] William Charles Little was a customer of both James Gilliland and James Hewitt so it is just possible that this painting was the work of Henry Raeburn, then aged seventeen. Two watercolour portraits on ivory of James Gilliland and

6. Rodney and Janice Dietert, *Scotland`s Families and the Edinburgh Goldsmiths*, Lansing, New York, 2008.

7. NRS, GD 122/3/18, f 100. William Charles Little of Liberton (1731-97) was an advocate, antiquarian and prominent Freemason. A portrait of him by John Brown is in the collections of the National Galleries of Scotland (PG 3609).

his wife have also been attributed to Raeburn.[8]

Incorporation regulations stipulated that a freeman goldsmith should recruit not more than one apprentice every three years but this regulation does not seem to have been rigorously applied and was in any case waived in respect of pupils educated at George Heriot`s Hospital.[9] On 15 August 1769 this exemption was extended to boys educated at George Watson`s Hospital. There seems to have been no minimum age at which a boy could be apprenticed to a freeman goldsmith. Early apprenticeships include those of James Dempster, aged about six when apprenticed to his father William Dempster on 13 September 1757, Adam Davie, aged about six or seven when apprenticed to his uncle William Davie in 1750, Patrick Cunningham II, aged about seven when apprenticed to his father Patrick Cunningham I on 14 August 1792, James Ker, two months short of his ninth birthday when apprenticed to his father Thomas Ker (then deacon) on 12 July 1709, and George Auld, just under ten when apprenticed to Thomas Mitchell on 20 February 1740. The vast majority were, however, aged between eleven and eighteen, with fourteen and fifteen being the most common ages. No upper age limit seems to have been in force until 28 May 1782 when it was agreed at an Incorporation meeting that "no apprentice shall be bound for the freedom of the Trade who is above 20 years of age."[10] The total number of apprentices recruited by any one freeman goldsmith varied: the total often indicating the success or otherwise of the freeman goldsmith and his workshop. According to this criterion, the most successful eighteenth-century Edinburgh freemen goldsmiths were Alexander Gardner, James Ker, James McKenzie and James Mitchelson, each with fourteen apprentices, Colin McKenzie with thirteen apprentices, Edward Lothian and John Seaton, each with twelve apprentices, James Gilliland, Robert Gordon and Robert Inglis, each with eleven apprentices, and Robert Bruce, James Cockburn, Patrick Cunningham, William Dempster, George Main, David Mitchell and James Tait, each with ten apprentices.

FIG 5
Pair of sauceboats, Edinburgh, 1767-68, maker's mark of William Dempster.

The indenture was a legal contract between apprentice and freeman goldsmith setting out the obligations of both parties. The texts of several such indentures have survived and it is clear that they conformed to a similar wording which had been established by the end of the seventeenth century.[11] The indenture, dated 20 June 1695, of Robert Robertson to James Cockburn is in the Henderson of Fordell Papers.[12] Robert Robertson consented to be bound apprentice to James Cockburn for seven years "in his art and calling of Goldsmiths` trade" and promised

> to serve his master loyally and truly by night and by day in all things Godlie and honest and shall not absent himself from his said master`s service at any time without his master`s special licence … he shall not play at Cairds nor dice nor other games … he shall not haunt nor frequent taverns nor ale houses nor debauched or idle companies, he shall not misbehave himself to his said master by word or deed any manner

8. Stephen Lloyd, *Raeburn`s Rival: Archibald Skirving, 1749-1819*, Edinburgh, 1999, p 57.

9. NRS, GD 1/482/6, f 10 and ff 12-13, Minutes of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of the City of Edinburgh (Minutes, 20 May and 15 August 1769).

10. NRS, GD 1/482/6, f 217.

11. Goldsmiths of Edinburgh Apprentice Book, 1694-1786; NRS, GD 1/482/13.

12. NRS, GD 172/2467.

> of way … and in case the said Robert Robertson apprentice foresaid shall commit the filthie sins of fornication or adultery (and God forbid) [his apprenticeship would be extended by three years].

If he were "guilty of or accessory to any uproar or tumult in the Burgh of Edinburgh or suburbs thereof [he would lose his right to work as a goldsmith in Edinburgh]." Robert Robertson had as 'cautioner' or surety, his father (James Robertson of Newbigging), who was liable for any financial claim that James Cockburn might make against Robert Robertson and who undertook "to furnish his son in cloaths, linen and woollen articles sufficiently according to the Rank and degree of such ane apprentice." In turn James Cockburn

> obliged himself to Learn, teach and instruct the said Robert Robertson his apprentice in the said art and trade of Goldsmiths` trade and shall not hyde nor conceal any point or part of the same from his said apprentice But shall make him conceive and understand the same to the utmost of his power.

The indenture was witnessed by John Borthwick (then deacon) and by six other goldsmiths (Robert Bruce, Thomas Cleghorn, George Main, James Penman, John Seaton and George Yorstoun).

The indenture of Robert Robertson may be compared with that of Ebenezer Oliphant to James Mitchelson, dated 13 August 1727.[13] Ebenezer Oliphant promised

> to serve the said James Mitchelson Loyally and truly by night and by day Holy day and work day in all things Godly and honest and shall not absent himself from his said Master`s service at any time during the said space without his said Master`s special Licence ….

He promised

> to serve his said Master two days for each day`s absence and shall not play at Cards nor Dice or other Games whatsoever nor haunt or frequent Taverns or ale houses nor Debauched and Idle Company to tipple and Drink with them or any other Company whatsoever. And shall not Disobey his Master`s orders upon whatsoever ground and pretext …. And shall not Misbehave himself to his said Master by word or Deed any manner of way …. And in case the said apprentice shall commit the Filthy act of Fornication or Adultery (as God forbid) he with consent forsaid binds and obliges him to serve his said Master three years after the expiring thereof.

He also promised

> not to be guilty of or Accessory to any Uproars or tumults within this Burgh of Edinburgh or suburbs thereof under the pain of losing his freedom of the same.

His 'cautioner', his brother Lawrence Oliphant, assumed financial liability for any claims that James Mitchelson might make against Ebenezer Oliphant, and he promised to

> furnish the said apprentice during the years aforesaid in all Cloaths, Linen and woollen honestly and sufficiently according to the Rank and Degree of such ane apprentice.

James Mitchelson in turn promised

> to teach, learn and Instruct his said apprentice in his said art and trade of Goldsmith trade and shall not hide nor conceal any part thereof from him but shall make him Conceive and understand the same to the utmost of his power and the said apprentice his Capacity … And shall Entertain and

13. National Library of Scotland, Oliphant of Gask Papers, ADV MSS 82.2.3, ff 15-17. On Ebenezer Oliphant see William Fortescue, 'Ebenezer Oliphant, 1713-98: Edinburgh goldsmith and life-long Jacobite,' *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club,* New Series, 2017, no 13, pp 9-28.

maintain him during the years of his said Apprenticeship at bed, Bread and Washing honestly and sufficiently According to the Rank and Degree of such ane apprentice.

The indenture was witnessed by David Mitchell (then deacon), four other goldsmiths (Charles Blair, James Ker, Alexander Kincaid and Archibald Ure), John Belches (an Edinburgh advocate related to Ebenezer Oliphant`s wife, Amelia Belches) and James Robertson (an Edinburgh bookseller presumably related to Robert Robertson).

The terms of an indenture could vary as is demonstrated by John Christie`s indenture, dated 22 September 1746.[14] John Christie bound himself for seven years to be both William Aytoun`s apprentice and servant. As a servant Christie promised

> to ride with him [Aytoun], to go Errands and messages, to serve at the Table and to do all other Menial work in and about the said William Aytoun`s house, and likeways to wait on Mrs Aytoun when she goes abroad and at any time to carry a Lantern, and all other lawfull services she requires the said John Christie to do and to wear Livery if the said William Aytoun shall desire it.

On his part William Aytoun undertook to

> Teach and Instruct the said John Christie in his Trade as a Goldsmith as far as his Capacity can reach, and during the foresaid space to furnish him in Bed and Board in the station of a servant and to provide him in Cloaths, and that only by giving him the said William Aytoun his old Cloaths such as Coat, vest, Breeches, and have them fitted up for him plain or by way of livery, and to furnish him with shoes and stockings, his father and he always affording him Linen during the said space and it is hereby provided that the said John Christie is not hereby Intitled to have any freedom at the End of the said seven years in the Trade within the City of Edinburgh to which apprentices have Right.

In other words John Christie signed up to be a domestic servant, who would receive instruction in the goldsmith`s craft but who would not be entitled to apply for admission as a freeman.

The terms of John Christie`s indenture were unusually harsh but all apprentices were required to accept tough conditions. Absolute obedience on the part of the apprentice to his master was always insisted upon. The prohibition against cards, dice and other games, and against frequenting taverns and ale houses, was similarly always present, though presumably difficult to enforce and often not observed. Severe punishments for transgressing sexual moral codes reflected Scottish Presbyterian attitudes and may well have been applied though the evidence seems to be lacking.

On signing the indenture a fee had to be paid on behalf of the apprentice to the freeman goldsmith. In the case of Ebenezer Oliphant the fee paid was "seven hundred Merks Scots money." This was a considerable sum. Seven hundred Scottish merks or marks were the equivalent of about £35 sterling in 1730, when £1 sterling was worth about £117 in today`s currency. The total therefore in today`s currency for seven years` instruction and "bed, Bread and Washing" was approximately £4,130. David Campbell, apprenticed to Ebenezer Oliphant on 19 June 1744, also paid an apprentice fee of 700 merks,[15] so this was probably the standard amount, although presumably no apprentice fee was paid on behalf of a son apprenticed to his father. Once the indenture had been signed and witnessed the

14. ECA, BCP 119/303, John Christie against William Aytoun.

15. ECA, BCP 122/310, David Campbell elder and younger against Ebenezer Oliphant, April-June 1750.

FIG 6
Sauceboat, Edinburgh, 1749-50, maker's mark of Ebenezer Oliphant, engraved with the crest and motto of Murray.

apprenticeship was registered with the Incorporation of Goldsmiths. Different dates are sometimes given for the start of an apprenticeship, either when the apprentice was 'bound' (when the indenture was signed) or when the apprentice was 'booked' (when the apprenticeship was registered).

The registration of an apprenticeship after the indenture had been signed and witnessed was not automatic as was demonstrated by the case of James Hill. For at least some members of the Incorporation this case involved the threat to the Incorporation`s interests from a rival incorporation in a neighbouring burgh, and the case witnessed the beginning of a division within the Incorporation between the supporters and opponents of James Ker. On 27 May 1736 an Incorporation committee, composed of James Ker (deacon), George Forbes, William Jamieson, Edward Lothian, Kenneth McKenzie and John Rollo, met to consider the registration of James Hill as an apprentice of Charles Dickson I. Edward Lothian requested that the registration "might be delayed for some short time", claiming that "he was desired by some of his brethren goldsmiths to make this motion." Ker and all the other committee members, however, opposed any delay so the apprenticeship was registered. At the next full Incorporation meeting on 30 June 1736, William Aytoun "proposed to know how James Hill came to be bound apprentice to Charles Dickson." After the minutes of the committee meeting had been read out Aytoun, Forbes and Lothian presented a "remonstrance" arguing against the registration of Hill`s apprenticeship: James Hill was already a freeman of the Hammermen in the Canongate, a separate incorporation in a neighbouring burgh then distinct from Edinburgh. He had also already worked as a goldsmith in the Canongate and had taught apprentices; his admission would discourage the recruitment of apprentices, "open a door to allow our freedom to be conveyed to any master or journeyman in Scotland or any other place," and would place in jeopardy the seven-year apprenticeship period. Charles Dickson I and James Hill responded by claiming that

> James Hill is a person very likely to arrive during the course of his apprenticeship to great ability and perfection in the art of working in silver and gold by reason that he has already acquired a considerable degree of skill in it having wrought in that way for several years by past and obtained his freedom in the Canongate by service in that art.

It would be in the interests of the Incorporation to admit such a talented and experienced goldsmith as an apprentice.

It was further argued that Charles Dickson I was not in a position to provide James Hill with sufficient work but Charles Dickson and James Hill responded that there were several precedents for apprentices not working for the freeman goldsmith to whom they were officially bound. James Mitchell was formally apprenticed to Robert Inglis but worked for David Mitchell, John Hope was formally bound to Patrick Graham but worked for William Aytoun, and Charles McKenzie was formally bound to Kenneth McKenzie even though he "had a shop at London and was not to serve ane hour of the time of his indenture in this place."

These precedents show that the Incorporation`s regulations could be operated in quite an elastic manner, but

FIG 7
Ladle, maker's mark of Ebenezer Oliphant struck four times.

at first not on this occasion: a majority of those present at the Incorporation meeting voted not to register Hill`s apprenticeship. John Rollo, elected deacon in September 1736, however, set up another committee to consider Hill`s apprenticeship. This committee recommended that Hill`s apprenticeship should be confirmed, a recommendation which received majority approval on 9 November 1736, although seven goldsmiths maintained their opposition (William Aytoun, William Gilchrist, Hugh Gordon, Edward Lothian, James Mitchell, Thomas Mitchell and James Mitchelson). At stake in these debates and votes were not just principles, but also politics, for the controversy over James Hill witnessed the division of the goldsmiths between the supporters and opponents of James Ker. Charles Dickson I died in May 1737 but only in May 1741 did the Incorporation approve James Hill`s transfer to James Ker.[16] Hill gained his freedom on 12 August 1746 and proceeded to have a successful career as an Edinburgh goldsmith.

THE APPRENTICE

Once an apprentice had had his indenture signed and witnessed, and his apprenticeship registered with the Incorporation, he would join his master`s workshop. Court cases can shed light on the working practices of eighteenth-century goldsmiths` workshops. In a dispute over alleged unpaid wages between Thomas Jones, a journeyman goldsmith, and his master, Dougal Ged, the latter declared: "it is customary for Goldsmiths' servants to enter to work at six in the morning."[17] This is confirmed by the testimony of Robert Cruikshank, a journeyman goldsmith working for James Ker, in a similar dispute over alleged unpaid wages between William Livingstone, then a journeyman goldsmith, and his master, James Tait:

> the ordinary time of working is from six in the Morning till Eight at Night except upon Saturday when they worked till six unless there be a hurry of business and then the Deponent [Cruikshank] has wrought [worked] some times till Eight and some times till the hours at Night on Saturdays.[18]

In another case Ralph Vizer, a journeyman goldsmith, stated: "all Goldsmiths usually shut shop and Give over work at Eight at night."[19] The hours may have been shorter during the winter months when working by candlelight would have been necessary. Goldsmiths` workshops always seem to have been closed on Sundays, a day often described in eighteenth-century Scotland as 'the Lord`s Day.' On weekdays and Saturdays freemen goldsmiths provided their apprentices and journeymen with breakfast, probably consisting of porridge, at about 11.00 am. No mention of any subsequent meals or meal breaks has been found but in one court case there are references to toilet breaks. When David Campbell, apprenticed to Ebenezer Oliphant on 19 June 1744, sued Oliphant, he claimed that it was never his "practice to leave his master`s work except att a time when necessity called him to Go to a backside to ease nature." In the same hearing James Sommervail, then a journeyman goldsmith, testified: "it is the practice of the journeymen Goldsmiths and apprentices when they Go out to Ease nature Not to ask their Master`s leave."[20] In this context backside means back premises or privy so apprentices and journeymen did not just go out into the street.

Goldsmiths` apprentices must have had some leisure time. Despite the terms of their indentures presumably not all goldsmiths` apprentices resisted the attractions of taverns and ale houses as well as coffee houses, and billiards may have been a popular pastime. A meeting of Edinburgh Town Council on 21 February 1759 was informed that there

16. NRS, GD 1/482/2, ff 81-93 and 97-98, Minutes, 30 June and 9 November 1736.

17. ECA, BCP 98/243, Thomas Jones against Dougal Ged, June-August 1737.

18. ECA, BCP, 98/243, William Livingstone against James Tait, January-February 1739.

19. ECA, BCP 122/310, David Campbell elder and younger against Ebenezer Oliphant, April-June 1750.

20. Ibid.

FIG 8
Mug, Edinburgh, 1738-39, maker's mark of William Aytoun.

were ten billiard tables in the city and a further two or three in the suburbs, and that "these Tables were frequented by Students, Apprentice Boys and persons of the lowest Class of Mankind."[21] As spectators goldsmiths` apprentices must also have participated in the public entertainments and spectacles which the city had to offer, including horse races, military parades, public executions, civic ceremonies and celebrations, processions by the Royal Company of Archers and other public bodies, and even the occasional balloon ascent in 1785.

An apprentice not only joined his master`s workshop but also his master`s household, although there were exceptions. In a case already referred to, John Hope, although apprenticed to Patrick Graham, apparently stayed with William Aytoun and worked in Aytoun`s workshop. Sometimes a freeman goldsmith was unable or unwilling to accommodate an apprentice in his household. Alexander Aitchison II arranged that his apprentice William Anderson, whom he had taken on in March 1778, should not stay with him but instead should be paid "board wages" at the rate of 3s per week until the fourth year of his apprenticeship and thereafter at the rate of 3s 6d per week.[22]

The indenture was a legally binding document which could not be altered in any way without the Incorporation`s permission: an apprentice was legally bound or tied to his master. Freemen goldsmiths were expressly enjoined not to 'entice' apprentices to desert their masters for themselves.[23] Goldsmiths` apprentices were even exempt from impressment in the army or navy, although in 1797 the Incorporation agreed to encourage their apprentices and journeymen goldsmiths to join the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, a local militia regiment.[24] During his seven-year apprenticeship an apprentice might believe that more attractive career prospects lay elsewhere. On 22 July 1743 Edward Lothian reported that his apprentice Robert Rollo (bound 28 July 1742) "was gone to the Army."[25] Another apprentice who successfully absconded was John Crookbone, bound to Robert Gordon on 30 July 1748. On 11 August 1752 Gordon requested the Incorporation`s permission to take a new apprentice since Crookbone had deserted his service.[26] He subsequently (25 August 1753) pursued Bernard Crookbone, father of John Crookbone, for a debt of £2 14s outstanding since 20 July 1751.[27] John Crookbone later emigrated to Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1756. Not all such escapes succeeded: Henry Livingstone, son of the Edinburgh goldsmith William Livingstone, was bound apprentice to George Forbes on 3 February 1757. After Forbes had died (6 March 1759) Livingstone, with the permission of the Incorporation and the widow of George Forbes, transferred to James Campbell, signing a new indenture on 12 March 1759. On 20 May 1763, however, claiming to be a journeyman goldsmith rather than an apprentice, he signed an indenture with Daniel McLean, a Glasgow merchant, to serve him for four years in Jamaica, "where there is a constant demand for Tradesmen of all denominations educated in their mother country." McLean promised to provide Livingstone with "his passage, bed and board and pay him £18 sterl. yearly, which high wages was the Temptation of his absenting from the petitioner`s [Campbell`s] service."

21. ECA, TCM, 21 February 1759, f 211.

22. ECA, BCP 170/447, William Anderson against Alexander Aitchison, July-August 1783.

23. NRS, GD 1/482/4, f 244, Minutes, 20 November 1750.

24. NRS, GD 1/482/8, ff 72-73, Minutes, 14 March 1797.

25. NRS, GD 1/482/4, f 158, Minutes, 22 July 1743.

26. NRS, GD 1/482/3, f 258, Minutes, 11 August 1752.

27. ECA, BCP 125/318, Robert Gordon against Bernard Crookbone, 25 August 1753.

With several other recruits Livingstone boarded the *Edinburgh*, a merchantman bound for Jamaica then lying at Leith. Livingstone spent five days on board ship but was arrested on 3 June 1763. Campbell refused to take him back and he was committed to the City Guard.[28]

FIG 9
Cream boat, Edinburgh, 1739-40, maker's mark of Edward Lothian.

Sometimes no reason or explanation is given for an apprentice leaving his master: James Hill simply reported to the Incorporation on 11 July 1755 that George Murray (apprenticed in 1746) had "deserted his service."[29]

Death terminated several apprenticeships. Those who died during their apprenticeship include David Lennox (apprenticed to William Dempster in 1742) and William Bruce (apprenticed to Patrick Robertson in 1759).[31] The mother of David Lennox, "a poor widow," applied to the Incorporation for "some moneys for defraying of her son`s funerall charges" and was granted £1 10s. If, for whatever reason, a freeman goldsmith lost an apprentice he invariably requested the Incorporation to permit him to take on a replacement. Freemen goldsmiths were much more likely to die with at least one serving apprentice, in which case the apprentice would ask the Incorporation to assign him a new master. After James Campbell`s death (17 March 1764), the Incorporation decided to discharge the indentures of Henry Livingstone and David Marshall early because "they had but a few months to serve."[32]

Apprentices could lose their master for reasons other than death. Thomas Hay was reported on 11 April 1723 to have "left this Country" leaving Thomas Watt (apprenticed in 1720) to find a new master[33] while Adam Tait joined the Jacobite army in 1745, similarly abandoning Hugh Brown, his apprentice since 1740. Brown, who lost not just his master but also his accommodation, went to live with Adam Tait`s father-in-law, "with whom he stayed the remainder of his time [of his seven-year apprenticeship] in daily expectation of his master`s return in virtue of the Indemnity."[34] On 11 February 1772 William Calder (apprenticed to John Clark on 2 August 1769) applied to the Incorporation to be transferred to another Master because Clark "had given up business."[35] The Incorporation could withhold its permission for an apprentice to transfer to another master. When "Widow Bannerman", mother of John Bannerman (apprenticed to James Wemyss in 1763), petitioned the Incorporation to appoint a new master for her son, the Incorporation refused to interfere in the matter.[36]

Several widows of eighteenth-century London goldsmiths carried on managing their late husband`s business and even had their marks registered at Goldsmiths` Hall. With the exception of the widow of William Law I, Jean Campbell, who managed her late husband`s workshop from 1684 to 1710, this does not seem to have happened in eighteenth-century Edinburgh, perhaps because attitudes towards women were more conservative. On 18 May 1770, after the Edinburgh goldsmith Thomas Anderson died, a complaint was made to the Incorporation on behalf of his widow that James Nicholson, her late husband`s apprentice since 1741, "had behaved insolently to her and had even absolutely refused to work to her although he has slept in her house and has been booked by her since her husband`s death." The Incorporation ordered Nicholson "immediately to return to his business and to continue to work in his said Master`s shop." Nicholson replied that he would not return to work "unless he should be advised so to do by Mr

28. ECA, BCP 139/355, Petition James Campbell, 9 June 1763.

29. NRS, GD 1/482/4, f 177, Minutes, 11 July 1755, f 300.

30. NRS, GD 1/482/4, f 177, Minutes, 16 July 1745.

31. NRS, GD 1/482/4, f 108, Minutes, 20 October 1761.

32. NRS, GD 1/482/5, f251, Minutes, 26 May 1767.

33. NRS, GD 1/482/1, f 290, Minutes, 11 April 1723.

34. NRS, GD 1/482/4, f 261, Minutes, 5 December 1752.

35. NRS, GD 1/482/6, f 58, Minutes, 11 February 1772.

36. NRS, GD 1/482/5, f 270, Minutes, 9 August 1768.

FIG 10
Chocolate pot, Edinburgh, 1750-51, maker's mark of Edward Lothian, engraved with the arms and motto for possibly Lee.

[James] McDonald merchant in Leith his cautioner."[37] Evidently this was James McDonald`s advice, since Nicholson and his cautioner subsequently asked the Incorporation "to excuse and forgive the insolence and impropriety of his [Nicholson`s] conduct", allegedly due to his youth, and promised "a better behaviour in time coming."[38] There seems to be no evidence that women worked as practicing goldsmiths in eighteenth-century Edinburgh. However a letter, dated 19 January 1737, written by Jean Thomson, James Ker`s first wife, to George Grant, factor for Walter Scott of Harden, indicates that she handled at least some of her husband`s business correspondence.[39] Her written English was more accurate than that of her husband, which may help to explain her role.

Besides insisting upon absolute obedience on the part of apprentices to their masters, and in certain circumstances by extension to the widows of their masters, the indentures of goldsmiths` apprentices prohibited apprentices from participating in "uproars or tumults" within the city of Edinburgh. Likely flash-points included the celebrations of New Year`s Eve and the monarch`s birthday, protests arising from food shortages and, above all, public executions such as when, on 10 September 1735, the Edinburgh City Guard

> coming up from the execution of James Brown […] were insulted and invaded." Rioters "did both from the high street and from windows throw stones at them thereby endangering their lives [and] did in a tumultuous and riotous manner assault the said Guard with sticks and stones and Occasioned a great mob of disturbance on the street.[40]

The Porteous Riots constituted the most serious instance of popular violence occasioned by a public execution in eighteenth-century Edinburgh. On 14 April 1736 the execution took place of a criminal in the Grassmarket, Edinburgh. When the crowd started throwing stones at the City Guard protecting the scaffold, Captain John Porteous, commander of the Guard, ordered his men to fire into the crowd causing several deaths and numerous injuries. Among those injured was Peter Spalding, apprenticed to David Mitchell, although his apprenticeship was not formally registered until 1737.[41] On 5 July 1736 the High Court of Justiciary, Scotland`s most senior criminal court, found Porteous guilty of murder and he was sentenced to death. Rumours of interference in the judicial process from London, and fears that Porteous might be granted a reprieve, led, during the night of 7-8 September 1736, to a crowd storming the Tolbooth Prison, where Porteous had been detained, dragging him down to the Grassmarket and stringing him up. The only person punished for this lynching was the Lord Provost: a wall of silence protected those who were actually responsible. The Town Council publicly blamed the riot on "a multitude of people most of them from the Country,"[42] but in fact the majority of the rioters must have been Edinburgh residents and they almost certainly included apprentices and very probably at least some goldsmiths` apprentices.

Partly in response to pressure from London, the Town Council issued

37. NRS, GD 1/482/6, ff 25-26, Minutes, 18 May 1770.

38. NRS, GD 1/482/6, f 27, Minutes, 29 May 1770.

39. NRS, GD 157/2244/7, f 1, Papers of the Scott family of Harden.

40. ECA, BCP 94/235, Procurator Fiscal against Defendants, 15 September 1735.

41. *Caledonian Mercury*, 15 April 1736, p 17119. The name is inaccurately given as Patrick Spalden.

42. ECA, TCM, 8 September 1736, f 53.

FIG 11
Pair of casters, Edinburgh, 1755-56, maker's mark of Hugh Gordon.

the following proclamation:

> The peace and good Government of this City has been frequently disturbed and insulted, and many pernicious and fatal consequences have ensued to the Citizens and Inhabitants thereof, by the most insolent and illegal practice of throwing stones, mud and other Garbage, at the proper officers of the Law, City Guard and common executioner, when in the Exercise of their duty and office at Lawfull and publick Executions of Criminalls."[43]

Convicted rioters were "liable to be whipped through the City by the hand of the common hangman and thereafter imprisoned for the space of one year."[44]

The Incorporation of Goldsmiths took the threat to public order seriously: workshops containing valuable items could be looted and the association of goldsmiths` apprentices with public disorder might alienate wealthy customers. When on 6 May 1740 the deacon, prompted by "some rumours of trouble in this place," reminded an Incorporation meeting of the Town Council Act against rioting, the Incorporation unanimously resolved

> to take care of their apprentices and journeymen so as not to join in any disorderly practice and that they will support the Magistrates to the utmost of their power in the defence of the peace of this burgh.[45]

Similarly the deacon reminded his fellow goldsmiths on 28 July 1746 "to lay their commands on their prentices and journeymen to keep at home at night and not to be concerned in mobs or uproar of any sort."[46] More specifically on 11 May 1756 the deacon urged his fellow goldsmiths

> to keep in their Journeymen and Apprentices from ten o`clock tomorrow till about one when the publick Execution will be over, and that he beg`d leave in the strongest manner to recommend to them their regular observance of this proposal which being considered by the Trade they unanimously agreed thereto.[47]

The extreme concern of the Edinburgh goldsmiths that their apprentices and journeymen might be involved in public disorders continued. On 8 February 1765 the deacon informed an Incorporation meeting that

> he understood some quarrels have lately happened betwixt the apprentices and servants of this Incorporation and some Gentlemen`s footmen in this City which he was afraid might end in some riot or disturbance. The Meeting agreed to keep all their apprentices and servants at home as far as they can as also to read over in their presence that clause of their Indentures by which they are bound not to engage themselves in any Riot or disturbance under the penalty of losing their freedom and to inform them that if any of them engaged in such Riots the Incorporation was resolved to deprive them of their freedom. [48]

Over a year and a half later the Incorporation passed a similar resolution.[49]

43. ECA, TCM, 31 August 1737, f 137.

44. ECA, TCM, 14 April 1736, f 137.

45. NRS, GD 1/482/4, f 70, Minutes, 6 May 1740.

46. NRS, GD 1/482/4, f 186, Minutes, 28 July 1746.

47. NRS, GD 1/482/4, f 307, Minutes, 30 March 1756.

48. NRS, GD 1/482/5, f 195, Minutes, 8 February 1765.

49. NRS, GD 1/482/5, ff 246-247, Minutes, 3 December 1766.

> The Incorporation taking into their serious consideration the late mobs and tumults that have been raised in this City on pretence of scarcity of meal [cereals] and being sensible how much it behoves them and all good Citizens to prevent such dangerous insurrections for the future have and hereby do unanimously resolve that if any of their Journeymen or Apprentices shall so forget themselves as to give countenance to such lawless proceedings by being present at them though not actual transgressors the Incorporation will put their Indentures strictly in force by depriving them of the freedom of the City and have further resolved none so offending shall ever get work or employment from any Goldsmith in Edinburgh or where their influence can reach and they recommend to the different Masters as much as possible to do all in their power to keep their Prentices and Journeymen within Doors after shop hours.

These were very severe penalties and would have been in addition to those imposed by the courts and they may well have served as an effective deterrent. Nevertheless the Incorporation felt it necessary to repeat the injunction to freemen goldsmiths to keep their apprentices and journeymen goldsmiths off the streets after work hours so as to prevent them from becoming involved in any public disorder.[50] The involvement of goldsmiths` apprentices in acts of public violence could not, however, be entirely suppressed. For instance there is the case of several Edinburgh apprentices, including Daniel Walker and James Strachan, described as apprentices to William and Patrick Cunningham, brawling in Jackson`s Close on 28 April 1793:[51]

> … about six o`clock in the afternoon of said day the said defenders did openly and violently assault each other, with sticks, fists, and others, in that Lane or Closs called Jackson`s Closs, the entry to which is off the High Street of Edinburgh, and did then and there beat and bruise each other, to the effusion of their blood; at the same time, they cursed and swore, and gave opprobrious names, each to the other, and alarmed the whole neighbourhood, in said Closs, and others of the peaceable Inhabitants passing along the Streets; that the disturbance thus raised and occasioned by the said defendants was at last communicated to the City Guard, who came out on the alarm being given, and secured the persons of the said defenders, most of whom were afterwards bailed out.

FREEMEN GOLDSMITHS VERSUS APPRENTICES

For a freeman goldsmith having a male teenager for a continuous period of seven years working in his workshop and often living in his household must, at least at times, have been a strain. In addition relatively poor apprentices were constantly handling gold, silver and precious stones and their working environment always featured valuable items. Inevitably apprentices occasionally succumbed to the temptation to steal from their masters, possibly to meet some pressing financial need, to take revenge on an unpopular master or to compensate for what an apprentice might consider to be exploitation. Apprentices, and journeymen goldsmiths, might also undertake their own work in their master`s workshop, "without his knowledge and allowance" and in some cases using his materials. The Incorporation specifically condemned this practice on 6 November 1772.[52]

One of James Ker`s apprentices turned out to be a thief. In October 1742 Ker complained to the Edinburgh Bailie Court

50. NRS, GD 1/482/6, f 230 and f 242, Minutes, 6 February 1783 and 11 June 1784.

51. ECA, BCP 196/539, Procurator Fiscal against Daniel Walker and others, 29 April 1793.

52. NRS, GD 1/482/6, ff 66-67, Minutes, 6 November 1772.

FIG 12
Salver, Edinburgh, 1737-38, maker's mark of James Ker.

> that John Dingwall your petitioner`s apprentice for these Eighteen or Twenty months past has been in the practice of stealing and purloining my goods and effects of all sorts to a very considerable extent.

A search of Dingwall`s chest revealed "ane impression of the key of his master`s counter wherein he keeps his Gold, silver and other valuable effects." The list of items stolen included a 20 shilling note, a pair of silver jugs, a pair of silver salts, a pair of sugar tongs, a gold seal, and various spoons, buttons, buckles, rings, earrings, brooches, snuff mulls, thimbles, whistles, and precious and semi-precious stones. The total value of the stolen goods was calculated (perhaps generously) to have been £45, approximately £5,320 in today`s currency, so a very substantial sum. Dingwall sold some of the goods to other Edinburgh goldsmiths (George Forbes, Kenneth McKenzie, Patrick Murray and Robert Low) and to a travelling merchant (John Bruce). Dingwall also confessed to have been in the practice of stealing from Mr Ker silver & gold and selling the same back to his Master." He seems to have been quite brazen, even paying "one of the lads in the shop", James Hill, to engrave a crest on a stolen gold ring. His thieving was discovered on 13 October 1742:

> this day the drawer in his Master`s shop being open he stole from thence a quantity of silver lace and Mr Ker having come in to the shop found the same in his pockets.

Ker immediately asked the Edinburgh Bailie Court to have Dingwall arrested and imprisoned and Dingwall was duly incarcerated in the Edinburgh Tolbooth.[53] Dingwall nevertheless then sued John Bruce for an alleged debt of £11 17s 9d. Bruce acknowledged the debt but unsurprisingly emphasized that Dingwall had stolen from James Ker the goods that he had bought from Dingwall. Dingwall responded (21 January 1743):

> the pursuer [Dingwall] was so misfortunate as to be induced to make use of part of his Master`s goods which the defender [Bruce] could not be ignorant of as knowing that the pursuer while an Apprentice could not be possest of such valuable things as those which he and the defender dealt in, without coming unlawfully by them.[54]

This was a valid point but also of course applied to George Forbes, James Hill, Kenneth McKenzie, Patrick Murray and Robert Low.

In another case of April 1758 William Denham (apprenticed to James McKenzie on 29 January 1755) confessed to having been asked by his fellow apprentice James Richardson (apprenticed to Kenneth McKenzie on 26 August 1752) to dispose of two gold rings, one set with three precious stones, and the other with a cornelian seal. Denham allegedly asked Richardson "how he came by them" and was told that they had been acquired "in an honest way," although in fact Richardson had stolen them from McKenzie. Richardson also passed on "eight polished Scots stones" for sleeve buttons together "with a piece of a broken silver shoe buckle for setting them." Denham duly made up these and

53. ECA, BCP 105/260, James Ker against John Dingwall, 13 October 1742.

54. ECA, BCP 109/275, Dingwalls against John Bruce, January 1743.

55. ECA, BCP 133/339, Declaration William Denham, 4 April 1758.

FIG 13
Waiter, Edinburgh, 1765-66, maker's mark of Robert Gordon.

other buttons "in his Master`s shop at work hours" and then offered them for sale.[55]

Robert Gordon[56] and William Ker were victims in a more significant case. In 1764 the Incorporation Minutes recorded that "sundry apprentices and journeymen" in the workshops of Robert Gordon and William Ker

> had been guilty for a considerable time past of embezzling Goods in their Masters` Shops and of stealing from them to a considerable value.

John Wilson, Robert Finlay and Charles Ochiltree (former apprentice of Robert Gordon, now working for him as a journeyman goldsmith) had all been identified as suspects but they "had all absconded and fled from Justice."[57] In the Edinburgh Bailie Court Proceedings items stolen from Robert Gordon are listed:

> 2 half pairs of gold sleeve buttons; a piece of gold; a gold ring with a yellow stone; a pair of pebble buttons set in silver; a garnet; a silver seal sett with a Brown Scots stone, having an antique head upon it; eleven Crown pieces; a piece of silver.

In addition Charles Ochiltree stole from Robert Gordon:

> a Gold pin with a red stone made by him of his Master`s Gold without his knowledge & for his own use; a pair of pebble Buttons sett in Silver made of his Master`s materials without his knowledge; a Garnett Brotch [brooch] sett in Silver gilded which he gave to one Miss Hogg in Leith; a Seal sett in Silver by him & given to his brother which he stole out of the Glass case; a gold ring with a red stone in the middle & a Garnett in each side.

Buttons, earrings, rings, brooches and lockets were also stolen from William Ker, as well as "a shilling stole off his Master`s table."[58] As in the William Denham case these were small items that could be concealed in a pocket and might not be missed. This kind of petty crime may not have been uncommon because it would have been difficult to detect. On the other hand if it were detected those guilty would have been permanently debarred from working in an Edinburgh goldsmith`s workshop. It is certainly striking how rare such cases were.

APPRENTICES AGAINST FREEMEN GOLDSMITHS

Apprentices could have their grievances against their masters but the relationship between freemen goldsmiths and their apprentices was very unequal with freemen goldsmiths possessing much power and authority over their apprentices. Some teenagers tend to be uncomfortable with rules, regulations and discipline, and some freemen goldsmiths may well have been harsh disciplinarians. Disputes might also arise over whether or not the freeman goldsmith had carried out his obligations and responsibilities as spelt out in the indenture.

In a case already referred to, in March 1750, one of William Aytoun`s apprentices, John Christie, formally complained to the Edinburgh Bailie Court that Aytoun had "not fulfilled his part [of the indenture] by furnishing the Complainer in Cloaths, Stockings and Shoes." Instead Christie asserted that

> As regards clothes his [Aytoun`s] generosity that way was by no means Extensive nor profuse for the Complainer never got the offer of more than one Coatt and Britches of very coarse Cloath and two or three

56. On Robert Gordon see Joe Rock, 'Robert Gordon, goldsmith, and Richard Cooper, engraver: a glimpse into a Scottish atelier of the eighteenth century,' *Silver Studies The Journal of the Silver Society*, 2005, no 19, pp 49-63.

57. NRS, GD 1/482/5, f172 and f177, Minutes, 24 January and 27 February 1764.

58. ECA, BCP 139/357, Procurator Fiscal against Charles Brown, John Wilson and Robert Finlay, January-February 1764.

> old Coats after Mr Aytoun had used them as drudge [work clothes] in the Shop for several years till they were Rendered scarce worth the Expence of making up being quite Rotten and tatter`d and two pair of new shoes which were all the Cloaths ever the Complainer had of Mr Aytoun during the space of five years he has served him.

More importantly,

> ever since the Complainer`s Entry to his Service, [Aytoun had] been in the constant practice of Beating, Bruising & awounding the Complainer to the effusion of his blood, dragging him by the Hair of the Head and otherways cruelly maltreating him, to the imminent hazard and danger of his life.

In his defence Aytoun claimed that Christie had

> absented himself from his Master`s service, neglected his business, and that [since] all admonitions were ineffectuall, a Gentle Correction was not only allowable But absolutely necessary.

In a witness statement Alexander Gardner, then a seventeen-year-old apprentice, stated that he had "frequently seen the defender correct the Pursuer sometimes by giving a blow a kick on the breech and pulling him a little by the hair." Doubtless mindful that Aytoun was his master Alexander Gardner added "that Mr Aytoun frequently forgave the Pursuer when he was in the wrong and the deponent never saw him correct him but when he deserved it." He also affirmed that the John Christie regularly absented himself from Aytoun`s house "when he should have served the Table and go abroad although Mrs Aytoun desired him to stay at home." Witness statements from several servants confirmed both the absences and the physical punishments. Aytoun`s behaviour may have been justified, at least by the standards of the time: the Bailie Court dismissed the application for damages, but the case reveals him to have been quite a tough disciplinarian.[59]

About the same time, in a case to which reference has also already been made, David Campbell (apprenticed to Ebenezer Oliphant on 19 June 1744) and his father sued his master for compensation for breach of contract and for damages for violent assault. They claimed that Oliphant had

> been in the Custom and practice not only in his dwelling house but also in his shop both in Edinburgh to beat, strike and bruise the Complainer on the head, face, shoulder and other parts of his body.

On one occasion the beatings were allegedly so severe that they had led to "the effusion of his blood." Oliphant had also dismissed Campbell from his service and refused to take him back, despite Campbell`s request that he should do so. Oliphant responded by accusing Campbell of having

> broke and contravened every point of his duty:
>
> 1. That he has been habitually guilty of idleing away his time and neglecting the work and business committed to him and that notwithstanding of repeated advices and injunctions to the contrair.
>
> 2. That he has been in an habitual course and practice of going off and leaving his Master`s shop and business not only without leave asked and given But most contemptuously contrair to repeated orders and commands.

59. ECA, BCP 119/303, John Christie against William Aytoun, March-April 1750.

3. That he has been in an habitual course and practice of keeping bad hours and staying out in the night time and that most contemptuously contrary to repeated injunctions & commands.

4. That he has been guilty of a most disgracefull and discreditable practice of playing the hackney musician [possibly the hired musician] and getting himself Drunk in taverns and ale house & other houses & places.

FIG 14
Cream boat, Edinburgh, 1745-46, maker's mark of James Ker.

Oliphant further asserted that it was his duty as a master to administer "the Correction suitable to the malversations & malpractices of a forward apprentice" in order to effect "his reformation." Campbell in turn denied most of these accusations and claimed that he had not been given enough work but had been assigned Oliphant`s "errants and messages," and that he had absented himself from Oliphant`s workshop only when he had to "ease nature." Several witnesses gave evidence. Three journeymen goldsmiths confirmed that Campbell had regularly been absent from Oliphant`s workshop on the excuse of needing a toilet break, that his toilet breaks were longer and more frequent than anybody else`s, and that Oliphant had physically punished Campbell occasionally. A female domestic servant stated that Campbell had often not returned to Oliphant`s house until after eleven at night, that on a number of occasions "he appeared to be in Liquor," and that he had been paid to entertain "Company" with music.[60]

Punishments involving physical violence would now be considered unacceptable but were unremarkable in a society familiar with corporal punishment in homes and schools, floggings in the army and navy, and public whippings and executions. In the case involving Ebenezer Oliphant, as in the case involving William Aytoun, the Edinburgh Bailie Court dismissed the claim for damages. William Aytoun and Ebenezer Oliphant were not necessarily bad masters so far as their apprentices were concerned. Three of Aytoun`s apprentices, Dougal Ged, James Wemyss and Alexander Gardner, turned out to be outstanding goldsmiths while Oliphant may well have been an inspirational teacher. James Glen (apprenticed to Ebenezer Oliphant on 10 March 1738), although he never qualified as a freeman in Edinburgh, as a Glasgow goldsmith produced silver holloware of exceptional quality and striking designs that often closely resemble those of his former master.

THE JOURNEYMAN GOLDSMITH

A seven-year apprenticeship was normally followed by at least three years` work as a journeyman goldsmith following which an application to the Incorporation could be made to submit an essay (two examples of work) for admission as a freeman of the Incorporation. On 7 March 1702 the Incorporation reprimanded John Yorstoun for having, without informing the deacon or treasurer, discharged his apprentice Alexander Thom, whom he had taken on in 1697, before Thom had completed his seven-year term.[61] There is at least one instance of the three-year period as a journeyman goldsmith being shortened to just one year. William Drummond (apprenticed to James Wemyss on 24 July 1752), for reasons that are unclear, was allowed to serve as a journeyman goldsmith for just one year on payment of a higher fee when he applied to submit his essay.[62] It was however much more common for the period of work

60. ECA, BCP 122/310, David Campbell elder and younger against Ebenezer Oliphant, April-June 1750.

61. NRS, GD 1/482/1, f 237, Minutes, 7 March 1702.

62. NRS, GD 1/482/5, ff 111-112, Minutes, 2 December 1761.

FIG 15
Tea caddy, Edinburgh, 1772-73, maker's mark of William Ker.

as a journeyman goldsmith to exceed three years. Benjamin Coutts successfully applied to be admitted a freeman in August 1754 nearly twenty-seven years after he had been enrolled as an apprentice.

Journeymen goldsmiths could work for a master just for the day, and so derived their name from the French word for day (*journée*), although they could also work for the same master for long periods. Indeed the Incorporation decided that a journeyman goldsmith who had worked for the same master continuously for ten years could apply to be a freeman, even though he had not served a seven-year apprenticeship, on payment of a £30 fee (approximately £3,500 in today`s money).[63] This was obviously a substantial amount and few journeymen goldsmiths would have been able to claim ten years` continuous employment with the same master. Unsurprisingly no journeyman goldsmith seems to have taken this route. The flexibility of the journeyman system meant that a freeman goldsmith could, if he had no work for his journeyman goldsmith, temporarily encourage him to seek work with another freeman goldsmith and pay him no wages,[64] while a journeyman goldsmith might be free to go where the work was. On the other hand a journeyman goldsmith with no full-time contract could find himself without work and without wages, while a journeyman goldsmith with a full-time contract was not supposed to work for another freeman goldsmith or for himself without his master`s permission. Joseph Hector, a journeyman goldsmith who broke this rule, was prohibited by the Incorporation "from working any manner of Goldsmith work in this City."[65] Hector seems to have complied, leaving James McKenzie £8 13s 6d in unpaid rent for his workshop.[66] The Incorporation also decided that "any freeman who shall employ any Journeyman while in the service of another freeman" would be liable to be fined £100, a sum that would have bankrupted many freemen goldsmiths.[67] The size of the sum underlined the importance of the prohibition against freemen goldsmiths poaching from other freemen goldsmiths either journeymen goldsmiths or apprentices.

An Edinburgh Bailie Court case in 1737 indicates that the rate of pay for a journeyman goldsmith was then 11s or 12s for a working week identical to that of a goldsmith`s apprentice.[68] Sometimes journeymen goldsmiths were paid on a piece-work basis rather than on a daily basis.[69] Did freemen goldsmiths exploit their journeymen? In an Edinburgh Bailie Court case in which James Tait claimed he was owed money by a journeyman goldsmith who had absented himself without leave, Tait argued that he had lost 5s for every day`s absence. It was however pointed out that a significant distinction existed between 'fine work' and 'coarse work'. 'Fine work' would have probably involved a special commission requiring elaborate decoration and perhaps a unique or unusual design, whereas 'coarse work' would have embraced such standard items as plain gold wedding rings and silver table spoons and teaspoons. For much of the eighteenth century Edinburgh goldsmiths charged wrought silver at a standard rate of 5s 4d per ounce, but the rate charged by James Ker on 14 July 1736 for a silver teapot and stand was 8s 10d.[70] In other words, the more skilled and talented the journeyman goldsmith, the more potential profit he could earn for his master, but a journeyman goldsmith exclusively producing 'coarse work' might not earn for his master even 1s a day.[71] James Tait was also in dispute with another journeyman goldsmith, John Foggell or Fogall, who had failed to pay him £1 10s 6d for a gold ring and a pair of silver buckles.[72]

63. NRS, GD 1/482/4, f 232 and f 233, Minutes, 13 February and 27 April 1750.

64. Testimony of Edward Thomson, 9 October 1781: "when Mr McKenzie is scarce of work he permits his journeymen to work for themselves or to other masters"; ECA, BCP 163/429, Complaint the Incorporation of Goldsmiths against William Rhind, 1781.

65. NRS, GD 1/482/7, ff 144-145, Minutes, 28 August 1792.

66. ECA, BCP 195/534, Claim James McKenzie against Joseph Hector, 5 March 1793.

67. NRS, GD 1/482/7, f 146, Minutes, 28 August 1792.

68. ECA, BCP 98/243, Thomas Jones against Dougal Ged, June-August 1737.

69. Testimony of James Douglas, 9 October 1781: "it is customary for Journey Goldsmiths to work sometimes by the piece and sometimes by day`s wages"; ECA, BCP 163/429, Complaint the Incorporation of Goldsmiths in Edinburgh against William Rhind, 1781

70. NRS, GD 157/2237/2, Scott of Harden Papers.

71. ECA, BCP 98/243, William Livingstone against James Tait, January-February 1739.

72. ECA, BCP 106/266, James Tait against John Foggell, 7 May 1741.

FIG 16
Brandy saucepan, Edinburgh, 1788-89, maker's mark of Alexander Gardner.

Given the fragile state of their finances it is not surprising that journeymen goldsmiths were often in debt. An extreme case is provided by Benjamin Coutts (apprenticed to Alexander Forbes on 2 November 1727, admitted a freeman on 20 August 1754). He was the son of Thomas Coutts, merchant and banker in Edinburgh, and related to John Coutts, Lord Provost of Edinburgh (1742-44), whose sons became Edinburgh and London bankers: unfortunately Benjamin Coutts did not possess the financial management skills displayed by other members of his family. As a journeyman goldsmith he was sued on 4 August 1747 for a debt of £2 4s 8d when working for James or Robert Craig,[73] and on 5 January 1748 for a debt of £2 10s when working for Robert Low.[74] Robert Low subsequently had him imprisoned in the Tolbooth on 10 January 1750 for his failure to pay a bill for £3 9s 1½d owed since 29 September 1749. Coutts was also in debt to other creditors including the Edinburgh goldsmiths William Davie and Lawrence Oliphant; his possessions were sequestrated and sold to benefit his creditors.[75] While still a journeyman goldsmith he continued to be taken to the Edinburgh Bailie Court for unpaid debts including a debt of £1 13s 6d in July 1752,[76] his failure to pay his £9 annual rent for a property in the Parliament Close in November 1752,[77] bills for £1 9s 6d for spirits in December 1752[78] and for £2 8s 10⅔d for ale in June 1753,[79] and an unpaid bill for thirteen guineas owed to a brewer for deliveries of ale in November 1754.[80] His wife, Elizabeth Warden, was also sued for a £2 debt in February 1754.[81] The same month a landlady applied for a warrant to sequestrate the possessions of Benjamin Coutts because he had not paid his rent on a property in the Fishmarket Close and because he had reportedly "retired to Dumfriesshire and his wife is soon to follow him & will probably carry [off] his goods."[82] £1 in 1750 was worth approximately £117 today, so the debts were not huge, apart from the thirteen guineas (approximately £1,526 today) owed to the brewer. This was for a six-gallon cask, sixty-three four-gallon casks and three three-gallon casks "of two shilling ale." Such an outlay must have been for commercial purposes. What is striking is not the size of the debts but the regularity with which Benjamin Coutts was taken to court.

There was a Society of Journeymen Goldsmiths in Edinburgh with, according to a Dean of Guild Court warrant of 16 February 1773, a treasurer called William Gunbels,[83] but little is known of this society`s activities. As a supplement to, or substitute for their wages, journeymen goldsmiths might produce items of silver and jewellery in their own lodgings. This infringed the monopoly claimed by freemen of the Incorporation, a monopoly effectively enforced until the last decades of the eighteenth century. In May 1738 a journeyman goldsmith called Peter Stewart was discovered to have "clandestinely" employed apprentices of members of the Incorporation. He was imprisoned and liberated only after agreeing to be banished from Edinburgh for three years and

> that for the future he shall never be guilty of melting of silver or working of silver work in time coming except to the freemen masters of the Incorporation under the penalties of his being banished from this city and privileges thereof for ever.[84]

Following action by the Incorporation, Peter Spalding had to give up working as an independent jeweller and goldsmith in November 1744.[85] When John Anderson (apprenticed to Edward Lothian on 16 May 1753) "set up Shop and erected working tables within this City without asking the liberty of the Incorporation" in 1762 he was pressured into applying for admission as a freeman.[86] A more public and provocative challenge to the Incorporation`s claim to a privileged

73. ECA, BCP 115/292, Charles Bruce against Debitors, 4 August 1747.

74. ECA, BCP 116/296, Alexander Sterling against Debitors, 5 January 1748.

75. ECA, BCP 120/306, Petition for Benjamin Coutts, 13 January 1750.

76. ECA, BCP 125/317, Magdalen and Margaret Boswall and their husbands against Debitors, 14 July 1752.

77. ECA, BCP 123/314, Margaret Garrard and factors against Benjamin Coutts, 1 November 1752.

78. ECA, BCP 126/321, Complains Gilbert Clerk Distiller, 28 August 1754.

79. ECA, BCP 125/318, John Trotter against Benjamin Coutts, 8 June 1753.

80. ECA, BCP 126/321, Complains Robert Finlay, 10 November 1754.

81. ECA, BCP 126/321, Complains John Fife, 25 February 1754.

82. ECA, BCP 126/321, Petition for Mrs Farquharson, February 1754.

83. Reference kindly supplied by Dr Joe Rock.

84. NRS, GD 1/482/2, ff 121-122, Minutes, 27 May 1738.

85. NRS, GD 1/482/4, ff 173-174, Minutes, 2 November 1744.

86. NRS, GD 1/482/5, ff 129-130 and f 132, Minutes, 25 October and 23 November 1762.

FIG 17 ——————
Sugar bowl, Edinburgh, 1744-45, maker's mark of Ebenezer Oliphant.

monopoly of the production and sale of gold and silver items within Edinburgh was made by William Rhind in 1780 and 1781.

On 2 June 1781 the Incorporation of Goldsmiths complained to the Edinburgh Bailie Court that William Rhind had

> opened and set up a Shop in the Parliament Square of Edinburgh for making & selling Gold and Silver work of all kinds, [had] caused paint his name upon the head of the door thereof as a Goldsmith and for these twelve months lastly past by himself, Servants or apprentices imployed by him [had] been in the dayly practice of making and selling Gold and Silver work of all kinds.

The Incorporation demanded £100 in compensation, the imposition of a £50 fine and a life-time ban prohibiting him from ever again making and selling gold or silver items in Edinburgh. Rhind had been apprenticed to Daniel Ker on 9 October 1769 and, following Ker`s death, had transferred to James McKenzie in August 1775. At the end of his seven-year apprenticeship he had received an honourable discharge of his indenture from McKenzie and had subsequently worked as a journeyman goldsmith for over three years, at first for McKenzie until the beginning of 1779 and then for Alexander Aitchison II, before opening his workshop in the Parliament Square in 1780. When he applied for admission as a freeman of the Incorporation his application was refused, ostensibly because of a dispute over the fee he was liable to pay but almost certainly because he had opened his goldsmith`s workshop in the Parliament Square. Interestingly the Edinburgh Bailie Court ruled on 13 December 1781 that Rhind had fulfilled the conditions for a candidate seeking admission to the Incorporation, that he should be entitled to pay a lower admission fee provided his widow did not receive the full benefits available from the Widows` Fund, and that the Incorporation should pay the costs of the process.[87] This ruling signalled that by the beginning of the 1780s the courts were no longer prepared to uphold the monopoly claimed by the Incorporation.

Journeymen goldsmiths who worked independently could also fall out with the neighbours. On 6 June 1759 Miss Jacobina Gordon, a teacher of church music who lived in Mylms Land, Potterrow, Edinburgh, submitted a complaint to the Edinburgh Bailie Court against three journeymen goldsmiths: James Mackie, William Ker (apprenticed to Lawrence Oliphant on 28 May 1750) and William Drummond (apprenticed to James Wemyss on 27 May 1752). Having taken accommodation immediately below her own, they had, she complained, erected a

> Forge upon which they or others employed by them beat with such violence that there is no hearing what passes in the Complainer`s house, they have fixed lamps on the walls & partitions in different parts of the house and put up Bellows with a furnace, And they at the same time lodged a great quantity of Peats in the said house whereby the great Land [tenement building] & the

87. ECA, BCP 163/429, Complaint the Incorporation of Goldsmiths in Edinburgh against William Rhind, 1781.

> whole houses in the neighbourhood particularly the Hay lofts & stables belonging to the Earl of Fife are in great danger of being sett on fire, and the smoak that comes from their house up to the Complainer is intolerable.

In their defence the journeymen goldsmiths stated that they kept only one forge and one anvil in their property, that they had

> no occasion to hammer any large piece of Plate, that they have no Lamp in the house but a small blow Lamp, from neither of which the Complainer or the neighbourhood can sustain either damage or danger and that their Peats lye above three or four yards from any fire Place, to wit in the stand of a concealed bed.[88]

Miss Gordon may have exaggerated, but clearly any production of gold and silver items would have been accompanied by noise, smoke and an increased fire risk; indeed her concerns must have been widely shared in the Old Town of eighteenth-century Edinburgh, where craft industries were located within residential areas.

THE ESSAY

Candidates for admission as freemen of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths, having had their apprenticeship indenture discharged by their master after successfully completing a seven-year apprenticeship, and having served as a journeyman goldsmith for at least three years, could apply to the Incorporation to be set an essay, provided that they had reached the age of twenty-one. In the case of Adam Davie, "not sixteen years of age" when he applied for admission in November 1759, the Incorporation allowed him to be admitted so long as, until he reached the age of twenty-one, he worked only in his father`s shop and did not attend Incorporation meetings or vote in Incorporation elections.[89]

The essay or test involved making two items, one of which was nearly always a plain gold ring. Such rings, presented by grooms to their brides on their wedding day, were staple products of any goldsmiths` workshop in eighteenth-century Edinburgh. The other item was frequently another piece of jewellery, a reminder that Edinburgh goldsmiths were jewellers and were often referred to as jewellers rather than as goldsmiths. If a plain gold ring were not specified, then another type of ring was. Thus David Mitchell was assigned (8 March 1700) a seven-stone diamond ring and an engraved gold locket, James Mitchelson (26 March 1706) a diamond rose ring and a gold seal set with a cornelian, and James Ker (May 1723) a diamond ring and a gold seal. In addition to a plain gold ring, in at least thirty-eight cases the other essay was a ring set with one or more precious stones. Other items of jewellery specified included at least three gold seals, a diamond brooch, a diamond locket, a gold hair locket and a pair of plain gold bracelets. By far the most common silver item specified was a teapot, in at least seventeen cases, followed by milk pots or jugs (at least six), snuff boxes (at least five), candlesticks, sugar boxes, vases, waiters and wine funnels (at least two of each), a coffee pot and a porter or beer cup. Occasionally one of the essays was exceptionally challenging, such as the teapot, stand and lamp assigned to Colin Campbell (20 February 1712), the set of casters assigned to both Patrick Murray III (29 October 1718) and John Welsh (6 April 1742), the tea kettle and lamp assigned to William Gilchrist (26 February 1736) and the bread basket assigned to Patrick Cunningham (3 October 1765). In these instances the apprentice and/or the master may have wanted to demonstrate outstanding skill. Some essays were easy, such as a pair of Bristol buttons (James Welsh, 19 October 1736), some unusual, such as a pair of French paste buckles (William Ker, 8 February 1760), some individual, such as the repair of two

88. ECA, BCP 135/344, Complaint Miss Gordon against Mackie and others, 6 June 1759.

89. NRS, GD 1/482/5, f 45, ff 58-59 and f 68, Minutes, 20 November 1759, 12 February and 27 May 1760.

90. Thomas Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, Edinburgh, 1892, pp 339-340.

FIG 18
Coffee pot, Edinburgh, 1749-50, maker's mark of Ebenezer Oliphant.

communion cups for the church of the candidate`s father (James Anderson, 5 March 1729).[90]

Having been assigned a specific essay, the candidate was instructed to make the essay in a particular goldsmith`s workshop under the supervision of two 'essay masters,' freemen of the Incorporation who would supervise the production of the essay; the essay had to be completed by a deadline. If the deadline were missed then the submission was supposed to be delayed by a year and a day but this regulation does not seem to have been enforced.[91] Alexander Reid (apprenticed to Edward Lothian on 2 May 1750) was set as an essay a diamond ring and a plain gold ring on 20 November 1759. On 31 January 1760 he was given extra time in which to submit his essay, and he was not finally admitted a freeman until 27 May 1760.[92] When completed the essay was submitted for examination at an Incorporation meeting to be judged whether or not it was 'sufficiently made.' There seems to be no example of an essay being rejected. On at least one occasion an attempt was made to rig the process. On 5 September 1800 William Zeigler and Simon Cunningham applied to the Incorporation for admission as freemen. William Zeigler was the son of Alexander Zeigler and Simon Cunningham was the son of Patrick Cunningham, and both fathers were freemen of the Incorporation. The two candidates were set exceptionally easy essays: a plain gold ring and a tureen spoon (William Zeigler) and a plain gold ring and a fish knife (Simon Cunningham).[93] The essays were completed in record time and on 9 September 1800 at an Incorporation meeting Patrick Cunningham, then deacon, presented the two candidates for admission. Objections were raised because Incorporation members realised that this was an attempt to reinforce the Cunningham-Zeigler faction within the Incorporation just before the election of the new deacon. By a majority of nine votes to eight the meeting ruled that the admission of the two candidates should be delayed. The Town Council confirmed this decision and Simon Cunningham and William Zeigler were not finally admitted until 26 September 1800.[94]

Candidates for admission as freemen of the Incorporation also had to pay to the Incorporation`s treasurer a fee, known as 'entry money' or 'upset money.' Until 12 February 1760 the son of a freeman had to pay 100 Scottish merks or marks while those who were not sons of freemen had to pay 200 merks, half on submission and half on admission. In today`s currency this was the equivalent of approximately £500 and £1,000 respectively. In some cases a higher fee was paid. For reasons that are unclear William Davidson in May 1749 paid a fee of 1,000 merks, the equivalent today of approximately £5,000. On 12 February 1760 the Incorporation doubled the fee, to 200 merks for a freeman`s son and to 400 merks for any other person. The reason for this increase was the Incorporation`s decision to establish a widows` fund whereby every freeman`s widow would be entitled to an annuity of £10 for the rest of her life "so long as she continued in a state of widowhood." The increased fees partly financed the widows` fund but the increase was considered insufficient so on 14 August 1770 the fee levels were again raised, to 300 merks (approximately £1,500 today) for a freeman`s son and 600 merks or marks (approximately £3,000 today) for those who were not freemen`s sons. William Rhind subsequently argued that

91. See the case of James Sommervail; NRS, 1/482/4, ff 277-279, Minutes, 20 August 1754.

92. NRS, GD 1/482/5, f 45, ff 51-52 and 66-67. Minutes, 20 November 1759, 31 January and 27 May 1760.

93. Thomas Semple was also assigned a fish knife as part of his essay (24 May 1791).

94. NRS, GD 1/482/8, ff 157-171, Minutes, 5 and 13 September 1800; ECA, TCM, 12 September 1800, ff 437-439.

he should pay the fee in force at the date of the signing of his indenture (9 October 1769) rather than at the date of his application for admission (3 February 1781). The Incorporation rejected this argument because a precedent could not be set which would "entirely annihilate" the widows` fund. The Incorporation also claimed that since the introduction of increased admission fees all candidates for admission had "cheerfully" paid them. Rhind counter-argued that there was no necessary connection between the level of the admission fee and the widows` fund. "As good Husbands, as good Citizens the Scheme may be proper, but surely it has no more Connection with the Goldsmith Craft than the payment of the national debt." As already noted, on 13 December 1781 the Edinburgh Bailie Court ruled that Rhind should be admitted a freeman on payment of an admission fee of 400 merks, but that his widow should not be entitled to benefit from the enhanced provisions of the widows` fund.[95]

After the new freeman had appointed a 'cautioner' or surety as a guarantor of his good behaviour, the final acts in the process were a short oral examination, the swearing of the oath of obedience to the deacon and the registration of the freeman`s mark. In the oral examination (which was abandoned at a date so far undiscovered) the candidate had to answer correctly a series of questions on English and Scottish weights and measures for gold and silver, and on the regulations in force concerning the fineness of gold and silver. Then the newly-admitted freeman had to swear

> to work no silver but what is of standard fineness, to observe all the laudable Acts made or to be made [by the Incorporation], and to pay all due reverence to the Deacon both present and to come.

The hallmarking system guaranteed the fineness of the silver products of Edinburgh goldsmiths, so the newly-admitted freeman had to have his 'marking punch' struck upon a copper plate kept in the Assay Office. This copper plate was sadly lost in a serious fire which started in Robert Bowman`s workshop and destroyed Goldsmiths` Hall and the Assay Office on 19 January 1796.[97] There is at least one instance of what might be described as the equivalent of buyer`s remorse. On 3 February 1781 an Incorporation meeting was informed that William Hewitt, son of the Edinburgh goldsmith James Hewitt, "intends to repair to the East Indies having the prospect of pushing his fortune to some advantage there." Since he had abandoned "all thoughts of exercising his business as a member of the Incorporation" he requested the return of his admission money (sixteen guineas). The Incorporation granted an exceptional refund because he was a freeman`s son.[98]

CONCLUSION

The progression from apprentice to freeman goldsmith and beyond required commitment, discipline, talent and perhaps an element of luck over a period of at least ten years. All might go well as in the case of William Dempster who was apprenticed to Charles Dickson I in 1732, transferred to James Ker in 1739, and admitted a freeman on 9 June 1742. Following James Ker`s election as M P for Edinburgh he entered into a partnership with Dempster in 1747 and subsequently married his daughter Violet (6 January 1751). After Ker`s death (24 January 1768) Dempster continued to work as a successful goldsmith and to hold posts of responsibility in the Incorporation and on the Town Council while his son James also became a freeman of the Incorporation. Statistically, though, William Dempster was unusual: the total number of those who were enrolled as apprentices to Edinburgh goldsmiths during the whole of the eighteenth century was approximately 520. Of those

95. NRS, GD 1/482/5, ff 60-61, 219-221 and 224-231, Minutes, 12 February 1760, 27 May and 12 August 1766; GD 1/482/6, f 30 and f 181, Minutes, 14 August 1770 and 13 February 1781; ECA, BCP 163/429, Complaint the Incorporation of Goldsmiths in Edinburgh against William Rhind, 1781.

96. Henry Steuart Fothringham (ed), *Edinburgh Goldsmiths` Minutes, 1525-1700*, Edinburgh, 2006, pp 18-19.

97. *Edinburgh Advertiser,* 15-19 January 1796, p 46; NRS, GD 1/482/8, ff 119-120, Minutes, 12 February 1799.

98. NRS, GD 1/482/6, f 179, Minutes, 3 February 1781.

only 135 qualified as freemen members of the Incorporation and no more than 100 enjoyed successful careers as Edinburgh goldsmiths.

Eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths had to operate in a challenging business environment. Edinburgh`s population gradually rose from about 50,000 in 1700 to about 85,000 in 1800 and Scotland did generally become wealthier and more populous. However, with no royal court to cater for after 1603, no national parliament after 1707, with royal and government patronage awarded almost exclusively to London goldsmiths, and often unable to compete with the prestige appeal of the works of London and Paris goldsmiths, Edinburgh goldsmiths had a limited potential market and customer base. After about 1770 moreover, the Incorporation monopoly suffered erosion and the silver and jewellery products of London, Birmingham and Sheffield workshops became increasingly available in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland. At the same time Sheffield Plate provided a relatively cheap and increasingly popular alternative to silver holloware. Those apprenticed to Edinburgh freemen goldsmiths in the eighteenth century must have been aware of all of this and some apprentices decided to move elsewhere rather than seek to become freemen of the Incorporation. According to Rodney and Janice Dietert[99] approximately fifteen moved to Jamaica, fourteen to Glasgow, twelve to London, eleven to Newcastle, three to Charleston (South Carolina), two each to Dumfries, Dundee and Perth, and one each to Calcutta (India), Elgin, Inverness, Savannah (Georgia), St Kitts (West Indies) and Williamsburg (Virginia). A move might involve a change of profession: after he had arrived in London David Bruce (apprenticed to his father Robert Bruce in 1705) became a banker, not a goldsmith. For those who tried to stay the course some masters must have been more encouraging than others. James Penman`s twelve apprentices included Henry Bethune, Edward Cleghorn, Charles Duncan, Thomas Ker, Colin McKenzie, and Edward and John Penman, all of whom became freemen. Robert Gordon on the other hand had eleven apprentices none of whom became a freeman. Working a seven-year apprenticeship in a master`s workshop, and often staying in the master`s household for the same period, followed by at least three years of low wages and often a precarious existence as a journeyman goldsmith, must have been a challenge that proved too demanding for many. Some former apprentices may have been content to remain journeymen goldsmiths and some may have been unable to raise the funds needed for the submission of the essay and for setting up a workshop in Edinburgh. At any rate the attrition rate for the apprentices of eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths remained high. Fortunately 135 were admitted freemen of the Incorporation, and most of those established successful goldsmiths` workshops which produced the Edinburgh silver which we admire today.

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99. Rodney and Janice Dietert, op cit, see note 1, pp 169-172.

ERIC CLEMENTS

KENNETH QUICKENDEN

FIG 1
Eric Clements, *Insignia News*, 1974
(© Thomas Fattorini Ltd)

The death of Eric George Clements (1925-2019) *[Fig 1]*, the designer and educator, who died aged ninety-four on 22 November 2019, was announced in the *Telegraph*.[1]

Eric Clements belonged to the important and innovative generation of designer-silversmiths which included Gerald Benney, Robert Welch and David Mellor. In 1962 Mary Noble, writing in *The Director*, included all four in a small group who were responsible for what she regarded as a contemporary "bursting of design and craftsmanship in silver…".[2] All four are now dead but Clements alone did not receive an obituary in the national press.[3] While not exactly regarding this as a travesty of justice, this tribute is written on behalf of those associated with the School of Jewellery, now part of Birmingham City University, where Clements once worked, who wish to remind others of his considerable achievements.[4]

Clements was born in 1925 in Rugby and his later successes were made against a background which did not provide an auspicious start. His father was a warehouseman who provided a home that was low on both income and affection. Eric's determination to overcome led him, of his own volition, to seek a place at Lawrence Sheriff Grammar School at the age of thirteen. He progressed to Birmingham College of Arts and Crafts in 1942, enrolling for a National Diploma in Design (NDD) course but the Second World War and army service intervened. He appreciated military precision, acquired some teaching experience and achieved the rank of Warrant Officer.[5] On the basis of his military service Clements later reflected that it was sometimes good for people to be told what to do.[6]

After leaving the army in 1947 he resumed his course at Birmingham. The choice of silversmithing, an elitist specialisation, seems rather surprising given his left-wing political sympathies at the time, but it was a choice he later said that was made "almost by chance".[7] He studied at Margaret Street where the teaching included technical instruction, as well as drawing from life and the study of anatomy, the antique and the history of architecture.[8] An Arts and Crafts ethos survived in which Cyril Shiner used crafts methods and preserved the ideal of being a designer maker, at least until the outbreak of the war,[9] while Clements's other main tutor Ralph Baxendale, also a superb craftsman, maintained at least into the 1960s, a hostility towards the machine in favour of the joy of craftsmanship.[10] Clements would have been aware of the range of styles used there as the school slowly moved away from the medieval and the nature-based ornament of the Arts and Crafts movement, and the decorative geometry of Art Deco *[Fig 2]*, towards a greater degree of simplicity influenced by Modernism introduced

1. http://announcements.telegraph.co.uk/deaths [accessed 15 July 2020].

2. John Andrew and Derek Styles, *Designer British Silver from studios established 1930-1985*, Woodbridge, 2015, p 96.

3. Ibid, p 542.

4. Gerald Whiles, formerly Head of the School of Jewellery (email of 2 April 2020) and Terry Hunt, formerly Deputy Head of the School of Jewellery (email of 30 March.2020).

5. Graham Hughes, 'Eric Clements', Martin Ellis (ed), *Eric Clements Silver and Design 1950-2000*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, 2001, pp 7-13.

6. Tanya Harrod's interview (2) with Eric Clements, Birmingham, 2000. British Library, National Life Story Collection, Craft Lives (https://sounds.bl.uk/OralHistory/Crafts,2000 [accessed 16 July 2020].

7. Tanya Harrod, ibid, interview (2).

8. Tanya Harrod, ibid, interview (1).

9. *Birmingham Gold and Silver 1773-1973*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery, 1973, section on Cyril Shiner.

FIG 2
Box, silver, jet and ivory, Birmingham, 1936-37, maker's mark of Cyril Shiner. (Image courtesy of the Goldsmiths' Company)

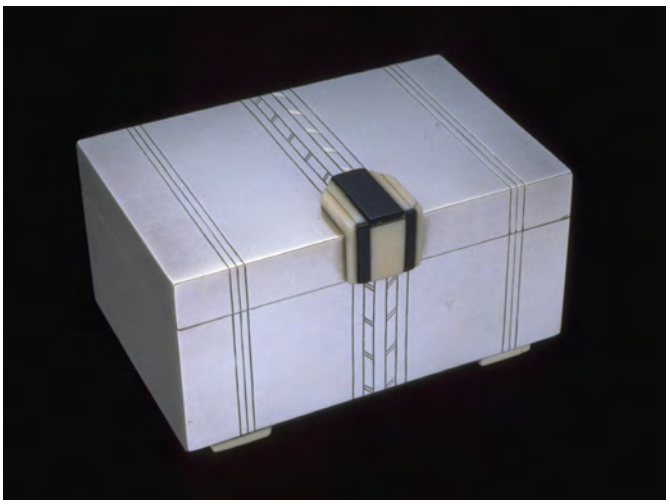


FIG 3
Bowl, Copenhagen, 1956, Henning Koppel for Jensen. (Image courtesy of the Goldsmiths' Company)

into Britain during the 1930s from the Continent.[11] The Modernist style included a strong Scandinavian influence which demonstrated a fondness for simplicity, smooth surfaces and organic curves[12] and was underpinned by a social commitment to achieving functional, attractive, design at a reasonable price.[13] Linked to this ethos was a strong commitment to the idea of designers working for industry.[14] Clements used a travel scholarship awarded to him in 1948 to travel to Scandinavia where he was inspired by Sigurd Persson in Stockholm, and in Copenhagen, by Hans Hansen and Henning Koppel, the latter operating at Jensen, a major producer of modern silver *[Fig 3]*.[15] Clements was thus exposed to a broad range of influences but he was dissatisfied with what seemed to him to be both an excessive regimentation in the teaching where success seemed to depend on closely following the work of tutors. Clements failed his NDD: at this stage his conviction that he was not much good at anything would seem to have been entirely justified.[16]

Undaunted, Clements applied to the Royal College of Art (RCA), and on passing the entrance exam in 1949 entered the School of Silversmithing and Jewellery under Professor Robert Goodden.[17] Clements arrived at a time when the reputation of the college was low[18] and this corresponded with his experience and the feeling that the staff were "not very good." He received little teaching, and found himself grateful for the technical instruction he had received in Birmingham, as well as the lectures on such areas as symbolism and heraldry, not then taught at the RCA. He felt that the students were expected to get on with things on their own[19] and, according to one contemporary, John Hopgood, he did exactly this, working hard and taking advantage of the nearby Victoria and Albert Museum.[20] Another contemporary at the RCA, Gerald Benney, commented "We[RCA students] thought he[Clements] was God."[21] Clements's efforts and emerging talent were finally rewarded: he entered five categories in the 1949/50 National Design Competition, winning first prize in two. One was for a silver tea-service *[Fig 4]*: its general simplicity is relieved

10. Ralph Gordon Baxendale, 'Philosophy of a Craftsman', Terry Hunt (ed), *Finely Taught, Finely Wrought, The Birmingham School of Jewellery, 1890-1990*, Birmingham, 1990, pp 59-62.

11. 'Between the Wars', Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery, op cit, see note 9.

12. Fiona MacCarthy, *A History of British Design 1830-1970*, London, 1979, pp 53-58.

13. Dag Widman, 'The Swedish Art Industry, 1917-75', *Design in Sweden*, Stockholm, 1977, pp. 5-8.

14. Gillian Naylor, 'Eric Clements and Industrial Design, 'Learning to be Particular', Martin Ellis (ed), *Eric Clements Silver and Design 1950-2000*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, 2001, pp 18-21.

15. Graham Hughes, op cit, see note 5, pp 8-9.

16. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6, interview (2).

17. Graham Hughes, op cit, see note 5, p 9.

18. Fiona MacCarthy, op cit, see note 12, p 79.

19. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6, interview (3).

20. Conversation with the author, 22 June 2020.

21. Quoted in Graham Hughes, op cit, see note 5, p 9.

FIG 4
Eric Clements, design for a silver tea service, pencil, watercolour and bodycolour on grey paper, 1950.
(Eric Clements's archive)

FIG 5
Sauce pot and ladle, sauceboat, salt and spoon, silver, parcel-gilt, Birmingham, 1951, maker's mark of Eric Clements.
(Private Collection)

by narrow bands of reeded decoration, a popular Art Deco motif used by one of his tutors at the RCA, Leslie Durbin.[22] The other first prize was awarded for a trophy cup. He also won a Certificate of Merit for an electro plated nickel silver (EPNS) tea service.[23] Some of his other work was very adventurous *[Fig 5]*: apart from the smooth Scandinavian organic curves, his sauce pot and sauce boat provide whimsical zoomorphic shapes, a bird and an egg, and handles which also provide supports and even tails. Their design betrays the influence of Surrealism, with which he almost certainly had contact while he was still in Birmingham, where in the late 1940s, a Surrealist group indulged in very public displays: their art included examples of zoomorphic forms. Such influences were anathema to his Birmingham tutors[24] but the RCA was more liberal. Clements used his own craft skills, with some assistance, to make pieces,[25] gaining a silver medal and Des RCA in 1952.[26] He stayed on for an extra term to undertake a placement at Firmin & Sons Ltd of Birmingham, manufacturers of buttons and badges, whose work included designing livery buttons for the Queen, Elizabeth II, which taught him industrial principles.[27]

The placement was consistent with changes made at the RCA at this time. The year before Clements went to the RCA Robin Darwin had been appointed as the new Principal and was charged with pushing courses in an industrial direction, the result of a wider determination from the government, anxious to revitalize industrial production, to improve the economy and exports in the aftermath of the war. In 1944 the Board of Trade initiated the Council of Industrial Design with the purpose of encouraging good design in British industry, later defined as

> comprising good materials and workmanship, fitness for purpose and pleasure in use.

The Council's aims were similar to the democratic aims of Scandinavian designers. Darwin was the Council's Education Officer and in 1946 he wrote a report highlighting the need to train designers for industry; he set about implementing this policy at the RCA.[28] In time this industrial ethos became increasingly true of Clements' practice and he styled himself as a designer, rather than a designer-maker, and it is thought

22. Reeded panels occur on a glass bowl of 1939 by Keith Murray exhibited in *Thirties British art and design before the war* at the Hayward Gallery (Arts Council of Great Britain and the Victoria & Albert Museum), exhibition catalogue, London, 1980, p 134) and a fishing trophy of 1987 by Leslie Durbin in the Goldsmiths' Company collection, has a reeded band around the base, see John Andrew and Derek Styles, op cit, see note 2, p 188.

23. Rebecca Holland, catalogue text, Martin Ellis (ed), *Eric Clements Silver and Design 1950-2000*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, 2001, p 28.

24. Silvano Levy, 'Maddox, the Melvilles and Morris: Birmingham Surrealists', Tessa Sidey (ed), *Surrealism in Birmingham 1935-1954*, Birmingham, 2000, pp 23-36. Zoomorphic forms occur in Desmond Morris's painting, *The Courtship* (1948). Information supplied by Vicky Ley.

25. Rebecca Holland, op cit, see note 23, p 103.

26. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6, interview (3).

27. Gillian Naylor, op cit, see note 14, p 19.

FIG 6
Eric Clements, design for a Tea Bureau tea set, pencil, chalk and body colour, 1954. (Whereabouts unknown)

that he only actually ever made about a dozen pieces to his own designs.[29] He always insisted that there were others who could make better than himself[30] and, although much of his later work required skilled craft, it increasingly involved large companies and industrial methods. This focus on design harmonised with international trends which led to a far greater appreciation of design and designers and led also to designer's names being used in advertising and on the products they designed.[31]

The era saw a large number of important exhibitions which included silversmithing. It was Clements's good fortune that these exhibitions heavily involved the Goldsmiths' Company, whose Clerk, George Ravensworth Hughes, and later his son Graham Hughes, first as Art Secretary and later as Art Director, were major promoters of modern silver. R G Hughes was a familiar visitor to the RCA's Silversmithing and Jewellery department (he provided Clements' first commission, a chalice and patten for St Michael's Church at Litlington, Sussex, in 1949). RCA students were invited by the Goldsmiths' Company to help with their exhibitions at the annual British Industries Fairs, which Clements enjoyed, and Hughes organised an exhibition at Goldsmiths' Hall as its contribution to the Festival of Britain in 1951.[32] Impressively, Clements, still a student, contributed three pieces. Only three out of the 111 contributors contributed more pieces.[33] The show led to commissions of important pieces such as the Merton bowl and cover for Merton College, Oxford in 1951, a commission that introduced him to a rarified world and a celebrity that he had not previously experienced and to which he adjusted with some difficulty.[34]

Despite these early influential contacts and signs of success, Clements, who was already married, wanted the security of a teaching job, which he always felt was a likely benefit of the RCA qualification.[35] This was in contrast to his peers Gerald Benney, Robert Welch and David Mellor who all set up

28. Fiona MacCarthy, op cit, see note 12, pp 73-92.

29. John Andrew and Derek Styles, op cit, see note 2, p 130.

30. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6, interview (7).

31. Fiona MacCarthy, op cit, see note 12, p 66.

32. Graham Hughes, op cit, see note 5, p 9.

33. The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, *British Silverwork Including Ceremonial Plate by Contemporary Craftsmen*, London, 1951, pp 17-8.

34. Graham Hughes, op cit, see note 5, pp 10-11

35. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6, interview (4).

FIG 7
Coffee pot, Old Sheffield Plate, circa 1760, attributed to Joseph Hancock.
(Image courtesy of Gordon Crosskey)

FIG 8
Eric Clements, clock, silver-gilt, 1955, made by Leonard Burt.
(Image courtesy of the Goldsmiths' Company)

workshops and businesses.[36] Clements began teaching in 1953 at Drayton Secondary Modern School in Ealing, West London;[37] in the following year he moved back to the Birmingham College of Arts and Crafts as a Senior Lecturer. This was not to Margaret Street, but to Vittoria Street, where trade courses had previously existed outside the college, but the two by this time had been amalgamated and, as a consequence, the silversmithing staff and the facilities formerly located at Margaret Street had been moved to Vittoria Street. Clements made a strong impact: the Scandinavian influences he brought with him were unsettling for many; he disapproved of both the school's heavy reliance on drawing rather than 3D prototypes and its encouragement of students' emulation of their tutors' work. His tutorial style was unusual being based not so much on informing, but on drawing out students' thoughts and encouraging personal development, although their ideas had to be based on a thorough technical grounding.[38] Here Clements's self-confessed technical limitations made him vulnerable to ridicule, especially after the mistake of once saying

> a designer cannot expect a craftsman to do what he cannot himself do.

Knowing this Gerald Whiles, another member of staff, challenged Clements to prove his point in the workshop, with damaging results to a water carafe being made by a young Martyn Pugh.[39]

Alongside his teaching Clements was developing his design practice.[40] In 1955 the Goldsmiths' Company organised a competition to design a tea service which Clements won and the service became part of a touring exhibition shown at a prominent venue, the Tea Centre in Regent Street, London. His design *[Fig 6]* shows functionality in the wide openings for easy cleaning, and the broad-based teapot which encouraged the wide dispersal of the tea leaves.[41] The profile of a milk jug (top left) suggests that he had been looking at eighteenth-century prototypes: the sloping sides lead to the sharply undercut body *[Fig 7]* although the plain surfaces betray modern Scandinavian influences. After seeing the exhibition and Clements's tea service the head of Sheffield College of Art declared that this was better than work from his own college.[42] Other pieces of Clements's work were subsequently acquired for the Goldsmiths' Company's collection, an example being a clock

36. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6,interview (7).

37. Gillian Naylor, op cit, see note 14, p 19.

38. Gerald Whiles, 'Eric Clements: The Contribution as an educator within the field of Design and more Particularly that of Jewellery and Silversmithing', Martin Ellis (ed), *Eric Clements Silver and Design 1950-2000*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, 2001, pp 22-4.

39. Email communication with Martyn Pugh, 20 May 2020.

40. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6, interview (4).

41. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6, interview (6).

FIG 9
Eric Clements, mayoral jewel, gold, enamel, rubies, diamonds and pearls, 1955, maker's mark of Padgett and Braham.
(Bolton City Council © Bolton Council)

with thin form-defining lines *[Fig 8],* an Art Deco touch found in the work of his former tutor, Cyril Shiner. Clements' work appeared in many Goldsmiths' Company exhibitions and Hughes frequently recommended him to patrons[43] and Clements acknowledged that "almost all" of his silver commissions came through Goldsmiths' Company recommendations.[44] Hughes's involvement in judging entries for a mayoral jewel for Bolton in 1955 was instrumental in gaining Clements the commission *[Fig 9]* against local opposition.[45] The jewel, exquisitely made by the London firm of Padget and Braham, one of Clements favoured makers, is rich with rubies, diamonds and pearls and what was then thought to be the largest expanse of stones ever to be set in invisible settings. The iconography includes the elephant and castle of the crest of Bolton, and the arrows, shuttle and shield of the Bolton coat of arms, with an enamelled border including eight green gold symbols of the eight constituent areas which together created the city.[46]

FIG 10
Eric Clements, coffee pot, silver and fruitwood, 1953, maker's mark of Wakeley and Wheeler.
(Image courtesy of the Goldsmiths' Company)

In 1959 a Goldsmiths' Company publication included seventy-four pieces by twenty-three makers. Twenty, the highest number, were by Gerald Benney and then the second highest number, eleven, were by Clements.[47] He had become a major force in Hughes's efforts to promote modern silver; he felt that Clements was unrivalled in his appreciation of the fine workmanship which he ensured in the execution of his designs.[48]

Clements also benefited significantly from the quality of his designs and, although he was inclined to be modest about his drawing skill, Hughes felt that the poetic quality of his style, "far in advance of that of his contemporaries" was responsible for much of his success *[Fig 6].*[49] Under the government's Assistance to Craftsman scheme, started in 1947, up to six hand-made pieces of silver, made from an approved design which had to be original and of high quality, qualified for exemption from the punitive purchase tax in place at the time; this was initially 125% and, from 1950 100%, until the scheme came to an end in 1962. Peter Payne of Oxford who was much ahead of other provincial retailers in commissioning modern silver, rather than reproductions of earlier styles, commissioned at least twenty-two pieces under the scheme, including the Bolton mayoral jewel[50] and a hand-made coffee pot[51] made by Clements's other favoured makers Wakely and Wheeler of London *[Fig 10].* The design is based on a traditional baluster form although the curve in Clements' design is slightly flattened *[Fig 11].* The design became popular, being used with small changes, for a gift to Clement Attlee when he received the freedom of the city of Oxford, and when the Queen commissioned a service for the King and Queen of Denmark on the occasion of her visit to Denmark in 1957.[52]

42. Graham Hughes, 'Designer/Silversmiths of Birmingham', Terry Hunt (ed), *Finely Taught, Finely Wrought, The Birmingham School of Jewellery, 1890-1990*, Birmingham, 1990, pp 47-52.

43. Graham Hughes, op cit, see note 5, pp 10-1.

44. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6, interview (3)

45. Graham Hughes, op cit, see note 5, p 12.

46. Rebecca Holland, op cit, see note 23, p 52.

47. John Andrew and Derek Styles, op cit, see note 2, p 30.

48. Graham Hughes, op cit, see note 5, p 12

49. Ibid.

50. Email from Judy Payne, 15 August 2020.

51. Conversation with Judy Payne, 12 August 2020

52. *Oxford Mail*, 25 May 1957, supplied by Judy Payne, 19 May 2020.

FIG 11
Coffee pot, Old Sheffield Plate, early 1760s, Hoyland & Co.
(Image courtesy of Gordon Crosskey)

FIG 12
Eric Clements, café au lait, 1962-3, maker's mark of Wakeley and Wheeler.
(Image courtesy of Massey College in the University of Toronto, photograph by Stanley Holland)

Confidence in Clements' design work led to further important commissions for overseas. He was asked by the government to make gifts for three newly independent Commonwealth countries: centrepieces for Cyprus and Barbados, and electroliers for Jamaica, made between 1962 and 1971.[53] A larger commission came in 1962 from Massey College in the University of Toronto who, after seeing designs by Clements, selected him from a list of eight silversmiths - including Benny, Mellor and Welch - supplied by the Council of Industrial Design. They required silver hollow-ware and EPNS flatware and condiments for the Fellows' dining room and EPNS hollow-ware and flatware for the students' dining room.[54] Clements' designs were finalised during a visit to Canada with his wife Muriel and their children Ann and David, in consultation with the architect of the college's new building.[55] The café au lait *[Fig 12]* departs from his earlier organic designs but its cone shape basically continues a long tradition for coffee pots *[Fig 13]* although overall it shows Clements responding to a general shift in craft and design towards angular forms.[56]

During the 1960s Clements's designs for special silver commissions declined as the Assistance to Craftsmen Scheme came to an end,[57] and he later reflected that there was, he felt, something uncomfortably "exclusive" about silversmithing.[58] A step change in his career came on his appointment as a consultant to Mappin and Webb when, instead of receiving modest fees for individual designs, he now earned £1,000 per annum plus further fees and expenses. The Clements tea service of 1960, named after him, was made in silver and EPNS, and a coffee pot was also available *[Fig 14]*. A facsimile of his signature appeared on the underside and it also appeared on all items designed by him for the firm *[Fig 15]*. The hollow-wares were blown into two-part moulds, and the design was well conceived for a wide market, remaining in production into the 1990s.[59]

53. Rebecca Holland, op cit, see note 23, p 70.

54. Ibid, p 54.

55. Ibid, p 76 and Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6, interview (5).

56. Gillian Naylor, op cit, see note 14, p 20.

57. Rebecca Holland, op cit, see note 23, pp 103-6.

58. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6, interview (10).

FIG 13
Coffee pots, silver and ivory and Old Sheffield Plate, 1830-1, Matthew Boulton Plate Co. (Private collection; image courtesy Leonard Joel.)

There was nevertheless growing concern over falling sales of modern silver through retailers, and the demand for silver wares generally was in decline so, as Graham Hughes, champion of modern silver, agonizingly noted in articles in *The Studio* magazine in 1960, Clements moved into the haven of teaching while other prominent silversmiths such as Benney, Mellor and Welch moved, substantially, in an industrial direction and were venturing into new materials and products for which there was demand.[60] This industrial emphasis was gradually also to become true of Clements. As early as 1955 he had designed aluminium trays for Samuel Groves & Co of Hockley, Birmingham, and in 1957 door and window furniture for Tonks (Birmingham) Ltd.[61] The principal material that he

FIG 14
Eric Clements, the Clements tea service, EPNS, black moulded handles, 1960, Mappin & Webb. (Private collection, photograph by Anthony Evans)

59. Rebecca Holland, op cit, see note 23, p 66.

60. John Andrew and Derek Styles, op cit, see note 2, p 46.

FIG 15
Detail of Fig 14, facsimile signature of Eric Clements on the Clements tea service, 1960, Mappin and Webb.

FIG 16
Advertisement for tea wares designed by Eric Clements in stainless streel, 1958, manufactured by J R Bramah.

turned to was stainless steel, invented in 1913, and later popularised for a wide range of products, some cheaper substitutes for silver or EPNS. J R Bramah of Sheffield, who had made components for jet engines, commissioned over forty projects from Clements between 1958 and 1965 for sanitary wares, dishes, and other tablewares including tea wares, where the hollow-wares were formed in a mould under pressure *[Fig 16]*.[62] Clements also produced five flatware designs that were put into production as part of his consultancy for Mappin and Webb; these were made in various materials including stainless steel *[Fig 17]*. They were made at a time when British manufacturers were trying to compete with Scandinavian and German imports and stainless steel flatware was relatively new. Clements' *Prelude* designs avoided the criticisms levelled by J Beresford-Evans and Bruce Archer of a Mellor and Welch design for Walker & Hall (the *Spring* range), and J & J Wiggin's (the *Campden* range) of 1958, where the spoons for different purposes were held to lack differentiation and where the tines of the forks made cleaning difficult. All used the newly popular design for knife blades: angled to bring more of the blade in contact with food but Clements' design in its slimness and elegance came closer to some Continental designs,[63] although the sharp point to handle-ends was rather ill-advised.

61. Rebecca Holland, op cit, see note 23, p 106.

62. Ibid, p 58.

FIG 17
Eric Clements, Prelude flatware, stainless steel, 1961, manufactured by Mappin & Webb.
(Image courtesy of Mappin &Webb)

FIG 18
Eric Clements, Open University mace, titanium, 1970-2, made by Imperial Metal Industries, Birmingham, and staff at the School of Silversmithing and Jewellery, Birmingham Polytechnic
(Photograph by Lynne Bartlett)

Clements' external activities involved the School of Silversmithing and Jewellery in various ways. His familiarity with many local businesses facilitated factory visits although as Tony Evans, a student on the City and Guilds Silversmithing and Design course in 1955, recently observed, some were obligingly organised following specific student requests.[64] Clements' experiences were built into his teaching and involved more emphasis on a wide range of materials than was then commonly the case in such schools.[65] Sometimes colleagues resented his external activities[66] and when staff in the school were involved as makers, things could become uncomfortable. Stephen Fisher, asked to forge a silver paper knife, received three drawings of different angles, but found that the dimensions on each did not match up.[67] The Open University mace of 1970-2 *[Fig 18]* was a triumph of collaboration involving contributions from Phil Moody, David Evans, Sid Perkins and Hamish Bowie, working with Imperial Metal Industries, who had commissioned the mace. IMI produced the titanium and contributed their expertise to cast the metal which was done in an inert atmosphere, as the metal is highly reactive to oxygen. Titanium is light which made such a large sculptural piece, with its axe-like head harking back to the mace's medieval origins, although not entirely well-received, practicable.[68] Titanium was attractive to decorative artists and Birmingham was pioneering in the 1960s, the metal only becoming commercially available since the 1950s. Titanium could be variously coloured: in the mace, by first etching selected areas with various acids, including those to have purple on the mace head and blue and gold on the Open University badge, and then, by anodizing with varying depths of protective oxide layers by electrolysis, each layer creating the interference of light which altered the colours. Some of the anodizing was by IMI and some by Hamish Bowie.[69]

Prior to the Open University commission in 1964 Clements had moved from the School of Silversmithing and Jewellery, to become the Head of the School of Industrial Design, at the same college;[70] this he regarded as a natural consequence of his development as a designer.[71] His understanding of

63. J Beresford-Evans and Bruce Archer, 'Design Analysis 8 : stainless steel cutlery and flatware', *Design*, no 114, June 1958, pp 39-44.

64. Email from Tony Evans, 26 May 2020.

65. Gerald Whiles, op cit, see note 38, p 23

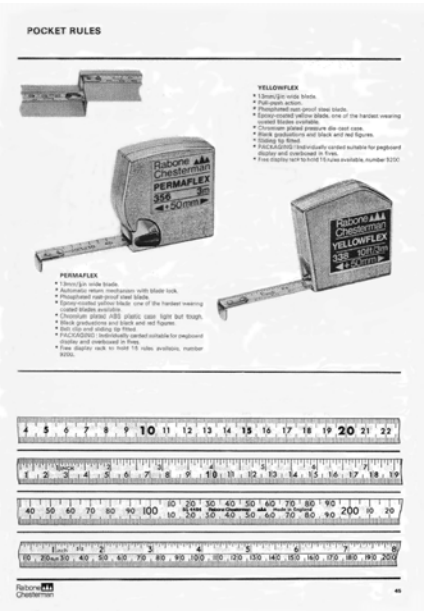
66. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6, interview (7).

67. Email from Stephen Fisher, 27 May 2020.

68. Email from Terry Hunt, 18 August 2020.

69. Emails from Hamish Bowie, 29 June 2020, 14 August 2020, 16 August 2020.

FIG 19
Eric Clements, pocket rules, 1974, manufactured by Rabone Chesterman Ltd., Catalogue, 1972, (Image courtesy of the Ken Hawley Collection Trust, Sheffield)



industrial design and education was enhanced by winning a Ford Foundation Scholarship in 1958 that led to eleven weeks in the USA where he visited the styling studios of Ford and General Motors, and the industrial design course at the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn.[72] Clements's teaching in the School of Industrial Design included substantial collaborations with industry.[73] His outside design activities continued vigorously; he was well-known as a designer of ceremonial pieces such as the badges of office for the Deputy Mayor and Mayoress of Swansea Borough Council in 1969, as well contract production, such as tablewares for Cunard's new liner, *Queen Elizabeth II*, in 1966, as a continuation of his consultancy with Mappin and Webb, by now part of British Silverware. His range expanded, involving Rabone Chesterman Ltd, for whom he designed spirit levels, and pocket rules *[Fig 19]* and in 1972 marine fittings, including bollards and rigging screws, for F Mountford Ltd.[74]

Somewhat at odds with the management in Birmingham, Clements left and became simultaneously, Dean of the Faculty of Art and Design, and Assistant Director of Wolverhampton Polytechnic in 1973.[75] Wolverhampton was recognised as a leading centre in the introduction of modularity and ran some highly regarded courses, especially in glass, following a merger with Stourbridge College of Art.[76] As Dean Clements was regarded as efficient, fair and hard-working,[77] but it was a challenging job: money was short and a colleague, Roger Newport recalls Clements painting markings in the car-park one summer vacation after funds were refused.[78] Staff student ratios were rising and art and design was regarded as what Clements called a "Cinderella" subject area: it was not a happy time and he retired early in 1985.[79]

Clements' expertise led to various external activities apart from design. He was a moderator for courses validated by the Business and Technical Education Council and he became involved with the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) visiting other academic institutions to validate courses and offer constructive criticism. His involvement extended to the role of external examiner for many courses validated by the National Council for Diplomas in Art and Design, and later, the CNAA. Much of this activity was not unusual for senior academics from polytechnics but, as Gerald Whiles has suggested, it was exceptional for anyone to be appointed as external examiner to the majority of the jewellery and silversmithing courses in the UK and for some courses on more than one occasion.[80] Clements was meticulous in this role as Rod Kelly recalls when he had his viva with Clements, returning to what was now Birmingham Polytechnic in 1979:

> The interview I had with him was definitely not a formality. He had quite a presence. It was not long before he made me feel very comfortable and we discussed my work in detail with Eric asking lots of difficult questions. I

70. Gerald Whiles, op cit, see note 38, p 23.

71. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6, interview (8).

72. Ibid, interview (7).

73. Ibid, interview (8).

74. Rebecca Holland, op cit, see note 23, pp 105-6.

75. Email from Roger Newport, 7 April 2020.

76. Conversation with former colleague David Knight, 22 June 2020.

77. Conversation with former colleague John Hopgood, 22 June 2020

78. Roger Newport, op cit, see note 75.

79. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6, interview (9).

80. Gerald Whiles, op cit, see note 38, p 24.

FIG 20
Eric Clements designer, the Agincourt Cup, silver, parcel-gilt, Birmingham, 2005. (Image courtesy of the Keatley Trust)

> must have made a good impression. I gained a First Class Honours [degree] with his blessing.[81]

Following his appointment at Wolverhampton Clements' design activity virtually stopped: apart from the demands of the job, a number of firms for whom he had worked had ceased trading. He worked on a few craft pieces such as a verge for the local church of St Nicholas, King's Norton, in 1996, in memory of his first wife, Muriel.[82] His last silver commission was the Agincourt Cup of 2005 *[Fig 20]*, made for John Keatley, whose ancestor fought at the Battle of Agincourt. The overall design is based on an ascending rhythm from the base, with a spiral of England's decisive arrows, past the vital defensive stakes around the cup, with Henry V's arms, to the man-at-arms at the apex.[83] The whole is based on the vertical gothic rhythm found on some medieval cups, such as the fifteenth-century Lacock Cup in the British Museum *[Fig 21]*, which Clements used most powerfully to celebrate the English triumph over France in 1415.

Over time acknowledgment of the significant role played by Eric Clements in post-war design, compared with that of his peers Benney, Mellor and Welch, has diminished in large part because their businesses, with their names to the fore, were more conspicuous and enduring than his design activities, and more visible than his work in education. This has meant that the work of these three men, including their work on silver, has led to their inclusion in the general literature on the history of design whereas Clements has been omitted.[84]

Yet Clements's achievements and contributions were substantial. Some national recognition came through a series of interviews with Tanya Harrod in the National Life Story Collection in 2000.[85] There was a major retrospective at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery in 2002 and a book, *Eric Clements Silver & Design 1950-2000*, which was published in conjunction with the exhibition.[86] Gerald Whiles, once a student and colleague in the School of Jewellery in Birmingham, wrote in the book, that Clements was

> one of the top four or five silversmithing designers of his generation.[87]

81. Email from Rod Kelly, 12 May 2020.

82. Rebecca Holland, op cit, see note 23, pp 105-6. Examples include Peakcroft Ltd, Lewis Rose & Co and J R Bramah & Co.

83. John Andrew and Derek Styles, op cit, see note 2, p 134.

84. Fiona MacCarthy, op cit, see note 12, p 91, lists Benney, Welch and Mellor, but not Clements.. The same applies to Judith Miller, *20th Century Design: The Definitive Illustrated Sourcebook*, London, 2009, pp 198-9.

85. Tanya Harrod, op cit, see note 6.

FIG 21
The Lacock Cup, silver, parcel-gilt, fifteenth century.
(Image courtesy of the British Museum)

His importance was later recognised in John Andrew and Derek Styles book *Designer British Silver from Studios established 1930-1985* published in 2015.[88] Less lauded, but important, was his wide-ranging activity as an industrial designer and his long career in education as an innovative teacher who inspired many successful careers and who became an important figure in educational management, consultancy and examining.[89]

Eric Clements, Doctor of Science, Des RCA, FSIA, FRSA and liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company, is survived by his second wife Gertrud, and his children Anne and David, as well as grandchildren and great grandchildren.

In writing this tribute thanks are due in particular to John Andrew, Hamish Bowie, Keith Crawshaw, Terry Hunt and Judy Payne.

Kenneth Quickenden is a graduate of the Courtauld Institute of Art with a PhD from Westfield College, also of the University of London. He was formerly a Head of School and Professor at Birmingham City University and served on both the Arts and Humanities Research Council's Peer Review College and the Reviewing Committee for the Export of Works of Art, and was a History of Art and Design Assessor for the Higher Education Funding Council. His publications include international surveys of contemporary jewellery and fine metalwork and, most recently, he co-authored Making Form: Contemporary British Fine Metalwork *(2019); he has also edited or written books, chapters and articles on the history of metalwork, especially the silver of Matthew Boulton. Since his retirement in 2009 he has continued his research.*

86. Graham Hughes, op cit, see note 5.

87. Gerald Whiles, op cit, see note 38, pp 23-4.

88. John Andrew and Derek Styles, op cit, see note 2, pp 128-135.

89. Gerald Whiles, op cit, see note 38, pp 23-4.

RECENT ACQUISITION

MUSEUM OF LONDON – A SILVER TRENCHER PLATE BELONGING TO SAMUEL PEPYS

HAZEL FORSYTH

FIG 1
Plate, London, 1681-82, maker's mark of Mary King.

At the end of 2019 the Museum of London acquired a silver trencher plate *[Fig 1]* with a wide reeded border engraved with a contemporary coat of arms within a shield between tied plumes and foliate mantling. The arms are those of Pepys quartering Talbot for Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) *[Fig 2]*. The underside of the plate is struck with London hallmarks for 1681-82 and the maker's mark MK with a mullet above and below in a lozenge shaped shield for Mary King. Also underneath is the later scratched inscription: "date 1681". The plate is in very fine condition with some wear marks on the underside and cutlery scratch-marks on the upper-face.

This plate belonged to the famous diarist and naval administrator Samuel Pepys and as such is an exceptional personal relic of one of the most celebrated figures in literary and English history. The son of a London tailor, Pepys rose to prominence as a civil servant of great distinction. His rapid social advancement was reflected in his acquisition of "a very handsome cupboard of plate".

His enthusiasm for plate, whether gifts or purchases, is indicated by over seventy references in the Diary; not least as a convenient and useful way of utilising his savings. On 10 February 1662/63 he notes that he had acquired a silver cup

> with my armes ready-cut upon them…a very notable present, and the best I ever had yet.

The arms in question are those of Pepys quartering Talbot for the marriage of Samuel Pepys's grandfather to his grandmother Edith, daughter and heiress of Edmund Talbot. Pepys also displayed his coat of arms on many of the bindings and armorial bookplates in his personal library (now the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge). A stained-glass window, dated 1677, at Clothworkers' Hall in London commemorating Pepys' role as Master and benefactor is similarly decorated.

From its date letter the silver trencher plate was evidently acquired after Pepys closed his Diary in May 1669 fearing its ill-effects on his eyesight. As many of his personal belongings were destroyed in a fire at his home in Seething Lane in 1673, it may have been purchased when he replaced his lost collections. A footed silver salver dated 1678-79[1] and a silver porringer dated 1671 (current whereabouts unknown) are the only other known examples of silver from Pepys' private collection. Both pieces were sold by auction at Sotheby's in 1931 in the auction of "The Well-Known Collection of Relics of Samuel Pepys", having descended in the Pepys Cockerell family through Pepys's heir John Jackson (1673-1724), the son of his sister Paulina. Jackson's daughter Frances married John Cockerell of Bishop's Hall, Somerset, and a group of objects associated with Pepys remained in the Pepys Cockerell family until they were disposed of at the auction by the Florence, widow of John Pepys Cockerell. The salver has the same reeded border as the plate and all three items show identical armorials and mantling.

When Pepys assessed his personal wealth at the beginning of his Diary, he had an estate worth just £25 and was

1. Beth Carver Wees, *English, Irish & Scottish Silver at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute*, New York, 1997, pp 89-91).

FIG 2
John Riley, *Samuel Pepys*, circa 1680, oil on canvas.
(By kind permission of the Clothworkers' Company)

much "troubled with thoughts how to get money" to pay off his debts, though he acknowledged

> My own private condition very handsome; and esteemed rich, but endeed very poor, besides my goods of my house and my office, which at present is somewhat uncertain.

Since every penny counted he made a point of keeping just 3d in his pocket while out drinking with friends, lest he be tempted to spend more. Before long his financial worries were eased with his appointment to the Navy Board and a salary of £350, but by then Pepys had begun to spend more than he earned and he was concerned

> to look about me to get something more than just my salary, or else I may resolve to die a beggar.

Pepys's finances improved further with a shower of bribes and gratuities for commissions, contracts and services rendered in his work for the Navy, and within a couple of years he was worth £1,000. At the end of the Diary period, Pepys was rich, with a salary in excess of £500 a "mighty handsome" home, a painted and gilded coach, and £10,000 in savings.

At a time when wealth was demonstrated not by the size of a house but in its furnishings and silverware, Pepys gradually began to acquire plate for domestic use. Some items were obtained by direct purchase, but more often pieces came in the very welcome form of a gift or perquisite of office. In July 1664, for instance, he received a fine leather case with a pair of silver-gilt flagons, the gift of Mr Gaudens,

> which are endeed … so noble that I hardly can think they are yet mine.

These were soon displayed to the envy of Pepys' dinner guests, with a dozen silver salt cellars besides the "great Cupboard of plate" mentioned above, and further acquisitions followed.

By February 1666, Pepys had so much silver that he was able to pick out pieces "to change for more useful plate". In December he placed an order with the goldsmith Sir Robert Vyner for twelve plates, from Captain Cocke's gift of £100, increasing his stock of plates to thirty overall. As he noted at the end of the year,

> One thing I reckon remarkable in my own condition is that I am come to abound in good plate, so as at all entertainments to be served wholly with silver plates, having two dozen and a half.

One of the great advantages of so much silver was the opportunity to show off and on 8 April 1667 Pepys wrote:

> I home and there find all things in good readiness for a good dinner … we had, with my wife and I, twelve at table; and a very good and pleasant company, and a most neat and excellent, but dear dinner; but Lord, to see with what envy they looked upon all my fine plate was pleasant, for I made the best show I could, to let them understand me and my condition, to take down the pride of Mrs. Clerke, who thinks herself very great.

Much of Pepys' personal silver was acquired from his friend, the goldsmith-banker Sir Richard Hoare (1648-1719); surviving accounts at Hoare's Bank show his numerous purchases of silver from Hoare's premises in Cheapside from the early 1680s. Hoare's ledgers detail how his silver was often decorated with "Coates and compartments", or "Cyphers with palmes". The 1693-98 account book of the specialist engraver, Benjamin Rhodes, who carried out much of Richard Hoare's work, is also preserved

in Hoare's archives, and this features a distinctly Carolean design for arms that closely matches the arrangement of the arms on the Pepys salver and porringer as well as the Pepys' plate considered here.

Hoare's ledgers also reveal Pepys' putting his affairs in order at the bank shortly before his death with the sale of

> 34 Trencher plates' to Richard Hoard, and a further '2 boxes [of silver] Rapt up in a sacking

put into store at Hoare's premises. These deposits may explain why so little of Pepys' silver has survived; as most of the items would have been melted down in settlement of his account. Pepys made bequests of plate to the value of £50 each to his protégé and heir John Jackson, to his old friend and executor Will Hewer and to his housekeeper and probable mistress, Mary Skinner and so, the salver, porringer and trencher plate are likely to have come from these sources.

The plate is particularly significant for the Museum of London because the maker's initials are those of Mary King of Foster Lane, the wife of the plateworker Thomas King.[2] Following King's death (his probate inventory, dated 22 February 1680/1, in the Court of Orphans) Mary was cited as a "Relicata Sola Executrix" and as David Mitchell notes:

> in this capacity, continued Thomas's trade with the help of an apprentice, John Hudson, and perhaps the journeyman who was owed a quarter's wages of £5 at the time of his death. It is likely that she continued to work as a subcontractor to a number of retailers, including some of those who had owed money to her husband, such as the goldsmith-bankers Thomas Fowle at Temple Bar; James Herriott at Fleet Bridge, Fleet Street, and Charles Wallis and John Gilbert in the Minories.

My thanks for Martin Downer and David Mitchell for their research which contributed to this article.

2. David Mitchell, *Silversmiths in Elizabethan and Stuart London: Their Lives and Their Marks*, Woodbridge, 2017, p 418.

RECENT ACQUISITION

THE VIRGINIA MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: A MASTERPIECE BY FABERGE IN THE NEO-RUSSIAN STYLE

BARRY SHIFMAN

FIG 1
Covered tureen, tray and ladle, silver, silver-gilt, cabochon amethyst, chrysoprase, chalcedonies and garnets, Moscow, 1908-17, warrant mark of Fabergé.
(Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. Gift of Mrs. Alfred duPont, by exchange.
Photo: Travis Fullerton © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)

Born in St Petersburg, Carl Fabergé (1846-1920) was the head of the leading firm of pre-Revolutionary jewellers and goldsmiths in Russia, whose name is still known today throughout the world. The Fabergé firm created fantastic and luxurious objets d'art such as imperial Easter eggs, jewellery, enamelled boxes and cigarette cases, parasol handles, picture frames, silver and gold services, and official presentation gifts for the last two Russian tsars. The business was started in 1842 by Gustav Fabergé, in St Petersburg; by 1872, his son Carl was managing the firm, and he expanded it with shops in Moscow, Odessa, Kiev, and London, overseeing a large staff of artists and craftsmen who created more than 300,000 intricate objects. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 Fabergé fled to Switzerland where he died in 1920.

The rare and monumental jewelled tureen, tray, and ladle in the neo-Russian style recently acquired from Wartski in London by the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (VMFA) was made in Moscow by Fabergé and is marked for 1908-1917. It is decorated with swans, porpoises, and other distinctive ornamental motifs. The overall decoration on the tureen includes stylised waves in the form of geometric zig-zag shapes, curvilinear algae at the base, and peacock feathers and there are pairs of stylized dolphins on the cover. The tray is elaborately decorated with geometric motifs and acorn leaves, set with cabochon stones in a similar manner to the tureen.

Although the pieces now in Virginia are marked, including with inventory numbers, it has not been possible to establish, through the Fabergé archives in Moscow, the original owner or who commissioned it. Due to its sheer magnificence, this splendid object must have been commissioned or acquired by a very wealthy member of society. On the finial to the cover are entwined initials surrounded by a garland which, together with the swan handles of the tureen (swans are a symbol of fidelity as they mate for life), suggest that this was a wedding or anniversary gift.

While many objects made by Fabergé in St Petersburg were in a pronounced European neo-Classical style much of Fabergé's silver was made in their workshops in Moscow. The firm's workshops in the city, established in 1887, were by the end of the century creating pieces catering for a distinct taste for pieces in the neo-Russian style or 'Styl modern' favoured by the newly affluent middle class of the city. Although these works featured decorative motifs and forms found in sixteenth and seventeenth century architecture, metalwork, and paintings they were reinterpreted and given a more modernistic slant exemplified by the angularity of the handles of the tureen, its attenuated lines and the remarkable contrasting finishes to its surfaces. The revivalist themes are illustrated by the form of the cover of the tureen which reflects the pointed helmets which the epic *bogatyr*, akin to knights errant, are often depicted wearing which were in turn modelled on the Monomakh's cap in which Ivan the Terrible had himself crowned. This taste for pieces, redolent of Russia's early history, in particular the early Muscovite rulers such as the Romanovs, pervaded architecture and the decorative arts towards the end of

FIG 2
Detail of handle of covered tureen, Moscow, 1908-17, *[Fig 1]* warrant mark of Fabergé. (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. Gift of Mrs. Alfred duPont, by exchange. Photo: Travis Fullerton © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)

FIG 3
Kovsh, silver, silver-gilt, chrysoprase and amethyst, Moscow, 1899-1908, French import mark from 1903, warrant mark of Fabergé. (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. Jerome and Rita Gans Collection of Silver. Photo: Katherine Wetzel © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)

the nineteenth century and into the early years of the twentieth century.

The tureen acquired by the museum is a splendid rarity: much pre-Revolutionary silver was melted down in Russia after the Revolution to raise funds for the Bolshevik government. Objects owned by the imperial family, the aristocracy and the church were systematically confiscated and melted down as they were deemed of no cultural value and the government was desperate to raise money to fund its military efforts. At this period, the government certainly did not value these objects but saw them only as a form of currency.

The tureen was acquired by Sydney and Frances Lewis of Richmond, Virginia at auction at Sotheby's, London, on 8 May 1972 (lot 221) and a day later, Sotheby's sold the tray and ladle privately to the couple. The set was then sold in 2013 by Mrs Lewis to a private collector before it was acquired by Wartski. The set was exhibited in 1996 in the *Fabergé in America*, organised by the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and was at one time on display in the VMFA in 2011.

The VMFA has the largest public collection in the United States of objects by Fabergé amounting to about two hundred pieces and five imperial Easter eggs: it was bequeathed to the museum in 1947 by Lillian Thomas Pratt. The collection is especially rich in enamels and hardstones, specifically parasol handles and picture frames, made in St Petersburg but it did not include important silver objects made in the firm's Moscow workshops. The museum's collection also includes a lavish silver *kovsh* by Fabergé, also made in Moscow in the neo-Russian style, donated by Jerome and Rita Gans.

Barry Shifman is the Sydney and Frances Lewis Family Curator of Decorative Arts 1890 to the Present at the VMFA since 2007 and before this he was in charge of the Department of Decorative Arts at the Indianapolis Museum of Art (1988-2006). He has published extensively on various aspects of the decorative arts, including Sèvres porcelain, silver and gold treasures from the Armoury Museum at the Kremlin, American Arts & Crafts, Augustus Pugin and Leighton Hall, as well as contemporary glass.

RECENT ACQUISITION

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM STOCKHOLM: A UNIQUE COLLECTION OF ARGENT HACHE

MICAEL ERNSTELL

FIG 1
Tureen and stand, silver plated brass, 1768, by Caspar Liendenberg.
(Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 86/2019). All images: Linn Ahlgren/ Nationalmuseum, Stockholm)

FIG 2
Pair of casters, silver plated brass, 1780-90, by Eric Nyström.
(Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 87–88/2019)

The Nationalmuseum in Stockholm has acquired a number of rare, Swedish-made objects in silver-plated brass, a technique called *argent haché*, dating from the end of the eighteenth century. Production in Sweden was limited, and few objects have survived to the present day, so this important element of Swedish design history has been missing from the museum's collections, although they have included a few objects of European origin.

Research into the Swedish production of *argent haché* has been lacking, but one person who made a major contribution was the antiques dealer Lars-Yngve Johansson (1941–2018), who was well-established in Sweden and renowned for his expertise. His interest in the subject and decades of collecting *argent haché* are important. He trained as a goldsmith and silversmith and was truly able to appreciate and see the quality of different kinds of metalwork. After his death, his unique collection was sold at Bukowskis auction house, and the Nationalmuseum succeeded in acquiring some of the objects at an auction in the spring of 2019.[1]

Objects in *argent haché* were produced in Sweden in the latter half of the eighteenth century, with the early producers in Stockholm being Simon Pantaleon, from 1757, and Fredrich T Lemair, from 1762, both of whom had moved from France.[2] For the Nationalmuseum, Swedish production is of primary interest, though few objects remain, both marked and unmarked. Knowledge about who made the objects and, in some cases, their marks has been limited. However, thanks to one connoisseur's patient collecting and his expertise, this ignorance may now be dispelled and his knowledge presented to a wider audience.

The objects include a tureen and stand produced in Stockholm by Caspar Liendenberg in 1768 *[Fig 1]*.[3] He started working in 1745, but according to the Assay Office's records, started marking silver plated brass in 1766.[4] The tureen has many marks, thus contributing a great deal to knowledge in this area. In 1762, the Board of Trade issued an ordinance on hallmarks for *argent haché*, with the most important element being the ability to clearly distinguish between these objects and those made from silver. The ordinance used the same principles as the provisions for work in gold and silver that were issued in 1754. The marks for silver plated brass show the chemical symbol for copper and a crescent moon. The tureen has such a mark, as well as a date mark, '6' for 1768. This system came into use in 1763, using numbers rather than the letters that were used as date marks on gold and silverwork.

The tureen also has a special 'FÖRSILV' (silvering) mark, and the master's own mark, 'LIEDENBERG'. The silver has worn away in places, which is one reason why so many other objects in this material have been disposed of over the years. A pair of elegant sugar casters are from the same collection and were produced by Eric Nyström who worked in Stockholm between 1783 and 1814 *[Fig 2]*.[5]

Two unstamped objects were also acquired because of their links to Sweden. One is a plate bearing the coat of arms of the then wealthy Grill family, which was probably produced in Sweden *[Fig 3]*.[6] The other is a wine cooler, almost certainly of foreign provenance, but bearing the initials of the wealthy Swedish industrialist Charles de Geer *[Fig 4]*.[7]

1. Lars-Yngve Johansson's expertise lives on through the book published in association with the auction: Antonia Barkman and Carl Barkman, *Argent Haché. Lars-Yngve Johanssons Samling av försilvrad mässing: historik, teknik, tillverkare, stämplar*, Stockholm 2019. This publication is an important contribution to the subject, particularly as it clarifies the history of Swedish production and masters, marks, etc. This article is primarily based on that publication. There are also older articles in the field: Marshall Lagerquist, 'Argent haché – En illusion av gediget silver', in *Rig – Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, vol 34, Stockholm 1951:1, https://journals.lub.lu.se/rig/article/view/8573/7713, (accessed 25 May 2020).

FIG 3
Dish, silver-plated brass, 1760 –1800.
(Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 83/2019)

FIG 4
Wine cooler, silver-plated brass, 1750-1800.
(Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 89/2019)

One interesting item in Lars-Yngve Johansson's collection was Erik Nordgren's teapot, which the museum was also able to acquire *[Fig 5]*.[8] He worked in Jönköping from 1817 to 1847. The teapot is made from nickel silver, also called paktong, which is a copper alloy with nickel, and often zinc. Nickel silver's name comes from its silvery appearance, despite it containing no silver. It was first discovered in China and in western Europe items were called *baitong* (Mandarin) or *paktong* (Cantonese), which can be translated as 'white copper'. The silver-coloured metal was used to imitate sterling silver. The earliest documented record of paktong in Europe is from 1597, with German imitations of paktong being produced from circa 1750. The German manufacturing process was introduced into Britain in 1830, and exports of paktong from China gradually ceased. We now have proof that it was also manufactured in Sweden.

In 2019, the Nationalmuseum was delighted to acquire another object in Swedish *argent haché*. This is a coffee pot with a classicised design that was typical of the time, with a straight handle in blackened wood. It is unstamped but has a distinctively Swedish idiom *[Fig 6]*.

The coffee pot was bequeathed by cultural historian Åke Livstedt, who generously donated many and diverse objects over several decades.

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FIG 5
Teapot, nickel silver or paktong and stained wood, 1792-?, by Erik Nordgren.
(Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 84/2019)

FIG 6
Coffee pot, silver plated brass, wood and bone, late eighteenth-century.
(Gift of Åke Livstedt. Nationalmuseum, NMK 78/2019)

2. Antonia Barkman and Carl Barkman, ibid, p 22.

3. Ibid, p 35.

4. Ibid, p 22.

5. Ibid, p 38

6. Ibid, p 34.

7. Ibid, p 33.

8. Ibid, p 17.

BOOK REVIEW

‘A MARVEL TO BEHOLD’ GOLD AND SILVER AT THE COURT OF HENRY VIII

By Timothy Schroder

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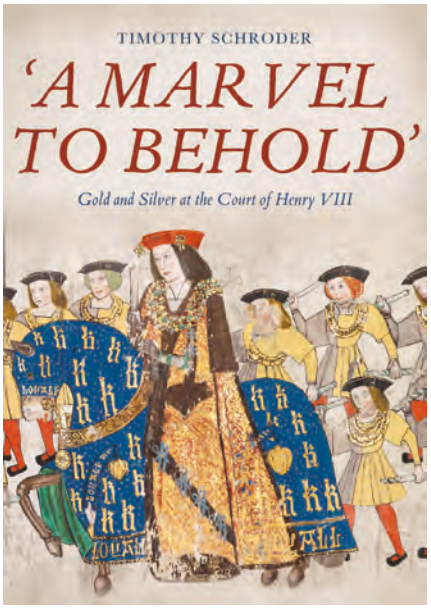

In this very dense book, the fruit of forty years of immersion in Renaissance gold and silver, nurtured by the systematic study of archives and inventories, Timothy Schroder provides the synthesis of a particularly inaccessible area and period of art. Gold and silverware was so often melted down or destroyed at the whim of historical and economic vicissitudes, hence the need to *recreate* an artistic environment on the basis of a small number of surviving works, to *interpret* textual sources where the palaeography is difficult, to *decode* the vocabulary of contemporary descriptions written by diplomats or courtiers, and finally to *illustrate*, by means of tapestries, miniatures, portraits and drawings, plate as it really was in the time of Henry VIII.

This goal is achieved to perfection in fifteen chapters, often with splendid contemporary quotations by way of headings, which set out all the possible symbolic, administrative or dynastic angles, beginning with the person of Henry VIII. His reign, which began in what was still a gothic artistic context, witnessed the flowering of what is known, both in England and in France, as the “first Renaissance”. Clearly the King himself was the catalyst here: and, in this connection, Timothy Schroder defines his ‘theory of magnificence’ which included an environment of spectacular wealth as well as a princely capacity to give as much as to receive. The gold and silver, with which the most beautiful tapestries of the royal residences were woven, were the dominant elements of the royal banqueting plate, of court costumes, of the decoration of the royal chapels, of feasts, jousts and the diplomatic gifts presented at international summit meetings. The six tonnes of silver accumulated by Henry VIII at Westminster and in the Tower of London by the end of his reign give the measure of this.

At the heart of this system lay the Jewel House, a body inherited from the medieval royal household and kept by the Master of the Jewel House under the authority of the Lord Chamberlain, but which the Privy Council began to prise away at this period. The 900 entries of the Jewel House inventory of 1521, a copy of which has been preserved, show the constant evolution of this gold and silverware which, over the years, had to be repaired, finished, given away and added to and which, as it was also the result of dynastic inheritance, partly dated back to the fourteenth century and included some beautiful French pieces. One can see why, on his ascension to the throne in 1509, Henry VIII might be considered the richest of Europe’s monarchs. Timothy Schroder gives a precise analysis of the information contained in the Chamber Accounts (1492-1521) which confirm the pursuit and even the escalation of the young Henry VIII’s purchases of plate. How then should the style of gold and silverware at the beginning of this reign be defined? Like his contemporary, Francis I, Henry VIII commissioned Flemish, French and German as well as English goldsmiths and the royal gold and silver was largely European. Although the forms may have no specific characteristics, the pieces often have gadroons and repoussée ‘bullions’ (raised bosses) combined with the emblematic and heraldic elements and a very varied range of floral motifs.

Key chapters at the heart of the book analyse contemporary descriptions of events at which there was literally a staging of this royal gold and silverware around the King. Accounts of the christening of royal infants in the Franciscan church at Greenwich, attended by the high nobility and foreign ambassadors, describe baptismal fonts in silver and sumptuous gold cups given

to the little princes by the godparents; stunning descriptions of royal feasts conjure up impressive quantities of plate of all shapes and sizes, creating, in the author's own attractive expression, a true "choreography". Behind the principal guests, immense buffets, always laden with gold and silver-gilt, were interspersed with a succession of rich tapestry hangings whose images mirrored the festivities. There were salt cellars (sixty of them are listed in the Jewel House inventory), great covered cups, cylindrical goblets, platters, large carving knives, spice plates and so forth …. The tapestries provide the reader with a smooth transition from the representation of objects to their description and use. All the accounts emphasise the spectacular nature, in the true sense of the word, of the royal banquets, to the extent that the dazzled eye witnesses often saw gold where there was only silver-gilt; they also emphasise the itinerant aspect of this gold and silverware, the display of which had to be constantly adapted to the internal architecture of the banqueting halls and whose transport, always in the train of the King, meant that frequent repairs were needed.

Apart from war (for royal plate was carried onto the battlefield too), diplomacy, with its exchanges of gifts, provided European monarchs with a true field of competition on which gold and silver objects played a major role. A very substantial chapter is devoted to a comprehensive explanation of this phenomenon, from the reception of foreign ambassadors (to mention just one, Admiral Guillaume Bonnivet arrived in 1518 with 600 horses and seventy mules) to the dispatch of diplomats. This allows the author to define the varied forms which diplomatic presents took under Henry VIII: not just one object, but dozens, in a list ranging from the most expensive (for the ambassador) down to the most modest (for mere messengers). Of course, the numerous marriage alliances which were either sought or actually contracted by Henry VIII, provide a precise scale of valuation, as it were, of these gifts. The account of the Field of Cloth of Gold (in the summer of 1520) is the showpiece of the book, providing a complete description of the temporary palace built for Henry VIII for his first meeting with Francis I and the impressive logistics required for the 5,832 members of the English delegation. We should note, in passing, that the French archives, which have preserved the accounts of the Field of Cloth of Gold, show that the French were more concerned with the need to feed the English King, a lover of certain sorts of fish not widely consumed in France, than with describing the royal gold and silverware. On the English side, those present noted that the Kings were served on gold set with beautiful jewels, while guests at the royal table were entitled to gold but without jewels; as for the other noble guests, they had to make do with silver-gilt and commoners with plain silver. The descriptions of the exchanges of gifts are more detailed: a sword with a enamelled pommel was given to Francis by Henry. A gold service was given by Francis I to Cardinal Wolsey embellished with friars' girdles (one of Francis's badges) and the arms of France which included two covered basins, two ewers and two flagons. At the next level down, Louise of Savoy, mother of the French King, and Cardinal Wolsey, exchanged reliquary crosses. There was little room for spontaneity with these extremely codified gifts: any disparity in generosity might effectively have jeopardised the fragile balance of this precarious peace. A very few of these pieces from the meetings between the French and the English monarchs remain. One is the St Michael's Cup, a piece by the Flemish goldsmith Josse Vezeler that adorned the buffets at the Boulogne meeting of 1532 (now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) and another the Royal Clock Salt *[Fig 1]*, the work of Francis I's goldsmith Pierre Mangot, that was probably

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FIG 1
The Royal Clock Salt, silver-gilt, glass, clockwork, shell, enamel, agate, pearls and precious stones, Paris or Blois, circa 1530, attributed to Pierre Mangot.
(Collection of the Goldsmiths' Company, London)

given to Henry VIII or to one of his close counsellors (now in the collection of the Goldsmiths' Company in London). To these celebrated pieces may be added a very beautiful enamelled chalice, made in Paris in 1532, probably for Henry VIII, and taken by Giaocchino da Passano, Ambassador of the King of France, back to his homeland of Levanto.[1] The artistic legacy of these Anglo-French encounters can be ascertained from the new antique style ornamentation which appeared in England at the same period.

The last part of the book focusses on the personalities who largely influenced the artistic awakening of the reign. The extremely wealthy Cardinal Wolsey (c 1470-1530), who was raised to the rank of papal legate in 1518, played a key role until his fall from grace, through his commissions to goldsmiths, to such an extent that one tenth of the plate listed at the Jewel House in 1532 actually originated from him. Acting through numerous agents, Wolsey introduced the finest work from Flanders, France and Italy. It is his influence which should be credited with the dominant 'foreign' (Flemish) aspect of English gold and silverware and it is not inconsequential that the Flemish goldsmiths Peter Richardson and Michael Mercator should have dominated English goldsmiths' work in the 1530s. While French goldsmiths were turning towards Italy,

1. Exhibited, 1995, *Parisian gold and silverware of the Renaissance, Dispersed Treasures*, Pantheon Cultural Centre, Paris, 1995, no 122) and more recently illustrated in D Skinner, 'Princes, Ambassadors and lost choirbooks of early Tudor England', *Early Music*, August 2012, vol 40, no 3, p 364, fig 1). According to tradition the chalice was a present from Francis I but was misappropriated by the unscrupulous ambassador.

FIG 2
Hans Holbein the younger, design for the Seymour Cup, drawing on paper, 1536. (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

English wares were rooted in the highly ornamental northern style known as "antique" depicted, above all, in the work of the painter, Hans Holbein the Younger, who had arrived from Basel. The gold and silverware of Henry VIII and of his female entourage survives in some way thanks to the graphic witness of Holbein's designs *[Fig 2]*.

One cannot describe English gold and silverware at the time of Henry VIII without taking stock of the destruction brought about by religious schism from 1534 onwards. This is dealt with in one of the last chapters of the book. Significantly, Cromwell's destruction of the treasures of churches and abbeys was slyly justified by the French example of 1528: when Francis I was striving to raise the ransom for his sons.[2] Should this account be concluded with this vision of "the most avaricious man in the world", to quote the French ambassador Charles de Marillac in 1541? Certainly, Henry VIII never ceased to covet, acquire and to confiscate, but his choices came to show a more mature taste, focussing on exceptional jewels, historic precious stones, masterpieces of Antwerp mannerism and the settings of gems, the possession of which show the King of England from that point on to have been a great collector. The famous Holbein Bowl (in the Munich Residenz) is the best example of Henry VIII's last acquisitions and of his numerous jewels in the inventory of 1547. The word, in the end, chosen by Timothy Schroder to describe the royal collection at the time of the death of Henry VIII is one borrowed from the imperial Hapsburg princes: a *Kunstkammer.*

By way of conclusion to this brief account, which is far from summarising all the interest contained in this erudite and fascinating book, may I thank the author for having provided his readers with so many original texts, which are now made available to researchers, for having applied himself to producing a critical apparatus of substantial notes and summaries and for having produced for a very handy glossary for lay readers.

Michèle Bimbenet-Privat

2. For French historians Francis I's orders to melt objects down were insignificant compared to the later destruction wrought during the Wars of Religion and then under Louis XIV, not to mention those of the French Revolution.

Keith Grant Peterkin

(1941–2019)

In the West End of London, up until a few years ago, if you spotted a cheerful splash of colour going past purposefully on a bicycle, it could well have been Keith Grant Peterkin, the much loved, admired and respected member of the Silver Society wearing a very jolly pair of brightly coloured corduroy trousers. On one occasion in the 1970s a member of the Society, having viewed her first silver sale with her employer, was walking down Bond Street when, with a squeal of brakes, a bicycle swung round and Keith, looking wonderful in his morning suit and returning to the Hennell premises from a wedding, was introduced to her.

The epitome of a Scottish gentleman, Keith was the elder of the two sons of Hugh and Rosemary (née Uprichard) Grant Peterkin. Born in Kent during the Second World War; all his life he recalled the sound of bombers rumbling overhead and remembered rationing. His father's wartime work in armaments left him with tuberculosis and as, at the time clean air was considered essential to the treatment of the disease, the family moved to the Grant Peterkin homelands in Moray when Keith was six. It was here that he learnt his exceptionally elegant Scottish dancing; the pleasure of dancing remained with him all his life. He was educated at Glenalmond where he was head of house and, after transferring from St Andrews University, went on to read Classics at Trinity College, Dublin graduating in 1966. His early life gave him many lifelong friends, an enthusiasm for travel, a good party, and a formidable knowledge on many subjects fuelled by a passion for reading, particularly newspapers and periodicals. Keith also joined the 11th Battalion Seaforth Highlanders of the Territorial Army, on one occasion, then a 2nd Lieutenant, he carried the colours, an honour given to the smartest subaltern in the battalion.

In 1967 Keith moved to London. After considering a career in antiquarian books he settled on silver and jewellery. He joined Hennell Frazer & Haws, a firm which was founded in 1736, where he remained for over twenty years, progressing from head of silver to Managing Director, and where he acquired his extensive knowledge of both silver and jewellery. After leaving Hennell he worked for Hancock & Co and then A D C Heritage before establishing himself as an independent advisor. His many bicycle journeys around London, often with quite valuable silver in the basket, must have given him a knowledge of certain areas of London to rival those of taxi drivers. He covered silver on the Antiques Roadshow for a brief period but was probably more interested in the objects and their beauty and craftsmanship than creating a drama over values! He also had extensive knowledge of the silver trade. A freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company and, for many years on the committee of the Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Jewellers Benevolent Fund, Keith much enjoyed the wonderful annual dinners held in the RAC club where he delighted in meeting a wide variety of members of the trade. Until his dying day he ate his morning bowl of porridge out of a silver quaich that he had commissioned from Graham Stewart in Dunblane.

Keith married Theresa Baynes in 1977 and their wedding reception was held at Goldsmiths' Hall; it may have been one of the earliest to be held there. They lived in Clapham for thirty-eight years, where they raised their two sons, Hugh and Ian, before spending more time at their house in Clanville, Hampshire once they had both retired.

Amongst many interests and causes Keith supported two of his great enthusiasms and loyalties were reserved for particular societies. One was the Highland Society of London where he was acknowledged to have an encyclopedic knowledge of Highland families and was, for twenty-five years, the joint Secretary; the other was the Silver Society. He joined the latter in 1972 and played an incredibly active and valuable role in the Society for the rest of his life. His presence always enhanced meetings, visits and longer trips, and his consideration of other members was always evident. He was quietly supportive and had a huge wealth of wisdom which was imparted when his opinion was sought but it was never imposed on other members. In *The Proceedings of the Silver Society* (vol III, Spring 1983, nos 1 and 2 pp 36-7) is an interesting article he wrote about an early (1741) copy of the Pelham Cup which was in his collection. As he said, the piece, engraved with two later inscriptions, was a conundrum. Along with many other pieces of silver and jewellery the cup was sadly lost in a burglary of the Grant Peterkin's home in Clapham. As all of us who are interested in silver can

Keith's quaich, made for him by Graham Stewart, when it was new and after many years of daily use.

imagine, Keith felt the losses keenly. In 1985 he became Chairman of the Silver Society and an active year of lectures and visits was arranged, culminating in a very successful eight-day trip to Scotland under his leadership. These same fine qualities were much appreciated during his subsequent years as Secretary of the Society (1993-2004) and his lengthy participation with the Society and its activities brought a great sense of continuity.

Jolyon Warwick James writes

> I knew Keith for many years, initially through our joint love of silver and the Silver Society, and we enjoyed many great trips on Society outings to Europe. Our best moments were, however, closer to home. The Grant Peterkin home in Orlando Road, Clapham almost became my home, when for many years I made frequent visits to London. The visits were always accompanied by a ritual dining out at one of Clapham's many curry houses at which Keith drank beer and I drank cider; it was always something to look forward to. Over those years I also got to know Keith's family: Theresa, Hugh and Ian and met Keith's mother. I felt part of the clan which has so sadly now lost its leader. My thanks go out to Keith for brightening my life and my thoughts are with the GP family the depth of whose great loss I beg to share a part.

David Constable (Chairman 2006-7) has delightful memories of Keith's courtesy, kindness and knowledge, saying that when he was a new member of the Society

> Keith made sure he explained the ropes regarding meetings and visits and was always there to share his knowledge, in a quiet way. He took time to understand one's interests and gain a little background knowledge about one, which I suspect was to give him the ability to enhance a visit if there was something which may have an extra interest to you … I was a blacksmith in my younger days, he mentioned he had a replica of the 1622 Blacksmiths' cup (the original resides in the British Museum), we agreed for him to bring it along one day and show it to me and as I type this email I can clearly see it on the other side of the room. He was a dealer in a very quiet way. He was also a go-to Silver Society member when I was Chairman, if I needed some support at an event or other.

With typical generosity of spirit long after Keith had ceased to be on the Committee of the Silver Society he was always to be found in the front hall at the Society of Antiquaries where lectures were held, greeting incomers, welcoming guests and handing out name badges and, after the lectures, pouring the drinks. When Keith stepped back from formal roles in the Silver Society he was made an honorary member, a distinction described as "given very rarely, and for notable service to the Society, which he gave in spades".

Those who knew him should count themselves fortunate. It has been remarked, truly, that he was a man with no side. He is greatly missed, and we extend every sympathy to Theresa and to his sons.

Gale Glynn

Marina Nikolaevna Lopato

(1942–2020)

Marina Lopato, who has died at the age of seventy-eight, was for nearly fifty years, Curator of Silver in the Western European Department at the Hermitage in St Petersburg (Leningrad). A small bundle of energy, she was under five feet tall, and with a cigarette in her hand whenever and wherever it was allowed, she was well known to scholars of European silver around the world.

Marina completed medical training and started work in a hospital before deciding to requalify, gaining a second degree from the Repin School (the Academy of Fine Arts) in Leningrad (St Petersburg) in 1967. She entered the Hermitage's postgraduate course in the following year and was taken on as Junior Curator of Silver in 1971, defending her *kandidatskaya* (PhD) on the subject of German Renaissance plaques in 1974. That year she was appointed Head of the Metal and Stone Sector in the Western European Department, a post she held until her death.

During her early years at the Hermitage she was mentored by Marina Torneus (1909–81), who had joined the Hermitage in 1932 and had trained under two of the great names in the study of the decorative arts in the early twentieth century, Sergey Troinitsky (1882–1946) and Pavel von Derviz (1897–1942). It was Torneus who reinstated order to the collections after the upheavals of their evacuation during the Second World War but it was Marina who engaged in the investigation of the archival sources that would throw new light on their history.

At the core of the Hermitage's collection are the silver services and table decorations, made for practical use in the Imperial household, and turned into museum displays in the late nineteenth century as part of the Court Museum of Porcelain and Silver Objects in 1885, and transferred to the Hermitage in 1911. Baron Armin von Foelkersam (1861–1917) had published his *Inventaire de l'Argenterie conservée dans les Gardes-Meubles des Palais Impériaux* in two volumes in 1907, citing numerous archive documents, but the post-revolutionary removal of government archives to Moscow and the renumbering of the files made the documents he cited almost impossible for modern scholars to find. Marina dug deep to rediscover them and extensively supplemented and corrected von Foelkersam's findings. She also did much work in establishing the provenance of various pieces that, in the wake of the 1917 Revolution, joined the collections as part of the vast influx of material from nationalised collections, and in tracking down items sold by the Soviet state in the 1920s and 1930s.

Marina always had contact with international experts but the changing political situation in the USSR from the late 1980s allowed her to expand those contacts and to work in libraries abroad. This led to a rush of important publications: her catalogue of German silver appeared in 2002[1], she presented the Dutch and Polish silver in 2004[2], her fascinating study of some of the silver bought or commissioned by Nicholas I in London in the 1840s in 2010[3], and with the encouragement and support of the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art she completed her catalogue of the British silver, published in Russian in 2013 and in English in 2015[4].

In her unfinished last article[5], Marina reviewed the history of Fabergé studies in Russia, in which she had been such a central figure. Thanks in part to the association with the last tsar, Nicholas II, and his wife Alexandra, Fabergé came to be seen in the latter part of the Soviet

FIG 1
Wine cooler, London, 1734-35, maker's mark of Charles Kandler.
(© The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

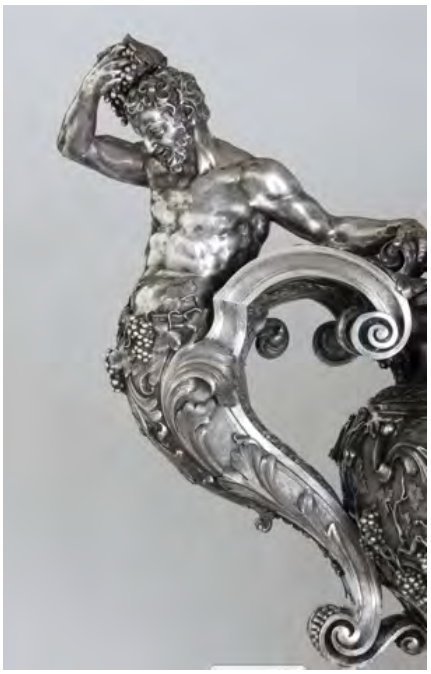

FIG 2
Detail of handle of Fig 1, wine cooler, London, 1734-35, maker's mark of Charles Kandler
(© The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

era as a symbol of a lost paradise and as a model of impeccable taste. This not only meant that study of, and publications on, Fabergé were, to say the least, discouraged in the Soviet era, but it led to the production of large numbers of fakes, to which the authorities turned a blind eye until those fakes started to emerge on the foreign market. It was therefore, partially in response to a practical need that Marina first delved into the archives in order to be able to differentiate real Fabergé from the fake. Her discovery of documents relating to the first Fabergé Easter eggs and other material led initially to a small publication in Russian in 1983[6]. It seems hard to comprehend now, but back then she needed the permission of the Ministry of Culture to make this material available in English. Permission was granted and she published articles in *Apollo* in 1984 and 1991.[7]

As Fabergé studies in Russia took off ever larger exhibitions were held and Marina was inevitably involved with them. She was central to the large show organised by the American Fabergé Arts Foundation and the Hermitage which opened in the Winter Palace in 1993 and later moved to Paris and London,[8] and from 1996 to 2003 she was an Expert to the Fabergé Arts Foundation. Marina, however, began to lose interest as Fabergé studies became what she herself called 'Fabergism':[9] a brand and a money-making machine, with at least half of the objects on the market, in museums and private collections estimated to be fakes and not original creations. Marina was increasingly exhausted by requests from individuals to 'authenticate' their property or to lend her name to dubious Fabergé initiatives. She was, therefore, initially cautious when asked to create a permanent Fabergé room, the Carl Fabergé Memorial Room, in the General Staff Building at the Hermitage, which opened in December 2015. The display does much to present the firm in a more factual and historically accurate light than the 'blockbuster entertainments' of so many Fabergé shows nowadays. Marina was perhaps more interested in a temporary exhibition in a neighbouring room, 'Fabergé and the Great War', which revealed a much less well-known aspect of Fabergé's activities, as the maker of functional silver for prestigious Imperial practical projects. The Russian

1. Marina Nikolaevna Lopato, *Немецкое художественное серебро в собрании Эрмитажа* [German Silver in the Hermitage Collection], St Petersburg, 2002.

2. Marina Lopato, '*Голландское серебро в собрании Эрмитажа*' [Dutch Silver I the Hermitage Collection], *Государственный Эрмитаж* [The State Hermitage], no 3, Winter 2004–5; Marina Lopato, *Польское художественное серебро XVI – первой половины XIX века в Эрмитаже* [Polish Silver of the Sixteenth to First Half of the Nineteenth Century in the Hermitage], exhibition catalogue, State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, 2004.

3. Marina Nikolaevna Lopato, '*Кубки императора Николая I на скачках в Эскоте*' [Nicholas I's Cups from the Races at Ascot], *Под Высочайшим покровительством. Материалы научной конференции* [Under the Highest Patronage. Materials from a Scholarly Conference], St Petersburg, 2010, pp 124–34.

4. Marina Lopato, British Silver 1572–1700 in *The State Hermitage Museum*, London and New Haven, 2015.

5. Marina Lopato and Catherine Phillips, 'Fabergé – A cultural phenomenon of the Modern Age, a mirror of the times', *Silver Studies, the Journal of the Silver Society*, no 36, 2020, pp 40-5.

6. Marina Lopato, *'Ювелирные изделия Фаберже'* [Metalwork by Fabergé], *Декоративное искусство СССР* [Decorative Arts in the USSR], 6, 1983, pp 41-3.

7. Marina Lopato, 'Fresh Light on Faberge', *Apollo*, January 1984, no 263, pp 43-9; Marina Lopato, '"Faberge Eggs". Re-dating from New Evidence', *Apollo*, February 1991, no 348, pp 91-4.

8. Geza von Hapsburg and Marina Lopato, *Fabergé: Imperial Jeweller*, exhibition catalogue, State Hermitage Museum; Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; Victoria and Albert Museum, London; 1993-94.

9. Marina Lopato, '*Фабержизм*' ['Fabergism], *Эрмитажные чтения памяти Б. Б. Пиотровского* [Hermitage Readings in Memory of B B Piotrovsky], St Petersburg, 2001, pp 40-5.

FIG 3
Lord Marmion centrepiece, London, 1840-41, maker's mark of R and S Garrard and modelled by Edmund Cotterill.
From of the London Service made for Tsar Nicholas I
(© The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

FIG 4
Altar, silver and tortoiseshell, Augsburg, 1719, maker's mark of Johann Andreas Thelott. Conserved for, and studied by, Marina Lopato in 2019.
(© The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

National Museum in Moscow loaned an array of medical utensils, kettles and samovars, saucepans and swab bowls, even syringes and other metalware, produced for the infirmary, opened in the Winter Palace during the First World War, and the field military hospital train financed by Tsarina Alexandra.

As Marina moved away from the study of Fabergé she broadened her interests to the work of silversmiths and jewellers active in St Petersburg since the eighteenth century: the subject of her *habilitation* (Russian doctorate) in 2006[10] and, increasingly, to contemporary crafts. Inspired in part by her passionate desire that silversmiths and jewellers cease producing Fabergé imitations, which prevented them experimenting and creating new work, she was an ardent promoter of young talent. Ever ready to be a member of a competition jury, she also supported the display of contemporary works in the Hermitage,[11] insisting on the combined importance of tradition and innovation.

Marina was no less generous in making materials available to other scholars working on the history of silver. She was, as they say in Russian, a veritable 'fountain of ideas': inventive in coming up with new ways to present familiar objects by taking thematic or material approaches, and in the weeks before she died, unphased by isolation measures resulting from the Covid pandemic. Marina divided her time between her dacha and the city and was, to the last, full of energy and plans for the future, for new exhibitions and for publications.

Catherine Phillips

10. Published in book form that year: Marina Lopato, *Ювелиры Старого Петербурга* [Jewellers of Old Petersburg], St Petersburg, 2006.

11. E.g. *Ювелирный авангард. Истоки. Параллели* [The Avant-garde in Jewellery. Sources and Parallels], exhibition catalogue, State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, 2002.

Anthony Sale

(1924–2019)

During the nearly twenty years that I edited (initially with John Culme) the Silver Society Journal, which went on to become *Silver Studies The Journal of the Silver Society*, I became rather fond of a generation of men who, in their retirement from very different occupations, spent much of their time researching silver. The Journal benefited greatly from their regular contributions; all were wonderfully tolerant of my editing. Tony Sale was one of this group. I much enjoyed visiting him and his wife Jane at Charlton Kings, near Cheltenham, to see their new acquisitions of silver: they had wide-ranging interests, largely centred on local history at the time I knew them.

Initially the couple collected lace-back and other decorated spoons which Tony analysed in an article in Journals 4 and 13[1] but these were sold when he and Jane increasingly turned to contemporary silver. The highlight of their commissioning was to ask Jane Short to create a goblet for their golden wedding anniversary, on the theme of *Ode to Joy* from Beethoven's 9th Symphony. Made by Clive Burr and enamelled and engraved by Jane Short, it was illustrated on the cover of the 2004 edition of the Journal.[2]

Anthony Sale was born in 1924, the son of Reginald Sale, a captain in the Royal Navy, and Muriel (née Marriner) from New Zealand. He spent his first seven years at home in Sussex but then was sent to boarding school because his parents were often stationed abroad, and typically he saw them only during summer holidays. At the age of seventeen he received a wartime scholarship to read physics at Hertford College, Oxford and he then carried out secret research (which his family now knows was focussed on the use of radar) for the Admiralty. When the war ended he returned to Oxford and received his Masters.

Tony's working life was one of scientific research. For over thirty years he was employed at Unilever where he met a fellow researcher, Jane Bracher, and they married in 1953. They had two children, Jackie and Richard, subsequently seven

1. Anthony Sale, 'Laceback trefid spoons', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 4, 1993, pp 153-7 and *The Silver Society Journal*, no 13, 2001, p 61.

2. 'From members' collections', *Silver Studies The Journal of the Silver Society*, no 16, 2004, p 149.

FIG 1

Ode to Joy goblet, silver and enamel, London, 2003, maker's mark of Jane Short. The goblet made by Clive Burr and engraved and enamelled by Jane Short. *(Photo: Clarissa Bruce, courtesy of Jane Short)*

grandchildren and, at the time of Tony's death aged ninety-four, two great-grandchildren.

His last years were hampered by increasing deafness and, following Jane's death, he moved to Bristol to be near his son. From there he visited the Holburne Museum's exhibition of silver in 2016. He wrote to me afterwards that he spent a whole day there, slowly and quietly absorbing the extraordinary cross-section of silver on display, and I believe he went again. He particularly enjoyed the visual mix of old and new objects in close proximity to each other: he understood the technical and metallurgical differences between the pieces, and his appreciation of craftsmanship added to the experience.

Tony joined the Silver Society in 1985, the year after he retired. His first article on silver was published in 1991 on *Goldsmiths of Gloucestershire* 1500-1800.[3] He then focussed on papers in the Gloucester archives, publishing new research on the plate of the Beaufort family of Badminton House,[4] and the Sherborne archives in 2007.[5] His scientific training ensured that he worked carefully, making meticulous notes. I realised, in writing this piece, that I had regrettably overlooked his last contribution in 2010, on medieval probate inventories of York.[6] Collaborating with him on one article in 1996 was enlightening and it is a matter of lasting regret that I mishandled a difference of opinion between Tony and Eric Smith about Anne Boleyn. Tony was in the right and his kindness and understanding in response to my apology was utterly typical of the man, as was the way he generously gave me many of his research notes for my own work.

Vanessa Brett

3. Anthony Sale, 'Goldsmiths of Gloucestershire', ibid, no 2, 1991, p 74.

4. Anthony Sale 'Records of plate of the Beaufort family in the Badminton House archives and elsewhere, ibid, no 7, 1995, pp 381-91; Anthony Sale and Vanessa Brett, 'John White: Some recent research', ibid, no 8, 1996, pp 465-73; Anthony Sale and Eleanor Thompson, 'The Duke of Beaufort's surtout by Thomas Germain', ibid, no 9, 1997, p 544-51.

5. Anthony Sale, 'The Sherborne archives' ibid, no 22, 2007, pp 47-50.

6. Anthony Sale, 'Silver in medieval probate inventories in the diocese of York', ibid, no 26, 2010, pp 113-5.

Robert Barker

(1960-2019)

Photograph courtesy of Rosie Dodd

While other young boys were out playing cricket, Robert B Barker was collecting coins and mining the National Archives of Jamaica for eighteenth-century legislative records. It was among these manuscripts that he found his calling.

By the age of eighteen Robert had discovered a marking schematic that would enable scholars and dealers to reattribute 'Old Aberdeen' silver to Jamaica. He was after information on Spanish specie but, during this pursuit, he uncovered an act of 1747, passed by the House of Assembly of Jamaica, which established an assay system for Jamaican silversmiths. Robert returned to London determined to locate silver struck with two maker's marks and "the Stamp Mark of an Allegator's Head". Once in London he precociously contrived, and strategically arranged, visits to London's most notable and knowledgeable scholars and dealers, including Jane Penrice How, the leading silver expert who became his mentor and friend. Robert convinced these silver stalwarts of his theory and in so doing he built and maintained a life-long reputation for his robustly held opinions. By way of his earliest discovery, Robert would cement his own life path, advance the study of Colonial and British silver, foment enduring friendships, and continually build new relationships with countless people across the globe.

Born a British citizen in Kingston, Jamaica, Robert spent his career as an independent researcher. He was also a collector of historic and contemporary silver. From 1984 to 1987, he was associated with the military journal *The Defense Attaché*, but afterwards, turned his attention to historical research, specialising in seventeenth - to nineteenth - century English and Colonial goldsmiths and their work. For some years Robert was the youngest member of the Silver Society; he attributed his membership to the efforts of Mrs How and it was through Mrs How's introduction that Robert met his lifelong friend and colleague Wynyard Wilkinson, to whom in Robert's own words, he "chased goldsmiths' and silversmiths' advertisements in early Indian newspapers." Robert also contributed significantly to the revisions and additions of the later editions of Arthur Grimwade's *London Goldsmith's 1697-1837, Their Marks and Lives* (1989). All the while, he continued his unending quest for archival research related to his home island and to eighteenth-century Jamaican silver, much of which had been previously misidentified as Scottish.

Robert's life was shaped by his relentless pursuit of knowledge and his desire to cultivate others in this endeavor and his impact reached far beyond colleagues in the field of silver. While he was reluctant to publish, he had no hesitation in gathering his brilliantly sourced primary material and drafting, often lengthy research summaries, that he would share, either out of a common interest, or a hope that his work would be carried forward in exchange for an acknowledgement. He seeded many PhD projects and received mentions in numerous publications on eighteenth-century subjects, from Louis Nelson's *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica* to Helen Clifford's *Silver in London, The Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760-1776*. As a long-standing member of the Friends of the Georgian Society of Jamaica (FGSJ) Robert, most recently, helped bring to light the remains of Fort Stewart, a fortified eighteenth-century bastion dwelling which was, just this year, surveyed by a FGSJ-organised team, including his dear friend Rosie Dodd.

The "Allegator's Head" mark, previously attributed to Old Aberdeen silver but identified by Robert Barker in his article 'Jamaican Goldsmiths, Assayers and Their Marks from 1665 to 1765, *The Proceedings of the Silver Society*, 1984, vol III, no 5, pp 133-7, as the punch used in Jamaica between 1747 and 1765 to indicate that a piece had been "tried in the like manner as gold and silver wares are tried and assayed in Great Britain". If a piece was up to standard it was required to be struck with a maker's mark of the initials of the goldsmith's name and the alligator's head mark in addition to that of the assayer.

Well versed in the Georgian past, Robert did not discount the importance of now. Colour Sergeant Barker worked in the service of his country as member of the Honourable Artillery Company and was active in matters contributing to national security. Valued for his encyclopedic knowledge and loved for his unmanageable, maverick attitude, fellow unit members called him "Super Spy."

Misfortune shaped his later life ending his military service and necessitating that he navigate the world from a wheelchair. At this time he, and his late partner Heather Gilbey, became residents of the Barbican Estate. He was to become an influential, long-standing member of the Barbican Association. Passionate about its architecture and its occupants, he actively worked to protect this historically significant twentieth-century complex and to ensure its livability, particularly in regard to disability access: he was a champion of inclusive design throughout the City. As a City of London Access Group volunteer he advocated for accessibility legislation, increased services, and the repair of broken lifts.

True to his acute nature Robert, unable to travel, honed his ability to field primary sources from afar. While most of us were asking, "Can you Google that?", Robert was finding significant nuggets of information through various online resources and digitized records. He was known to library staff throughout London, and he had a favored computer terminal at the Guildhall Library which he visited almost daily. It was his communications outpost.

A complete handful, a brilliant researcher, forensic, fierce, messy, a genuine benefit to his country, complicated, a polymath, a tough soldier, mentor and a dearly admired friend. Robert B Barker has been described as all of the above and, like so many others, my own devotion to silver was encouraged and fostered by Robert's enthusiastic support.

Robert's love of Jamaica was topped only by his devotion to discovery. Somewhere in between was a tremendous passion for silver and a unique desire to carry forth his knowledge through others.

Brandy S Culp, Richard Koopman Curator of American Decorative Arts, Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art

Robert Barker left the generous gift of £35,000 in his will to the Silver Society. It was his wish that this legacy should be used to establish a fund for the support, encouragement, and publication, of research into eighteenth-century British and colonial silversmiths. Anyone wishing their research to be considered for support under the terms of Robert's legacy should contact the Secretary of the Silver Society secretary@thesilversociety.org The fund will be open for applications from the spring of 2021.