

SILVERFASHION PORCELAIN

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Walking through the Ceramic Galleries at the

V&A in spring 2005 with Hilary Young was for a silver specialist a stimulating reminder of the continuous dialogue of form and function between the precious metals and ceramics. Silver forms leap out, for example soup plates of the late 1720s in export porcelain or a helmet jug in Rouen faience, painted with gadroons, ribs and mask which also appear, cast in high relief, on a silver-gilt jug by the Huguenot goldsmith David Willaume in the Whiteley Silver Galleries (Fig.1). A blue and white hexagonal basket from a late Stuart delftware factory is echoed by a pierced silver basket for bread or lemons supplied to Ralph Montagu by the retailer George Lewis around 1700, now in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown. These echoes, which are most striking in items for eating and drinking, stimulate questions about patrons' attitudes and the interdependence of artisans and designers across the decorative arts.

From the late 1720s to the 1760s, rococo table objects and tea wares echo across materials and factories, responding to ever-changing whims of taste. So a Meissen serving spoon has the moulded lines and shoulders of the hand-blocked silver original, although the porcelain version has the added attribute of its brilliant whiteness, setting off the painted flowers, and the appeal of novelty and fragility, unlike the heavy and durable metal (Fig.2).

Exchange of form and ornament between silver and ceramic is more obvious in modest objects; cream jugs, teapots, sugar bowls and sauce boats have survived in large numbers, although usually with little documentary context, whereas commissions for tableware at court level rarely survive complete. They leave a richer paper



Figure 1, Helmet ewer, Rouen tinglazed earthenware, c.1700-20. It is painted in blue with gadroons on the rim and foot, and with a moulded mask, rib and mock cutcard around the base, all standard features of contemporary silver. Photo V&A

trail; driven by the patron's desire to own something "in the latest taste", they are more extreme in design.

Dining at court, a central, often public activity, was the occasion for displaying ceremonial and splendour rather than novelty (Fig.3). Diplomatic accounts of specific occasions emphasize the complexity of displays and the numbers entertained, such as a *Diner en public du 60 couverts* at Warsaw on 21 March 1736; *les confitures représenterant un gallerie soutenir par des arcades*

*dans un vuide des quelles etoit alternativement le chiffre de la Reine, et VIVAT. Au milieu de la table il y avais deux aigles se tenant sous un arbre et entoures de 8 aiglons.....*¹

Aristocratic silverware for dining, such as that selected by the Earl of Chesterfield in the 1720s, was prestigious, intended to attract admiration, and often innovative in design. Few examples are in museum collections; although the V&A holds some 12,000 silver objects, it only acquired its first silver tureen in 1984, this modelled with naturalistic celery handles and feet derived from a design by Thomas Germain, and part of a set of four made for the Earl of Holderness. Incidentally, there is no dinner service in the holdings of the Ceramics Department either, since the V&A built its collections initially on the principle of providing models of good design and then as connoisseurship took the driving seat, in documenting factories, makers and techniques, rather than the social history of dining or drinking.²

Orders from princely houses show how often silver services were extended by copying because of the need to re-fashion dishes "battered, bruised and unfit for service". However, from the late 1720s elaborate tablewares, particularly the latest designs from Paris, were rapidly copied by goldsmiths in London, Stockholm or Copenhagen. It was less expensive to extend a service using local workshops, there was no need to export bullion and no import duty was payable. This strategy was adopted by Christian VI of Denmark in 1741; copying a service supplied by Thomas Germain from 1738 to 1740, the court jeweller Fridrich Fabritius was to "supplement the so-called French service in such manner that a banquet for 30 persons can be served". Goldsmiths were also anxious to acquire new models and a royal acquisition of a novel form might be copied. Maureen Cassidy Geiger's recent discovery of silver designs by a London chaser in the 1740s, sought on behalf of the Dresden court, shows how pressing the demand for competent and fresh design in silver could be.³

Enhanced with colour and textured gilding, porcelain glimmered appealingly by candlelight and offered more various effects than the monochrome of white silver, or the three or four tones achievable in gilded silver and the simple contrasts of burnished and textured surfaces. Subjects taken from engravings or heraldic motifs could be depicted more vividly in colour; the advantage is clear when a silver gilt salver subtly

engraved with a battle scene after Antonio Tempesta, commissioned by Viscount Irwin of Temple Newsam is compared with a full colour version of Hogarth's *Midnight Modern Conversation* painted on the curve of a punch bowl, both in the V&A.

The effect of chasing, which cost time and effort in silver, could be achieved less expensively in porcelain, once the model existed in wood or plaster, and its white lustrous quality, a shell-like gleam, was in the spirit of the *rocaille*. Contrast the effect of Nicholas Sprimont's



Figure 2, Serving spoons and dessert spoons, Meissen porcelain, gilded and painted, c.1750-60. The spoons are moulded and shaped "silver fashion". Photo Brian Haughton

silver sauce boat stands, in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, chased with shells, foam and wave forms, whereas on the Chelsea porcelain versions, sometimes described today as fruit stands, the modelling is simpler and bolder. The latter have a decorative quality, their original function irrelevant because of their charm, whereas the silver precursor, designed merely as a stand, seems incomplete⁴ (Fig.4).

Goldsmiths in the major European centres from Rome to Paris, from Stockholm to Lisbon, supplying the



Figure 3, Dinner of the Knights of the Garter, St Georges Hall Windsor, 1675. In the traditional manner, the tables are covered with large open serving dishes, with no condiments, apart from salt, and no sauce dishes. However, goldsmiths bills and inventories show that casters, cruets and soup dishes had already been adopted by the wealthy. Photo Society of Antiquaries/V&A

most sophisticated and demanding echelon of buyers, also responded fast to innovations in form; because the metal was valued by weight, keeping its worth when melted, and workmanship was cheap, wealthy innovators and their suppliers re-fashioned in the latest style without sentiment. So, often a cheaper ceramic version of a silver form has survived when the grander original was recycled long since. Sumptuary laws drove aristocrats to adopt materials other than silver for their personal table and buffet wares, which explains why in the early 18th century the Duc de Rohan ordered an elegant helmet silverform ewer in blue and white from Rouen's faience potters for his buffet.

Goldsmiths had for centuries been court artists, required to supply rarities and to collaborate to create objects for the incessant gift-exchanges which characterised royal and diplomatic activities, as a means of competition without warfare. Thanks to research on

the Portuguese and German courts, and Maureen Cassidy-Geiger's investigations of the Meissen records and Dresden diplomatic archives, these interchanges between design and production of the precious metals and ceramics are clearer. Howard Coutts in his 2001 *The Art of Ceramics* emphasized the need to step back from makers and techniques to understand the consumption of luxury goods in the eighteenth century.⁵

We glimpse a characteristic hierarchy of use and mingling of materials at an English royal table in the 1714 dinner given by the new Lord Mayor at the Guildhall to George I. The meal opened with soup; the king was offered a choice of four, all in silvergilt vessels, his son the Prince of Wales was offered only two, in *China* Bowls. These were presumably China trade porcelain. From the late 1720s the pleasing novelty of porcelain was creeping onto the royal table, as can be seen in occasional references in the Lord Steward's ledgers; an "Enamld China Buter Plate" appears in a list of glass in May 1736, when the newly married Prince of Wales bought from John Taylor of Pall Mall a complete service of "Enamld China" plates, dishes, dish covers, 4 large *Brim'd soap Dishes* and four dozen soup plates for a modest payment.⁶

The interchange between the more valuable material and its fragile imitations can be seen operating already in the Ancient World, in the antique Greek red and black figure pots, so admired by eighteenth century antiquaries and still at the heart of classical collections in most museums. Because virtually no ancient objects in the precious metals had survived melting and recycling and because grave-robbing had over centuries eliminated any archaeological evidence, Greece was not recognised as being a silver-loving society until about thirty years ago.

Through Michael Vickers' meticulous combing of ancient documentary sources, he re-established the high status and wide use of silver tableware in the ancient world. By happy chance, bombing in recent campaigns in Afghanistan has exposed undisturbed Greek graves containing previously unrecorded silver vessels; the striking metallic forms, spindly handles and bold contrasts of colour depicted, for example, by D'Hancarville in his four volumes of *Sir William Hamilton's Vases* can now be recognised as cheap versions of the gilded silver originals. The red painted



Figure 4, Oval sauce boat stand, Chelsea porcelain, c.1745. Called "silvershape" in 1755, and presumably designed by Nicholas Sprimont, this is virtually identical to a set of four London silver stands, marked for 1746-47, with the arms of Thomas Watson, Earl of Malton, in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston. Photo V&A

areas, it is argued, imitate gilding, the black ground imitates oxidised silver; since Greek cities are mostly exposed to the sea breezes of the Aegean and sea air accelerates oxidation, this palette, unfamiliar in Europe today except in Byzantine and Russian metalwork, was characteristic of the silver wares of the Ancient World.⁷

So it is for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe; we have largely lost the peaks of achievement in the precious metals, the objects which were created as much for display as for use on the table and which became examples to emulate, but we recognise that silver, combining status and familiarity, dictated the forms of, for example, early covered cups produced by Irminger at Meissen. Applied with cutcard and vine motifs familiar from the silver of the Huguenot Pierre Platel, these early porcelain objects are typical baroque

forms, not surprisingly in view of Bottger's ambition to produce "such extraordinary things as are made from silver... fashioning of these items always to emulate the style and to change as often as that of silverware changes".⁸

Silver, an invaluable strategic metal, was always vulnerable to the melting pot, in particular to pay for warfare; most rulers operated sumptuary laws from time to time, particularly in France which had no access to silver mines and so restricted the use of large silver objects. We can see the effect of this most vividly from the well documented French melts of Louis XIV in 1689, 1700 and 1708 and Louis XV in 1759, which stimulated the production of superb *faience*, or during the Civil Wars of the 1640s in England, when the livery companies gave up their heavy engraved and chased plate and laid their tables with inexpensive silver-fashion three branch salts and candlesticks in tinglazed earthenware till better times returned.⁹

As Saint Simon commented in 1709, "*Ce bruit de la vaisselle fit un grand tintamarre a la cour.....Tout ce qu'il y eut de grand ou de considerable se mit en huit jours en faience*". Ceramics had to improve in quality, to satisfy

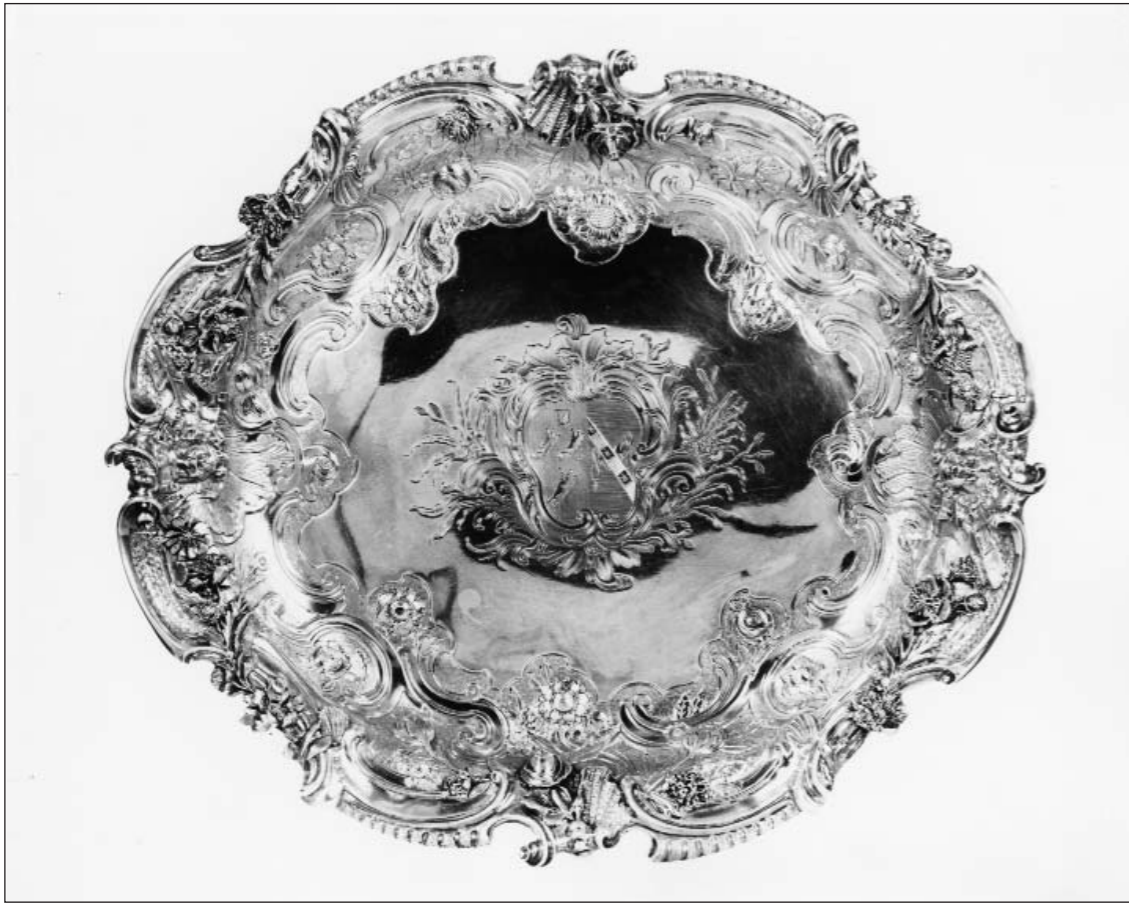


Figure 5, Silver dish, London 1744, mark of Paul de Lamerie. The flowers are partly chased and partly applied, so the patron would have paid an additional charge for the "fashion". Photo V&A

these new customers.

In the 1720s *nouvelle cuisine*, with its emphasis on lighter flavours, subtle sauces and wetter soups, drove innovations in design for silver, although the technical difficulty of potting a consistently flat plate meant that large services of porcelain for the table came a little later, as the Meissen factory records show. The French also took with enthusiasm to services of Oriental porcelain, imported through the Netherlands, which had the attraction of colour and exotic subjects. A *famille verte* tureen in the V&A Far Eastern collection of around 1730 has a shaped stand, gadrooned border and snake handle, apparently taken directly from a French silver tureen, rather than from a drawing.

Late baroque, Régence and rococo tureens, centre-pieces, wine coolers and candelabra leave a paper trail in goldsmiths' bills and inventories, in the occasional design or imitation, and more rarely in admiring comments of contemporaries alert to *tour de force* modelling and chasing. It is the emulation of shapes and uses created in vanished silver by the ceramic factories, and the role of goldsmiths in devising those versions, which are now becoming clear¹⁰ (Fig.6).

From the 1660s the French court was regarded across Europe as the source of authority for new ways of presenting food, from the *pot à oille* to the *surtout*, as Michele Bimbenet Privat and David Mitchell have shown. Hungry for visual authority, two generations of the indefatigable Tessin family, Swedish diplomats, gathered up nine thousand sheets of designs for furniture, silver and decoration in Paris and at Versailles for the Swedish court to emulate, because the French set design standards for court interiors. French print shops



Figure 6, Sauce boat, Chelsea porcelain, c.1745. The high relief moulded shell swags imitate the applied swags of contemporary silver boats. Photo V&A

produced copies of the designs of Stefano della Bella and Le Pautre, followed a generation later, by versions of Meissonier's and Germain's designs. All were still being taken as sources by European designers in the decorative arts late in the 18th century. Craft training in Paris was rigorous, silversmiths had to learn drawing and modelling, and the state encouraged talent through competitions, prizes and opportunities to travel; both Nicolas Besnier and Thomas Germain benefitted from their exposure to Roman workshops.¹¹

French goldsmiths' work was highly influential, but little has survived to show direct imitation; in England, although the losses are less severe, objects have been altered or re-gilded. The Crespin/Sprimont Neptune centrepiece made for Frederick, Prince of Wales, demonstrates the pragmatic approach of the craft in creating a striking effect; although it is marked for 1741/2, the shell bears the mark of Andrea Boucheron, goldsmith to the court of Savoy and the tureen appears to be French in origin.¹²

Survival of objects is uneven across the silver-consuming classes. More modest bourgeois and regional French silver has survived in some quantity; as Saint Simon commented, the "*mediocre continua a se servir de son argenterie*". Exceptional survivals of the 1730s are the French rococo dinner services ordered by English patrons, notably Henry Janssen (the Penthièvre-Orléans service), now split between the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, and the Detroit Institute of Arts, and the Berkeley Castle Service, ordered from

Jacques Roettiers in the mid 1730s, which returned to Paris in 1960. These reveal the impact of French silver designs on German and English porcelain over the two decades 1730 to 1750.¹³

French goldsmiths guarded their casting patterns and models carefully, as the Comte de Tessin commented in 1741, when trying to acquire fashionable designs for silver in Paris, the goldsmiths "*either will not show them, or want to sell their ideas too expensively*" so that he was forced to draw actual pieces in private houses. There were tight family and professional links between the court artists and when a patron wanted a fresh idea, as at the Chantilly factory, apparently the architect and silver designer Juste-Aurèle Meissonier provided models. Although he may not directly have sent designs to Meissen, his influence is apparent there in the mid-1730s, presumably through engraved versions. The candlestick in the Swan Service is modelled after a silver model by François Desplaces.¹⁴

Monarchs and princes of the church ate from gold *couverts* and owned many services of precious metal, each ranked by material, by fashion, and by the ceremonial, celebratory or private occasion for which they were intended. However, their survival rate is far lower than for porcelain and few examples exist today; exceptions are tureens from Paris acquired by Christian VII of



Figure 7, Bowl and pierced stand, one of a pair, Chelsea porcelain c.1756. Described in the 1756 Chelsea sale catalogue as "Two fine basons and plates pierced, chased and enamel'd with flowers", these directly echo silver forms, cartouches and techniques. Photo Brian Haughton

Denmark after his French tour in 1768 but the gold service bought by Christian VI in Augsburg for his coronation dinner in 1731, weighing a hundred and twenty two kilos, was melted in 1813, when Denmark was suffering economic difficulties. A Paris dinner service ordered for George II as Elector of Hanover, and one of four listed in the Hanover Silver Chamber in 1747, was melted to pay for his successor's neo-classical service for 72 diners supplied by Robert-Joseph Auguste in the 1780s. Two large English services, one ordered in London through Paul de Lamerie, were laid out for the Empress Catherine to inspect in 1726, although by the 1920s these were represented by a mere fourteen objects in the Hermitage Museum.¹⁵

Although monarchs expected to eat from and with precious metal, they were also supplied with ceramic services, either imported porcelain, European porcelain or faience, to dress lesser tables, for supper, for dessert or for particular occasions and locations (such as boating or hunting parties), and above all to present as diplomatic offerings. These porcelain services have survived in relatively large numbers and with many components, because of the scale of court entertaining.

Often in the care of the Court Confectioner, they leave fewer records than the silverware. The latter was inherently valuable, subject to subtle degradation through filing by dishonest servants and re-cycleable, so its location, weight and condition was carefully tracked. Ceramic wares were appreciated because of their decorative effect, protected from kitchen risks and less likely to be stolen than silver, because they had no melt value. Most have remained outside museums, retained in the Imperial collections of Vienna, Prussia or Russia, by descendants of diplomats fortunate enough to be granted such a privileged gift, such as the Duke of Wellington, or passed on, such as the Hanbury-Williams Meissen service at Alnwick or the Lyme Park service.¹⁶

While the role of these large porcelain services, both in court entertainments and as diplomatic gifts, has been discussed, there has been less analysis of their interaction with silver and silver-gilt; it is sometimes claimed that porcelain tureens were not set out with silver dishes and that they were too fragile or valuable to contain hot food at dinner. In fact like silver vessels, many were supplied with silver liners and the design echoes between the two sets of objects are not merely coincidental. They clearly were sometimes set out together on the table.

Goldsmiths and silversmiths had distinct skills which were essential for the porcelain factories established between 1710 and the 1740s: craft training in drawing and modelling and essential technical understanding of kiln temperatures, mouldmaking and gilding, all of which were key to firing and decorating the new ceramics (Fig.7). Goldsmiths, well educated, often the sons of gentlemen and speaking several languages, also had insight into the desires of fashionable customers and the capacity to feed their hunger for novelties. Artisans trained as silversmiths in the major Continental centres had the custom of travelling abroad to widen their experience and gather ideas, as can be seen in Dr Hans Lans' analysis of the career of the Zurich silversmith Deitrich Meyer, who travelled to Basel, Augsburg and Amsterdam between 1669 and 1674 and in Richard Edgcumbe's biographies of goldchasers active in London in the 18th century, many of German origin.¹⁷

Wanderjahre are rarely well documented but these wanderings across Europe explain why pools of talent accumulated in particular places, as in London in the 1730s and 1740s. A network of enterprising journey-

men spread the word of opportunities and created pools of talent, rather than necessarily arriving by princely invitation. Nicholas Sprimont and Charles Gouyn trained as silversmiths and Charles Kandler served his apprenticeship with Irminger. The Kaendler/Kandler family, with their roots in Dresden and active in both Amsterdam and London, combined talent as modellers with excellent connections; Kandler set up as a silversmith in St Martins Lane in 1727, already with aristocratic customers (Fig.8).

Apart from the demands of the Crown, another threat to the preservation of the most costly and complex silver tableware was rapid change of fashion, particularly in dressing the table. Always the principal theatre of expenditure and display since the Middle Ages, the table experienced dynamic change between the 1660s and the 1740s; in England, tableware represented as much as four fifths of the silver holdings of the aristocracy. News of innovations in tableware such as Louis XIV's new form of *surtout* or sauce boat *avec deux anses et deux becs* in the 1690s or the *nouvelle cuisine* of the 1720s (which immediately influenced the shape of tureens and sauce boats), travelled fast, in the letters of diplomats, in newspaper accounts of court dinners and by word of mouth among participants, such as the many fashionable young men visiting Paris on the Grand Tour in the late 1720s and 1730s, the most dynamic period of inventive design on the table.¹⁸

The cost of such silver services was considerable; a single *Eight Square Toureene* supplied to Hampton Court for George I in 1722 cost ninety-one pounds nine shillings. This was presumably for soup and intended to match an octagonal silver service, part of which is now in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston. It fell out of fashion quite rapidly, as gadrooned and shaped forms became popular in the late 1720s, to be followed by the more costly forms of rococo. A complete new service was ordered by the King in 1735/6 and the Prince also placed an order for a rococo service with George Wickes, but for lack of funds had to cancel it. Since a pair of tureens was the minimum for the first course, plus dishes and covers, sauce boats, cruets and candlesticks (essential as the hour of dinner moved later) and a centrepiece, not to speak of flatware and plates, the total cost of a silver service could run to between a thousand and two and a half thousand pounds.¹⁹

The emphasis on hexagonal and octagonal forms fell



Figure 8, Wine jug, one of a pair, silver London 1739, mark of Charles Frederick Kandler. Its richly modelled and chased Bacchic imagery of satyrs, goats, panther heads and vines, link to the massive Jernegan cistern, now in the Hermitage. Probably CF Kandler, the younger brother of Charles (Rudolf) Kandler and Johann Joachim Kandler, the Meissen modeller, collaborated with the sculptor Michael Rysbrack on these jugs too. One jug recently acquired by the Art Institute, Chicago, the other in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin. Photo Charles Truman

away in the later 1720s, to be replaced by indented and gadrooned shapes, and then in the 1730s by rich cast borders, as in plates from the Prince of Wales service, or Kändler's for the Duke of Norfolk. However, hexagonal forms were still offered by London ceramic dealers in the late 1730s; Benjamin Mildmay, Earl of Fitzwalter, paid Charles Vere, a Fleet Street china man ten shillings for a hexagon soup dish and a dozen matching plates of blue and white china in June 1739.²⁰

Porcelain was cheaper but still a luxury. A set of silver soup plates sold by Charles Frederick Kandler in

London cost ninety five shillings each in 1728/9, when a blue and white Chinese porcelain service of ten dozen plates could be bought for a hundred and twenty pounds, the annual salary of an excellent French chef. Around 1740 the soup plates in Leake Okeover's enamelled service from Canton cost a pound each, but these were a special order, with his arms.

In recent years, the history of consumption has triggered new questions. Large services of porcelain and silver have been set out in Britain, notably at Kensington Palace in 1991, Waddesdon Manor, Lyme Park and Attingham Park, all of which show laid tables. Wedgwood's Frog Service was lent from the Hermitage to the V&A in a memorable exhibition and the Hanover Service of George III, acquired by a Rothschild trust in 2002 was shown at the Gilbert Collection and now at Waddesdon. But these displays give little information about any related holdings, so that the interaction of porcelain and silver cannot be reconstructed.

We understand better the complexity of court culture, from travelling exhibitions and new displays in Vienna, Munich, St Petersburg, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Berlin, Versailles, Lisbon and Dresden in the past twenty five years. Comparative studies of European courts are flourishing through, for example, the meetings of the Royal Dining Group between 1989 and 1998, the conferences and publications of the Court History Society and the Centre for the Study of Court Culture recently established at Versailles.

Thanks to pioneering articles by John Mallet on Sprimont and Kandler more than forty years ago, and to the careful analysis of objects in the V&A's *Rococo Art and Design in Hogarth's England* in 1984, ceramics and silver studies have converged. Hilary Young brought his early interest in silver into his reassessment of the Chelsea porcelain factory and the sibling link between the two (or possibly three) silversmith Kandler, in London from 1727, and the Meissen modeller is now recognised. Research into court services of porcelain and silver, most visibly expressed in the ambitious Chateau de Versailles exhibition of 1993, *Les Tables Royales*, has been enriched, for example, by Peter Fuhring in his massive study of Meissonier. Our understanding of the specific court context of the decorative arts is now far deeper and subtler than when Stephan Bursche published his groundbreaking *Tafelzeit des Barock* in 1974.

NOTES

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- 3 *A King's Feast*, Ex. Cat. ed. Ole Krog, Kensington Palace 1991, "French goldsmiths work and the Danish Royal House", p.94
- 4 *English Silver in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston Vol II, SILVER FROM 1697*, E. Alcorn, Boston 2000, p.160-163
- 5 *Royal and Princely Tables of Europe*, ed Leonor D'Orey Lisbon, Instituto Portugues de Museus 1999; *Silber und Gold; Augsburgs Goldschmiedekunst fur die Hofe Europas*, ed L. Seelig, Munich 1994; M. Cassidy Geiger *Ceramics Fair Handbook* 2005
- 6 City of London Record Office, *Royal Occasions 1714 to 1727*; Duchy of Cornwall Record Office, *Prince of Wales Vouchers*, vol VII; I am grateful to Susan Jenkins for this reference
- 7 Michael Vickers and David Gill *Artful Crafts: Ancient Greek Silverware and Pottery* Oxford Clarendon Press, 1994
- 8 Quoted: I. Menzhausen, *Meissen Porcelain*, 1983, p.110
- 9 M. Bimbenet Privat comments that 99% of 17th century French silver has vanished; *Les Orfevres et L'Orfevrie de Paris au XVII siecle*, vol I, Paris 2002, p.xi; P. Glanville *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England* V&A 1990, *The Civil War and after*; see M. Archer *Delftware* 1999 for examples.
- 10 G. Lehmann *The British Housewife Cookery Books, Cooking and Society in 18th century Britain*, Prospect Books Totnes 2003, p.208-213; V&A, FE 20-1991; C. Sargentson *Merchants and Luxury Markets*, V&A/Getty 1996, Appendix 6, p.157
- 11 M. Bimbenet Privat & D. Mitchell, *Silver Society Journal*, vol 15, 2003, "Words or Images: descriptions of plate in England and France 1660-1700".
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- 13 P. Glanville in *Rococo Silver: symposium papers given at the Virginia Museum of Fine Art Oct 2004*, ed. V. Brett for the Silver Society, forthcoming 2006
- 14 These tight links between artists and goldsmiths were key to Oudry's role in organising the newly-discovered *Machine D'Argent* made by F-T Germain for the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in the 1750s; Sothebys New York 20 May 2004, p.54-58
- 15 Ole Krog op.cit. note, p.102. *British Art Treasures from Imperial Collections in the Hermitage*, Yale, 1996, ed. B. Allen & L. Dukelskaya, M. Lopato "English Silver in St Petersburg" p.125/6
- 16 Displayed at Apsley House; for Hanbury Williams, see T.H. Clarke *English Ceramic Circle*, vol 13, pt 2 1988, p.110-21; Lyme Park Guide book
- 17 *Goldsmiths Silversmiths and Bankers Innovation and the transfer of skill 1550 to 1750*, ed D. Mitchell, Alan Sutton/Centre for Metropolitan History 1995, p.41. R. Edgcumbe *The Art of the Goldchaser in Eighteenth century London*, OUP 2000, p.16-17
- 18 P. Glanville in *Rococo Silver*, op.cit. note 13, forthcoming 2006
- 19 TNA, Lord Chamberlain's Ledgers, LC 9/47, f.214. E. Barr *George Wickes* London 1980, p.125
- 20 *The Account Book of Benjamin Mildmay Earl of Fitzwalter*