

Preface.

The following essay is, at present, incomplete. It requires some more archive work to be completed, which will be delayed during the present coronavirus outbreak. It will be completed as soon as possible.

References are made to the registers held by the Goldsmiths' Company in London within which records of 'maker's' marks, with addresses, were recorded throughout the 18th century. Two of those registers have been lost, which means that a number of marks have not been identified with certainty. Entries were divided between registers for 'smallworkers' and 'largeworkers'. The two registers missing are the smallworkers register for the period circa 1739 to circa 1758 and the largeworkers register for the period circa 1758 to 1773. In order to submit articles for assay at the Goldsmiths' Company, silversmiths were required to have registered a 'makers' mark. Of course, the maker's mark registered often did not actually correspond to the person who made a particular piece but might merely be the mark of the person who submitted the object to be assayed. The trade was composed of a great variety of specialists: some being retailers, some working silversmiths with substantial workshops, some subcontractors who supplied, or finished, parts of articles.

Acknowledgements.

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Thomas Hammond, John Carter and Richard Carter: The Business of Silversmithing.



Illus. 1. The parish Church of St. Patrick, Patrick Brompton.

Introduction.

This essay attempts to shed some light on the lives of three men involved in the London silversmithing trade in the 18th century: John Carter, Richard Carter, and their forgotten uncle, Thomas Hammond, and to suggest a possible link between John Carter and John Scofield, another silversmith whose life was un-researched until very recently.

The first ‘makers’ marks registered at the London Goldsmiths’ Company by John Carter, a prolific supplier of candlesticks and salvers, have been lost with the missing register of largeworkers, which covered the years 1758-1773. The first mark for which there is a surviving entry is that of the 21st September 1776, when he gave his address as Bartholomew Close: but he died not long afterwards, on the 23rd October – his death reported in the ‘Public Advertiser’ of the 24th – ‘*Yesterday morning died, after a short illness, Mr. John Carter, Goldsmith, of St. Bartholomew-Close.*’ Moreover, he died intestate. A mark was registered by another John Carter on the 30th October 1776, but the signature of that John Carter is quite different and a note in the register beside this mark records: ‘*left the trade on the 20th January 1777*’. On that very day a Richard Carter registered a mark in partnership with Robert Makepeace, giving the same address, Westmorland Buildings, St. Bartholomew’s Close.

The story of the Carter’s involvement in silversmithing begins with their uncle, Thomas Hammond.

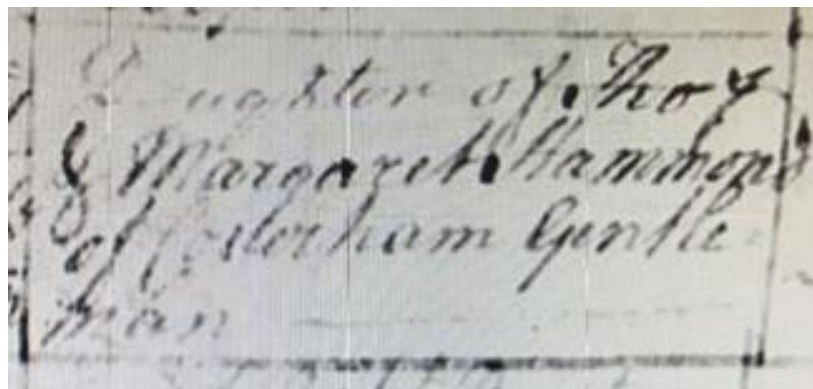
Thomas Hammond.

History has not been kind to Thomas Hammond. Perhaps his chief misfortune was to have a name that can readily be confused with that of a younger, better known, man, Thomas Hannam, or even with the family of Lewis Hamon. In his biographical section for the silversmith, Ebenezer Coker, Arthur Grimwade¹ refers to Hammond as ‘(Hammon?)’ and seems not to have considered the possibility that Thomas Hammond and Thomas Hannam were different individuals. Clearly, the fact that Thomas

Hannam was a specialist maker of waiters and salvers in partnership with John Crouch, and that Thomas Hammond, as we will see, went into partnership with John Carter, facilitated confusion of the marks used by the two companies, each using a mark 'TH over IC'. Under his entry for mark '2805', the mark of Thomas Hannam and John Crouch II, entered 13th April 1799, Grimwade has the following comment '*A nearly similar mark with pellets between letters is found from about 1765. This may be coincidentally similar and perhaps for Thomas Hannam and John Carter.*'

Helen Clifford, '*Silver in London: The Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760-1776*'², did refer to Thomas Hammond and to 'Hammond and Company' as suppliers to Parker and Wakelin but merely commented that '*The business fortunes of the individuals involved in this company seems to have been rocky, as by April 1767 the account in Parker and Wakelin's ledgers is marked 'Now John Carter.*'³

Thomas Hammond was almost certainly born in the parish of Holy Trinity, Coverham, around 1701. The parish registers for Coverham do not survive prior to 1707, so there is no record of a christening. He was the child of Thomas and Margaret Hammond and had a brother, John, and a sister, Ann. Evidently his father died at some date before 1717 because his mother had by then re-married – to Charles Blades of Caldberg in the parish of Coverham – and the christening of a son of this second marriage, Charles, is recorded on the 9th April 1717/18 in the parish registers⁴. Charles Blades, senior, was buried in the parish on the 12th December 1742 and his will⁵ mentions the children of his wife by her first marriage – John and Thomas Hammond and Ann, (who was by then Ann Carter). The burial register of Patrick Brompton, where Ann Carter was buried in 1779, is particularly useful because it gives Ann's age at death, her parents' names, '*Thos & Margaret Hammond of Coverham Gentleman*'.⁶

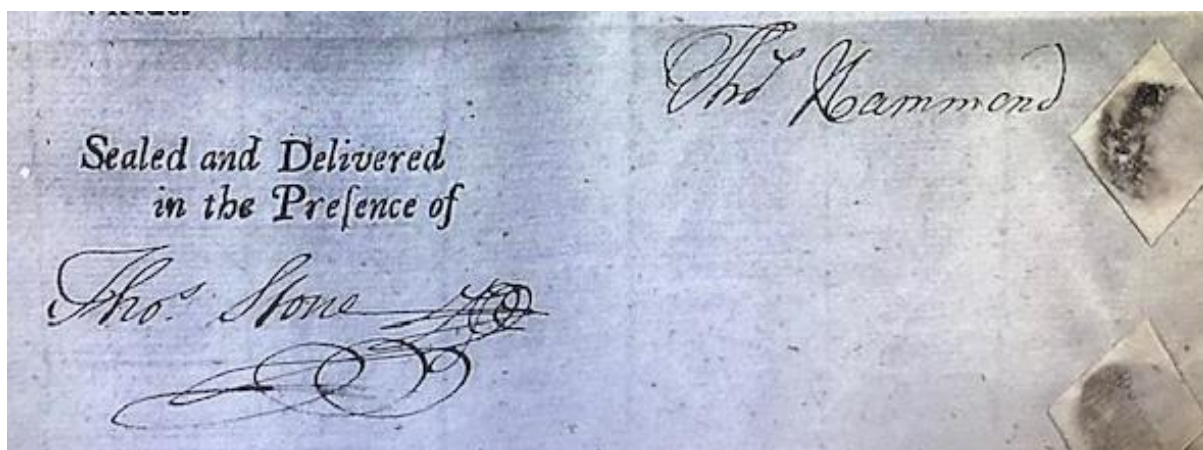


Illus.2 above: a section of script from the Burial register for Ann Carter in Patrick Brompton. Note that the letter 'g' of Margaret runs together with the letter 'v' of Coverham.



Illus.3 above: part of Speed's Map of the North Riding, produced in 1646, showing the towns and hamlets to the south of Richmond, where the Hammond and Carter families came from. Patrick Brompton is here called 'Patrick Brunton'. The hamlets of Scotton and Tunstall are north of Patrick Brompton, towards Richmond, with Catterick beyond Tunstall. Carlton, in the parish of Coverham, lies about ten miles to the south west of Patrick Brompton.

There is no record of any apprenticeship for Thomas Hammond and nothing has yet been discovered of the circumstances whereby he came to live and work in London. The first reference to him is in the register of St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster, where Margaret Hammond [daughter] of Thomas and Margaret Hammond was baptised on 03/06/1736.⁷ His wife, Margaret, was buried just a year later at St. Mary's Lewisham, in Kent⁸. Thomas married again, by licence, on 25th May 1738 at St. Benet Paul's Wharf, to Margaret Stone, a spinster of St. Martin in the Fields, and the register records that Hammond, a widower, was still living at that time in St. Martin in the Fields. Margaret Stone's background remains elusive. A Thomas Stone, presumably her father or brother was a witness to the marriage licence, which he signed with an elaborate flourish. Margaret's will⁹ states that her mother was Joan Stone¹⁰, and refers to a sister 'Johannah Broughton', wife of Edward. These two were the parents of the silversmith, John Broughton.¹¹



Illus. 4: signatures to the marriage licence of Thomas Hammond and Margaret Stone.

A Margaret Hammond, daughter of Thomas and Margaret, of East Smithfield, was buried at Lewisham on the 24th March 1748/9, and it seems likely that this was the daughter born in 1736 and that Hammond had by then moved to East Smithfield [south of Aldgate] in London.

By 1758 Hammond was sufficiently prosperous to take a lease on a property in Hornsey¹², and then, in March 1760, notices appeared in the newspapers advertising the dissolution of a partnership between Ebenezer Coker¹³ and Thomas Hammond, Goldsmiths of Clerkenwell-Close.

March 18, 1760.

WHEREAS the Partnership between Ebenezer Coker and Thomas Hammond, of Clerkenwell-Close, in the Parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, in the County of Middlesex, Goldsmiths, ended this Day ; This is to acquaint all Persons that have any Dealings with the said Parties, That the Trade will be carried on as usual by Ebenezer Coker only, at his House in Clerkenwell aforeaid.

E. BEN. COKER.

Illus. 5

above: The '*London Evening Post*', March 18, 1760 - March 20, 1760; Issue 5051, Courtesy Burney Newspaper Collection, British Library.

Surviving silver bearing the mark of this partnership suggests that the partnership had lasted only one assay year – 1759/60.



Illus. 6 above: Mark of Ebenezer Coker and Thomas Hammond. Courtesy of Woolley and Wallis, Auctioneers.

The mark, which is quite distinctive, is within a shield-shaped field, with a cusped base. After the dissolution of the partnership, Coker's premises remained in Clerkenwell until his death in 1783.¹⁴

In 1760, after dissolving his partnership with Coker, Hammond brought his nephew, John Carter, into his business.¹⁵ The new business, known as '*Hammond and Company*', supplied, as Helen Clifford noted¹⁶, the retail firm of Parker and Wakelin with salvers:

'Although Parker and Wakelin continued patronising Coker, they also went to his erstwhile partner, now calling himself 'Hammond and Company' for their waiters. These they bought in quantity and in great variety: nurled, gadrooned, with chased edges and pierced borders, plain, shell, beaded and 'hob-a-nob'. They also came in a range of sizes from eight to eighteen inches in diameter.'

In due course, a mark for Thomas Hammond and John Carter was entered in the [now lost] largeworkers' register at the Goldsmiths' Company. The mark, following Grimwade, is frequently confused with the much later mark of Hannam and Crouch. It appears on candlesticks, salvers and waiters.



Illus.7 above. Mark struck on a cast candlestick. Courtesy of William Walter Antiques Ltd.

Surviving silver, struck with the mark, suggests that it was not registered until 1765. The question, therefore, is whether there were other partners involved in the business prior to 1765 and whether, in fact, a different mark had been registered for the period between 1760 and 1765?

It happens that there is a mark, which Heal¹⁷ ascribed to Thomas Hannam and Richard Mills, which appears, on candlesticks, salvers and waiters, for the assay years 1763 to 1765.



Illus. 8 above. Mark struck on a salver. Courtesy of Paul Bennett Antiques.



Illus. 9 above. Mark struck on a salver of 1764.

It was, surely, this mark which was used by Hammond and Company during that period. The evidence of a set of four candlesticks, two of 1764 struck with the mark [6] above, and two of 1765 struck with the mark of Hammond and Carter [4] above would support the hypothesis that the 'TH over RM' mark was a mark used by Hammond and Company from 1763-4¹⁸. But, was there a mark used for the period 1760 to 1763? If so, there is no obvious mark that can be related to the partnership. A further question remains as to who 'R.M.' might have been. Heal suggested 'R.M.' was Richard Mills but he *seems prima facie* an unlikely candidate.

Richard Mills.

Nothing is known of Mills' apprenticeship, if any, but he is known to have been a specialist supplier of sugar tongs and nippers ('tea tongs') and buckles. Indeed, there is evidence that Mills was involved in buckle-making even before his first mark was registered. The silversmith Francis Daniell, a known buckle-maker, wrote his will in 1752 and died in 1761. In the will he instructed his widow: *'I beg the favour of Mr Charles Blythe¹⁹ and Mr Richard Mills to assist you in getting in my debts and Finishing the Business and selling the Tools.'* Although large numbers of sugar nippers survive with Mills' mark, no buckles have yet been noted, so perhaps Mills used another to actually make his buckles. When Mills died in 1772, the newspapers carried notices of his death as follows:

*'On Wednesday died at his House in Salisbury Court, Mr. Mills, very eminent in the Art of Buckle-making.'*²⁰

More detail of his business was given two weeks later in the notices of sale of his property:

To be Sold by Auction by JOSHUA WILKINSON,
 This Day, the 3d instant,
ALL the neat Household Goods, Plate, Linnen, China,
 Books, Apparel, Working Tools, Tea Tongs and Buckle Patterns
 of Mr. RICHARD MILLS, Silversmith, deceased, at his House, No. 22, Sa-
 lisbury-Court, Fleet-Street. To be viewed till the Sale, which begins at Eleven.
 All Persons who are indebted to the Estate of the above Mr. Mills, are desired
 to pay the same to the Executors, Mr. Ranking, Charles-Street, Hatton-Gar-
 den; or Mr. John Cooper, St. Martin's le Grand: All Persons having any De-
 mands on the Estate, may apply as above. The House to be left.

Illus. 10 above. The 'Daily Advertiser', London, Friday April 3rd, 1772, Issue 12879.

If there is nothing obvious in the known details of Richard Mills' life to support the idea that he became a partner in a salver and candlestick-making business with Thomas Hammond, there are some small clues which would. Apart from the quantity of salvers and candlesticks with the 'TH above RM' mark, a small group of sugar nippers and tongs survives with the mark. In considering the idea that Mills might have been a partner, albeit briefly, with Thomas Hammond, an earlier partnership must also be examined.

The cruciform mark [3780] that Grimwade included in his '*unregistered*' section, (which includes marks likely to have been in the lost Goldsmiths' Company registers), had been ascribed by Heal²¹ to David Bell and Richard Mills. Grimwade thought that ascription improbable, but, in fact, there was a connection between Bell and Mills.

Richard Mills was the nephew of Hugh Mills, a brass sieve maker, who also owned a silversmithing business: making candlesticks, waiters and salvers [and, on occasion, other large pieces]. Hugh Mills had employed first James Morison, and then Richard Rugg, to run the silversmithing part of his business. Rugg had been apprenticed to James Gould in 1738 and was made free in 1746. David Bell was apprenticed to William Gould in 1744 but was 'turned over' in 1747 to Richard Rugg, who at the time was working for Hugh Mills. There is nothing to confirm that Richard Mills was working in the business with his uncle, but he was certainly close to him. Hugh Mills died in 1752²² and left Richard some houses in Southwark and £500. When Richard died in 1772, he asked that he should be buried in Hampstead Church Yard, 'according to his uncle's wishes'.²³

After Hugh's death in 1752, his widow, Dorothy re-married. Her new husband, John Sarbitt, was a watchmaker from Clerkenwell, who, according to Rugg, knew nothing of the silversmithing business.²⁴ Rugg left and, in May 1754, entered his own mark with the Goldsmiths' Company. Although David Bell's Freedom has not been traced, he must have completed his apprenticeship in about 1751. Richard Mills may well, after his uncle's death, have set up in business with David Bell. Silver bearing the mark [3780] is quite scarce, comprising sauceboats, salvers and waiters. The mark was entered for David Bell and Company on 11th January 1753, which corresponds to the date letter year of 1752/3. Surviving silver with the mark has only been recorded for that year and the following assay office date letter [1753/4]. The mark in the register for the company gives the address as Greenhill Rents, Smithfield Bars. The '& Co.' part of the entry and the 'RM' portion of the mark were subsequently crossed out – with a note 'Look for ye mark in ye small book'. By November 1756, Bell had moved to Cary Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and entered a fresh mark in the largeworkers' register.

Any entry referred to in the note beside mark [3780], which may have been in the smallworkers' book, would have been lost with the missing register for that period. Richard Mills, meanwhile, entered a mark in the largeworkers' register on the 14th July 1755. He gave an address in White Horse Alley, Cowcross in the parish of '*St. Sepulkers*', which is only a short distance from Greenhill Rents. Three further marks were entered in the years 1758-1760. Then, a further entry on 16th July 1763, without a mark, records '*moved to St. Martin's Le Grand*.' Two years later, a new mark for an address in Salisbury Court, was registered by Mills on 29th June 1765.

The 'Thomas Hammond and RM' mark [figs. 5 and 6 above] was only in use for the assay office years 1763 and 1764. Land Tax records for these years covering St. Martin's Le Grand are missing but, when Thomas Hammond died, in 1767, he refers to his house in St. Martin's Le Grand and the surviving Land Tax records for 1766 show that his nephew, John Carter, was paying the tax within St. Martin's, at premises in Main street and Mouldmakers Row. It is highly likely that Hammond and Company was at these properties from 1763. The move to St. Martin's Le Grand by Richard Mills, noted in the register in 1763, would suggest that he moved as a partner in Hammond and Company but that the partnership was at an end by the time he moved to Salisbury Court in the summer of 1765. From that date, the partners became Thomas Hammond and John Carter.

John Carter.

The partnership mark of Hammond and Carter must have been entered in the register at some date in 1765 and a court case in the Old Bailey, at which John Carter testified, in January 1766, suggests that by that date he, not his uncle, was managing Hammond and Company. A parcel was sent by Thomas Wiggan, a Clockmaker of Bristol, to the silversmith, Robert Salmon, in the Barbican, London, but was stolen from the cart in Moorfields. A considerable part of the consignment was evidently for Hammond and Carter. An advertisement had been placed by them in the newspapers at the time of the theft:

L O S T,
On Wednesday Evening last,
A BOX, marked Rt. Salmon,
Barbican, London, containing,

One Ingot of Silver,	Weight	oz.	dwt.
Dollars,	108	11	
Broad Pieces, Gold,	140		
A Wedge, Gold,	13	2	
A French Guinea,	14	16	
Also one Tankard and two Pint Mugs of Brass or Copper.			

Whoever brings the above Box and Contents to Messrs. Hammond and Carter, Goldsmiths, in St. Martin's Le Grand, shall receive **TEN GUINEAS** Reward for the Whole, or in Proportion for any Part.

If any of the above-mentioned Goods are offered to be pawned, sold, or valued, please to stop the Party and Goods, and give Notice as above, and you shall receive a proportionate Reward.

Illus. 11. Advertisement in *Lloyd's Evening Post*, December 4/6, 1765; Issue 1312. Courtesy Burney Collection of Newspapers.

Three people were tried²⁵ for receiving the goods after one of them, Mary Jane Evans, attempted to sell the pieces of gold. As John Carter stated:

John Carter , 'I am partner with Mr. Hammond, in St. Martin's-Le-Grand; part of the goods were consigned to us: we had warnings printed, in order to get intelligence of them. In a few days Mr. Smith stopped the woman at the bar, and brought her up to our house, in the mean time Mr. Whitehead being apprised of the affair, came to our compting-house; we took her in a coach to Sir John Fielding's: she said she lived with a brewer's servant, at one Cox's, in Aylesbury-street, but the constable knowing her, confronted her, and said she lodged at one Wayling's, a chairman in Red Bull-yard; there we went, and found this pint mug, and a bag of dollars, 47 of them: then we got a warrant to apprehend John and James Wright , we went and waited till betwixt 1 and 2, they did not come, so I left them, and went home.'

Thomas Hammond died in Hornsey in June 1767. In his will²⁶, proved on the 15th June, he asked to be buried in Lewisham, with his first wife. His second wife, also Margaret, was living with John Carter in St. Martin Le Grand when she wrote her will in 1769. She died in December 1775 and was buried in Lewisham²⁷. A 'table' or 'altar' tomb in the churchyard has now disappeared but was still there in the 19th century when the inscription was recorded. It was evidently worn because the age of Thomas Hammond at his death was mis-recorded as "36". Margaret's age was 62²⁸.



Illus. 12 above: St. Mary Lewisham.

Thomas Hammond was clearly a man of some substance. In his will, written at his house in Hornsey in 1766, he left his widow a lump sum of £1000 together with £70 a year for the duration of her life. He left his sister, Ann Carter, £20 a year and a sum of £50 each to his half-brothers, Charles and Richard Blades. His niece, Isabella Farrington, whom he had brought up 'and tenderly regarded', was to receive £500 after his widow's death. The residue of his estate, including his 'money in trade', he left to his two nephews, Richard and John Carter, share and share alike. A codicil dated 12th June 1767 amended his bequests: John Carter was to have all his uncle's share in the working tools and interest in the premises in St. Martin's Le Grand and Richard Carter was not to receive any sums of money until seven years after Hammond's death but, instead, to receive interest on the value of his bequest at four per cent per annum until that date. The will was not witnessed but the handwriting was

attested by John Dowson, of Gray's Inn, St. Andrew Holborn, Goldsmith, and Thomas Watson of St. Martin's Le Grand, in the parish of Christ Church, Gentleman. John Dowson was presumably a trade acquaintance, but Thomas Watson, a London merchant, was originally from Coverham where Hammond had been born.²⁹

At the time of Thomas Hammond's death, John Carter must have been twenty-nine years old. He was running one of the largest manufacturing silversmith's businesses in London. According to his evidence to the Parliamentary Committee of 1773 [examined in detail below], he had been involved in silversmithing since about 1760.

On 6th September[check???] 1737, Ann Hammond, then of Catterick, had married John Carter of Scotton, near Patrick Brompton in Richmondshire, a short distance from Coverham. John Carter was a yeoman farmer. John Carter, silversmith, was born in 1738 but his christening has not been traced. A second son, Richard, was born, perhaps the Richard Carter, son of John and Ann Carter, christened in the neighbouring parish of Hauxwell on the 20th January 1743/4 [check?]. John Carter of Scotton had a brother, also called Richard, and *his son*, Richard, was christened at Patrick Brompton on the 17th September 1740. John Carter, silversmith, therefore had a father of the same name, an uncle and a cousin called Richard and a brother called Richard. John Carter, silversmith, and his brother, Richard, are the two nephews named in the will of Thomas Hammond.

Richard Carter, the brother of John Carter, silversmith, died on August 9th 1767, within a few weeks of his uncle. A tomb, one of three Carter tombs near the church, records his death, as well as that of their mother, Ann, in 1779.



Illus. 13. The three Carter 'Table' Monuments beside St. Patrick's Church, Patrick Brompton.

[n.b. – re-check parish register for Patrick Brompton and Catterick.]

In 1767/8, soon after taking sole control of the business, John Carter moved from the premises in Mouldmakers Row and Main street, St. Martin's Le Grand, to Westmoreland Buildings in St. Bartholomew Close [number 14 when street numbers were introduced]. Carter's new workshop produced some of the earliest articles in the new classical style, including a set of four cast Candlesticks after a Robert Adam design of 1767/8.³⁰ Some of the finest Adam pieces supplied by Carter, were for the Williams-Wynn service in the years 1774-5, retailed by Joseph Creswell.³¹ The extent of collaboration, emulation, and

competition amongst working silversmiths in producing articles in the neo-classical style remains unclear. The London businesses of Whyte and Holmes (later William Holmes alone), Smith and Sharp, Sebastian and James Crespell, Carter, Courtauld and Cowles, Heming, and the Birmingham business of Boulton and Fothergill all produced pieces in the neo-classical manner.



Illus. 14. John Carter's mark 1767. Courtesy ebay seller 'zebrababe', item 232570392946.

From 1766, Carter began to supply less costly pieces in the new style: buying in candlesticks from Sheffield manufacturers in quantity and then re-marking them in London. At first his purchases were probably from Roberts, Elam and Winter and then exclusively from Winter and Company.³² His business connection with Sheffield did not prevent him from joining the London silversmiths in opposing the opening of a new assay office in Sheffield in 1773. A petition to allow new assay offices in Birmingham and Sheffield was put before Parliament in February 1773 and a law was passed in March of the same year. Opposition from London silversmiths, supported by the London Goldsmiths' Company, led to a simultaneous enquiry by Parliament into the state of the various existing assay offices in the country and the extent of fraud within the silversmithing industry. John Carter was interviewed several times by the committee and the handwritten notes of those interviews survive.



Illus. 15. John Carter's mark 1773, the punch showing a stress fracture.

[Section of article not yet completed]

A possible link with John Scofield.

John Scofield has long been well-known from the quantity of fine silver bearing his mark – particularly candlesticks and salvers, but also cruets and tea sets. Arthur Grimwade wrote of his work enthusiastically, referring to the *‘high degree of elegant design executed with impeccable craftsmanship, which rivals at best the contemporary French goldsmith Henri Auguste. It was perhaps the restrained taste of the period that prevented Scofield from displaying a virtuosity which might well have given him a reputation equal with Lamerie or Storr. No one could mount glass better, as is shown by his cruet in the Rotch Collection.’* Grimwade evidently pictured Scofield within a tradition of artisanal silversmiths but it may be that Scofield had come into the business of silversmithing in a different way.

A detailed and fascinating essay on the life of John Scofield appeared in the Silver Society Journal of 2017³³. It revealed his family background in Taddington, Derbyshire, chronicled the marriage of his sister, Dorothy, to the much older Thomas Martin, and touched on John’s elder brother, Robert, who had a business as a toyman and jeweller in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden. The article suggested that John Scofield might have worked in partnership with his brother, Robert, prior to forming a partnership with Robert Jones in 1776. Although such a suggestion would conveniently explain the lack of any archival evidence of John Scofield’s training, and although John Scofield may have had a business connection with his brother, it seems unlikely that he would have learned the business of a working silversmith from within his brother’s trade as a jeweller and toyman.

The best evidence of the nature of Robert Scofield’s business is the notice of its closure and sale in 1775.³⁴

28th October 1775. The *‘Daily Advertiser’*:

‘To be Sold by Auction by Mr. RICHARDS, On the Premises, on Tuesday next, and the following Day, at Twelve, All the genuine Stock in Trade, and Houshold Furniture, of Mr. ROBERT SCOFIELD, Jeweller and Toyman, leaving off Business, at No. 4. in Maiden-Lane, Covent Garden. The Stock consists of Plate, Watches, Diamond and other Rings, Buckles, Ear-Rings, Necklaces, &c. Also at One o’Clock in the first Day’s Sale will be sold, the Lease of the Premises, well situated for that or any other Business that requires Room; the Shop is well fitted up, and the Premises in good Repair.

To be viewed on Monday and till the Sale. Catalogues then on the Premises, and of Mr. Richards, in Conduit-Street, Hanover-Square.

Note, The House may be treated for by private Contract by applying to Mr. Scofield, in Belton-Street, Long-Acre, or Mr. Richards, Conduit-Street, Hanover-Square.’

John Carter and John Scofield both worked in the ward of Farringdon without, outside the boundary walls of the City of London, where only freemen and apprentices of the Livery

Companies were permitted to work and, indeed, no apprenticeship records have been discovered for either man.

Scofield entered his first known mark in the registers of the Goldsmiths' Company, in partnership with Robert Jones, on the 10th February 1776. The address given was 40, Bartholomew Close but that was, in fact, Robert Jones's address: from 1773 Scofield lived in King's Head Court, adjacent to Shoe Lane in the parish of St. Andrew's Holborn, before moving to Bell Yard in 1778. The marriage of Scofield on the 8th October 1772 proves that he was *then living* in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great but the marriage record does not give the street in which he lived.

If there is no convincing evidence that John Scofield learnt his trade with his brother, there is a more likely indication that he had worked with John Carter in Bartholomew Close and, as has been seen above, he was living in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great [which includes Bartholomew Close] at the time. On the 15th May 1771 the trial took place at the Old Bailey of **David 'M' Lane** [presumably *McLean*]³⁵ and the trial report is fascinating for the information it gives about Carter's business and his employees, including his clerk: 'Scofield'.

David M' Lane was indicted for stealing three ounces polishings, value 2s. the property of John Carter, April 29. 1771.

John Carter. *I am a goldsmith, and live in Bartholomew Close. The prisoner worked with me as a polisher; silver polishings is what comes off from plate in burnishing it, or otherwise; on the twenty-nine April, between the hours of one and two, my clerk acquainted me that Price, my apprentice, had seen the prisoner go to several polishing boxes and take out silver polishings; I gave him directions, as I was obliged to go out, to search him when he went away; and if he found any of my property upon him to detain him till I came home. I returned about a quarter after nine; the prisoner was then in my compting-house in the custody of a constable; as I had been robbed of this article to a great amount, I asked him about it; he acknowledged he had at sundry times robbed me of this article, and sold it to one Peter Tabois for four or five shillings a pound; which always produced me three times that money.*

Q. Did you make him any promise of favour?

Carter. *No; I made him none.*

Q. Does any quantity of silver come upon their apron or so, in polishing?

Carter. *There may be a trifle; it is not their perquisite.*

- **Scofield.** *On Monday the 29th of last month, I returned from the other end of the town. The apprentice, Price, told me he had seen the prisoner through a hole I had cut (having suspected him) take some silver polishings from two of the boxes in the shop. I made this report to Mr. Carter; he ordered me to detain the prisoner; at night he returned. I kept him later than usual; he went away about nine. I sent Price for him; he hesitated to return, but did come. I asked him what he had in his pockets; he said, nothing: I bid him empty them. He took out several indifferent things, and turned out one pocket that had nothing in it: I bid him turn out the other; he kept his hand in it five minutes; I believe at last he took out these brushes (producing them.) I asked him how he came by them in his pocket; he said he did not know. Then I asked him if he had nothing else; then he pulled out some polishings (producing*

them) these rags have the polishings in them: we burn the rags, and the silver is tried and valued: the apprentices take it up every Saturday night, and lock it up; it fetches about fifteen shillings a pound. He first pleaded ignorance; at last he said he was drunk, and confessed he did it.

Joseph Price. My master often cautioned me to watch the prisoner. The clerk made a hole in the wainscot; when all the men were gone, but the prisoner, I saw him come to the window and look out; then he went up to the polishing box. I could not perceive what he did; he fumbled there; then he went to the place where he generally sits, and put his hand into his pocket; then he came back again and went up to the other box, which I saw his hand in. I thought I saw it through his fingers as he went along; then he went to the same place where he used to sit, and put his hand in his pocket.

Robert Haywood. The prisoner worked for Mr. Carter. He did not brush. I used one of these brushes that has been produced on the twenty ninth of April. The prisoner only rubbed and stoned, and got ready for the polishing.

Peter Tabois. I live in King street, Bloomsbury. I am a washer; we melt polishings and cleanse silver out of the dust, for gold and silversmiths. I have bought of the prisoner aprons and fronts of coats and waistcoats, which is their perquisites. I was once between a master and his man, and valued his apron and waistcoat, which the master paid him for.

Q. What price do you give?

Tabois. It is all an uncertainty, according as we thought it might be filled with silver, three, four or five shillings. I never bought any polishing of him.

Q. What may that be worth that is produced?

Tabois. Nobody can tell till it is melted.

Q. What may you think it worth?

Tabois. I Can't tell; I may have bought ten or twelve times of him.

Prisoner's Defence.

Whatever I sold to Mr. Tabois was breasts of coats, waistcoats, and fronts of breeches and aprons, nothing else.

For the Prisoner.

James Ross. I have known the prisoner thirty years; he has lodged fifteen years in my house; he is an honest man; he never lay a night out of my house.

Daniel Ross. I am a son of the last witness. I have known him fourteen years; I am in the pocket book way; he is an honest man.

Guilty, 10 d. Transportation.

If the 'Scofield' who worked for John Carter was, in fact, John Scofield, he would then have been 24 years old. If he was the Scofield who went on to register his own mark and establish

a successful silversmithing business, his training did not follow the usual path from apprentice within a workshop to journeyman silversmith and then to independent master. His training, as clerk, would have been in finance and business management within the large-scale workshop of Carter, whose speciality was in the manufacture of candlesticks and salvers and, as we know, John Scofield was also a specialist maker of candlesticks and salvers. The likelihood is that Carter and, indeed, Hammond, had come into the business of silversmithing in much the same manner: as entrepreneur employers of artisan silversmiths rather than as practising workers of silver who evolved into masters in the traditional way.

The Death of John Carter, silversmith.

When John Carter, silversmith, died intestate on the 23rd October 1776, administration of his estate was granted to his father, John Carter of Scotton: who was, by then, living in nearby Richmond.³⁶ Carter was buried at Hornsey on the 30th October³⁷ and a plaque was placed in the [now destroyed] church³⁸:

*In Memory of
M John Carter,
Goldsmith,*

*Who died October 23rd 1776
Aged 38 years.*

The property in Hornsey was advertised to let a few months after Carter's death.

To be L E T T,
And entered on at Lady Day,
A HOUSE, with every conveniency, fit
for a large and genteel family, with a neat
pleasure ground, and large kitchen garden, the New
River running through the middle, with a fish pond
at the bottom, together with a stable, coach-house,
barn, and 8 acres of rich meadow land adjoining to
the premises, situated opposite the church at Horn-
sey, late in the occupation of Mr. John Carter, de-
ceased.—Likewise, a handsome new-built House ad-
joining the above-mentioned premises, with a neat
pleasure ground and kitchen garden the New River
running through the middle, and a fish pond at the
bottom; with coach-houses, stable, and about ten
acres of rich meadow land adjoining the same.
For further particulars, enquire of Mr. Marshall,
carpenter, adjoining the premises.

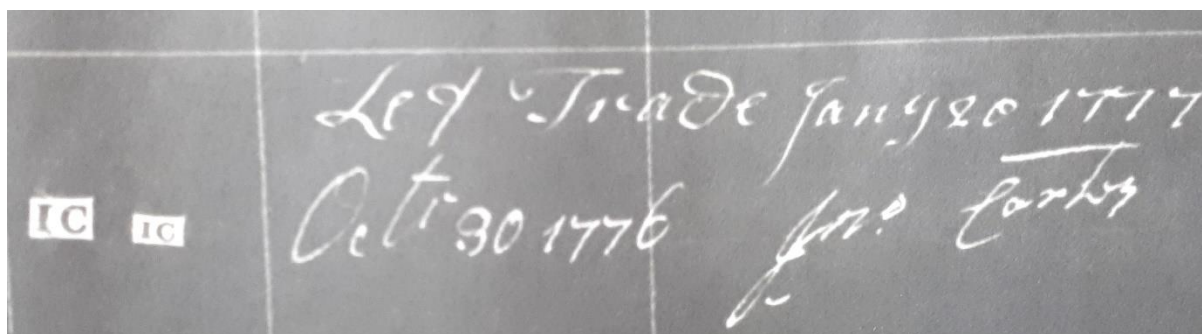
Illus. 16. Advertisement in the 'Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser', Saturday, 15th March 1777.

The buildings, somewhat altered, still stand opposite the Church in Hornsey.



Illus. 17. The houses in Hornsey.

On the day of John Carter's burial, John Carter, senior, entered a mark [two sizes] in the register at the Goldsmiths' Company. The maker's mark was slightly different from that of his son: in a plain rectangular shield. Clearly, his purpose in entering a mark was to manage the company in the short term. John Carter, senior, returned to the North Riding within three months and the register notes that he left the trade on the 20th January 1777.



Illus. 18. Note in Register with John Carter, senior's, mark.

Ann Carter, the sister of Thomas Hammond and mother of John Carter, silversmith, died on the 24th January 1779 and was buried at Patrick Brompton with her other son, Richard. The parish register recorded that she died of 'Old Age'. A few months later, John Carter, senior, re-married at Richmond to Ellen [or Ellenor] Blades: sister of Charles Blades, junior, of Caldberg, Coverham³⁹. Two daughters, Ann (1780) and Isabella (1781), were born from this marriage and both daughters married into the Chaytor family of Spennithorne and Croft.⁴⁰ John Carter, senior, died in 1796.⁴¹

Richard Carter.

On the very day that John Carter senior returned to Yorkshire, his nephew, Richard, entered a mark at the Goldsmiths' Company in partnership with Robert Makepeace⁴². The partnership mark is the first surviving mark for Makepeace. Born in Newcastle in 1729, the son of the Newcastle goldsmith, Robert Makepeace, he had been made free of the Newcastle Goldsmiths' Company by patrimony in July 1755, after the death of his father. Shortly afterwards, he decided to sell his father's business and he was in London by 4th April 1759, where he was made free of the London Goldsmiths' Company by redemption. He became a liveryman of the company in 1763 but details of his life in London in the early years remain sketchy. He had married Margaret Jepson at St. Martin-in-the-Fields on 3rd March 1759 and a first child, Robert, was christened at St. Gregory by St. Paul in 1759 but was buried in St. Andrew Holborn in 1760. A surviving son, Robert, was christened at St. John Zachary on 2nd August 1761. He did, however, retain contact with Newcastle, returning to vote there in 1774 and 1777. Moreover, the advertisement of the sale of a shop in Newcastle in December 1764 evidences his address in London at that time:

*'To be Sold A Freehold House and Shop situated near the Bridge End in Newcastle, tenanted by Mr. Henderson, Merchant. For further particulars, enquire of Mr. Barker, Merchant, in Newcastle, or Mr. Robert Makepeace, Goldsmith and Jeweller in Searle Street, near Lincoln's Inn, London, who should be glad of having the pleasure of serving Gentlemen, who may think him deserving, and takes this Opportunity of letting his Friends in the Country know where they may find him, and may depend upon having their Orders punctually executed, with Honour and Fidelity.'*⁴³

Robert Makepeace was probably chosen as partner for Richard Carter because he already had a business connection with the firm of Carter and Company. He was also, it may be noted, another northern Englishman. There is no evidence that Richard Carter was involved in the silver business prior to the death of his cousin – although he may have been. He had been christened at Patrick Brompton on 17th September 1740, the son of Richard Carter of Scotton but no details of his life between that date and the registration of the Carter and Makepeace mark have been found. A series of letters [see the Appendix to this article], written some years later, from Richard Carter, junior, to his relatives in Yorkshire, reveal a careful and business-like person but the extent of his involvement in the silversmithing business remains uncertain. It may be that his function was to oversee the long-term sale and transfer of the business after his cousin's death and the return of his uncle to Yorkshire.

The partnership of Richard Carter and Robert Makepeace was quite short. Land tax records for the address continued to record 'Jno. Carter' as the occupant in 1777, 1778 and 1779. On 9th December 1778 a new mark was entered by Carter in partnership with the already well-established partners Daniel Smith and Robert Sharp.



Illus. 19. Mark of Carter, Smith and Sharp partnership in 1778/9.

Insurance policies taken with the Sun Insurance Company⁴⁴ reveal a little of the nature of the premises at 14 Bartholomew Close, the value of the stock, and the separate property of Richard Carter, who was at that stage living in Bartholomew Close:

Policy number 392517, 17th Dec 1777.

Richard Carter and Robert Makepeace at No. 14 in Bartholomew Close Silversmiths on Richard Carters Housh'ld Goods in his now dwelling house situated afos'd. £300

Printed Books £40

Wearing Apparel £80

China and Glass therein £30

Plate therein £50

The following their joint property

Utensils and Stock Plate £1000

Workshop communicating round the Yard behind the House Brick a small part Timber £300

Utensils & Stock Plate included therein £500

Total £2300.

By the 9th December 1778, Richard Carter was renting a house at 55, King Street, Bloomsbury and Sun Insurance policy 406490 details his personal property there. Another policy of the same date, 406491, covered the Bartholomew Close premises:

Richard Carter, Daniel Smith and Robert Sharp at 14 in Bartholomew Close Silversmiths

Utensils and Stock £1000

Workshop £300

Utensils and Stock therein £500

Total £1800.

The partnership of Daniel Smith and Robert Sharp can be traced back to 1763, although, again, the mark [Grimwade 3521] would have been entered in the missing largeworkers' register. They were supplying Parker and Wakelin at the time of the surviving Workmens' Ledger of Parker and Wakelin, which starts from 1766. Ostensibly, they must have been rivals with Hammond and Carter in business: working silversmiths who produced silver in the neo-classical style. Their connection with Robert Makepeace was evidently long-standing and, indeed, the part played by Makepeace in the transfer of John Carter's business to Smith and Sharp may not have ended in December 1778. There is a passing reference in a letter of 1786 from Richard Carter to his uncle, John Carter, senior, which suggests an on-going business transaction with Makepeace⁴⁵:

'you likewise menton the Letter of Attorney to Mr. Makepeace, it occurs to me, in the first Letter to you on that business I mention it, as being doubtful to me whether you might wish to have a Person to act as an Attorney upon this affair but in my opinion I do not see any occasion whatever to give Mr Makepeace any trouble in the business.'

The Carters were from the north of Yorkshire and Robert Makepeace was from Newcastle. Robert Makepeace had been in business in London since at least the early 1760's as a retailing goldsmith and jeweller. The mark Makepeace entered in partnership with Richard Carter was, therefore, part of the ongoing transfer and sale of the Carters' silversmithing business rather than a move into business as a 'working silversmith'. Undoubtedly Daniel Smith, Robert Sharp, and Robert Makepeace had a personal as well as a business relationship. Daniel Smith, son of William Smith, late of Hawick⁴⁶ in Cumberland, gentleman, deceased, had been apprenticed to Thomas Gladwin in 1740 and was made free in 1753/4. Robert Sharp, who, like Makepeace, was born in Newcastle, had been apprenticed to Gawen Nash in 1747 but was immediately 'turned over' to Gladwin. When Daniel Smith wrote his will in 1785, he named his son in law and partner, Robert Sharp, and Robert Makepeace of Searle street, silversmith, as executors and trustees.⁴⁷

On the 7th February 1780, when Smith and Sharp entered another mark at the Goldsmiths' Company, reference to the partnership with Richard Carter ended. The new mark of Smith and Sharp was apparently the old punch with the letters 'RC' trimmed off but still partially visible. It is possible that the Carter family still had a residual share in the business but whether the mark was trimmed in such a fashion to indicate that is impossible to know. The punch was again trimmed, this time to remove part, but not all, of the letters 'DS' on the 7th January 1788, when Daniel Smith retired, leaving his son-in-law in charge of the business.



Illus. 20. Smith and Sharp 'trimmed' punch showing the bottom of 'RC'. Image courtesy I. Franks.

The Smith and Sharp partnership continued the arrangement that John Carter had established with Sheffield silversmiths by purchasing Sheffield-made candlesticks and striking their own partnership mark on them beside the existing Sheffield assay marks. A number of pairs of candlesticks have been noted with the Smith and Sharp mark with date letters for the years 1780 to 1784.

Richard Carter, after withdrawing from the partnership seems to have lived as a gentleman of means, moving within the social circles of his neighbourhood and supporting the local Charity School. A number of references to the Carters appear in the diaries of William Hugh Burgess, the fifteen-year old son of a local family of Huguenot descent⁴⁸. By the 1st January 1778, he had moved from King street to 16, Paddington street, and he had moved to number 49 in the same street by 1792.⁴⁹ Towards the end of his life he moved to nearby Baker street. His first marriage has not been traced but he married Mary Gosset, of Huguenot descent, the daughter of Gideon Gosset, at St. Mary St. Marylebone, on 12th October 1779. Gosset was a carver and gilder and a picture frame maker. Mary was the executrix and heiress of Gosset by his will, proved in 1785.⁵⁰ Mary died in August 1808 and Richard Carter in May 1811. Both were buried at St. Marylebone.⁵¹

A series of letters written by Richard Carter, from 1786 onwards, survive within the archive of his Chaytor relations, which deal with his and their role as executors and trustees of the estate of John Carter, senior. The letters [transcribed in an appendix to this essay] are addressed to his cousins, Ann Carter, Isabella Carter [later Chaytor] and her husband, Ellinor Carter, the widow of John Carter, senior, and his kinsman, William Carter. In the letters Richard Carter makes occasional references to his ability to obtain a trade discount with silversmiths.

[Conclusion to be added. Appendix to be edited.]

¹ Arthur G. Grimwade, 'London Goldsmiths 1697-1837: Their Marks and Lives from the Original Registers at Goldsmiths' Hall and Other Sources', publ. faber and faber, third edition, 1990. Isbn 0-571-15238-4.

² Helen Clifford, 'Silver in London: The Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760-1776', publ. Yale University Press, 2004. ISBN 0-300-10389-1. The book drew on Helen Clifford's PhD. dissertation on the Parker and Wakelin Ledgers, housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum Archives.

³ Op. cit pp. 88-89.

⁴ North Yorkshire Record Office, Northallerton.

⁵ Yorkshire Wills, also available to view on Ancestry.

⁶ N. Yorkshire R.O. Parish Registers of Patrick Brompton.

⁷ Date of birth 19/05/1736.

⁸ See Free Reg. transcriptions for the parish. 03/06/1737.

⁹ Nat. Arch. PROB 11/993/336.

¹⁰ Nat. Arch. Administration of the estate of Joanna Stone, Middlesex, January 1770, Court of Canterbury administrations.

¹¹ See Grimwade's entry for John Broughton, silversmith, son of Edward Broughton of the parish of St. Sepulchre, Tallow Chandler, apprenticed to Robert Albin Cox 8/06/1757, on payment of £15. Free 04/07/1764. Mark entered as plate-worker, 08/01/1779. Edward Broughton and his wife, 'Joanna', were living in Lancashire in the early 1740's. A Joanna Broughton, daughter of Edward and Joanna, was christened at Clitheroe on the 15th March 1741 and John Broughton, son of the same, was christened at Walton-le-Dale on 1st September 1742. Thomas Stone Broughton, was christened the son of the same at St. Sepulchre, Holborn on 16th May 1746. Lancashire Record Office, WCW/Disputed Probates, 04/06/1739, has a reference to Edward Broughton, 'soap boyler', creditor named in a dispute over the estate of Henry Jepson of Walton-in-the Dale, Blackburn, grocer. It will be noted that Makepeace married a Margaret Jepson of St. Martin in the Fields.

¹² London Metropolitan Archives, ACC/0969/114, Counterpart lease for 21 years, (1) William Gordon of St. Lawrence Jewry, London, Gent. (2) Thomas Hammond of Hornsey. Gent. Two messuages in Hornsey, one occupied by (2), the other by John Dewilde. Rent £18 yearly. 14/10/1758.

¹³ See Grimwade's biography of Coker – 'Son of William Coker of Berkhamsted in the County of Hertford cheesemonger, apprenticed to Joseph Smith 21 October 1728. No premium stated. Free, 7 February 1740. First mark entered 27 March 1738. Address: Clerkenwell Green. Second mark, 25 June 1739. Third mark, 24 May 1745. Fourth mark, 20 December (?) 1751. A fifth mark probably entered after 1758, and another, in partnership with Thomas Hammond (?Hannam) 1759-60. Described as widower of St. James, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, on marriage to Elizabeth Ransey of the same parish, 1 December 1739, at St. Bene't, Pauls Wharf. Heal records him as plateworker at the Golden Cup and Rising Sun, Clerkenwell Close or Green, 1738; with Thomas Hammond (?Hannam) as goldsmiths, same address, dissolving partnership 1760; alone at Clerkenwell Close and 13 Wood Street, 1770. Appears as goldsmith, Clerkenwell Close, in the Parl. Report list 1773. His clerk and assistant gave evidence to the committee when Coker was described as large plate manufacturer. Bankrupt 1781 (The Gentleman's Magazine for December that year). Died, 2 August 1783, 'Upon Clerkenwell Green Mr. Coker, many years a goldsmith in Clerkenwell Close' (The Gentleman's Magazine). Like John Carter his chief productions were candlesticks and salvers.'

¹⁵ This date calculated from John Carter's evidence to the Parliamentary Committee of 1773.

¹⁶ Op. cit. pp.88-89.

¹⁷ Sir Ambrose Heal, 'The London Goldsmiths, 1200-1800: A Record of the Names and Addresses of the Craftsmen, Their Shop-Signs and Trade-cards', David and Charles Reprints, 1972, first publ. Cambridge University Press, 1935. ISBN 0-7153-5515-5.

¹⁸ A number of other sets have been noted of identical pattern, sometimes two years apart, some of the sticks struck with the 'TH over RM' mark and some the Hammond and Carter mark.

¹⁹ Francis Daniell was from Lichfield. Charles Blythe was probably connected to the Blythe family of that area.

²⁰ See Burney Newspaper Collection, Brit. Lib. **Public Advertiser**, Friday, March 20, 1772; Issue 11666.

²¹ Op. cit.

²² National Archives. Will Prob11.

²³ Nat. Arch. Will Prob11. Burial register of St John Hampstead 24/03/1772.

²⁴ Research on Hugh Mills, James Morison, and Richard Rugg to be published.

²⁵ Old Bailey Online.

²⁶ Nat. Arch. Wills Prob 11

²⁷ See endnote 9 above for the will.

²⁸ See Lewisham, St Mary Transcriptions 1889 - 77987-00016.jpg

²⁹ See the Will of Thomas Watson. National Archives, PCC, PROB 11/1293 will 26 May 1797 proved 19 June 1797. Thomas Watson of Aldersgate Street, London, Merchant. In the will he left property in Carlton in the parish of Coverham. I am indebted to Marion Moverley for this information. The transcribed will can be read on the website www.transcribedwills.co.uk.

³⁰ A pair marked by the partnership of David Whyte and William Holmes, in the same year are almost identical, although adhering even more closely to Adam's design. These two were also 'working' silversmiths: but there is no evidence of a connection with Carter. The partnership of Whyte and Holmes had ended by 1773 when advertisements appeared in newspapers for the sale by auction of David Whyte's tools: '*To be Sold by Auction by THOMAS SKINNER, On the Premises, No. 19, Little-Britain, this Day, the 17th inst. All the Tools, Utensils, and Implements in Trade, of Mr. DAVID WHYTE, WORKING-Silversmith, consisting of a Forge fixed, three Forge Anvils, Skillets, Ingots, Patterns, two large Copper Soldering-Pans, a Draw-Bench, a Lathe and Polishing Wheel compleat, and every other Tool used in the above Branch; old Copper, Lead, iron, &c. May be viewed till the Sale, which will begin at Eleven o'Clock. Catalogues on the Premises; and at Mr. Skinner's, Aldersgate-Street.*' Daily Advertiser, London, Tuesday, Aug. 17, 1773 Issue 13308. Burney Newspaper Collection, British Library. William Holmes continued to produce pieces in the Adam style in the 1780's.

³¹ See Oliver Fairclough, 'Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn and Robert Adam: Commissions for Silver 1768-80', in The Burlington Magazine, Vol. 137, No. 1107 (Jun. 1995), pp.376-386.

³² Information courtesy of Gordon Crosskey.

³³ 'Silver Studies', The Journal of the Silver Society, Number 33, 2016-17, Ushio Itakura, 'John Scofield – A glimpse of his family history and of silversmiths in Bell Yard', pp. 110-123.

³⁴ As the newspaper report in the 'Daily Advertiser' of 1775, shows, Robert Scofield lived in Belton street, after the sale of his Maiden lane business. He is listed in land tax records as living in 'New Belton street' until 1787. He had married Sarah Mitchell on the 26th December 1754, at St. Paul's Covent Garden. A son, Robert, had been christened there on the 24th May 1761; a daughter, Sarah, was christened on the 24th May 1763, but buried in September 1764; a son, John, had been christened on the 24th July 1757.

Robert had left Belton street and was living in Little Chelsea by 1794. He may well have had property there before that date. As the article shows, it was in Chelsea in 1771 that Thomas Martin secretly married Dorothy Scofield, described on her marriage licence as a spinster of St. Luke's parish. Moreover, a Robert Scofield, currier, of Little Chelsea, took an apprentice, John Kemp, in 1792. This Robert may well have been the son of Robert, senior. Burial records for St. Mary Abbot's church, in Kensington, show a Robert 'Schofield' buried on the 30th September 1805, aged 70 years, and a Mary 'Schofield', aged 38 years, [probably the wife of Robert Scofield junior] buried on the same day. The Will of Robert Scofield, the elder, of Little Chelsea, in the parish of Kensington, Gentleman, was proved on the 6th December in 1805. It makes no reference to the family of John, or to his sister Dorothy. He does mention his wife, without naming her, and he leaves his entire estate, after his wife's death, to his son, Robert, apart from a small bequest to his granddaughter, Sarah. In due course Sarah inherited a small property in Arlesford from her Higginbotham cousins.

The tithe awards of 1843 for the Parish of Alresford [Essex Record Office D/CT 4a] show the distribution of Dorothy Adams' estate in Alresford amongst the Higginbotham's and Scofield's. Sarah 'Schofield', presumably the grand-daughter of Robert, is included in the list of property holders, as are Mary, George, and Harriet Higginbotham, Dorothea Jones, and Philip Lugar.

³⁵ John M' Lane was clearly a Scotsman who shared lodgings with other Scots.

³⁶ National Archive, Prob 6/152/f190. '*Administration of the effects of John Carter late of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great London Bachelor deceased was granted to John Carter the natural and lawful father of the deceased.*'

³⁷ See St. Mary Hornsey Burial Register: 30 October 1776 Mr. John Carter of the parish of St. Bartholomew London.

³⁸ A Watercolour image of the plaque can be seen on the web: <https://www.watercolourworld.org/painting/font-and-memorial-john-carter-hornsey-church-tww005339>

³⁹ See Notes and Queries. 12th series v Feb 1910 for an enquiry about the Blades family. Charles Blades, son of the Charles Blades who had married Margaret Hammond, died in 1782: see Yorkshire probate of Coldbridge, Coverham, January 1782.

⁴⁰ For the Chaytor family see: Burke's Landed Gentry and Colburn's Peerage and Baronetage.

⁴¹ National Archives, Prob 11/1272/128.

⁴² Grimwade suggests that Carter and Makepeace may have entered earlier partnership marks in the lost largeworkers' register but there is no evidence of any such mark on extant silver.

⁴³ For these details of Robert Makepeace's life and the newspaper reference, see: Margaret A.V. Gill, '*A Directory of Newcastle Goldsmiths*', 1980.

⁴⁴ London Metropolitan Archives. Sun Insurance Archives.

⁴⁵ For the full text of this letter, see the Appendix to this essay.

⁴⁶ Hawick is, of course, in Scotland not Cumberland.

⁴⁷ National Archives. Will of Daniel Smith, Prob 11/1176/66. Proved: 10 February 1789. Robert Sharp had married Charlotte Smith, daughter of Daniel and Juliana, on the 2nd October 1777 at All Saints, Newcastle. Charlotte had been christened on the 25th April 1753, at Christ Church Grey Friars, Newgate.

⁴⁸ For the Diary, see: London Metropolitan Archives, Digital Collections. F/WHB/001. For Richard Carter's support of the Charity School, see: The Times, 27th May 1796.

⁴⁹ See London Metropolitan Archives, Sun Insurance Company policies, MS11936/306/469048; MS11936/387/603901.

⁵⁰ See Parish registers of St. Mary Marylebone for the marriage. For the will of Gideon Gosset, see Nat. Arch. Prob 11/ 1133/116, 15 August 1785.

⁵¹ For Richard Carter's Will, see: Nat. Arch. PROB 11/1523/196. In summary: Richard Carter, late of Paddington street but now of Baker Street North. To: William Hugh Burgess of Birchin Lane, London, Banker; to John Burgess of Salisbury place St. Marylebone, Esq.; my nephew Mr Christopher Outhwaite son of my sister Ann Outhwaite the wife of Mr. Christopher Outhwaite of Hunton near Bedale county of York £1000 bank three per cent annuities of the year 1726 left me by my late dear wife Mary Carter and now in the name of Gideon Gosset of Paddington street as trustees – to be transferred to my nephew Richard Husband [son of my sister Ann Outhwaite by her former husband]; failing which goes to Richard Carter Husband when he reaches age of 21. Also £3000 in three per cent Bank consolidated annuities – refer to his niece Nancy Husband, Spinster. Refers to niece Margaret Husband. Poor of Sutton near Richmond. Plus £100 each to his three exors. Refers to his cousin Miss Ann Carter of Richmond, plus cousin Isabella Chaytor wife of William Chaytor Esq

of Croft Hall ten guineas each for a ring; to my godson William Richard Carter Chaytor, to my late wife's godson Matthew Hutton Chaytor 10 guineas each [to be paid to their father William Chaytor the younger of Croft Hall Esq.] Bequests to friends plus freehold estate in Scotton near Richmond to Christopher Outhwaite plus copyhold estate in Harringay.

To niece Margaret Husband one pair of cast Silver Candlesticks and Nozzles a silver beaded Snuffer Tray boat shaped Steel Snuffers with silver bows a beaded silver hand candlestick with Silver Extinguisher a Steel Snuffers a silver beaded oval Tea pot & a small beaded silver stand a Silver milk pot Gadroon edge Six Silver French edged Tea Spoons six plain Table Spoons two Silver Oval beaded Salts with Two Glasses to them & two Silver salt ladles one Silver Goblet one Gold Watch Engraved cypher R.M.C with steel chain & Gold & Silver Seals & one Mahogany Tea Chest mounted with Silver inclosing three plain Silver Canisters Also leaves to Mr. Benjamin Fuller of Hornsey tenant of my house there £300 Stock in Bank three per cent Redd. Anns. And it is my desire to be buried in the vault where the late Mrs. Carter was buried provided the Revd. Doctor Gossot will give permission, otherwise in the vaults under Paddington Street.