

Preface.

Any readers who are not familiar with 18th century London history and the role of the Livery Companies should bear in mind the following:

1) With some exceptions, employment in the City of London [marked by the boundary of the old city walls] during the 17th and 18th centuries was restricted to Freemen and their apprentices. Freemen had to complete an apprenticeship to one of the many ancient Livery Companies of the city but their actual trade was not usually restricted by the company to which they belonged. In this way, a 'Citizen and Goldsmith' might work in a trade that had nothing to do with working in precious metal, or a 'Citizen and Butcher' might, indeed, be a silversmith.

2) Maker's marks on precious metals were instituted by law in 1363 and the Goldsmiths' Company, fifth in order of seniority amongst the Livery Companies, retained the power of assaying silver and gold to establish that it complied with legal standards of purity.



Map of Dove Court, Gutter Lane. 1778. Courtesy Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths.

Family Business: Robert Collier, the master of James Phipps I, silversmith.

Introduction.

The urge to ascribe names to maker's marks is irresistible. The image of the creative artisan in his workshop as revealed by a maker's mark is, of course, now known to be almost completely false: maker's marks [sometimes termed 'Sponsor's marks'] might have belonged to the retailer of a piece, rather than the maker, or they might be the mark of a business owner with little or no involvement in the actual making of an article. Nevertheless, the fact that so many of the names relating to the marks are recorded in the registers of the assay offices is an endless enticement. It must also be admitted that the names of those 'makers' provide a focus for the collector and can be used, with care and caution, to gain historical insight.

'London Goldsmiths 1697-1837' written by Arthur Grimwade, first published in 1976, was therefore a work of monumental importance in the process of assigning names to marks on London assayed silver.¹ Grimwade's work divides the marks into ten sections with the bulk of the marks in 'Section I': the 'Registered Marks of Largeworkers and Smallworkers'. Other sections are devoted to 'Provincial Goldsmiths', 'Goldworkers', 'Bucklemakers', 'Spectaclemakers' and so on. One important section, 'III', comprises 'Unregistered Marks with Tentative Attributions.' The marks in this section were those observed on London silver and recorded by Sir Charles Jackson² and subsequently by Grimwade himself. Many of these marks would presumably have appeared in the now lost registers of the London Assay Office – the Smallworkers register for the period 1739-1758 and the Largeworkers register for the period 1758-1773. In the years since the publication of Grimwade's book, the tentative nature of the attributions has sometimes been forgotten.



Madeira Wine label, circa 1745, struck with 'RC' gothic mark [Grimwade 3767] and lion passant.



Reverse detail of Madeira label.

This essay is in part an attempt to correct two small misattributions of marks in the 'Unregistered' section of Grimwade's work and another linked mistake in the first section. Mark 3767, 'RC' in gothic uppercase letters, which he noted on a snuffbox of 1752, was assumed by Grimwade to be probably the mark of Robert Cox. Cox was a largeworker and, later, a refiner, whose mark appears struck on mugs, coffee pots, tankards and other articles of hollow-ware. Box-making was, however, a specialised trade which would seem to make Cox's an unlikely name to associate with the mark on the 1752 snuffbox. Moreover, the observation of a number of other boxes with the same maker's mark prior to 1752 absolutely precludes the possibility that Cox was the maker using that mark. Cox was, in fact, only made free as a Goldsmith and registered his first mark in 1752.

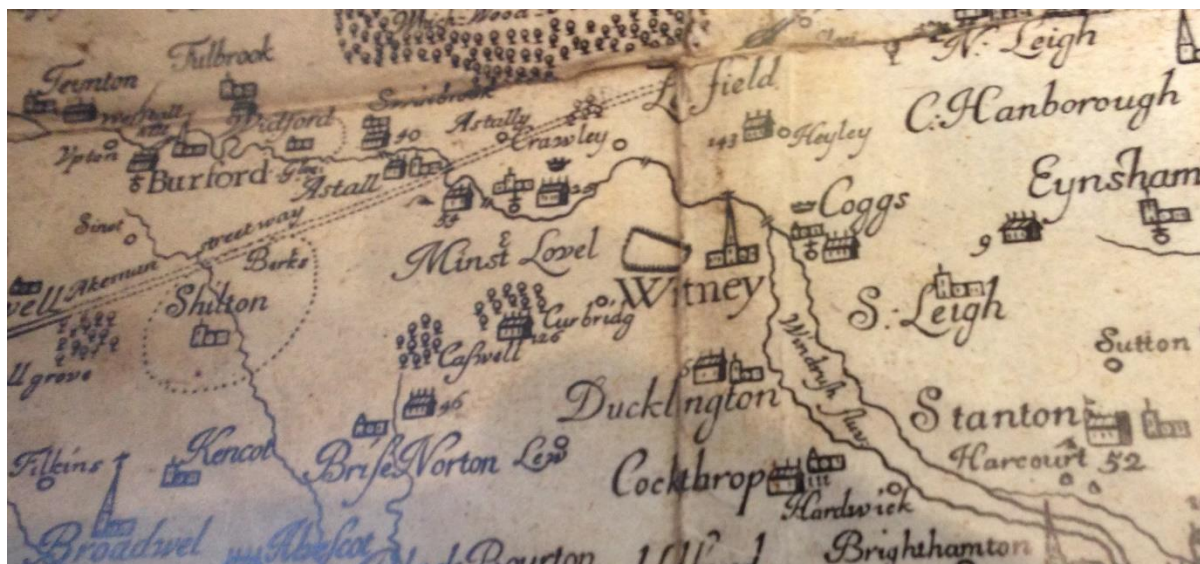
Two Robert Colliers from Witney.

The first evidence as to the maker who used the gothic 'RC' mark is provided by a contemporary newspaper.³ The 'Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser' of the 28th April 1767 carried the following notice:

'MARRIED. At St. Mary Whitechapel, Mr. James Phipps, goldsmith, to Mrs. Elizabeth Collier, widow of Mr. Robert Collier, snuffbox-maker and tipper, in Gutter-lane, Cheapside.'

Robert Collier had died twelve years earlier, intestate, and his burial is recorded in the registers of St. Vedast als Foster on the 7th December 1755, in the 'Church Yard Vault'⁴. Administration of his estate was granted in January 1756 to his widow, Elizabeth. Collier had been, in common with a number of other silver box makers, apprenticed to a Freeman of the Clockmakers' Company:

1730. Robert son of Robert Collyer of Witney, Oxon, apprenticed to Edward Horne, Citizen and Clockmaker of London, £25 apprenticeship premium⁵.



Map of the area around Witney, Oxfordshire.

The significance of James Phipps (I) was first observed in the 1950's by Sir Eric Sachs, a wine label collector who traced the very well-known family firm of smallworking silversmiths, Phipps and Robinson, back to James Phipps. Sachs wrote a number of articles on the subject which are summarised in the authoritative book 'Wine Labels 1730-2003'⁶ but, although he undertook research into the Phipps family genealogy, Sachs was unaware of the marriage of James Phipps (I) and the pattern of extended family relationships which that marriage reveals. Because Sachs knew nothing of Robert Collier, he made no comparison between the range of articles – wine labels, snuffboxes and silver mounted pieces – which James Phipps (I) made and related articles bearing the marks of Robert Collier. He was, of course, aware that James Phipps had been apprenticed to the Freeman and Goldsmith, William Pinnell, in 1741 and then turned over to Robert Collier, 'Clockmaker'.⁷

Robert Collier's parentage is not easy to trace. The Colliers were a long established and diverse family in Witney itself and in surrounding towns and villages. Several of the family branches of Colliers had sons named 'Robert' and, although the father of Robert Collier, 'Clockmaker' and silversmith by trade, is named as another 'Robert' in the tax records of the apprenticeship indenture

[see endnote 2], there is no mention of the occupation of the father which would enable his identity to be established. If it can be assumed that Robert Collier's apprenticeship to Edward Horne began when he was aged 14, then he would have been born in 1716. However, there is no baptism of a Robert Collier at that date in the parish registers of St. Mary's Witney - or if there was, it has not survived because baptisms, together with records of marriage and burial, are missing for that year⁸. Perhaps even more significant, because some members of the Collier family in and around Witney were 'dissenters', probably English Presbyterians, is the lack of documentation of the births of children to nonconformist families in the area in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Using indirect sources⁹, however, Robert Collier, 'Clockmaker' and silversmith, can be shown to be the youngest child of Robert Collier, clothier, and his wife, Anne, née Prior, of Ducklington, whom he had married in 1691.¹⁰ Robert Collier, senior, was a member of the Witney Company of Blanket Weavers from its first meeting in 1711 and Master of the Company in 1721¹¹ when its hall was built. He died and was buried at St. Mary's Witney on the 30th October 1723. His will, not proved until October 1724 by his widow, had been written in 1719 and it mentions Robert, one of nine children, of whom eight were under the age of twenty one at that date. Once the parentage of Robert Collier, the son, 'Clockmaker' and silversmith, is established, the pattern of subsequent relationships and events becomes clear.



Company of Blanket Weavers' Hall, High Street, Witney. Detail of arms.

Before examining these in more detail, the very understandable errors made by Grimwade in Section I of his work must be elaborated. Mark 2284, 'RC' in Roman uppercase letters, was entered in the Goldsmiths' Company registers on the 1st of February 1726/7, as a smallworkers' mark.¹² Grimwade then notes a further mark for the *same maker* 'with pellet between' on the 6th October 1737. Actually, Grimwade was wrong to assume that these marks belonged to one and the same maker. As others have realised,¹³ there was in fact *another* Robert Collier, also a smallworking silversmith, who operated in and near Gutter lane and whose career slightly overlapped that of Robert Collier, 'Citizen and Clockmaker' and silversmith by trade. *One* Robert Collier had entered his mark at Goldsmiths' Hall in 1726/7 and the *other Robert Collier* entered the 1737 and subsequent marks. *Both* Robert Colliers, it transpires, were from the district of Witney in Oxfordshire and, indeed, were almost certainly kinsmen.

Robert Collier, Buckle-maker.

On the 7th May 1719, Robert Collier, son of Timothy Collier, '*late of Bridge [Brize] Norton in the County of Oxon. Tallowchandler, deceased*', was apprenticed to Robert Elliott,¹⁴ freeman of the Leathersellers' Company of London and silver buckle-maker by trade. Elliott, the master, had been

born in Witney, just five miles from Brize Norton. The baptism of Robert 'Colliar' appears in the registers of St. Britius, Brize Norton, on the 7th November 1705.¹⁵

Timothy Collier, the father of Robert Collier, buckle-maker, died in 1707.¹⁶ By his second wife, Mary, he had four sons. In his will he asked his executors *'to apprentice my sd. three [younger] sons John Timothy & Robert to such Trades as they shall think convenient with some part of their respective Legacies according to their discretion.'* Three of the sons were apprenticed to London Livery Companies. The eldest of his four sons, George, was apprenticed in 1716 to Joshua Fletcher, Citizen and Mason of London, at that time working with the Taynton born mason, Edward Strong, in the construction of Blenheim Palace¹⁷. Timothy was apprenticed to Robert Younge in 1718, Citizen and Farrier of London.¹⁸ John became a carpenter in Burford.

Robert Collier, bucklemaker, took up his freedom as a member of the Leathersellers' Company on the 7th July 1726. He entered a smallworker's mark on the 1st of February 1726/7 in the register of the Goldsmiths' Company [Grimwade 2284]. A note beside the mark gives Collier's address then as 'Living in Gutter Lane', although his name does not appear in the Land Tax assessments for the lane. Collier took an apprentice, Henry Bance, son of Henry Bance, late Citizen and Goldsmith of London, on the 22nd of January 1727/8. He probably married a year later in February 1729/30¹⁹. 'Quarterage books' of the Leathersellers, recording the dues paid to the Company by its Freemen, show payments by Robert Collier from 1726 until 1730: he is described in these as 'near Goldsmiths Hall, silversmith'²⁰

At some date before the end of 1730, Robert Collier had moved. On Monday, January 11th, newspapers reported that on the previous Saturday, *'Mr. Collier, a Small Plate Worker and Buckle Maker in Bartholomew Close, being disordered in his Senses, cut his Throat almost from Ear to Ear in so dismal a manner that he died on the Spot.'*²¹ The parish registers for St. Bartholomew the Great on the 11th January have a scrawled entry for the burial of *'Robert Collier'*. A note beside Collier's name after 1730 in the Leathersellers' quarterage books reads *'Dead'* and below the registered marks of 1727/8 in the Goldsmiths' Company books the same word, *'Dead'*, has been added but without date.

Witney and London.

Although the authority of the City of London's Livery Companies began to decline in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the developing London economy drew numerous sons (and a few daughters)²² from throughout England to take apprenticeships. For many families there was thus established a connection of kinship and geographic origin between those who remained in the English hinterland and those who prospered in their occupations in a greater London comprising the city itself, the ancient 'liberties', Westminster and the surrounding villages, as they merged together.

Witney, just sixty miles from London, had its own source of prosperity in the broad cloth and blanket-making trade. The formation of the Company of Blanket Makers in Witney in 1711, with authority to regulate the trade within the town and over a twenty mile radius enabled the 'blanketters' to establish their own wholesale warehouses in the city of London, at first in Snow Hill, and then from 1727, in Goswell street near Aldersgate Bar. *'All sorts of Witney Goods, as Blankets, Shags, Curtings, Stripes, Flocks etc. are to be bought no-where... but at the said Warehouse.'*²³ On occasion, the Witney men would seek to increase their income by selling blankets retail within the city walls, thus contravening the city's trading restrictions and causing disputes with London's Company of Upholders with subsequent fines, often paid by the Witney Blanket Company.

By 1719, the Witney Company comprised 79 masters and 41 journeymen. Apprenticeships to the masters were regulated and recorded in the company's Court Books. Failure to comply with the Company's regulations entailed the payment of fines and attendance at Company meetings was compulsory, although allowance was made for 'long journeys' to Bristol and London. However, despite regulation and formalization, production continued to be localised, based upon small working units and dominated by familial enterprises. Unlike London, which drew in apprentices from the whole of the kingdom, the Witney Company took in apprentices from a relatively small geographic area. Apprenticeships to the company were restricted to try to ensure employment for existing journeymen.

Through the cloth and blanket trade, families in and around Witney thus established a particular relationship with London. Sons not apprenticed locally were sometimes apprenticed to the Weavers' and Clothiers' Companies in the City of London. Others entered a variety of other London trades from metal-working to brewing. Whilst, at the end of their careers, they did not usually retire to their place of birth, these sons retained a bond with it. The career of one brewer, Thomas Collier, from Fulbrook near Burford (who was not directly related either to the family of Timothy Collier or Robert Collier, clothier) serves to illustrate the connection sustained between a prosperous London tradesman and his place of birth. By his will, proved in 1661, Thomas Collier charged his brewery in Shoe lane, Holborn with a payment to the poor of St. Andrews Holborn of 52s a year in perpetuity and the poor of the Borough of Burford with the same sum.²⁴

The apprenticeships of the two Robert Colliers - Robert Collier, the son of Timothy, to Robert Elliott, 'Leatherseller' and buckle-maker; and Robert Collier, son of Robert Collier the clothier, to Edward Horne, 'Clockmaker' and silversmith - must therefore be seen as two events in a long-standing and ongoing connection between the district of Witney and London. Whilst, therefore, one purpose of this essay is to correct some small errors made by Grimwade in his attribution of the silver marks of the two Robert Colliers, another purpose is to attempt the larger task of teasing out the threads linking the family of Collier [and subsequently Phipps] in London and Witney through the course of the 18th century.

Robert Collier, 'Clockmaker' and silversmith.

Apprenticed on 29th June 1730,²⁵ on payment of £25, Robert Collier was not made free of the Clockmakers' Company until the 3rd April 1738²⁶. He had entered a smallworker's mark in the Goldsmiths' Company register some months before on the 6th October 1737. The register at the Company gives his address then as 'At Mr. Gorams in Gutter Lane': the premises of John Gorham, who worked in Gutter Lane from 1726 until his retirement in 1760²⁷. It would seem probable that Collier was an under-tenant of Gorham.²⁸

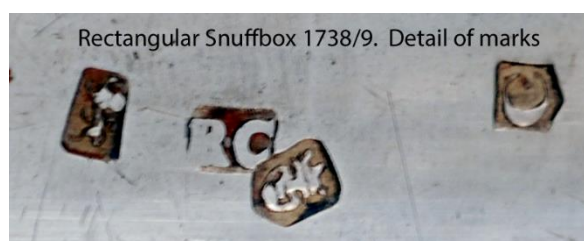
On the 31st January 1743/4, Collier married Elizabeth Smith by licence. In the marriage bond and allegation taken out just one day before, Robert Collier gave his age as 27, a bachelor of the parish of St. Vedast als Foster. His wife, Elizabeth, a spinster of the parish of St. Ann Blackfryers declared her age as 18 years²⁹. Collier's wife was the daughter of Thomas Smith, a Carpenter by City Company and a builder by trade. Smith was also one of the Common Councilmen of the City representing the ward of Farringdon within.

In the same year, Robert Collier moved into his own premises in Gutter lane. His house was on the west side of the lane adjacent to, or perhaps in, Dove-court, between Thomas Burn and Henry Cooke, and three houses away from Embroiders' Hall.³⁰ A number of children were born and

christened in the local church of St. Vedast als Foster: Robert was born on January 25th and baptised on February 5th 1744/5 but was buried on the 8th March of the same year; Anne was born on March 25th 1747 and baptized on the 29th but buried the same month; John, was born on December 5th 1748 and baptized on the 11th of the same month; another Robert was born on the 25th August and baptized on September 2nd, 1750 but died in infancy; and Thomas was born on September 2nd and baptised on the 24th in 1752. Of the two surviving sons, John was apprenticed in 1763 to Richard Manlove of the Upholders' Company but died less than a year later and was buried in the churchyard of St. Vedast³¹. Thomas lived to adulthood and became a shoemaker in Hackney road and later in Houndsditch.

Robert Collier took three apprentices. James Phipps was apprenticed to William Pinnell of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1741 but 'turned over' to Collier.³² Two years after Phipps had completed his term, Thomas Ogilvie became Collier's second apprentice but there is no record of him obtaining his freedom. A third apprentice, Samuel Barker, was apprenticed to Samuel Key, Goldsmith, in 1746 but turned over to Robert Collier and then turned over again to Joseph Barker, presumably a relation of Samuel.³³

Only three silver articles bearing the mark registered in 1737 by Collier have been noted: a rectangular hinged snuffbox of 1738 engraved with a conforming panel and stylised scrolling bell-flowers on the lid; a 'maker's mark only' oval hinged snuffbox of about the same year; and a finely chased oval tobacco box, with pull-off lid and inset agate panel, of 1738.³⁴



Rectangular Snuffbox 1738/9. Courtesy Stephen Kalms Antiques, London.

Collier, in compliance with the plate act of 1738, would have been required to enter a new mark in the registers of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1739. As a smallworker, he would have entered it into the new register and it is, of course, this register which is now missing. The newspaper reports of his death, quoted above, described him as a snuff-box maker and 'tipper'.³⁵ Given that he is known to have continued working in the period after 1739, it would seem certain that the gothic maker's mark, Grimwade 3767, which can be found on a small but clearly defined group of snuffboxes and wine labels, was entered in the register by Collier in, or after, 1739.

The fully-marked pieces bearing this mark, noted in the course of researching this essay comprise sixteen boxes as follows:³⁶

- 1) 1740/1. A cartouche or escutcheon-shaped Snuffbox, the cover inset with an agate panel, the base with a circular foot rim surrounding and engraved inscription 'HP/EF/1741'. Hallmarked in the base interior, which is gilt, 7 cm. long.³⁷
- 2) 1742/3. A Charles II carved boxwood Tobacco Box, the cover with the Royal arms, later mounted in silver, fully hallmarked inside.³⁸
- 3) 1743/4. A cartouche shaped Snuffbox, the lid inset with an agate panel. The cover border engraved with flowers and scrolls, the base plain, the interior gilt, 6.7cm wide.³⁹
- 4) 1743/4. A cartouche-shaped Snuffbox, marked in the gilt interior, the lid inset with a chased panel with scrollwork surrounding birds in a rural setting. Width 6.68 cm., depth 4.60cm., height 1.27cm , 0.5 inches deep⁴⁰
- 5) 1743/4. A cartouche-shaped Snuffbox, the lid inset with a chased panel of scrollwork surrounding birds in a rural setting.⁴¹
- 6) 1744/5. An oval Tobacco Box, the pull-off cover engraved with an armorial within foliate scroll mantling, the base inscribed 'GOLDWYER SARUM', length 9.3cm, approx. weight 3.2oz.⁴²
- 7) 1744/5. A cartouche-shaped Snuffbox, marked in the gilt interior, the lid inset with a chased sheet panel in relief depicting the goddess Diana.⁴³
- 8) 1745/6. A cartouche-shaped Snuffbox with agate panel in the lid and decorated with scrolled flat-chasing. 6.99 cm. wide.⁴⁴
- 9) 1747/8. A cartouche-shaped Snuffbox, marked in the gilt interior, the lid inset with a chased sheet panel of scrolls and shell with floral foliage within. 7cms. Wide. 1.35 oz.⁴⁵
- 10) 1747/8. A rectangular snuffbox, engraved with scenes of the Spectator Club, possibly by S. Ravenet.⁴⁶
- 11) 1750/1. A cartouche-shaped Snuffbox, silver-gilt, marked in the gilt interior, the lid inset with a chased panel of scrollwork surrounding birds in a rural setting. Width 7.1cm., height 2.5cm., depth 5.4cm, weight 1.9 oz.⁴⁷
- 12) 1752/3. An oval Tobacco Box with pull-off lid and reeded borders. Length 10.75 cms., width 8.5 cms., weight 5.5 oz.⁴⁸
- 13) 1752/3. A cartouche-shaped Snuffbox, the lid inset with a chased panel of scrollwork with fruit within.⁴⁹
- 14) 1753/4. A cartouche-shaped Snuffbox, marked in the gilt interior, the lid inset with a chased panel of scrollwork with a rural scene including birds within.⁵⁰
- 15) 1754/5. A rectangular hinged Tobacco Box, marked in the interior. Height 3cm, length 11cm, width 6.7cm, weight 1.5oz. The lid engraved with a coat-of-arms and the base engraved 'John Cam at the Sign of the Pump Bishopsgate Street London February ye 22 1755'.⁵¹
- 16) 1754/5. A cut-corner rectangular hinged Snuffbox, engraved in the manner of the 1730's with simple scrollwork, leafy flowering sprigs and shells. Later engraved with a coat of arms and the motto "GUITAVON", the base initialled & inscribed "WITHAM HOUSE, ESSEX. MODERATION". Length 6.6 cms; weight 1.7 oz.⁵²



Box 2 on list of fully marked boxes. 1742/3. Courtesy David Levy.



Box 7 on list of fully marked boxes. 1744/5. Courtesy Peter Van Oel.



Box 11 on list of fully marked boxes. 1750/1.



Fully marked Snuffbox 1754/5. [Example 16 in above list]. Courtesy Lawrences' Auctioneers, Crewkerne.

Apart from the fully marked pieces, (none of which are dated later than the year in which Collier is known to have died), a number of other articles bearing maker's mark and lion passant, or maker's mark only have been recorded. This group includes more cartouche-shaped snuffboxes: the lids either inset with an agate panel surrounded by a border of flat-chasing; or with the variations of chased panel as described above in the list of fully-marked cartouche-shaped boxes. The chased panels, although generally similar in theme to those from other workshops, appear to be specific in detail to Collier's workshop.



A Robert Collier Cartouche Snuffbox, Maker's Mark and Lion Passant circa 1750. [example 1].



Robert Collier Cartouche Snuffbox Maker's Mark and Lion passant circa 1750. [example 2].

At least seven other small boxes have been noted. These are cut-corner rectangular in form and are marked with a maker's mark only either inside or on the exterior of the base. Similar in shape to a Dutch 'Loddereindoosje', the exact purpose of these in English silver is uncertain but their use may, indeed, have been the same as the Dutch lodderein box: that is to say a 'Sponge Box' designed to contain a perfumed piece of sponge or cloth⁵³.



Two maker's mark only Sponge Boxes [1] left and [2] right.



Mark detail Sponge Box, [example 2 above right].

There are also wine labels, generally of escutcheon (or cartouche shape), which are sometimes plain but are more usually flat-chased with trailing vine and grape decoration. Those recorded so far are marked with a lion passant and a maker's mark. Two plain wine labels of an early deep crescent form, circa 1755, with pierced ears for the chain attachment are known. [See below]



Two early crescent form Wine Labels, circa 1755, Robert Collier.

One of the fully marked Snuffboxes listed above is engraved beneath with 'GOLDWYER SARUM'⁵⁴. It seems likely that this was the box noted by Grimwade as bearing mark '3770' in the 'Unregistered marks' section of his work. There is no doubt, having seen it, that Grimwade was mistaken and that this 1744/5 box has the usual gothic 'RC' mark, as used by Collier. Moreover, it is engraved not with 'Richard Goldwyer' – the name of a silversmith working in Oxford, who registered marks in 1753 and 1763 [Grimwade no. 3431 and 3432] – but simply with 'Goldwyer Sarum', who would appear to have been a surgeon and oculist working and living in Salisbury⁵⁵.

The gothic 'RC' maker's mark [3767] appears rather loosely drawn in Grimwade's illustration and the punch is depicted as a near lemniscate figure. However, the frame of the punch, as actually struck on boxes and labels, is somewhat squared-off at each end. The gothic 'C' has two vertical bars within the curve of the letter, rather than the single line shown by Grimwade.



Grimwade's drawing of mark.



1744/5 Cartouche Snuffbox, [example 7], Lid Mark.



Circa 1745 Escutcheon Wine Label.



1754/5 Cut corner rectangular Snuffbox, [example 16], marks struck on interior base.

A further mark, neither illustrated nor recorded by Grimwade, has been noted on a fully marked snuffbox of 1739, on a fully marked [the lid maker's mark only four times] snuffbox of 1740,⁵⁶ and on a maker's mark only 'scent box' of the type described above. This additional mark has a clear, though slightly rounded, rectangular frame and there are some detailed differences in the styling of the letters within. It would seem certain, nevertheless, that this was another punch struck by Collier in the period of the new smallworker's register of 1739, used either concurrently or consecutively.⁵⁷ There is a strong similarity in form and detail between the 1739/40 snuffbox and others marked by Collier's master, Edward Horne senior, and also a similarity between the 'scent box' struck with this punch and others struck with the deeply indented, figure of eight, punch [3767].



Rectangular RC mark on 1739/40 Snuffbox.



Rectangular RC mark on interior of maker's mark only 'Sponge Box [example 1 above], circa 1740.



Edward Horne Snuffbox, Maker's Mark only circa 1720.



Cut-corner rectangular Snuffbox of 1739/40 Robert Collier. See Detail of marks above. Image Courtesy of Woolley and Wallis, Auctioneers.

Elizabeth Collier, widow.

After the death of Robert Collier, his widow, Elizabeth, was left with two young sons. Her father, Thomas Smith, who died in 1757, recognised this fact by adding a codicil to his will. He left bequests to a daughter, Susanna, married to Edward Bowman⁵⁸, and to his daughter, Elizabeth Collier. Both daughters had received £200 as their 'marriage portion'. This sum was to be deducted from their inheritance of an equally shared 'moiety' of his estate, according to the usual practice within the City of London. The other moiety was to be left to their brother, Edward. In the will's codicil, however, Edward's share was to be reduced by £400, which sum would then be equally divided between Elizabeth's two sons, John and Thomas.

The land tax records for Gutter lane show that Elizabeth Collier⁵⁹ remained at the address at which she had lived with Robert until 1763.⁶⁰ Thereafter she moved into premises in the same lane previously occupied by Richard Binley.⁶¹ It must be concluded, therefore, that Elizabeth continued the business established by her husband. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that she took on an apprentice in 1764, Charles Nutt.⁶² Nutt was apprenticed initially to Elizabeth's brother-in-law, John Winning, and then turned over to her.

If any mark was registered by Elizabeth Collier with the Goldsmiths' Company, whilst she pursued her former husband's trade, it would have been entered in the missing smallworkers register. Intriguingly, there is a small group of recorded wine labels struck with an 'EC' mark, either on its own, or in conjunction with a lion passant mark, as struck by the London assay office after May 1756. These labels have, in the past, been attributed to Elizabeth Cooke,⁶³ as 'the widow of Thomas Cooke (II)'⁶⁴. In fact, that cannot be correct because Thomas Cooke did not have a widow. There was indeed an Elizabeth Cooke, [Grimwade 552 and perhaps 3538], who entered her mark in 1764 from an address in Foster lane but neither of these marks is the same as the mark struck on the wine labels. The probability that the 'EC' wine labels were indeed marked by Elizabeth Collier is reinforced by the fact that at least two of the labels were sold as part of a group that included conforming labels by James Phipps (I), who, from 1767, became the second husband of Elizabeth Collier. The

same 'EC' mark has also been noted on a snuffbox, of late cartouche form with a chased panel ornamented with a bird amidst scrollwork conforming to a pattern of decoration that appears on a number of Robert Collier snuffboxes. The snuffbox is maker's mark only but the mark must surely be that of Elizabeth Collier.



'EC' mark on maker's mark only 'Mountain' label of circa 1765.



'Mountain' label, circa 1765 [detail of mark left]. Private Collection.



Port escutcheon Label 'EC', circa 1760. Courtesy Steppes Hill Farm Antiques.



Port escutcheon label, detail of marks.



Maker's mark only Snuffbox, 'EC', circa 1760. Courtesy Bonham's Auctioneers. Above: detail of mark as struck on gilt interior lid and base of 'EC' Snuffbox.



On close examination, the 'EC' marks, appearing, as noted on wine labels, sometimes in conjunction with a London lion passant and sometimes as a maker's mark only, can be seen to fall into two versions. The first, struck on the reverse of the 'Mountain' wine label above, is a bold uppercase Roman type 'EC' in a rectangular punch with triangular cusps between the 'E' and the 'C'. The second, struck on the reverse of the 'Port' wine label above, has somewhat cruder letters and the cusp in the base of the (probably damaged) punch extends into the base of the letter 'E'.

Both versions of the 'EC' mark appear also struck on a series of maker's mark only Freedom boxes from the Borough of Plymouth. Simple round silver boxes, with a domed central panel engraved with the arms of the borough set into the pull-off lid, these boxes are part of a series of

freedom boxes presented by the borough and recorded in the Borough Receiver's accounts. Twenty nine such boxes are recorded in the years 1741 to 1764 when the local Quaker goldsmith, Joseph Collier, acted as Borough Steward. Of the twenty nine, one survives - that presented to Admiral Durell in 1762 – with its original seal inside. The box is now in the Plymouth Museum and is struck with 'version two' of the 'EC' mark as seen below.⁶⁵



Mark on Admiral Durell's Freedom Box, 1762. [Courtesy Plymouth City Museum].

Another freedom box, of exactly the same type, is in a private collection, now published and illustrated, but lacks the original seal.⁶⁶ It is struck with 'version one' of the 'EC' mark. The engraved lid of a third example [see images below] survives struck also with 'version one' of the mark.



Engraved lid with arms of the Borough of Plymouth.



Maker's mark of Elizabeth Collier [version two] struck under the Freedom box lid above.

These Freedom boxes are a puzzle. More may survive. Clearly, Joseph Collier 'was the provider' of the boxes and 'subcontracted the work'. Clearly, the marks are those of a London maker since they are precisely the same marks as those used in conjunction with a London lion passant on a number of wine labels. Moreover, it seems certain, as argued above, that the marks are those of Elizabeth Collier, widow of Robert, in the period between Robert's death in 1755 and her marriage to James Phipps in 1767. Obviously, a connection is suggested between Joseph Collier of Plymouth and the Colliers of Witney and London. But there does not appear to be a familial link. Joseph Collier was the son of Jonathan Collier of Grindle, in Colyton Rawleigh, Devon. No link can be established between the Colliers of Grindle and those of Witney and London. The connection may simply have been a business one between a London box-maker and the Plymouth goldsmith and the coincidence of surname no more than that. If Robert Collier had supplied Joseph Collier with the Plymouth freedom boxes presented in the years 1750 to 1755 none have, so far, been recorded as surviving. Nor have the three gold boxes survived for which Joseph Collier was paid [1751/2 presented to Lord Anson; 1757/8 presented to Prince Edward; 1761/2 presented to the Duke of York].

John Winning, silver turner and warehouseman.

In 1739, Robert Collier's sister, Martha, had married John Winning, the son of Thomas, a yeoman farmer from Highworth in Wiltshire. The marriage did not produce any children but Winning's prosperous career shaped the lives of a number of nieces and nephews in his extended family. Christened on the 22nd June 1716⁶⁷, John was the youngest of four sons and he was apprenticed in 1730 to John Ruffin, Citizen and Goldsmith, by occupation a silver turner.⁶⁸ John Winning took his freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company on the 9th January 1739 and he married Martha Collier at St. Andrew Undershaft on the 9th of December in the same year. The licence bond and allegation describes John Winning as a bachelor of the parish of St. Mary Staining and Martha, 24, as a spinster of St. Leonard, Foster lane.⁶⁹ In 1739, also, Winning took premises in Staining Lane next door to John Foxall, the silver refiner, and a few houses from his former master, John Ruffin. He remained at this address until 1742, when he moved across to Foster Lane.

Winning's addresses in Staining Lane and then in Foster Lane would suggest that he followed the trade into which he had been apprenticed: that of a silver-turner⁷⁰. He would therefore have

worked on the foot rims and finials of pieces of hollow-ware as well as on candle and tapersticks, all of which were wholly or partly turned clean after assembly. The friendship that he formed with John Cafe, the candlestick specialist, who made Winning, (with Marmaduke Daintrey), an executor and trustee in his will of 1757, was almost certainly the consequence of a trading connection. As John Cafe's joint executor Winning was responsible for turning over Cafe's two apprentices, John Perry and Thomas Hannam, to his brother, William Cafe.

In 1744, however, Winning moved away from the vicinity of Goldsmiths' Hall and took a shop on the north side of St. Paul's Churchyard. He then began an entirely new trade, presumably using his wife's family connections, selling '*All Sorts of Whitney Blankets, Flocks, Quilts, Rugs, Coverlets and White Cotton Counter-Pains, Feathers, West Country Bed Ticks & Ticking, Mattresses, and Ironing Cloaths, Kedderminster Wilton and Turkey Carpets. Wholesale & Retail at Reasonable Rates.*'⁷¹ The move may have been connected to the sale of the Lease of his house in Foster Lane by the freeholders, the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, which was advertised in newspapers in April 1744. Twelve houses were to be auctioned as one lot and they included '*Two Houses in Foster-lane, lett to Mr. William Kidney and Mr. John Winning on Lease at 12l. each, free from all Taxes.*'

He remained at the same shop, which later became number 58, St. Paul's Churchyard, until sometime in 1778 when he and his wife retired to High Wycombe in Buckinghamshire. Winning died there in 1780 and his widow, Martha, in 1797. Winnings' substantial estate, including £4,125 in three per cent Consolidated Bank Annuities, was later the matter of a Court dispute between the beneficiaries⁷² but the numerous gifts to nephews and nieces reveal the extent to which Winning had used his trade connections to arrange marriages for his, and his wife's, relatives and to provide business opportunities for them. When Marmaduke Daintrey's first wife died, it was Martha Winning's niece, Sarah Piercy, who became his second. And when Winning retired from business in 1778, it was Sarah's brother, Robert Piercy, who took over his shop in partnership with another of Martha's relatives by marriage.

Robert Piercy had been apprenticed to the specialist caster maker, Samuel Wood, in March 1750 and he was made free of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1757. In 1761 he took over his former master's workshop in Foster Lane and he remained at the same address until 1779 when he took over Winning's shop in St. Paul's Churchyard⁷³. Thereafter Piercy stylised himself as a 'Warehouseman' in a move which mirrored that of his uncle from silversmith to carpet and blanket dealer.⁷⁴ Piercy's partner in this venture was Edward Smith, the younger brother of his aunt, Elizabeth, widow of Robert Collier and then wife of James Phipps.

Smith was an Upholder and had been apprenticed to Charles Westwood in 1757 – to whom another Witney man, William Coxeter, was apprenticed in 1760. In turn, in 1774, Smith took on as an apprentice William Shuffrey, the great nephew of Robert Collier. Shuffrey was later turned over to Mary Phipps, the widow of James Phipps' brother, Abraham. When he died in 1792, Smith left the control of his half of the partnership to Robert Piercy and apart from some small bequests, including £10 to Thomas Collier, the surviving son of Elizabeth, the whole of his estate was left to the two daughters of Robert Piercy – Frances and Elizabeth.⁷⁵

Piercy died just five years after his erstwhile partner, the death recorded in the 'Monthly Magazine, or British Register' for June 1797: '*At Tidmarsh [Berkshire], Mr. R. Piercy of St. Paul's Church-yard, London*'. Piercy had evidently retired from his business a short time before and an advertisement in 'The Times' of May 12th 1797 gave notice of an auction of:

'Carpeting and Upholstery Articles, By Mr. Winstanley, On the Premises, No. 58, the North Side of St. Paul's Church-Yard, This Day, at 11 o'clock, The remaining STOCK in TRADE of Mr. ROBERT PIERCY, declining Business; consisting of an Assortment of excellent Turkey, Brussels, Wilton and Scotch Carpets, some of which are of large dimensions; three-quarter Brussels and Wilton Piece and Stair Carpeting, white Cotton Counterpanes, fine Cotton and Witney Blankets, from 8-4ths to 16-4ths; Hearth Carpets, Mattresses, a quantity of Flocks, and various other Articles in the Upholstery Line. Also a few Lots of Household Furniture...'

As relatives of Martha Winning, therefore, Robert Piercy and Edward Smith had benefitted from the business success and connections of John Winning. But the interests of Winning's own side of the family were also furthered. In 1752, Winning took on his nephew, James Matthews, as an apprentice; in 1753, Winning's niece, Susanna Matthews, married the Goldsmith and engraver, Butler Clowes⁷⁶; his nephew, Thomas Reason [sometimes spelt Raison], was apprenticed in 1758 to William Cafe; in 1773 his niece, Mary Winning, married the Goldsmith and 'salesman', John Davenport; and his niece, Alice, married the former apprentice of John and William Cafe, John Perry.⁷⁷ All of these nieces and nephews, together with a number of others not associated with the Goldsmiths' Company, received small bequests in John Winning's Will. Another bequest, of £100, went to Elizabeth Firth, the daughter of Thomas Welder, the silversmith, (and grand-daughter of Samuel Welder, the caster maker), although she does not appear to have been a relative of Winning.

The brothers James and Samuel Phipps.

No mention is made in the wills of John Winning, or of his widow, Martha, of the Phipps family. Nor is there any evidence of a relationship between the Colliers and the Phipps family prior to the apprenticeship of James Phipps to Robert Collier in 1741. Thereafter, however, there began a series of connections with the Colliers of Witney spanning at least fifty years. One reason for the ongoing links may have been a shared nonconformist religion: Robert Collier, Clothier, of Witney was probably a nonconformist and almost certainly his children followed their father's religious beliefs. The Phipps family were English Presbyterians, the sons of a silk-thrower from Whitechapel. They worshipped at the Presbyterian Chapel in Great Alie street, Goodman's Fields.⁷⁸

James Phipps completed his apprenticeship and obtained his freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company in March 1749. Two months earlier, he had married Jane [the register has 'Jen'y'], the daughter of Anthony Hale, in the chapel of St. George's Mayfair⁷⁹. The chapel registers give the address of both bride and groom as St. Vedast's Foster lane. After the marriage, James and Jane moved back to Whitechapel - James presumably working as a journeyman out-worker, living from 1750 to 1754 on the east side of Lambert street, next door to William Phipps, James's brother. A daughter, Ann, was born at that address on the 31st May 1752.⁸⁰

On the 8th May 1755, Phipps registered a mark at Goldsmiths' Hall in partnership with William Bond, giving the address as Foster lane. The partnership was certainly short-lived and remains something of a mystery. William Bond, the son of a citizen and Carpenter, had been apprenticed to David Hennell in 1743 and obtained his freedom in April 1752. He entered two marks on his own as a largeworker in July 1753.

A few pieces have appeared at auction apparently bearing the mark of Bond in partnership with Phipps prior to the date on which their mark was entered: for example 'a George II silver beer

jug, probably by William Bond and James Phipps (I), London 1753'; and 'a George III silver coffee pot by William Bond & James Phipps, London 1752'.⁸¹ Whilst these may be misattributions, a somewhat crude skewer of 1754 has a clear mark for the partnership.



Skewer, London 1754, James Phipps and William Bond. Overall length 29.7 cm.

By 1756 the partnership had probably ended⁸². William Bond's name appears in 'Read's Weekly Journal', for 23rd October 1756, in an advertisement for Woodward and Hunt, Surgeons of Piccadilly:

'To Mr. Woodward and Mr. Hunt, Surgeons, At the King's-Arms near Half Moon-street, Piccadilly.

Gentlemen,

From a late particular Knowledge of your great Skill and Generosity in Curing William Humphrys Gratis, who was violently afflicted with a dangerous Rupture from his Birth. Cures of this Kind ought to be publickly known to the World; we therefore take this Opportunity of returning you our sincere Thanks, in Behalf of him, for his safe and speedy Cure, by the Assistance of your Medicines and Bandages. The Truth of which we are ready and willing to Certify to any who shall make Enquiry, he being now entirely well, and are,

Gentlemen,

*Your most obedient humble Servants,
William Bond, Goldsmith, in Foster-lane.*

Michael Bennet of Highgate.

Mrs. Humphrys of Highgate.'

On the 24th February 1755, a son, Thomas, was born to James and Jane Phipps, living in Staining street, St. John Zachary.⁸³ Then, on the 21st of December 1756, another son, John, was baptised 'at Great Ayliffe Street Chapel, of the Protestant Dissenting Congregation, William Prior the Pastor'⁸⁴. There is no record of any other children after this date and, indeed, there is a ten year gap in the evidence of James Phipps' life between the end of 1756 and 1767 when he married his old master's widow, Elizabeth Collier. Moreover, the date of the death and burial of his first wife, Jane, has not been traced.

Meanwhile, James Phipps' younger brother, Samuel, born in 1730, was apprenticed as a silver-turner to John Winning in 1745. James Phipps at this date was still apprenticed to Robert Collier, the brother-in-law of Winning. Samuel Phipps' apprenticeship was funded '*in consideration of £8 of the Charity of the Society of Working Goldsmiths*', an indication of the relative poverty of the Phipps family. This society had been meeting annually for at least ten years, the '*General Evening Post*' of the 13th of November 1735 noting that:

*'On Thursday was held the Annual Feast of the Working Goldsmiths, when a Sermon was preach'd before them at St. Laurence's Church, by the Rev. Mr. Barnes of St. Bride's; after Sermon they had an elegant Dinner at their Hall in Foster Lane; and after Dinner they collected about 40l. for putting poor Boys out Apprentice, as usual.'*⁸⁵

Upon completion of his apprenticeship, Samuel Phipps remained in Staining Lane and took up the trade of silver-turning. At some date between 1752 and 1755, Samuel married another Collier from Witney – Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward Collier, tailor.⁸⁶ It has not been possible to establish a relationship between Edward Collier and Robert Collier, the master of James Phipps, but it would seem almost certain that they were connected. Edward Collier was probably baptised at St. Mary Witney on the 10th May 1699, perhaps the son of Edward and Denise Collier of South Leigh.⁸⁷ He married, in 1723, Mary Minchin, daughter of a local Quaker family and Elizabeth was one of three daughters of this marriage.

Samuel Phipps and his wife, Elizabeth, had at least three children. A daughter, Elizabeth, was born in Staining lane on the 19th January 1756⁸⁸. A son, John, was born in 1759 and was buried, aged four, on the 14th December 1763. Another daughter, Ann, was born on the 6th June 1764, also in Staining lane.⁸⁹ In due course, both of these daughters married their cousins: Elizabeth married Thomas Phipps, the son of James Phipps, by licence, at St. Vedast's Foster lane on the 22nd September 1778; Ann married Richard Collier, the son of her uncle, William Collier, both blanket-weavers in Witney, on the 15th October 1787, also at St. Vedast's Foster lane.

James Phipps had evidently returned to Whitechapel by the time of his second marriage: he is described in the marriage bond as a widower and goldsmith of St. Mary Whitechapel. Three weeks after his marriage on the 22nd April 1767, having moved into his wife's premises in Gutter lane, James Phipps entered his first mark on his own at the Goldsmiths Company [14th May 1767]. The mark is to be found struck on wine labels and boxes but it appears also on an extended range of other small-work, sometimes silver-mounted wood or nut, often as maker's mark only without full assay marks. Phipps' second marriage lasted only two years and Elizabeth died at the end of August 1769, her death reported in the '*Whitehall Evening Post*', which described her as '*the wife of Mr. Phipps, an eminent Silversmith in Gutter-lane.*'



An oval Snuffbox, London 1772, James Phipps, with gilt interior: the lid inset with a repoussé panel depicting Aphrodite and Adonis. Dimensions: 3.60cm x 9cm x 6cm.



Oval Snuffbox illustrated above. Detail of marks.

Much of the subsequent history of the Phipps' family business has been narrated elsewhere.⁹⁰ Three apprentices were taken by Phipps in this period: the first, his son, Thomas, on the 5th April 1769; the second, Edward Robinson, son of a tailor in the Little Minories, London, on the 7th October 1772; the third, John Miller, in 1776⁹¹ – the year that James Phipps moved a short distance from the premises he had occupied since 1767 to number 40, Gutter lane. This property had been previously occupied by the silversmith, Francis Crump, listed in the London Gazette in 1776 as a bankrupt.⁹² Phipps' new neighbour was Charles Sherborn, engraver⁹³. It was Sherborn who had engraved the trade card of John Winning [above].

On the 20th May 1783, James' daughter, Ann, married his erstwhile apprentice, Edward Robinson, and shortly afterwards James Phipps announced his intention to retire from silver-smithing and the dissolution of his partnership with his son, Thomas:

'London, June 30, 1783

Whereas the Partnership between James Phipps and Thomas Phipps, of Gutter lane, London, Goldsmiths, is this Day dissolved, the said James Phipps having quitted Business; It will in future be carried on by Thomas Phipps and Edward Robinson at the House in Gutter lane aforesaid. All Persons having Demands on the said Partnership are desired to send in their Accounts directly to the said Thomas Phipps in order to be settled, and such Persons who are indebted to the said Partnership are requested to pay the same.

James Phipps

*Tho. Phipps.'*⁹⁴

A few days later, on the 8th July, Thomas Phipps and Edward Robinson entered a new mark as partners at Goldsmiths' Hall. The firm appears from that date in the tax assessments for the street as 'Thomas Phipps & Co.' James Phipps lived until 1799 in retirement in Islington, living near his brother, Samuel, who died in 1794.⁹⁵ James left no will but his death was noted in the 'Morning Chronicle' of the 29th November:

*'On Tuesday, at Islington, Mr. James Phipps, formerly of Gutter-lane, Goldsmith.'*⁹⁶

Thomas Collier, Goldsmith.

Yet another member of the Collier family from Witney trained as a silversmith in London. Thomas Collier, the son of Robert Collier, Brasier, of Witney was apprenticed to Jacob Marsh on the 12th October 1746. He obtained his freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company in January 1754 and entered his own mark some few months later as a largeworker in Foster Lane. An attempt to trace any articles struck with his mark [Grimwade 2715] has, thus far, proved fruitless. A petition in the archives of the Goldsmiths' Company dated 27th April 1757 explains why so little appears to survive with his mark:

'Then was presented the Petition of Thomas Collier late Working Silversmith in Foster Lane and he being called in his Petition was read setting forth that about the 12th day of February last he sent to the Assay Office a pair of silver candlesticks to be Assayed and Marked which contained an undue Quantity of Soder: That he is far from vindicating such practices but that they were the first Candlesticks he had made since he set up for himself, and that he has already been severely punished for his Fault by being obliged to quit the Silver Trade and seek his Bread in another Employment; And promising never to ingage again in the business of a Silversmith, he prayed the Court to accept of his humble Acknowledgement and Concern for his Offence and to overlook the Crime and he being withdrawn the Question was proposed and put that the said offence of the said Thomas Collier be overlooked and it was carried in the affirmative.'

Thomas Collier had married at St. Andrew Holborn on 12th September 1754, Mary Marsh of that parish – possibly a relative of his former master⁹⁷. He wrote his will just over a year later on the 3rd November 1755 leaving all his effects to his wife and making her the sole executrix. The will was eventually proved in 1781 by his widow, Mary. Despite his earlier petition to the Goldsmiths' Company, it is possible that Collier did resume work as a silversmith: a Thomas Collier of Giltspur Street, West Smithfield, entered a mark as a smallworker on the 10th June 1768 [Grimwade p.284] and was listed at that address in the Parliamentary Committee report of 1773.

Thomas Collier's father, Robert, had died a year after he was apprenticed to Jacob Marsh. Robert left his home in Witney to his son, together with his brasiery tools should Thomas choose to follow his occupation [although, of course, Thomas had already begun his apprenticeship as a silversmith]. In his will, Robert refers to his second wife, Ann, whom he had married in February

1742. Ann had also been married before. She was, in fact, the sister of Robert Elliott, master of Robert Collier, the buckle-maker and smallworker who had committed suicide in 1730.

Ann Elliott had married her first husband, Edward Terrill, also of Witney, at Oxford in 1721. Although they had a number of children, only one, Edward, survived into adulthood. This son was apprenticed to his uncle, Robert Elliott, in 1738 – turned over after having been initially apprenticed to Brian Marriott, a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company⁹⁸. Terrill was made free of the Goldsmiths' Company on the 31st July 1745 and was made a Liveryman of the Company just five years later. It was therefore he and not Thomas Collier who put his name to a newspaper advertisement for the sale of the effects of his step-father in April 1749:

'To be SOLD Cheap, At Witney in Oxfordshire, ALL the Stock in Trade of the late Mr. Robert Collier, Brasier and Pewterer, deceas'd, consisting of almost all Sorts of Coppers, Brass, Pewter and Tin Wares, with a Set of useful working Tools. The House, and a good accustom'd Shop, with good Conveniences for carrying on the above Trades, to be Lett at an easy Rent. Enquire at the said House at Witney; or of Mr. Edward Terrill, Goldsmith, in Gutter-Lane, Cheapside, London.'

Edward Terrill gave his address as Gutter Lane and it would appear that he took on the premises of his uncle, Robert Elliott, and pursued the trade of a silver buckle-maker there. The shop was known by the sign of the 'Star and Buckle'. However, Terrill died in May 1751, only two years after his step-father and was buried at St. Mary's Witney, recorded in the registers there as *'Edward Tyril from London.'*

*'Wednesday died, at his House in Gutter-Lane, Mr. Tyrrel, an eminent Working Silversmith; who was to have been married in a few Days to a young Lady of Somersetshire.'*⁹⁹

An advertisement appeared in the 'Daily Advertiser' on the 17th June:

*'Thomas Justis, Working Silversmith, of Wall-Yard, Little Britain, having taken the shop of the late Mr. Edward Terril, the Star and Buckle in Gutter Lane, where he the said T. Justis serv'd Mr. Robert Elliot upwards of seven Years, begs that all Gentlemen who have been used to deal there, will favour him with their Orders, which he hopes to execute to their full Satisfaction.'*¹⁰⁰



Maker's mark struck on a Shoe Buckle of circa 1750, perhaps the mark of Edward Terrill. Image Courtesy of Clive Taylor.

Robert Elliott, arguably the most successful London silversmith to have come from Witney, died in 1760, leaving a small legacy to his sister's 'son in law', Thomas Collier. The Whitehall Evening Post recorded his death on the 19th April:

'Last Saturday died at Clapton Mr. Robert Elliott one of the Common Councilmen for the ward of Cripplegate Within. He was formerly a Silver Bucklemaker in Gutter Lane but having acquired a plenteous fortune he retired from Trade some years ago.'

A memorial to Robert Elliott was placed in St. Mary's Church in Witney:

'SACRED To the Memory of Mr. Robert Elliott, Citizen of London, Who died Apr. 19, 1760, Aged 66 Years, And lies buried there in St. Ann's Church Near ALDERSGATE. After being retired from Business, Which He had long carried on With great industry and Reputation, He spent the residue of his life In a gratefull enjoyment of that affluence With which GOD had blessed him; And in relieving and assisting those Who were Intitled to his Compassion... In the last Disposal of his Effects He was not unmindful of the POOR of THIS TOWN, where he was born; Nor an illiberal Contributor Towards the beautifying of THIS CHURCH, Where he was by Baptism made A Member of CHRIST.'

Conclusion.

This essay has sought to correct some small errors in Grimwade's work on London goldsmiths and at the same time to follow the extended relationships between the Collier and Phipps families. Necessarily, and unashamedly, there is much genealogical detail. The sifting and verification of genealogical evidence is an essential part of the process of correctly identifying maker's marks. Some surnames are, of course, more challenging than others. A recent study was concerned with George Smith II, the prosperous bucklemaker and smallworking silversmith, born in Witney in 1739 and apprenticed in 1753 to the Goldsmith John Eaton - before being 'turned over' to his uncle, Samuel Eaton of the Leathersellers' Company [himself an apprentice of Robert Elliott].¹⁰¹ In this instance too, Grimwade had conflated two silversmiths of the same name working in London.

From a broader perspective, if the Collier family and their connections are in any sense typical, then a picture emerges of a developing London economy composed of a multiplicity of families finding employment within the London area but still retaining connections formed in their places of birth through successive generations. Those that prospered in London and lived into old age [and few of the Colliers concerned in this study did so] shared some of their prosperity with the towns and villages from which they came: either by providing for the poor through charitable bequests, or by enabling apprenticeships and employment within London for their relations.

Part of the thesis of this essay is that there was a particular and substantial contribution to the development of eighteenth century London by the apprentices drawn from the area in and around Witney and also from the trading relations of the Witney blanket weavers with London. Whilst the focus has been on the Collier family, there were certainly other families from the Witney area, involved in many different trades, which could usefully be examined in greater detail.¹⁰² And beyond the Witney area, there were undoubtedly many other towns and villages which had their own special links with London over an extended period.¹⁰³ London was a city of immigrants and migrants. There have been fascinating studies of communities of German, Italian and French immigrants within 17th and 18th century London. Just as interesting would be a series of studies of migrants to London which focused on the links between families from particular towns and villages within the United Kingdom and whether and how those links were sustained over time.



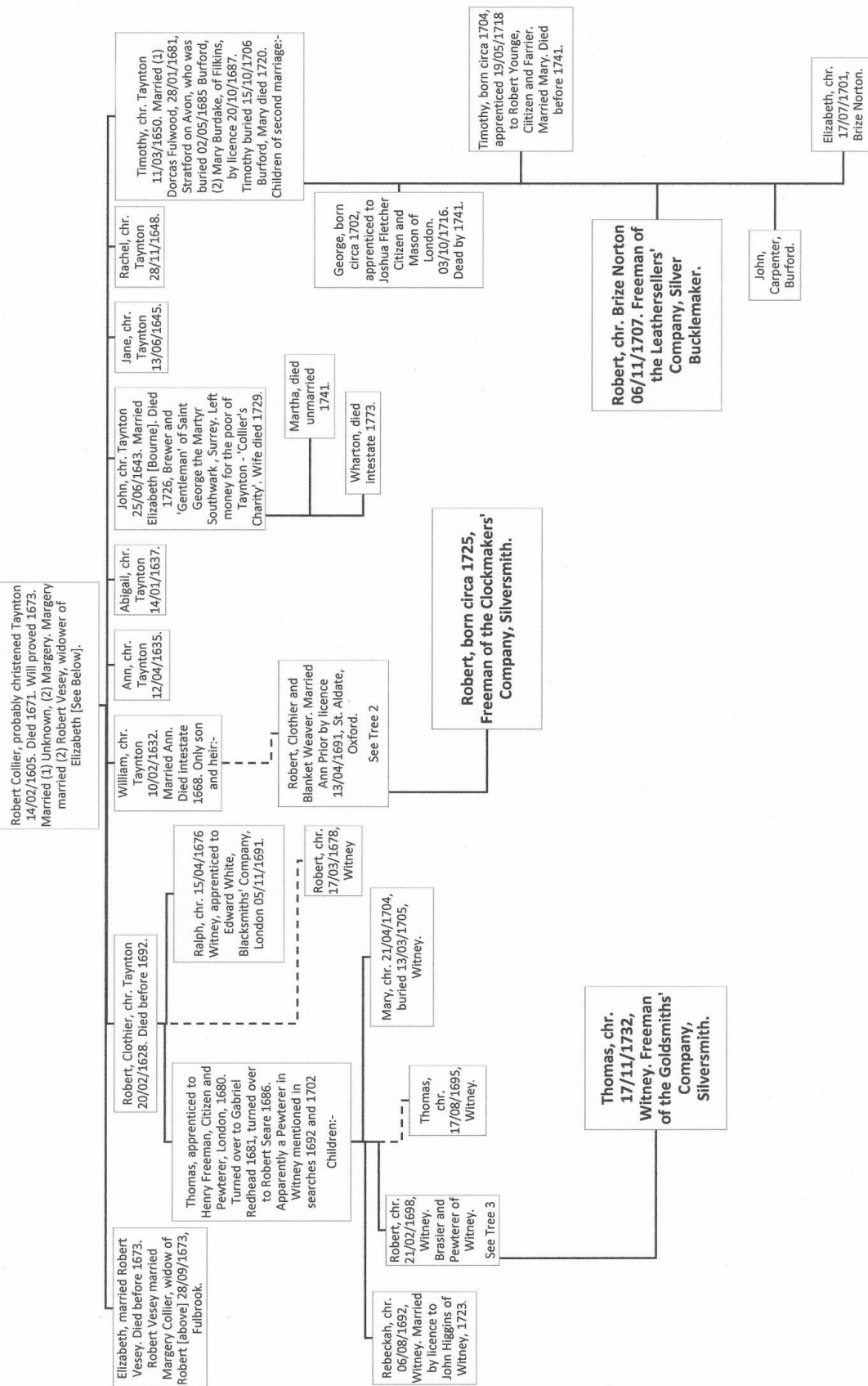
Silver-mounted nut Milk Jug, Phipps and Robinson, 1796. Height 15.1 cm.



Vase-shaped Nutmeg Grater, London 1809, Phipps and Robinson. Height 7.3 cm.

Tree 1.

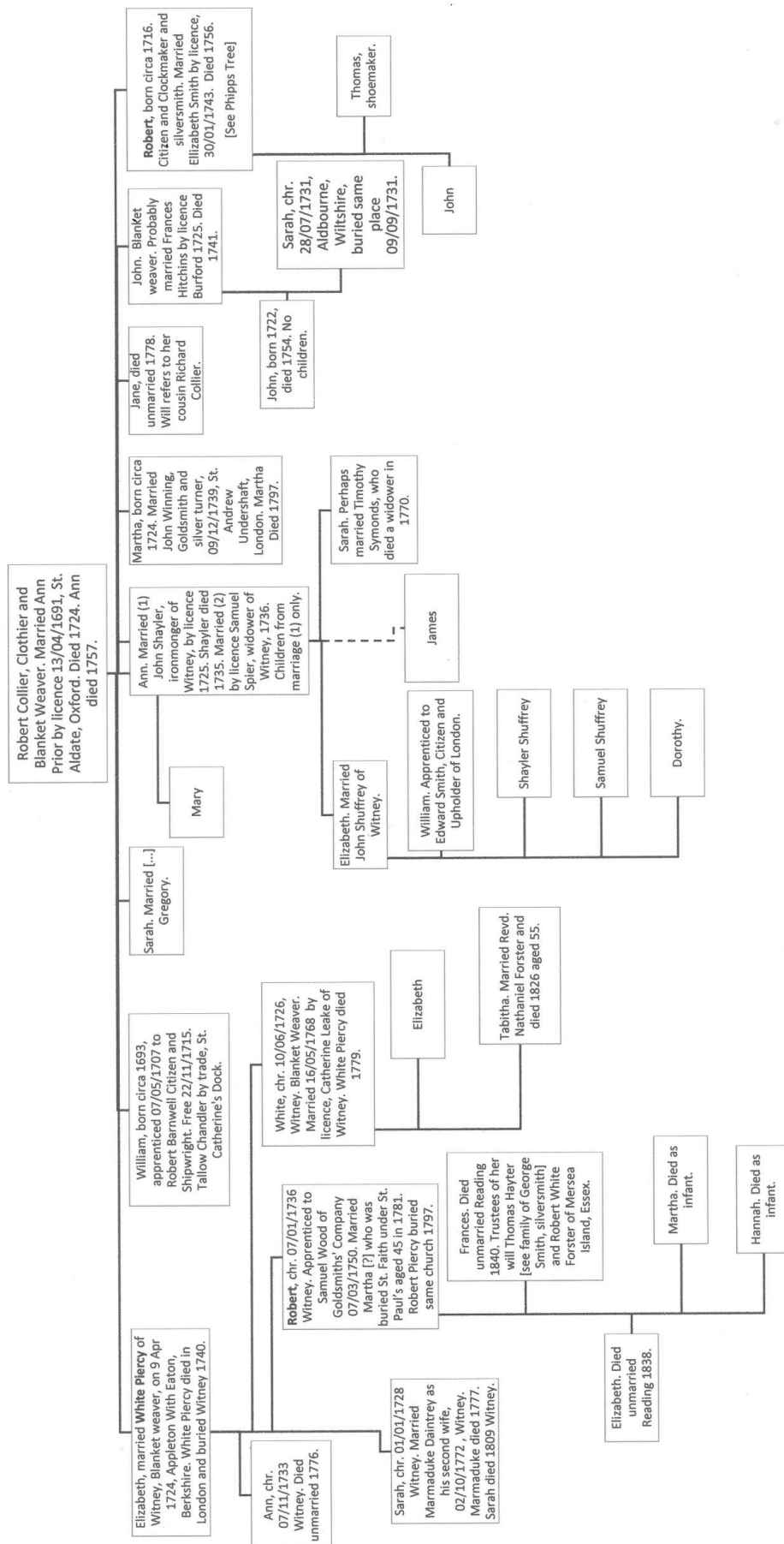
Collier of Taynton.



Broken lines denote probable but not proven relationships.

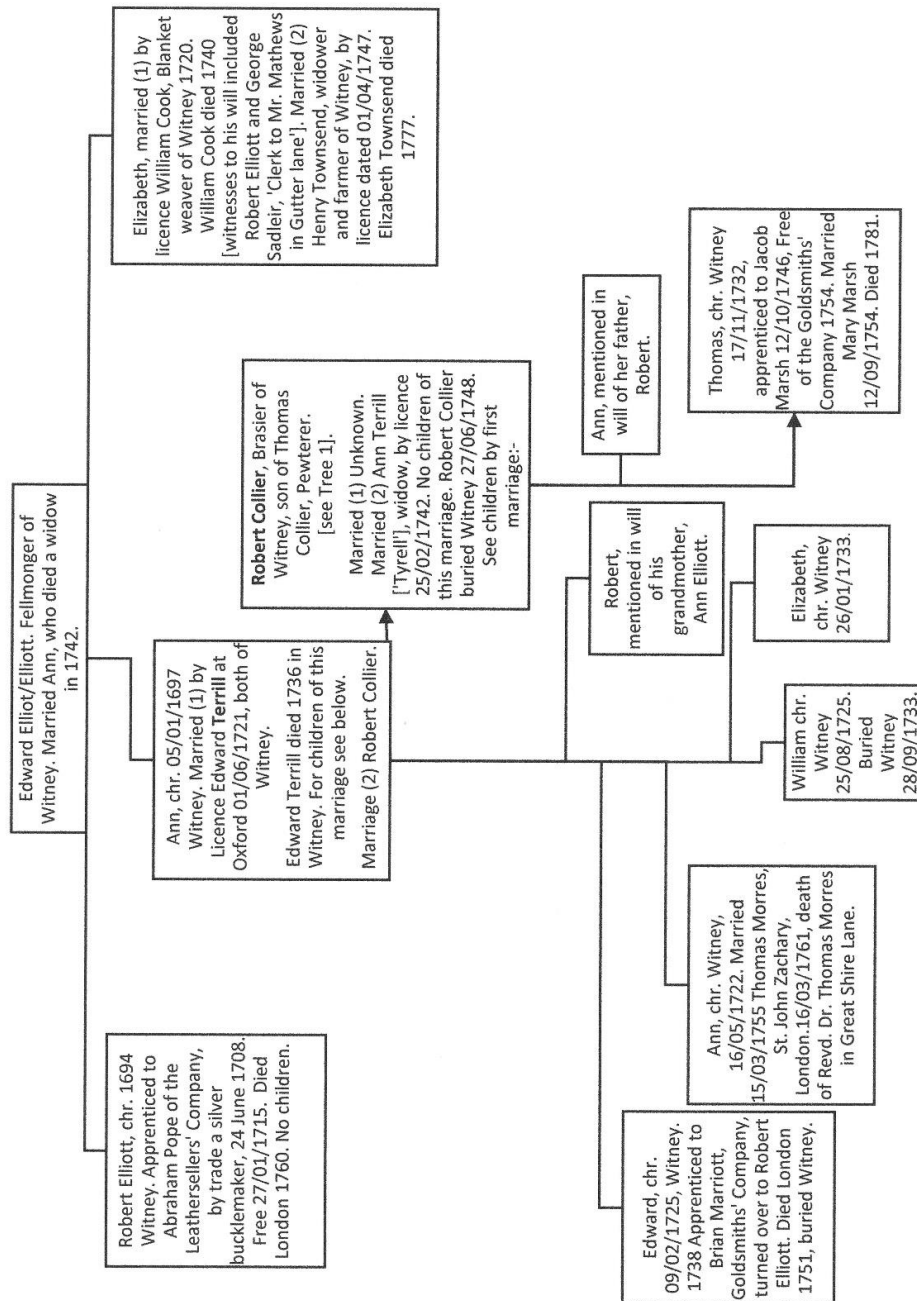
Tree 2

Robert Collier Clothier and Blanket Weaver.



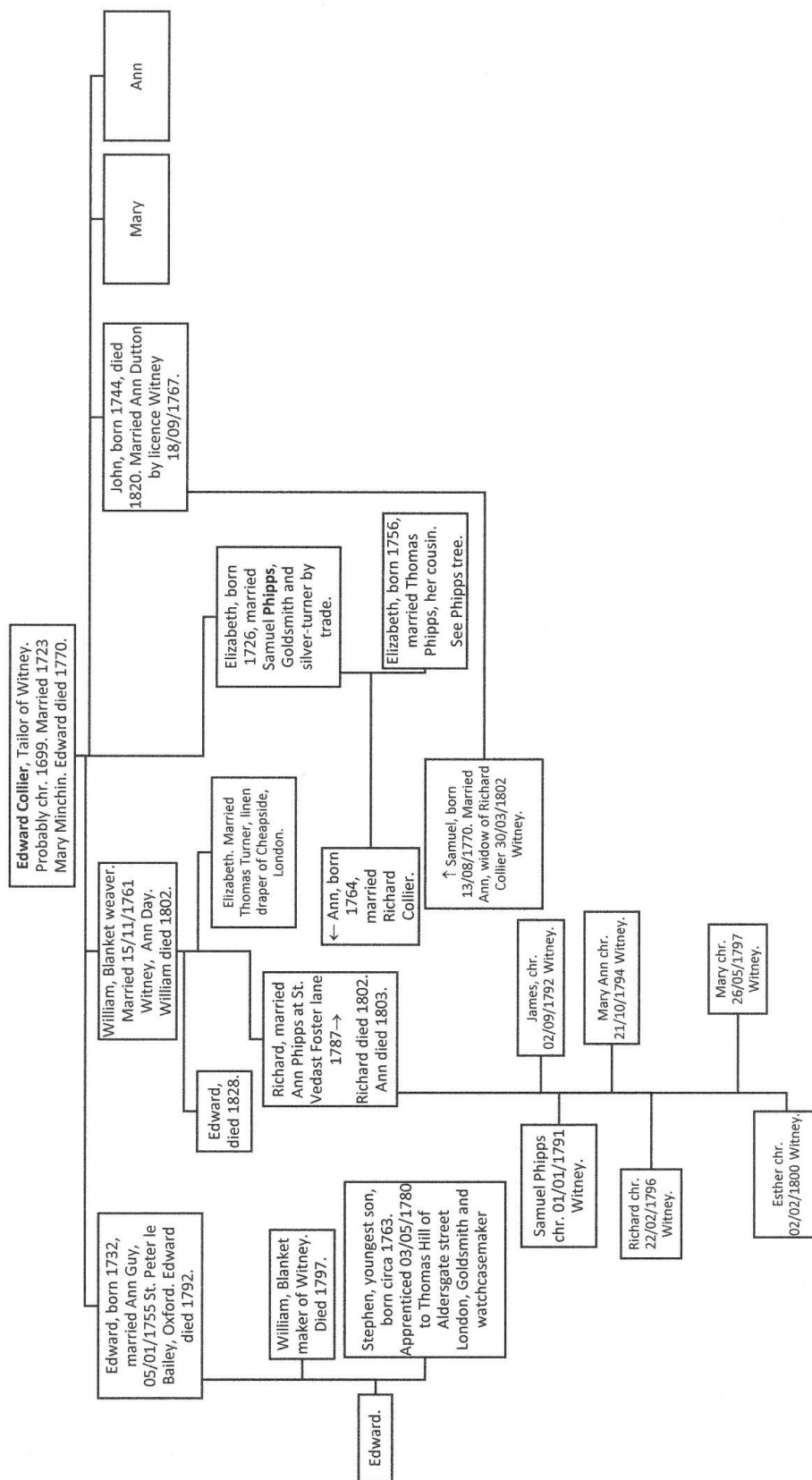
Tree 3.

Robert Collier, Brasier; Robert Elliott, Bucklemaker.



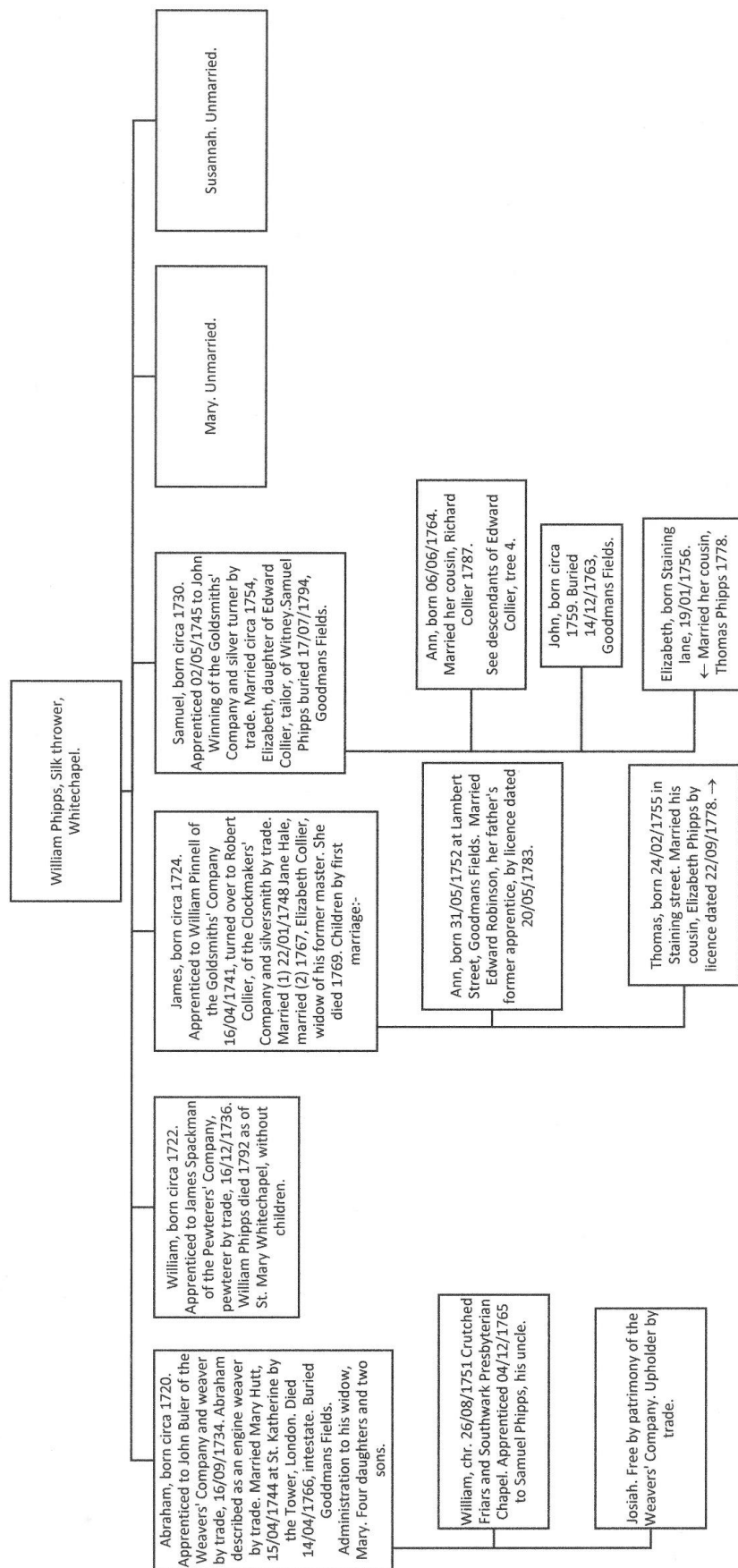
Tree 4.

Edward Collier, Tailor of Witney.



Tree 5.

Phipps family.



Notes.

¹ It preceded the even more rigorous and scholarly work of John Culme, 'The Directory of Gold & Silversmiths....1838-1914 from the London Assay Office Registers'

² 'English Goldsmiths and their Marks', Sir Charles Jackson, first publ. 1905, revised 1921.

³ The Borney Collection of eighteenth century newspapers in the British Library, now digitized.

⁴ Harleian Society, Volume 30, Burials St. Vedast Foster lane. For the administration of his estate see: National Archives Prob6/132/'Collins', f.206. 'Robert Collier. On the twenty third day Admon of the Goods Chattels and Credits of Robert Collier, late of the parish of St. Leonard Foster Lane London deced. Was granted to Elizabeth Collier Widow the Relict of the said deced.'

⁵ National Archives IR1/12 folio 53. Edward Horne I, Collier's master, hitherto thought to have been a watch-case maker, was undoubtedly a specialist box-maker and his mark has been observed on a number of snuffboxes. For his marks see Grimwade marks 593, 1049. Edward, son of Charles Horne of Burntwood (Brentwood), Essex, innholder, apprenticed to Thomas Elton of the Clockmakers' Company, 15 March 1697 for seven years. Free of that Company 4 December 1704. Described in entry of mark as a Free Clockmaker. First mark entered as smallworker, 25 October 1705, Address: St. Martin's Le Grand. Second (sterling) mark, 27 July 1720. Apprentices of Edward Horne: William Lamb, 06/12/1708; William Jelf, son of William of Southwold [South Weald?], Essex, Carpenter, 06/12/1708; Whitton Lawlay, son of George, High Wycombe, Bucks (deceased), 25 July 1715, £25; Basil Davenport, son of Basil, Cl. [Clockmaker ?], of Wilts [only], (deceased), 17 Aug 1717, £25; Henry Lucas, of Buckinghamshire, 02/04/1722; Nathaniel Tregagle, son of Jno. (deceased), 13 Nov 1724, £30; James Wright, son of Daniel, Citizen and Distiller, £25; Robert Collier 29/06/1730; Barnard Ennew, 04/01/1733. See: British Clockmakers & Watchmakers Apprentice Records: 1710-1810 (Hardcover), by Dennis Moore, publ. Mayfield, Ashbourne: Mayfield, 2003. Edward Horne, father and son deserve further research. Edward Horne I evidently married for a second time late in life. There is a marriage recorded in the registers of Clandestine Marriages at the Fleet prison on 05/11/1741 between Edward Horne, Goldsmith [of Chamber street], St. Mary Whitechapel, widower and Ellinor Horn ['as she sd. Her Name was'] Widow, 'At Mr. Cramptons at the Cock'. The Will of Edward Horne, Goldsmith of Goodmans Fields, Middlesex, was proved 08/09/1743, Nat. Archives, Prob. 11/728 – in the will Horne refers to his wife, Eleanor. Edward Horne II, the son of Edward I, was apprenticed to James Mayo, 07/11/1728, on payment of £30. He was made free 08/11/1737, a mark [Grimwade 598] entered at the Goldsmiths' Company, 08/03/1739, address George Court, Benets Hall, Doctors Commons, 'Goldsmith'. For a box with the mark of Edward Horne I see Woolley and Wallis Sale 25/01/2012, lot 596, A George I silver snuff box, London 1725, of rectangular form, canted corners, the flush hinged cover with engraved foliate decoration, the underside scratch initialled 'M.A.', length 6.6cm, approx. weight 1.5oz.

⁶ See articles by Sir Eric Sachs in the Wine Label Circle Journal: December 1956, 'The Phipps Family and Edward Robinson, Part I', April 1957; 'The Phipps Family and Edward Robinson, Part 2'; August 1958, 'Bottle Tickets in the Collection of Sir Eric Sachs'; April 1959, 'The Phipps Family – Further Sidelights'; December 1959, 'The Perils of Secondary Evidence'; June 1967, 'A Trio by T. Phipps and E. Robinson'; December 1973, 'Finding the Phipps Family'; December 1975, 'The TP/ER/IP Mark – 1'; June 1976, 'The TP/ER/IP Mark -2'; June 1978, 'In the Phipps Constellation a Star is Found'. 'Wine Labels 1730-2003, a Worldwide History', edited and co-authored by John Salter, published Antique Collectors' Club in association with the Wine Label Circle, 2004, Chapter 5, Makers, part 10, pp. 165-169.

⁷ The device of 'turning over' enabled apprentices to be bound first to a master in a particular, perhaps senior, livery company and then moved to a specialist master in another company to learn their trade.

⁸ The register of baptisms have a three year gap between 25/03/1716 and 30/03/1719 with the exception of two baptisms in 1717.

⁹ These will emerge through the course of this essay but are a combination of wills, marriage bonds and the evidence of siblings' lives.

¹⁰ Marriage bond, 680, Robert Collier of Witney, married Anne Prior of Ducklington at St. Aldate, Oxford, 13/04/1691. [d32f184]

¹¹ In that year Robert Collier was one of a number of Blanket weavers who took proceedings in the Court of Chancery against the daughters of a London Warehouseman, John Rason: Plaintiffs: James Houlton, Joseph Burson, Henry Freeman, Bartholomew Silly, Richard Gardner, Richard Hulls, Robert Collier, Philip Kibble, Edmund Smith all blanket weavers of Whitney, Oxfordshire and others (creditors of John Rason, warehouseman deceased late of London). Defendants: Ann Rason, widow, Ann Rason, spinster and Sarah Walker (daughters and executrices of said John Rason). Robert Collier was owed £24 15s. Nat. Arch. C11/1996/25.

¹² At the same time, an incuse mark was recorded. 'Feb ye 1, 1726 Robt. Collier Livein in Gutter Lean free of the Leathersellers'. The incuse and cameo marks are each struck twice in the register.

¹³ www.925-1000.com/forum

¹⁴ In this essay the surname is spelt 'Elliott' as appearing in the will of Elliott in 1760 and on his memorial. Grimwade has 'Elliot'.

¹⁵ Timothy Collier's occupation is given as 'Husbandman' but it is clear that Timothy's former occupation had been a tallow chandler and an earlier baptism at Brize Norton to the same parents, Timothy and Mary, of a daughter, Elizabeth Collier, on the 17th July 1701, gives the occupation as 'Chaundler'.

¹⁶ St. John the Baptist. Timothy Collier's will requests that he be buried with his first wife, Dorcas, in the Chancel of Burford Church. In his will he left freehold and copyhold properties in Burford and Taynton.

¹⁷ George Collier, Son of Timothy Collier late of Brays Norton in the County of Oxon Tallowchandler deceased, Five Pounds being the Consideration Money given with him doth put himself Apprentice to Joshua Fletcher Citizen and Mason of London. 03/10/1716.

¹⁸ Farriers' Company: Collier, Timothy, son of Timothy, Brize Norton, Oxf., to Robert Younge, 19/05/1718.

¹⁹ St. Michael Highgate marriage by Licence of Robert Collier of St. John Zachary, London Bachelor and Mary Dillon/Dillow? of Hornsey parish, Spinster, February 15th 1728/9 by Dr. Atterbury. For the Licence Faculty Office Marriage Allegations 04/02/1728/9. It is possible that this is the Mrs. Mary Collier, widow, who was the executor and friend of Joseph Norwood, a silver buckle maker, died 1756 [Will National Archives Prob 11/822/186].

²⁰ Information provided by Jerome Farrell, archivist at the Worshipful Company of Leathersellers.

²¹ For example the *Daily Courant*, Issue 9130.

²² "Clockmakers, Milliners and Mistresses: Women Trading in the City of London Companies 1700-1750", Amy Louise Erickson, Senior Research Associate at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, Oxford University Press 2011.

²³ See the advertisement in the '*Evening Post*', London, May 13, 1727 - May 16, 1727; Issue 2779. Information about the Witney Blanket trade is to be found in Plummer, A., 'The Witney Blanket Industry, publ. London 1924. Plummer, however, makes some factual errors in relation to the dates and addresses of the London warehouses established by the Blanket weavers.

²⁴ Will of Thomas Collier, National Archives, PROB 11/303/41, 1661.

²⁵ The last of the five apprentices to Edward Horne:

²⁶ *Freemen of the Clockmakers' Company 1631-1984*, publ. George Daniels, 1984.

²⁷ The Tax assessments have 'John Gammon' listed at the premises from 1726 to 1729 and 'John Goreham' listed from 1729 to 1760. My assumption is that 'Gammon' is a miss-spelling of 'Goreham'. Amongst newspaper references to John Gorham are the following: (1) The London Gazette of 28/03/1749: 'Pursuant to a late Act of Parliament for Relief of Insolvent Debtors, I hereby give Notice that I do compel Francis Bedwell, late of Stanhope street, Clare-market, in the Parish of St. Clement Danes in the County of Middlesex, Brazier, who on the first Day of January, One thousand seven hundred and forty seven, was and still is a Prisoner in his Majesty's Prison of the Fleet, London, at my Suit, to subscribe and deliver in a Schedule of his Estate and Effects, at the Sessions of the Peace to be held at Guildhall for the City of London, next after Thirty Days from the Publication hereof. John Gorham.' (2) The Public Ledger 04/05/1761 'The Creditors and Debtors of Mr. John Gorham, of Gutter-lane, Silver-smith, deceased, have Notice given them.' Gorhams will was proved 28/09/1763, Nat. Archives Prob 11/864/399.

²⁸ Gorham had been apprenticed to the spoon maker Lawrence Coles and then turned over to the plate worker Hugh Arnett. Gorham's premises are identified in the register beside his own mark as at the 'Blackamoor's Head' in Gutter lane. This building was later number 15 Gutter lane ['Patterns of occupation around Goldsmiths' Hall', Bruce Jones, pp. 42-49, in 'Silver Studies, The Journal of the Silver Society, number 26, 2010]

²⁹ The marriage bond states that the marriage would take place in the parish of the bride – St. Ann's - but it actually took place in the church of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe because although the two neighbouring parishes continued as distinct entities with separate registers, the church of St. Ann Blackfryers [Blackfriars] had burnt down in the Great Fire and the church of St. Andrew functioned as the parish church of Blackfriars.

³⁰ Embroiders' Hall was later number 36 Gutter lane.

³¹ For the administration of his estate, consisting solely of a bequest from his grandfather, Thomas Smith, see National Archives, Prob 31/557/f165.1770. This contains a declaration by Edward Smith as uncle and next of kin and also guardian of Thomas Collier, the brother of John, that John had no other estate. The Administration refers to John's mother, dead by this date, as Elizabeth Phipps, late Collier.

³² William Pinnell, son of Thomas, deceased, apprenticed to Thomas Stackhouse, Goldsmiths' Company Apprenticeships Book 6, page 98, 1728; Free 02/10/1735. James Phipps was the sole apprentice of William Pinell.

³³ Goldsmiths' Company, Apprenticeship bindings, book 7, p.83, 1746: Samuel Barker, son of Isaac, dec'd. Samuel Barker became free of the Company 04/04/1754.

³⁴ The box, now part of the 'Lion Collection', is illustrated and described in 'British Silver Boxes, 1640-1840, the Lion Collection', John Culme, publ. 'Antique Collectors' Club, 2015, catalogue reference 136, page 133. It measures 8.8cm. wide and is described as follows: 'Oval, the detachable cover inlaid with a panel of light brown agate, the border chased with four vignettes of tobacco leaves and barrels, two with cherubs, one smoking a pipe, within rococo scrolls; the underside engraved with a monogram.'

³⁵ The term remains unexplained but could perhaps refer to the silver mounting of articles made of other materials.

³⁶ The London assay date letters changed in May of each year: so every letter might signify marking in one of two years.

³⁷ Sold Christie's New York, Sale 2560, Important English, Continental and American Silver, 17 May 2012. Lot 8. [This box had been previously offered in the same saleroom 17/05/2011, lot3]

³⁸ Stock of David Levi Antiques.

³⁹ Dreweatt Neate sale London 13/06/2012, lot 101. The agate panel cracked.

⁴⁰ Sold Ebay, Alburgh, 15/08/2011.

⁴¹ Sold Rosebery's Auctioneers, 19/03/2014, lot 1080.

⁴² Woolley and Wallis Auctioneers, 30/10/2012, lot 906. This box mentioned in Grimwade, 1990, p.268.

⁴³ Private collection. . P van Oel. Previously sold Christie's. 2008

⁴⁴ Phillips, London, 24/06/1977, lot 145.

⁴⁵ Lawrence's of Crewkerne, auctioneers, 15/10/2013, lot 566.

⁴⁶ VAM accession no. m63-1959.

⁴⁷ See 'English Silver at Williamsburg', John D. Davis, publ. the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1976. Cat. 232, the box purchased from Garrard & Co., London.

⁴⁸ Stock of L Wax, London.

⁴⁹ Sold Rosebery's Auctioneers, 19/03/2014, lot 1080.

⁵⁰ Bonhams auctioneers, Silver & Vertu sale, London, Knightsbridge, 8 Jun 2004.

⁵¹ See 'English Silver at Williamsburg', John D. Davis, publ. the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1976. Cat 233. Purchased from Garrard and Co., London, purchased by Garrards at Sotheby's London, 29/07/1954, lot 170.

⁵² Sold Lawrence's of Crewkerne, auctioneers, 08/04/2014, lot 580.

⁵³ Large Sponge boxes accompanied 'Wash balls' as part of a toilet set but these little boxes were used, in effect, as early 'vinaigrettes' or 'scent boxes'. When Alexander Stewart, a Hawker of Peddler, had his goods stolen in 1735, they included a silver nutmeg grater valued at 8s 6d. and a silver sponge box at 8s. For this reference, see the 'London Evening Post' of 17/19th June 1735.

⁵⁴ The ancient name for Salisbury.

⁵⁵ A confusion over Collier's gothic mark may also have caused Eric Delieb, in his book 'Silver Boxes', published in two editions [], to mis-attribute two 'Skipet or Seal Boxes' illustrated on page 21 of the first edition. The caption, on page 20, reads: 'Pair George II skipet or seal boxes: of oval elliptical form, the lids engraved with typical mid-Georgian scrolling cartouches in which are the Arms of Oxford University.... Maker 'RC' in Gothic characters, London circa 1740. This maker is not in the Register at Goldsmiths' Hall, and the box is discussed in the text.' Somewhat perplexingly, the text on the same page has: 'It has not been possible to trace the identity of the maker whose maker's mark alone appears on both specimens: RG in Old English script. There is nothing in the Plate Register at Goldsmiths' Hall to hint at the possible identity of this silversmith, whose mark, on various other small articles, has been noted up to circa 1760. It does not appear to be Robert Garrard's early mark.' At the time of writing the second edition, Delieb [pp.223/24] had come to the very different conclusion that the mark on these two boxes was the early mark of Robert Garrard (II) [Grimwade 3769a] which, according to Grimwade, was by a mistake of the punch cutter formed as 'R.E' in gothic letters rather than 'RG', this mark being entered at the Goldsmiths' Company in 1818. Without seeing the boxes, or an image of the marks thereon, it is impossible to be sure as to the maker but it would seem unlikely that Robert Garrard (II) produced boxes with a maker's mark only, nor is Garrard a usual box-maker. Given that the gothic script mark of Robert Collier can be mis-read as 'RE' or indeed 'RG' and although seal boxes of this style were reproduced in the 19th

century, it is much more likely that these boxes were the product of the workshop of Robert Collier and the earlier date given by Delieb in his first edition was roughly correct.

⁵⁶ This box, in a private Australian collection, is decorated with a panel very similar to that in the snuffbox of 1750, [listed as number 11 in the list of boxes in the text above, page 8 of this article], in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation collection [notes 47 and 50 above].

⁵⁷ For the 1739 box, see Woolley and Wallis, auctioneers, 30/04/2014, lot 756: the snuffbox 7.2cm. long and 1.9 oz. It appears mis-catalogued as by Robert Elliott, [Grimwade 2308] but, of course the second letter of the mark is a 'C' and not an 'E', moreover, Elliott was a specialist bucklemaker. Other auction rooms have made the same mistake – the tobacco box of 1754/5, listed as number 15 above, appeared in a Sotheby's sale in 2005 as by 'Robert Elliot', Sothebys London 12/054/2005, lot 276.

⁵⁸ Marriage of Edward Bowman of St. Andrew Wardrobe London, widower, and Susanna Smith, Spinster of St. Ann Blackfryers, aged 23 by licence dated 21/08/1747 [London and Surrey Marriage Bonds and Allegations] The marriage to take place at St. Ann Blackfryers. See National Archives Prob 6/144/f239. May 1768. 'Administration of the Goods of Susannah Bowman formerly Smith late of the Parish of Saint Andrew by the Wardrobe London deceased left unadministered by Edward Bowman whilst living the lawful Husband of the said Deceased since also deceased was granted to Elizabeth Roper Wife of William Roper the daughter and sole relative named in the Will of the said Edward Bowman deced having been first sworn duly to administer Edward Smith the natural and lawful Brother and Elizabeth Phipps formerly Smith Wife of James Phipps the natural and lawful Sister and only next of kin of the said Deceased....'

⁵⁹ Various listed as 'Widow Collyer' and 'Elizabeth Collyer'.

⁶⁰ Her subsequent address in Gutter lane, which she is shown as occupying from 1764, later became number 11, Gutter lane. My thanks to Bruce Jones for this information.

⁶¹ The new premises became number 11, Gutter lane, when numbering was introduced.

⁶² Charles Nutt, son of John, dec'd., apprenticed to Jn. Winning, Goldsmiths' Company, book 8, p.26, 1764, turned over to Elizabeth Collier, Clockmaker.

⁶³ See Wine Labels 1730-2003', op. cit.

⁶⁴ Another mistake on Grimwade's part. Elizabeth Cooke was the widow of Samuel Cooke, evidently a bucklemaker, and entered a mark in 1764. See the contributions of 'Buckler' on these makers to the www.925-1000.com forum.

⁶⁵ For these boxes, see The Silver Society Journal, volume 13, Autumn 2001, pp. 103-108, 'West Country freedom boxes, a Plymouth speciality', by Timothy Kent. Kent, although aware of the wine labels struck with a maker's mark 'EC', was unaware that some of the labels, which conform to London designs, are struck with a London lion passant as well as the maker's mark. He therefore assumed the maker to be local to the Plymouth area. For the Durell Freedom Box see the Plymouth City Museum, object 1953.75, illustrated and described in their online database of objects [<http://museumcatalogue.plymouth.gov.uk/Details/collect/116400>]. A snuff or tobacco box, struck with version '2' of the 'EC' mark only, is oval, the lid inset with an asymmetric bloodstone panel surrounded by flat-chasing, the body plain [Michael Baggott Antiques].

⁶⁶ See 'British Silver Boxes, 1640-1840, the Lion Collection, op. cit. [note 34 above], cat. ref. 176, p. 159. Culme, following Kent, mistakenly took the maker to be from Plymouth. He did, however, note the variation in the two 'EC' punches.

⁶⁷ St. Michael and All Angels, Highworth.

⁶⁸ Goldsmiths' Company, Apprenticeship bindings, Book 6, p.139, 1730.

⁶⁹ Her London address at the time of the marriage is intriguing and would suggest that she was living with a relative, perhaps her brother, Robert, if he had by then moved from his earlier address at John Gorham's in Gutter lane.

⁷⁰ 'The London Tradesman: Being a Compendious View of All the Trades, Professions, Arts, Both Liberal and Mechanic, Now Practised in the Cities of London and Westminster. Calculated for the Information of Parents, and Instruction of Youth in Their Choice of Business', By R. Campbell, Esq, publ. 1747. T. Gardner, p. 144: 'The Goldsmith employs the Snuff-Box Maker, the Tweezer-Case Maker, Silver Turner, and several other Branches, which take their Names from the Pieces of Work they make: But these and all other come under the general Denomination of the Silversmith and perform their Work the same Way; except the Silver Turner, whom I shall take notice when I come to the Mystery of Turning in general. A Journeyman in all these Branches may earn Twenty Shillings, some Thirty, if they have Knowledge and bestow Application.' p. 243: 'The Turner is a very ingenious Business brought to great perfection in this Kingdom. He makes use of an Engine called a lathe; his Work is fixed in it upon a Center and is turned by a String which either goes round the Work if it turns upon two Pivots or round a Wheel fixed to the moving Center. There are several sorts of Lathes which differ according to the Nature of the Work they are to perform; but they all agree in common Principles.'

⁷¹ See an image of this trade card in the collection of the Lewis Walpole Library, ref. 66 733 AI325 Folio.

⁷² National Archives, C12/240/1. John Raison of Highworth in the County of Wilts Yeoman, Robert Raison of the same place Yeoman, Thomas Raison of Aldersgate Street London Silversmith, William Raison of Highworth aforesaid Yeoman, John Nutty of Fore Street London Salesman and Mary his Wife late Mary Davenport Widow, Abbas Bently of Bird Street Oxford Road in the County of Middlesex Merchant and Elizabeth his Wife late Elizabeth Winning Spinster, Jacob Matthews of Stanton in the County of Wilts Farmer and Jane his Wife late Jane Winning Spinster, Charles Jarvis of Hackney in the County of Middlesex Merchant and Elizabeth his Wife heretofore Elizabeth Firth formerly the Wife of Michael Firth of London Mariner and afterwards his Widow, Thomas Winning of Stone Hill in the County of Gloucester Farmer, William Morse of Highworth aforesaid Innholder, and Elizabeth his Wife, John Perry heretofore of the Parish of Saint Martin's Ludgate but now of the Parish of Saint James' Clerkenwell in the County of Middlesex Goldsmith Administrator of all and singular the Goods and Chattels Rights and Credits of Alice Perry his late Wife deceased, William Sudell [??] of Cross Street Islington in the County of Middlesex aforesaid Gentleman and James Matthews of London Goldsmith versus John Floyd and John Dyson exors of the will of John Winning. Also a related case in the Court of Chancery 03/05/1797 Frances Piercy and Elizabeth Piercy versus John Floyd and William Miller and the Governors of the Bank of England.

⁷³ Piercy took on a number of apprentices: Richard Howell, (turned over), Goldsmiths' Co., book 7, p.357, 1763; Thomas Ratcliff, book 8, p. 21, 1764; John Brooks, book 8, p.41, 1764; Tho. York, (turned over), book 8, p.60, 1765; Martin Howell, book 8, p.192, 1771.

⁷⁴ See 'London Lives', City of London Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents. SL | PS, 11th November 1782 - 17th December 1783.

⁷⁵ Nat. Archives, PROB 11/1224/65, 11/10/1792.

⁷⁶ For Clowes see D.N.B. Clowes married Susanna Matthews on 7 January 1753. Subsequently, James Matthews and Butler Clowes were both working from addresses in Gutter Lane.

⁷⁷ Perhaps the Alice Perry buried St. John the Baptist, Clerkenwell, 2811/1799, aged 60 years, from St. John's Street.

⁷⁸ Another worshipper was the silversmith, Francis Spilsbury.

⁷⁹ Nat. Archives, RG7/Piece 221/ f. 51. 22/01/1748. 'Marriages from the May Fair Chapel Register performed according to the Rules of the Fleet, London from 1747 to 1752 by Minister Grierson.' The identity of Anthony Hale remains uncertain, although the land tax records for Broad Street in the City of London have an Anthony Hale paying tax in that street in 1748.

⁸⁰ Nat. Archives. RG5/ Piece 3/ f. 164. See note 59 for a fuller description of these registers. This birth was registered 14/06/1770.

⁸¹ See Bonhams auctioneers, sale 15314, lot 216 for the Beer Jug and the same auctioneers, sale 20796, lot 328 for the Coffee pot.

⁸² James Phipps had taken on an apprentice in 1752, Samuel Gregory, son of John: see Goldsmiths' Company Apprenticeship bindings, book 7, p.185. Gregory was then turned over to William Bond, and later turned over again to Wm. Shuckford, Stationer. Samuel Gregory was free of the company 06/02/1760.

⁸³ Land Tax Assessments for the ward of Aldersgate Within, St. John Zachary Precinct, record James Phipps there in 1754 but the property is empty in 1755. See Nat. Archives, Nonconformist Registers, RG5/ Piece3, f. 165. The birth registered 14/06/1770. The Piece description for this set of registers reads: 'Protestant Dissenters' Registry. The increased requirement to provide evidence of birth led the Dissenting Deputies (representing Baptists, Congregationalists & Presbyterians) to establish a births register of their children in 1743 at the Dissenters Library. Originally for parents living within 12 miles of London it subsequently became open to anyone, regardless of distance or denomination, provided a fee was paid. Contains almost 50,000 births. Registered at Rev. Daniel Williams Library, Redcross Street, Cripplegate, London. Start date April 6th 1743. End date Dec. 30th 1837.'

⁸⁴ Nat. Archives, Nonconformist Registers, RG4/4511, 'A Register of persons baptised by Mr. William Prior Pastor of the Protestant Dissenting Congregation in Great Ayliff Street.'

⁸⁵ See Burney Collection of Newspapers [now online], the British Library; Samuel Winning apprenticed 02/05/1745 [Nat Arch.]; see also 'Silver in England', Philippa Glanville, p.173, publ. Unwin Hyman 1987 for reference to Invitations issued by the 'Society of Working Goldsmiths.'

⁸⁶ See the Will of Edward Collier the Elder of Witney, proved in 1785 in the Consistory Court of Oxford.

⁸⁷ South Leigh is two and a half miles from Witney. See information of Derek Collier, contributed to a forum of www.genealogy-specialists.com. The marriage between Samuel Phipps and Elizabeth Collier has not been traced. The will of Edward Collier refers to his daughter, 'Betty Phips, the wife of Samuel Phips of London' and the registrations of the births of the children of Samuel and Elizabeth Phipps at Dr. William's Library refer to Elizabeth as the daughter of Edward Collier.

⁸⁸ See National Archives, Kew, Nonconformist registers, RG4/4659/B447:

B. No. 447

198

These are to Certify, That Elizabeth Phipps the Daughter of Samuel Phipps Goldsmith and Elizabeth his Wife, who was Daughter of Edward Collier was Born in Staining Lane and in the Parish of St. Mary Staining in the City of London this Nineteenth Day of January in the Year of our Lord 1756 at whose Birth we were present Mary Dell, H. Egerton, Mary White. Registered at Dr. William's Library, in Redcross-street, near Cripplegate, London Sepr. 24, 1770. James Pickbourn Register.

⁸⁹ See National Archives, Kew, Nonconformist Registers, rg 4/4659/ B.448.

⁹⁰ See articles by Sir Eric Sachs in the Wine Label Circle Journal and 'Wine Labels 1730-2003' cited in note 8.

⁹¹ John Miller, Goldsmiths Company Apprentice bindings, book 8, p.296. John Miller, son of Andrew, apprenticed to James Phipps and turned over to Peter Carter.

⁹² The contents of Crump's house had been advertised as for sale by auction in the 'Daily Advertiser' of the 24th May 1775: "The Houshold Furniture and various Implements in Trade of Mr. FRANCIS CRUMP, Working Goldsmith, at his House, No. 40, in Gutter-Lane, Cheapside", to be sold by John Boulton

⁹³ Sherborn died in August 1786. Born in 1716, he was the oldest inhabitant of the parish of St. Vedast. In his will, written in the year of his death, he states that he had 'lately purchased' number 18, Gutter lane – the premises at which Butler Clowes had worked – occupied at that date by a 'Mrs. Jane Barker'.

⁹⁴ London Gazette. Date: 12 July 1783 Issue number: 12457 Page number: 3.

⁹⁵ Nat. Archives, Register of Burials for the Presbyterian Chapel in Great Alie Street, Goodman's Fields, RG4/Piece 4512/ f. 17. Date of burial 17/07/1794, aged 64, ceremony performed by Thomas Morgan. Also Will of Samuel Phipps, Goldsmith of Saint James Clerkenwell, Middlesex, 26/07/1794, Prob. 11/1248.

⁹⁶ Nat. Archives. Administration of the estate of James Phipps, Middlesex, granted May 1800.

⁹⁷ Marriage by licence. The marriage bond describes Thomas as of St. Leonard Foster Lane, Goldsmith and his wife as a spinster of St. Andrew Holborn.

⁹⁸ Marriott was a toyman and jeweller. See the General Advertiser, London, Friday, August 22, 1746:

'August 21, 1746.

WHEREAS the Shop of Mr. Brian Marriott, in Gutter-Lane, was broke open this Morning at Two o'Clock, by cutting a Hole in the Shutter, and the following Things stole; a Rose Diamond Motto Ring, Anne Marriott, died Nov. 30, 1728; a seven Stone Rose Diamond; one with a Garnet and four Diamonds; one with an Emerald and four Diamonds; one with a large Cypher and four Diamonds; one with a Garnet and four Diamonds; two with a Garnet and four Diamonds in each; one with a Ruby and two Diamonds; one with a Square Emerald and two Diamonds; one Hand and Heart, and three Diamonds; one Garnet Heart and three Diamonds; one large Rose plain Stone Ring; one plain Stone and two Diamonds; one Turkey Stone Ring; one Mocoa Stone Ring; one Crystal Cypher Ring; one large Cypher Ring; one small ditto; one square purple false Stone Ring; one small green false Stone Ring; one small Crystal Ring; two plain Gold Rings, and a Gold Seal; 10 Gold Studded Rings, Tortoiseshell; three Pair of Gold Sleeve Buttons; five Gold Locket; a Stone Gold Locket and a Gilt Chain; five Pair of Gold Ear-rings; 12 Stone Waistcoat Buttons; 10 Pair of Sleeve Stone Buttons; three Pair of Stone Studs; a Hook, Chain, and Tweezer Case, Gold Joint; a Stone Stay Hook; a carved Coral and four Bells Gilt; two carved Sockets Gilt; 23 Girdle Buckles; eight Stock Buckles; three Pair of Stock Clasps; five Pair of Shoe Clasps and Apron Clasps; four wrought Toothpick Cases; 20 Thimbles, and five Locket; 24 Pair of Sleeve Buttons; a round Silver Box with a King Charles's Medal on the Top; four Silver Boxes; two Mother of Pearl Boxes, Silver Rims; two Metal Hooks and Chains.

N.B. If any of the above Things should be offered to be sold, pawn'd, or valued, pray stop them, and the Party, and give Notice to Mr. Brian Marriott, and you shall have a Reward of Five Guineas.'

For Edward Terrill's apprenticeship see: Goldsmiths' Company Apprenticeships Book 6, p.254, 1738, Edward Terrill, son of Edward, dec'd., apprenticed to Brian Marriott, turned over to Robert Elliott, Leatherseller.

⁹⁹ See the 'General Advertiser', London, Friday, May 17, 1751.

¹⁰⁰ See <http://newspaperarchive.com> for the newspaper reference. Justis may have been apprenticed to Elliott but the apprenticeship was not found by Grimwade, nor does Grimwade note the address of Justis in Gutter lane. The first mark in the smallworkers register of circa 1758 to 1773 entered by Justis was on the 24th November 1761, giving his address as Well Yard, Little Britain. He may, however, have had a mark in the previous, missing, register. He has been noted as taking an apprentice – John Gibson Leadbetter on 05/10/1748 [see the forum www.925-1000.com, contribution by 'Buckler'].

¹⁰¹ See 'Silver Studies', the Journal of the Silver Society, Number 26, 2010, pp.60-68, 'George Smith of Huggin Lane: a Georgian silver bucklemaker', Clive Taylor.

¹⁰² Perhaps best known and unconnected with the blanket weaving trade, was the Strong family from Taynton, masons over several generations, involved in the re-building of London churches after the Great Fire and through the first half of the 18th century.

¹⁰³ Highworth, in Wiltshire, the birthplace of John Winning, would be one such town.

Sources used in compiling the Family trees.

1) Secondary Printed Sources.

'Wine Labels 1730-2003, a Worldwide History,' ed. John Salter, publ. Antique Collectors' Club 2004.

'London Goldsmiths 1697-1837, their Marks & Lives,' Arthur G. Grimwade, 3rd edition publ. Faber and Faber 1990.

Series of Volumes of London Livery Company Apprenticeship Registers abstracted and indexed by Cliff Webb, publ. Society of Genealogists Enterprises Ltd.

'Records of the Worshipful Company of Shipwrights ...: being an alphabetical digest of freemen and apprentices, &c, 1428-1780', Volume 1, publ. Phillimore, 1939. Francis, son of Martin Turner of Burford, Oxon., yeoman, was apprenticed to William Collyer, Citizen and Shipwright, on the 28th July 1718. [IR1/6].

'The Burford Records: a Study in minor town government,' R.H. Gretton, Clarendon Press, 1920.

'Kent's Directory' 1794.

'The American Negotiator: or the various Currencies of the British Colonies in America', J. Wright, 1761.

'Dictionary of English Furniture Makers 1660-1840', ed. Geoffrey Beard and Christopher Gilbert, Publ. Furniture History Society, 1986.

2) Primary Sources.

Burney Collection of 17th and 18th century Newspapers, British Library, now digitised.

Proceedings of the Old Bailey, now digitised for www.oldbaileyonline.org

National Archives Kew:

Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (1384-1858):-

Edward Bowman, 1768, PROB 11/938/303; John Cafe, 1757, PROB 11/832/144; Joseph Collier, 1694, PROB 11/420/102; John Collier, 1726, PROB 11/608/211; John Collier, 1723, PROB 11/591/308; Thomas Collier, 1661, PROB 11/303/41; Thomas Collier, 1704, PROB 11/477/232; John Collier, 1722, PROB 11/586/318; John Collier, 1741, PROB 11/709/350; Stephen Collier, 1827, PROB 11/1734/339; Martha Collier, 1741, PROB 11/711/166; Thomas Collier, 1781, PROB 11/1079/284; Ann Collier, 1757, PROB 11/832/405; Jane Collier, 1778, PROB 11/1043/259; Robert Collyer, 1665, PROB 11/318/516; William Cook, 1740, PROB 11/700/64; Samuel Cripps, 1732, PROB 11/650/332; Sarah Daintrey, otherwise Daintry, 1809, PROB 11/ 1495/199; Marmaduke Daintrey, 1777, PROB 11/1031/95; Robert Elliott, 1760, PROB 11/855/332; Michael Firth, 1791, PROB 11/1202/152; John Floyd, 1815, PROB 11/1565/86; Edward Horne, 1743, PROB 11/728/471; Ann Morres, 1786, PROB 11/1137/35; Thomas Phipps, 1824, PROB 11/1686/57; William Phipps, 1792, PROB 11/1217252; Samuel Phipps, 1794, PROB 11/1248/120; Frances Piercy, 1841, PROB 11/1941/290; Ann Piercy, 1776, PROB 11/1023/93; White Piercy, 1779, PROB 11/1057/397; White Piercy or Piercy, 1740, PROB 11/706/310; John Prior, 1719, PROB 11/570/390; John Pryor, 1697, PROB 11/438/87; John Ruffin, 1759, PROB 11/845/68; John Shayler, 1735, PROB 11/671/164; Charles Sherborn, 1789, PROB 11/1183/52; John Shuffrey, 1812, PROB 11/1539/120; Edward Smith, 1792, PROB 11/1224/65; Thomas Smith, 1757, PROB 11/827/269; Valentine Strong, 1662, PROB 11/309/462; Valentine Strong, 1695, PROB 11/424/273; Elizabeth Townsend, 1777, PROB 11/1035/71; William Walter, 1734, PROB 11/667/270; Catharine Welder, 1786, PROB 11/1139/22; Harriott Welder, 1800, PROB 11/1339/227; Richard Willmer, 1754, PROB 11/807/34; John Winning, 1780, PROB 11/1066/82; Martha Winning, 1797, PROB 11/1288/131.

Administrations:-

Robert Collier, 1757, PROB 6/132/206; Robert Collier, 1761, PROB 6/136/268; William Collyer, 1668, Prob 6/43/ f49. Inventory Prob 4/19210,f165; John Collier, 1770, Prob 31/557/f165.

Cases in the Court of Chancery:- Collier v. Veysey, 1684, C 5/463/34.

Non-Conformist and Non-Parochial Registers digitised, in association with the National Archives, Kew, by BMD registers.co.uk
Apprenticeships:- Series IR 1, Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures, 1710-1811.

Oxfordshire Record Office:-

Transcribed parish registers for St. Mary the Virgin, Witney, St. Mary's Burford, St. John's Taynton, St. Britius Brize Norton, St. Bartholomew's Ducklington.

Lease and Release 1668, SL17/5/D1-2.

Diocesan and archdeaconry marriage bonds for Oxfordshire.

Wills proved in the Diocese, Archdeaconry and Peculiars of Oxfordshire:-

Robert Collier, 1724; Robert Collier, 1747; Richard Collier, 1801; Edward Collier, 1793; Edward Collier, 1785; Richard Collier, 1778; Timothy Collier, 1707; Armes Collier, 1716; Robert Collier, 1673; Thomas, Collier, Senior, 1686; Robert Collier, Senior, 1636; Elizabeth Cripps, 1747; Ann Elliot, 1742; Henry Freeman, 1731; John Freeman, 1710; Jane Rogers, 1744; John Rogers, 1742; William Shuffrey, 1763; Samuel Spire, 1776.

Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office:

Wiltshire Wills:- Thomas Winning, Highworth, 1739.

London Metropolitan Archives:

- Land Tax Assessments for London and Middlesex.
- London and Surrey Marriage Bonds and Allegations, 1597-1921.
- Digitised copies of apprenticeship and freedom records in partnership with Ancestry.co.uk
- Parish registers of St. Bartholomew the Great.

Archives held by the following London livery companies:

- The Goldsmiths' Company.
- The Leathersellers' Company.

Guildhall Library, London: the Clockmakers' Company Archives and a transcription of apprenticeships based on a list compiled in 1931 now available online.

Transcribed parish registers for St. Vedast Foster lane, publ. Harleian Society, 1902.

Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Archive Service, Staffordshire Record Office: Lease and release, D4452/5/7/5/1 & 2.

3) **Online family history forums:** www.genealogy-specialists.com ; www.rootsweb.ancestry.com

Acknowledgements.

My thanks to the following who have helped with this article:

The Goldsmiths' Company of London for permission to access their records and in particular to David Beasler, Librarian, Eleni Bide, Assistant Librarian and Sophia Tobin, Library Administrator, at the Goldsmiths' Company; The Worshipful Company of Leathersellers, London, especially Jerome Farrell, archivist at the Leathersellers Company; Bruce Jones, Terry Gill (who first drew my attention to the mark 'EC') and Dr. Stephen Levy; members of the Wine Label Circle; contributors to silver forums at 925-1000.com – in particular Peter van Oel, who allowed me to photograph and illustrate his snuffbox [page 9], and Clive Taylor, who provided an image of the mark probably used by Edward Terrill [page 22]; Richard Edgcumbe, Senior Curator in the Metalwork Department, the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Derek Collier, Huncamunca and other contributors to the Oxfordshire forums of www.genealogy-specialists.com; Pam, a contributor to www.rootschat.com for sharing her researches on the Daintrey family; Stanley Jenkins; Robert Barker; Woolley and Wallis Auctioneers, Salisbury, in particular Rupert Slingsby, silver specialist there; Bonhams Auctioneers, London; Lawrence's Auctioneers, Crewkerne, in particular Alexis Butcher, silver specialist there; David Buck of Steppes Hill Farm Antiques; Michael Davenport of Canada for sharing his researches into the Davenport family; Wendy Morgan of Brize Norton; Janine E. Skerry, Curator of Metals, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; staff at the Oxfordshire History Centre, Oxford; Richard Phillips for sharing information about his collection of boxes.