

Some Continental Influences on English Porcelain

A paper read by Errol Manners at the Courtauld Institute on the 15th October 2005

INTRODUCTION

The history of the ceramics of any country is one of continual influence and borrowing from others. In the case of England, whole technologies, such as those of delftware and salt-glazed stoneware, came from the continent along with their well-established artistic traditions. Here they evolved and grew with that uniquely English genius with which we are so familiar. This subject has been treated by others, notably T.H. Clarke; I will endeavour to not repeat too much of their work. I propose to try to establish some of the evidence for the earliest occurrence of various continental porcelains in England from documentary sources and from the evidence of the porcelain itself.

The import for resale of 'painted earthenwares' and porcelain was prohibited by statute until 1775;¹ a prohibition, no doubt, frequently ignored. Importation for personal use was allowed, but this largely restricted the availability to those with the fortune to take the 'Grand Tour' or to diplomats.

Even in the 17th century we were not simply borrowers. Potters such as John Dwight made significant advances, and his patent for 'china-ware' of 1672 predated the first patents for porcelain of our immediate continental neighbours, the earliest being that of Louis Poterat at Rouen of 1673. Whilst only a handful of pieces can be attributed to the Rouen factory, it must be granted that they are technically and artistically far superior to the failed attempts of Dwight. Rouen never developed beyond an experimental concern, but out of it was established the first great French factory of Saint-Cloud which began in the early 1690's, probably as a result of the patronage of the King's brother, the duc d'Orleans. It was the first continental porcelain factory that came to the attention of England.

Early French soft-paste porcelain

We are fortunate in having an early report on Saint-Cloud by an Englishman well qualified to comment on ceramics, Dr. Martin Lister, who devoted three pages of his *Journey to Paris in the year 1698* (published in 1699) to his visit to the factory. Dr. Lister, a physician and naturalist and vice-president of the Royal Society, had knowledge of ceramic methods, as he knew Francis Place,² a pioneer of salt-glazed stoneware, and reported on the production of the Elers³ brothers' red-wares in the Royal Society Philosophical Transactions of 1693.⁴

Dr. Lister states 'I saw the Potterie of St.Clou (sic), with which I was marvellously well pleased: for I confess I could not distinguish betwixt the pots made there, and the finest *China Ware* I ever saw. It will, I know, be easily granted me, that the *Paintings* may be better designed and finish'd (as indeed it was) because our men are far better Masters in that Art than the Chineses; but the *glazing* came not in the least behind theirs, not for whiteness, nor the smoothness of running without bubble . . .'. He goes on to describe the preparation of the clay and the numerous firings required in some detail, and complains about the 'excessive Rates' charged; in spite of this he ends by stating 'The ingenuous Master told me, he had been twenty five years about the Experiment, but had not attained it fully, till within these three Years. I, and other Gentlemen brought over of these pots with us'. This appears to be the first recorded instance of continental porcelain coming to England.

The influence of Saint-Cloud on English porcelains is limited, because the great days of the factory predated the advent of English porcelain by several decades, and by the mid 1740s was entering the artistic and financial decline that culminated in its closure due to debt in 1766. That some Saint-Cloud was still

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arriving in Great Britain in the 1750s is evident from a notice discovered by Peter Francis in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 1754, 19th-23 March, which states:

“To be sold by auction on Thursday the 28th instant by Messrs Christopher and John Irwin at their warehouse in and about Arran-street near the Linen-hall, a large parcel of wines, [etc]. There will also be sold by auction at Mr. Neale's room in Fishamble-street, on Friday the 5th of April next for account of the shippers, several parcels of curious French dry goods . . . a small parcel of costly porcelain of St Cloud, . . . The above may be viewed two days before the respective days of sales.”

The *régence* style of the finest early Saint-Cloud was hardly a satisfactory source for the most fashionable wares of the early English factories, but influence can be seen in the simpler prunus patterns with moulded *trembleuse* saucers at Bow and at Chelsea⁵ of the raised anchor period, in the gadrooning popular at Bow, Longton Hall and Worcester into the 1760s (1-4), and particularly on knife hafts and cane handles.

Occasionally more ambitious borrowings can be found on Staffordshire white salt-glazed stonewares of the 1740s to 60s (5-8) and later pearlwares with artichoke mouldings.

Of greater interest from our point of view, as its most ambitious period of production only just predated the earliest English factories, is the factory of Chantilly. This was established with money and patronage of Louis-Henri, duc de Bourbon, the Prince de Condé, who purchased land and buildings for the factory in 1730. Letters Patent were granted to his manager, Ciquaire Cirou, in 1735, giving him the right ‘To make in the factory established at Chantilly fine porcelain in all colours, types and sizes in imitation of the porcelain of Japan . . .’.

Gheneze Zelleke has shown that it was in this year, 1735, that Charles Lennox, the second Duke of Richmond (1701-1750), visited Chantilly on his way back to England.⁶ In 1734 the Duke inherited an estate at Aubigny and the title of duc d'Aubigny from his grandmother, the French mistress of Charles II. He visited Aubigny annually from 1735, and the family maintained close ties with France, often visiting their property until Napoleon seized their estate in 1806.



1. Saint Cloud prunus moulded trembleuse saucer, circa 1730



2. Bow saucer after a Saint Cloud original, circa 1755

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3. Saint Cloud blue and white gadrooned saucer, circa 1740.
Courtesy of Stockspring Antiques



4. Bow after a Saint Cloud original, circa 1760



5. Saint Cloud tureen with mask handles,
circa 1725, Musée des Arts Decoratifs



7. Detail of the handle of fig. 5

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6. Staffordshire salt-glazed tureen, circa 1750, Sotheby's, New York



8. Detail of the handle of fig. 6

In the “*Liste de porcelaine recue de sa Grandeur la Duchesse de Richmond le 25 Juin 1739 a Londres par Fr. Lefèvre*” (apparently a household servant) Chantilly porcelain is described in three rooms in the London, presumably, Whitehall, residence of the Duke of Richmond:

Dans le Salon

*Deux Teaboards de pigeonwood avec deux
Grand tasses et soucoupe de Chantilly, deux
Tasses sans soucoup, six Tasses et 6 soucoups,
Un pot a sucree et son couvert, un pot à crème
Et sa soucoupe, le tout de Chantilly, un
Grand pot a thé brun, un pot a thé de
Jantilly.*

Dans le Drawing Room

*Un teaboard avec cinq tasses et six
Soucoups de jantilly. Le sucrier et son couvere.*

*Dans le bedchamber un teaboard de
[] avec 6 tasse & 6 soucoupe &
un pot a thé de Chantille*

This represents at least two tea services and is the first French porcelain actually recorded in England. While these teawares have not survived at Goodwood, other

pieces of Chantilly porcelain have, such as a pair of wine coolers with green and yellow lizard handles enamelled with ‘banded hedge and squirrel’. Part of the second Duke’s collection was sold in London in 1751 shortly after his death. The auction catalogue included: ‘Six cups, 6 saucers (2 sorts) a tea pot, milk pot, sugar dish and cover, a slop bason, Chantilly’.

John Mallet has shown that Chelsea had access to and copied Chantilly porcelain as early as the Triangle period⁷ and adopted their practice of using tin oxide to opacify the glaze, albeit at a lower concentration (**9 & 10**). Sprimont did not simply copy the Chantilly acanthus-moulded pattern but improved on it; the best of the Chelsea versions are crisper and more elegant in design (**11**). Small details, such as floral moulding within the footring, were also copied and suggest a range of availability of Chantilly at Chelsea (**12 & 13**). The scolopendrium-moulded wares were popular in the Raised Anchor period and were to be adopted by Worcester in the 1760s. A teapot attributed tentatively to Derby of the Dry-Edge period also uses a similar moulding, but it is difficult to be certain whether it is taken from Chantilly or Chelsea (**14 & 15**).

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9. Chantilly acanthus-moulded cream jug, circa 1740



10. Chelsea Triangle Period copy of fig. 9, 1745-49



11. Chelsea triangle period, showing a development of the Chantilly original. Christie's, London



12. Footring of a Chantilly teabowl, circa 1740



13. Footring of a Chelsea beaker of the Triangle period

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14. Chantilly leaf-moulded teapot, circa 1740



15. Teapot attributed to Derby, circa 1750, loosely modelled on a Chantilly or Chelsea original. Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum

It is often hard to determine whether kakiemon designs in England were taken from Meissen, Chantilly or the Japanese originals, but sometimes it is possible and Chantilly was, for instance, evidently the source of the peach-shaped Lady-in-a-Pavilion cream jugs, as the closest prototype is Chantilly (**16 & 17**); the form was probably adapted from Chinese soapstone or bronze. A particularly good link between Chantilly and Bow is an early sauceboat⁸ of which only two Bow examples are recorded, one in the British Museum with the 'arrow and annulet mark' (*Franks Collection I.48*) (**18**),

and the other from The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (*Katz Collection*). The Chantilly example is equally rare, I only know of two examples; one in the Musée des Arts Decoratif, Paris (**19**), and the other in the Musée National Adrien Dubouché, Limoges. The Bow examples date from about 1750 or just before; those of Chantilly from 1735-40. The correspondence is almost exact (**20 & 21**).

Chantilly, or perhaps Dutch Delft, seems to have supplied the idea of the butter tubs with cow finials found at Worcester and in salt-glazed stoneware in



16. Chantilly peach-shaped cup painted with the 'Lady-in-a-pavillion' pattern, circa 1735



17. Chelsea version of fig 16, Raised Anchor period



18. Bow sauceboat, circa 1750. Courtesy of The British Museum



20. Back view of fig. 18



19. Chantilly sauceboat, circa 1735, Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris



21. Back view of fig. 19

the 1760s. Further evidence of Chantilly porcelain in England is provided by a small cup and saucer, of a shape unique to Chantilly,⁹ with London flower painting of c. 1760 and with a gilt 'Grubbe' border suggesting decoration in the studio of James Giles (**22 & 23**). That Giles had Chantilly porcelain can be seen from the advertisement for the sale by Squibb in the *Daily Advertiser* of the 26, 28/29 May 1777 'of The elegant and valuable Stock in trade of Mess. Giles and Higgins late of Cockspur-Street, Chinamen and Enamellers', which included 'Chauntilly' and other continental porcelain.¹⁰

There are also some connections that can be made with the smaller and generally less ambitious factory of Mennecy, established around 1749 at the village of Mennecy by the duc de Villeroy. Tony Stevenson¹¹ first pointed out to this Circle that 3.6 % of the output of the Mennecy factory from 1750-52 was sold to Irvin of Dublin. Peter Francis tells me that this must be Christopher or John Irwin who, we have seen, were offering Saint-Cloud porcelain in 1754 at auction there. Bow had good wholesale customers in Dublin, Mrs McNally amongst them, who could have been a point of contact between the factories.

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22. Chantilly cup and saucer decorated in London, circa 1760. Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum



23. Detail of fig. 22, showing a gilt border of the type found on the Grubbe plates suggesting decoration in the studio of James Giles



24. Mennecy figures of Street Traders, circa 1755. Mary Lou Boone collection



25. Bow Street trader, circa 1750

There is a certain similarity between the flower painting and palette that can be found on some Bow wares and simple shapes such as cylindrical *pots à fard* that might have derived from Mennecey. Rather more intriguing is the rare early Bow figure¹² of a beggar or street crier that perhaps is taken from one of the most accomplished series of figures produced at Mennecey (24 & 25). Also, the pair of Chelsea *bouquetière* figures are taken from Mennecey rather than from the original Meissen models (26 & 27). These Mennecey figures have often been attributed to Saint-Cloud but the only marked examples, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, have the incised 'D.V.' mark of the factory; it is possible however, that Saint Cloud also made the same model. Another minor connection with English porcelain is that the modeller Nicholas-Francois Gauron worked at Mennecey in 1753-54 before going to Tournai and ultimately to Derby.

Meissen

In the interest of maintaining a chronology I would like to consider the impact of Meissen, certainly the dominant early continental influence, before considering that of Vincennes and Sèvres.

The obvious place to look for early examples of Meissen porcelain in England is in the Royal Collection, but surprisingly none exists with a secure provenance from the first half of the 18th century. George I's mother, The Electress Sophia of Hanover, had one of the earliest Meissen armorial tea services¹³ dating from c. 1713/14 (28), and other early pieces with a provenance from the House of Hanover, where George II spent each summer, are known.¹⁴ An *ecuelle*, cover and stand in the British Museum was probably made for his daughter, Sophia Dorothea, wife of Frederick William of Prussia in about 1735. Whilst Augustus the Strong's conversion to Catholicism precluded any dynastic links between the court at Dresden and the Hanoverians, this did not prevent Meissen from being presented to other protestant monarchs such as those of Denmark and Sweden.¹⁵ The earliest record of Meissen in the British Royal Collection was found by Sir Geoffrey de

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26. Mennecey *bouquetière* figures, incised 'DV' mark. The Philadelphia Museum of Art



27. Chelsea figures modelled by Josef Willems, c. 1755. Courtesy of Klaber and Klaber

Bellaigue in the Duchy of Cornwall accounts for 1733/34: it simply states 'The Dresden China £25.4' bought by Charles Lord Baltimore for H.R.H. (Frederick Prince of Wales) in France. A more substantial purchase was made in February 1742 of a

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28. Meissen teapot with the arms of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, mother of George I, circa 1713/14. The Hoffmeister Collection, Hamburg

'Dresden china service' of 196 pieces and a 'Tea Table Equipage' for £207.9.6 from Baron D'Utterrodt.¹⁶ This was probably the service inherited by George III in 1772 on his mother's death. These pieces are no longer in the Royal Collection. Queen Charlotte's Sale of 1819 included much early-sounding Meissen, which perhaps accounts for their absence.¹⁷

The earliest Meissen commission from an Englishman is a tea and coffee service bearing the arms of Edward Howard, 9th Duke of Norfolk (1685-1777), impaling those of his wife, Mary Blount of Blagdon (29).¹⁸ A ducal coronet surmounts the arms, and since he only succeeded to the Dukedom in December 1732 the service must date from no earlier than 1733, but, on stylistic grounds, very little later. The Duke may have been on the Grand Tour himself, or at least



29. Meissen two-handled beaker and saucer from the service made for the 9th Duke of Norfolk. Courtesy of the Gardiner Museum, Toronto



30. Bow beaker and saucer based on the Meissen form in fig. 29. Courtesy of Simon Spero

in exile, as he was engaged in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 and charged with High Treason, but acquitted; or he may have ordered the set through a contact in the diplomatic corps. The form of the slender two-handled beakers, widely used at Meissen from the mid 1720s until about 1734/5, was copied at Bow **(30)** from the early 1750s and at Chelsea in the red anchor period.

Evidence of other early purchases of Meissen in England is scarce; although no doubt much remains to be discovered in archives. It is recorded that in 1745 the Hon. John Spencer bought a Meissen covered bowl and stand decorated with '*schneeballen*' or 'snow-ball flowers' **(31)** from the London dealer, P. Bertrand and Co. for the high price of £10.10.0;¹⁹ it is still at Althorp. And this type of decoration was

31. Meissen *schneeballen* ecuelle, similar to the example bought in London by the Hon. John Spencer in 1745



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copied at Chelsea and Derby. Meissen also appears in the inventories of other noble families, indicating that it was available if still scarce. Hilary Young has suggested that from mid 1751 Meissen had become a much more familiar product in England,²⁰ as is evident from Nicholas Sprimont's plea in 1752-3 for protection from the illegal competition from imported Meissen in *The case of the Undertaker of the Chelsea Manufacture of Porcelain Ware*, and from Jonas Hanway's complaint in 1753 that it was 'a subject of horror to see so many shops in the streets of LONDON supplied with the porcelain of DRESDEN'.²¹

That Meissen was available to a porcelain factory in the mid-1740s is evident from the earliest English porcelain. John Mallet pointed out that the decoration of certain 'A' marked porcelains is taken directly from the '*Indianische blumen*' or oriental flowers used to fill the spaces around cartouches of chinoiseries and harbour scenes on Meissen tea- and similar wares. These match, nearly exactly, those on Meissen pieces of the mid 1720s and early 1730s. It is worth noting that Edward Heylyn and Thomas Frye in applying for their patent of 1744 stated that it "would . . . save large sums of money that were yearly paid to the Saxons and the Chinese"

Gifts or purchases of Meissen porcelain can be associated with at least four British ambassadors or envoys: Thomas Robinson; the Hon. Thomas Villiers; Sir Charles Hanbury Williams; and Viscount Stormont.²²

Thomas Robinson, later 1st baron Grantham, was English Ambassador to Vienna from 1730-48. During 1741 he sought, in vain, to make peace between Maria Theresa and Frederick the Great. He received a gift of a Meissen dinner service from Augustus III on the 14th January 1737, 'Ein Taffel-service mit Blumen und Zierathen nach AltIndianischer Art gemahlt'.²³ This has not been positively identified.

A striking Meissen service known as the 'Jersey' service, painted with large highly stylised chinoiseries after the engravings of Petrus Schenk, has descended in the family of the Earls of Jersey and a portion, 21 plates, still remains at Osterley Park (32). The

distinctive style of painting has sometimes been attributed to Adam Friedrich von Löwenfinck, but this cannot be, since some of the pieces bear the small impressed numbers that were only introduced around 1738, after he had left the factory. It was probably bought or acquired as a diplomatic gift by the Hon. Thomas Villiers (1709-1786), 1st Earl of Clarendon, the younger brother of William Villiers, 3rd Earl of Jersey (1708-69), who was envoy-extraordinary to Augustus III between 1736 and 1742.²⁴ This style of decoration does not seem to have been copied at any English factory, but a related service, the 'Gold Stripe' service was copied in the early 19th century, suggesting that this too was in England by then. There were probably other examples of Meissen in the Jersey collection, as Anthony du Boulay noted numerous pieces listed in the inventory of 38 Berkeley Square, the house of Sarah Sophia, Countess of Jersey, who died in 1867.²⁵

David Murray, Viscount Stormont (later Earl of Mansfield), was Britain's envoy to Dresden in 1756-63, then Envoy-Extraordinary to the Imperial Court of Vienna, 1763-72. It is possible that he acquired the Meissen kakiemon service that still remains at Scone



32. Meissen plate from the 'Jersey' service, circa 1738

Palace in Scotland, as this must have been in England from about this period, since it has ten Bow replacement plates.²⁶

The most interesting and well-documented episode in the story of Meissen's influence on Chelsea porcelain concerns the porcelain acquired by Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams, the British envoy to the court in Dresden from 1747, and sent to Henry Fox of Holland House. Since it has been so thoroughly treated by Tim Clarke,²⁷ I will only add a few observations and do not propose to repeat more than is necessary.

Sir Charles received two services as gifts from the King, Augustus III through Count Brühl in 1748: a dessert service 'a service with a brown edge and natural painted Flowers', which included figures; and an extensive dinner service with domestic, wild and imaginary beasts. These were sent to Holland House in stages from 1749, where his good friend Henry Fox, later Lord Holland, allowed him an apartment. The dinner service was by far the most spectacular porcelain service ever seen in England and it was

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eventually acquired, possibly through a lottery, by the Duke of Northumberland. One hundred and eight of the original one hundred and twenty nine pieces remain today at Alnwick Castle (33).²⁸

It is curious that Sir Charles received quite such a very splendid gift, as England had not been central to the diplomatic concerns of Saxony, but the Treaty of Warsaw in January 1745 secured the pecuniary support of the Maritime Powers for the Austro-Saxon alliance.²⁹ Within the shifting diplomatic alliances of this period Sir Charles's main contribution was probably the negotiation of a large loan to a near-bankrupt Saxony. It is possible that the service was part of a 'back-hander' from the rapacious and corrupt Count Brühl, with whom he had formed a close association; corruption and financial self-interest were an unspoken but tacitly accepted part of public life. He apparently had always intended to sell it, as was common practice with diplomatic gifts, as he wrote, in 1748, to Henry Fox: 'it would cost here fifteen hundred pounds. I wish anyone would give so much for it in England'.



33. Meissen tray from the service given to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, circa 1747, Alnwick Castle

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In a letter of 9th June 1751 Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams gave permission for Sir Everard Fawkener, to borrow, on behalf of the Chelsea factory, any of his porcelain that he had sent back to Holland House. In his letter of reply from London of 12th August, only two months later, Sir Everard was able to report “Sir . . . I found on my return to Town that many imitations are made as well in some forms as in paintings. This is of the greatest consequence to this new manufacture, as that of Dresden has not only the advantage of a longer establishment, & of all the support of a Royal expence, by which a number of the best artist in the way they want, are drawn thither, but there are is (sic) at Dresden the greatest collection of Old China in Europe, from whence many excellent patterns are to be had . . .”

Tim Clarke has shown how at least two pieces of the Northumberland service must have been borrowed by Chelsea as copies exist nearly exact in

detail down to the disposition of insects and flowers (34). Many others show the strong influence of the service. He also showed that numerous Chelsea bird models derived from the finials of the tureens and other items.

Evidence that Henry Fox commissioned Meissen through Sir Charles has emerged since Tim Clarke wrote his paper. It revolves around Fox’s scandalous elopement with Lady Caroline Lennox, daughter of the 2nd Duke of Richmond, in 1744; the marriage took place in the London home of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams. The couple were ostracised by the Richmonds, but on the birth of a child in 1748 they relented and resumed relations. Fox asked his friend, Hanbury Williams, to commission three boxes with Lady Caroline’s portrait; the first for himself, was completed in June 1748 and this one (35) shortly afterwards as a gift of reconciliation to the Duchess. It remains at Goodwood.³⁰



34. Chelsea dish copied from fig. 33. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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35. Meissen box with portrait of Lady Caroline Fox, circa 1748. Goodwood House



36. A plate with the arms of Fitzgerald and Lennox probably commissioned by Henry Fox, circa 1750. The Hoffmeister Collection, Hamburg

Another probable commission through Henry Fox is an octagonal plate of c. 1750. This has the combined arms of Fitzgerald and Lennox for James Fitzgerald, twentieth Earl of Kildare (1722-1773) who married Emily Lennox, Henry Fox's sister-in-law, another of the daughters of the Duke of Richmond. Since only one example exists it was perhaps a trial for a service that was never executed.³¹ (36)

Photographs taken of the interior of Holland House (37) show a small part of the collection³² as it was before 1908 including an example of the Monkey band leader or a Chelsea copy (a model first recorded in the 1756 sale catalogue), a figure of Harlequin from the *Commedia dell'arte* which is probably an English copy of the rather small Meissen figure from the series made for the Duke of Weissenfels and a Bow Harlequin of the 'Anchor and Dagger' period of



37. Photograph of some of the porcelain remaining in Holland House taken in 1908

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about 1770. A very rare Chelsea figure of Pulcinello (38) after the Meissen model by J.J. Kändler was rescued from the ruins of Holland House after it was bombed in the War. Perhaps some of the Chelsea copies were sent to Holland House in gratitude for the help that they had been given. The porcelain remaining at Holland House does not necessarily reflect what was there in the 1750s, as, for instance, the Bow Harlequin was clearly added long after the period of the Dresden exchanges; and Caroline Fox was buying porcelain avidly in the late 1750s and 60s. In a letter to her sister Emily in 1759 she writes: ‘I hope Lord Kildare has made a good report of my blue gallery and my dressing room fitted up with a



38. Chelsea figure of Pulcinello, after a Meissen original, rescued from the ruins of Holland House after World War II. Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum

great deal of pea-green china and painted pea-green. I have been extravagant enough to buy a good deal of china lately, but I am in tolerable circumstances’.³³ Since Sèvres would have been difficult to find in the war years this most likely refers to Chelsea porcelain, and it was in this year from March 19th to April 12th that we find the first mention of ‘Pea Green’, when the following advertisement appeared in the *Public Advertiser*:

To be sold by Auction
By MR. BURNSALL,

All the valuable and very curious last new Production of his beautiful Chelsea Porcelain; consisting of some matchless blue and gold vases, Perfume Pots, large cabinet two-handled Cups and Covers, some Potpourit and other Pieces of the Pea Green and Gold, never before exhibited . . .³⁴

A considerable quantity of the contents of Holland House were sold in 1775 after the death of the heir Stephen, The 2nd Lord Holland.³⁵ The contents include rather more Sèvres than Meissen, some Chelsea, Chantilly, mounted Chinese porcelain, of which Caroline was very fond, and other oriental and blue and white Tournai porcelain; Caroline and Henry Fox had visited Brussels on their way to Paris in 1763. One of the surprises is a large bust of George II and a bracket,³⁶ presumably one of the well known busts that have been tentatively, but perhaps wrongly, attributed to Liverpool. What remained of the collection was bequeathed to the descendant of Henry’s brother, Stephen Fox, The Earl of Ilchester, in 1859. In 1939, two years before Holland House was destroyed in the Blitz, most of the porcelain was removed to Melbury House, in Dorset, where some of it remains. Christie’s sold some pieces in 1996³⁷ including the Meissen cup and saucer with a glass-bonded repair, a technique used in England but not elsewhere in Europe (39). It was a model much copied at Bow and Worcester (40).

Another particularly good instance of Chelsea copying specific pieces of Meissen is the pair of hexagonal vases now in the Rijksmuseum noted by



39. Meissen cup and saucer originally from Holland House with a 'glass-bonded' repair. Circa 1735. Courtesy of Malcolm Gutter.

40. Bow cup dated 1764, a shape derived from a Meissen example such as fig.39



John Mallet (**41**). These are the only known Meissen vases with this precise decoration³⁸ and must presumably have been the actual pieces used as models, whether borrowed from Holland House or elsewhere.³⁹ Exact copies exist in the Victoria & Albert Museum (**42a & b**), The Boston Museum of

Fine Arts and in a private collection.⁴⁰ A pair of closely related Chelsea vases are in The Huntingdon Library. Although none of the panels of these match those of the vases in the Rijksmuseum they are in the same spirit but probably by a different and more inventive hand.

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41. Meissen, circa 1745, The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

A less exact copy of a Meissen vase of c. 1745 is a baluster form, which was popular at Chelsea in the Red Anchor period. In this instance (43) the disposition of the birds on a decaying and broken tree stump and insects around the neck has been followed reasonably closely on a vase of the late Red Anchor period (44). Worcester also made a variant that is closer to the more squat Chelsea form and with a further simplification of the painting (45); it seems probable that Worcester was copying the Chelsea version rather than directly from the Meissen.

With kakiemon and *blanc-de-chine* patterns it is often hard to know if Chelsea was copying the oriental original or the Meissen version. The intention of copying oriental patterns from



42 a & b. Two views of a Chelsea vase, circa 1756, copied exactly from the Meissen example, fig 41. The Victoria and Albert Museum

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43. Meissen vase, circa 1745. Schloss Lustheim



44. Chelsea, circa 1756



45. Worcester, circa 1756-58. Klepser collection



46. Meissen teapot, circa 1740, with handle and spout added in England in the mid 18th century



47. Chelsea teapot of the Raised anchor period that appears to be copied from the Meissen rather than the Chinese original, fig 48

Meissen is evident in the letter of the 12th August 1751 from Sir Everard Fawkener. A Meissen version of a *blanc de chine* pomegranate teapot can be shown to have been in England in the mid 18th century as this example (46) has a silver spout and wooden handle of a type often added in England. The moulding of the leaves on the Chelsea example (47) are, if anything, closer to the Meissen than to the Chinese original (48), suggesting that Chelsea copied Meissen in this instance.



48. Chinese teapot, Dehua, Kangxi period

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Bow also had access to Meissen figures from an unknown source and perhaps copied them even before Chelsea. A Bow figure of a blackamoor with the incised date 1750, in the Katz Collection in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, is an exact copy of a Meissen figure first made in 1741. It seems that no Meissen models or forms were copied at Chelsea in the Triangle period.

From the mid 1750s most Bow figures derived from Meissen. A Meissen figure of a peep-show man from the *Cris de Paris* series modelled by J.J. Kändler and P. Reinicke shows how quickly Bow copied fashionable models (49a & b). This particular Meissen figure is dated 1756 and signed with initials C.F.K. It is believed to be one of a rare group of figures that were ordered from a master painter, in this instance Christian Friedrich Kühnel⁴¹ (1719-1792), to act as templates in the Meissen decorating studio. The Bow figure is perhaps only a year later than the Meissen original and follows the intended Meissen decorative scheme very

closely; the Bow painter could not resist adding the floral trousers. The Bow figure is slightly smaller at 13.4 cm high than the Meissen at 14.2 cm. and is slightly more upright but still about 6% smaller, although it is consistent with having been moulded from the Meissen.

Wares were also copied at Bow and other English factories. It would be tedious to list too many examples but some particularly early and close copies are worth noting. Charles Gouyn's factory perhaps adopted the idea of scent bottles, which was to become such an important part of its production, from Meissen; it copied the rococo bottle of c. 1745 (50 & 51) but was to develop a far more ambitious range of figurative bottles than Meissen did. The technique of slip-casting, which was used at Gouyn's factory, but not at Meissen, lends itself particularly well to such small, detailed, hollow works. Longton Hall clearly had access to a source of Meissen from their earliest years and continued to copy pieces when re-established at West Pans.⁴²



49a. A Meissen figure of a 'peep-show' man from the *Cris de Paris* series dated 1756 and signed by C. F. Kühnel and the Bow copy of 1756-58



49b. the reverse of 49a

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50. Meissen rococo scent bottle, circa 1745. The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



51. Charles Gouyn's factory, circa 1753

Worcester is remarkable amongst the major English factories, and it is a tribute to its originality, exhibiting scarcely any direct influence of Meissen in its early years up to the later 1750s, in spite of Richard Holdship later describing it as a “Porcelain manufactory in imitation of Dresden ware”. I can find no form and little decoration copied directly before about 1756. One of the few instances that perhaps indicates a familiarity with Meissen is a coffee pot of around 1752-53, from the A. J. Smith collection in the Bristol Museum which is enamelled with a type of bold oriental floral pattern probably derived from that found on Meissen.⁴³ We have seen, in the vase (45), how some Meissen was copied via the intermediary of Chelsea, but by about 1760 direct copies can be found, such as the blue and white cup and saucer (52), which copies the form and decoration precisely as well as including the famous crossed-swords mark.



52. Worcester cup and saucer copying a Meissen form and decoration and marked with ‘crossed swords’, circa 1760

Derby in 1756 under William Duesbury advertised a “Great Variety of useful and ornamental porcelain, after the finest Dresden models” and in 1757 referred to itself as “the Derby or second Dresden”. The rare early wares do sometimes show a Meissen influence but it is not often explicit, as in the wishbone handles also found at Worcester. It was in figure production from the mid 1750s that it specialised in copying Meissen, sometimes adapting the cruel satire of Saxony into something more palatable to an English sensibility. An instance of this is the copy of the ‘Duped Invalid’ of J. J. Kändler of 1741 (53 & 54), in which the sickly cuckolded husband, unable to satisfy the demands of his young wife, is ridiculed; Derby has adapted the arrangement of the group and transformed it into a study in conjugal harmony.

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53. Meissen group of the 'Duped Invalid', by J. J. Kaendler, circa 1741



54. Derby adaption of fig. 53 of circa 1760

Italy

The porcelain factories of Italy of the mid eighteenth century were far smaller concerns than those of Meissen and Sèvres and, as one would expect, their influence on English porcelain is correspondingly small. The most significant factory for our purposes is that of Doccia founded near Florence by the Marchese Carlo Ginori around 1738. Florence being so central to the Grand Tour, the English 'Milordi' would have come into contact with it but little evidence remains.

It has long been known that the 'chinaman' and partner in the Bow factory, John Crowther, had a fine-sounding Doccia service which was sold at his bankruptcy sale in May 1764, described as 'a rich and elegant Tea and Chocolate Equipage of the curious and rare Tuscan Manufactory, This inimitable and superb Set was first intended by the Marquis Ginogi (sic), for the late Grand duke of Tuscany.'⁴⁴ More recently Hilary Young has established a connection between the elaborate Bow coffee pot in the Victoria and Albert Museum and a presumably lost Doccia original.⁴⁵

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Elements of a Doccia tea service exist with the arms of Hervey (55).⁴⁶ This has been thought to be those of George William Hervey (1721-75), 2nd Earl of Bristol, who served as Minister at Turin from 1755 to 1758, but any male member of the family was entitled to these arms and they lack the supporters and coronet that one would expect in those of the earl. They are in fact those of his younger brother the distinguished naval Captain, Augustus Hervey, later the 3rd Earl of Bristol. Augustus Hervey was a close friend of the Marchese Carlo Ginori, the founder of the factory, who he met in 1747, and refers to him, in his Journal in 1753, as 'my good friend';⁴⁷ a letter of 4th April 1750 exists from Marchesa Laura Marana (herself a recipient of an extensive Doccia armorial service) to Marchese Ginori in which she asks him to thank signor (not Lord) Hervey for some pistachio nuts ('i pistacchi che ci regalò il signor Harvey'). Pieces of this service must date from around 1752-1753, as their decoration is practically identical to the service made for Cardinal Stoppani at that date.

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55. Doccia with the arms of Hervey, made for Captain Augustus Hervey, circa 1752-53. The Victoria and Albert Museum



56. Doccia, circa 1745



57. Worcester copy of fig. 56

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Ickworth, the seat of the Earls of Bristol, has by far the largest collection of Doccia porcelain in any English House, but sadly the records indicate that it entered the collection in the 19th century; indeed few English Houses seem to have early Doccia. The fine sculptural works in Corsham Court in Wiltshire were also collected in the 19th century.

Surprisingly, the closest link with Doccia occurs in Worcester porcelain with the ‘wav’d cups’ referred to in the price list of the Worcester London Warehouse in 1755-56. **(56 & 57)** This is a very close copy of a form made at Doccia around 1750.⁴⁸ The same form has been found on wasters of William Reid’s factory, Liverpool **(58)**, presumably copied from Worcester. The Ashmolean Museum convincingly exhibits a slender Worcester vase⁴⁹ of about 1752/3 next to a Doccia example of about the same date.

The other great Italian factory of the middle of the century was the Royal Neapolitan factory of Capodimonte. Capodimonte porcelain was always rare and expensive and so one would not expect much influence on English porcelain. Only one piece appears to have an English connection, a scent bottle

of about 1753-55 with a London gold and enamel stopper and mounts **(59a & b)**. It is decorated on one side with a half-length portrait of Prince Charles Stuart, Bonnie Prince Charlie, in armour, wearing the sash and star of the Garter and the green sash of the Order of the Thistle. Numerous portraits of Prince Charles Stuart exist, perhaps the most similar being the one commissioned in 1739 by the Jacobite sympathiser in Rome, William Hay, from Louis-Gabriel Blanchet,⁵⁰ a miniature of which could have been the source. The reverse has the arms in a lozenge and motto *JE N’OUBLIERAY JAMAIS* of Lady Mary Hervey, wife of Lord John Hervey of Ickworth and mother of Augustus. Lady Mary (née Leppel) was a notorious Jacobite sympathiser in spite of (or probably because of) having held the post of maid of honour to Queen Caroline at the Hanoverian court of George II. Jacobitism was an affectation of certain grandees such as Lady Hervey. She and her husband, Lord John Hervey, had been snubbed at court by Frederick Prince of Wales. This, combined with a disdain for the rather stolid Hanoverian court, which lacked the glamour and grandeur of that at



58. Wasters found on the site of William Reid’s factory. Courtesy of Maurice Hillis



59 a & b. Capodimonte scent bottle with a portrait of Prince Charles Stuart, Bonnie Prince Charlie, and the arms of Lady Mary Hervey, 1753-55. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Versailles, with which she was personally familiar, resulted in a fanciful attraction for the old regime. Lady Hervey's sympathies led her to such gestures as planting white roses, symbolic of the cause, at Ickworth; Lady Louisa Hervey, her granddaughter, thought that whilst Lady Hervey was a zealous Jacobite it was 'hardly, perhaps, to the pitch of wishing the Pretender's enterprise success'.⁵¹ Lady Mary's favourite son, Augustus, is the only recorded English buyer of Capodimonte porcelain. He states in his journal in July 1753:

'I had a very fine passage along the Roman shore, going close to it all the way. I went between the island of Portici and the main, and anchored at Naples early Sunday the 22nd. There could not be a more agreeable, pleasant and quick passage. I received pratiqua (quarantine) immediately, and went . . . in the evening to Madame Franca-Villa, then to the Marquesa de la Mota and with them to a fair, and bought a great deal of the chinay of the King's manufactory, because there were always

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the names of those that purchased carried to the King at night; tis bad chinay, but the painting and gilding is very fine. To this fair we went every evening till supper time. The 25th I went to the Court to the King's dinner; both his Majesty and the Queen spoke to me . . .⁵²

Perhaps Augustus took the opportunity of commissioning the scent bottle at this time. He was not a Jacobite himself, at least overtly, but perhaps indulged his dotting mother's whim.

Vincennes-Sèvres

In its earliest phase up to about 1748 the Vincennes factory was an experimental concern little bigger than that of Chelsea of the Triangle period. The forms were copied from the simpler Meissen wares that could be wheel thrown and the decoration, also frequently copied from Meissen, has a simplicity and charm akin to that of the best Chelsea.

On 24 July 1745 Charles Adam was granted a Royal Privilege for 20 years to manufacture porcelain in the 'façon de Saxe, c'est à dire peinte et dorée à figure humaine' which mentions 'un nouvel établissement qui vient de se former en Angleterre d'une manufacture de porcelaine qui parait plus belle que celle de Saxe'. This presumably refers to Chelsea whose reputation had already evidently crossed the Channel. The privilege was signed at a Council of State at a camp in Flanders the day before the King marched to Oudenarde,⁵³ and the twenty thousand-word document must have taken some time to prepare and deliver, so they must have been aware of Chelsea earlier in the year.

We know from the memoirs of the duc de Luynes in 1749 that 'Les Anglais ne demandent que de la porcelaine toute blanche, mais comme ils pourroient en faire usage pour y ajouter des peintures, en leur vend cette porcelaine blanche aussi chère que si elle etait peinte', which indicates that some Vincennes porcelain had already been acquired by English buyers before this date.⁵⁴ This date is important, as it



60. Chelsea pedestal, raised Anchor period, with stylised flowers probably copied from Vincennes



61. Vincennes seau, circa 1748, with flower painting derived from Meissen *holszchnit blumen*. Courtesy of Dragesco and Cramoisan

Errol Manners – Some Continental Influences on English Porcelain62. Meissen tobacco jar with *holzschnitt blumen*, circa 1735

was an artistic watershed for the factory, because under patronage of Louis XV and especially Madame de Pompadour, and with the appointment of Jean-Claude Duplessis, the *orfèvre du roi*, the factory began to undergo a radical change of style, throwing off the influence of Meissen and developing a new and original rococo idiom.

Tim Clarke noted the similarity of flower painting on certain pieces of Triangle period Chelsea (1745-49) with that of Vincennes of around 1745-48; this, in turn, was taken from the Meissen *holzschnitt blumen* or wood-cut flowers that were used around 1735-40. It is difficult to be certain that Chelsea was in fact copying the very rare early Vincennes examples or the much more common Meissen pieces (60, 61, 62), but since contact with Paris was easier and much more frequent than with Dresden it is entirely plausible that Vincennes was then more readily available. It is also notable that there are no signs of Meissen forms in Chelsea of the Triangle period whereas some of the simpler Vincennes shapes are found such as the *gobelet lizonnée*. Likewise perhaps Chelsea copied its rare use of harbour scenes from the scarce Vincennes pieces rather than Meissen (63 & 64). From around 1750 the direct influence of Meissen is more apparent.



63. Vincennes with Meissen style harbour scenes, circa 1745-48

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64. Chelsea with harbour scenes, Raised Anchor period, perhaps taken from Vincennes rather than the Meissen originals

The earliest specific mention of Vincennes porcelain being sent to England occurs on the 15th October 1751 in the *Livre Journal* of the most prominent Paris *marchand mercier*, Lazarre Duvaux where it records that Madame de Pompadour pays for ‘trois vases garnis de fleurs de Vincennes, envoyés en Angleterre’.⁵⁵ Rosalind Savill suggests that this was intended for her friends the duc de Mirepoix, the French ambassador, and his wife.⁵⁶

The exchange of letters⁵⁷ between Lord Chesterfield and the Marquise de Monconseil in Paris illustrates an example of how early exchanges of porcelain would have brought the wares of Chelsea, or other English factories, and those of Vincennes to the attention of each other.⁵⁸ On the 9th August 1750, Lord Chesterfield sent a snuff box, which cost him ‘only two *livres*, less than a quarter of what one would have to pay for the same thing in Dresden’ and remarks ‘how well we imitate the Dresden china’. It has been assumed that this referred to a Chelsea box but since Lord Chesterfield’s London home was in Audley Street, just a short walk from Charles Gouyn’s retail premises in Bennet Street it could perhaps have

been from the ‘Girl-in-a-Swing’ factory. Indeed it is hard to find an example of a Chelsea box of this period, whilst ‘Girl-in-a-Swing’ boxes are known, some of which could perhaps be as early as 1751.

Writing from Bath on the 7th October 1751, he sends ‘two porcelain baubles’ from ‘la manufacture d’ici’, and On 30th June of 1752 Lord Chesterfield thanks the Marquise for the porcelain she has sent him which is ‘charming, perfect and will make our manufacture here blush. I showed it to the manager (“intendant”) who was very struck with it and asked me as a favour to lend it to him for a few days so that he could copy it (“pour lui server de modèle”) which I could not refuse him- particularly as I ordered two or three of the same for use, since yours will be quite useless’. And on the 24th June 1753 Lord Chesterfield writes again to the Marquise, in which he thanks her for ‘the most beautiful piece of Vincennes porcelain which I have ever seen: the ground of the material, the shape, the colours, all is perfect’.

Another record of Vincennes porcelain coming to England that has not been published in a ceramic context concerns another close friend of Lord Chesterfield, Molly Lepell, Lady Hervey, who we have already mentioned in connection with Capodimonte porcelain. She was a committed francophile and had visited the Richmonds in France at their chateau in Berry in 1735, the year that they travelled to Chantilly; I have not been able to establish whether she also accompanied them there. Lady Hervey spent much time in Paris and was painted there in 1750 by Hubert-François Gravelot and Jean-Etienne Liotard, with her favourite son, in the painting ‘Captain Augustus Hervey greeted by his family’ that hangs at Ickworth (65).

Henry Fox wrote a letter in July 1753⁵⁹ from Holland House in which he states:

Dear Madam,

I am very thankful to your Ladyship, as I am far from imputing any part of your great *politesse* & Goodness to the Company you keep *là bas*, that as soon as I receiv’d the Honour of your Letter I cry’d out ‘See how excessively



65. 'Captain Augustus Hervey greeted by his Family', Hubert-François Gravelot and Jean-Etienne Liotard. Painted in Paris in 1750. Ickworth, The National Trust

kind & civil Lady Hervey is! Even Paris can't spoil her!' I have desir'd Mr de Cosne to receive the two pieces of China from your Ladyship & send them here, which I hope is giving your Ladyship least trouble and at the same time preventing their being pack'd up by some French friend with whom you might leave the care of them when you go to Alys.

Pray what place is it that has that antique Grecian name?

I dare say Lady Kildare's *pot à Eau* is excessively pretty. Were Bateman's Vase less so than I imagine it, its being chose by your Ladyship would blind him to any fault it may have.

Lady Kildare (née Lady Emily Gordon-Lennox), was the sister of Lady Caroline Fox for whom Henry Fox had ordered the Meissen armorial plate previously mentioned. Bateman is either John, second Viscount Bateman, or his brother Richard who helped plan the garden at Holland House.

Although Vincennes is not mentioned by name it can only be this from a lady of such standing in society who was received with her favourite son, Captain Augustus Hervey, at Versailles by the Queen, the *Dauphin* and Madame de Pompadour. And so it is probable that Vincennes was also available at Holland House for Sir Everard Fawkener to borrow on behalf of Chelsea.

From this period at Vincennes, the late 1740s, the

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simple Meissen forms, which were first copied at Chelsea, were replaced with altogether more sophisticated designs as the factory evolved its own uniquely French idioms. The letters of Lady Hervey and the Marquise de Monconseil date from this period and Chelsea had access to examples of this type, as we find a copy of an *ecuelle* of a Duplessis form (66). This shape with the entwined fish finial and silver-inspired handles was made at Vincennes from around 1748 (67) and seems not to have been made after about 1752. The *ecuelle* was also made at Worcester (68) in polychrome and blue and white from the late 1750's, the style of the bird painting suggesting that they copied it from Chelsea rather than directly from Vincennes.

John Whitehead informs me that he has looked through the Vincennes/Sèvres sales registers up to 1757 and there is no record of English buyers dealing directly with the factory, and presumably they would not, until after the Seven Years War of 1756-63. This is not altogether surprising as the larger part of production was bought from or commissioned through the Paris dealers, *marchands merciers*, who acted on a commission basis with the factory; even such a supporter of the factory as Madame de Pompadour bought largely in this fashion.

Fortunately part of the *Livre Journal* or Day book of the most important of these *marchand mercier*, Lazarre Duvaux, has survived and here we do find the earliest specific references to English buyers.⁶⁰

The first English buyer recorded by Duvaux is the 2nd Viscount Bolingbroke, Frederick St. John (1734-87), whose first recorded purchase [2221]⁶¹ was noted on the 23 August 1755, his next [2248] on the 7th October 1755, included 'quatre tasses anses & soucoupes, bleu-céleste à guirlandes de fleurs, à 72 livres' (Bolingbroke later bought further teawares of this type⁶²) (69 & 70), 'Un vase ovale de porcelaine gros-bleu avec un cartouche à enfans, 240 livres – Deux pots pourris assortis, à quatre pieds don't les cartouches peints à oiseaux, 288 livres'



66. Chelsea, Red Anchor period, after fig 67. Private collection



67. Vincennes *ecuelle* in the new style introduced by Jean-Claude Duplessis, circa 1751



68. Worcester, circa 1756-8 probably copying Chelsea rather than the Vincennes original. Brian Haughton Antiques



69. Vincennes tea service, possibly bought by Lord Bolingbroke in 1755. Firestone collection, Christie's New York



70. Chelsea of the same form, *gobelet Hébert*, as purchased by Lord Bolingbroke, see fig 69

(77). In September 1756 Duvaux sold him his most substantial purchase, a *bleu céleste* dessert service comprising 48 plates and various *compotiers*, *fromagers* and *seaux* as well as a centre-piece on an ormolu and mirror stand⁶³ and four vase 'pot pourri Pompadour', of the third size, blue ground with monochrome children. A pair of these are probably the examples in the J. Paul Getty Museum (71).⁶⁴ Some of the plates survive in the Royal Collection⁶⁵ and the centre-piece in the Cholmondeley collection at Houghton. This purchase is remarkable, as no other service of this size had yet been bought by anyone other than the King or Madame de Pompadour. 'Bully' Bolingbroke

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71. Vincennes potpourri Pompadour probably bought by Lord Bolingbroke in 1756, The J. Paul Getty Museum

spent no less than 13,800 Louis on porcelain alone in Paris between 1755 and 1758.⁶⁶ He lived at Lydiard Tregoze in Wiltshire, where he became an important patron of the turf and of George Stubbs, who painted his great horse Gimcrack, which he sold to the pioneer of hard-paste porcelain, the Comte de Lauragais. He later married Lady Diana Spencer, daughter of the 3rd Duke of Marlborough, who, after a scandalous divorce and remarriage fell on hard times and, as Lady Di Beauclerk, was reduced to supplying designs for Wedgwood.

The second recorded buyer was Augustus Hervey, the *Livre-Journal de Lazarre Duvaux* for December 1755 reads:

2360.- Mme Lambert (pour milord Havré) :
Deux caisses carrées, bleu céleste, peintes à
oiseaux, 720 L.

Un vase à la hollandaise, bleu céleste, peintes à
fleurs, 384 L. – Deux petits vases à oreilles, de
meme bleu, peints à enfans, 264 L.- Caisse,
emballage & frais, 9 L.

The vase ‘*hollandois*’ (72), now in a private collection, was one of a garniture that Lazarre Duvaux split up.⁶⁷ The *caisses carrées*, now in Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh (73), are painted by the greatest of the early Vincennes painters, Armand *ainé*. These incorporated the very rare feature of sailing ships, ‘men ‘o war’, which would have appealed to, or were perhaps even commissioned by, the gallant naval captain, who had arrived in Paris replete with what remained of his £9,000 prize money, which he won by the capture of French ships in the Mediterranean in 1748, the last year of the War of the Austrian succession.⁶⁸ The *vases à oreilles* are likely to be the examples sold recently in Paris⁶⁹ (74), it is a form copied in English porcelain in the 1760s at Vauxhall⁷⁰ and possibly Bow (75).

Augustus Hervey was not in Paris himself at this period as he was cruising in the Mediterranean for much of 1752-56, but his mother Mary was, and perhaps was acting for him. Augustus Hervey was perhaps buying Vincennes and other porcelain, in part, for his mother; when in Paris in 1751 he gave her “two pretty Poperies [sic] of Blue Chinay prettily set with bronze”,⁷¹ these were almost certainly Chinese. The widowed Lady Hervey spent as much time as she could in France, she was certainly there in 1752 and 1753, but by January 1756 she was back in London and her Sèvres was presumably displayed in the London town house in St. James’s Square that she had bought in 1749.

The outbreak of The Seven Years War in 1756 put an end to the Paris visits of fashionable society so the English factories had access only to those pieces that had come to England before that date. The anonymous painting of Nicholas Sprimont, with his wife and sister-in-law (76 & 76a) dates from around 1759/60 and shows them admiring the new vase forms in various stages of production; one vase, on the table, is a nearly exact copy of a Vincennes *pot pourri* à

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72. Vincennes vase 'hollandois' bought by Augustus Hervey in 1755. Courtesy Adrian Sassoon



73. Vincennes *caisses carrées* painted by Armand *ainé* with birds and 'men o' war', bought by Augustus Hervey in 1755. Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh

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74. Vincennes vases à oreilles, probably bought by Augustus Hervey in 1755. Paris art market.



75. English vases of the same form as fig. 74, attributed to Vauxhall or Bow, painted in the studio of James Giles. Private collection



76. Anonymous painting of Nicholas Sprimont with his wife and sister-in-law and Chelsea porcelain in various stages of manufacture, circa 1759. Private collection



76 a. detail of fig. 76.



77. Vincennes *pot pourri à jour*, probably one of the pair bought by Lord Bolingbroke in 1755. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris

jour' (77), which corresponds to the '*deux pots pourris assortis, à quatre pieds don't les cartouches peints à oiseaux*'. The word *assortis* indicates that they were similar to the previous entry, i.e. with a *gros-bleu* or *bleu lapis* ground, bought by Lord Bolingbroke in October 1755. This is the only Chelsea vase of this period copied exactly from a Vincennes original. A number of Chelsea examples with birds on a Mazarin-blue ground⁷² (78) correspond exactly to the description of Bolingbroke's Vincennes vases, and since it is hard to imagine that another identically decorated pair of



78. Chelsea, probably copied from one of Lord Bolingbroke's Vincennes vases, fig 77. Private collection

vases had come to England by this date it seems probable that Chelsea had access to Bolingbroke's pair, in much the same way that they were borrowing from Holland House.

The conclusion of peace with France in 1763 once more allowed contact with ceramic developments on the continent. The most spectacular arrival was a dinner service presented in May of that year by Louis XV to Gertrude, wife of John, 4th Duke of Bedford⁷³ (79), ambassador to France, following the negotiation of the Treaty of Paris which ended the Seven Years

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79. Sevres tureen from the service presented to Gertrude, Duchess of Bedford in 1763. Woburn Abbey



80. Wedgwood tureen stand copied from the Bedford service

War; it is still preserved at Woburn Abbey. Valued at 18,374 Livres it was far more extensive than Bolingbroke's service and the only major Sèvres dinner service in England at that time. It caused something of a sensation and on 7 October 1765 Josiah Wedgwood wrote to Bentley, 'I have been three days hard & close at work taking pattns from a set of French China at the Duke of Bedford's worth at least £1500, the most elegant things I ever saw, & am this evening to wait & be waited upon by designers, modelers & c'.⁷⁴ Wedgwood's infatuation with the French rococo was short-lived, but exact Wedgwood creamware copies exist of such forms as the stands for the large tureens from the Woburn service (80); a great Duplessis form was now within the reach of a modest pocket.

The Earl of Egremont was given a punch bowl of a similar design to the Woburn service in the same year by the Duc de Nivernais, the French ambassador to England. It remains at Petworth.

The next great Sèvres service to arrive in England was not a diplomatic gift but a commission from Charles Lennox, third Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny (1735-1806), the son of the Duke who had visited Chantilly in 1735. In October 1765 he was appointed English Ambassador Extraordinary and

Minister Plenipotentiary to the French court; he arrived in November and stayed for only three months at the Hôtel de Brancas, owned by Comte de Brancas Lauraguais. The Duke visited Sèvres, in the company of Horace Walpole, where he ordered a blue and a green-ground service for £500 painted with birds based on the published work of the English naturalist George Edwards (1694-1773) (81). This was a remarkable departure for Sèvres, as before this they had generally used fanciful rather than ornithologically correct birds in their designs; the few rare exceptions are after the paintings of Jean-Jaques Bachelier, the *directeur artistique* for decoration at the factory, who, perhaps not coincidentally, acted as intermediary for this service.

The ambassador's father, the second Duke, was one of Edwards' principal patrons and Edwards had dedicated the French edition of his first two volumes of bird illustrations, *Histoire Naturelle de Divers Oiseaux* published in 1745 and 1748 to the second Duke and Duchess (the English edition, 'A Natural History of Birds' was published in four volumes between 1743-51). The English and French editions of Edwards survive at Goodwood, some of the volumes contain unique impressions and reversed designs, which are also found on the Richmond Sèvres service. This suggests that the third Duke specified the type of ornithological decoration for his porcelain and may have supplied the volumes from his library for the Sèvres artists to copy.⁷⁵ As with the Bedford service, Josiah Wedgwood paid an artist, John Coward, in November 1768 for drawings after the Duke of Richmond's Sèvres.

The link with George Edwards and the Richmond service was first noticed in 1988 when the French porcelain Society visited Goodwood and Mireille Jottrand observed Stonehenge in the background to the painting of a vulture on a green-ground *seau à demi-bouteille*. Stonehenge actually appears in an Edwards plate behind the Great Bustard, a native of Salisbury Plain before its extinction in the 19th century. The Edwards volumes were then found in the library.



81. Sèvres *seau à bouteille* from the service commissioned by the third Duke of Richmond in 1765 with birds painted after the engravings of George Edwards. Goodwood House

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82. Vincennes biscuit group of 'L'agréable leçon', circa 1753



84. Sèvres group of La bergère des Alpes by Falconet after Boucher, circa 1766



83. Chelsea group, 'The Music Lesson', Gold Anchor period, taken from the Boucher engraving rather than directly from the Vincennes group



85. A Derby version of fig. 84 taken directly from the Sèvres model

The Bedford service is one of the very rare instances in which many of the Sèvres biscuit figures that typically accompanied such a service have survived, and is the first evidence for them in England. Certain other Vincennes /Sèvres models such as the 'Music Lesson' '*L'agréable leçon*' (82), occur in Chelsea (83), but it is apparent that the Chelsea model is taken from the Boucher engraving rather than from the Vincennes original. The French tradition of biscuit porcelain sculpture was not favoured at any of the English factories except at Derby from the 1770s, where certain models such as *La bergère des Alpes* by Falconet of 1766, after a drawing of Boucher, were copied directly from Sèvres examples (84 & 85).

I have chosen to concentrate this study on the years up to the early 1760s when continental

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porcelain of quality was a rarity available only to a small coterie of wealthy and well-connected people. The famous painting by William Hogarth of Lord Hervey and his Friends (1738) at Maddington (86), the shooting lodge of his friend Stephen Fox, connects many of the families in this story: Lord Hervey whose wife, Molly, and son Augustus we have seen in connection with France and Italy; the 3rd Duke of Marlborough, who famously exchanged a pack of stag hounds with the king of Poland for a Meissen service and whose son-in-law Bolingbroke was the first English buyer from Lazzarre Duvaux; and Henry Fox, who eloped with the daughter of the Duke of Richmond and who acted as intermediary between Sir Charles Hanbury Williams and the Chelsea factory.



86. William Hogarth, 'Lord Hervey and his Friends' at Maddington, the shooting lodge of his friend Stephen Fox, 1738, with Henry Fox and the 3rd Duke of Marlborough. Ickworth House, The National Trust

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NOTES

- ¹ Hilary Young, *English Porcelain, 1745-95*, 1999, p. 81
- ² Dictionary of National Biography, date, vol. 33, pp.986/7
- ³ Dr. Lister makes a brief reference to the work of the Elers brothers, on p. 141 in the *Journey to Paris in the year 1698*, in which he says that they ‘were not long since at Hammersmith’.
- ⁴ Gordon Elliott, John and David Elers and their Contemporaries, 1998, Appendix 3, p.41. Royal Society Philosophical Transaction., 17, 1693, p.699
- ⁵ Frank Tilley, *Teapots and Tea*, 1957, plate LVI
- ⁶ Ghenete Zelleke, ‘From Chantilly to Sèvres: French porcelain and The Dukes of Richmond’, *Journal of the French Porcelain Society*, VII, 1991
- ⁷ John Mallet, ‘A Chelsea Talk’, *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle*, Vol. 6 part 1, 1965, p.16
- ⁸ *Bow Porcelain, 1744-56*, illustrated in the catalogue of the Exhibition at The British Museum, 1959, fig. 8. It is here described as a *bourdalou* but would seem impractical (and uncomfortable) for this purpose and so a sauceboat seems a more likely description. The Katz example was shown by Mr O. Glendenning at a ‘miscellany of pieces’ and illustrated in the *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle: Vol. I, n.3* (1935), p.15, plate VIII, it was said that it had been tested and found not to be phosphatic; it was later established that the analysis was unreliable and the British Museum example was retested in October 1955 and found to be phosphatic after all.
- ⁹ An example of this form with Chantilly factory decoration was sold at Sotheby’s, New York, 23 May 2003.
- ¹⁰ A. P. Ledger, *Derby Porcelain Archive Research*, vol. 2, The Bedford Street warehouse and the London China Trade, 1773-1796, 2002, p. 92.
Daily Advertiser of the 26, 28/29 May 1777:
‘To be sold by Auction by Squibb At his great Room, Charles-Street . . . The elegant and valuable Stock in trade of Mess. Giles and Higgins late of Cockspur-Street, Chinamen and Enamellers; consisting of a variety of Table and Dessert Services of China, Tea and coffee equipages, beautiful Collections of ornamental China, fine old Japan, Seve, Dresden, Chauntilly . . .
- ¹¹ Tony Stevenson, ‘Some Bow Inkstands’, *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle*, vol. 14, part 3, 1992, p.276. and Duchon, N., *La manufacture de Porcelaine de Menecy Villeroy* (1988), pp. 51 and 150.
- ¹² Albert Amor, *The John Hewett Collection*, 15 May 1997, no. 4.
- ¹³ The teapot is in the Hoffmeister Collection, *Meissener Porzellan des 18 Jahrhunderts, Katalog der Sammlung Hoffmeister*, Hamburg, 1999, vol. II, no. 301, now in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, and a beaker and saucer is in The British Museum
- ¹⁴ An early Böttger porcelain teapot after a Yixing original was sold by Sotheby’s in ‘The Royal House of Hanover’ sale, 10 October 2005, lot 1417a
- ¹⁵ A remarkable group exists in the Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen, given to Frederick IV as early as 1712, and a service with the Royal arms of Denmark and the cipher of Christian VI was made in 1725-30. Much Meissen also exists in the Royal Collection in Stockholm with Royal armorials including pieces with the arms of Queen Ulrika Eleonora. See, *Meissener Porzellan des 18 Jahrhunderts, Katalog der Sammlung Hoffmeister*, Hamburg, 1999, vol. II, no.s 312 and 313.
- ¹⁶ More information about Baron d’Utterrodt will be published in the catalogue of the exhibition ‘Fragile Diplomacy’, edited by Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, to be Held at the BARD Institute in New York in 2007.
- ¹⁷ Household accounts of Frederick Prince of Wales, Vol VI (1) fo. 239. I am grateful to Jonathan Marsden and Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue for providing this information.
- ¹⁸ Examples are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, The Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Toronto, The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam and a large group in the Saint Louis Art Museum (check this)
- ¹⁹ Selma Schwartz, ‘Open Althorp’s A-Z of Porcelain’, *Country Life*, 3 June 1999, p. 171, fig. 7.
- ²⁰ Hilary Young, *English Porcelain, 1745-95*, pp. 81,83
- ²¹ Hilary Young, *English Porcelain, 1745-95*, pp. 81, from Elizabeth Adams, *Some Links between Porcelain Factories of the 18th Century, and the North West of England* (privately printed) 1969
- ²² The dates of the diplomatic appointments are taken from

- 'British Diplomatic Representatives, 1689-1789', D.B. Horn, 1932
- ²³ Claus Boltz, 'Ein Porzellangeschenk an Lord Robinson', *Keramos*, heft 146, 1994, pp. 9-12
- ²⁴ I am grateful to Patricia Ferguson for this information.
- ²⁵ Anthony du Boulay, 'The Porcelain at Osterley', *Apollo*, April 1995
- ²⁶ I am grateful to Anton Gabszewicz for this information
- ²⁷ T. H. Clarke, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams and the Chelsea Factory, *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle*, Vol. 13, part 2 and T. H. Clarke, *The Northumberland Service of Meissen Porcelain*, *Keramos*, Heft 70, October 1975
- ²⁸ A mustard pot with the Arms of the Duke of Northumberland of around 1740 is referred to in 'Sammlung Hoffmeister, vol. II, p.670, in the Schneider Collection in Schloss Lustheim but this appears to be based on a misunderstanding and seems to refer to a mustard pot from the Northumberland service, without arms, that is in the collection.
- ²⁹ D. B. Horn, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams & European Diplomacy, 1747-58, 1930, pp. 18 & 35
- ³⁰ *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, A catalogue of the exhibition held at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1985 no. 396
- ³¹ *The Hoffmeister Collection*, Meissener Porzellan des 18 Jahrhunderts, Katalog der Sammlung Hoffmeister, Hamburg, 1999, vol. II, no. 366
- ³² I am grateful to Patricia Ferguson for alerting me to these photographs
- ³³ Stella Tillyard, *Aristocrats*, 200??, p.148
- ³⁴ J. E. Nightingale, *Contributions towards the History of Early English Porcelain*, p. xvii
- ³⁵ Mr. Christie, *A Catalogue of the Magnificent Furniture . . . Most beautiful Séve and Dresden Porcelain of The Right Honourable Stephen Lord Holland, Deceased, At his Lordship's late Mansion, Holland House, Kensington, November 20, 1775*
- ³⁶ Mr. Christie, *ibid*, lot 14
- ³⁷ Christie's 14 October 1996
- ³⁸ A vase of the same form with related chinoiserie panels and different border decoration is in the Duca di Martina Museum, Naples
- ³⁹ A. den Blauwen, *Meissen Porcelain in the Rijksmuseum*, Amsterdam, 2000, no. 75. The provenance from the Oppenheimer collection, Berlin, casts no light on their whereabouts in the 18th century.
- ⁴⁰ *Porcelain For Palaces*, 1990 no. 197
- ⁴¹ *Keramos* 129/90 Christian Friedrich Kuhnelt 1719-1792, Meissen Painter T. H. Clarke also Rainer Rückert, 'Biographische Daten der Meissener Manufakturisten des 18. Jahrhunderts' p.168
- ⁴² Anton Gabszewicz found a Meissen Kakiemon teapot next to the West Pans copy at Newhailes, National trust for Scotland. *Country Life*, August 22, 2002
- ⁴³ Simon Spero, 'Lund's Bristol and early Worcester Porcelain 1750-58, The A. J. Smith Collection', 2005, no. 50.
- ⁴⁴ J.E. Nightingale, *Contributions Towards The History of Early English Porcelain*, 1881, p.1
- ⁴⁵ Hilary Young *ECC Transactions*, vol. 17, part 2, 'High Rococo Design Sources', p. 179.
- ⁴⁶ A covered bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum, a beaker and saucer in the British Museum and another cup in a private collection
- ⁴⁷ 'Augustus Hervey's Journal', (The Adventures Afloat and Ashore of a Naval Casanova) 1746-59 transcribed by David Erskine, 1953, p.86, pp. 63, 145 and 171
- ⁴⁸ 'La manifattura dei Ginori, Doccia 1737-1791', Pisa, 1998, fig 8, p.109.
- ⁴⁹ Rissik Marshall, *Coloured Worcester Porcelain of the First period*, 1954, pl. 3, no. 43
- ⁵⁰ *The King Over The Water*, *Portraits of the Stuarts in Exile after 1689*, The National Galleries of Scotland, 2001, fig 68.
- ⁵¹ Molly Lepell, *Lady Hervey*, by Dorothy Margaret Stuart, 1936, p.150
- ⁵² 'Augustus Hervey's Journal' – Edited by David Erskine p. 146/147
- ⁵³ Svend Eriksen & Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain*, 1987, p. 30
- ⁵⁴ T. H. Clarke, *French influences at Chelsea*, *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle*, Vol. IV, part 5, p.47
- ⁵⁵ Courajod, *Livre-Journal de Lazarre Duvaux, marchand-bijoutier ordinaire du roy*, 1748-58, Paris, 1873, t.II, p. 99, no. 923
- ⁵⁶ Rosalind Savill, 'Les Porcelaines de Sèvres de Madame de Pompadour dans les collections anglaises et américaines', *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, Paris, 2002, p.421
- ⁵⁷ Augustus Hervey records that he delivered letters from his mother and others to the Marquise in June 1749, 'Augustus Hervey's Journal', 1746-59 transcribed by David Erskine, 1953, p.86
- ⁵⁸ T. H. Clarke, 'French influences at Chelsea', *Transaction of the English Ceramic Circle*, Vol. IV, part 5, pp. 48 and 49. The letters were first quoted by Mrs. Arundel Esdaile in *The Burlington Magazine*, Jan. 1925. T. H. Clarke used the 1920 Bradshaw edition of Lord Chesterfield's Letters vol. III, pp.962, 996, 1018 and 1067
- ⁵⁹ Molly Lepell, *Lady Hervey*, by Dorothy Margaret Stuart, 1936, p. 242
- ⁶⁰ Courajod, *Livre-Journal de Lazarre Duvaux, marchand-bijoutier ordinaire du roy*, 1748-58, Paris, 1873
- ⁶¹ The numbers in square brackets refer to the entries in the *Livre-Journal de Lazarre Duvaux*
- ⁶² The teawares from this and subsequent purchases are probably those sold in the Firestone Collection, Christie's, New York, 21 March 1991, lot 192. Unwary historians of provenance should note that parts of this service, with a different teapot, resurfaced at a sale in Paris, Tajan, 17 December 2002, lot129, now in a finely tooled leather

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travelling case embossed with the arms of madame Adelaïde, daughter of Louis XV.

⁶³ David Peters, *Sèvres Plates and Services of the 18th Century*, 2005, vol. II, pp. 291 & 292

⁶⁴ Rosalind Savill, *The Wallace Collection, Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain*, 1988 p. 92 [check this]

⁶⁵ These were acquired by George IV in 1819 as part of a large purchase of Sèvres from the widow of Quintin Craufurd. See Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *The French Porcelain Society, Journal*, volume III, to be published in 2007

⁶⁶ Carola Hicks, *Improper Pursuits, The Scandalous Life of Lady Di Beauclerk*, 2001, p. 68. Bolingbroke rented his family seat of Battersea manor to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams for the last, syphilitically induced, mad years of his life.

⁶⁷ Rosalind Savill, *The Wallace Collection, Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain*, 1988, p.70

⁶⁸ 'Augustus Hervey's Journal', 1746-59 transcribed by David Erskine, 1953, p. xix

⁶⁹ Piasa, Hotel Drouot, 11 June 1997, lot 48. I am grateful to John Whitehead for this information.

⁷⁰ A Vauxhall, blue and white example illustrated TECC vol. 13, part 3, plate 203 c & d

⁷¹ Molly Lepell, *Lady Hervey*, by Dorothy Margaret Stuart, 1936, p. 181

⁷² Three Chelsea vases of this model were sold at Sotheby's New York 11 October 1995 lot 372

⁷³ The Duke given "une boëte à portrait" to the value of 34,289 livres, nearly twice the value of the service.

⁷⁴ Robin Reilly, *Wedgwood*, 1989 vol 1, p197. refers to John Mallet, 'Wedgwood and the Rococo', in *Wedgwood Society Proceedings*, No. 9, pp.36-61

⁷⁵ For a study of this service see Ghenete Zelleke, 'From Chantilly to Sèvres: French porcelain and The Dukes of Richmond', *Journal of the French Porcelain Society*, VII, 1991, and David Peters, *Sèvres Plates and Services of the 18th Century*, 2005, vol. II, pp. 365 & 366