

AN ENGRAVER'S LATE-SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HERALDIC SKETCHBOOK

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Abstract

The sketches made by the noted engraver Benjamin Rhodes, and the impressions which he preserved of engravings of arms created by himself and others, represent a fascinating record of this art form from a largely lost era of silverware. They were set down on behalf of the goldsmith and banker Richard Hoare between 1694 and 1698. The records reveal that it was with some alacrity that certain armigers chose to mark recent changes in their arms. Others had imperfect knowledge of their personal arms, and of heraldic conventions.

Hoare's bank¹, which is still owned and operated by the Hoare family, is easily the UK's oldest private bank: its origins trace back to the year 1673. In that year Richard Hoare – who had become a Freeman of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths only the previous year – purchased the goldsmith's business from his late master's estate, and commenced trading in what soon evolved into activities we now recognise as banking. In the earliest years the founder had the services of an engraver named Benjamin Rhodes, and the latter's notebook of heraldic engraving work commissioned by clients is still kept in the bank's museum.² Whilst the notebook has been previously studied by others whose primary interest has concerned establishing the provenance of late-seventeenth century English silverware,³ this article is the first to deal primarily with the heraldic aspects. Notwithstanding that a short article, appearing in a recent College of Arms newsletter,⁴ referred to the College's large collection of 'painters work books' dating from the sixteenth century, there can be few other similar books in existence which are not in the possession of heralds.

¹ C. Hoare & Co, 37 Fleet Street, London.

² Bank archive reference HB/1/3.

³ Philippa Glanville *Silver in England* (Abingdon, 2006); David M. Mitchell *Silversmiths in Elizabethan and Stuart London: their lives and marks* (Woodbridge, 2017); Charles Oman (1951) 'Historic Plate of the City of London' *The Burlington Magazine* vol 93 no. 579 (1951) pp.182–187; Charles Oman (1957) 'English Engravers on Plate: 1. – Benjamin Rhodes' *Apollo* vol 65 no.387 (1957) pp.173–176.

⁴ April 2019 (No.58).

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Figure 1: A typical folio, 3r. At the top the arms of Anthony Grey, earl of Kent impaling those of his wife Mary Lucas who in her own right was Baroness Lucas. Third down is the crest of Sir Thomas St George, Garter King of Arms. All photographs by Paul A. Fox and with the gracious permission of the Directors of Hoare's Bank.

Social-cultural background

Rhodes's workbook covers a four-and-a-half year period from January 1694.⁵ This was during a period Wagner has suggested – the years straddling the turn of the seventeenth

⁵ Oman's (1957) indication that the sketchbook covers 'from January 1st, 1694, to January 6th, 1698' must be in error as the book's last page clearly reveals its final date to be June 6, 1698.

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into the eighteenth century – were years that saw English heraldry reach its lowest ebb.⁶ He accounts for this low-water mark by suggesting that it was at this time that the Whig aristocracy increasingly began to see themselves as so distinct from the generality of armigers that they no longer regarded heraldic identity as sufficiently indicative of their class membership. From another perspective however, Glanville describes essentially the same period (1680 to 1730), as a golden age for the goldsmith's engraver and cites Benjamin Rhodes as a paragon of the craft.⁷ The book commences during the joint reigns of William III and Mary II. The year 1694 was a momentous one for two particular reasons, the establishment of the Bank of England on 27th July, and the death of Queen Mary II from smallpox on 28th December.⁸ The period encompassed by the workbook also saw the great re-coinage of 1696, which must have been an event of great consequence for a family of bankers and goldsmiths.

The book

Physically, the sketchbook is a dark-brown vellum-bound volume measuring approximately 7" x 6" and containing 88 folios all used on both sides, with a solitary exception to this economy. Each folio typically offers five sketches (themselves approximately the size of a ten pence piece) invariably drawn to the left of the page (**Figure 1**). Some images however are larger, with the largest occupying almost the complete page (**Figure 2**). The sketchbook has some 800 entries comprising nearly 500 coats of arms and over 300 crests (many of the latter are illustrated unattended by their arms), as well as some 80 cyphers⁹ and sets of initials. A third of the entries have a name attached and of the remainder Oman's view was that: "Anyone with an average acquaintance with English heraldry and some time to spare could identify nine-tenths of the arms which Rhodes did not bother to name."¹⁰ Despite this however, the Victoria and Albert museum was apparently only able to find some fourteen women represented in the sketchbook¹¹ whereas the current author believes his count of some 70 (mostly different) lozenges to be more indicative of the number of women represented. Oman may also have exaggerated the ease with which attribution could be made when tinctures are absent, charges are common and given the sketchy nature of some of the drawings. One wonders how certain he would claim to be about identifying the armigers referenced

⁶ Anthony Wagner *Heralds of England* (London, 1967).

⁷ Glanville op. cit.

⁸ William Stanley, 9th earl of Derby, two weeks after serving as a pall bearer at the funeral of Queen Mary evidently remained in town a while longer, for on 15th May 1695 he visited the 'shop' for a new coffee pot with his full achievement of arms to be engraved on it, f.36r.

⁹ Both Gale Glynn (1983) "Heraldry on English Silver" *The Proceedings of the Silver Society* Spring pp.6–10 and Beth Carver Wees *English, Irish & Scottish Silver at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute* (New York, 1997) suggest these may have been particularly popular with women who used them to mark their personal – often toilet – items which were not usually expected to be encountered by visitors. Rhodes was able to develop a reputation for perfecting these, and this may have encouraged him to publish a pattern-book of them in his later years (see Benjamin Rhodes *A New Book of Cyphers* (London, 1723).

¹⁰ Oman, 1957 p.173.

¹¹ Victoria & Albert museum, London, Room 65, case 24.

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Figure 2: A large counter-print of the achievement of the 1st Duke of St Albans, and below it, the lozenge of Lady Ashfield missing the border around the eagle of the Hoare family, f.51v.

by, for example, the lion rampant at the bottom of folio 43v, the fret at 68r, or the lozenge of '... On a bend three mullets...' (72v), and so forth.

The sketchbook illustrates what Rhodes was being commissioned to engrave on items of silverware (and mainly tableware). All of the illustrations are rendered in monochrome and where 'hatching' is apparent this invariably proves to be misleading. Presumably this was because the engraver was simply intending to indicate the necessity to 'shade' an element to create contrast, rather than attempting to achieve an heraldically



Figure 3: The lozenge of Lady Ashfield as correctly drawn on f.69v.

correct indication of the tincture. It was, after all, not always practicable to render all of the components of some heraldic designs, or to indicate their correct tinctures, given the size of the engraving being commissioned. Given too that it was often the mere presence of armory that imparted status, heraldic *precision* may have been regarded as a rather petty concern. The mere possession of armorial decorated domestic wares would often be equated with a level of sophistication which in turn was associated with, and so became a signifier of, political power. Glanville even has it that “Armorials and crests were not intended necessarily to demonstrate ownership.”¹² Armigerous *status* would simply reflect on to the possessor of an heraldically decorated item.

The sketches are drawn with variable levels of detail: some are so rudimentary that the engraver must have had such familiarity with the required design that the sketch could have only acted as an aide memoire, or perhaps served to substantiate his claim for payment (the sketchbook acting as a running invoice between the engraver and the banker). Other sketches however are reproduced in all their detail, even when the same coat had been requested on numerous previous occasions; several images are also the result of impressing a wet-ink counter-proof from an existing engraving. Sketches of quartered coats are typically illustrated with a diagonal line pointing to a previous quarter if those arms were to be repeated. Where charges are to be repeated, the associated sketch will generally illustrate just one charge, and indicate its repetition by use of appropriate numbering (“2, 3...”) where the charge should be placed. Only a handful of sketches are tricked, and then only partially, perhaps in an attempt to remind the engraver something about a need to ‘pick-out’ certain charges.

¹² Glanville op.cit. p. 215.

Commissioned works

The method of engraving involved freehand sketching (or carbon-paper copying) of the desired pattern onto the silver – or alternatively using tracing paper and a thin layer of wax to hold the design – which would then be excised. Although few examples of any of Rhodes's known works survive – let alone items whose commission is evidenced in this sketchbook – we do understand from those surviving pieces, and from the repeat business witnessed by the customers identified in his sketchbook, that the quality of his finished work was highly regarded. However, one of the reasons for there being so few surviving identifiable pieces was that until about 1800 silverware was considered as a commodity: it was not uncommon to remove designs from existing pieces, or items would, remorselessly, be melted down and refashioned to accommodate changes in aesthetic sensibilities. Glanville examples an American collector instructing his agent to buy “at second hand and if any arms should be engraved...[they] be taken out”¹³ and Samuel Pepys, the noted diarist, is known to have submitted material to Hoare's specifically to get a set of arms removed. This activity however occurred in 1686 and we do not see Pepys commissioning further work in the period covered by Rhodes's sketchbook. The presence of a coat of arms or other identifier on an item would thus have been little deterrent against theft. Some hundreds of customers are represented in the sketchbook and, in what follows, this author has attempted to provide a selection of some of the commissions in order to give readers a flavour of the sketchbook's contents, with a focus on heraldically interesting matters.

Institutions

Oman was able to identify just three extant items of Rhodes's work which could be traced to the sketchbook.¹⁴ There is the ‘cup and cover’ made by a John Bodington and dated 1697 which was presented to Trinity College, Cambridge. This had been commissioned by Lord Burlington (bearing his coat of arms as well as those of the college) on or about 22 October 1697 (f. 74v) shortly before George Clarke commissioned another ‘cup and cover’ with his coat of arms together with those of Magdalen College, Oxford (f. 76v). As soon as the January following, a flagon (another item made by John Bodington), destined for Great Billing church, Northamptonshire, was commissioned by William O'Brien, 3rd Earl of Inchiquin for his infant daughter as “The gift of the Right Honorable the Lady Henrietta O'Brien the 17 January 1697/8”. Whilst it is sheer coincidence that all these survivors were commissioned in the same short period, it must be significant that all three of the extant works Oman was aware of have been in institutional ownership, which will have afforded them significant protection from the commodity attitude which had often been afforded to silverware, as discussed above.

Jolly

Oman believed that: “Most of the plate recorded in the account book must have perished. Some pieces must survive but [probably now] bearing the arms of subsequent owners. There must, however, be a good deal more of Rhodes's handiwork about than the three

¹³ Glanville, *op.cit.* p. 205.

¹⁴ Oman, 1957.

pieces.”¹⁵ In response to this, the current author would suggest a possible further survivor – and one all the rarer for having a non-institutional provenance. The item suggested is a covered dish now in the possession of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA).¹⁶ It bears the arms of Jolly which were granted in 1692, and the new armiger certainly commissioned work from Rhodes: a chamber pot for example was to be engraved with the Jolly arms and crest in February 1695 (f. 27v). Whilst the bowl in the MFA has its manufacture attributed to Anthony Nelme and with a hallmark of 1690–91, the museum is unaware of the identity of the item's engraver because engravers would not normally ‘sign’ their work. There is however a similarity in the representation of the lion's mouth in both the sketch and the final engraving, such that Rhodes may be a good contender.

Hoare

One customer whose presence might be expected in the sketchbook is the business owner – Richard Hoare – and Hoare's coat is certainly to be seen. Surprisingly though, the majority of instances of the Hoare arms found in the book belong to the banker's kinswoman, Dorcas, lady Ashfield (d.c.1706). This twice widowed lady had most recently been married to Sir Richard Ashfield (d.1684), and was the daughter of James Hoare (d.1696), the comptroller of the Royal Mint in the Tower of London. James Hoare, a man of great consequence, is said to have been Oliver Cromwell's banker, yet was appointed to the Mint on the Restoration.¹⁷ He was listed in 1677 as a ‘goldsmith keeping running cashes’ at the Golden Bottle in Cheapside, the very place where Richard Hoare began his own business.¹⁸ The sign of a golden bottle still hangs over the doorway of Hoare's Bank in Fleet Street. Although no records have apparently survived, it is abundantly clear that James and Richard Hoare were in partnership. It is unlikely to be coincidental that Dorcas Hoare repeatedly patronised what she saw as her father's establishment.

The Hoare family came from Rishford in the parish of Chagford, Devon, and bore the arms *Sable, a double-headed eagle displayed within a border engrailed argent*, there being seal evidence of the arms back to the year 1517.¹⁹ They were thus ascribed to James Hoare's barrister son and namesake in the fourth addition of Guillim (1679), with the colours accidentally reversed, corrected in the next edition.²⁰ According to Richard Colt Hoare, his ancestor Sir Richard Hoare –who was knighted by Queen Anne in 1702, became a Tory MP for London 1710–15 and Lord Mayor in 1712–3 – bore the undifferenced family arms. This is confirmed by the arms drawn in the workbook at f.19r in 1694 impaling those of his wife Susannah Austin (*Gules a chevron engrailed ermine between three ducal coronets or*). It was not until 1776 when his descendant Henry Hoare of Stourhead (Lord Mayor of London in 1745) obtained an exemplification of the

¹⁵ *ibid.* p.176.

¹⁶ Accession no. 62.979A-B.

¹⁷ Edward Hoare, *Some account of the early history and genealogy of the families of Hore or Hoare* (London, 1883) pedigree p.8, commentary p.68.

¹⁸ William Chaffers, *Gilda Aurifabrorum*, 2nd edn. (London, 1899) pp.70–1.

¹⁹ Hoare 1883, *op. cit.* p.7.

²⁰ John Guillim, *A display of heraldry*, 5th edn. (London, 1724) p.211.

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Figure 4: Paired arms of Admiral Russell and his wife Lady Margaret Russell, on the left from f.51r and on the right f.80r following the grant of a peerage.

family arms from the College of Arms, that the ermine spot was added for difference.²¹ The undifferenced arms were placed on a piece of silver by Benjamin Rhodes in July 1697, when they can with confidence be ascribed to Richard Hoare.²² Lady Ashfield's arms occur five times in the workbook, being the arms of Ashfield (*Sable a fess engrailed between 3 fleurs de lis argent*) impaling Hoare, on a lozenge.²³ (Figures 1 and 3).

Russell

Oman regarded one coat of arms "so obviously bogus that a reference to a text book would be merely a waste of time."²⁴ The current author believes this can only be a reference to the Russell coat which essentially bookends the notebook whilst also appearing on numerous occasions throughout. The coat is Russell impaling Russell and is heraldically correct, recognising as it does the 1st earl of Orford's consanguineous marriage. Others – and perhaps especially twentieth-century commentators, such as Oman – might not have felt it necessary to impale arms one already had because nothing would be 'brought-in' heraldically, but the impaled arms do at least serve to indicate that a Russell had married, and that the spouse was a relative. Admiral Edward Russell married his cousin Lady Margaret Russell in 1691, which resulted in many orders for their arms combined both by impalement and on paired ovals, surmounted by their crest. When the admiral was created earl of Orford in 1697 the couple returned a large quantity of this silverware for alteration, replacing the earlier crest with an earl's coronet.²⁵ (Figure 4).

²¹ Sir Richard Colt Hoare, *The modern history of South Wilts, The Hundred of Mere* (London, 1822) pp.61–2.

²² f.72v.

²³ ff. 51v, 69v, (Figure 3), 70r, 70v.

²⁴ Oman, 1957 p.173.

²⁵ ff.80r, 81r. Their previous orders, with shields surmounted by a crest are at ff. 11v, 49r, 51r, 52r, 55v and 58r.

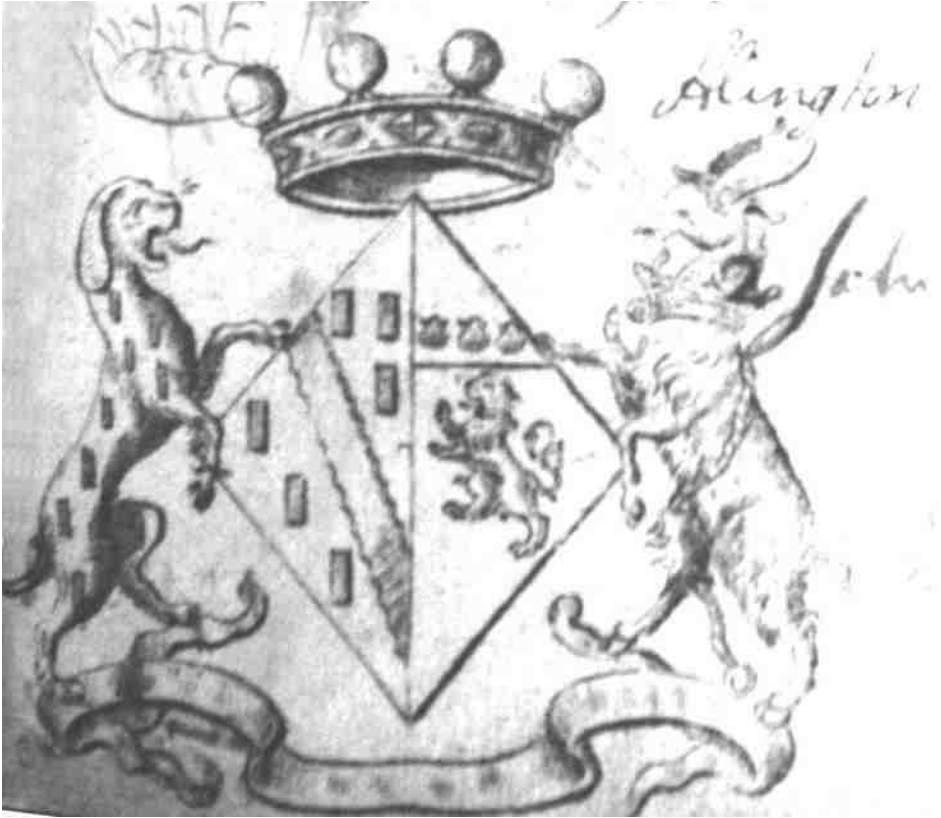


Figure 5: Baroness Alington with Alington impaling Russell, f.10r.

Diana, the sister of Lady Margaret Russell was another customer, as Baroness Alington.²⁶ Her husband William Lord Alington must have been well known to James Hoare, having served as constable of the Tower from 1679 to 1685 and dying there very suddenly of 'apoplexy'. The workbook contains an impression of her arms as a widow (f.10r **Figure 5**), a lozenge with the impaled arms dexter: (Sable) *billetty a bend engrailed* (argent) for Alington, sinister: (Argent) *a lion rampant* (gules) and on a chief (sable) *3 escallops* (argent) for Russell, surmounted with a baron's crown. Her dexter supporter of a *hound billetty* is that of Alington, and her sinister one that of Russell: *An antelope gules ducally gorged, armed and hooped gold*. Her brother-in-law Hildebrand Alington, who became a peer in Ireland in 1691, used the family arms on a conventional shield surmounted by a baron's crown on his silver.²⁷

²⁶ ff. 10r, 42r, 84v.

²⁷ f.75r. He also commissioned a piece with the Fisher arms (Argent) *a chevron vair between 3 demi lions rampant* (gules) and crest: *a demi seadog rampant* (Or) as a gift f.86v.

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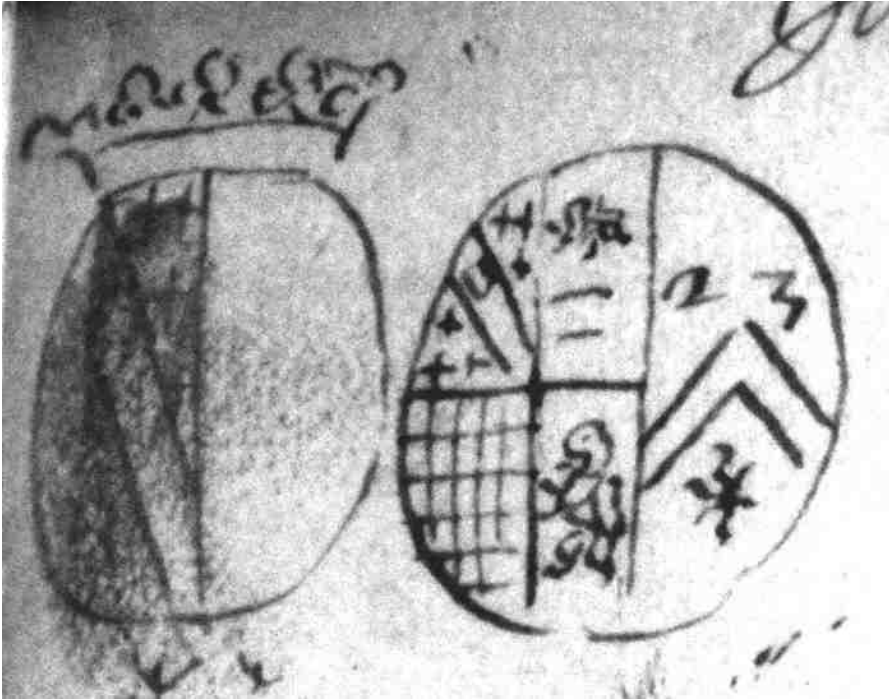


Figure 6: Arms for the Duke of Norfolk, f.39r.

Howard

Two cartouches commencing f.39r (**Figure 6**) tell the interesting story of Henry Howard (1655–1701), 7th Duke of Norfolk, and Earl Marshal of the time. The second cartouche there shows the conventional marital arms of Quarterly, 1.Howard, 2.Brotherton, 3.Warren, 4.Fitzalan, impaling Mordaunt, but the first cartouche merely shows (Gules) *a bend between six crosses crosslet fitchy* (argent) [Howard] impaling a blank coat. Woodward offers ‘arms of expectation’ as the appropriate term for such an arrangement.²⁸ It is reminiscent too of a non-heraldic practice dating to the 1970s when cars sported a (typically) green strip of vinyl at the top of the windscreen upon which would be displayed the given name of the driver and, over the passenger seat, that of his current girlfriend: “Dave Tracey”, for example. The current author recalls seeing “Vacancy” over one passenger side.

Whatever was going on here, the background is interesting. The 7th duke – whose own mistress had been taken for wife by his father – separated from his wife in 1685, but his attempt to divorce her in 1692 failed when the house of peers threw out his private divorce Bill. He remained unhappily married to her until 1700 when he succeeded in divorcing her for adultery with Sir John Germain. One wonders if this commission of June 1695 deliberately included a blank shield with his intention of making a point.

²⁸ John Woodward & George Burnett Woodward's *A Treatise on Heraldry* (Rutland, Vermont, 1969) p.478

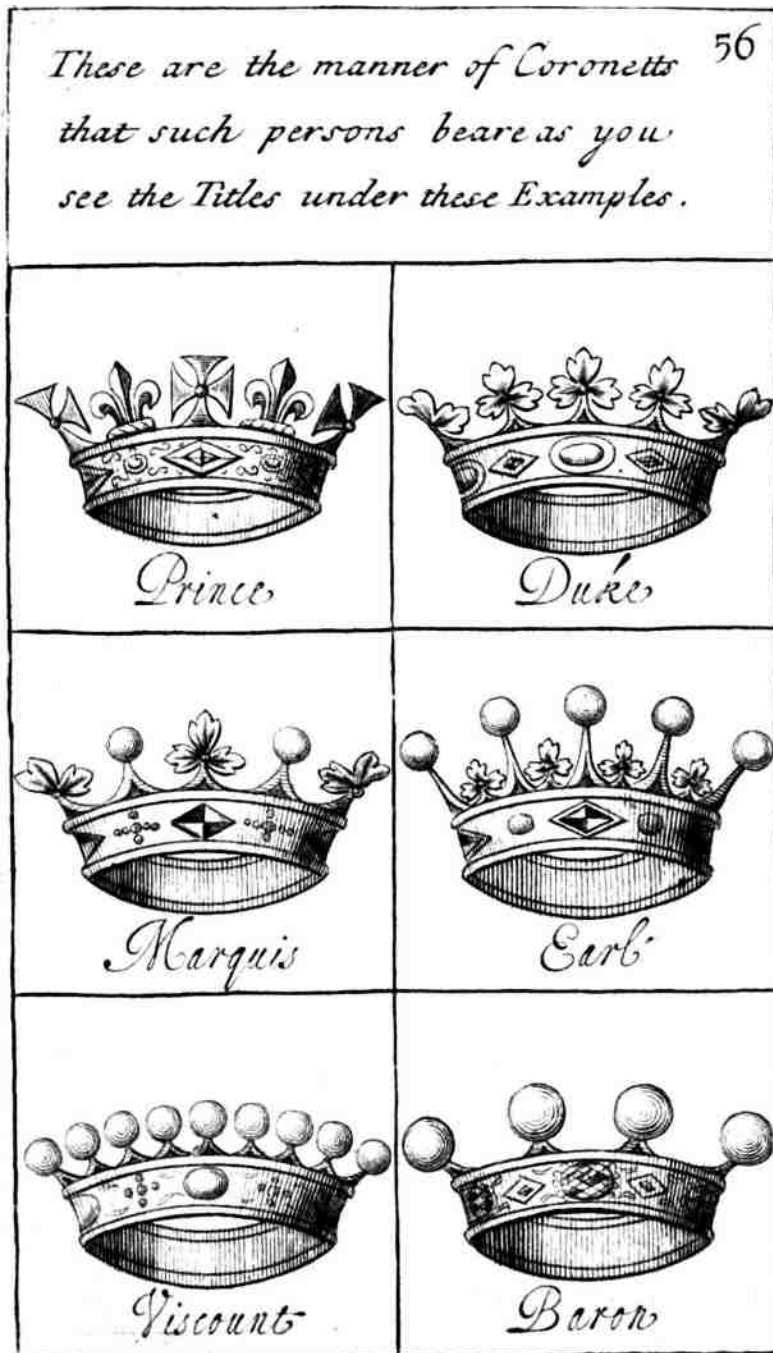


Figure 7: Benjamin Rhodes' published engravings of coronets from his *New Book of Cyphers* (London, 1723) plate 56.

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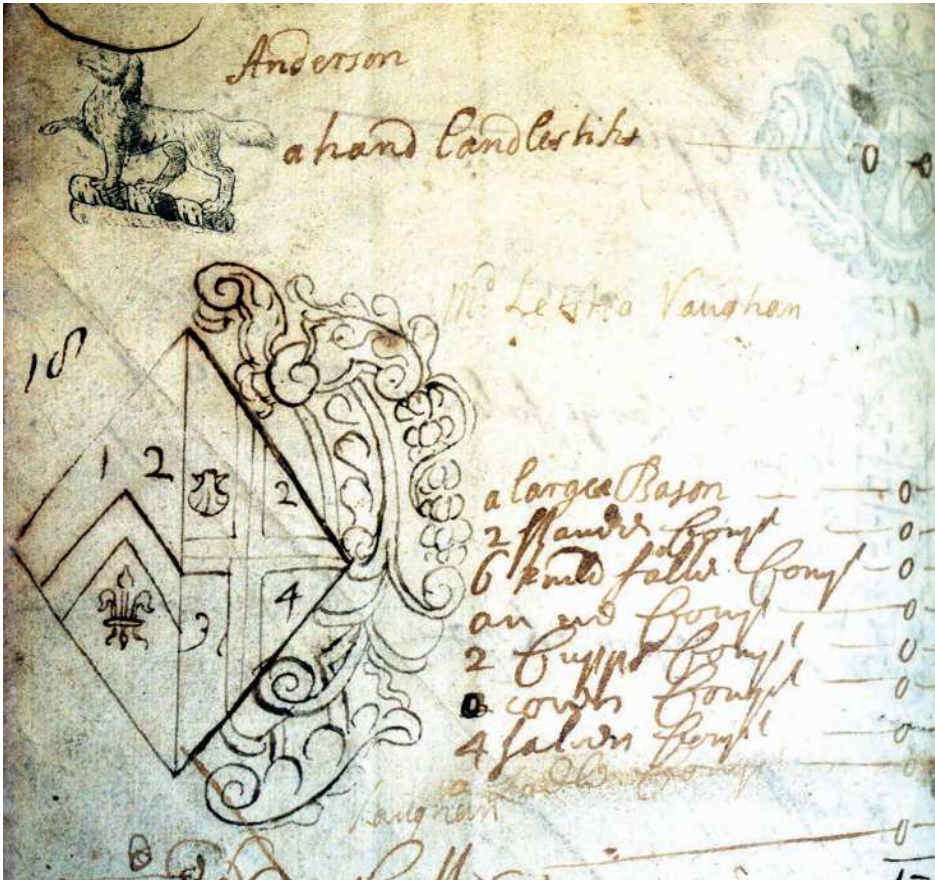


Figure 8: Lozenge of Madam Letitia Vaughan, f.16v.

Although he succeeded in getting the divorce together with damages for criminal conversion, his jury felt the details of the case were so sordid that he did not deserve the £100,000 damages claimed and took the unusual step of reducing the sum awarded to just £66. His own counsel had acknowledged the case to involve the pot calling the kettle black. The duke did not remarry and died in the following year.

Coronets

Richard Hoare was much patronised by the peerage and there are a considerable number of coronets to be found within the pages of Rhodes' book. They draw our attention to the fact that the sketchbook contains a few peculiarities concerning which we have insufficient context in which to gain a clear understanding of what may have been going on. There may be understandable explanations for these quirks but we are likely to remain unacquainted with them. One such concerns the sketches for viscounts' coronets. Today we expect to see them depicted with 9 balls as indeed can be seen in Rhodes's

published work of 1723,²⁹ (Figure 7) but his sketchbook is inconsistent in this period, showing between 6 and 9 balls, but most commonly 7.³⁰ Was this mere laziness, did it reflect client expectations, or is it evidence of an evolutionary stage?

A good example of the variation in the number of balls possessed by a viscount is provided by the family of Vaughan which was raised to the peerage in 1695. Two members of the family were clients of Hoare's at this time: Madam Letitia Vaughan, the widow of Edward Vaughan of Crosswood, Cardiganshire, a Lord of the Admiralty, and her eldest son who was then a Whig MP.³¹ We see the arms of Vaughan, (Sable) *a chevron between 3 fleurs de lis* (argent) on a lozenge in 1694 (f.16v Figure 8) impaling her paternal arms of Hooke, she being the daughter of Sir William Hooke.³² Two weeks after Letitia's visit to the goldsmiths John Vaughan placed an order—his arms of Vaughan surmounted with an escutcheon of pretence for his wife Malet Wilmot, the daughter of John Wilmot, 2nd earl of Rochester, whom he married at St Giles-in-the-Fields in 1692 (f.17r).³³ In July 1695, having been created Viscount Lisburne of Ireland in June 1695, he visited Hoare's to celebrate his elevation with a new commission (f.39r Figure 9a). His coronet here has 7 balls, but a drawing of his full achievement without the escutcheon on f.40v (Figure 9b) shows 9 balls on his viscount's coronet. It is worthy of comment that this drawing is one of relative crudity, such that it is hard to believe this is the work



Figure 9a: In the centre John Vaughan, viscount Lisburne, f.39r. Figure 9b: crudely executed full achievement of the same, above which is the lozenge and crest of Baroness Alington. f.40v.

²⁹ Benjamin Rhodes, *A New Book of Cyphers* (London, 1723) plate 56.

³⁰ 6 balls (86r), 7 balls (34r, 39r, 39v, 40r, 41r, 53r, 54r, 58r, 59r, 74r, 88v), 9 balls (28v, 56v, 57v).

³¹ GEC vol. 7 pp.34–5.

³² Arms of Hooke of Bramshott, Hants, *Quarterly sable and argent a cross between four escallops counterchanged*.

³³ The arms of Wilmot are *Sable on a fess or between three eagle's heads couped argent, as many escallops gules*.

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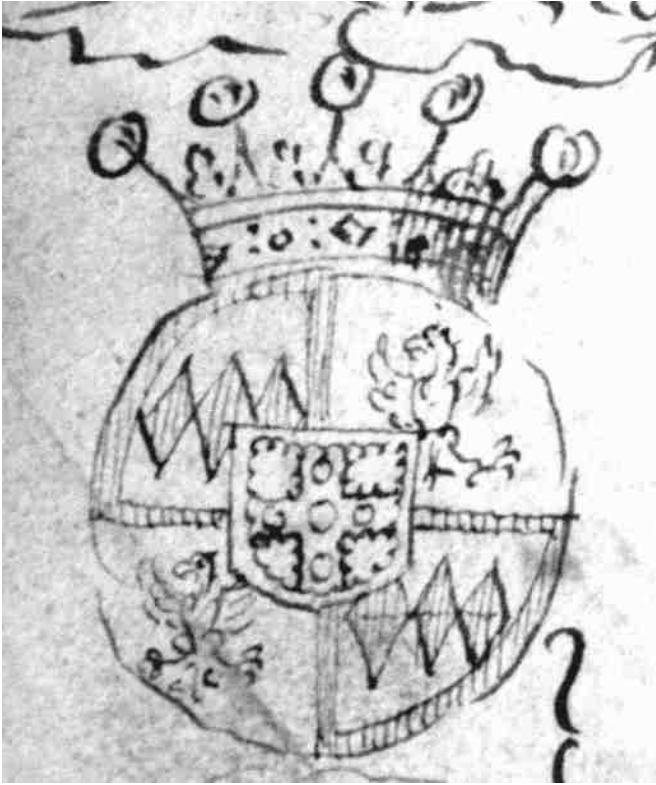


Figure 10: Montagu quartering Monthermer with an escutcheon of Greville for the earl of Manchester, f.46v.

of the skilled artist Benjamin Rhodes, and it must be surmised that this was the work of an apprentice.

Arms of pretence

Two other nice examples are those of Montagu and Sayer. Charles Montagu d.1722, earl of Manchester, as an ardent supporter of William III was present at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, and served as captain of the Yeomen of the Guard from 1689 until 1702.³⁴ He bears the arms of his heiress wife, *Sable on a cross engrailed in border engrailed or five pellets*, in pretence on his arms (f.46v **Figure 10**).³⁵ She was Dodington Greville, daughter of Robert Greville, 4th Baron Brooke. His kinsman Ralph, earl of Montagu (d.1709) bore the same arms of Montagu quartering Monthermer with an earl's coronet but without the escutcheon, which serves to distinguish the arms of the two men. Ralph was created earl in 1689 and duke in 1705. His son the 2nd duke similarly bore the arms

³⁴ GEC vol. 8 pp.372–3.

³⁵ The is an incomplete drawing of the arms labelled Manchester at f.48v, repeated at f.54v.

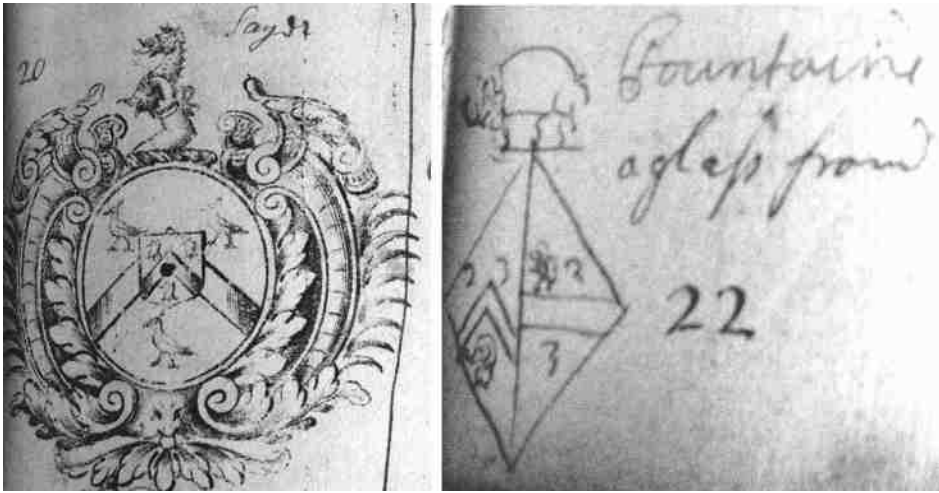


Figure 11a: Sayer with an escutcheon of Honeywood, f.20r. Figure 11b: Lozenge of Fountaine surmounted by a crest, f.18r.

of Churchill in pretence, having married the daughter of John Churchill, 1st duke of Marlborough.

Sir George Sayer of Pett in Charing, Kent surmounted his arms, *Gules a chevron argent between three pewits proper*, with an escutcheon for his heiress wife Frances, daughter of Sir Philip Honeywood of Kent (f.20r **Figure 11a**). The Honeywood arms are a chevron between three hawk's heads. Sayer's crest was *A dexter arm in armour embowed proper, garnished or, the hand grasping a griffin's head erased or*. Sir George was vice chamberlain to Queen Katherine of Braganza, and later to Queen Mary II.

Women bearing crests

Women have no right to use crests or helmets³⁶, and mottoes have also been discouraged, but the workbook appears to show that there was ignorance of this rule in the seventeenth century insofar as crests were concerned. For example, f.18r includes a sketch of a woman's lozenge of impaled arms with an elephant crest, associated with the name 'Fountaine' (**Figure 11b**). Nor is this the end of the calumny of this family of Fountaine of Norfolk, whose correct arms were *Or a fess gules between three elephant's heads erased sable*, but here we find a chevron instead of a fess. As Glynn has pointed out "It is surprising how many mistakes made by engravers were left uncorrected".³⁷ The elephant crest is, at least, correct for Fountaine even if it is being wrongfully used.

Elizabeth, widow of William Style (d.1679) of the Inner Temple, and owner of Langley in Beckenham, Kent, bears her husband's arms, *Sable a fess or fretty sable between three fleurs de lis or*, on a lozenge. Below, and bracketed to it, is the crest of *A wolf's head fretty below the collar* (f.58v **Figure 12**). The house was inherited from her

³⁶ Glynn, op. cit. p. 7.

³⁷ Glynn p. 9.

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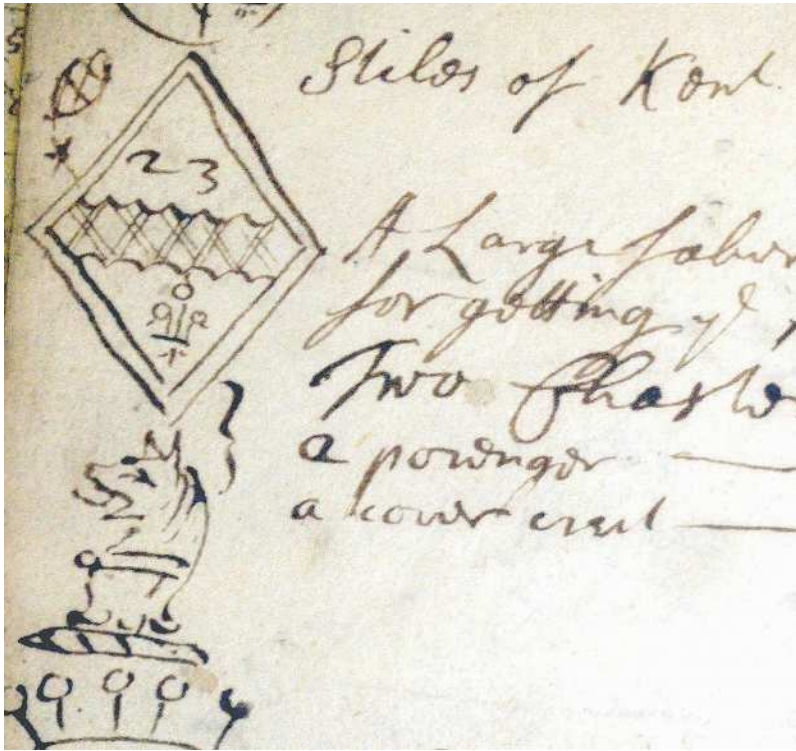


Figure 12: Stiles lozenge with a linked crest, f.58v. The earl's coronet below belongs to the next entry.

husband's brother, the courtier Sir Humphrey Style, bart (d.1659). Above the arms of Viscount Lisburne (**Figure 9b**) can be seen the lozenge of Baroness Alington, and beside it is the Alington crest of the *hound billetty*.

An imprint of the ancient arms of Sir John Pelham, bart (d.1703) of Laughton in Sussex, *Azure three pelicans vulning themselves argent*, appears close to the beginning of the workbook (f.5v **Figure 13a**). His eldest son Thomas had in 1686 taken as his second wife the extremely wealthy Grace Holles, for whom at f.68r is a Pelham lozenge with the Pelham buckle badge above it (**Figure 13b**).³⁸ Thomas Pelham was a lord of the Treasury 1689–94.³⁹ While the use of a badge by a woman would not have been considered as improper, the use of a badge as a substitute crest is questionable. Dorothy Pelham, née Percy, the wife of Sir John, died in 1685, and so the lozenge cannot have been commissioned by her. On the top of the next page is the crest of the duke of Newcastle: John Holles, father of Grace, became duke of Newcastle in 1694. On his death in 1711 Grace's son Sir Thomas Pelham, bart, assumed the name of Holles, and became the next duke of Newcastle.

³⁸ Siddons Badges vol. 2.2 pp.222–3.

³⁹ *Complete Baronetage* vol. 1 pp.8–9.

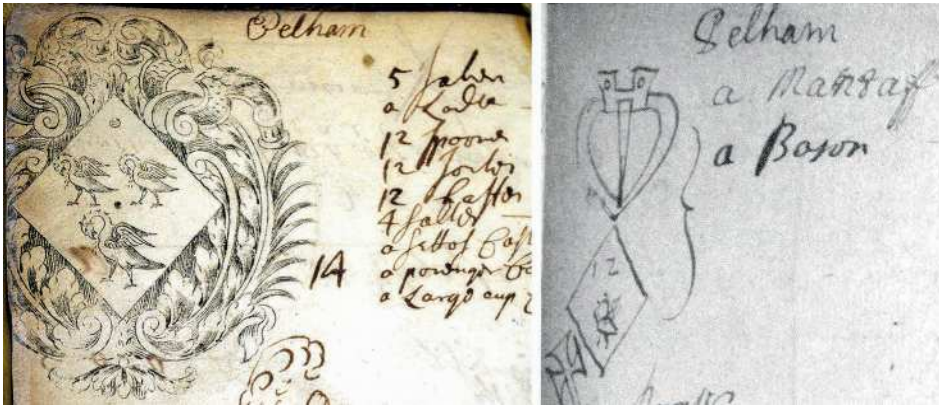


Figure 13a: Pelham counter-proof, f.5v. Figure 13b: Pelham lozenge surmounted by buckle badge in the manner of a crest, f.68r.

The counter proofs

The first stage in the technique of taking counter proofs of coats of arms engraved on silverware is revealed by a copy which was taken of the arms of Ashburnham. It seems that the existing engraving was wiped with ink to which tissue paper was applied, and while the paper was still wet it was pressed onto the workbook. At f.78r (**Figure 14**) a piece of the actual transfer paper has been pasted into the book, so that the Ashburnham arms are back to front. It seems that the ink on this occasion had dried too quickly for the process to be completed. There was already a very nice imprint of the same arms at f.7r (**Figure 15b**), but in a larger format, and a crude drawing of the arms at f.26v (**Figure 15a**). It looks as though the crude drawing was used to make the engraving later copied into the book, from which it is a reasonable assumption that the engraving illustrated is the actual work of Benjamin Rhodes.

John Ashburnham (d.1710) of Ashburnham, Sussex was Tory MP for Hastings 1685–87 and 1689, when he became first baron Ashburnham. His mother was Elizabeth daughter of John lord Poulet and his wife was Bridget Vaughan of Brecon. His arms were *Quarterly 1 and 4: Gules a fess between 6 mullets argent* (Ashburnham), *2: Semy de lis a lion rampant*, *3: Ermine three crescents* (quartering 2 perhaps Beaumont and 3, Ken) surmounted by an escutcheon of pretence : *Sable three infants' heads couped at the shoulders proper each entwined around the neck with a snake* (Vaughan).

A fairly basic sketch of the arms of Bennett Lord Sherrard ('Sherwood') surmounted by his baron's coronet, but without supporters was made at f.9v, when he was ordering a chocolate pot. Soon afterwards he appears to have returned with an earlier engraving which was copied into the book at f.10v (**Figure 16**). There are clear edges to the impression above and below, which would not be expected on a piece of silverware, and this and other examples of the same raise the question of whether certain armigers might have possessed wood block versions of their arms to facilitate dealing with the various tradesmen who were needed to embellish their possessions with arms. Lord Sherrard was a Whig MP for Leicestershire in 1689–95, and his wife was Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Sir Robert Christopher of Alford, Lincs. His arms were *Argent a chevron gules*

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Figure 14: Ashburnham arms in reverse from a badly executed counter-proof, f.78r.

between three torteaux, impaling his wife's arms *Argent a chevron sable between three pineapples gules each with two leaves vert, a chief sable*. His achievement is surmounted with baron's crown and he has two rams as supporters. At f.9v there is a version of the Sherrard arms with a mullet for difference and a crest of a peacock's tail.

John Poynter of Lincoln's Inn was granted *Pily counterpily or and sable the points ending in crosses formee three in chief and two in base* in December 1694 (f.24r **Figure 17**) and wasted no time in commissioning engravings of the same.⁴⁰ Interestingly the very first entry in his name has counter-proofs for both his arms and crest. Unfortunately the design was defective, one of the crosses being wanting, and on the next folio there is a drawing of the arms to correct this deficiency. Had he already visited another goldsmith and been given a defective design he would surely not have wanted to use it as a model. Perhaps this is another example of the use of a woodblock stamp of arms, which might

⁴⁰ CA MS Grants vol. 4 p.161.

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Figure 15a: Crudely executed drawing of the Ashburnham arms on f.26v probably used for the engraving shown on previous figure. *Figure 15b* the previous version of the arms engraved by Rhodes, f.7r.

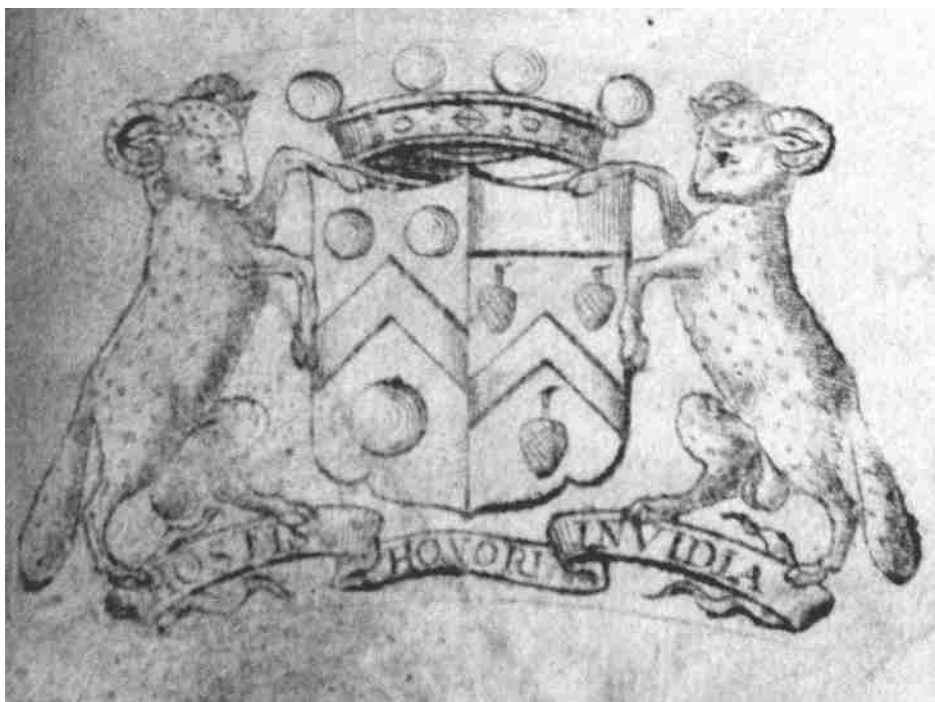


Figure 16: Baron Sherrard's arms, note the edges of the block visible above and below, f.10v



Figure 17: Partially defective engraving of the Poynter arms and crest, f.24r.



Left, Figure 18a, crest of St Albans and above it the arms of the Earl of Kent, f.47v
Right, Figure 18b, another St Albans crest, and above it one of the four imprints of the St Albans achievement, f.78v.

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Figure 19: Another engraving made for the duke of St Albans and above it the arms of 'Ld Lucas' who was in fact Lady Lucas, the countess of Kent, f.81v. She wanted her paternal arms on two chamber pots.

have been ordered in anticipation of the grant of arms. On the various subsequent occasions when Poynter placed further orders the arms were carefully re-drawn each time, lest reference was made to the first impression.⁴¹

A person who purchased much silverware from Hoare was Charles Beauclerk (d.1726) 1st duke of St Albans. He began modestly by ordering only the engraving of crests (f.47v **Figure 18a**) but came later to favour the use of his magnificent full

⁴¹ ff. 25r, 25v, 54r and crests at ff. 53v, 68r.



Figure 20: The Earl of Strafford's arms f.16r.

achievement in various sizes. There are four entirely different designs which have been stamped into the workbook. Quite likely the first of these was the product of another engraver, whereas the subsequent three are reminiscent of other work by Rhodes himself (**Figures 2, 18b and 19**).⁴² Four later orders were entered into the workbook without drawings, which was contrary to Rhodes' usual practice. The design was however notably complex, and reference could be made to the earlier impressions.

In the case of William Wentworth K.G, earl of Strafford (d.1695) it can be seen that a drawing of his shield surmounted by an earl's coronet in 1694 led to an engraving which was copied into the workbook later the same year (f.16r **Figure 20**). Then in 1695, the year of his death, he decided he would like to show his supporters, and so a second drawing was made. His father the first earl was famously executed on Tower Hill in 1641 – after his friend Charles I had been compelled by parliament to sign his death warrant. The arms of Wentworth are *Sable a chevron between 3 leopard's faces Or*, and the impalement can only be for the earl's second wife Henrietta, daughter of the Comte de Roze.

⁴² These three at ff. 51v, 78v, 81v., others at ff. 48v, 55r, 62v, 87r.

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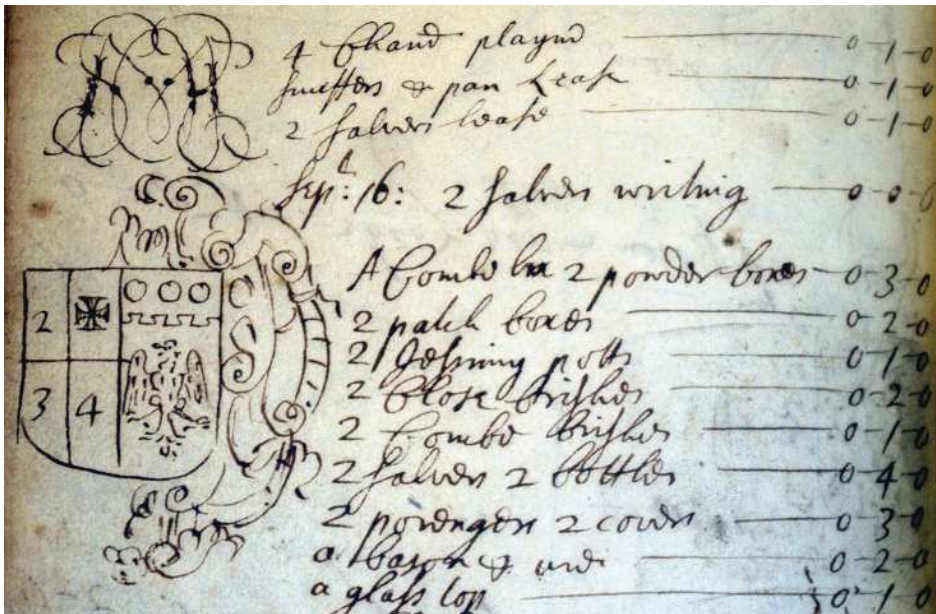


Figure 21: Chetwode impaling Raymond, f.42v.

Wedded bliss

John Chetwode, created baronet in 1700, was in such eager anticipation of his marriage to Mary Raymond that he was not going to wait until the event made the arrangement legally certain, and he commissioned numerous items (apparently, as most items were pairs, in 'his and hers' combinations) impaling his arms with that of his future father-in-law the month before his marriage on 13th September 1695 (f. 42v **Figure 21**).⁴³ The arms of Chetwode are: *Quarterly argent and gules four crosses patty counterchanged*, and those of Raymond (granted 1687) are: *Azure an eagle displayed ermine, on a chief embattled argent 3 ogresses*.

There was another couple whose impaled arms show them to have a strange heraldic compatibility. She was Elizabeth née White of Fleet Street, London with the arms *Sable a chevron between three stag's heads caboshed or*; he was Richard 3rd viscount Bulkeley (d.1704) of Cashel in Co. Tipperary, Ireland, with the arms *Sable a chevron between 3 bull's heads caboshed argent* (f.28v **Figure 22**). The viscount was a Tory MP for Anglesey 1690–1704, and they were married at St Giles-in-the-Fields in 1688.

⁴³ *Complete Baronetage* vol. 4 p.183.

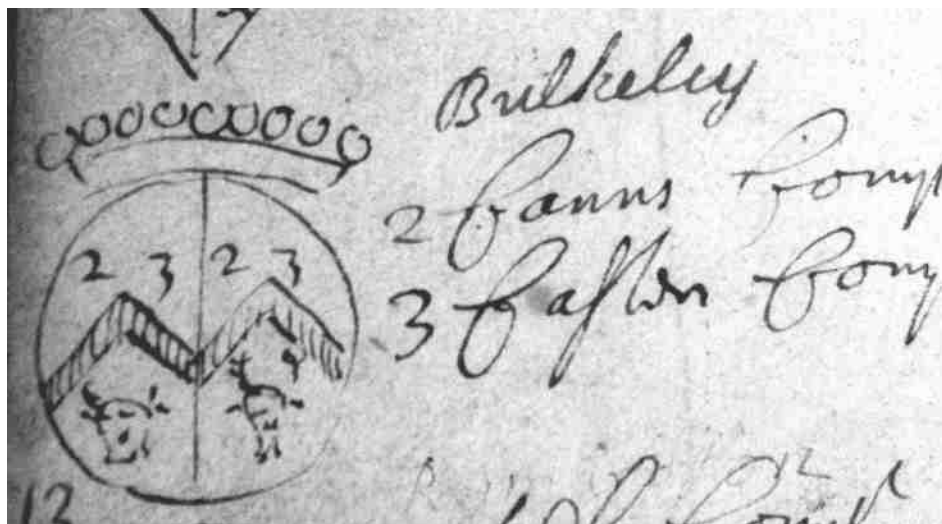


Figure 22: Viscount Bulkeley and his wife Elizabeth White, f.28v.

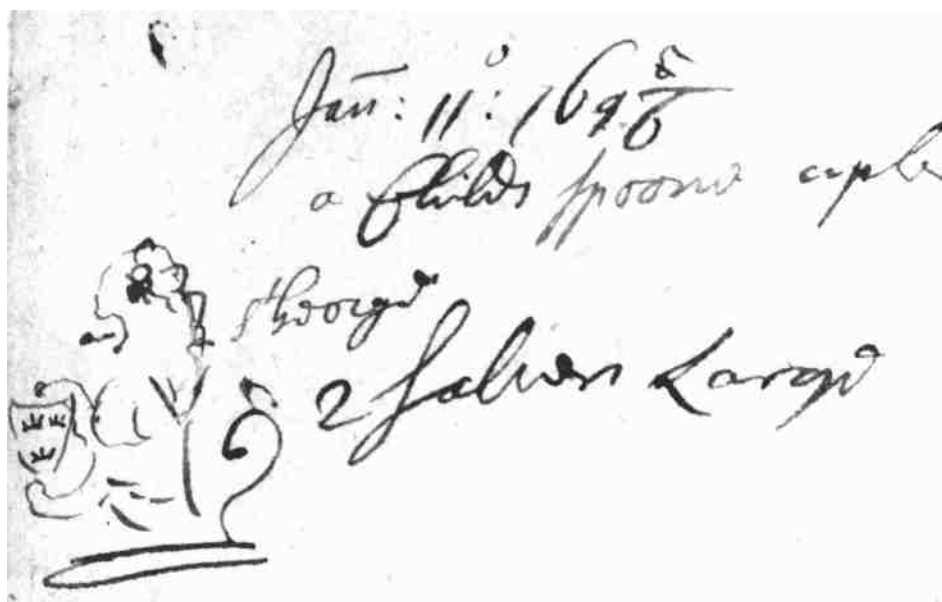


Figure 23: Crest of Thomas St George, Garter King of Arms, f.49r.



Figure 24: Banks impaling Dethick, f.34v. Sketch has gone a little awry ‘3 budgets’ i.e. water bougets.

College of Arms links

The Garter at the time of the sketchbook was Sir Thomas St George (d.1703), and we see his crest on several occasions (**Figure 1 and 23**).⁴⁴ His younger brother Sir Henry St George (d.1715) who succeeded him as Garter was Clarenceux during this period. We see the familiar arms of Dethick at f.48r, but it is not specified which member of the family was a client. At the time Henry Dethick (d.1707) was Richmond Herald. Technically he should have used a differenced version of the family arms because his grandfather Sir William Dethick, Garter (d.1612) bore his arms with a crescent for difference.⁴⁵ The Dethick arms appear several more times for a somewhat distant kinswoman of the family of heralds whose family bore identical arms. She was Elizabeth Dethick, the daughter of John Dethick, Lord Mayor of London 1655–6, and wife of Sir John Banks (d.1699).

Sir John Banks was a financier, knighted by Cromwell in 1656, who became a baronet in 1662.⁴⁶ He was very much involved in naval finance and a friend of Pepys. The arms of Banks: *Sable on a cross between 4 lis 5 pheons azure*, were drawn (with a badge of Ulster) impaling those of Dethick at three places in the workbook (**Figure 24**).⁴⁷ In 1678 Elizabeth the eldest daughter of the couple married Heneage Finch, a Tory, who was solicitor General 1679–86, and second son of the Lord Chancellor Heneage Finch,

⁴⁴ ff. 3r, 27r, 49r.

⁴⁵ Godfrey & Wagner p.48.

⁴⁶ D.C.Coleman ‘Sir John Banks (1627–1699)’ new DNB.

⁴⁷ ff 23r, 34v, 54r.



Figure 25: Sir John Houblon, Governor of the Bank of England, f.31r.

later 1st earl of Nottingham. The arms of Finch: *Argent a chevron between 3 griffins passant sable*, with the crest of a griffin passant, impaling Banks occur at f.37v.

Goldsmith politics

Richard Hoare was himself a Tory, but he served the heraldic requirements of his clients too well for politics to interfere with his business, and the workbook contains a fairly even split of Whigs and Tories. Hoare was strongly opposed to the creation of the Bank of England, and yet the first Governor of the Bank, Sir John Houblon, remained a customer during the very period when Hoare was engaged with a pamphlet war against him.⁴⁸ Sir John Houblon was Master of the Grocers 1690–1, a lord of the Admiralty 1691–99, appointed Governor on 27th July 1694, and Lord Mayor of London 1695–6. He was politically a Whig.⁴⁹ Perhaps not too surprisingly it was Lady Houblon who placed the

⁴⁸ Oman, op. cit.

⁴⁹ H.G.Roseveare 'Sir John Houblon (1632–1712)' New DNB.

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orders, beginning in late 1694 when an impression was taken from a very small engraving of her husband's arms.⁵⁰ Mary was Sir John's second wife, the daughter of Isaac Jurion or Jurin of Threadneedle Street. Benjamin Rhodes produced a lovely engraving of their impaled arms which was copied into the workbook when a further order was placed in March 1695 (f.31r. **Figure 25**). The distinctive arms of Houblon are *Argent a base vert, issuant therefrom three hops poles with their fruits all proper*, presumably a rather feeble attempt at canting. Mary's family arms (seen in sinister) appear to be unrecorded, but are not necessarily unofficial.

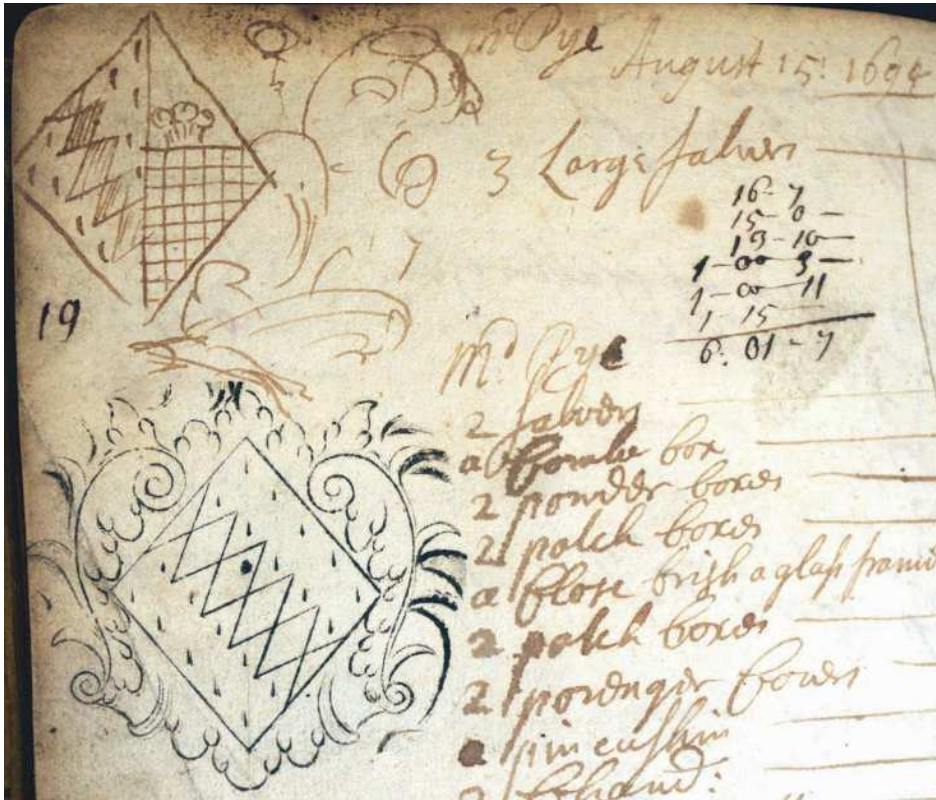


Figure 26: Lozenges for Madam Meliora Pye, f.17v.

The Devil's Christmas Pye

Madam Meliora Pye seems to have had the presence of mind to bring on her apparent first visit to the goldsmiths an earlier engraving of her personal arms, being those of her deceased husband on a lozenge (f.17v **Figure 26**). He was Robert Pye of the Mynde in Herefordshire, a staunch Protestant who had met with a violent end in 1681 while (in his capacity as a J.P.) seeking to apprehend a neighbour who was a recusant Catholic. The

⁵⁰ f.6v.



Left, Figure 27a: Godolphin arms and crest, f 66r. Right, Figure 27b: Full achievement of the same with an alternative crest.

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grieving widow's smaller items of silverware were to be decorated with the Pye arms, but the showiest pieces, three large salvers, were to have Pye impaling her paternal arms of Drax, placed on lozenges. The ancient arms of Pye are *Ermine a bend fusilly gules*, while those of Drax are *Checky or and azure on a chief gules 3 ostrich feathers in plume issuant*. In recent decades other members of the Pye family had been no strangers to adversity. Robert Pye's uncle, Sir Robert Pye (d.1662) of Faringdon in Berkshire, auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer under James I and Charles I, was besieged at his principal home by his own son and heir during the Civil War. This son was yet another Robert Pye (d.1701), an active parliamentary colonel who took as his second wife Anne Hampden, daughter of the noted parliamentary MP John Hampden (d.1643), who was first cousin of Oliver Cromwell. The grandfather of the two cousins called Robert might perhaps be said to have set the family tone. Sir Walter Pye (d.1635) of the Mynde was so infamous for his greed and corruption that he came to be known as "the Devil's Christmas Pye".⁵¹

The Dolphin of Godolphin

We have already seen one link between Richard Hoare and the Treasury in Thomas Pelham. Another frequent visitor of his establishment was Sydney Godolphin (d.1712), first Lord of the Treasury 1684–1696 under James II and William III, appointed groom of the bedchamber to Charles II 1668 and to William III 1689, he was a man of enormous importance in the history of his times. He was elevated to the peerage as baron Godolphin in 1664 and as earl of Godolphin in 1706. His distinctive dolphin crest appears in various places within the workbook (e.g. f.66r **Figure 27a**) and on f.37r (**Figure 27b**) is a lovely impression of an engraving of his full achievement.⁵² The Godolphin arms are *Gules a double headed eagle displayed between three fleurs de lis argent*. Godolphin in Cornish means a white eagle. The crest is *A dolphin naiant embowed proper*.

An augmentation of honour

Thomas Lord Wharton d.1715 must have been very proud of the augmentation of honour which had been granted by Edward VI in 1553 to his ancestor, the first Thomas Lord Wharton, for defeating the Scots at the Battle of Salway Moss in 1542. It took the form of *A border or charged with eight pairs of lion's paws crossed saltirewise gules*, added to the original arms *Sable a maunch argent* (f.57r **Figure 28**) This was a visual reminder of the wounded lion of Scotland, it being specified in the original letters patent that the border be engrailed, but here wrongly engraved as plain.⁵³ Lord Wharton acceded in February 1696 and placed the order for silverware engraved with his baronial arms on 22nd May. He was a staunch Whig, a supporter of the Prince of Orange for the throne, and served as Comptroller of the Household 1689–1702. He went on to become earl of Wharton in Westmorland in 1706 and Marquess of the same in 1715. The story does not have a happy ending because, although his son Philip was made duke of Northumberland by George I in 1716 at the age of 18, he became a Jacobite and was attainted in 1728, bringing an end to the line. To be correct, quarters 2 and 3 should have been rendered

⁵¹ John P. Ferris and Ben Coats 'Sir Walter Pye (1571–1635)' History of Parliament.

⁵² See also ff. 16r, 25r, 27v, 30v, 50r, 76r, 81r.

⁵³ GEC vol. 12b p.596d.

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*Per pale or and gules a lion rampant between three fleurs de lis counterchanged for the baron's mother, Jane, coheiress of Arthur Goodwin. The supporters are dexter – A bull argent, horns, hooves and member or, ducally gorged per pale or and gules, sinister – A lion gules fretty or.*⁵⁴

There are many ways of looking at the sketchbook, as, hopefully the foregoing has demonstrated, but one particular surprise to this writer was simply how interconnected everyone seemed to be. Indeed, one could easily imagine how a detective squad, drawing connecting lines between those whose heraldry is shown, would soon find the connections becoming so complex that other forces would need to be called on to help out. There is thus plenty of heraldic and genealogical interest in this little book, despite its very narrow time window.⁵⁵

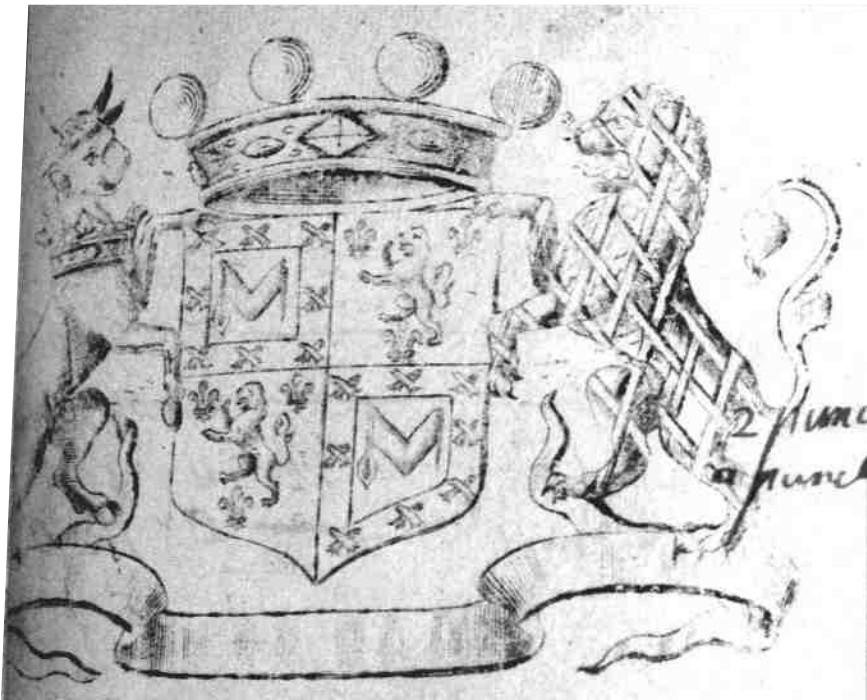


Figure 28: Lord Wharton, f.57r.

⁵⁴ Siddons Badges vol 2.2, p.313.

⁵⁵ The author wishes to express his thanks to the Directors of Hoare's Bank for granting permission to study the sketchbook; to Pamela Hunter, museum archivist at Hoare's Bank, for her patience during those periods of study; and to Dr Paul Fox, editor of this journal, for both facilitating access to the resource and for the accompanying illustrations.

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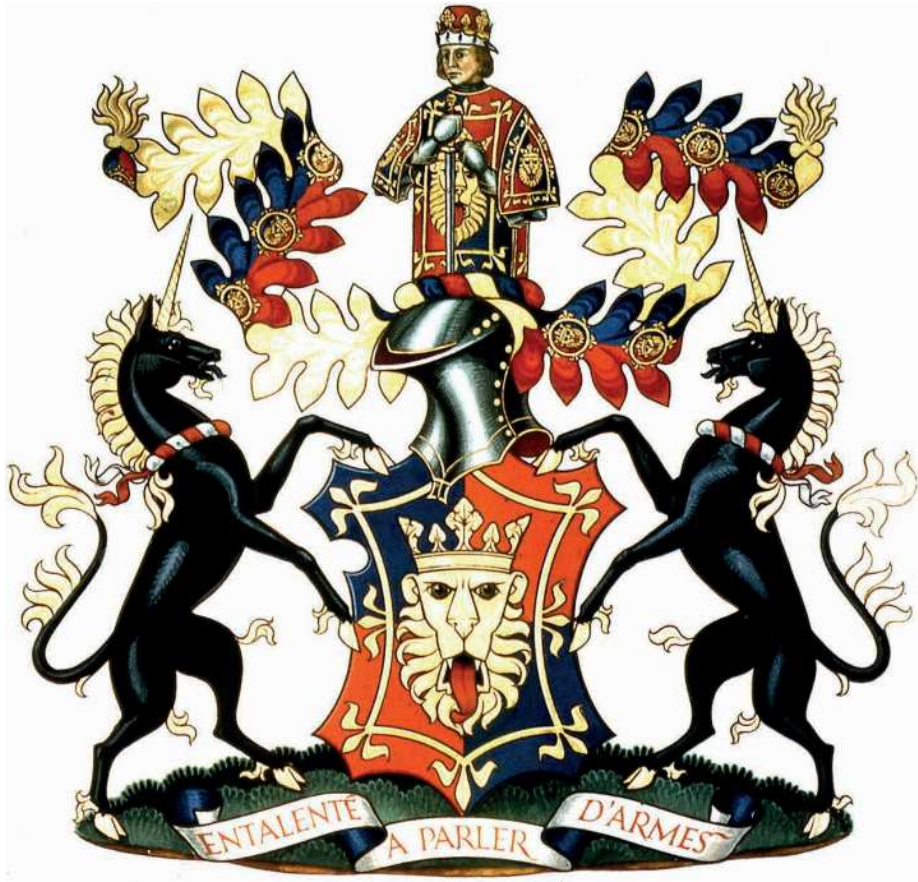
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