



Hsiao, Chihyin (2019) *Owning China: the material life of London tradesmen 1700-1750*. PhD thesis.

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OWNING CHINA: THE MATERIAL LIFE OF LONDON TRADESMEN 1700–1750

CHIHYIN HSIAO

Submitted in full fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

School of Culture & Creative Arts

College of Arts

University of Glasgow

December, 2018 of deposition to the Library

ABSTRACT

This PhD project seeks to understand how chinaware was used and appreciated in London tradesmen's homes between 1700 and 1750. Statistical evidence from London Court of Orphan Inventories reveals the consumption of key household items in London tradesmen's homes. Chinaware, a synonym for Chinese porcelain, was one such commodity which enjoyed a surging popularity during the first half of the eighteenth century. Records show that the ownership of Chinese porcelain fluctuated amongst London tradesmen's households, indicating potential competition between chinaware, silver, pewter and delftware. This thesis thus argues that local metal and ceramic productions could no longer support the lifestyle required for polite living in eighteenth-century England while chinaware successfully established itself as a luxurious item for tea and dinner services. The change of household fashion not only highlights the increasing number of emerging consumers but also celebrates their desire to upgrade their material life. The dynamic cultural imaginary of exotic goods gave emerging consumers an opportunity to purchase a new social identity which had not been available in the previous century. Ultimately, the want for a better material life changed the hierarchy of things at home and the social behaviour of people. Gender representation, family alliance and business partnership are exemplified through surviving ceramic objects.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors Prof. Nicholas Pearce, Dr. Minna Törmä and Nixi Cura, the Honorary Research Fellow of University of Glasgow. Their warm encouragement and invaluable suggestions have helped me through the challenges during my PhD. I am grateful for their continuous support especially when I was searching for inspiration. I would also like to thank the staff in Christie's Education London who offered me wonderful opportunities to meet and exchange ideas with current scholars, collectors and students.

My gratitude is extended to Mrs. Angela Howard whose knowledge and generosity had helped me develop new idea in the first year of my PhD. Her knowledge of Chinese armorial porcelain is truly second to none. I also owe thanks to my colleagues in the University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery and Burrell Collection, especially Ms. Ruth Fletcher, Dr. Pamela Robertson and Dr. Yupin Chung. They introduced me to the incredible art collections in Glasgow. I am grateful for their advice as well as their company whenever I visited Glasgow.

Lastly, I want to thank my parents in Taiwan and my husband Dr. Niall James Tumilty. Without their unfailing love and support, this thesis would not have been possible.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signed: Chihyin Hsiao

Dated: 12th December, 2018

ABBREVIATIONS

ASH	Ashburnham Family Archive, East Sussex Record Office
CLA	Court of Orphans, City of London
EIC	English East India Company
IOR	India Office Records, the British Library
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
OBPO	Old Bailey Proceedings Online
PAM	Pamphlet, Guildhall Library, City of London
PROB	Probate Records and Wills, National Archives, Kew Garden
VOC	Dutch East India Company

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

More particularly in this famous City, is a great number of Merchants, who for Wealth, for stately Houses within the City in winter, and without in Summer, for rich Furniture, plentiful Tables, honourable living; for great Estates in Money and Land, excel some Princes in some of our Neighbour Nations, a great many of whom have frequently born the Dignity of the Chief Magistracy in the City, and have been bountiful and very liberal Benefactors to the public, and other pious uses.

- Anonymous, *The Compleat Tradesman*, 1684

Notwithstanding Chinese porcelain being a much studied material from manufacture to habit, there remains a limited understanding of how this commodity functioned in English households during the first half of the eighteenth century. Therefore, this PhD thesis asks a series of questions: why did this commodity gain popularity in the middling market? Did it bear any specific social meaning? If so, did it change the way people lived? Evidence from the London Court of Orphans' Inventories and household bills help explore the culture message behind everyday consumption while written entries from sales records further locate imported chinaware in an enclosed household economy where locally-made domestic goods were major contributors.

The studies of eighteenth-century English material culture have advanced rapidly in the last few decades.¹ Patterns of consumption and social behaviour have been widely discussed through ownership of material goods and their standing in society. Durable objects such as ceramics help reconstruct the historical likeness of everyday life; they indicate a level of advancement in material production and therefore an evolution of a specific civilisation. Related works have been stretched across various academic fields such as history, gender studies, anthropology, economics, archaeology and art history. In the field of ceramic decorative arts, researchers often concern themselves with the quality of objects and the maturity of technology; both aspects enable them to analyse the aesthetic value of artefacts.

However, why certain goods were consumed in large quantities and others were not remains unanswered. Contemporary scholarship has gradually established that objects could carry cultural significance beyond their utilitarian or aesthetic value. In the widely debated *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England*, McKendrick points out that the demand for goods is just as important as the making of them. He then asserts that the 'first of the world's consumer societies undoubtedly emerged by 1800'. This rather bold statement is supported by several examples of emulative spending and new marketing strategy models. McKendrick successfully links fashion and taste with consumers' behaviour in

¹ In the general field of eighteenth-century English material culture, this thesis has consulted the following bibliography: Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660–1760*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 1988); John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, 1997); Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Perry Gauci, *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London 1660–1800* (London: Continuum, 2007). More information is provided in the Bibliography

eighteenth-century England. This assertion sparked intense debate regarding the period and the location of the first consumer society.² McKendrick then shifts the debate from the manufacture of goods to fashions and tastes. Arguably, the urge to buy the latest fashion triggered a greater spending spree in the eighteenth century.

Despite this rapid development, few researchers attempt to discover how Chinese porcelain was utilised in ordinary English households in the eighteenth century. Records from the English East India Company suggest that approximately twenty-five to thirty million pieces of chinaware were imported into England between 1720 and 1770.³ Such a large quantity indicates a strong demand in the English domestic market and possibly the North American colony.⁴ There is no doubt that imported porcelain became a common item during this period, yet how it challenged the general household economy is poorly understood. Being a foreign thing, chinaware had been regarded as a play-thing or a curious item since the late sixteenth century.⁵ This concept is further strengthened by the interior practices of chinoiserie, a unique artistic movement in the

² Neil McKendrick et al., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982). The origin of the first consumer society has been widely debated. While McKendrick is convinced that the consumer society first developed in England, other scholars hold different views. For example: Rosalind H. Williams proposes that the consumer revolution originated in late nineteenth-century France and Chandra Mukerji argues that the consumer culture rose in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe. Please see Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 9

³ Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange: Additions to Helen Woolwoth McCann Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), 4

⁴ *The English Navigation Acts of 1651* limited importation to the English occupied colonies in North America until the third quarter of the eighteenth century. *The Empress of China* made her first journey to China in 1784. In between both events, the North American colonies (particularly the thirteen colonies) had to rely on their mother countries for exotic goods. Jean McClure Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade 1785–1835* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1981), 35

⁵ Stacey Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums: The Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain, 1560–1960* (Bern: Peter Lang Publisher, 2007), 62

mid-seventeenth to late eighteenth century.⁶ Scholars often link chinaware with fanciful images of the Far East and, therefore, concentrate on their collectors and provenances.

Indeed, the studies of Chinese ceramics are conducted mostly in the field of history of Chinese art. Objects are treated as antiques or collectable items. Consequently, their studies are developed into a specific branch under the traditional discipline of history of Chinese art; a division between Chinese imperial ware and the so-called 'export ware' emerged. Fine Chinese ceramics have been extensively discussed and examined through ancient Chinese texts, imperial household inventories and archaeological excavations.⁷ Manufactured in imperial kilns, imperial wares were made according to the taste of Chinese emperors and officials. An orthodox methodology to appreciate Chinese porcelain was thus built up over time by Chinese literati, officials and the imperial court.⁸ Unsurprisingly, Chinese imperial wares have dominated the landscape of Chinese ceramic history as they are the key to interpreting mainstream Chinese art and culture.

The notion of 'Chinese imperial taste' was strongly promoted by earlier collectors such as Sir Percival David and his peers at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁹ Early collectors were often enthusiastic scholars. They had the opportunity to purchase Chinese ceramics when imperial collections were first made available during

⁶ In the general field of chinoiserie, this thesis has consulted the following bibliography: Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration* (London, Oxford University Press, 1977); David Beevers (ed.), *Chinese Whispers: Chinoiserie in Britain 1650–1930* (Brighton: Royal Pavilion Libraries and Museums, 2008); David Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

⁷ Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, 47

⁸ *Ibid.*, 169

⁹ *Ibid.*, 11

the Chinese Civil War.¹⁰ By systematically collecting and categorising Chinese works of art, western collectors introduced the methodology for studying Chinese art outside China.¹¹ Sir Percival David's collection, in particular, illustrates a chronological order of the history of Chinese ceramics and introduces the advancement of firing and glazing techniques from the Tang to Qing dynasties. His collection, now in the British Museum, showcases 'authentic Chinese taste' through the selected imperial objects. Other important collections belonged to George Eumorfopoulos and Sir William Burrell. These collections have also been extensively studied although they place less emphasis on imperial provenance.¹² The evolving opinions from prominent collectors were based on newly translated Chinese texts and historical events, their approach suggests that to understand China and Chinese works of art, one must study the history of Chinese imperial courts.

On the other hand, Chinese ceramics exported to or made for European markets in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are barely synonyms for Chinese taste at all.¹³ First referred to as 'Chinese trade ceramics' and 'export ceramics' in western scholarship, they were deliberately separated from those made for Chinese domestic consumption.¹⁴ Thus the term 'export ceramics' has been generalised to refer to all that

¹⁰ Ibid., 135

¹¹ Ibid., 140

¹² Robert Lockhart Hobson, *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection: Catalogue of the Chinese, Korean and Persian Pottery and Porcelain* (London: E. Benn, 1925–1928); Percival Yetts, 'George Eumorfopoulos,' *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1940): 253–258; George Manginis, 'The George Eumorfopoulos Donation to the Benaki Museum, Athens,' *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 66 (2001–2002): 77–93; Emma Leighton and Nicholas Pearce, *One Million Days in China: Chinese Treasures from Sir William Burrell's Collection* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums Publishing, 2004)

¹³ 'Bond Street Blues: The Victorian passion for "Nankin",' Lecture notes, *The Annual Bonhams Oriental Ceramic Society Lecture*, Colin Sheaf, 7th Nov, 2016. Sheaf mentions that export porcelain is unfamiliar to Chinese-oriented collectors and scholars in Asia as they are low quality from unconsidered kilns.

¹⁴ The term 'Chinese export ceramics' is self-explanatory in the category of objects. Please see: Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain*; C.J.A Jorg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982);

was made for the overseas markets and so their making fell into the category of secondary manufactures.¹⁵ For this reason, the relationship between ‘export ware’ and ‘domestic ware’ is almost parallel in the field of Chinese art history, resulting in a wider belief that export wares were inferior in quality. Indeed, export wares usually have unfamiliar decorative patterns and subject matters which were almost completely alien to the Chinese.¹⁶ The traditional methodology of appreciating Chinese art, as mentioned before, can hardly apply to ‘Chinese export ceramics’ and that is why the studies of ‘Chinese export ceramics’ are relatively new and unorthodox. In this sense, export wares are neither Chinese nor European in their origin, perhaps they could be described as a hybrid between Chinese manufacture and European design.

In the past two decades, the subject of ‘Chinese export ceramics’ has received attention from socio-economic scholars especially in the UK and US.¹⁷ Porcelain made in China serves to enhance the current understanding of a complex trading system in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Before Europeans learnt to fire hard-paste porcelain, porcelain trade and the development of firing technology was dictated by Chinese efforts. It is estimated that the Chinese dominated world porcelain output until

Regina Krahl and Jessica Harrison-Hall (eds), *Ancient Chinese Trade Ceramics from the British Museum* (Taipei: National History Museum, 1994); David Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West: Chinese Porcelain and Other Decorative Arts for Export. Illustrated from the Mottahedeh Collection* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1978)

¹⁵ Stacey Pierson, ‘The Movement of Chinese Ceramics: Appropriation in Global History,’ *Journal of World History* 23 (2012): 9–11

¹⁶ Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain*, 32

¹⁷ In the general field of English ceramics and social history, this thesis has consulted the following selected bibliography: Sarah Richards, *Eighteenth-century Ceramics: Products for a Civilised Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Maxine Berg et al. (eds.), *Goods from the East, 1600–1800: Trading Eurasia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁸ The impact of such trade provides an illuminating but unexplored theme in the writing of European economic history. Robert Finlay, for instance, argues that Chinese porcelain trade was a worldwide phenomenon which stimulated cultural exchanges beyond mere trade statistics.¹⁹ This technological advantage made Chinese porcelain a unique commodity and irreplaceable in European households.²⁰ The arrival of this new commodity dramatically changed the way people lived. By illustrating the rise and fall of Chinese porcelain trade in Europe, Finlay places Chinese ceramics in an intimately woven economic framework and reveals its cross-cultural significance in world history.

Similarly, Maxine Berg defines Chinese ceramics as a semi-luxurious commodity which inspired innovation in the English pottery industry in the late eighteenth century. She points out that imported Chinese ware was largely imitated by English potteries in the eighteenth century so that local production could gain a foothold in this growing market. Through the process of imitation, English potters then developed their own recipes and refined their wares.²¹ The impact of Chinese ceramics, therefore, can be felt from the newly-invented English ceramics targeted for the same market.

However, it is Lorna Weatherill who first attempts to identify the general patterns of porcelain consumption in late-seventeenth and eighteenth-century England.

¹⁸ Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain*, 20. Japanese export porcelain appeared in Europe in the late seventeenth century when China was undergoing political upheaval. But apart from that, no other country had the same capacity for mass ceramic production as Jingdezhen in China.

¹⁹ Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art*, 264–273

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 8

²¹ Maxine Berg, 'From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain,' *Economic History Review* 55 (2002): 18–22

She provides a continuous observation of the economic value of English pottery in response to rising demand.²² Furthermore, from her investigation of over 3000 English probate inventories, Weatherill discovers key domestic goods used by emerging consumers. One striking feature shows that the percentage of tradesmen owning chinaware rivals that of the gentry class in early eighteenth-century England.²³ While Weatherill's work focuses on more than one commodity, her statistics suggest that foreign luxury such as chinaware was no longer reserved for the privileged few and related consumption began to spread among middling households.

Then one must ask: what is the significance of London in this research? More specifically, why should we learn about the material wealth generated by London tradesmen? First of all, London was one of the most important regions to see the growth of ceramic consumption; 12 per cent compared to 10 per cent in North-East England and 3 per cent in Kent between 1660 and 1720.²⁴ David Howard calculated the number of Chinese armorial services destined for each region in England throughout the eighteenth century. London comes in first with 223 services while Yorkshire comes second with 116 services.²⁵ These statistics indicate that London was one of the leading regions in the consumption of imported chinaware.

²² Lorna Weatherill, *The Growth of the Pottery Industry in England 1660–1815* (New York: Garland, 1986)

²³ Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture*, 168. From 1675–1725, the percentage of those owning china was 6 per cent of lesser gentry, 11 per cent of those of higher status and 9 per cent of those of intermediate status.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 44

²⁵ David Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain II* (London: Heirloom & Howard, 2003), 818–819

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, London became the heart of international trade. It is estimated that 80 per cent of the country's imports, 69 per cent of exports and 86 per cent of re-exports went through London quays in 1700.²⁶ Goods such as tea, china, silk, nankeens, calicoes and spices came from the East; sugar, rum, coffee and cocoa from the West; fruit, wax and elephants' teeth from Africa; tobacco, cotton, corn, oil and skin from North America and linens, iron and tallow from the Baltic network were all gathered in London before being transported to the rest of the country.²⁷ Secondly, London tradesmen played a vital role in the expansion of global trade. Prominent merchants and tradesmen sought to influence politics through their posts in the City. It was these commercial elites who benefitted from the public's growing appetite for exotic goods.²⁸ The uneven economic, commercial and social mechanism in the country suggests that foreign luxuries such as chinaware were more readily available in London than other towns in eighteenth-century England. So, it is possible to suggest that the material life of London tradesmen served as a fashion thermometer to their regional counterparts. The patterns of consumption in London tradesmen's homes may provide some insight into how foreign commodities were spread and used in the rest of middling English households in the later period.

In the first part of this thesis, I attempt to define London tradesmen as a collective social group. I explain how different trades were integrated into one

²⁶ Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001), 136

²⁷ Patrick Colquhoun, *Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River Thames*, reprint (London: Patterson Smith, 1969), 119

²⁸ The following books all suggest the importance of London in eighteenth-century English trade: Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London Oversea Trades 1550–1653* (London and New York: Verso, 2003); Sushil Chaudhury and Michel Morineau (eds.), *Merchants, Companies and Trade: Europe and Asia in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

complicated mercantile network within the City and I argue that social ambition was one of the main drives behind the change of London tradesmen's material lives. Then, I turn my attention to the intricate circle of buying and selling chinaware. It is imperative that this thesis should investigate the practice of ceramic trade as London tradesmen had better access to wholesale porcelain sales compared to regional tradesmen. I will study the functions of the English East India Company and their trade with China. Primary materials such as court proceedings and trade cards help understand how ceramic goods were marketed and distributed in the English market.

In the second part of this thesis, I analyse the social and economic impact of chinaware on the household economy of London tradesmen. The two main functions of imported porcelain were for interior decoration and drinking and eating. The increasing sensitivity towards the latest fashion led London tradesmen to purchase expensive ornaments or furniture for their homes. In many studied inventories, chinaware was one such ornament. It was placed along with other precious items such as silver and lacquer. The micro-economy in English middling households was a dynamic subject constituted by various items. Delftware, silver and pewter were the main items displayed with chinaware in London tradesmen's homes. Indirect evidence, such as the decrease in ownership, suggests that some materials were replaced or challenged by foreign goods as the environment became increasingly fashion-orientated.²⁹ The Orphans' Inventories is an excellent resource to explore the rise and fall between ceramic and metal wares.

²⁹ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 14

Statistical evidence also makes it possible to review and re-examine the social concepts associated with conspicuous consumption in the eighteenth century. Social debates over world goods and conspicuous consumption were fiercely attended by intellectuals and politicians in the eighteenth century. For instance, David Hume openly applauded the idea of luxury consumption. The pursuit of better material life benefitted both individual members and society as a whole.³⁰ Other opponents did not share the same enthusiasm. Daniel Defoe, a popular writer and essayist, for example often linked modern luxury to corruption and self-destruction.³¹ These debates on world goods enhanced the importance of overseas trade and how luxury played a central role in presenting the ever-changing social hierarchy.

This led to a more pessimistic view towards foreign luxury and the genders of consumers in eighteenth-century literatures. Often enough, satirical writings would suggest that chinaware was mostly collected by women.³² Fragile, hollow and unpractical. Such qualities have been unjustifiably applied to women and their china; yet surviving armorial chinaware suggests that men could be equally enthusiastic in collecting chinaware.³³ The case study of the Crowley household is provided to give further confirmation of how chinaware was valued by both husband and wife. Arguably, how chinaware was valued from a social perspective can be associated with its collectors.

³⁰ Andrew Cunningham, 'David Hume's Account of Luxury,' *Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 27 (2005): 231–250

³¹ Lydia H. Liu, 'Robinson Crusoe's Earthenware Pot,' *Critical Enquiry* 25 (1999): 728–757

³² Beth Kowaleski-Wallace, 'Women, China, and Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 (1995–6): 153–167

³³ Kate Smith, 'Manly objects? Gendering Armorial Porcelain Wares,' *East India Company at Home* (2014) <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/10/Armoial-Porcelain-PDF-final-19.08.14.pdf> (accessed 18th March 2016)

In the fields of Chinese export ceramics, much has been learnt about the manufacturing advancement of Chinese porcelain, but less can be said about the consumption outside its mother country – China. For this reason, my research focuses on the social and economic context in which Chinese export ceramics were once situated. Based on textual records, my objectives are to contextualise chinaware in the setting of London middling homes and to understand its role in the hierarchy of home economy. By investigating the patterns of consumption, I hope to explain how and why the ownership of chinaware increased in this specific time frame and further analyse its impact on London tradesmen's social identity. Business affiliation, family connection and personal aspiration are discussed along with selected objects.

CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY, MATERIALS AND PROBLEMS

For that we have to follow the things themselves, for their meaning is inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories, it is only through the analysis of these trajectories that we can interpret the human transactions and calculations that enliven things.

- Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*, 1988

2.1 Methodology

As discussed in Chapter 1, inquiries into decorative arts often concern makers and the quality of objects, but less about the interaction between users and objects.¹ Various forms of historical evidence, however, reveal that the 'spending side' is just as important as the 'making side' of things.² The theoretical framework of my thesis, therefore, takes inspiration from social and economic theories with an aim to understand the motivation behind human consumption and related social activities.

¹ Please see Chapter 1, footnote 1 and 7

² Please see Chapter 1, pp. 2–3. Anna S. Martin, 'Makers, Buyers and Users: Consumerism as a Material Culture Framework,' *Winterthur Portfolio* 28 (1993): 141–157

In the field of material culture, anthropological methods have been widely applied in the investigation of how meanings were given to things in human society.³ The textual autobiographies (i.e. diaries and letters) contain personal opinions which were often led by emotion and memory related to important events in life.⁴ Although the sentiment for material possession helps understand the formation of art collections, the so-called 'cultural biography' of things offers an alternative perspective on human consumption. Appadurai and Kopytoff suggest that the social value of objects changes under the process of commodification.⁵ The life cycle of a commodity starts at the birth of its manufacture; peaks at its full function and ends when no longer used and exchanged. This idea fundamentally challenges how 'things' are perceived as a practical tool in human activity. For example, if we treat chinaware as a commodity with a personalised career, its working life started at the point of utilisation and ended at the time it ceased such function. The metaphorical application suggests that the intricate social value of things is often conferred and constructed by human consumption.⁶ Consequently, it is possible to think of an 'object' as an agent to understand the formation of human consumption. The semantics behind certain types of consumption help us construct the meaning of human actions. 'Forget that the commodities are good for eating, clothing and sheltering; forget their usefulness and try instead the idea that commodities are good for thinking.' Perhaps Douglas's reflection on human consumption best sums up the means to this end.⁷

³ For example: Stacey Pierson, *From Object to Concept: Global Consumption and the Transformation of Ming Porcelain* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013)

⁴ Charles Lamb, 'Old China,' in *The Essays of Elia* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1835), 271–277

⁵ Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commodification as Process,' in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed., Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 13

⁶ Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*, reprint (New York: Routledge, 2003)

⁷ Douglas and Isherwood, *The World of Goods*, 39–40

To understand a specific branch of domestic consumption in early modern England, a niche investigation has to be initiated. Modern scholarship tends to focus on elite households.⁸ Superfluous objects such as old master paintings, bespoke furniture, Indian textiles and other exquisite artefacts often survive through inheritance and curatorial care, in this way they help materialise the need and the want of high society. As a result, household accounts of celebrated collectors or important figures could be used to understand that historical totality.⁹ Non-elite households, however, require a more accommodating approach towards fragmentary references such as random household accounts, bills and inventories. The documentary evidence should help contextualise how ordinary people lived their lives. Such resources also help us recover the value of things from an economic point of view.¹⁰

This leads to the next question: Why were London tradesmen buying chinaware and what did their purchases represent in an array of material possessions? One strong explanation, of course, is to transform the surplus wealth into social status through conspicuous consumption. The motivation of upgrading oneself in the existing social hierarchy can be observed from one's material possessions and conspicuous consumption. This point has been further elaborated on by Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* as he duly commented:

⁸ For example: Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978) and Gervase Jackson-Stops, *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting* (Washington: Yale University Press, 1985)

⁹ Antony Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 5–8

¹⁰ Overton et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750* (London: Routledge, 2004), 31

The motive that lies at the root of ownership is emulation; and the same motive of emulation continues active in the further development of the institution to which it has given rise and in the development of all those features of the social structure which this institution of ownership touches. The possession of wealth confers honour; it is an invidious distinction.¹¹

This 'trickle down' theory has been argued to be one-directional as various factors participate in the habits of consumption.¹² How fashion impacted on society as a whole and how lower class preferences were directed into the practice of conspicuous consumption are the hidden problems with Veblen's idea. Bourdieu introduced the function of taste in a knowledge-oriented world. He suggested that it is not the lavish personal possession that dominates the transformation of social position; instead it is knowledge and taste that define one's height in the fluid social structure. In other words, it is possible to acquire the 'cultural capital' to enter into the higher echelons of society.¹³ In the case of London tradesmen, there has been a strong view that economic capital helped produce cultural capital and it was the cultural capital that defined one's position in polite society. Both Veblen's and Bourdieu's theories provide a motivation to such purchase. The cultivated 'habitus' was presented through the educated manner; 'as an objective demand, in membership of the bourgeoisie and in the qualifications giving access to its rights and duties'.¹⁴ This point, for instance, can be further contested in the etiquette of the eighteenth-century tea party.¹⁵

¹¹ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, reprint (London: Transactions Publisher, 2000), 35

¹² Andrew B. Trigg, 'Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption,' *Journal of Economic Issues* 35 (2001): 101–103

¹³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Rice (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984), 23

¹⁴ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 23

¹⁵ Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones (eds.), *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 8–10

The emulation theory, albeit providing an intention, does not always explain the patterns of consumption.¹⁶ First, the distinction between social classes was not based on kinship alone. The making of family as well as home was affected by economic factors such as wealth and one's social connections. The alliance between families was sometimes presented by objects at home. (Examples are given in Chapters 6 and 7.) The variations of ownership between different social groups were related to interior factors such as personal taste and preference. Secondly, the motive to buy was related to how goods were marketed and sold in a specific market. The distribution system, sales channels and newspaper advertisements are an underlying part of this one cultural indicator which ceramic historians are eager to assess through evidence of bills, accounts and trade cards.¹⁷ Reflecting on emulation theory prompts us to think beyond assumed patterns of consumption and to consider external factors which may have influenced ownership.

The most illuminating part of this thesis is not the distinction between the everyday life of the noblemen and tradesmen. In fact, the patterns of consumption extracted from the Orphans' samples hardly demonstrate such difference if the samples were not compared with a large number of English noble estates. Instead, the samples suggest a potential social hierarchy among things themselves. The working life of household goods introduces the cultural and economic competition between various

¹⁶ Colin Campbell, 'Understanding Tradition and Modern Patterns of Consumption in Eighteenth-century England: A Character-action Approach,' in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, eds., John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 40–42

¹⁷ Recent studies which used such historical resources in this selected field are: Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) and several journals including: Robin Hildyard, 'London Chinamen,' *The English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 18 (2004): 447–502; Nicholas Pane, 'The China Club in an Economic Context – An Idea Too Late for its Time,' *The English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 22 (2005–6): 63–76; Claire Walsh, 'Shop Design and the Display of Goods in Eighteenth-Century London,' *Journal of Design History* 8 (1995): 157–176

comparable materials. Local metal and ceramic products were staple household goods before the arrival of Chinese porcelain. The relationship between these materials were sometimes in conflict and sometimes not thus the increased ownership of chinaware witnessed the decline of others and testifies to a change in fashion. The rise and fall between materials suggests the consumption of chinaware was affected not only by the preference of its owner but by what was available in the market. In this way, chinaware was constantly in conversation with other household goods during and after its journey of commodification. This point resonates with Kopytoff's idea and remains at the centre of this research.

2.2 Materials

The London Court of Orphans Inventories (referred as the Orphans' Inventories below) are my main research material. These inventories were drawn up exclusively for deceased London freemen who had their businesses located in the City of London between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. They are the main surviving documents detailing the domestic possessions of London tradesmen as a homogeneous social group. In order to settle the accounts for their underage children, these scrolls were drafted by appointed executors where their finances and the overall value of their estate were listed.¹⁸ Valuable household goods such as silver, apparel and furniture were recorded revealing a plethora of information regarding the domestic items owned

¹⁸ Alice M. C. Le Mesurier, 'The Orphans' Inventories at the London City Guildhall,' *The Economic History Review* 5 (1934): 98–103

by the up-coming middling households. As chinaware is repeatedly recorded in the inventories, related entries offer an insight into how this commodity was introduced and popularised.

Of course, important historical documentation such as this has already come to the attention of historians,¹⁹ but the records of chinaware inside the inventories have received little attention except for Weatherill's research as mentioned in the previous chapter. Weatherill randomly selects 300 inventories from the Orphans' samples. Her investigation focuses on the ownership for several key household items. She concludes that chinaware was just as prevalent in London tradesmen's homes as it was amongst the higher social ranks. Based on her findings, I further concentrated on the content and the value of chinaware in London tradesmen's homes between 1700 and 1750. Although the collection of samples is large, the process of selection is rather straightforward. All inventories listed across Common Sergeant Book Five and Six (from 1694 to 1742) are studied. Some tradesmen in my samples were active before or after 1700 to 1750; therefore, the period covered in my research could date from 1670 (after the Great Fire of London) to 1760 (the coronation of George III).

The advantage of this method is to include as many samples as possible and to maintain a high degree of representativeness in data. The samples from Book Five are used to support the data gathered from Book Six and to provide a context for domestic

¹⁹ Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660–1730* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660–1760*, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 1988). Earle uses the Orphans' Inventories to evaluate the wealth of the London middle class; Weatherill also uses the inventories to investigate the behaviour of London consumers.

life before world goods became common in upper and middle-ranked households. Hence the total numbers of samples examined in this research are slightly over 600 and the useful samples are approximately 520 (excluding the blank and damaged inventories). Non-probability sampling is used here. This is to ensure the average percentage of ownership reflects a wider range of scenarios as my research prioritises one material rather than a selection of different goods.

The most important information contained within the Orphans' Inventories is the content, location and price of chinaware. This is of particular interest as this information can further develop our knowledge of how and why chinaware was viewed as desirable merchandise. London was of unprecedented importance to the whole of England and her tradesmen generally would have higher incomes than tradesmen in other parts of the country.²⁰ The investigation of these inventories reveals a consistent pattern as to how a specific material or utensil was recorded; this appears to be largely dependent on its monetary value and the time period, both of which may well be connected to each other.

It is clear that Chinese porcelain was better documented than lower-valued potteries such as earthenware, stoneware and even delftware in the Orphans' Inventories. Individual pieces of tea ware and dining ware were often listed in detail after the 1720s. On that account, the content and the location of chinaware are relatively easy to find. The price, however, is less straightforward. The valuation was

²⁰ E. A. Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy 1650–1750,' *Past and Present* 37 (1967): 44–70

given on a room-by-room basis, so the price of each item was rarely available. It is difficult to separate the value of chinaware from other items such as furniture, glass, clocks and textile. Fortunately, some inventories assigned chinaware to a separate section, offering a more absolute value for second-hand items and arguably close to their original retail price. The above information is presented in the first part of my thesis. Other materials such as trade cards, bills and popular prints are consulted for visual comparison.

2.3 Problems

As far as this research is concerned, the limitations of the Orphans' samples derive directly from the nature of the inventories themselves. Setting up a fund for 'underage' children means that the London Orphans' Court usually recorded the property of deceased tradesmen who died at a relatively younger age. This point is worthy of consideration as it could mean that some tradesmen had yet to reach the peak of their career and as such their finances did not reflect their full potential compared to those who lived longer. Also, the samples excluded bachelors, men without children and other professionals who did not take up the freedom of the City.²¹ Under these circumstances, only those who were registered with London livery companies are studied; those who were outside the old civic system are unfortunately left behind.

²¹ Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, 394–395

To ensure a reliable and representative body of data, it is essential to understand the terminology of that period and to search for the right item when recording uncategorised domestic goods. For example, the term 'Chinese porcelain' is fairly technical as it refers to a hard-paste porcelain body and implies the physical characteristics of the material. This term is never found in the Orphans' inventories. It might be for the reason that the technology of firing ceramics was not known to the executors. Instead 'china' or 'chinaware' was used to describe oriental porcelain. It has a broad-based meaning and could be referred to a wide variety of ceramics outside of a more porous material such as earthenware and stoneware. Evidently, low-fired ceramics were well known to executors, as they were able to separate different potteries from the term 'chinaware'. Although soft-paste porcelain such as Chelsea and Bow can sometimes be called 'chinaware', the term was almost exclusively reserved for oriental porcelain before the second-half of the eighteenth century.²²

'Choney', 'cheny' or 'cheney' is a term that repeatedly appears in the inventories. It is not clear what this term really means. Some researches indicate that 'choney' is 'broad clothes'; others seem to refer to it as decorated earthenware. Both materials are found in the entries in the Orphans' inventory.²³ Thomas Cooke, an upholster who died in 1716, owned 'ten broad choney' in his shop,²⁴ while, a 'cheny section' in William Withew's inventory of 1722 specifies cheny ware as dishes, plates, cups, jars, bottles.²⁵

²² Vimalin Rujivacharakul (ed), *China: The World, China and a Short History of Collecting* (Plymouth: University of Delaware, 2011), 15–18

²³ Sara Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History: The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England,' *Journal of Design History* 11 (1998): 207

²⁴ Cooke, Thomas, Citizen and Upholder, 1716, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3018, LMA

²⁵ Withew, William, Citizen and Fishmonger, 1722, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3210, LMA

There is no compatible middle ground as to why 'choney' or 'cheny' referred to different materials. The only possible explanation is that this term was associated with things from China, but, in some cases, cheny ware was most likely to be Chinese porcelain.

It is also possible that Japanese porcelain was referred as chinaware, but as the quantity of Japanese porcelain imported to England became insignificant from the beginning of the eighteenth century,²⁶ it is not essential to distinguish between these two types of porcelain. The same terminology used in the Orphans' Inventories shall be maintained for consistency in this thesis, but I also hope to retain the distinctive materiality of Chinese porcelain as much as possible. To achieve both ends, the term 'chinaware' is used while occasionally the term 'Chinese porcelain' is employed to describe the technicality of material.

Another potential problem is the quantity and value ascribed to a particular item in the Orphans' Inventories. For instance, a parcel of chinaware was frequently used to describe some numbers of chinaware while a tea service can be described in detail to include: teapot, cups and saucers, milk jug, slop basin etc. The detail of descriptions depended on the executors' awareness of the value. Some executors focused on the content of the goods and some put emphasis on the value. The mixed descriptions make the samples as a whole more difficult to analyse. It is possible that the value of chinaware was not high enough to be appraised individually. It could also be the case that an executor had his preference as to how things should be recorded. The personal

²⁶ David Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West: Chinese Porcelain and Other Decorative Arts for Export Illustrated from the Mottahedeh Collection* (New York: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1978), 92

styles of valuation certainly affect the entries of data; however, as the variation is not dramatically different, it does not leave impact on the overall presentation.

Extracted from the Orphans' samples, the average percentage of London tradesmen owning chinaware was approximately sixty-nine. It is reasonable to believe that the actual percentage was higher than this figure. There are about sixty inventories where no specific household items were listed. In these instances, only the total value of the household goods was recorded. Many inventories appear to have no chinaware but they have a tea table and various sorts of tea making and serving equipment. This suggests that the owner practiced tea drinking on a regular basis. Chinaware was needed for tea drinking and it seems unlikely that the owner would drink tea without suitable utensils. Silver ware or earthenware was common in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but they could not take hot liquid as well as Chinese porcelain. Either the metal became too hot to touch or the pottery cracked instantly at high temperature. It is possible that the executors simply discarded this foreign commodity in their records or that chinaware really did not exist in those particular households for reasons of economy or taste. I attempt to file the entries of chinaware in the Orphans' Inventories as faithfully as I can even though some inventories clearly fail to reflect the real presence of domestic goods.

The fragmented documents from the East India trade hardly helps illustrate the overall economic development of the porcelain trade. Sailing logs kept by supercargoes are first-hand materials to delve into, but are often incomplete on either price or

quantity of imports. Other materials such as the Company's account books or publications by the House of Commons rarely record the annual value of chinaware. In these records, different currencies and measurements are intertwined, making it difficult to extract meaning. Secondary literatures related to the East India Company are abundant. Two books are widely referenced in my research. Morse's *Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635–1834* is extremely comprehensive in terms of exploring the function of supercargoes. He details the ships to China and their purchases. Porcelain entries in ship logs, though, are often inconsistent in detail. Sometimes the number of chests of porcelain is mentioned but other times the total value of porcelain on board is quoted instead. The different units of measurement used make it difficult to estimate either the accumulated quantity or value over a period of time. Chaudhuri, on the other hand, focuses on the overall East India trade and calculates the value of porcelain up to 1760. The valuations are extracted from the Company's accounts. Chaudhuri's estimations are in the currency of sterling, therefore can easily be converted to tael, the old Chinese silver currency.

As for visual references, the problems of using paintings and prints are usually associated with personal narratives. For instance, Arthur Devis's painting *Mr. and Mrs. Hill* (1750–1751) was intended for close acquaintances and friends in an intimate setting. The posture of the sitters, the surrounding interior and the objects on display were carefully put together to promote the patron's social status. It is precarious to assume that the interior in this painting accurately reflects the real setting of home. Similarly, Hogarth's satirical prints often exaggerate scenes of domestic life. *A Harlot's Progress* (1733) (as referenced in Chapter 6) ridicules the moral value of English society.

The broken china implied the broken reputation of the female character Moll. Again, the furnishings surrounding the chinaware may not serve as a true historical likeness to London middling homes. These images are presented with caution.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that, although this thesis is entitled 'London tradesmen's material life', the Orphans' Inventories are not about introducing individual tradesmen's taste or preference. They are, as a matter of fact, accumulated entries of household goods owned by several members of the same households. Female fashion, in this context, had been subtly integrated into goods listed in the inventories. While household items were legitimately owned by the deceased husbands or fathers, they were used by family members living in the same house. Each inventory represents a family unit. This principle gives us a broader perspective of home and home making.

PART I. PURCHASING CHINAWARE

CHAPTER 3. LONDON TRADESMEN AND THEIR HOMES

The word 'tradesmen', in England, does not sound so harsh as it does in other countries; and to say a 'gentleman-tradesman', is not so much nonsense as some people would persuade us to reckon it; and, indeed, as trade is now flourishing in England, and increasing, and the wealth of our tradesmen is already so great, it is very probable a few year will show us a greater trade-bred gentlemen, than ever England yet had....

- Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesmen*, 1747

This thesis begins with an introduction to London tradesmen and their material belongings. The subject of London tradesmen and their commercial expansion has been extensively studied as has their role within the framework of the world economy.¹

¹ In the study of eighteenth-century London and her people, this thesis has consulted the following publications. Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660–1730* (California: University of California Press, 1989); Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Perry Gauci, *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London 1660–1800* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007). Secondary bibliography includes: Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727–1783* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (California: University of California Press, 1996); Perry Gauci, *The Politics of Trade: The Overseas Merchant in State and Society 1660–1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Sushil Chaudhury and Michel Morineau (eds.), *Merchants, Companies and Trade: Europe and Asia in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Ian Anders Gadd et al., *Guilds, Society and Economy in*

Eminent tradesmen not only participated in the established Baltic and Mediterranean trade; they helped build a commercial network in India, China, the Caribbean and North America, enabling the political might of the British government in strategic areas of overseas trade in the later period.² Through the making of their businesses during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, London's commercial elite revealed their true ambition in this volatile early global trade.

Meanwhile, the material lives of London tradesmen are less explored. This may be due to fact that there was a major demolition of merchants' houses in the City of London in the early twentieth century, with few household goods surviving.³ Recent studies have turned to secondary literature examples such as letters, newspapers and advertisements for a more explicit indication of household goods in that period.⁴ As explained in Chapter 2, the Orphans' samples outline the domestic items in London tradesmen's homes; they are the primary reference as to how things were positioned and valued. Goods such as silver, pewter and china repeatedly appeared throughout the period of interest, suggesting a growing confidence and wealth supported by the ascending social position of London tradesmen. Moreover, this investigation reveals

London, 1450–1800 (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research in association with Guildhall Library, 2002)

² For example, the English East India Company built Fort William in Calcutta to protect their ships and stock. This trade settlement later turned into the capital of EIC in India and fell into the administration of the British Government in 1858. For more details on this subject, please see: Anthony Webster, 'The Strategies and Limits of Gentlemanly Capitalism: The London East India Agency Houses, Provincial Commercial Interests, and the Evolution of British Economic Policy in South and South East Asia 1800–50,' *The Economic History Review* 59 (2006): 743–764

³ Mireille Galinou, 'Merchant's Houses,' in *City Merchants and the Arts 1670–1720*, ed., Mireille Galinou (London: Oblong, 2004), 25–28. Please also see: Nick Holder and Christopher Phillpotts, 'A Seventeenth-century City Merchant's House at 7a Laurence Poultnery Hill and its Medieval Predecessor,' *London Middlesex Archaeological Society* 61 (2011), 131–147

⁴ For example, Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) and Nancy Cox, *The Complete Tradesman: A Study of Retailing, 1550–1820*, reprint (Oxon: Routledge, 2016)

that affluent London tradesmen shared a similar lifestyle as characterised by ownership of core household goods. Chinaware was one of these items. This chapter pursues three main goals: to understand how London functioned as a growing trade hub for England, to define the growing social influence of the London mercantile community and to explore how their material possessions corresponded to their rising social station. The latter two factors indicate what London tradesmen could afford and possibly how they used exotic items.⁵

3.1 Trades in the City of London

To understand why London tradesmen's material possessions are of significance, it is essential to learn how their wealth was generated from overseas trade and investment. This section focuses on the trades inside the City of London and the commercial environment which helped elevate the volume of imports and exports. It summarises various sorts of business and the civic system inside the City as they were part of how London advanced itself in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By presenting these dynamic commercial activities, this section hopes to provide the background that helped establish the general characters of London tradesmen as a homogeneous social group.

⁵ Please see Chapter 2, footnotes 2 and 3.

First, London had a geographical advantage for overseas trade. The port of London linked the River Thames to the North Sea and to the English Channel. Small ships berthed in the Upper Pool (from London Bridge to Union Hole); middle-size vessels in the Middle Pool (Union Hole to Wapping New Stairs) and large ships in the Lower Pool (Wapping New Stairs). Massive ships over 450 to 500 tonnes anchored around Limehouse and the surrounding area of Greenwich. Cargoes were off-loaded in Woolwich, Blackwall and Deptford. Merchandise had to be transferred to the legal quays on the North Bank between London Bridge and the Tower before being stored in adjoining streets.⁶ Thames-side trade fuelled London's industries. Shipbuilding, distilling, sugar-refining, brewing and silk weaving all benefitted from the imports and exports that went through the Thames. By the end of the eighteenth century, London had become the trading hub of the nation.⁷

Outside of overseas trade, London was also the manufacturing centre for many kinds of domestic goods. Traditional types of crafts thrived before the impact of the Industrial Revolution was felt. There were trades designed precisely for the growing home market. The content of manufacture was often associated with everyday needs such as textiles, metals and leather.⁸ Then there were trades that served London as the major entry to Britain and the base of foreign trade. Many were linked with transportation or imported foreign goods, coaches, breweries, distilleries and sugar-refineries.⁹ There were also local manufactures for export. London produced many refined goods that were famous abroad such as clocks and watches, cutlery, optical and

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660–1760*, second edition (London: Routledge, 1996), 47

⁸ Ibid., 50

⁹ Porter, *London: A Social History*, 137

scientific instruments, plate, jewellery and furniture. They were highly prized items and could achieve great profit in Europe.¹⁰ Lastly, there were the trades that catered for luxury consumption such as coffee houses, chocolate makers, barbers and tailors. This type of trade provided entertainment and service.

The concentration of trades further encouraged retail business to bloom, making London a shopping destination for provincial residents. Goldsmiths, haberdashery, toys and all kinds of shops were established in fashionable areas, especially around the City and later the West End. As Cesar de Saussure, a Swiss traveller, described London's four main shopping streets in the 1720s; the Strand, Fleet Street, Cheapside and Cornhill were 'the finest in Europe'.¹¹ The Royal Exchange, for example, offered a grand shopping gallery in the heart of the City (Fig 3.1). Shopkeepers learned to decorate their business premises with rich stocks, curtains, furniture and outdoor shop signs to attract customers.¹² Undoubtedly, tradesmen in the Orphans' samples would be familiar with prominent retail shops. Although later other leisure towns such as Chester, Warwick and Bath adopted new retail trade, London remained the centre for fashion throughout the Georgian period.¹³

¹⁰ For example, the fine English clock flooded the Parisian market in the late seventeenth century so King Louis XIV banned the imports of English clocks in 1711. Wolfram Koeppel et al., *The Robert Lehman Collection, Volume XV: European and Asian Decorative Arts* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), 86

¹¹ Helen Berry, 'Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 382

¹² Claire Walsh, 'Social Meaning and Social Space in the Shopping Galleries of Early Modern London,' in *A Nation of Shopkeepers: Five Centuries of British Retailing*, eds., John Benson and Laura Ugolini (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 50

¹³ Trevor Fawcett, 'Eighteenth-Century Shops and the Luxury Trade,' *Bath History* III (1990): 62



Fig 3.1 Carington Bowles, *The Inside View of the Royal Exchange at London*, c. 1750

One particular trade should be mentioned here. Earthenware, stoneware and tin-glazed delftware were manufactured in large quantity and traded in London. Although the current locations of English ceramic manufacturing sites have biased contemporary readers into believing that Staffordshire had been the only homeland of English porcelain and stoneware from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, London, prior to the Industrial Revolution, had been one of the major pottery manufacture centres. Several archaeological sites confirm that pottery workshops were based in Fulham, Lambeth, Vauxhall and Aldgate.¹⁴ When sold in the City, local pottery trade was under

¹⁴ R. Massey, 'The Size and Scale of Eighteenth-Century English Porcelain Factories,' *The English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 17 (2001): 153–189

the supervision of the Glass Sellers' Company, a livery company which supervised glass crafts as well as pottery making. In October 1675, the record of the Glass Sellers' Company states that 'appointed a committee and to treat and agree with the Pottmakers concerning rates and prices of Earthenware.'¹⁵ This entry advises that monopoly was enforced and medieval guilds still held strong control over the pottery trade inside the City.

The congregation of world and local goods in London was regulated by trading standards. The trades inside the City were able to combine the advantage of the old civic system with new forms of companies.¹⁶ Livery companies, for instance, had strong influence over trade policies within the City and debates in Parliament. Many traders or overseas merchants paid membership in order to gain more political influence over business charters or trade regulations. The main purpose of livery companies was to prevent unlimited competition and help keep wages and working conditions stable in extreme times¹⁷. The term 'freeman' was originally referred to those who were not feudal lords but enjoyed privileges such as the right to earn money, own land and had the freedom to trade. These privileges enabled the members of guilds to prosper inside the Square Mile. This is particularly important in this research as only freemen were recorded in the Orphans' Inventories.

¹⁵ Richard Peter Treadwell Davenport-Hines and Jonathan Liebenau, *Business in the Age of Reason* (London: Psychology Press, 1987), 59

¹⁶ Steve Pincus, 'Rethinking Mercantilism: Political Economy, the British Empire and the Atlantic World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69 (2012): 3–34

¹⁷ Mark Knights, 'A City Revolution: The Remodelling of the London Livery Companies in the 1680s,' *The English Historical Review* CXII (1997): 1141–1178

When London expanded, the population, trade and industries grew to an extent that it became impossible for all freemen to participate in major civic debates. As a result, the relationship between freemen and the government of London evolved to one where representation occurred through the masters and wardens of the guilds and livery companies. The mercantile or political hierarchy dictated how London tradesmen exercised their political influence. In total, seventy-two occupations are observed in the Orphans' samples. The most common were haberdashers, vintners, merchant tailors, drapers, coopers, clothworkers, grocers, goldsmiths, stationers and distillers. Seven of these professions were from the Great Twelve livery companies, suggesting that the numbers of freemen registered with these companies were possibly larger than the others. Many of them were elected as Aldermen or Members of Parliament,¹⁸ so the political power held by eminent London tradesmen was explicit.

Finally, outside traditional trade activities, banking services started to emerge in the City of London. Large financial corporations were founded in the City from the sixteenth century. The Royal Exchange was founded as early as 1565; the Bank of England was established in 1694 and two East India Companies merged in 1709. These corporations represented a new economic power inside the City. International commerce required large sources of capital in order to support costly yet risky adventures to distant lands. The demand for risk sharing and collective investment was beyond the capacity of medieval guilds. Without the power to finance and supervise

¹⁸ For instance, John Tash was elected alderman, city of London in 1719 and Robert Heysham, the alderman in 1720.

overseas trade, London livery companies gradually declined and were ultimately restricted to the political sphere.¹⁹

From the seventeenth century onwards, complex commercial activities were operated or sponsored by the regulated companies, joint-stock companies and banks. These new forms of business unlike traditional trades, were commercially driven and had the ability to arrange long-term overseas trading to and from England. The Levant, Russia, Merchant Adventurers, the East India, Royal Africa, Hudson's Bay and Greenland companies controlled most of Britain's world trade. They were extremely powerful organisations that dominated the imports and exports of the whole nation.²⁰ The large capital and systematic administration system certainly advanced these companies in an era of sea trade expansion. In return, large corporations flourished in the eighteenth century and brought a wide range of new manufacture into Britain.²¹

3.2 London Tradesmen

Contemporary historians are inclined to place eighteenth-century English tradesmen in a broader social spectrum, which helps explain the indication that London tradesmen were eager to 'upgrade' their social standing to the next level.²² This ubiquitous

¹⁹ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, 61–74

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 89–90, 715

²¹ Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture*, 47

²² Helen Sard Hughes, 'The Middle Class Reader and the English Novel,' *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 25 (1926): 362–78. Hughes gives a detailed list of literature that concern of gentlemanly behaviour in

acceptance leads to a general assumption that there was a graded social ladder led by the nobility and gentry and further suggests that 'material possession' can confer 'honour' in this fixed social hierarchy.²³ However, the complexity of London tradesmen's personal possessions was intricately linked with London's greater access to overseas commodities and the whole new material world.²⁴ That is why the social and economic position of London tradesmen in eighteenth-century society could be observed through their material possessions.

To start with, the geographical unity of residence is a misleading concept. Many London tradesmen were not originally from London. For instance, Sir Ambrose Crowley (who will be discussed in Chapter 7) was born in Stourbridge and apprenticed in London. Sir Humphrey Parsons, Lord Mayor of London and Sir Ambrose Crowley's son-in-law, were also born outside London in Epsom, Surrey. Such examples are not uncommon in London's mercantile community. It is estimated that one in six English people lived in London at some stage of their lives, so the large percentage of population in London was constituted of people from other regions.²⁵

The Orphans' Inventories reveal that nearly all tradesmen occupied a townhouse in the City, suggesting that the urban dwelling was the likely main residence. It has to be noted that London at the time was much smaller than today. It only had the City,

the eighteenth century.

²³ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, reprint (London: Transactions Publisher, 2000), 14

²⁴ Porter, *London*, 135

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 131–133

Southwark, Westminster and part of the West End within its boundary²⁶ (Fig 3.2). Many people lived in the nearby areas of Middlesex, Essex and Kent, which were regarded as separate counties. But the boundary between the City and its suburban towns was not definite. It was common that wealthier tradesmen owned a second house outside the City. Suburban areas such as Hampstead, Wandsworth and Greenwich were popular destinations as tradesmen could commute to the City of London within a day and remain closely in touch with their business. Although at some point, the deceased tradesmen may have lived outside London, in this thesis the term 'London tradesmen' mainly applies to people who set their business headquarters in London, not necessarily their residence.

In addition, the term 'tradesman' was generalised to include as many trade-related occupations as possible. Defoe explained that this term can be understood differently on a regional basis. In the north of England and Ireland, a tradesman was understood as 'a mechanic, such as a smith, a carpenter, a shoemaker, and the like, such as here we call a handicraftsman'. However, in England and especially in London, he gave a different view:

all sorts of warehouse-keepers, shopkeepers, whether wholesale dealers or retailers of goods, are called tradesmen, or, to explain it by another word, trading men: such are, whether wholesale or retail, our grocers, mercers, linen and woollen drapers, Blackwell-hall factors, tobacconists, haberdashers, whether of hats or small wares, glovers, hosiers, milliners, booksellers, stationers, and all other shopkeepers, who do not actually work upon, make, or manufacture, the goods they sell.²⁷

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman in Familiar Letters* (New York: Augustus M Kelly, 1969), 5

This suggests a difference in interpreting occupations, and it becomes apparent that in eighteenth-century London 'tradesmen' would genuinely refer to merchants, wholesalers, retailers and financiers. For instance, according to the Orphans' Inventories, William Watkin was a vintner who bought wholesale goods abroad and divided his stock between his warehouse and retail shop.²⁸ He was obviously a merchant, a wholesaler as well as a retailer. This applied to many other trades such as grocers, silversmiths, coopers and furniture makers. The decline of specialised trades makes it difficult to classify the business community in this period. Allegedly 'London tradesmen' specialised in buying and selling as well as manufacturing. In short, these people were not average waged professionals; most of them had great financial resources to trade in large capital.

As mentioned previously, membership of the old civic system was a means to connect livery companies to Parliament, thus Eminent London merchants were keen to attend public affairs to maintain or defend their interests.²⁹ It is estimated that a large percentage of corporation officers were City freemen and were often prepared to act in required civic capacities.³⁰ Wealthy tradesmen looked for leadership roles in the London Aldermanic Court as well as in Parliament. The particular impact of London merchants can be seen from the rising numbers of City merchants entering the House. Compiling information from the History of Parliament volumes, Perry Gauci calculates that during the period 1660 to 1754, 63 per cent of first-time mercantile MPs in the Restoration period and 75 per cent in the first half of the Georgian period were

²⁸ Watkins, William, Citizen and Vintner, 1712, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3140, LMA

²⁹ Gauci, *The Politics of Trade*, 125

³⁰ Ibid.

elected.³¹ This number manifests the intertwined nature of the political and business networks within the Square Mile and possibly across England.



Fig 3.2 John Strype, *Survey of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark*, c. 1756

Family records and business accounts reveal that the London commercial elite were closely affiliated with the nobility and gentry through arranged marriages and business alliances. Richard Grassby estimates that more than 30 per cent of England's merchants in this period had a gentry background, while Earle concludes that 25 per cent of London livery companies' apprentices were descendants of landowners.³² It

³¹ Ibid., 205

³² Richard Grassby, *The Business Community of Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge

seems common enough for a younger son of the country gentry to marry a daughter of a London merchant and vice versa. By forging familial and commercial ties with noblemen, politicians and landed gentlemen, London tradesmen blended into the high society which was once reserved for people with family inheritance.³³ Stone thus claims that 'the great strength of the English landed elite was their success in psychologically co-opting those below them into the status hierarchy of gentility.'³⁴ Both social groups accommodated this new social mobility and adopted the situation to gain alliance and profit.

The above statistics suggest that the social boundary between the gentry and the commercial elite was frail. With professional knowledge and financial resource to exercise one's wealth and connection, a mere tradesman could significantly advance his social status by purchasing land or marrying their social superior. It is suggested that tradesmen were inspired or at least aware of the social benefits of upgrading themselves to landed gentlemen. A critic of 1733 jokingly wrote of 'a set of brocaded tradesmen... raising to themselves immense wealth, so as to marry their daughters to the first rank, and leave their sons such estates as to enable them to live on in the same degree'.³⁵ This kind of comment strengthens the idea of tradesmen wanting to become landed gentlemen and echoes the concept of 'gentleman-tradesman' which began to gain credence in the late seventeenth century. 'Anyone that, without a coat of arms, has either a liberal or genteel education, that looks gentleman-like (whether he be so or not)

University Press, 1995), 143; Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, 9

³³ For instance, Sir James Bateman, the governor of the Bank of England and director of the East India Company, had his son marry the daughter of the Earl of Sunderland and he later became Viscount Bateman.

³⁴ Lawrence Stone and Jeanne Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880* (California: Clarendon Press, 1984), 293

³⁵ Christopher Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 9

and has the wherewithal to live freely and handsomely, is by the courtesy of England usually called a gentleman.’³⁶

In this sense, personal wealth may contribute directly to the purchasing power. By calculating everyday spending through a commodity index, Gregory King estimated that the income of a tradesman was on average between £200 and £400 in the year 1688.³⁷ Shopkeepers and lesser tradesmen’s incomes were £45. Gentlemen, although ranked above eminent merchants and traders by sea, had less annual income; approximately £280. This estimation indicates that eminent tradesmen started to challenge the landed gentry in terms of disposable income. Massie’s estimation in *A State of the British Sugar-Colony Trade* (1759) further advised that wealth was concentrated in the Capital.³⁸ Looking at London alone, Massie advised that a labourer on average earned about £27. 10s. annually. A lower tradesman, builder or manufacturer could earn about £40 a year. Clergymen and officers from the Army and Navy earned about £50 to £100 per annum. A higher tradesman’s income, in comparison to a more conservative number calculated by King, was about £200 but could potentially increase to £600. Both King and Massie hinted at a clear social division in English society in the late seventeenth to the first half of the eighteenth century; however, the accuracy of their calculations and how well their theorised social structure fits into English society is still under heated debate.³⁹

³⁶ Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, 5–9; Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, 279–285

³⁷ G. S. Holmes, ‘Gregory King and the Social Structure of Pre-Industrial England,’ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27 (1977): 41–68

³⁸ Peter Mathias, ‘The Social Structure in the Eighteenth Century: A Calculation by Joseph Massie,’ *The Economic History Review* 10 (1957): 30–45

³⁹ Holmes, ‘Gregory King and the Social Structure,’ 54; Jan de Vries, ‘Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in the Early Modern Europe,’ in *Consumption and the World*

Recent attempts to calculate the wealth of London tradesmen is also presented in Peter Earle's survey.⁴⁰ He uses 375 Orphans' Inventories together with Boyd's Index of London Citizens and wills between 1665 and 1720 to calculate the net worth of individual tradesmen. The result indicates an average income for various occupations (Table 3.1). Unlike King and Massie who used everyday consumption to draw an estimation of annual income, Earle wants to present the accumulated wealth of London tradesmen at the end of their life. He deducts debts from the total value of the estates and credits. This method is identical to the execution of the inventories. Obviously, the purpose was to clear out any unsettled accounts as fast as possible and to leave any remaining net wealth to the dependents of the deceased. The result advises a median fortune of £1,717 and he further claims that 'anyone with a personal fortune between £1,000 and £2,000 was already very well-off by contemporary standards.'⁴¹

The figures calculated by Earle reveal a benchmark cost for a common standard of living; however, there are some unanswered questions relating to the accuracy of projected social hierarchy. The recorded occupation status which Earle matches with family and business indexes does not necessarily reflect the true profession of the deceased. The Orphans' Inventories only listed the registered livery company and did not always show the real business practice of that person. John Crowley, for instance, inherited his father's ironmonger business empire; yet he was listed as a draper in the

of Goods, eds. John Brewer and Roy Porter (New York: Routledge: 1993) , 93

⁴⁰ Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, 14

⁴¹ Ibid.

Orphans' Court.⁴² It is evident that Earle is aware of this dilemma hence he uses Boyd's Index to confirm the occupation status of his samples. Likewise, one must be circumspect over the accuracy of Boyd's Index in relation to the real business practices of individuals for the same reason as to the Orphans' Inventories.

The differences behind the income and accumulated wealth lie in the fact that they represent completely different economic factors.⁴³ A fixed income could lead to a biased conclusion that people can only afford to buy things within their wage. In the context of eighteenth-century London, sources of income could fluctuate quite dramatically throughout the year and that cash in the house was rarely available.⁴⁴ Most commercial transactions still heavily depended on credit over upfront payment; therefore, the total yearly 'income' hardly represented one's real 'wealth'. Accumulated wealth, on the other hand, reveals the final financial statement of the deceased at the very end of his life but it does not show the periodical financial transactions. The disadvantage in solely using this method comes from the lack of knowledge of everyday consumption evidently not expressed in this value.

To establish general patterns of consumption made by the middling sorts, Weatherill proposes to observe personal wealth by monitoring expenditure. Carol Shammass shares the same view as she comments: 'if one is comparing inventories from different times and places, the effect of inflation and of fluctuations in currency

⁴² Crowley, John, Citizen and Draper, 1728, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3322, LMA

⁴³ Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture*, 96

⁴⁴ Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 3

exchanges' and taking individual wealth into consideration would risk 'deflating all samples'.⁴⁵ Significantly, Weatherill's study of over 3000 inventories across England and northern Scotland suggests a variation of consumption between London and other regions. Consumers in London certainly enjoyed better access to a larger variety of goods such as books, prints and china.

The purpose of my study is not to investigate the financial contribution of London tradesmen to the greater level of economy but to determine the purchasing power of these people and so to assess their material life. Consequently, the approach adopted here is akin to Weatherill's and Shammass's. From the analysis of probate inventories, it is found that individual choices and financial ability are two separate factors that determine general patterns of consumption. While one's estimated income suggests an economic status, it does not wholly demonstrate a real living standard unless the consumed items are listed and considered. For this reason, the monetary value of all household goods is recorded from 478 inventories to capture the average household value for this population. The advantage this method holds is that one can discover what domestic items were considered to constitute a comfortable domestic life by the standards of London tradesmen.

⁴⁵ Carole Shammass, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 18–19, 34

Table 3.1. Fortune of London Tradesmen by Occupation Status (Merchants, Wholesalers and shopkeepers) in London Court of Orphans' Inventories, 1700–1750

<i>Fortune at Death</i>	<i>Occupations</i>
£10,000 and over	Merchant, banker, haberdasher, tobacconist, oilman, draper
£5,000–£9,999	Merchant, haberdasher, draper, drysalter, wine-cooper, wool-stapler, cheesemonger, jeweller, bookseller, leather-seller, druggist
£2,000–£4,999	Oilman, salter, merchant, haberdasher, silkman, leather-seller, tobacconist, draper, coal merchant, ironmonger, cheesemonger, coal merchant, bookseller, grocer, upholsterer, laceman, mercer, jeweller, pawnbroker, hop-merchant, hoiser mercer, ferrier
£1,000–£1,999	Timber-merchant, salter, mercer, merchant, draper, ironmonger, mercer, haberdasher, leather-seller, grocer, bookseller, butcher, milliner, upholsterer, yarn-dealer, cheesemonger, pawnbroker, corn-chandler
£500–£999	Hardware, tobacconist, salesman, grocer, milliner, salter, merchant, stationer, bookseller, haberdasher, cheesemonger, mealman, poulterer, grocer, timber-merchant, draper, upholsterer
Less than £500	Milliner, leather-seller, confectioner, hardware, jeweller, haberdasher, salter, cheesemonger, stationer, ironmonger, chandler, haberdasher, grocer, seedsman, glass-seller, laceman, draper

* Source: Extracted from *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society, and Family Life in London*

Extracted from the Orphans' Inventories, the mean household value (including lease) for this grouping is £610 whereas the median value is £249. Household goods usually contain items of high economic value such as silver and jewel and those that have a purely practical function such as brass pan and an iron dog. Other items such as toys and servant's belongings are not included so there is a strong possibility that the total sum of the household is under-valued (Table 3.2). The above two statistics indicate that even within this confined social group, there was still a considerable spread in wealth among its members. The gap between the mean and the median value mainly derives from a small number of houses valued over £5,000, and such wealth is hardly representative of the average town houses recorded in the Orphans' inventories. In fact, apart from the first decade of the eighteenth century, over half of the inventories are valued between £100 and £500. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that the median value is a more realistic estimation of the overall furnishing of middling households rather than the mean value which includes statistical outliers. As there is no specific pattern of wealth distribution, it is hard to distinguish the range of wealth. Another interesting feature of note is that there are more houses valued above £1,000 than below £50 (only thirteen of the inventories are below £50 while seventy inventories were over £1,000). It becomes more apparent that London tradesmen were at the higher end of the wealth spectrum.

Table 3.2 The Percentages of Various Household Values in London Court of Orphans' Inventories, 1700-1750

	No. of Invent ories	House valued £10 to £50 (%)	House valued £50 to £100 (%)	House valued £100 to £200 (%)	House valued £200 to £300 (%)	House valued £300 to £400 (%)	House valued £400 to £500 (%)	House valued £500 to £1,000 (%)	House valued above £1,000 (%)
1700-1710	90	0.86	4.65	12.79	5.81	18.6	8.14	20.93	27.91
1710-1720	161	0.66	11.18	27.63	12.5	7.89	7.89	17.11	15.13
1720-1730	203	7.3	13.48	29.78	15.73	8.99	5.62	7.87	11.24
1730-1740	43	0	12.77	38.3	12.77	8.51	6.38	12.77	8.51
1740-1750	22	4.55	18.18	27.27	22.72	13.64	4.55	4.55	4.55

* Source: See Appendix 1

Alternatively, the financial capacity of London tradesmen can be observed from their investments. The size of the investment often mirrors the amount of spare funds available in one's account. In this case, a quarter of the inventories invested heavily in shares, annuities and bonds, particularly of the three monied companies: the Bank of England, the South Sea Company and the East India Company. The inventories cannot tell us how many London tradesmen actually held prominent positions within these companies; however, they do reveal close ties between the financial institutes and their investors. One hundred and eight inventories list large financial arrangements; fifty-

three invested in the South Sea Company (49 per cent); thirty-four invested in the East India Company (31 per cent) and eleven invested in Bank of England (10 per cent). Even if the commercial elite did not directly work for the companies, they must have been actively engaged as shareholders. It is likely this 'engagement' took in the establishment of trade policy and business strategy, as many of them have clearly dealt with West and East India goods. Hancock suggests a reason for such a high concentration on these three organisations.⁴⁶ These quasi-public companies were regarded as 'arms of the government' offering more security to individual investors. In the first and second decades of the eighteenth century, the East India Company gave its shareholder a return of between 6 and 12 per cent.⁴⁷ The South Sea Company, for instance, once guaranteed a 6 per cent dividend to its investors before the bubble was noticed.⁴⁸ Government debts such as annuities and bonds were unprecedentedly popular. A considerable amount of national debt was comprised of such loans and this kind of arrangement eventually united the interests of London tradesmen to the State.⁴⁹

Other investments went towards various insurance companies and lotteries such as the London Assurance Company or other unnamed banks. This was mainly to diversify their investment and to avoid unseen risks. For instance, William Monk who died in 1733 owned £90 10s. 0d. of Royal Insurance stock; £4,100 of South Sea stock and annuity; £5,300 of bank stock and again £3,000 of South Sea annuity stock.⁵⁰ This is just

⁴⁶ David Hancock, 'Domestic Bubbling: Eighteenth-Century London Merchants and Individual Investment in the Funds,' *The Economic History Review* 47 (1994): 679–702

⁴⁷ Kirti. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company: 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 443

⁴⁸ Gary S. Shea, 'Understanding Financial Derivatives during the South Sea Bubble: The Case of the South Sea Subscription Shares,' *Oxford Economic Papers* 59 (2007): 73–104

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Monk, William, Citizen and Draper, 1733, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London,

one of the few portfolios that illustrate a diversified investment. Other smaller investments such as a personal loan and/or a house lease were often safer options but took longer to realise an actual profit. They were less favoured by those who wanted to gain larger and faster profits. These investments support the view that London tradesmen had a surplus of money to expand their financial and social portfolio. In short, the collective data suggests that most London tradesmen had enjoyed a well-connected investment network in overseas trade particularly related to financing imports and exports. This further supports the hypothesis that elite commercial people afford exotic (or possibly expensive) world goods at this point. Moreover, they could also access information on individual sales through better business channels.

3.3 London Tradesmen's Homes

The Orphans' Inventories reveal that London town houses were standardised in layout and room function. Nearly every inventory has an identical floor plan regarding the front and back area of a house, making comparisons between households on a room by room basis relatively straightforward. This probably is because of the *Rebuilding Act* of 1667 which enforced all houses to be built in brick or stone in the City. The number of stories and width of walls were carefully specified:⁵¹

CLA/002/02/01/3345, LMA

⁵¹ Katharine Goodison, 'Case Study: The Story of a Merchant's House,' in *City Merchants and the Arts 1670–1720*, ed. Mireille Galinou (London: The Corporation of London, 2004), 42–54.

1. The first and least sort of building fronting bye streets or lanes as aforesaid shall be of two stories high, besides cellars and garrets
2. The second sort of building fronting streets and lanes of note and the River Thames shall consist of three stories high, besides cellars and garrets, as aforesaid
3. The third sort of buildings fronting the high and principal streets shall consist of four stories high, besides cellars and garrets, as aforesaid
4. All houses of the fourth sort of building, being mansion houses and of greatest bigness, not fronting upon any streets or lanes as aforesaid etc. etc. the numbers of stories and the height thereof be left to the discretion of the builder so as he exceed not four stories

The use of brick and stone had to comply to protect against 'future Perils of Fire',⁵² and the result of using different materials to build City houses was documented and compared by Francis Maximilien in his travel journal *Mémoires d'Angleterre*. His observation indicates a transformation of City housing and the new style of urban dwelling.

Before [the Great Fire], their houses were the nastiest thing in the world, as may still be seen in whole areas. They were all wood and plaster with horrid little window of which only one could be open. The storeys were low and became wider and wider as they went up. Everything was akew and looked as if it was about to collapse.

⁵² Ibid., 27

Nowadays, they build houses in brick and they go up with an even façade, without any magnificence or anything remotely like it, but with symmetry and neatness. Everything is well fenestrated and well-lit, the window tall and with window sashes. Wooden floors are universally fitted with a ceiling; and ground floor rooms and first floor rooms are wainscoted and sometimes even the second floor is wainscoted as well.⁵³

Within the compact square mile, tradesmen's domestic dwellings were usually three to four stories high. They were either rectangular single houses or square double houses. A typical single house had a front and back area on each floor. Larger houses (possibly in the form of a double house) would have more rooms for specific functions. Examples include the properties at Botolph Lane, Great Tower Street and Mincing Lane.⁵⁴ They are the few surviving example of this period. The painting of *Entrance to the Fleet River* illustrates the houses along Blackfriars Bridge and reveals the similarity in the height and building materials (Fig 3.3).

The change of architectural design in London town houses was not a sudden phenomenon initiated by the Great Fire of 1666. Hoskins points out that, after the Dissolution, medieval houses had undergone a series of rebuilding and redesigning between 1570 and 1640 in England.⁵⁵ Large, all-purpose living spaces were replaced by smaller rooms intend for specific purpose. Stairs were added to create another floor space. The invention of a new floor plan was then adopted into many Elizabethan country estates. By the end of the seventeenth century, middling London houses were

⁵³ Ibid., 26

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ W. G. Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England 1570–1640,' *Past and Present* 4 (1953): 44–59. Please also see: Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983)

already built under the same principle.⁵⁶ Parlours and dining rooms, for example, were invented specifically for intimate social gatherings. This principle had a fundamental effect on where domestic items were placed. The social function of goods was inextricably manifested by the function of rooms. Garrets and kitchens, for instance, were the working areas; items in these rooms were usually made of hard-wearing material and were less decorative. The newly invented parlour and dining room, on the other hand, were used to receive and entertain guests. They were usually decorated with fabric, precious metal and furniture. Expensive decorative items such as silver plate, pier glasses or lacquer stands were arranged to showcase the opulence of the space as well as the wealth of its owner.



Fig 3.3 Samuel Scott, *Entrance to the Fleet Bridge*, c. 1750

⁵⁶ Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 78–88

Chinaware is found to facilitate the social functions of public rooms as it was often recorded in such locations. For instance, Richard Rogerson, a registered carpenter who died in 1724, had domestic goods worth £243 2s. 2d. This included an oval table, one black cane table, a tea table, six cane chairs, a cane couch, tongs and pokers, a black cabinet, glass in great parlour; an oval table, five cane chairs, looking glass in little parlour; a bedstead, two window curtains, two pictures, a chimney glass, iron tongs and dogs, square table, dressing glass, two locks and keys in the widow's room. He also owned 170 ounces of silver in the form of a tea kettle, lamp and stand, coffee pot, teapot, tea canister, candlesticks, mug, small salvers, tongs, strainer etc. Such variety and quantity of goods was not at all uncommon in the inspected inventories. In fact, many households valued above £300 had very similar types of domestic goods. Nathaniel Marks, a registered grocer who died in 1712 had his household items valued at £2,371. 1s. 1d. He had the basic items that appeared in Rogerson's household in addition to owning three times more silver.

Apart from essential furniture such as a bedstead, chest of drawers, table and chairs, not much furniture was listed in London tradesmen's homes. It is possible that goods were kept in garrets so that less storage was required or it could be that the architectural fittings such as shelves and 'beaufait' substituted for storage and they were not duly recorded.⁵⁷ Large furniture appeared mostly in wealthier households as it 'involved a major investment' which indicated 'a heightened conception of domestic space and an increasing sophisticated awareness of household goods as goods of desire'.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ David Hussey and Margaret Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker and Material Culture in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 42

Most furniture described was made of wood; however the exact material was not well-documented. Mahogany, ebony, walnut and oak were occasionally mentioned, but not consistently. From the scattered descriptions, one can only assume that hardwood was more popular than softwood. Some tables were made of lacquer and it is reasonable to believe that lacquer tables were smaller in size as the accompanying chairs were fewer in number, usually two or four. Chairs appear to be the only piece of furniture that was recorded with slightly more detail. Cane chairs were extremely popular, often used in dining rooms and parlours.⁵⁹ Dutch chairs were nearly as popular but much less so in the last two decades of the period studied. Easy chairs were commonly observed as they provided more comfort. This type of chair mainly appears in parlours and withdrawing rooms (Fig 3.4).

Details of soft furnishings were better recorded compared to furniture. From tapestry to pictures, clocks and mirrors these items offer an insight into how people decorated their homes. A late seventeenth-century to early eighteenth-century London townhouse was usually panelled internally and practical living required curtains and hangings to keep the room warm and soft while pier and long glasses were strategically placed to capture and retain natural light in a fairly dark room (Fig 3.5). The hearth was usually equipped with iron tongs, dogs and a poker. These were working items but could be ornamental. Long case clocks, another sophisticated manufacture of England, became common from the late seventeenth century.⁶⁰ Pictures and prints were often recorded in the inventories and were added to the wall, presumably to personalise the

⁵⁹ David Dewing, 'Cane Chairs in London 1670–1730,' *Regional Furniture* 12 (2008): 53–82

⁶⁰ Eleanor John, 'At Home with the London Middling Sort: The Inventory Evidences for Furnishings and Room Use, 1570–1720,' *Regional Furniture* 12 (2008): 30–51

space. These goods seemingly formed the staple household essentials in a formal reception area⁶¹ (Table 3.3).



Fig 3.4 Easy Chair, c. 1760–1790

⁶¹ Ibid.



Fig 3.5 Pier Glass, c. 1720

Some items were recorded without location, for example, linen and silver were often listed in independent categories. Both materials required greater maintenance compared to other items and both had better re-sale value. Linen was a common fabric for everyday clothing, bedding and tablecloths. Its value was usually calculated by quantity rather than quality. Silver, on the other hand, was treated differently. It was used in ceremonial occasions or formal social gatherings. Silver was valued by weight and a price per ounce was normally given. One ounce was typically valued between 5s.

1*d.* and 5*s.* 5*d.* When needed, silver could be exchanged for money. This explains the high percentage of ownership of silver. (Table 3.4).

Table 3.3 Essential Items in Various Rooms in London Court of Orphans' Inventories, 1700–1750

Room	Content
Garret	Shovel, tongs, dog and poker, bedstead, bed, pillow, chest of drawers, table, chairs, stool, pots, lumber, chamber pot
Chambers (Front / Back)	Shovel, tongs, dog and poker, bedstead, feather bed, sash bottom, bolster, pillows, blankets, table, chairs, cane chairs, stool, chimney glass, peer glass, long glass, sets of window curtains, cushions, tapestry, rug, chamber pot, spit
Parlour	Shovel, tongs, dog and poker, table, oval table, chairs, cane chairs, stool, chimney glass, peer glass, long glass, sets of window curtains, cushions, tapestry, rug, candlesticks, tea table, china, books, prints, picture, carpet, glasses
Dining Room	Shovel, tongs, dog and poker, table, oval table, chairs, cane chairs, stool, chimney glass, peer glass, long glass, sets of window curtains, cushions, tapestry, rug, candlesticks, tea table, china, prints, carpet, glasses
Kitchen	Shovel, tongs, dog and poker, forks and knives, table and chairs, stools, candlesticks, sauce pan, frying pan, warming pan, dripping pan, stew pan, spit, boxes, chafing dishes, small dishes, porringers, brass cooking pots, drinking pots, coffee pot, copper teapot, copper kettle, cheese plate, colander, pewter plate, mug, tankard, earthenware, tin and wooden ware, chamber pot

Source: See Appendix 1

Table 3.4 The Percentage of the Ownership of Selected items in London Court of Orphans' Inventories, 1700-1750

	No. of Inventories	Chinaware %	Delftware %	Stoneware %	Earthenware %	Silver %	Pewter %
1700-1710	90	41.11	5.56	0	67.68	87.78	65.56
1710-1720	161	72.05	16.77	0.62	83.23	96.89	68.32
1720-1730	203	77.34	17.24	2.96	76.85	87.68	65.02
1730-1740	43	76.74	9.3	4.65	48.84	83.72	58.14
1740-1750	22	52.38	9.52	4.76	28.57	61.9	57.14

Source: See Appendix 1

Four types of metal were extremely common in all Orphans' samples: iron, copper, brass and pewter. They appear to be used for different purposes. Iron, a heavy material, was used mainly for the hearth and to keep the house warm. Copper and brass, excellent in delivering heat, were used for cooking and warming up food. Pewter, a metal with low melting point, was used for serving food and drink. Together, they formed the working items in the kitchen. Wood, tin and earthenware were also frequently recorded. There is no indication of quantity probably due to the low economic value per piece, but the total value of utensils in the kitchen suggests that they might have some re-sale value. Saucepans, small dishes, teapots, jugs and mugs were the most common forms of all.

Finally, attention can be given to chinaware. This commodity gains greater presence due to the fact that it was recorded in much greater detail compared to local earthenware and delftware. It must be noted that the pattern of consumption differs itself from most other domestic items including silver and pewter, which had been regularly purchased throughout the period. Detailed descriptions often covered the content, style and quantity of this material, these descriptions are almost always completely absent in entries for stone or earthenware but more commonly seen for precious metal and jewellery such as silver. The different documentary approach to various ceramic products suggests that imported chinaware had higher social and economic value than locally produced items. Chinaware appears regularly from the first decade of the eighteenth century. The inventories then reveal a trend of increasing ownership from 41 per cent to 72 per cent in the second decade, where it conspicuously remained throughout the first half of that century.

At first glance, there is no clear indication as to how personal wealth was reflected in the ownership of chinaware. One would assume that the quantity would increase in wealthier households, but this does not seem to be the case (Table 3.5). In fact, there is not much difference between houses of median value (around £250) and those of higher value (mean value approximately £600). The only noticeable difference in wealthier households is found in the period 1700 to 1710 and from then on middling houses are the largest group that owned chinaware. This suggests that chinaware was widely purchased by houses of different levels of wealth. It is quite clear that beyond a certain threshold, the percentage of ownership is no longer directly proportional to

personal wealth. This finding also suggests that, during the second decade of the eighteenth century, chinaware became more available to middling households.

Table 3.5 The Percentages of Various Household Values that had Chinaware in London Court of Orphans' Inventories, 1700–1750

	No. of Inventories	House valued £10 to £50	House valued £51 to £100	House valued £101 to £200	House valued £201 to £300	House valued £301 to £400	House valued £401 to £500	House valued £501 to £1,000	House valued above £1,000
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1700–1710	37	0	5.71	5.71	8.57	14.29	5.71	17.14	42.86
1710–1720	116	0.89	10.71	30.36	11.61	7.14	8.03	16.07	16.07
1720–1730	157	4.29	9.29	30	17.86	9.29	7.14	9.29	12.86
1730–1740	33	0	6.1	39.39	15.15	9.1	6.1	12.12	12.12
1740–1750	11	0	9.1	45.45	27.27	18.18	0	0	0

Source: See Appendix 1

Since household goods were recorded on a room by room basis, it is possible to locate chinaware in the domestic space (Table 3.6). In the first decade of the eighteenth century, chinaware was mostly used in the dining room (48.65 per cent) and the front room upstairs (32.43 per cent). Although unspecific, the room upstairs and to the front was usually the formal chamber of the master, which means that the division between private and public space was not strictly formed at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It also suggests that chinaware, as a material, was extremely versatile in domestic settings. From the second decade onwards, however, chinaware was mostly

found in the dining room and parlour. Almost no chinaware was discovered in the kitchen and garret, suggesting that it was reserved for the formal reception areas.

Yet some information can be elicited from the pattern of ownership and the location of chinaware. The quantity and quality, for example, are not always taken into account in the Orphans' inventories. Detailed descriptions suggest that richer households were more likely to have larger numbers of chinaware. For instance, Robert Heysham, an alderman and a draper who died in 1722 had chinaware in the following rooms:⁶²

Servants' Hall and Butler's Room

twelves blue and white china plates, two basins, two dishes, three blue and white dishes, two small basins, two ditto coloured, one large tea pot

Dressing Room

six china cups and saucers, six chocolate cups, one slop basin, one sugar dish, one tea pot and plate

Great Parlour

tea cups and saucers, tea pot and saucers, two sugar dishes, blue and white fruit dishes, two blue and white slop basins, four cups and four saucers, six blue and white basins, one coloured ditto, two salvers ditto, four blue and white chocolate cups and saucers, a punch bowl, ten plates, thirteen coloured plates, nineteenth pairs of china wares

⁶² Heysham, Robert, Citizen and Alderman, Draper, 1722, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3263, LMA

His houses were valued at £1,550 4s. 6d.; chinaware and glassware alone were valued at £15. 0s. 6d. This figure is extraordinarily high as some furniture was valued below £15. This example supports the view that personal wealth is reflected in the quantity of domestic chinaware held per household rather than the overall percentage of ownership.⁶³

How personal wealth was exhibited by the quality of chinaware can be compared from the inventories outside the Orphan's samples. The executor(s) of Chiswick House, for instance, must have had sufficient knowledge of oriental wares as they marked ceramic utensils as 'Japan ware' and 'Dresden ware'.⁶⁴ The 'imaged' wares were recorded, and this possibly means figures in an exotic landscape or 'enamelled' wares with intricate designs. Similarly, the 4th Duke of Bedford enthusiastically purchased oriental china from well-known china and glass dealers in the eighteenth century. His cashbooks between 1733 and 1771 regularly recorded 'imaged cups and saucers', 'plates enamelled in flowers' and a 'dragon' slop basin. Presumably 'coloured' or 'imaged' ware referred to *famille verte* and *famille rose*. Unlike under-glazed blue and white wares, over-glazed colour wares require multiple firings. This is to stabilise the metal oxides to achieve a mixture of colours. Effectively colour ware was a more expensive commodity to manufacture. These records suggest that general wares in noble estates might be more decorative and therefore more expensive. Few inventories from the Orphans' Court ever specified chinaware as blue and white let alone 'enamelled' or 'imaged'. It is not surprising that in the seventy-seven households listed under £100, no coloured chinaware was recorded. There are fewer than 20 inventories

⁶³ Crowley, Inventory, 1728

⁶⁴ T. S. Rosoman, 'The Chiswick House Inventory of 1770,' *Furniture History* 22 (1986): 81–106

specified coloured wares. Usually mixed with larger collection of blue and white, most of coloured wares were plates and dishes. Wealthy households might own more coloured ware but there is no decisive evidence to support this assumption.

Another interesting aspect is that chinaware was usually unspecified in the first decade of the eighteenth century, but in succeeding decades they were recorded with utilitarian functions. It is possible that the executors had little knowledge of this exotic commodity resulting in the earlier ambiguous comments. However, the decreased percentage of unspecified ware in the later period certainly emphasises the social purpose of these objects.

Table 3.6 The Percentage of Chinaware Appeared in Various Rooms in London Court of Orphans' Inventories, 1700-1750

	No. of Inventories	Garret	Front Room	Back Room	Closet	Best Chamber	Parlour	Dining Room	Kitchen	Others	No Location
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1700-1710	37	0	32.43	21.62	16.22	16.22	5.41	48.65	2.7	24.32	0
1710-1720	116	0.86	18.97	11.21	4.31	16.38	23.28	50	1.72	25.86	5.17
1720-1730	157	0.64	8.28	11.46	5.1	8.28	26.75	49.04	3.82	26.11	13.38
1730-1740	33	3.03	0	6.06	9.09	9.09	27.27	27.27	3.03	30.3	24.24
1740-1750	11	0	9.09	0	0	0	27.27	27.27	0	18.18	36.36

Source: See Appendix 1

Table 3.7 The Percentage of the Content of Chinaware in London Court of Orphans' Inventories, 1700-1750

	No. of Inventories	Tea cups and Saucers	Other tea ware	Coffee ware	Plates	Dishes	Bowls	Others	Unspecified
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1700-1710	37	2.7	0	0	5.4	5.4	5.4	0	94.6
1710-1720	116	16.38	10.34	1.72	6.9	4.31	6.03	14.66	79.3
1720-1730	157	34.39	33.12	3.82	29.94	26.11	21.66	25.48	65.61
1730-1740	33	51.52	42.42	6.06	60.61	42.42	27.27	30.3	51.52
1740-1750	11	54.55	63.64	9.1	45.45	36.36	45.45	9.1	45.45

Source: See Appendix 1

CHAPTER 4. THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, CHINAMEN AND CERAMIC CRIMES

The India Company became to be what it is, a great Empire carrying on subordinately (under the public authority), a great commerce. It became that thing which was supposed by the Roman Law so unsuitable, the same power was a Trader, the same power was a Lord ... In fact, is a State in Disguise of a Merchant, a great public office in disguise of a Counting house.

- Edmund Burke, *Speech to the House of Lords*, 1788

This chapter aims to map the journey of chinaware to London tradesmen's homes. While the previous chapter has established that chinaware was a common addition to London middling households, the detailed specifics of how people purchased chinaware still requires further investigation. Here, I focus on two inter-linking aspects of china trade in eighteenth-century England: the English East India Company and London chinamen. London's commercial elite were the key importers and distributors for world goods in the eighteenth century.¹ The EIC's privileged monopoly became the main source of supply and so Chinamen were part of this linear sales network. Chinamen cultivated various marketing tools to encourage greater consumption in the fast-expanding middling market. Likewise, a surge in ceramic-related crime was reported

¹ Chinese porcelain was exported from London to the North America colonies in large scale. Please see: Lorna Weatherill, *The Growth of the Pottery Industry in England 1660–1815* (New York: Garland, 1986), 120–127

adding further weight to the soaring demand for this material. This evidence extends our understanding of how consumption of chinaware became associated with personal preference and living standards. Trade cards and Old Bailey proceedings help advance the studies related to eighteenth-century pottery trade.

4.1 The East India Company

‘The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies’ (referred as the London Company below) was founded by 218 merchants and tradesmen of the City of London in 1600.² Queen Elizabeth I then granted the royal charter giving the London Company a monopoly to trade with countries east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Straits of Magellan for a period of fifteen years. The monopoly was continued by another charter from James I in 1609; further strengthened by another one from the Lord Protector Cromwell in 1657, again by another from Charles II in 1661.³ Under the sanction of an Act of Parliament in 1698, the government of William III chartered another company named ‘The English Company Trading to the East Indies’ (referred as the English Company below). The old and new companies competed for a short while and, in 1709, they finally merged into one company under the name of ‘The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies’ (referred as the Company or EIC below).⁴ From this point onwards, the Company was commonly known as ‘the Honourable East India Company’ until the India Act of 1858 permanently ended its operations in India and the Far East.

² Philip Lawson, *The East India Company: A History*, second print (Oxford: Routledge, 2003), 19–23

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

From the early stage of the Company's development, London commercial elites dominated the Company's Committees and helped shape its trade strategy. It is quite clear that they had one single aim; to monopolise the East India trades. Since the fifteenth century, inland trade routes to Asia had been blocked by the Ottoman Empire and desirable commodities such as pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon and cloves were difficult to obtain.⁵ The domination of trade and commerce routes on the seas became all-important to emerging powers in Europe. However, long voyages and piracy were constant threats and, on foreign lands, there was always potential for violence between local rulers and the Company's crew in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶ These early ventures, from the Company's point of view, were risky and problematic.

This unwelcome situation motivated England to endorse the EIC. Her main competitors were the Portuguese and Dutch. The Portuguese were the first to arrive in India and China; from there they established bases and soon dominated the East India trade. They obtained Goa, Bombay and other places on the Malabar Coast; they were at the entrance of the Red Sea; in the Persian Gulf; in the straits of Malacca and on the coast of Ceylon. They also established factories in Bengal and a base in Macao.⁷ The Dutch, for example, acted swiftly. In 1596, they successfully expelled the Portuguese from Bantam, a central position for spice trade, and in 1602 the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, VOC) was chartered to operate. The

⁵ Brian Gardner, *The East India Company: A History* (New York: McCall, 1971), 17

⁶ The potential inland threats were mentioned by Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company, Trading to China* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926–1929), 15. It is worth noting that the early disagreement between the EIC and Chinese officials in 1637 was started by Captain Wedell who fired at the Chinese guarding post. Later the famous Opium Wars in 1839 and 1856 were both initiated by England. The description provided by Morse evidently favoured the perspective of the directors of the EIC.

⁷ Gaastra Femme, 'War, Competition and Collaboration: Relations Between the English and Dutch East India Companies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in *The Worlds of the East India Company*, eds. H. Bowen et al. (New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2002), 49–68

VOC became the strongest competitor to the English Company in the next century. It first attacked Portuguese settlements and ships. For instance, the Portuguese ship *Santa Caterina* was captured by the Dutch in 1604. Later, they took over Portuguese trading stations in India such as Goa. The VOC soon established permanent factories at Calicut, Bantam and Amboyna. In the following years, the Dutch grasped a firm footing at many strategic points from the Arabian Sea to the Pacific Ocean. This intra-Asian trade was based on the exchange of important commodities: Japanese silver for Indian textiles, Indian textiles for pepper and spices, spices for precious metals from the Middle East or Chinese silk, and Chinese silk for Japanese silver.⁸ The success of the VOC was formidable in the seventeenth century.

At first, the London Company showed little interest in importing chinaware.⁹ This was probably because some quantities of porcelain had already appeared in Lisbon and Amsterdam. The early consumption of chinaware in Europe depended on Asian trade deals negotiated by the Portuguese and Dutch in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The privileged classes of England could acquire Chinese porcelain from channels such as international auction sales and diplomatic gifts; therefore, the Company did not see the urgency of importing this particular commodity. The goods in *Santa Caterina*, for example, became the trophy in auction sales. Approximately 100,000 pieces of porcelain were sold by the VOC in Amsterdam. The sale was a sensational hit. Important buyers included the French king and James I from England; both sent representatives to bid.¹⁰ Although the price of each lot is not known, total sales realised

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain and its Influence on European Wares* (London: Granada Publishing, 1979), 56

¹⁰ Stacey Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums: The Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain 1560–1960* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 28

3.5 million guilders, an equivalent to 35,000 kilograms of silver.¹¹ In addition, official records reveal that 43 million pieces of chinaware were imported by the VOC from the early seventeenth to the late eighteenth century.¹² This number did not include private trade. Exactly how many pieces of chinaware were brought back by the Dutch remains impossible to tell.

These soaring profits must have motivated the London Company to enter the market with consolidated financial and administrative support. This support initially came from prominent London tradesmen. Twenty-four managing directors were appointed to deal with daily management issues. They functioned as an executive committee for the general court which governed the practicality of international trade. This body had several main functions: to make business and policy decisions and to perform various tasks for the execution of the trade; preparations for the outward voyage, the discharge and unloading of goods from incoming ships and the organisation of the sales of the London Company's commodities. A minimum investment in company stock of £2,000 was required for eligibility to the directorate, thus only the successful elite could afford such a post.

In addition, such risky sea ventures required an extremely heavy capital investment which neither the richest merchant nor the best developed partnership could afford. To grasp new trade opportunities, tradesmen and merchants decided to organise themselves into a new form of business so that the Company was able to finance costly ventures to the distant East Indies. The joint company was capable of

¹¹ Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (London: University of California Press, 2010), 253

¹² *Ibid.*, 258

mobilising large amounts of capital from a wide circle of investors ranging from the aristocracy, clergymen, merchants, tradesmen and even the 'fair sex' of middle rank. As mentioned in Chapter 3, nearly one third of the tradesmen in the Orphans' samples owned East India shares or bonds, further confirming the close link between the City and the Company. From there, the City tradesmen lobbied the government and often obtained State backing for their own interests.¹³ Strong administrative structures and financial support helped the company take advantage of emerging trading opportunities in India and China and ultimately led the Company to make very healthy profits.¹⁴

Meanwhile, China experienced severe political upheaval in the mid-seventeenth century, jeopardising its porcelain output to the rest of the world. The ruling Ming Empire collapsed in 1644, making it virtually impossible for any European nation to trade with China at this juncture. Only from the 1670s when the directors in London instructed the Bantam Presidency to open trade in Vietnam, Japan and Taiwan was the Company able to engage in indirect and irregular trade with China. Thus, the Company's trade volume with China during this period was very small; the total value hardly exceeded 1 per cent of total East India trade (1672 was the only year that the value went up to 1.3 per cent).¹⁵ Similarly, the value of chinaware imported to England was close to zero which seems to explain the rarity of chinaware in mid seventeenth-century England.

¹³ Arnold A. Sherman, 'Pressure from Leadenhall: The East India Company Lobby, 1660–1678,' *The Business History Review* 50 (1976): 329–355

¹⁴ K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660–1760*, reprint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 28–32

¹⁵ Chaudhuri, *The Trading World*, 519

The situation started to change in the reign of early Qing emperors. From 1676 to 1720, the Company managed to trade with China directly in Amoy (modern day Xiamen 廈門), Chusan (modern day Zhoushan 舟山) and Canton (modern day Guangzhou 廣州). Porcelain imports grew rapidly as China relaxed its maritime policy. After the Qing government suppressed the Revolt of the Three Feudatories in 1681 and expelled the Ming supporters out of Taiwan in 1683, Kangxi emperor set up four customs bases in Jiang, Zhe, Min and Yue Province. English trade at Amoy (Min Province) and Chusan (Zhe Province) grew and the total value of the Company's porcelain trade increased.

Importantly, the growth of china trade in England was likely encouraged by one of the early commercial successes achieved by the *Macclesfield* in 1699. The rich cargos of the *Macclesfield* certainly boosted the Company's confidence in investing in and expanding the china trade.¹⁶ The ship carried lead, silver, broad cloth and various commodities valued from £5,475 to £12,000.¹⁷ In return, it brought back a full cargo valued at 44,928.64 taels (1 tael was 6s. 8d., total equivalent to almost £15,000) and china wares valued at 1,147.46 taels (equivalent to £382.5); 2.55 per cent of the total cargo value.¹⁸ The porcelain stock comprised nine tubs holding 9,440 tea cups and saucers; 4,820 chocolate cups and saucers; 20 footed cups; 49 small dishes; 2 pairs of blue and white small beakers; 989 small bowls and saucers.¹⁹ The safe return of the *Macclesfield* and the richness of her cargo marked 1699 as the beginning of the continuous growth in porcelain imports.

¹⁶ Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, 75

¹⁷ Marguerite Wilbur, *The East India Company and the British Empire in the Far East* (California: Stanford University Press, 1945), 325

¹⁸ Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, 97

¹⁹ Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain*, 36

It is almost without doubt that by the dawn of the eighteenth century, Canton had become the most important port. European traders were encouraged by Qing government to trade here because the imperial court wanted to monitor trade activities in one place. The topography and geography of Canton was suited for this purpose. Situated on the southern coast, Canton was well hidden behind the narrow end of the Pearl River. Large sea-faring ships could not go all the way to Canton but had to stop at Whampoa Island on the Pearl River (Fig 4.1). As this constituted a lowered risk of foreign invasion, the Qing imperial court favoured Canton as a contact point for European merchants. Efforts were made to set up a unique trading system known as the 'Canton System'. Under the jurisdiction of a local governor (Hoppo, 戶部) and customs officers, the so-called 'Hong' merchants (行商) were the sole agents licensed to deal with overseas traders. Hong merchants were responsible for assisting in communication with overseas traders and in collecting revenues for the government. This administrative system allowed Chinese customs to avoid direct confrontation with Europeans and also to lower the risk of business fraud. Although the Company considered the Canton System hazardous at a later period, this system did initially help establish and regulate trade with China avoiding the need to rely on unqualified Chinese or Portuguese interpreters.²⁰

²⁰ Weng Eang Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade, 1684–1798* (London: Curzon Press, 1997), 13



Fig 4.1 Map of Canton and Pearl River

The EIC's commercial profit in China continued to grow in the latter half of the century. From 1730 to 1760, almost half of the annual imports from China exceeded £1 million.²¹ In this period, China enjoyed a long-awaited prosperity in the early Qianlong reign. The supercargoes were given more liberty to trade with Hong merchants and, in fact, they actively negotiated with their Chinese partners in order to get the best deals.²² This improvement further accelerated the growth in trade with China. Porcelain

²¹ Chaudhuri, *The Trading World*, 508

²² Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain*, 35–41

imports remained steady with values varying between £4,000 and £12,000 annually.²³ *The Canton Diaries* recorded large numbers of porcelain imported to England during this time. For example, in 1730 the *York* brought back 236 chests of chinaware;²⁴ in 1731, the *Duke of Dorset* another 400 chests;²⁵ in 1734, the *Harrison* and *Grafton* together brought back 240,000 pieces and 240 chests of chinaware;²⁶ in 1736, a further 455 chests came on the *Walpole* and the *Princess of Wales*.²⁷ On average, about four ships were dispatched to Canton annually during this period. It is almost certain that every ship brought back significant quantities of chinaware ranging from 200 to 450 chests although the exact number remains elusive.²⁸ Surviving records suggest that porcelain trade was firmly established by then.

Privately traded porcelain, however, was excluded from the EIC's official records. From 1720 to 1770, it was estimated that between twenty-five and thirty million pieces of porcelain were imported to England.²⁹ David Howard argued that under a quarter of these were traded privately.³⁰ Such deals were set up to reward EIC captains and supercargoes who took great risk in venturing to the Far East.³¹ Crew members were allowed to invest in highly valued commodities and bring back their stock on the Company's vessel. In this way, supercargoes saved on the cost of transportation and immediately secured a channel to sell their stock. To make sure the designs were

²³ Chaudhuri, *The Trading World*, 518

²⁴ Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, 277

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., 229

²⁷ Ibid., 256

²⁸ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660–1760*, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 1988), 175

²⁹ Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange: Additions to Helen Woolwoth McCann Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), 4

³⁰ David Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain II* (London: Heirloom & Howard, 2003), 10

³¹ Timothy Davies, 'British Private Trade Networks and Metropolitan Connections in the Eighteenth Century,' in *Goods from the East, 1600–1800: Trading Eurasia* (eds.), Maxine Berg et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 157

correctly painted; the agent (often a captain or supercargo) would take the order directly from their client and submit a bookplate as a design template to Chinese potters³² (Fig 4.2). The order would then be sent out to Jingdezhen, but sometimes white porcelain was fashioned in Canton. Due to the intensity of labour and the risk of breakage during the journey, it could take two to three years for the order to arrive. These personal trades were separated from the Company's accounts and regulated by a special committee.³³ Howard discovered over 6,000 armorial wares, and over 4,000 pieces were illustrated in *Chinese Armorial Porcelain* I and II. Large plates, punch bowls, coffee pots and mugs intended for lavish tea and dinner services were often commissioned through private trade. The decorations were more diverse; biblical themes, political events, western scenery, ships and ports were popular choices. The designs were usually distinctively European, indicating the personal taste of individuals.



4.2 Book Plate and Coffee Cup of James Parsons, c. 18th century

³² Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain* II, 30–49

³³ Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain*, 59

The records in London livery companies' archives further suggest that London tradesmen were at the heart of the private porcelain trade.³⁴ The Worshipful Company of Ironmongers, for example, holds two ceramic punch bowls. The first bowl was dated 1723, a delft production; the second one, known as the Lord Mayor's bowl, was Chinese in origin and was possibly made at the dawn of the nineteenth century (Figs 4.3 and 4.4). It is believed that the second bowl was commissioned by Sir Charles Price, the Lord Mayor in 1802 and the Master of the Company in 1798.³⁵ Such an object was likely to be a gift given by the master to his company, possibly to show gratitude as well as devotion.³⁶ Equally, the Salters' Company owns a large charger decorated with Sir Charles Peers' arms (Fig 4.5). Sir Charles Peers was the Lord Mayor in 1715 and Master of the Salters' Company in 1716. It is not clear when this charger was commissioned but it is possible that it was part of a large dinner service. In fact, his son Charles Peers Esq. commissioned two large dinner services later. The underglazed blue service was commissioned in 1731 at 40 taels for 255 pieces followed by another service at a cost of 228 taels for 524 pieces in 1732.³⁷ It is thought that Charles Peers junior ordered the services via the joint account with his father who was once Director of the EIC. These purchases indicate that bespoke porcelain services were more accessible to some London tradesmen than to those outside the East India trade.

³⁴ I visited the archives of the Glass Sellers, the Ironmongers, the Barbers, the Salters and the Clockmakers. I would like to thank Ms. Katie George of the Salters' Company and Ms. Justine Taylor of the Ironmongers' Company for their help and advice.

³⁵ Max Wykes-Joyce, 'Orient in the West,' *Arts / Antiques* 33 (1988)

³⁶ E-mail communication from Sir George White, 18th and 20th March, 2014. I am grateful for Sir George's comments.

³⁷ Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain*, 197–203



Fig 4.3 Earthenware Punch Bowl, c. 1723



Fig 4.4 Porcelain Punch Bowl, c. 1802–1805



4.5 Porcelain Charger, c. 1715

From 1761 to 1790, the EIC gradually became the most important European trading partner to China. The sheer number of ships arriving in Canton increased dramatically; six to twelve ships would now arrive annually, nearly double that of previous periods. From 1760 to 1770, the English Company alone dispatched 113 ships to Canton while the Dutch, French, Danish, Swedish and other countries combined managed only eighty-seven ships. The tonnage of the English ships increased too, although admittedly European ships were larger. Correspondingly, trade values of the English Company overwhelmed the other European countries. During the period 1764 to 1772, Chinese imports to Britain averaged £2,088,965 whilst other European countries combined during this period achieved on average only £1,960,033. The

statistics signified the commercial success of the EIC in China. However, the porcelain trade did not expand in keeping with the overall increase in china trade. It maintained its trade volume throughout. It was estimated that, from 1760 to the 1780s, the total annual value was over £10,000 almost every year.³⁸ The demand for re-export was strong and this was possibly due to the Company's dominant position in China at the time. From 1760 to 1790, the re-export value was estimated to be between £6,000 and £20,000, the strongest over the entire eighteenth century. When England lost its North American colonies in 1787, her re-export market was affected. Total annual revenues declined and never exceeded £11,000 after 1790.³⁹

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, porcelain trade began to plateau and eventually decline.⁴⁰ In 1779 a letter by the London Directors of the EIC confirmed that the trade showed signs of decline:

As the orders this year received from the Honorable Court give us reason to suppose that china ware is not now an article in so high demand as some seasons past we have come to the resolution not to make any contract for the ensuing year as the quantity we have remaining will ... Be sufficient to load eight ships and in case we should want a small quantity it will be much better to purchase a few chests than be encumbered with a large quantity by engaging before hand for it.⁴¹

The paragraph suggests that due to the lesser demand for Chinese porcelain, the role of the Company in this market gradually decreased. Several reasons have been suggested

³⁸ Weatherill, *The Growth of Pottery Industry*, 446–448

³⁹ Ibid. This number is extracted from the customs log books. The original sum of £10,000 from the duty collected, but the market value can be three times more than the sum of tax. Weatherill then estimates the value shall be around £30,000

⁴⁰ Nick Pearce, 'Chinese Export Porcelain for the European Market: The Years of Decline 1770–1820,' *The Transactions of Oriental Ceramics* 23 (1987–88): 21–38

⁴¹ Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain*, 47

for the decline in the Chinese porcelain trade. One is the high tax imposed on Chinese porcelain. In 1704, the tax was 12½ per cent on the wholesale auction value, and by 1790 it was about half of the auction value; then in 1799 the duty was increased to £108 8s. 6d. per £100 of Chinese porcelain sold, more than 100 per cent of sale value.⁴² The increase of tax definitely weakened the competitiveness of Chinese porcelain in the market although, at this point, consumers were not necessarily looking for the cheapest but the most fashionable items.

Furthermore, a strong domestic supply from Staffordshire was established in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁴³ British production was more sensitive towards market demands.⁴⁴ By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, pottery manufactures such as Derby, Worcester and Wedgwood were able to make durable and functional stoneware or porcelain that catered for everyday needs and started to rival foreign imports.⁴⁵ These developments in the domestic market ultimately meant that trade in Chinese porcelain was no longer commercially viable for the Company. The Company closed down its porcelain trade by the end of the eighteenth century. In 1842, the EIC lost its monopoly in China. This also marks the end of the Company's trade in China.

⁴² Pearce, 'Chinese Export Porcelain for the European Market,' 26–30

⁴³ Weatherill, *The Growth of the Pottery Industry*, 259

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Sarah Richards, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics: Products for a Civilised Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 42, 56–58

4.2 London Chinamen and China Shops

While the importation mainly relied on the EIC, the initial distribution of chinaware was carried out by individual wholesalers, retailers and dealers in London. They were generally referred to as 'chinamen'.⁴⁶ Unlike the EIC, the information on 'chinamen' is scarce.⁴⁷ With newly discovered information this section investigates the distribution system built up by these dealers, moreover their retail strategies and business proposition at the time.

The term 'chinaman' first appears in an agreement of the Glass Sellers' Company in 1676.⁴⁸ The Glass Sellers' Company mainly regulated glass trade; however, from the seventeenth century onwards, they also supervised local ceramic trade (mostly earthenware). One of the earliest china bills reveals a purchase of glasses and ceramics invoiced to the Duke of Buckingham by glass dealer George Villiers in 1658–1659.⁴⁹ It noted 'Glasses and Earthen Ware, delivered for ye use of his grace ye Duck of Buckingham'. And then one of the earliest advertisements confirms the same type of sale. In 1708, Edward Apthorp advertised:

⁴⁶ The definition of 'China-men' was specified in *A General Description of all Trades Digested in Alphabetical Order London* (1747). 'This business is altogether shop keeping and some of them carry on a very considerable trade joining white flint glass, fine earthenware and stoneware, as well as teas with their china ware. They usually take with an apprentice from £20 to £50, give a journeyman £20 to £30 a year and his board, and employ a stock of £500 and even more.'

⁴⁷ For the literature related to chinamen, please see: Aubrey J. Toppin, 'The China Trade and Some London Chinamen,' *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle* (1935): 46; Weatherill, *The Growth of the Pottery Industry*, 125–126.; Oliver Fairclough, 'The London China Trade 1800–1830: Factories, Retailers and Decorators Supplying a Luxury Market,' *The English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 16 (1997): 197–215; Robin Hildyard, 'London Chinamen,' *The English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 18 (2004): 447–502; Nicholas Panes, 'The China Club in an Economic Context – An Idea Too Late for its Time,' *The English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 22 (2005–6): 63–76

⁴⁸ Toppin, 'The China Trade,' 44

⁴⁹ Ibid.

all sorts of the best flint-glasses, variety of China and Japan wares, fine Delfes, Earthen Ware and all sorts of the finest Dutch Tiles. With a great Quantity of Ordinary Galley Tiles fir for a Bagnio etc. All sorts of Pots and Glasses for Apothecarys and Chymists.⁵⁰

This post suggests that oriental and local delftware were governed under the same regulation.

It is not surprising that direct links between chinamen and the Glass Sellers' Company can be observed from the registrations of company members. For example, John Akerman and John Scrivener, two prominent chinamen in the EIC records, were admitted to the Glass Sellers' Company and became Master of Company in 1741 and 1754 respectively.⁵¹ In 1754 they formed the partnership Akerman and Scrivener. While none of Ackerman and Scrivener's inventories survive, the inventory of Henry Akerman is found among the Orphans' Inventories. From the address in a local business directory and inventory, Henry Akerman was possibly the younger brother of John Akerman.⁵² His stock included china and metal estimated at £781; a rather large amount considering his house was only modestly furnished.⁵³ This gives an indication of an individual chinaman's stock, which was likely mixed with various commodities especially glass and earthenware.

There were possibly over 100 chinamen in London between 1711 and 1774,⁵⁴ and 482 chinamen in England between 1700 and 1780.⁵⁵ Both estimations are derived

⁵⁰ Nancy Valpy, 'Extracts from Eighteenth Century London Newspapers,' *The English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 15 (1994): 310

⁵¹ Toppin, 'The China Trade,' 44

⁵² Hildyard, 'London Chinamen', 459

⁵³ Akerman, Henry, Citizen and Inn-holder, 1723, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, LMA, CLA/002/02/01/3157

⁵⁴ Toppin, 'The China Trade,' 46

⁵⁵ Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture*, 192–193

from trade cards, insurance policies and business directories of the period. To counter-examine these numbers, I studied Kent's Business Directory of 1736 and 1753, Bailey's London Business Directory of 1790, Royal and Sun Alliance Insurance policies and other general bills. The documents recorded just slightly fewer than 250 chinamen between 1736 and 1790. Over two thirds of chinamen were registered after the second half of the eighteenth century (Appendix 2). The numbers of 'chinaman' had grown dramatically in the latter part of the eighteenth century. This indicates that china trade was firmly established in London, especially when English ceramic factories such as Bow and Chelsea started to gain a share of the local market. It is also evident that the concentration of dealers in London was much denser than in secondary provincial towns such as Bristol and Norwich. Insurance valuations of London stock were usually between £300 and £3,000 compared to provincial businesses, which were often between £300 and £700.⁵⁶

From Charles Vere, a prominent chinaman's, trade card, it is possible to speculate that he sold other goods such as tea and furniture along with ceramics (Fig 4.6). This lack of clear definition in the so-called 'china trade' makes the distinction between chinamen, toymen and other grocery trades rather obscure. In 1766 Vere insured his stock for a very large sum of £4,000.⁵⁷ When he died in 1789, Vere had an estate in Sunbury and a house in Parliament Street. His will left all sorts of chinaware in both houses to his wife Martha.⁵⁸ In fact, some of my samples suggest that chinaware was part of the luxury trade. Joseph Kemp, a merchant tailor who died in 1727, had 'four

⁵⁶ R.P.T. Davenport-Hines and Jonathan Liebenau (eds.), *Business in the Age of Reason* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 58

⁵⁷ 'London's Role in the History of English Porcelain,' Lecture note, James Sewell, 15 Oct 2007 www.guildhallhistoricalassociation.org.uk/docs/London's%20role%20in%20the%20history%20of%20English%20Porcelain.pdf (accessed November 19, 2016)

⁵⁸ Toppin, 'The China Trade,' 49

hundred and four pieces of Birmingham ware necklace, china and toy, four tea tables, china tea table and toy' in his vast shop stocks.⁵⁹ The mixed items in the shop demonstrate that Kemp was not a specialist of chinaware, yet he sold small numbers of goods used in tea drinking. That normally included chinaware and china furniture. Similarly, Jane Scott, a widow who died in 1728, had several pieces of chinaware such as pots, cups, bowls, basins, coloured plates, blue and white plates, ditto mugs, two boats and some china figures in her shop.⁶⁰ Both inventories show that, outside specialised china shops, small retail shops were often stocked with small numbers of imported wares and the circulation of the commodity could be far wider than the mere circle of registered chinamen.

The locations of china shops in London were recorded in business directories. In Kent's Business Directories of 1736 and 1753, they were located around Fenchurch Street, Cornhill, Fleet Street, Cheapside, Ludgate Hill, Bishopsgate Street and Leadenhall Street (Map 4.7). Shops were densely gathered near the Square Mile. However, in the second half of the eighteenth century, new shops appeared in Strand, Pall Mall, St. James and Oxford Street, the newly fashionable West End. The west-wards locations suggest that the expansion of London began to impact on retail business. Wealthy nobles and the gentry had been moving to the Strand, Mayfair, Belgravia and Bloomsbury from as early as the mid-seventeenth century,⁶¹ and one of the most notable examples was the Bedford Estate. William Russell, the first Duke of Bedford, developed properties near Bloomsbury and the Strand. The surviving bills of John Russell, the 4th Duke of Bedford,

⁵⁹ Kemp, Joseph, Citizen and Merchant Tailor, 1727, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3309, LMA

⁶⁰ Scott, Jane, Citizen and Widow, 1728, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3286, LMA

⁶¹ Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour: Luxury Goods in England, 1580–1680* (Washington DC: George Washington University, 2005), 208

show that chinaware was supplied by dealers based in the West End.⁶² The newcomers' in the West End must have stimulated growth of luxury retails. It is however important to note that throughout these changes, the East End remained the hub of the wholesale porcelain trade in the eighteenth century.



Fig 4.6 Anon, Trade Card for Charles Vere, c. 1765

⁶² Julia Poole, 'Ceramics in the Household of the 4th Duke of Bedford – Bills and Other Evidence,' *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle* 18 (2002), 122–168



Map 4.7 John, Rocque, *An Exact Survey of the Citys of London, Westminster, ye Borough of Southwark, and the Country near Ten Miles round*, c. 1746

Sales of imported chinaware initially took place in East India House where auctions were routinely held and where chinamen made their bids (Fig 4.8). Although this practice is very similar to modern-day art auctions, the motivations behind the sales could not be more different. The ultimate goal of the Company was not to market particular lots in order to increase total sale values but to sell all goods quickly. The lots of chinaware were comprised of large numbers of items; sometimes over 1,000 cups or plates. The price on the sale catalogue was per item so one lot could cost a large sum of money. Often a lot contained three or four different types of wares, so the reserves were given in different prices. When a mixed lot was sold, an advance would be added to the

final reserve price for the whole lot.⁶³ Due to the large quantities of stock, a sale could take up to a few days to complete.

The concentration of china shops in the City suggests that dealers wanted to be closed to the EIC. In this way, London chinamen could take advantage of direct sales channels. Furthermore, the connection with the East India Company equipped London chinamen with sufficient knowledge and consequently a greater amount of capital to buy and sell. For instance, in the sale of March 1722, Akerman purchased £2,192 worth of stock.⁶⁴ This was a very large sum considering that chinamen on average owned around £500 of stock.⁶⁵ Later, the firm 'Ackerman & Scrivener' was consistently recorded through the Company's sale record and various business directories in the eighteenth century. It is one of many examples illustrating the scale of trade and the influence of the china dealers. Perhaps that was why Daniel Defoe commented that 'wholesale Men of London ... give credit to the Country Tradesmen and even to the merchants themselves, so that both home trade and foreign trade is in a great measure carried upon their stocks'.⁶⁶

⁶³ David Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader, the Private Market in Chinese Export Porcelain Illustrated from the Hodroff Collection* (London: Zwemmer, 1994), 29–30

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Please see footnote 51.

⁶⁶ Daniel Defoe, *A brief state of the inland or home trade, of England: and of the oppressions it suffers, and the dangers which threaten it from the invasion of hawkers, pedlars, and clandestine traders of all sorts. Humbly represented to the present Parliament* (Michigan: University of Michigan Library, 2009), 21–22



Fig 4.8 Thomas Rowlandson et. al., *East India Company Sale Room at Leadenhall Street*, c. 1808

The recently discovered *Memorandum Book of the China Club* further confirms the leading position of London chinamen. Extraordinary details of how top chinamen manipulated the market can be observed in the rules of club.⁶⁷ Two notorious rules are particularly concerning. ‘No member was allowed to purchase goods at “night sales” unless such a sale was being conducted by Trustees or upon the event of an insolvency’ and ‘at private trade sales members would only bid an agreed price. They would meet beforehand to agree such prices and share any profits equally.’ These rules were designed to monopolise the market and eliminate competition. Dealers used such alliances to push small or regional dealers out of business. Even local ceramic

⁶⁷ Panes, ‘The China Club,’ 63–76

manufacturers such as William Hussey and William Duesbury were unable to withstand the pressure and constantly made complaints against the China Club.⁶⁸

It is interesting to note that sometimes London chinamen were retailers as well as wholesalers. They sold their stock to regional dealers but retailed goods in their fancy shopfront. By doing so, they maintained their reputation as the market leaders.

Peter Motteux once described his shop:

To India shops, Motteux's or the Change
Where the tall jar erects its costly pride
With antique shapes in China's azure dyed.
There careless lies the rich brocade unrolled
Here shines a cabinet with burnished gold ...⁶⁹

The colour and the texture of Motteux's shop seem to offer a seductive atmosphere to dazzle their customers. Some trade cards help imagine the appearance of high-end china shops.⁷⁰ A shop in a two to three storey building may have a large display window and an identifiable hanging shop sign. A china jar, for instance, was a popular choice. Large china dealers such as James Amson, Robert Fogg and the Baker sisters all used this kind of sign in their trade cards and presumably in the shop front to attract customers⁷¹ (Fig 4.9). A clear signpost or window arrangement suggests that the shop 'has a large stock to begin with' or else the tradesman 'would not make such a show.'⁷²

⁶⁸ Ibid., 65–66

⁶⁹ Dorothy Davis, *A History of Shopping* (London: Routledge, 1966), 199

⁷⁰ Toppin, 'The China Trade,' 50

⁷¹ Ibid., 50–53

⁷² Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesmen*, 209

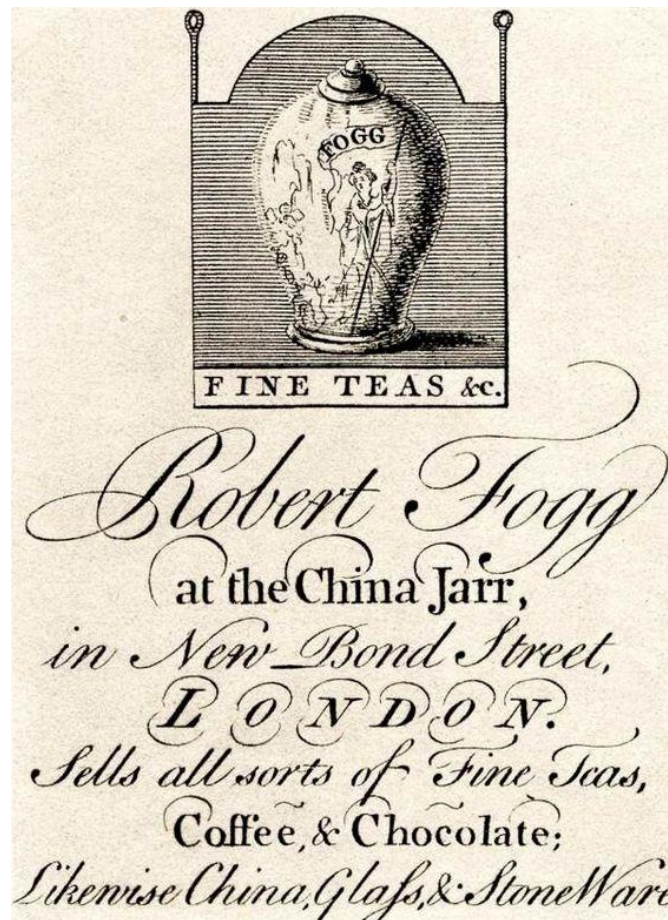


Fig 4.9 Anon, Trade Card for Robert Fogg, c. 1760

It has been suggested that a retail shop front could be adorned with architectural features such as decorative pillars, gilded facades and painted glasses. The main facade was usually placed above the entrance door; cornice plastered, and sash windows installed.⁷³ These were the common features found on the exterior of London tradesmen's private dwelling houses as well as their business premises. Supposedly, the rich architectural fittings were meant to create an impression of a grand country house and pleasure gardens. Inside the shop, furniture such as upholstered chairs and stools were displayed to make customers feel comfortable and to prolong their stay. Cushions

⁷³ Goodison, 'The Story of a Merchant's House,' 46–48

and curtains added another level of warmth and colour⁷⁴ (Fig 4.10). Abraham Price's luxury warehouse, for example, was full of opulent wallpapers in various colours, designs and textures. The large front window opened to passers-by, so they could look into the well-stocked counter. The door was lavishly painted or decorated with wallpaper. Such lavish interiors had two purposes, to first act as a filter for the right kind of customers and to then stimulate the desire to buy. Indeed, by highlighting how luxurious shop stocks were, this trade card visually invited customers to imagine the pleasures of shopping.



Fig 4.10 Anon, Trade Card of Abraham Price, c. 1720

⁷⁴ The problem of using trade card as visual evidence is discussed in Chapter 2.

One china shop front happens to be depicted in *Stand Coachman, or the Haughty Lady Well Fitted*⁷⁵ (Fig 4.11). Mrs. Chenevix's shop was illustrated in the background and she was described by Horace Walpole as 'a toy woman.... famous for her high prices and fine language'.⁷⁶ It is indicated that her shop had a fancy retail front designed for sophisticated shoppers. The techniques of shelf display seem akin to the marketing displays employed in toy, pottery and goldsmiths' shop.⁷⁷ Wares were placed behind the glass-panelled boxes. An individual box was given to each item. Later a similar window design was used in Elizabeth Ring's china shop in Bristol. Her trade card shows that individual goods were framed to attract attention from the passer-by (Fig 4.12).

Records of London china shops suggest that 'racks' and 'boxes' were commonly used by toymen or chinamen.⁷⁸ Stock was piled up on shelves or against the wall. Drawers, shelves and glass presses were also used to display items. These marketing tools provided a formal ritual to make things look more desirable. For example, shelves or drawers were placed behind the counter which denied immediate access by customers. Shopkeepers then had the chance to perform the first introduction to potential buyers.⁷⁹ This arrangement forced customers to retreat into the passive position and prepared them for the expectation of a spectacle. Expensive display units such as glass cases or presses were occasionally employed in the most fanciful shops. They created an air of sophistication and attracted customers' attention immediately

⁷⁵ Moira Vincentelli, *Women and Ceramics: Gendered Vessels* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 174

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Walsh, 'Shop Design and the Display,' 159–162

⁷⁸ Claire Walsh, 'Shop Design and the Display of Goods in Eighteenth-Century London,' *Journal of Design History* 8 (1995): 161

⁷⁹ Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl, *Perceptions of Retailing in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Walsh, 'Shop Design and the Display,' 159–162; Trevor Fawcett, 'Eighteenth-Century Shops and the Luxury Trade,' *Bath History* 3 (1990): 49–75

through the reflection of light. Considering the trade cards of Mrs. Chenevix and Mrs. Ring, the display units in goldsmith and pewter shops may be suggestive of the display in a high-end china shop (Fig 4.13). 'Gold, silver, and the richest cut glass' were found in fancy retail premises, offering a glimpse of the exquisite shopping experience in eighteenth-century London.⁸⁰



Fig 4.11 Anon, *Stand Coachman, or the Haughty Lady Well Fitted*, c. 1750,

⁸⁰ Quoted from Helen Berry, 'Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 382

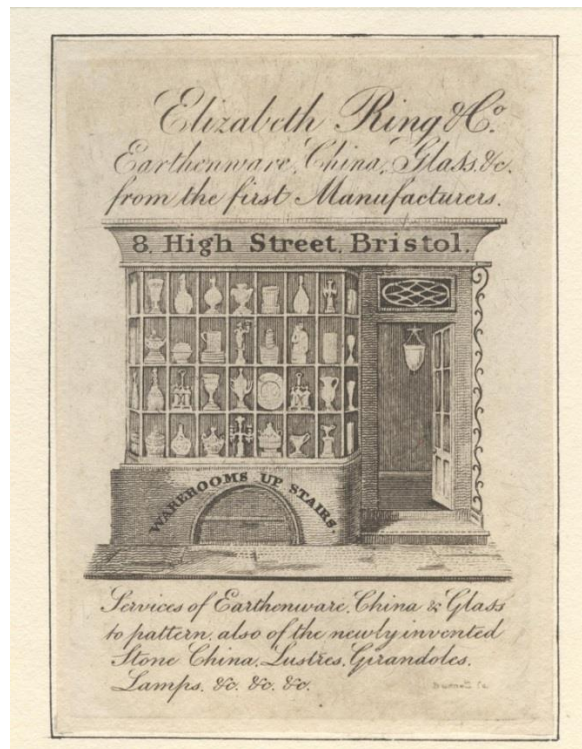


Fig 4.12 Anon, Trade Card for Elizabeth Ring, Chinawoman in High Street Bristol, c. 1835

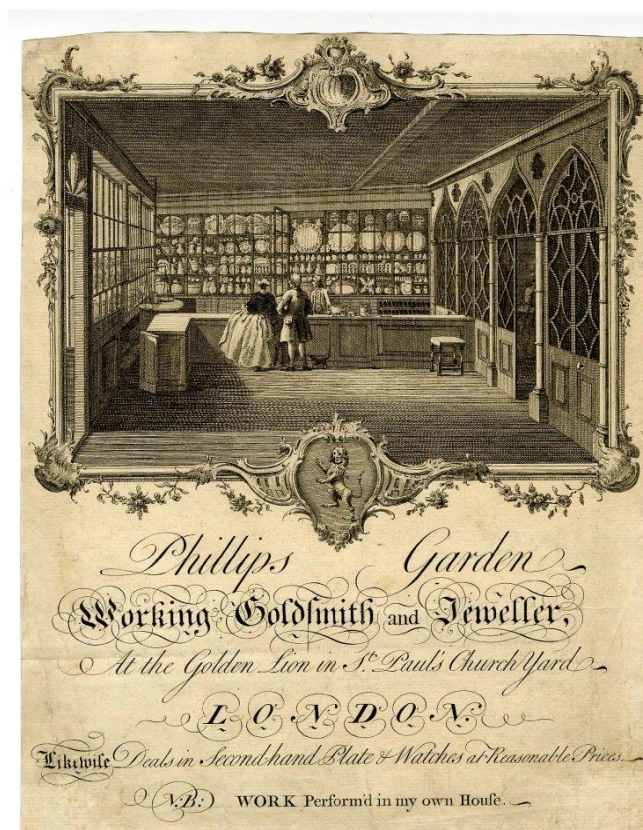


Fig 4.13 Anon, Trade Card for Phillips Garden, c. 1750

Obviously, the purpose of the shop was to stimulate desire, so it was vital that the shop assistant showed impeccable taste and good manners. By branding their shops 'fine' and 'authentic', leading tradesmen transformed their businesses into a symbol of fashion.⁸¹ Recent research on retail development in early modern England have also shown that people went to one particular shop not just to purchase goods, but to be seen in public and to acquire new information.⁸² A shopkeeper often acted as an agent of this kind of function. They showed people how to use and select new exotica such as Chinese tea and Indian fabric. This so-called 'polite shopping' then allowed customers to interact with one another, meaning that leisure browsing was particularly popular among ladies as they could socialise more freely in a third space. John Cotterell, a London chinaman, must have targeted this kind of clientele. His trade card attempted to attract female shoppers by presenting an exotic-looking lady serving tea, fans and chinaware.⁸³ From this perspective, a shop was no longer just a place to purchase household essentials; it became an environment where one could fantasise about a lifestyle with like-minded people (Fig 4.14).

Local English ceramic producers began to find their way into the same luxury market. Josiah Wedgwood was one of the most successful salesmen and ceramic manufacturers in late eighteenth-century England. He once commented that nobility

⁸¹ Jon Stobart et al., *Spaces of Consumption: Leisure and Shopping in the English Town 1680–1830* (London: Routledge, 2007), 126–131

⁸² Walsh, 'Shop Design and the Display of Goods'; Berry, 'Polite Consumption' and Stobart, *Spaces of Consumption*; Claire Walsh, 'Shops, Shopping, and the Art of Decision Making in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700–1800*, eds., John Styles and Amanda Vickery (London and New Haven: The Yale Centre for British Art and The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2006)

⁸³ Ashley Sims, "'Selling Consumption': An Examination of Eighteenth-Century English Trade Cards," *SHIFT Graduate Journal of Visual and Material Cultural* 5 (2012)
<http://shiftjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/consumption.pdf> (accessed 18th Jan, 2017)

and gentry 'will not mix with the rest of the World any further than their amusements or conveniences make it necessary', so he differentiated his stock by targeting customers from all levels of wealth and social status.⁸⁴ For example, his famous Queen's ware 'has spread almost over the whole Globe' and the popularity was 'owing to the mode of its introduction.'⁸⁵ 'A Royal and Noble introduction' was 'necessary to a sale of an Article of Luxury, as real Elegance and beauty, then the Manufacturer.'⁸⁶ Consequently, Wedgwood set up his grand showroom in St. James's, the newly fashionable area in London (Fig 4.15). Objects were carefully placed, and the over-the-counter service enabled shopkeepers to answer all sorts of questions about use, quality and price. This marketing technique was used by earlier chinamen. While London chinamen and their shops have shown a strong up-market demand, there are still some unanswered questions such as how the up-market sales technique co-existed with low-value earthenware sales in village fairs and street vending⁸⁷ (Fig 4.16). The next section continues to investigate other channels through which chinaware was purchased and the potential hazard of selling wares to unknown customers.

⁸⁴ J. P. Malcolm, *Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London during the Eighteenth Century II* (1808), 473

⁸⁵ David Raizman, *History of Modern Design: Graphics and Products since the Industrial Revolution* (London: Lawrence King Publishing, 2003), 28

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Weatherill, *The Growth of the Pottery Industry*, 120–122



Fig 4.14 Anon, Trade Card of John Cotterell, c.1751



Fig 4.15 Anon, Wedgwood & Byerley Showrooms, York Street, London, c. 1809



Fig 4.16 William Hogarth, *Southwark Fair*, c. 1734

4.3 Ceramic Crimes

Intriguingly, the Old Bailey's Proceedings recorded some ceramic thefts. The testimonies, often given by prominent chinamen and defendants, were surprisingly personal and hence offer a rare insight into the bargaining process conducted between shopkeepers and customers.⁸⁸ There were over 140 crimes related to stolen china in the Old Bailey proceedings during the first half of the eighteenth century. Ceramic crimes were mostly categorised as larceny, burglary, shoplifting and theft. Larceny and burglary were usually settled by a small fine while shoplifting and theft could be

⁸⁸ Nicholas Panes, 'The Theft of China, Ceramic Crime in the Eighteenth Century,' *The English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 19 (2006): 251–270

punished by death. Although not all ceramic crimes were for stealing china, this foreign commodity appeared to be a popular target among female criminals. Below are two cases which demonstrate the negotiation and completion of sales that took place in London china shops.

The first case involved two important china dealers, namely Charles Vere and Hannah Ashburner⁸⁹ (Appendix 3). Alice Burk was accused of stealing a china basin from Charles Vere in March 1743. Vere testified that Burk came to his shop and asked to see some china basins. He then suggested that Burk distracted the shopkeeper and 'took an opportunity, as it is imagined, to conceal one under her cloak; she went to the next china shop to see some plates'. Three people were interviewed to prove Alice Burks' character, but later she was found guilty.

What makes this case unique is that it involved two china dealers in one theft. Apparently after stealing from Vere, Burk moved on to the Ashburner's shop and stole another dish. Here, the bargaining process is reflected by Burk's attempt to talk down the price. First, she complained about the price being too high; then she suggested that other people purchased the same kind of plate for less money. When Ashburner turned her down, she still would not leave, hoping to get the chance to linger a little bit longer, perhaps to find an opportunity to steal. Her intention was noticed by Ashburner's apprentice William Casebury who decided to follow her afterwards. He then discovered that indeed Burk had stolen wares from another china shop. This fascinating case illustrates how easy it was to steal a large piece of chinaware and also how well-connected chinamen were in this popular shopping area.

⁸⁹ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.2, 03 January 2018), April 1743, trial of Alice Burk Alice Burk (t17430413-6) (accessed 19th Sept, 2017)

Interestingly, in Burk's defence, she insisted that the basin was bought from a street peddler or in her words a 'basket woman'. Burk challenged Vere by questioning him: 'pray do not you sell these to the people who sell china about the streets?' Vere confirmed that he sold his stock to the street 'very frequently' but not that day. It is impossible to tell if Burk's statement was true; however, her claim certainly indicates a far wider and more accessible distribution system for low-end chinaware. While posh chinamen offered fine wares and comfortable shopping environments, street hawkers simply carried their bundles on their person whilst walking the streets to attract customers. This kind of practice must have been quite common in the mid-eighteenth century. Significantly, wholesale chinamen were easily approached by small dealers and individual customers alike.

In this event, an apprentice proved to be essential in everyday business orders. He was often the front of shop attendant with various responsibilities, working closely with his masters to serve customers and look after stock. While the job description was not entirely suitable for aristocracy and the gentry, many young men from higher social backgrounds would pay a large lump sum to get into lucrative luxurious trade. This certainly indicates a promising career for those wanting to enter the world of overseas trade. We know that Charles Vere himself was once an apprentice to Charles Savage of the Glass Sellers' Company in 1732, indicating that there must have been some key transferrable skills in general glass trade.⁹⁰ Exactly what Vere did as an apprentice remains unknown. He must have learnt how to run a shop as well as general book keeping during his apprenticeship. The negotiation skill which was emphasised in this

⁹⁰ Toppin, 'The China Trade,' 48

crime was mastered by Vere. These skills were obviously highly transferrable as Vere successfully switched careers to banking in the late eighteenth century.

Another ceramic crime provides an account of how Vere utilised his skills as a salesman. Vere was called to settle a dispute with his customer John Ambery.⁹¹ It was said that Ambery went into Vere's shop and ordered some china to be delivered to his home. He guaranteed that he would pay the bill upon delivery. However, when James Amson, Vere's apprentice, arrived at Ambery's house, he refused to pay and continuously harassed Amson to bring him more wares. Amson returned to his master empty-handed, but he then supplied more plates to Ambery. In the end, Amson failed to collect payment resulting in a legal dispute. Ambery was found guilty and was sent to the colonies to serve out his prison sentence.

This crime, unlike the previous, was not about theft or robbery. It was a fraud. It highlights the difficulty in collecting payment even from a seemingly decent customer. An accomplished tradesman should be able to recognise the risk as well as negotiate a good deal. In fact, Vere had posted a warning to Amson that 'the person who had bought these goods had a very good appearance, but I don't like the situation of the house so bring the money or goods again.' He obviously sensed something was not right, such as the repetitive guarantee of payment as an unusual sign of purchase. Amson, however, did not acquire the same level of caution as his master. He was listed as a chinaman in Strand by 1765,⁹² but later declared bankrupt in 1768.⁹³ Indeed, Amson was mentioned in another crime record. Apparently, he was deceived by his porter James Sparks who

⁹¹ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.2, 03 January 2018), February 1760, trial of John Ambery (t17600227-19) (accessed 19th Jan, 2017)

⁹² Panes, 'The Theft of China,' 261

⁹³ Panes, 'The Theft of China,' 261

stole china plates from him and kept the stock in his private dwelling. Sparks successfully convinced his customers that he got the plates straight from an East Indiaman.⁹⁴ The document does not reveal if Sparks was sentenced, but it does suggest how easy James Amson was as a dealer.

These incidents suggest that doing business with new customers could be risky. It may seem odd in today's economy, but eighteenth-century manufacture and retail businesses often relied on credit. Expensive items such as furniture and apparel were offered on 'easy terms' so that customers were encouraged to buy.⁹⁵ This system could affect cash flow as some debts may not be collected for a considerable period of time. Thomas Chippendale, the most well-known furniture maker of the time, had suffered from delayed payments. He was eventually forced 'to do business for ready money only' so he could support himself in 'a very poor state'.⁹⁶ Chippendale's business stayed afloat, but when his son took over, it ceased trading in 1813. These background cases suggest that, while chinamen offered a greater selection of goods and in-store credit, they also took great risk by selling goods in this manner. Without the right kind of business acumen, one could easily be cheated by customers.

The above cases, although serving to clarify the process of buying and selling, are less representative of the general china crimes recorded in the Old Bailey. Most ceramic crimes took place in the domestic environment. Servants, either men or women, were often accused of theft and robbery. Some of them were 'entrusted with everything that

⁹⁴ James Anson of Strand, Chinaman and Mary Harrison of Exeter Change, Strand Makes Statements in the Case Against James Spark, Session papers, 1765, OB/SP/1765/05/008, The Old Bailey Post-1754, LMA

⁹⁵ Clive Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes: A History of the Retailing and Consumption of Domestic Furnishing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 66–67

⁹⁶ Ibid.

was of value in the house'⁹⁷ and took advantage of this trust. Objects related to tea and dining wares were the most popular, particularly small objects like silver spoons, napkins and forks and knives that were more easily concealed. They were usually stolen with chinaware.⁹⁸ The domestic offences suggest that ceramic crime was usually accompanied by other household utensils which might have high resale value.

These proceedings also reveal the pricing of chinaware. As mentioned in the previous section, although *The Tea and Chinaware Ledger of the East India Company* has partially survived, the Company's account books only recorded the total value of annual sales, making further study of individual pricing strategies difficult.⁹⁹ Fortunately, the proceedings give a rough estimation of the financial loss. Individual chinaware was valued by its owner in the testimonies. Such valuations were usually biased as the owners would impose higher values on their second-hand items. However, they still give an indication of the price range of certain goods. The price range was from 3d. to 2s. for a cup to 3d. for a saucer. Plates were from 12d. to 1s. Dishes were from 1s. to 10s. Bowls, including punch bowls, ranged from 2 s. to £1. Other items such as a canister, saucer boats and mugs were occasionally mentioned, but they did not seem to form the staple of domestic wares. The wide range of values seen here could mean that a chinaware set could consist of an eclectic mix of porcelain pieces and/or styles. The prices were more likely to be below the retail price in the high-end china shops.

⁹⁷ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.2, 03 January 2018), December 1735, trial of Elizabeth Barker (t17351210-55) (accessed 19th Jan, 2017)

⁹⁸ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.2, 03 January 2018), February 1746, trial of Elizabeth Williams (t17460226-35) and trial of Henry Kelso Anne Kelso Susannah Dodd Charles Green Thomas Crompton (t1750101743) (accessed 19th Jan, 2017)

⁹⁹ Chaundhuri, *The Trading World*, 465

It is speculated that the value of chinaware was usually between 2*d.* and 6*d.* per piece after 1720. In one case of 1751, a proceeding mentioned:

William Hatton, otherwise Forrister, was indicated for that he in company with David James on the 23rd of April, between the hours of one and two the dwelling house of David Paul did break and enter, sixty china cups, value twenty shillings, four china saucers, one bow china tea pot, one earthen tea pot, two pickle dishes earthen ware, five fish plates earthen ware, one earthen ware strainer, one show glass and other things, did steal, take and carry away.¹⁰⁰

This was not a particularly high price. But if it is considered that people purchased a set of tea ware or dinner ware rather than a few odd pieces, the cost of chinaware immediately became substantial. For instance, John Dodd had £10. 3*s.* worth of china, glass and stoneware; chinaware alone included twenty-four blue and white plates, twenty coloured plates, thirteen coloured dishes, one coffee pot, seventy-one cups and saucers, seven mugs, twenty-one basins (broken), two sugar dishes, two small jars, a salver, two milk pots and two teapots.¹⁰¹ Another extraordinary service was commissioned by Sir Charles Peers in 1773 as mentioned in Chapter 3.¹⁰² His dinner service contained 450 pieces, costing £76. Of course, this kind of grand service was not common in everyday dining scenes and so was not found in the Orphans' Inventories, but it does suggest that a complete service could be extremely expensive. Most dinner and tea wares in the Orphans' samples contained a few dozens of plates, dishes or cups and saucers. The wares were valued with other furniture, glass, delftware, curtains and other items usually located in the formal part of the house.

¹⁰⁰ Panes, 'The Theft of China,' 257

¹⁰¹ Dodd, John, Citizen and Salter, 1732, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3340, LMA

¹⁰² Aileen Dawson, *Masterpieces of Wedgwood in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Publishing, 1984), 98–99

Some inventories contained a specific section for china, revealing a wider range in valuations. In Benjamin Dawson's inventory,¹⁰³ twenty-one china plates, basins, six cup and saucers and a punch bowl were valued at £2 while in Richard Tapp's inventory,¹⁰⁴ a whole lot of 104 small pieces of china, six blue and white china plates, twelve plates, a bowl, four dishes, three broken plates, two dishes, a jar, a teapot and saucer, a sugar dish and a cover, a milk pot, a slop basin, nine cups and saucers, a teapot, four cups and saucers were valued at £6. 6s. Both inventories suggest that a middling household would at least require some small quantity of tea ware; however, an affluent household may purchase more than a few dozen pieces of china for different social occasions. Most middling families would have some quantity of china to spare. The potential high prices and accessibility to chinaware help explain why ceramic crimes often happened in middling homes.

Lastly, broken chinaware was included in the Orphans' Inventories. The reason for this is clear: even broken chinaware held some economic value. Once mended, it would have re-sale value. In addition, some inventories had a specific section for chinaware. Francis Gibbs had a set of china valued at £5;¹⁰⁵ William Fisher had sixty-two pieces of chinaware valued at £1. 5s. 6d.¹⁰⁶ Valuation officers obviously trusted chinaware to be a desirable commodity so they valued it separately. More records about broken china will be discussed in Chapter 6. All in all, sales records, trade cards and

¹⁰³ Dawson, Benjamin, Citizen and Haberdasher, 1724, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3242, LMA

¹⁰⁴ Tapps, Richard, Citizen and Merchant Tailor, 1725, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3232, LMA

¹⁰⁵ Gibbs, Francis, Citizen and Dyer, 1713, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/2975, LMA

¹⁰⁶ Fisher, William, Citizen and Vintner, 1731, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3336, LMA

crime proceedings give clear direction. These sources highlight the importance of the EIC and London chinamen in promoting the use of chinaware in ordinary English homes on a wider scale. So much so, that the need for chinaware in everyday life increased dramatically. Its desirability was such that the theft of chinaware became a common cause in many trials. By this point, chinaware was already indispensable to affluent London households.

PART II. USING CHINAWARE

CHAPTER 5. CURIOSITY, LUXURY AND ORNAMENTAL WARE

Oh, the palaces of palaces! And yet a palace sans crown, sans coronet, but such expense! Such taste! Such profusion! And yet half an acre produces all the rents that furnish such magnificence. It is a jaghire got without a crime; in short, a shop is the estate, and Osterley Park is the spot.

- Horace Walpole's letter to Lady Ossory, 1773

This chapter analyses the intertwining relationship between space, furniture and chinaware in which exoticism was interpreted as an important social statement in London middling homes. The Orphans' Inventories suggest that chinaware was commonly displayed in hallways, staircases, on the walls or on the furniture in and around the first decade of the eighteenth century (Table 3.6). Recorded locations indicate an ornamental purpose that was embedded with social functions. The interior developments then led to a new decorative scheme that was related to the fashion of chinoiserie. The practice of this briefly-lived artistic movement can be observed in aristocratic estates throughout the eighteenth century and so historical scholarship tend to associate the exotic interior with grand residences. The surging level of

opulence and exoticism was seen in merchants' country houses in the same period, suggesting a possible emulation modified in a more modest space.¹

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the emulation theory helps explain the spread of luxury ownership within a vertical social order, offering a psychological perspective to consumers' behaviour and the motivation behind purchasing.² However, it has to be noted that such theory does not always identify the variations in the patterns of consumption.³ Surviving objects indicate that some enthusiastic merchants or tradesmen collected or commissioned chinaware to promote their social identity, meanwhile mass-produced ornaments were randomly displayed rather than carefully collected. Data extracted from the Orphans' Inventories confirms various patterns of consumption especially from the spatial arrangement of household goods. This chapter explores the changing concept of ceramic ornaments used in the popular decorative scheme. Specific attention is given to living room furniture and later delftware in an attempt to understand how and why chinaware became essential in London tradesmen's homes.

¹ Anne Gerritsen and Stephen McDowall, 'Material Culture and the Other: European Encounters with Chinese Porcelain, ca. 1650–1800,' *Journal of World History* 23 (2012), 87–113

² Please see Chapter 2, footnotes 9–13

³ As discussed in Chapter 2, the contemporary debate on conspicuous consumption and social emulation is centred on two philosophical analyses by Richard Rice, trans. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984) and Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, reprint (London: Transactions Publisher, 2000). Other related publications include: Roger Mason, *The Economics of Conspicuous Consumption: Theory and Thought since 1700* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1998); Ben Fine, *The World of Consumption* (London: Routledge, 2nd edition, 2002); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760*, 2nd edition, (London: Routledge, 1996); Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)

5.1 Early Chinese Porcelain in Aristocratic Estates

Chinese porcelain being an 'Asian luxury' has been extensively discussed by social and economic historians such as Jan de Vries, Maxine Berg and Robert Finlay,⁴ showcasing a surging demand for Asian commodities in Western Europe between the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The sophistication of production, the organisation of labour and the diversity of goods positioned oriental imports in the category of luxury and refinement. These goods entered English middling households and became the new 'must have'. They 'served to communicate cultural meaning, permitting reciprocal relations – a kind of sociability – among participants in consumption'.⁵ A compelling case has been made to demonstrate how local producers successfully imitated Chinese manufacture in the English market and as such, the dominate position of Chinese porcelain was established.⁶

Credible accounts of innovation in the English pottery industry in the late eighteenth century have been given in contemporary researches; however, the consumption of chinaware prior to then has often been side-lined. This brings up a series of questions: if foreign imports were considered a luxury, how did consumption spread from elite to ordinary households? How did the concept of luxury change when porcelain was no longer the preserve of royalty and the nobility in an open market? This

⁴ Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures, 1700–1820: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain* (London: Routledge, 1994); Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010); Maxine Berg (ed.), *Goods from the East, 1600–1800: Trading Eurasia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

⁵ Quoted from Jan de Vries, 'Luxury and Calvinism/Luxury and Capitalism: Supply and Demand for Luxury Goods in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic,' *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 74

⁶ Maxine Berg, 'Britain, Industry and Perceptions of China: Matthew Boulton, "Useful Knowledge" and the Macartney Embassy to China 1792–94,' *Journal of Global History* 1 (2006), 269–288

section attempts to present the early collections of Chinese porcelain in English elite households, paving the way to discover how Chinese porcelain was used as a symbol of taste in London tradesmen's homes in later chapters.

The fundamental paradox of luxury consumption had long been associated with moral concepts.⁷ This classical debate shaped the definition of luxury between one's needs and wants. Anything that was not a necessity became luxury, hinting that the pursuit of material possession was beyond one's basic need and therefore a form of moral corruption. The sumptuary laws in medieval Europe, for instance, limited access to luxurious goods to the lower end of society allowing the upper social classes the ability to deny the social hierarchy being challenged vis-a-vis the manifestation of wealth. Desirable apparel such as silk and fur remained exclusive, creating a social barrier that was essentially built upon the restriction of consumption. Queen Elizabeth I had once commented that 'the excess of apparel and the superfluity of unnecessary foreign wares' had damaged serviceable young gentlemen.⁸ Excessive consumption, vanity and decadence were followed by the purchase of luxury. People were 'allured by the vain show of those things, do not only consume themselves, their goods, and lands which their parents left unto them'.⁹ The impact of such laws eventually made luxury, especially foreign luxury, a subject of moral debate at that time.

This led to a wider fear of financial ruin at both a national and personal level in the golden era for global trade. In the case of chinaware, some said that people started

⁷ Berg and Eger, 'The Rise and Fall of Luxury Debate,' in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, 7–27

⁸ Quoted from Jennifer Waldron, 'Reading the Body,' in *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed., Michael Hattaway (Chichester: Blackwell Publisher, 2010), 574

⁹ Ibid.

‘piling their china upon the tops of cabinets, scrutores, and every chimney piece, to the tops of the ceilings, and even setting up shelves for their china-ware, where they wanted such places, till it became a grievance in the expence of it, and even injurious to their families and estates.’¹⁰

Such comment inevitably raised concerns in regard to Asian luxury and pointed out the imbalanced position of trade between China and England at that time.

The complexities of conspicuous consumption pushed scholars to focus to the changing concept of luxury.¹¹ It has been argued that the narrow definition of luxury limits the social meaning of objects and the demand for luxury is diffused when human needs and wants evolve. ‘Luxury’ becomes a relative idea in which prices, exclusiveness and desirability are considered.¹² For instance, a silver spoon might be a luxury on a peasant’s dinner table but remained a necessity in a royal banquet in early modern Europe. Time, place and people all play a part in its definition. Maxine Berg further points out that, among many Asian products, porcelain is the one that defined the ‘Orient’.¹³ This may be due to the fact that there was no substitute for such manufactured products in Europe until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

While Chinese potters had been making durable porcelain from the tenth century onwards, European potters had limited knowledge and skills outside low-fired earthenware production before the eighteenth century.¹⁴ The dark and coarse

¹⁰ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (London: Dent, 1962), 165–166

¹¹ Please see footnote 5.

¹² Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 33

¹³ Maxine Berg, ‘Asian Luxuries and the Making of the European Consumer Revolution’ in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, 236

¹⁴ The earliest attempt is the Medici soft-paste porcelain successfully fired in the late sixteenth century. However, Medici production was never meant to be commercialised on a larger scale. Meissen porcelain, a hard-paste porcelain was produced as late as 1708–1709. Interestingly, in England, an advertisement for ‘strong and useful manufacture of PORCELAIN WARE’ in Vauxhall in the eighteenth century mentioned: ‘the finest

earthenware bodies produced in Europe were in stark contrast to the white and light porcelain body. This notion is profoundly important as consumption in early modern Europe was often thought to be superfluous. Being a 'rarity' and 'curiosity', Chinese porcelain was considered as a luxury exemplified previously in sumptuary laws. Silver or gilt mount was often fitted to porcelain pieces (Fig 5.1). Words such as 'expensive', 'ingenious' and 'exotic' were used to describe imported wares in sixteenth-century travellers' accounts.¹⁵

Surviving porcelain objects suggest that during the early period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, ownerships were mostly confined within the walls of royal palaces and aristocratic estates. One of the earliest surviving examples is the Fonthill vase. It was originally fitted with a silver-gilt mount and was presented as a gift from Louis the Great of Hungary to Charles III of Durazzo on his coronation as King of Naples in 1381¹⁶ (Fig 5.2). In 1447, oriental gifts were also sent to Charles VII of France by the 'Sultan of Egypt or Babylon' which included 'porcelain from China'.¹⁷ Presumably the 'green porcelain' is either celadon or an imitation. The word 'touque' (possibly meaning a bowl) is not clear. Another example is a gift to the Doge of Venice Pascuale Malipiero of twenty Chinese porcelain pieces from Abulfet Hamet the Mameliik Sultan of Egypt in

of our Manufacture in this kind, is no other than a coarse Earth naked and glazed over with a thin coat of vitrified Materials.... The Porcelaine Ware of China is free from these imperfections, and is on this Account become of such general Use, that it must be considered as a great Acquisition to this Nation, could a domestic Manufacture be introduced. The essential Properties of China-ware, besides the Beauty of its Colours, are these: That it is as smooth, and as easily cleaned as Glass, and at the same Times bears the hottest Liquors without Danger of breaking.'

Quoted from Sara Pennell, 'For a Crack or Flaw Despise'd: Thinking about Ceramic Durability and the "Everyday" in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England,' in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, eds., Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 35

¹⁵ Gerritsen and McDowall, 'Material Culture and the Other,' 93–94

¹⁶ David Whitehouse, 'Chinese Porcelain in Medieval Europe,' *Medieval Archaeology* 16 (1972): 63–78

¹⁷ Ibid.

1461.¹⁸ This type of gift represented a sort of diplomatic power and showed the wealth of royal figures who often used art collections to demonstrate their superiority in social position as well as wealth.



Fig 5.1 Celadon Bowl, c. 1500

¹⁸ Ibid.

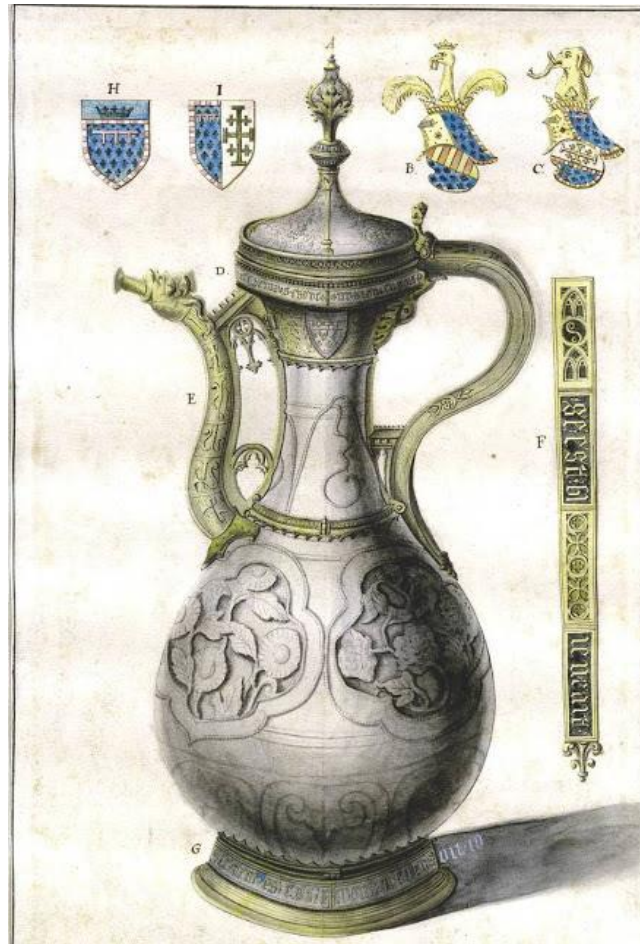


Fig 5.2 Barthélemy Remy, *Fonthill Vase*, c.1713

In England, a list of New Year gifts of 1588 to Queen Elizabeth included ‘one porringer or white porselyn garnished with golde, the cover of golde with a lyon on the toppe therof, all given by Lord Threasorour’.¹⁹ Later John Cecil, fifth Earl of Exeter, had ‘china over ye Chimney were two dogs, two lyons, two staggs, two blue and wt birds / one heaten Godd with many arms / two figures with juggs at their back.’²⁰ The inventory of Burghley House between 1680 and 1690 also hints at a wide variety of

¹⁹ Quoted from Percy MacQuoid, ‘The Home, Furniture, Food and Drink, Christenings, Weddings and Funerals,’ in *Shakespeare’s England: An Account of the Life and Manners of His Age*, eds. Walter Alexander Raleigh et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), 131

²⁰ Quoted from Vanessa Alayrac-Fielding, ‘From the Curious to the “Artinatural”’: The Meaning of Oriental Porcelain in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century English Interiors,’ *Miranda Ceramic/Submorphemics*, 2012 <http://journals.openedition.org/miranda/4390> (accessed 4 Jan, 2018)

ornamental selection although there was no documentation as to where these wares came from. It is possible that they were gifts given by the princely masters. Visual references further suggest that mounted Chinese porcelain was a highly prized item. For example, a blue and white porcelain cup was highlighted in *The Adoration of the Magi* (Fig 5.3). The cup filled with gold coins was presented to the child of Jesus by one of the wise men, symbolising infinite wealth and power.²¹ The metaphor behind the painting shows that Chinese porcelain was in line with the traditional view of luxury in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²²



Fig 5.3 Andrea Mantegna, *The Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1495–1505

²¹ ‘Andrea Mantegna’s Adoration of the Magi and its Ming connection,’ Lecture note, Caroline Campbell, 4 April, 2014

²² Fabian Faurholt Csaba, ‘Redefining Luxury: A Review Essay,’ *Creative Encounters Working Papers* 15 (2008): 1–32

Intriguingly, while some travellers already pointed out that clay was the main ingredient for the making of porcelain; many still believed that it was made of precious or smooth materials, such as eggshells, bones, shells, pearls or even ground precious stones.²³ The original term 'porcellana', meaning shell in Italian, accurately reflected this belief. Several theories had been proposed as how porcelain was made. In 1557, Scalrger commented that:

Eggshells and the shell of umbilical shellfish and pounded into dust which is then mingled with water and shaped into vases. These are then hidden underground. A hundred years later they are dug up, being considered finished and are put up for sale.²⁴

The perceived notion that porcelain was made of precious material made it even more desirable as it psychologically positioned porcelain along with expensive materials. Furthermore, each owner had an exclusive interpretation of the objects (i.e. handling or examining the object) add mystique and awe to their collection.

Early collectors were encouraged to study the composition of porcelain in a systematic approach. Cabinets of curiosities were used to investigate the produce of the natural world and the myths attached to it. In 1599 Thomas Platter noted that Sir

²³ This kind of fantasy was widely accepted in early modern Europe although at a later stage people became more suspicious of this method as Captain William Dampier rightly observed: 'The Spaniards of Manila, that we took on the Coast of Luconia, told me, that this Commodity is made of Conch-shells; the inside of which looks like Mother of Pearl. But the Portuguese lately mentioned, who had lived in China, and spoke that and the neighbouring Languages very well, said, that it was made of a fine sort of Clay that was dug in the Province of Canton. I have often made enquiry about it, but could never be well satisfied in it.' Quoted from William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World Vol 1* (London: 1500 Books, 2007), 409

²⁴ Quoted from Jane Hwang Degenhardt, 'Cracking the Mysteries of "China": China(ware) in the Early Modern Imagination,' *Studies in Philology* 110 (2013): 153

Walter Cope of London had a cabinet of curiosities which contained 'earthen pitchers from China and porcelain from China'.²⁵ Similarly, John Tradescant's London collection contained 'Chinaware, purple and green' and a 'variety of China'.²⁶ Commenting on the cargo of Madre de Dios seized by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1592, Richard Hakluyt also recorded the valuable items from the cargo, 'Elephants teeth, porcelain vessels of China, coconuts, hides, ebenwood as black as jet, bedsteads of the same, cloth of the rindes of trees very strange for the matter, and artificall in workemanship'.²⁷ Almost a century later, John Evelyn described his visit to Mr. Bohum 'whose house is a cabinet of all elegancies, especially Indian; in the hall are contrivances of Japan screens, instead of wainscot; [...] The landscape of the screens represent the manner of living and country of the Chinese. But, above all, his lady's cabinet is adorned on the fret, ceiling and chimney-piece, with Mr. Gibbons' best carving'.²⁸ Exotic objects such as porcelain were regarded as treasured up until the late seventeenth century.²⁹

At this period, Chinese porcelain collections had yet to cause a ripple effect in consumer behaviour in the context of the wider economy. The quantity of imported ware was still too small to make a profound impact on everyday consumption. The situation began to change in the late sixteenth and throughout the whole seventeenth century when direct trade between Europe and China was initially established.³⁰ Demand noticeably grew when market accessibility increased. As discussed in Chapter 4, the leading countries for importing Asian goods were Portugal and Holland at this

²⁵ Stacey Sloboda, 'Displaying Materials: Porcelain and Natural History in the Duchess of Portland's Museum,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43 (2010): 458

²⁶ John Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum: Or, A Collection of Rarities Preserved at South- Lambeth Near London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 52–53

²⁷ Quoted from Eugenia Zuroski Jenkins, *A Taste for China: English Subjectivity and the Prehistory of Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 74

²⁸ Quoted from Alayrac-Fielding, 'From the Curious to the "Artinatural"'

²⁹ Hugh Honor, *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay* (London: John Murray, 1961), 42

³⁰ Please see Chapter 4, footnotes 5, 9 and 11

time. After the Portuguese acquired Macao in 1554, large quantities of porcelain first arrived in Europe.³¹ It is estimated that ships returning from India carried porcelain as one third of their cargo. The increasing importation suggests that elite households on a larger social scale could purchase greater quantities of chinaware.

Santos Palace in Lisbon is one example where chinaware was displayed in colossal quantity. (Fig 5.4) This palace went through massive renovation between 1664 and 1687 and the pyramidal porcelain ceiling was built around this time.³² The architectural use of Chinese plates and dishes suggests that they were treated as a mass building material. The non-standard sizes and irregular shapes also required specific fittings to secure objects to the ceiling; individual pieces were mounted into wooden frames, creating an illusion of piling tiles. This lavish porcelain ceiling was meant to stimulate a sense of awe and was a fine example of early ornamental chinaware incorporated into European architecture. The concept of porcelain had been elevated from being a rare item in a confined cabinet, to an accessible ornament in an open space.

The use of ornamental china in grand estates was further developed when the Dutch took over the East India trades in the seventeenth century. Between 1604 and 1657, the VOC had already secured a steady porcelain trade with China and imported approximately three million pieces to Europe.³³ The supply of chinaware from the VOC increased steadily into the eighteenth century. It is estimated that in 1615 alone, the Dutch imported 24,000 pieces of chinaware, mainly blue and white and in the following

³¹ Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange: Additions to Helen Woolwoth McCann Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), 1

³² Denis C. Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China: Volume 8, The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 395

³³ Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), 4

year another 42,000.³⁴ Even when the Ming Dynasty collapsed in the 1640s, the Dutch managed to import substitute items from Japan and Taiwan; yet the subject matters on imported wares remained largely Chinese: floral designs, pine trees, children at play and auspicious motifs. It is not clear if exotic patterns helped increase the economic value of Chinese porcelain in the European market, but it is certain that blue and white ware was imported in greater quantity and became extremely accessible. No other European country was able to import large quantities of porcelain during this period of political turbulence in China. This is significant as later on Dutch Delftware took inspiration from Chinese porcelain and became widely accessible in the English market.



Fig 5.4 *China Ceiling*, Santos Palace Lisbon

³⁴ Ibid.

Santos Palace was not a rare example; other royal and noble estates were furnished with unprecedented quantities of chinaware. For instance, Amalia van Solms, wife of Frederik Hendrik the Prince of Orange, had a large number of chinaware pieces in her possession. Her daughter Louise Henriette who married the Elector of Brandenburg further introduced this fashion to northern German states.³⁵ Albertina Agnes, another daughter of Amalia van Solms, built Schloss Oranienstein in which a china room was extensively decorated with Chinese porcelain. Honselaarsdijk, a country estate owned by William of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands (later William III) and the grandson of Amalia van Solms was also furnished in a similar fashion. This royal residence was described as 'very richly furnished with Chinese works and pictures'.³⁶ The ceiling was covered with mirrors which showed the room afresh, so that, with the most luxurious effect imaginable, the more one gazed into the mirror, the more endlessly extended the perspectives. The chimney piece was filled with precious porcelain, part standing half inside it and fitted together so that one piece supported another and apparently Queen Mary's room was 'lined with china lackered boards and the mantelpiece curiously adorned with fine red chinaware'.³⁷ These methods of display can be seen in other royal palaces such as Charlottenburg Palace. Charlottenburg Palace adopted the same concept of architectural ceramics from Santos Palace in Lisbon and then extravagantly decorated the walls and ceiling with oriental ceramics. Currently there are approximately 2,700 pieces of Chinese and Japanese

³⁵ Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior: Decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 248–250

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ C. D. Van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland During the Stuart Period: Edward Browne and John Locke as Tourists in the United Provinces* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993), 153

porcelain in the palace. Exactly how many pieces were first fitted is unknown, but the effort of fitting odd pieces of porcelain onto the walls confirms a new interior scheme.³⁸

Arguably, it was Queen Mary II who 'brought in the Custom or Humour of furnishing Houses with China ware' to England.³⁹ Large numbers of oriental and delftware were lavishly housed in Hampton Court Palace and Kensington Palace. An inventory of Kensington Palace made in 1697 further confirms this statement. There were approximately 7,800 pieces of Chinese porcelain in the closet, dining room, bedchamber, staircases and Queen's Gallery in Kensington Palace.⁴⁰ The Water Gallery was described:

her Majesty had here a fine apartment, with a set of lodgings for her private retreat only, but most exquisitely furnished, particularly a fine chintz bed, then a great curiosity; another of her own work while in Holland, very magnificent, and several others; and here was also her Majesty's fine collection of Delft ware, which indeed was very large and fine; and here was also a vast stock of fine china ware, the like whereof was not then to be seen in England; the long gallery, as above, was filled with this china, and every other place where it could be placed with advantage.⁴¹

The quantity of porcelain was exceedingly large considering the total value of imported chinaware in the last decade of the seventeenth century was only 3 to 5 per cent of the

³⁸ When Crusoe visits China and marvels at a large house, he mocked 'it was a timber house, ... plastered with the earth that make China ware. The outside, which the sun shone hot upon, was glazed, and looked very well, perfectly white, and painted with blue figures, as the large China ware in England is painted, and hard as if it had been burnt. As to the inside, all the walls, instead of wainscot, were lined with harden and painted tiles, like the little square tiles we call galley-tiles in England, all made of the finest china, and the figures exceeding fine indeed, with extraordinary variety of colours, mixed with gold, ... the roof was covered tiles of the same, but a deep shining black. This was a China ware-house indeed, truly and literally to be called so...'

Quoted from Lydia H. Liu, 'Robinson Crusoe's Earthenware Pot,' *Critical Enquiry* 25 (1999): 728–757

³⁹ Anna Somers Cocks, 'The Non-functional Use of Ceramics,' in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, ed., Gervase Jackson-Stops (Washington: The National Gallery of Art Washington, 1989), 195–216

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Liu, 'Robinson Crusoe's Earthenware Pot', 54

East India trade.⁴² Clearly, early imported ware was to intended to satisfy demand from the higher market.

The inventory of the Water Gallery suggests a principle of accumulation of objects which was widely practiced in European palaces as shown above (Fig 5.5). The key was to create a spectacle in the heavily decorative space.⁴³ For example, mirrors were added to create an illusion of extra space. Rooms were saturated with paintings, long glasses and furniture. The wall was symmetrically ornamented by small dishes and cups. Most strikingly are the jars and vases on top of the mantle work and a set of garnitures in front of it. Some small odd pieces were also displayed on the brackets attached to the mirror. Odd pieces were randomly fitted into a space without one single purpose. No subject matters were emphasised and no specific shapes were chosen to strengthen the structure of the buildings. Arguably objects were not to be viewed individually but collectively as a group. They were put together to create a sense of spectacle.⁴⁴

The inventory of Burghley House is another example. Recorded by Culpepper Tanner, the steward of the fifth earl and countess of Exeter, this inventory reveals that Chinese porcelain was found over the chimney or on the cabinet.⁴⁵ Most of the wares were jars, beakers and tea wares. Interestingly, some objects were in the form of figures or animals. This suggests that figurines were highly desirable and might serve as small

⁴² Kirti N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company: 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 519–520

⁴³ Cocks, 'The Non-functional Use of Ceramics,' 196

⁴⁴ Jenkins, *A Taste for China*, 170

⁴⁵ Oliver Impey, 'Japanese Porcelain at Burghley House: The Inventory of 1688 and the Sale of 1888,' *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 37 (2002): 117–131

sculptural items. These types of goods were mostly located in the formal area of the house including Lord Exeter's Anty Roome and Bed Chamber, Lady Exeter's Anty Roome, Bed Chamber, Dressing Roome and Clossett, Drawing Roome, Marble Salloon Roome, Dining Roome and Tea Roome. Descriptions such as 'china over ye Chimney were two Dogs, two Lyons, two Stags, two blue and white Birds, one heathen God with many Arms, two figures with Juggs at their backs' suggests that porcelain displays were fairly common.

By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the theme of chinoiserie slowly emerged in English country houses. Such fashion manifested itself in several areas including architectural, garden and interior designs. The fantasy of the distant land was incorporated with bespoke furniture, garden pagodas and patterned wallpapers. This was to recreate the image of China with things that looked Chinese.⁴⁶ In other words, without understanding the cultural language behind specific Chinese motives, Europeans attempted to illustrate their imagination by copying (or at least thought they were copying) how Chinese people lived their life. Among all exotic things, Chinese porcelain certainly provided an immediate visual reference to a foreign culture in their domestic environment. The symbolism associated with this 'ingenious' commodity offered a new social grounding to the commercial elite. This tied in closely with new political and philosophical thinking about China.⁴⁷ 'Outwardly', 'industrious', 'modern' and 'integrity' were thought to be the characteristics of tradesmen who made

⁴⁶ Chinoiserie is a broad and undefined term referring to the artistic movement in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe. It covered architectural, garden and interior designs. It also offered a moral and philosophical grounding to political debate. For more information, please see Chapter 1, footnote 6.

⁴⁷ Anthony Brewer, 'Luxury and Economic Development: David Hume and Adam Smith,' *Scottish Journal of Political Economy* 45 (1998), 78–98; other political thinkers such as Edmund Burke and Voltaire promoted the supremacy of Confucianism and Chinese culture in early modern Europe. Please also see Ho-Fung Hung, 'Orientalist Knowledge and Social Theories: China and the European Conceptions of East-West Differences from 1600 to 1900,' *Sociological Theory* 21 (2003): 254–280

the commercial expansion possible for the still to be established British empire.⁴⁸ It is possible to consider Chinese things as 'a diasporic category of objects defined by a migration – not, as one might think, a geographical movement from East to West, but rather a cultural displacement from an aristocratic property to a commercial order of things.'⁴⁹ The image of globalism and adventure added cultural capital to the ownership of chinaware.

Drayton House in Northamptonshire, for instance, was described by Horace Walpole: 'Then it is covered in portraits, crammed with old china, furnished richly, not a rag in it under forty, fifty thousand years old'.⁵⁰ The Great Parlour had nine pieces of chinaware over each door and twenty pieces over the chimney. Furthermore, the state bedroom had 'two little blue and white rollwagon, two china bottles, two little blue and gold rollwagons, two little flower pots with three feet and one little blue and white jarr on a door cornice'.⁵¹ Petworth House in Sussex also had a large quantity of Chinese porcelain over the chimney in the state chamber, porcelain over the doors in the South Gallery and the closet to the Duchess's Bed Chamber. The Duchess's chamber had a looking glass panel over the door and the chimney, 'both ornamented with carved work and forty-five pieces of china'.⁵² They are fine examples of early chinoiserie.

It is worth noting that, instead of searching for the improvement of finer craftsmanship or defining aesthetic value, painters, furniture makers or architects strived to present their view of China. The consumption of Chinese things was tied up

⁴⁸ Gerritsen and McDowall, 'Material Culture and the Other,' 94

⁴⁹ Jenkins, *A Taste for China*, 163

⁵⁰ Quoted from Cocks, 'The Non-functional Use of Ceramics,' 196

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

with expanding commercial activities. As seen in Chapter 3, by the early eighteenth century, London's commercial elite had already grasped the opportunity to purchase world goods. The growing ownership of exotic goods in English middling homes differentiated the concept of luxury and the use of commercial wealth. Arguably, this kind of ownership began to challenge the patina of traditional luxury such as silver in genteel households, further claiming a new cultural pedigree which was not available in previous class distinctions.⁵³

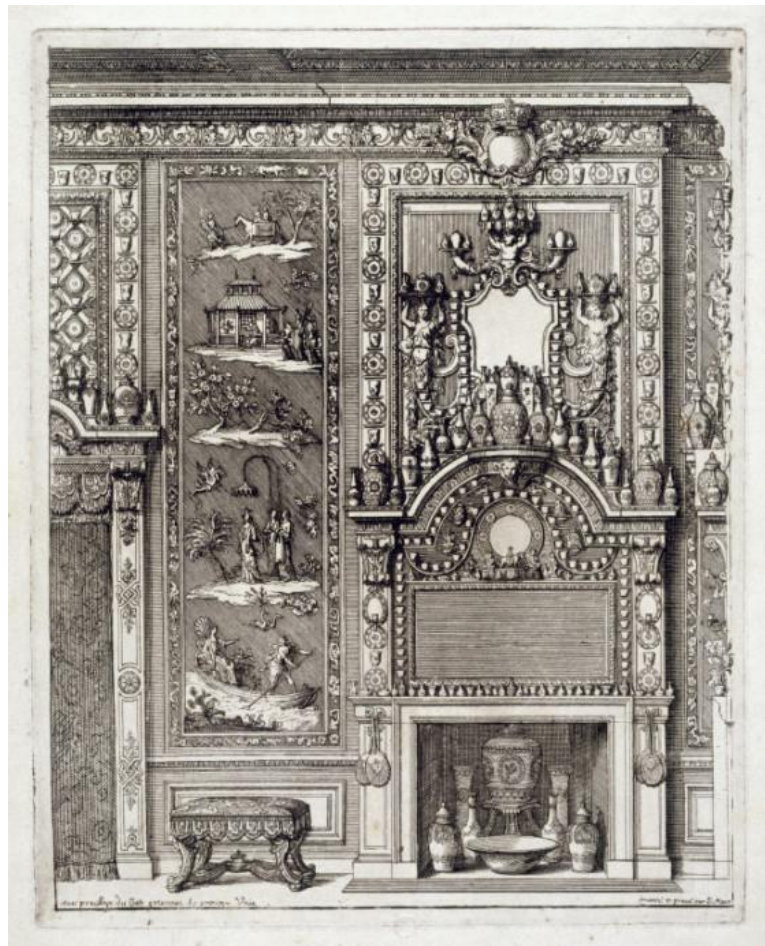


Fig. 5.5 Daniel Marot, *Nouvelles Cheminée Faitte en Plusier en Droits de la Hollande et Autres Prouinces*, c.

1703

⁵³ Porter, *The Chinese Taste*, 22

5.2 Ornamental China in London Tradesmen's Homes

Literary accounts suggest that the spread of chinaware consumption started from aristocratic estates and then to ordinary households in the eighteenth century. Defoe's comment further aids the argument of this theory: the fashion of ornamental china was promoted by Queen Mary II and 'spread to lesser mortals and increased to a strange degree afterwards'.⁵⁴ Similarly, McKendrick argues that the fashion for luxurious goods was principally set by elite consumers.⁵⁵ The advertisement for Wedgwood's 'Queen's Ware', as mentioned in Chapter 4, relied on its celebrity status in the market and hence promoted a wider scale of emulation. Peck and Vickery specify the consumption made by different social classes and genders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and point out that conspicuous consumption was largely driven by aristocratic taste and social distinction.⁵⁶

Meanwhile Weatherill's findings reveal that the ownership of chinaware by tradesmen was significantly greater than by the lower gentry class. This statistic contradicts the emulation theory mentioned above.⁵⁷ Thus Cumming, Wortley and Galinou argue that the barrier of social classes was erased by 'social fluidity' and 'overlapping network'.⁵⁸ The patterns of conspicuous consumption between prominent

⁵⁴ Defoe, *Tour Through the Whole Island of Britain*, 165–166

⁵⁵ Neil McKendrick et al., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982)

⁵⁶ Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour: Luxury Goods in England, 1580–1680* (Washington DC: George Washington University, 2005); Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)

⁵⁷ For the discussion of emulation theory, please see Chapter 2.

⁵⁸ Mireille Galinou (ed.), *City Merchants and the Arts 1670–1720* (London: Oblong Publishing, 2004), xi

London tradesmen and their social superiors were not as distinguished as previously thought.

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, material possession by individual tradesmen varied dramatically although staple working items were usually the same. The percentage of china ownership in the Orphans' Inventories steadily increased throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, but the quantity of goods remained modest. Entries such as 'a parcel of' or 'odd pieces' of china suggest a small quantity compared to the collections from noble families which was often in the hundreds. For instance, Joseph Clark, a salter by company who died in 1725, had china and earthenware over the chimney in his dining room and some pieces of china and delftware over the chimney in his chamber.⁵⁹ Another example is John Jennell, a dyer by company who died in 1729. He had twenty pieces of chinaware hanging on the wall in the upstairs room.⁶⁰ These samples suggest an ostentatious display of foreign luxury; however, the decoration might be limited by available space. Exactly how this new interior was adopted from aristocratic and gentry estates to ordinary homes may not be as straightforward as secondary literature has hinted. Indeed, if Chinese porcelain could be purchased easily in shops or from street pedlars, questions such as how it retained its social value would inevitably emerge.

This complex issue can be unfolded in two ways. Jan de Vries points out that the concept of luxury changed rapidly from the old decadent excessive expenditure to the

⁵⁹ Clark, Joseph, Citizen and Salter, 1725, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3220, LMA

⁶⁰ Jennells, John, Citizen and Dyer, 1729, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3291, LMA

modern refinement and comfort during the seventeenth and eighteenth century.⁶¹ Consumer behaviour and the concept of luxury in the eighteenth century underwent a serious transformation.⁶² Foreign goods such as tea, porcelain and lacquer became the new luxury and were seen as part of a polite lifestyle which emerging tradesmen aspired to achieve. Sophisticated foreign manufactures now represented modernity and worldliness. As stated by David Hume, foreign trade 'has preceded any refinement in home manufactures, and given birth to domestic luxury' and 'men become acquainted with the pleasures of luxury and the profits of commerce; and their delicacy and industry, being once awakened, carry them on to farther improvements.'⁶³ Adam Smith carried the same argument and claimed that 'commerce and manufactures gradually introduced order and good government, and with them, the liberty and security of individuals, among the inhabitants of the country.'⁶⁴ The growing wealth from overseas trade eventually motivated local industry to transform itself. The 'creative spirit' became the central drive for self-improvement and the concept of luxury gradually transformed itself through macro-economic advancement and projected its benefit onto the whole society in the eighteenth century.

Secondly, the division of public and private space gives social meaning to individual items. The analysis of London town houses irrefutably reinforces the notion

⁶¹ De Vries, 'Luxury and Calvinism,' 73–75

⁶² For other publications consulted in this chapter, please see: Tania Buckrell Pos, *Tea and Taste: The Visual Language of Tea* (London: Schiffer Publishing, 2004); Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Caroline Frank, *Objectifying China, Imagining America: Chinese Commodities in Early America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Emile de Bruijn, *Chinese Wallpaper in Britain and Ireland* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2017) and *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1857*, a Leverhulme Trust-funded research project can be consulted online at <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/>

⁶³ David Hume, 'of Commerce' in *The Philosophical Works of David Hume* III (Boston: Little Brown Companies, 1852), 289

⁶⁴ Antony Brewer, 'Luxury and Economic Development: David Hume and Adam Smith,' *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (1998), 90

of 'privacy' and the landscape of household goods. The main living area was the 'front stage' area where the owner presented himself and received his guests while the 'back stage' area was prepared for supporting the social performance in the 'front stage' area.⁶⁵ Indeed, historical scholars have highlighted that, under the wave of 'the Great Rebuilding', new architectures were built to create additional living space to accommodate various social activities.⁶⁶ This point has been raised in Chapter 1; but the key point of 'Great Rebuilding' must be re-addressed here as this study implied a 'privacy-oriented' lifestyle began to manifest itself in new architectures.

Hoskins studies the examples of English country house and cottage of the Tudor period. He reveals that building activities surged between 1570 and 1640.⁶⁷ The medieval hall was once a principal room for cooking, dining, sleeping and socialising. The multi-functional space was gradually replaced by individual rooms with specific purposes. Particularly in ordinary English houses when a hall was designed to be open to the rafters and to accommodate livestock, a taller building allowed a chimney to be installed while beams were constructed to support the extra weight. Eventually a staircase was added, and more rooms were created in the architecture of the early seventeenth century. The creation of small enclosed spaces allowed dwellers to retreat to their private rooms without interruption and to separate themselves from constant contact with outsiders. This phenomenon, argued Hoskins, was 'in the filtering down to the mass of the population, after some two centuries, of a sense of privacy that had

⁶⁵ Lorna Weatherill, 'The meaning of consumer behaviour in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England,' in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed., John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 207–227

⁶⁶ W. G. Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England 1570–1640,' *Past and Present* 4 (1953): 44–59; R. Machin, 'The Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment,' *Past and Present* 77 (1977), 33–56; Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 67–78

⁶⁷ Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England', 44–59

formerly been enjoyed only by the upper classes.’⁶⁸ Privacy demands more rooms, devoted to specialised uses; consequently, the use of things changed when their location changed.

How the ‘Great Rebuilding’ progressed and when it started is still under debate,⁶⁹ but there is little doubt that the change of architectural style triggered the need for privacy in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods. It may also be suggested that the process of ‘Great Rebuilding’ offered an architectural template to the later rebuilding of London merchants’ homes after 1666. The disappearance of a great hall was an architectural phenomenon which took place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when many things in the great hall migrated to other locations. Eleanor John who studied a small collection of Orphans’ Inventories also suggests that there was a change of floor plan from the seventeenth to the early eighteenth century. Her samples comprise eighty-five inventories and she discovered that 74 per cent of them between 1570 and 1665 had a hall and none of the inventories between 1666 and 1720 had such a room.⁷⁰ This suggests that the items that were at first located in this one large space were inevitably scattered into different rooms. For instance, Thomas Willis, a cloth worker, died in 1630. His house had a hall and there was no other major living area. In this hall, it had:⁷¹

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Colin Platt, *The Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxon: Routledge, 1994), 1–29. Platt argues that the ‘Great Rebuilding’ never happened uniformly throughout the nation in the set period of time Hoskins proposes.

⁷⁰ Eleanor John, ‘At Home with the London Middling Sort – The Inventory Evidence for Furnishings and Room Use 1570–1720,’ *Journal of the Regional Furniture* 22 (2008): 27–51

⁷¹ Ibid.

Impris a drawing table / 7 joyned stooles & 2 forsms	40s
Item a Court Cupboard and a stoole table	32s
Item 4 back Chairs and a greate Chaire of Russia leather	30s
Item 11 old chairs and stooles	15s
Item a paire of virginals and a frame	
Item a Cypress Chest	£9
Item 13 pictures, 7 with frames, 6 without frames & a jack	15s
Item an old house clock & a slate with a frame	10s
Item 3 Curtens and Curten rodde	2s. 6d
Item a pair of iyon Andirons type with brass & a pair of tongs & fireshovel	10s
Suma	£18. 14s. 6d

Later, when Caleb Booth died in 1713, his parlour had ‘an oval table, 2 tea tables, 8 cane chairs, an easy chair and eight day clock and case, 2 looking glasses, 4 stands, 1 picture, 3 prints, window curtains, a tea kettle, lamp and stand, fire accessory, china, delftware and glasses.’⁷² These two inventories, among many, suggest that later houses introduced a wider range of materials in different rooms and so they had a different internal look to that of a medieval hall, which essentially combined most of the public functions in one space. In fact, only a handful of the Orphans’ Inventories record ‘great hall’ in the eighteenth century and nearly all of them are filled with entries for individual rooms and items. Booth’s inventory is just one example. Exactly how many items were relocated due to the change of architectural design requires further investigation. The

⁷² Booth, Caleb, Citizen and Soap Maker, 1715, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/2982, LMA

public nature of chinaware is crucial to understanding why the change of spatial arrangement was linked with the display of objects.

The Orphan's Inventories further reveal that between 1700 and 1730, nearly half of all dining rooms had chinaware. One of the earliest 'dyning room' was recorded in Richard Langley's house in 1659. It had 'one oval table, 1 side table, 1 elbow chaire, 6 other chaires & 1 couch of greene clothm 6 Turkeywork Chaires with cover, 1 long & 1 short Turkeyworke Carpetts, 1 paire of Brass andirons fire shovell & tongs, 1 pr of creeps wth brasses & a pr of bellows wth a brasse nosle'. Together these items were valued at £10. 10s.⁷³ Some ware's functions were unidentified making them possibly more ornamental than utilitarian in nature. Coincidentally, the creation of a dining room itself is an evolution from a medieval great hall where high-valued items such as silver plate and tapestry were displayed. This change of spatial arrangement suggests that a dining room became the new public area where goods were permanently on show. Large furniture such as table, chairs and cupboards were listed to serve this purpose. The mobility of furniture was limited as the space determined its exhibition. Smaller ornamental objects were therefore relocated with furniture. Little written evidence recorded chinaware in medieval great halls as porcelain was still extremely rare at this time, but it is almost certain that this commodity was a commonly displayed item in the dining room by 1720.

Ornamental chinaware in the dining room was often displayed in a 'beaufait' (or 'buffet' in today's spelling). The significance of ornamental chinaware is emphasised by its association with bespoke furniture. Traditionally, a buffet was used to display

⁷³ Langley, Richard, Citizen and Fishmonger, 1659, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/0014, LMA

precious items such as silver and pewter in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁷⁴ *The Marriage Feast at Cana*, a painting attributed to Hieronymus Bosch, offers a glimpse of how a buffet was used to display metal wares (Fig 5.6). The interaction between the biblical characters and the sumptuous table display remains at the centre of the painting, the lingering perspective leads the viewers to the back of the dining area where a three-tier buffet is presented. Precious or semi-precious metal ware is on display, indicating the function of the buffet is to demonstrate the most precious items in the house. Silver and pewter were most popular at the time. But this fashion seems to change in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Chinaware gradually replaced silver and pewter often in specially designed units such as a buffet. For instance, Charles Barnard, a barber surgeon who died in 1711, had over 100 pieces of chinaware in his house; sixteen of them were specifically displayed in a 'beaufait'. Robert Fleetwood, a glass-seller who died in 1721, also had all his china in the 'buffett'. These entries seemingly support the replacement of silver to china in the middling homes.

⁷⁴ William Harrison, *The Description of England: Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968), 279

William Harrison, a Tudor contemporary, once commented that 'the furniture of our houses also exceedeth [sic] and is grown in manner even to passing delicacy; and herein I do not speak of the nobility and gentry only but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our South Country that have anything at all to take to. Certes [assuredly] in noblemen's houses it is not rare to see abundance of arras, rich hanging of tapestry, silver vessel and so much other plates as may furnish sundry cupboards, to the sum oftentimes of £1,000 or £2,000 at least, whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuff doth grow to be almost inestimable [sic]. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen and merchants and some other wealthy citizens, it is not geason [sic] to behold generally their great provision of tapestry, Turkey work, pewter, brass, fine linen and thereto costly cupboards of plate, worth £500 or £600 or £1,000... But as herein all these sorts do far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatness and curiosity the merchants all other, so in line past the costly furniture stayed there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, even unto the inferior artificers and many farmers, who... have for the most part learned also to garnish their cupboards with plate, their joint [carpeted] beds with tapestry and silk hangings and their tables with carpets and fine napery.'



Fig. 5.6 Attributed to Hieronymus Bosch, *Marriage Feast at Cana*, c. 1480

Originally, a free-standing buffet unit was fitted with shelves and cupboards underneath, but the form changed slightly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁷⁵ Incorporated into the architectural fittings of a panelled dining room and opposite to the chimneypiece, this large piece of furniture served to balance the interior of the room and to make an architectural presence. It can be with or without glass doors

⁷⁵ Ian Gow, 'The Buffet-niche in Eighteenth-century Scotland,' *Furniture History* 30 (1994): 105–116

and the storage space accommodated china, glass, plate and other articles. A corner buffet was equally popular, providing an alternative to a free-standing centre piece. Designs such as a Roman niche with shells and arched cabinet-like shapes were added to create a neo-classical look in mid-eighteenth-century Britain⁷⁶ (Fig 5.7). The storage of chinaware upon buffet shelves strongly suggests that this commodity remained to be an item of display although it is unclear what kind of porcelain was favoured and why.



Fig 5.7 Buffet Cupboard, Stenton Manor Philadelphia

⁷⁶ Ibid.

As discussed before, the changing concept of 'luxury' in the eighteenth century testified to a new representation of economic advantage. Economic and political thinkers in the era of Enlightenment often argued that the sophistication of new products brought new knowledge which that was largely beneficial to a commercial society. Bernard Mandeville, for instance, declared that the pursuit of luxury fulfilled the desire for comfort, decencies and convenience. Against the traditional view on the division between necessity and luxury, he claimed that luxury 'is everything ... that is not immediately necessary to make Man subsist'. Departing from the classical paradox of luxury, Mandeville liberated the desire as 'the wants of Men are innumerable; then what ought to supply them have no bound'.⁷⁷ David Hume and Adam Smith, both advocates of self-interest, linked the concept of luxury with refinement and civilisation. This argument was further strengthened when 'individual greed and acquisitiveness were necessary prerequisites for the stimulation of economy'.⁷⁸ The individual's pursuit of better material life was reflected as an action for self-improvement.

That is to say, the display of foreign items implied a lifestyle desired by the emerging rich. Things such as porcelain, silk, tea, sugar, coffee, spices, lacquer, wall paper, calicos, aided the process of polite living and thus became popular with the middling sort. Such goods represented the new taste and advanced knowledge associated with commerce, enabling tradesmen to inject gentility into their homes in a more economical fashion. Self-social upgrading, in this sense, happened simultaneously with domestic interior makeovers. As Charles Carroll of Annapolis once commented, 'What is decent and Convenient, you ought to Have, there is no end to a desire for finery

⁷⁷ Berg and Eger, 'The Rise and Fall of Luxury Debate,' 10

⁷⁸ Ibid.

of any sort'.⁷⁹ Fashionable chinaware was randomly displayed with a mahogany table, India chairs or built-in shelves. The mixture of furnishing demonstrated the owners' understanding of the latest fashion. One case of home refurbishment suggests that small decorative items were constantly under replacement to make 'better' homes. William Whitemore's house in Lower Slaughter, Gloucestershire was refurbished after he married Elizabeth.⁸⁰ Their household accounts reveal new additions to the rooms. With 'Easy chairs' in the Parlour, 'India japan'd Chest' in the Great Parlour and 'blew and white china' scattered around, the transformation got rid of old things that were out of fashion. William's pewter, for instance, was replaced by Elizabeth's china and cane chairs by easy chairs. This example may offer an idea of how middling homes were constantly renovated and how china took part in that renovation.

Another example is Osterley Park and Estate. Originally built for Sir Thomas Gresham in the late seventeenth century, it was purchased by Sir Francis Child in 1711. The renovation of Osterley Park was carried out by Francis Child junior and Robert Child. Francis (1735–1763) initiated the building operation to transform this Tudor house into a neo-classical villa. He employed Robert Adam, the Architect of the King's Works, to create the Greco-Roman look. Francis died in 1763 so his brother Robert Child continued the building work and the house was completed in the 1780s. Executed by Israel Lewis and William Linnell in August 1782, the inventory was made shortly after the death of Robert Child junior.⁸¹ The estate contained various household goods in the main house, servants' rooms and garden emphasising the exquisite furniture, plate, paintings and books. Personal comments such as 'richly carved cornice' and

⁷⁹ Stephen Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World 1680–1780* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 115

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 98

⁸¹ Maurice Tomlin, 'The 1782 Inventory of Osterley Park,' *Furniture History* 22 (1986), 107–134

‘exceedingly elegant tripod stand’ indicate the artistic approach towards the interior.

The texture and the colour of the rooms were carefully depicted. For instance, the State

Bed Chamber alone contains the following:

The Room hung with plain green Velvet with a rich Carved and gilt in burnish Gold border. A chimney board covered with Paper painted with Etruscan ornaments. A very Elegant State Bedstead with Eight painted & Japanned Columns with carved & gilt Capitals and bases on Inlaid Pedestals. A rich Carved and gilt Cornice and dome Teaster richly Carved and gilt. A Rich Japanned & highly carved and gilt headboard with figures and other ornaments the furniture. Velvet Drapery richly embroidered in Colours the Dome and inside lined with green Silk embroidered in festoons and other ornaments the whole fringed in festoons with rich Gold colour Silk fringe and Tassells. A very elegant silk Counterpane richly embroidered with borders and compartments which terminate in festoons fringed with Tassells. A Silk Shade to throw over ditto. A Moores Carpet to go round the Bed Six Cabriole Chairs richly Carved and gilt in burnish Gold covered with green Velvet flannell and serge cases to ditto Two green Velvet festoon window Curtains lined and fringed with gold colour silk fringe carved and painted Cornices Lathes Yellow Silk lines and Tassells. A large japanned Commode with gilt Ornaments. A Pier glass in a rich carved and gilt frame enclosing a Painting the Plate ninety two by fifty two Inches. A Chimney Glass in a rich Carved and gilt frame with Cupids and festoons enclosing a Painting the Plate Ninety six by sixty Inches. Two Venetian Shades compleat.⁸²

Exotic fabrics such as silk, damask and chintz were used to increase the softness of the room and create a lavish atmosphere. The subject matters of embroidery ranged from colourful floral patterns and exotic birds to entangled leaves, suggesting an oriental mixture of interior decoration. The luxurious textiles were more likely to have been made in India and China and shipped back to England. Other Asian goods, especially lacquer, were recorded in detail. Exotic material appears throughout the entire Osterley estate. For instance, in Mrs. Child’s bed chamber there was a ‘handsome

⁸² Ibid., 118

japanned chest of drawer'. Beautifully painted with gold and placed upon a gilt wood stand, this drawer survives today, offering a glimpse of the colour and the texture of the interior design.

The significance of the Childs' inventory lies in their connection with the EIC. For example, Sir Francis Child the elder's retail and wholesale trade included the importation of Indian diamonds and consequently made their connection with the East India Company necessary.⁸³ He was an important stockholder in the Old East India Company and helped the Old Company to negotiate a merger with the New Company. Francis's eldest son Robert Child was the Director of the EIC in 1710 and remained in post until he passed away. Francis Child the younger was elected to the EIC Court as Director in 1721 and was also appointed to the major Committees of Accounts, Warehouses and Private Trade until 1732.⁸⁴ Samuel Child, the youngest son of Sir Francis Child the elder, was the last to receive directorship within the EIC.⁸⁵ By the time Sir Francis Child the elder died, he left his wife £45,000 of EIC stock in his will.

The enthusiasm towards Asian artefacts is directly observed in the family correspondence and the architecture of Osterley House. Sir Francis the elder was fascinated by oriental objects and the superior quality of manufacture. During his visit to the Netherlands, he observed the fashion and the interior design dictated by oriental items in the King's House in Bosch. Child duly commented that:

⁸³ Yuthika Sharma and Pauline Davies, 'A Jaghire Without a Crime: East India Company and the Indian Ocean Material World at Osterley 1700–1800,' *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1857* (2013), 88-108 <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/02/Osterley-Park-PDF-Final-19.08.14.pdf> (accessed 28th Feb, 2017)

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

Here is a curious closet made of the best sort of Indian Screens, the floor inlaid, the ceiling of Lookinglasse with Gold cyphers on it. This closet is very full of fine China, which because place'd by late Queen, the King has ordered shall not be removed. Belonging to this house, is a large garden with terrass walk, and a labirinth pretty to behold, but very different to get out of.⁸⁶

He had also noticed the difference between delftware and Chinese porcelain as he further commented that they:

are perticularly famous for their Porcellane or earthern ware, which they paint better than the Chinese, make more large, and as beautifull everyway, could they but make their small ware transparent in which the Chinese have the advantage of them.⁸⁷

The superiority of porcelain as a material was recognised although other types of ceramics were also used. It is speculated that Sir Francis Child's (the elder) vision and taste may have influenced the later design of the Osterley Park and House although he never resided there. A plate with the Child crest has survived (Fig 5. 8). It formed part of the dinner service which included a tureen and a cover, a dish, an oval bowl and eighteen plates. It is suggested that the service may have been ordered by one of Sir Francis the elder's sons, possibly Robert Child.⁸⁸

Some chinaware survived and was recorded in the later inventory of 1939.⁸⁹ For example, the Yellow Sitting Room has 'a pair of celadon vases' decorated with 'green silk fringed border'; the Library has 'a pair of Chinese porcelain octagonal vases enamelled

⁸⁶ Child, Francis, 'Journal kept by Sir Francis Child, entitled: "A Short Account by Way of Journal of What I Observed Most Remarkable in my Travels thro' Some Part of the Low Countries, Flanders and Some Part of Germany"', Jersey Family and Estate, ACC/1128/177, LMA

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Sharma and Davies, 'A Jaghire Without a Crime,' 32–33

⁸⁹ H. Clifford Smith, *An Inventory and Valuation of the Works of Art Including the Oil Paintings, Miniatures, Drawings by Robert Adam, Furniture, Books and Other Contents of the State Rooms at Osterley Park Isleworth, the Property of the Rt. Honourable, the Earl of Jersey, J. P.* (London: 1939)

in colour in *famille verte*' and 'a Japanese *Imari* china octagonal vases and covers, richly decorated in colours of red, blue and gold'; and in the Dining Room is 'a pair of Chinese porcelain jardinières enamelled in colours on a puce coloured ground with flowers and foliage, the interlore having a turquoise blue ground'. These are all large objects on display and must come from direct interaction with the EIC.



Fig 5.8 Porcelain Plate, c. 1700–1725

Chinaware was often recorded with long glass and peer glass in the Orphans' Inventories. This particular phenomenon is observed in Osterley Park. Mrs. Francis Child's bed chamber in Osterley Park had a gilt chimney glass specially designed by John Linnell in 1765. It combined the étagères and mantel piece mirror to display ornaments such as chinaware. The mirror reflected more light into the room and created a sense of

extended space. Putting chinaware near a reflecting agency, presumably, helped develop an illusion of extra ornaments and richer interior. The exoticism was extended by lacquer furniture. Japanned table, chairs, bureaus, commodes, wardrobes and cabinets were recorded in the inventory of 1782. Interestingly, some of them were decorated with the Child coat of arms. The inventory recorded eight japanned chairs and a table with such decoration (Fig 5.9). Use of heraldic designs on oriental items was the new fashion for the wealthy merchant families who were closely connected with EIC.⁹⁰



Fig 5.9 Lacquer Chair, c. 1720

⁹⁰ David Howard, *A Tale of Three Cities: Canton, Shanghai & Hong Kong – Three Centuries of Sino-British Trade in the Decorative Arts* (New York: Sotheby's, 1997), 172

In lesser homes, chinaware appeared in formal reception rooms such as the parlour and drawing room. In medieval great halls, chimneypieces remained a focal point of the room where people gathered for warmth and social interaction in the new floor plans. This may explain why middling households adorned their chimney pieces with Chinese porcelain. *Modern Love/Discordant Matrimony*, an engraving by John Collett, satirised a young middling family and their corrupt life. Chinaware, an Indian monkey and a black servant were the projection of a worldly lifestyle. Ironically, the pleasure of enjoying worldly goods and services was ruined by the husband who appeared to be catching a glimpse of the maid. This print crucially illustrates a chimneypiece decorated with miniature sculptural items. This may show the popularity of porcelain figurines in the English market (Fig 5.10).

Other popular objects included large storage jars with matching lids, tall cylindrical beakers and roll-wagons (Fig 5.11). Referred to as 'garniture' in Europe, these objects were not made for the Chinese domestic market as Chinese altar pieces usually consisted of an incense burner, some flower vases and various types of vessel.⁹¹ European garnitures usually came in odd numbers such as three, five and seven. Engravings and conversation pieces suggest that garnitures were ornamental in their own right. They often appeared on chimneypieces or buffets in the late seventeenth century, especially in the Netherlands and England.⁹² Later, an advertisement for Chelsea in 1755 suggests that flowers could adorn garniture pieces: 'a set for chimneypiece or a cabinet consisting of seven jars and beakers, beautifully enamelled

⁹¹ Rose Kerr and Ian Thomas, *Song Dynasty Ceramics* (London: V&A Publications, 2004), 103

⁹² Cocks, 'The Non-functional Use of Ceramics,' 200

with flowers and beakers filled with flowers after nature'.⁹³ This kind of arrangement differed from earlier displays in curiosity cabinets or china rooms, in which plates and cups were randomly fitted into architectural designs. Chinaware became a free-standing sculptural element in the room. Again no specific patterns of decorations stood out in the Orphans' Inventories, but it is possible to assume that blue and white wares remained popular as they were imported in large quantities throughout the eighteenth century.



Fig 5.10 John Collett, *Modern Love/Discordant Matrimony*, c. 1765

⁹³ Ibid.



Fig 5.11 Arthur Devis, *John Orde, His Wife Anne, and His Eldest Son William*, c. 1754–1756

Broken china was commonly utilised to decorate mantelpieces and furniture as well. Henry Barnes, a leather seller who died in 1726, had ‘broken and whole pieces of china covering chimney’ in the great parlour.⁹⁴ The word ‘covering’ is particularly curious. It suggests that chinaware was tightly placed alongside each other and in a

⁹⁴ Barnes, Henry, Citizen and Leather Seller, 1726, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3333, LMA

relatively large quantity. The inventory of George How also recorded chinaware on the chimneypiece and broken chinaware on the drawer.⁹⁵ Both accounts indicate that Chinese porcelain could still obtain ornamental value even when it was in poor condition (Fig 5.12). Visual references offer some insight into displaying broken china as an ornament. Chipped porcelain plate was shown on top of the chimneypiece with other utensils, possibly a drinking and condiment pot.



Fig 5.12 James Caldwell, *High Life Below Stairs*, c. 1772

⁹⁵ How, George, Citizen and Cooper, 1717, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3071, LMA

Another place to exhibit ornamental china was an empty fireplace. Conversation pieces of the eighteenth century often depicted large baluster jars and tall cylinder vases in or around the fireplace (Fig. 5.13). It is uncertain why large ceramic objects became fashionable at the time, but visual evidence and commentary literature suggest that it has something to do with inadequate resources and lack of furnishings.⁹⁶ This empty space may have motivated the middling houses to fill the unused fireplace with some sort of ornament. Bulky porcelain had the advantage of filling a dusty space. Fire screens were sometimes found in rich estates where large open areas were designed so separation was needed.⁹⁷ This contrast suggests that large china jars and vases served a practical function as well as an ornamental one. In the later period, wooden stands were made to display large jars and garnitures on the floor. This again indicates the growing popularity of large ceramic garnitures in affluent English homes.

Chinaware also appeared in bed chambers and closets in the first two decades of the eighteenth century, but the percentage of appearance declined sharply afterwards (Table 3.6). Usually containing beds, upholstered furniture and curtains, these rooms emphasised comfort and enclosed privacy. They were used to entertain selected guests in an intimate setting.⁹⁸ Ornamental items such as long glasses and candelabra were recorded along with chinaware, suggesting that this material was part of the soft furnishings in the sleeping area. It is obvious that these rooms had distinctive female touches compared to the more neutral public spaces such as the dining room and

⁹⁶ Lady Montague's letter dated in 1750 commented on her friend's economy: 'she might finish it in present fashion, of some cheap paper and ornaments or Chelsea China of the manufacture of Bow which makes the room look neat and furnished'. Quoted from Cocks, 'The Non-functional Use of Ceramics,' 206

⁹⁷ For example, Osterley Park recorded several japanned screens. Please see: Tomlin, 'The 1782 Inventory of Osterley Park'

⁹⁸ A letter of 1748 written by Mrs. Edward Boscawen supports this description of life in the dressing room: 'I saw company in my dressing room for the first time since its being furnished... and everyone admired my apartment.' Quoted from British History Online www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol39/pt1/pp119-127 (accessed 26th Sept, 2017)

parlour. Catherine of Braganza's closet, for instance, had a hanging of 'sky blue damask ... with division of gold lace'.⁹⁹ A smaller closet at Ham House had hangings of red satin brocaded with gold and striped silk.¹⁰⁰ Silk tapestry and embroidery were typically womanly things so female influence in these rooms was clear.



Fig. 5.13 Arthur Devis, *Mr. and Mrs. Hill*, 1750–1751

⁹⁹ Joanna Banham (ed), *Encyclopaedia of Interior Design* (London: Routledge, 1997), 282

¹⁰⁰ Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 301

Curiously, silver was commonly used in aristocratic estates to decorate the female domain. For instance, a silver toilet service was displayed on the dressing table which was usually the focal point of the bed chamber.¹⁰¹ Caskets for comb and brushes, jars for perfume and boxes for scented bottles were common items. It has been argued that some designs for tea canisters originated from the round or square boxes of a silver toilet service.¹⁰² Consequently, the mixture of silver, porcelain and looking glasses were associated with female taste. John Evelyn wrote about the Duchess of Portsmouth's dressing room in 1673, commenting that 'great vases of wrought plate, tables, stands, chimney furniture, sconces, branches, brasseras etc., all of massy silver and out of number'.¹⁰³ Some surviving silver objects were decorated with oriental features such as flowers and birds, animals, pagodas or oriental deities. This kind of visual vocabulary was possibly lent from travellers' accounts.¹⁰⁴ (Fig 5.14 and Fig 5.15) Allegedly, the fashion for an oriental theme was largely formed during the Restoration period and later experimented with other design elements.¹⁰⁵ While large silver vases and tables are not found in the Orphans' Inventories, it seems appropriate to suggest that different materials could be accommodated for the same reason.

Last but not least is the best chamber. Like the closet, it was part of an intimate reception where chosen friends could enter and have a cup of tea, so furniture for social gathering was commonly recorded. For instance, John Goodlad who died in 1723 had

¹⁰¹ Beth Carver Wees, *English, Irish and Scottish Silver at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1997), 537

¹⁰² Timothy Schroder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver in the Ashmolean Museum II* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2009), 705

¹⁰³ Carl Christian Dauterman, 'Dream-Pictures of Cathay: Chinoiserie on Restoration Silver,' *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 23 (1964): 12

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 21

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 12

‘three china jarrs with cover’ and a ‘blue and white cracked punch bowl’ in the closet.¹⁰⁶ Gilbert Page who died later in 1737 also had a punch bowl and some odd pieces of chinaware in the closet.¹⁰⁷ Bowls and cups were displayed on top of the wardrobe, chest of drawers and table. There is no clear sense of why they were put on the furniture apart from an earlier association with the pyramid structure of accumulated chinaware.



Fig 5.14 William Fowle, Silver-gilt Casket, c. 1683–1684

¹⁰⁶ Goodlad, John, Citizen and Merchant Tailor, 1723, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3150, LMA

¹⁰⁷ Page, Gilbert, Citizen and Barber Surgeon, 1737, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3364, LMA



Fig 5.15 Anon, *Batavia ad Magnum Tartari Chamum Sungteium, Modernum Sinai Imperatorem*, c. 1668

Combining entries from the inventories and paintings, this section concludes that consumption of ornamental china in London tradesmen's homes was stimulated by the aristocratic taste for Chinese things; yet the practice differed in quantity and style. At the horizontal level of consumption, ownership varied according to the financial capacity of individuals. Smaller but more diverse numbers of ornaments were on display in the Orphans' samples. Shown with bespoke furniture, chinaware was randomly selected and displayed. Arguably, the collection of chinaware in royal estates was of excess and intended to impress visitors with grandeur, while in London tradesmen's homes, the object became a medium to create a new social identity. By strategically displaying ornamental china in reception areas, London tradesmen transformed an aristocratic privilege into a form of modernity.

5.3 Alternative Ornament

The Orphans' Inventories also identify 'delph ware' (referred as delftware below) as a common addition to London tradesmen's homes. (Table 3.4) This material is mentioned here for several reasons. First, the origin of delft production has an immediate association with Chinese porcelain. Second, it was considered a high-status item for the nobility and the gentry before the advent of sea commerce between Europe and China was stabilised.¹⁰⁸ Both elements play an important role in the inter-changing materiality between Chinese porcelain and delftware. Although the entries related to white earthenware were not recorded in as much detail as chinaware, it is reasonable to suggest that delftware was often mixed with chinaware and possibly shared the same ornamental purpose. For instance, Charles Meakes' corner cupboard in the best chamber was 'cover with glasses and delphware'.¹⁰⁹ George Hurst, on the other hand, decorated his 'chimney piece with chinaware and delphware'.¹¹⁰

Low-fired earthenware was usually covered with a calcined lead-enriched glaze. When tin glaze dried off, the body would have an opaque white appearance and that could be decorated with other colour patterns later. Allegedly, this technique had evolved from Islamic ceramics and later to Italy, France and the Low Countries.¹¹¹ Italian maiolica, French faïence and Dutch delftware were all made using the same principle of tin-glazed ware. Following the fall of Antwerp to the Spanish in 1585, large

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 9

¹⁰⁹ Meakes, Charles, Citizen and Weaver, 1712, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/2968, LMA

¹¹⁰ Hurst, George, Citizen and Cooper, 1717, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3086, LMA

¹¹¹ Richard Goldthwaite, 'The Economic and Social World of Italian Renaissance Maiolica,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989): 1–32

numbers of protestant Flemish potters fled from Antwerp to Delft. This town soon grew into a manufacturing base for tin-glazed earthenware, so it became the name for the tin-glazed delftware.¹¹²

Flemish potters found their way to London and soon the city became one of the largest manufacturing centres in seventeenth-century England. Archaeological excavations suggest that delft kilns were located in the City of London and around the vicinity of Southwark and Middlesex. Master potters like Jacob Jansen and Jasper Andries first set up their workshop in Aldgate around 1571 and Christian Wilhelm probably established his workshop in Pickleherring Quay as early as 1612.¹¹³ Other sites were found on the south bank of the Thames such as Lambeth and Vauxhall. Factories were concentrated just outside the City so that restrictions and regulations would not apply. This is particularly important as it demonstrates that London was one of the largest delftware manufacturing centres in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The demand for something similar to oriental ceramic must have been advocated before the arrival of mass-produced chinaware.

To stimulate the consumption of white earthenware in the local market, European products were often decorated with oriental motifs such as floral scrolls and rim decoration of oriental origins.¹¹⁴ Early Chinese blue and white porcelain (especially

¹¹² Catherine Hess, *Italian Maiolica: Catalogue of the Collections the J. Paul Getty Museum* (California, Getty Publications, 1988), 49–51

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 10

¹¹⁴ Shakespeare mentions chinaware in *Measure for Measure*: ‘Sir, she came in great with child; and longing, saving your honour’s reverence, for stewed prunes; sir, we had but two in the house, which at that very distant time stood, as it were, in a fruit-dish, a dish of some three-pence; your honours have seen such dishes; they are not China dishes, but very good dishes’. The description confirms the superiority of Chinese porcelain but also the alternative products on the market.

Quoted from Stacey Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums: The Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain, 1560–1960* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 27

in Yuan and early Ming) was influenced by Islamic designs. Cobalt blue pigment was imported from Iran to China during the Yuan dynasty. Religious tolerance in the Yuan and Ming dynasties further encouraged experimentation in geometric patterns in blue and white.¹¹⁵ Similarly, Islamic and Italian designs were mixed in with maiolica products as Muslim potters migrated from southern Spain to other parts of Europe. One example is the armorial service made for Hans Meuting and Dorothea Hörwarth of Augsburg (Fig 5.16). The floral scroll and key-fret border was seen in some early Ming blue and white porcelain.¹¹⁶ This may serve as a reference point to demonstrate the connection between Chinese blue and white, maiolica and later delftware.



Fig 5.16 Earthenware Plate, c. 1516–1525

¹¹⁵ Stacey Pierson, *Chinese Ceramics* (London: V&A Publishing, 2009), 110

¹¹⁶ Examples could be found in: Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Catalogue of Late Yuan and Ming Ceramics in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Publishing, 2001)

One design stood out in early Chinese export ware. Referred to as kraak ware, these objects usually illustrated a central subject with border designs. Ming Chinese potters especially in the Wanli period made hundreds of thousands of kraak wares for European markets.¹¹⁷ The panels and shapes took inspiration from Islamic pottery and metal ware and were later imitated by maiolica and delft producers. Some examples suggest that delftware picked up the framed panel designs, and that such production must have achieved a certain level of success in the middling market in seventeenth-century Europe (Fig 5.17).



Fig 5.17 Earthenware Dish, c. 1660–1680

¹¹⁷ Colin Sheaf and Richard Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes: The Complete Record* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1988), 32–40

The growing delftware production in London made ornamental white ware more available in the English market than before. Often advertised as 'galley ware' or 'white ware', delftware must have appealed to potential buyers.¹¹⁸ Inventories and advertisements of this period further suggest that delftware was affordable. One probate inventory of 1696 listed all kinds of pottery, including mustard pots, basins, mugs, dishes and bowls.¹¹⁹ Wares cost from 3–4s. per dozen and white ware cost from 8s. per dozen for a large size and 3s. per dozen for a small size. The price of syllabub pots ranged from 4d. to 2s. per piece. 'Purple and blew' ware cost significantly more; a pair of 'large fine garden pot' cost up to £4. This price list suggests a wider variety of delft production and a strong demand for new shapes and decoration. Later trade cards also reveal that delftware was sold with chinaware although it was often marketed as a useful item rather than as an item of fashion (Fig 5.18).

Surviving objects indicate that they were used to decorate interior walls and furniture. Water jugs, flower vases, bulb pots and miscellaneous ornaments of animals and jars contain a three-dimensional sculptural quality that is particularly suitable to be displayed on furniture or a wall hanging. The cornucopia wall vase, for example, was distinctively European, originating in Greek mythology as a symbol of fertility and wealth¹²⁰ (Fig 5.19). Various subject matters included biblical themes, mystical creatures and everyday life. This kind of decoration suggests how flexible delft production could be. New shapes and forms were made to heighten demand. The timely response towards new demand and the reasonable cost for commissions was the

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ G. Wills, 'English Pottery in 1696: An Unpublished Document,' *Apollo* LXXXV (1967): 436–443

¹²⁰ Hilary Young, 'Sir William Chambers and John Yenn: Designs for Silver,' *The Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986), 32

advantage of delftware. At the peak of its manufacture, delftware was regarded as 'a mirror' of common taste and reached out to a large number of English consumers.¹²¹



Fig 5.18 Anon, Trade Card for Thomas Clark, c. 1750–1780

¹²¹ Dawson, *English and Irish Delftware*, 15



Fig 5.19 Earthenware Cornucopia Wall Vase, c. 1760

Other useful wares such as a medicine jug and barber's bowl were excavated inside the City of London, suggesting that delftware was a popular sculptural item for business premises.¹²² For instance, an apothecary's shop in seventeenth and eighteenth-century London would have shelves lined with different kinds of jar and pot. The inscription written against the white tin-glazed background offered clear labelling for various drugs (Fig 5.20). This kind of pot was not only practical for storing drugs and ointment but was also a simple device to advertise professionalism. Later, medicine jars

¹²² Ibid.

were made in porcelain and imported from China, further suggesting the decline of ornamental delftware in the commercial sector.¹²³



Fig 5.20 Earthenware Pot, c. 1750–1780

Galley ware, another term for delftware, was placed on top of a cupboard on a chimneypiece and randomly on any large furniture in small quantities (Fig 5.21). The scheme, developed in early seventeenth-century conversation pieces, suggests a spreading fashion for ornamental ceramics in middling urban homes and later to the country. Ceramic building materials became popular when houses were built with bricks. It offered better safety and hygiene standards as it prevented damp and fire.

¹²³ Craig Clunas (ed.), *Chinese Export Art and Design* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1987), 37

Similar interior design is observed in earlier Dutch conversation pieces and it is possible that this fashion came from the Netherlands as the techniques of firing delftware came from there. Other tantalising evidence includes the wider acceptance of the Dutch easy chair in London tradesmen's homes.¹²⁴ The interior arrangement between the Netherlands and England share a commonality.



Fig 5.21 Nicolaes Maes, *Interior with a Dordrecht Family*, c. 1656

¹²⁴ John, 'At Home with London,' 40–41

Painted in blue, black, red or yellow, delftware was extremely colourful and contained playful images. A survey for London Assurance documented a merchant's house near the Tower of London in 1747. The chimney was described as 'with tiles', possibly delft tiles. The walls were 'painted in oil; the stairs wainscoted rail high with square deal work'. The stair landings, on the other hand, had 'square deal work to the top'.¹²⁵ Isaac Ware described some London houses in *A Complete Body of Architecture*: the rooms were 'part wainscoted to the top and about one third with paper above the surbase' and 'one pair of stairs' was wainscoted to the top round work and plain panels. It is difficult to determine if wooden panels or wainscoted wall had any effect on the application of tiles, but there is little doubt that the wooden wall panel would have reduced light reflection and darkened the room. It has been speculated that 'marble chimney piece ... set with white Dutch tiles' and the 'purple marble chimney piece ... set with blue and white tiles' may inject some colours into a rather dark and serious atmosphere.¹²⁶

Mass-produced delft tile is found in the Orphans' Inventories. For instance, George Taylor, a gun maker who died in 1711, had both chinaware and delftware in his dining room. Apparently chinaware was over the mantel piece upon 'galley tiles'. This description suggests that delftware was more suited to architectural fittings rather than as a free-standing ornament. Hand-painted delft tiles were used to decorate fireplaces in England although few survived in their original locations. Just like chinaware, the advantage of using delft tiles in the fireplace is the cleanness from the smoke and the resistance to temperature. By 1700 the potters already managed to improve the thickness of the tiles and simplified the painted pictures; by the end of the eighteenth

¹²⁵ Dan Cruickshank and Neil Burton, *Life in the Georgian City* (London: Viking Publishing, 1990), 67

¹²⁶ Ibid.

century, printed delft tiles were produced in large quantities and exported to North America.¹²⁷ This kind of tile only needed to be fired once for about fifteen minutes at 700 degrees centigrade, making mass production more viable. As a result, the application of galley tiles became a common feature in London middling homes. White tiles became an inexpensive alternative to interior building materials.

¹²⁷ Hans van Lemmen, *Delftware Tiles* (New York: Overlook Press, 1997), 123

CHAPTER 6. GENDER, POLITENESS AND USEFUL WARE

You will be delighted to hear your Spouse every Moment talk of going with her Sister and Aunt, to order in such Furniture as may reflect Dignity and Grandeur upon the Owner ... Down Beds, Rich-Counterpanes, costly hangings, Venetian Looking-glass, enamel'd China, Velvet chairs, Turkey carpets, Capital Painting, Side-board of wrought Plate, curious in-laid Cabinets, rich Chind-bed Linen, Flanders Lace and many other valuable Particulars. Certainly, the Joy of your Heart will far exceed the Chinking of your purse ...

- Lemuel Gulliver, *The Pleasures and Felicity of Marriage* (1745)

It has long been accepted that the increasing consumption of chinaware in eighteenth-century England was a direct result of tea drinking. Indeed, the importation of tea increased twenty-fold during the period 1700 to 1750,¹ thereby suggesting a new drinking culture emerged at this time. The Orphans' Inventories documented this incredible force of consumption by recording related tea accessories. The percentage of ownership of tea cups and saucers in the Orphans' Inventories, for instance, grew from a mere 2.7 per cent in the first decade to 54 per cent in the middle point of the eighteenth century. (Table 3.7) Silver, copper and other metals were recorded among tea

¹ In 1701, the EIC imported only 121,417 lbs of tea from china, but by 1721, the amount rose to 1,241,629 lbs. By 1751, the weight reached 2,855,164 lbs. Statistics were quoted from Ho-fung Hung, 'Imperial China and Capitalist Europe in the Eighteenth-Century Global Economy,' *Review* 24 (2001): 473–513

accessories, further pointing to the material complexity of tea sets. Each item firmly grasped their social and economic function in the fluid household economy while chinaware remained the centre piece of the tea service as no other material could challenge its practicality.

The idea of 'polite living' was presented by objects which expressed 'gentility'. Allegedly, the benefit of living politely was thought to be in 'lowering the barriers between the elite and numbers of its inferiors ... without subverting social stability and authority'.² By following behavioural guidelines and displaying the right kind of material possessions, the growing number of middling sorts learnt to present themselves in a certain way. Tea-related social gatherings offered the platform to express gentility and to orchestrate social interaction in a polite society. As the performance of tea services have been extensively researched, this chapter will not venture to repeat the procedure of serving tea. It aims to study related accessories in order to learn how different materials complimented chinaware in tea ceremony. It will discuss gender consumption and its potential social impact. Female consumption of tea and use of tea equipage was fervently documented in eighteenth-century literature. I argue that tea and dinner wares were consumed by both sexes. While women oversaw the preparation of food and drink in domestic environment, men used chinaware in public places; making the codes of social conduct decipherable in different social settings.

² Langford, 'The Use of Eighteenth-Century Politeness,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 312

6.1 Tea Ware

Without a doubt, the growth of the tea trade stimulated the sales of eighteenth-century English market.³ From the sales records of the EIC, the macro-pattern of tea trading was similar to porcelain trade during the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century.⁴ The volume of trade was fairly small to begin with and rose rapidly within a few decades; it is has been suggested that the first decade of the eighteenth century was the crucial period for the expansion of tea consumption. For instance, in 1701, the quantity of tea imported was 121,417 lbs with a value of £17,638; but by 1721, the volume grew ten-fold to 1,241,629 lbs, making up almost 20 per cent of the EIC's total imports.⁵ Tea remained the Company's main trading commodity until its closure, however its significance extended to social conduct and interaction and reached beyond economic considerations.⁶

In the mid-seventeenth century, tea was marketed as a luxury and sold as such. The acclaimed health benefits of tea and its rarity in the market made this foreign drink extremely popular with the middling English households. The ever-expanding consumption can be observed through the sales prices. Tea was sold for between 14s. to 18s. per pound in the late seventeenth century and the price fell dramatically to

³ The amount of literature involving the discussion of importation of tea simply is overwhelmingly large. A short list of the main texts consulted for this chapter is as follows: Kirti N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Yong Liu, *The Dutch East India Company's Tea Trade with China 1757–1781* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2007); Yang-Chien Tsai, *Trading for Tea: A Study of the English East India Company's Tea Trade with China and the Related Financial Issues, 1760–1833* (Leicester: University of Leicester, 2003); Markman Ellis et al., *Empire of Tea: The Asian Leaf that Conquered the World* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015); Maxine Berg et al. (eds), *Goods from the East, 1600–1800: Trading Eurasia* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

⁴ Chaudhuri, *The Trading World*, 538

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 275–277

between 2s. and 3s. by the mid-eighteenth century.⁷ The decrease of sales price suggests that tea was drunk by a greater number of people. Popular choices included bohea, congou, hyson among other varieties. Bohea was the most affordable throughout the eighteenth century while congou and hyson offered superior quality, but by the end of the eighteenth century low quality black tea was drunk by nearly all walks of life.⁸

Porcelain was the only material that could hold hot water comfortably and without cracking, so how and why people drank tea became almost synonymous with why people used porcelain tea cups and saucers. The Orphans' Inventories reveal that the consumption of tea ware increased steadily in the second decade of the eighteenth century in line with the growing volume of imported tea and porcelain.⁹ Initially, the percentage of unspecified ware such as a parcel of chinaware in a given room dropped sharply from 94.6 per cent in the first decade to 51.5 per cent in the third decade of the eighteenth century. (Table 3.7) This suggests a better understanding of utilitarian ware and hence the decline of ornamental ware. Chinaware must have become a useful household utensil by mid-century as tea ware items were the most prominent of all, followed by dinner plates and dishes.¹⁰

⁷ Chaudhuri, *The Trading World*, 388; Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, 'Smuggling and the British Trade before 1784,' *The American Historical Review* 74 (1968): 53

⁸ Kirstin Olsen, *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century England* (California: The Greenwood Press, 2nd edition 2017), 251

⁹ Chaudhuri, *The Trading World*, 519–520, 538–539

¹⁰ From 1710 to 1740, the percentage of tea cups and saucers increased more than double, from 16.38 per cent to 51.52 per cent. Similarly the percentage of plates and dishes rose from under 10 per cent to 60.61 per cent and 42.42 per cent respectively. Both statistics suggest that useful chinaware became common in London tradesmen's homes. Please see Table 3.3

Although it has been suggested that the consumption of tea started as early as the late seventeenth century,¹¹ statistics extracted from the Orphans' samples indicate that the wider use of tea ware among London middle sorts began in the second decade of the eighteenth century and reached its peak in mid-century.¹² Out of ninety inventories in the first decade of the eighteenth century, thirty seven recorded chinaware; and out of these thirty seven, only one clearly mentioned a teapot.¹³ Several inventories of this period recorded a tea table and chinaware, but almost none of them specify the content of tea ware. It seems that a teapot was not yet a common item. A tea kettle, however, was occasionally mentioned. They were often made in copper, silver or brass and appeared with chinaware. Considering that the volume of china trade increased rapidly only after the first few years of this century,¹⁴ it seems reasonable to suggest a later use of tea ware. At this point, the content of a tea set usually included a teapot, twelve cups and saucers, a milk jug, a slop basin, a sugar boat, a tea kettle and lamp, some tea canisters, a tea table and a tea tray.¹⁵ Other drinking vessels for coffee and hot chocolate were not part of the tea service but were sometimes recorded with tea cups and saucers.

¹¹ One of the earliest records is Samuel Pepys's diary on September 25, 1660. He mentioned that he was 'send for a cup of tee' which he 'had never drunk before'. This comment has been widely quoted and suggests that tea was accessible in late seventeenth-century England. For more information, please also see T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company: As Recorded in the Dag-Registers of Batavia Castle, Those of Hirado and Deshima and Other Contemporary Papers; 1602–1682* (Leiden: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 1954), 49

¹² The same point has been raised in Anne E. C. McCants, 'Poor Consumers as Global Consumers: The Diffusion of Tea and Coffee Drinking in the Eighteenth Century,' *The Economic History Review* 61 (2008): 172–200

¹³ Winne, John, Citizen and Mercer, 1709, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/2810, LMA

¹⁴ Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia*, 518

¹⁵ Canton Journal of 1722 recorded a set for tea table which included: 12 cups and saucers, 1 teapot, 1 milk jug, 1 canister, 6 chocolate cups, 1 slop basin, 1 patty pan, 1 boat and 1 sugar dish, cover and plate. The entry presents an idea of what a tea service should include. Please see: David Howard, *A Tale of Three Cities: Canton, Shanghai & Hong Kong – Three Centuries of Sino-British Trade in the Decorative Arts* (New York: Sotheby's, 1997), 142

From the Orphans' Inventories, there is no clear sense whether most families owned a unified patterned set or just odd pieces of tea ware. The Old Bailey's proceedings sometimes recorded tea sets being stolen.¹⁶ The word 'set' as used in the proceedings suggests that ordinary families were aware of the formality of tea service, but this kind of word was rarely used in the Orphans' Inventories. Instead, words like 'a parcel', 'some' and 'pairs of' were used to describe tea ware. Thomas Streatfield, for instance, owned 'four large china jarrs, three dishes, twenty four plates, three tea potts, punch bowls, four basons, two milk pots and forty six pairs of cups and saucers'.¹⁷ The numbers of teapots and saucers did not match. Similarly, William Withew's tea service included 'colour sugar dishes and tea pot' with 'blew saucers'.¹⁸ The mismatched colours of tea ware elicits one to conclude that Wither's service was randomly formed rather than purchased as a single set.

The fact that chinaware was easily broken may explain why tea services were rarely recorded as a set. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the Orphans' Inventories repeatedly recorded 'broken china' within a tea service. John Wells had some broken china with his teapot, salver and cups and saucers.¹⁹ Robert Walton had broken china with his four tea cups and saucers.²⁰ John Blackall, who passed away in 1722 had a

¹⁶ Old Bailey Proceedings Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.2, 02 March 2016), April 1718, trial of Elizabeth Saunders (t17180423-2) and May 1745 trial of Joseph Ninn (t17450530-16) (accessed 1st March, 2016)

¹⁷ Streatfield, Thomas, Citizen and Grocer, 1725, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3247, LMA

¹⁸ Withew, William, Citizen and Fishmonger, 1722, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/02/3210, LMA

¹⁹ Wells, John, Citizen and Fishmonger, 1725, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3228, LMA

²⁰ Walton, Robert, Citizen and Butcher, 1726, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3250, LMA

brown china pot together with some broken china.²¹ It is unclear how broken ware was used during tea gatherings, but the breakage of chinaware must have been a common problem.²² It is tempting to think that they were chipped or repaired although the exact content was not detailed. One visual reference illustrates the mix-and-match nature of a broken tea service. *The Strode Family* shows how a broken teapot was mended with a wooden handle and a metal spout (Fig 6.1). Apparently, both materials were common additions to broken chinaware. An advertisement in 1743 mentioned Daniel Jones who added 'Silver Sprouts to China Tea-Pots at 2s. 6d. each; Brass wicker'd Handles for Tea-Pots at 1s. each ... and performs all sorts of Brass and Silver Works that is done to China-Ware cheaper than any are in London'.²³ This kind of advertisement suggests that durable metals were added to broken porcelain, and there were craftsmen readily offering such services.

However, there was a limitation as to where and how metal could be applied to a broken porcelain body. The recyclability mainly relied on the actual process of mending porcelain. Richard Wright advertised his service in *The Penny London Post* in 1745:

²¹ Blackwell, John, Citizen and Cloth Worker, 1722, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3176, LMA

²² The same point is addressed in Philippa Glanville and Hilary Young (eds), 'From a la Française to a la Russe, 1680–1930,' *Elegant Eating: Four Hundred Years of Dining in Style* (London: V&A Press, 2002), 49

²³ Sara Pennell, "'For a Crack or Flaw Despis'd': Understanding ceramic "Semi-durability" in the First Half of the Long Eighteenth Century,' *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, eds. Tara Hamling et al. (London: Ashgate, 2010), 37

Mends broken China and makes the same durable and capable of containing Liquids; and matches pieces lost in the most exact and nice Manner. He fixes Handles and Sprouts to Tea-pots, rivets and cramps all sorts of china. He has an Art, practiced by no other Person, of fixing grates in Tea-pots which prevents all Obstructions from the leave in pouring. He also has a new and peculiar Method of Sewing and rimming china.²⁴

This advertisement suggests that teapots were the most breakable item. Importantly, the promise to mend china in the exact manner of the original piece suggests a growing knowledge of porcelain as a material. The recipe to fix chinaware was similar to glass bonding technology. Early recipes involved 'fasten any chayni yt is broken. Dissolve iseinglase into sprit of wine and stone lime made into powder ye white of a new laid egg and lime will fasten any common weare.'²⁵ An eighteenth-century china burner would use ground glass and animal-derived glue to connect broken pieces.²⁶ Organic ingredients such as isinglass, egg whites and quick lime were both accessible and inexpensive. They had been used in repairing glasses long before the arrival of mass Chinese porcelain to England. This point further proves that the china and glass trade were linked and were probably supervised as such. Furthermore, contemporary experiments have been conducted to test this method and the result have been proven to be satisfactory.

²⁴ Sara Pennell, 'Invisible Mending? Ceramic Repair in Eighteenth-Century England,' in *The Afterlife of Used Things: Recycling in the Long Eighteenth Century*, eds. Ariane Fennetaux et al. (London: Routledge, 2014), 110

²⁵ Pennell, 'For a Crack or Flaw Despis'd,' 36

²⁶ Tomoko Suda, 'Eighteenth-Century Glass Bonding Repairs to Porcelain,' *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle* 19 (2007): 424–427



Fig 6.1 William Hogarth, *The Strode Family*, c. 1738

Tea preparation and drinking in early modern England required keeping a kettle in the room so hot water could be freshly supplied. Tea leaves were put into a porcelain teapot and brewed in hot water poured from a kettle. The size of the teapot was usually between two to three inches in diameter. A full pot served between two to three cups in one round making tea preparation a repetitive process.²⁷ Although ownership of such a

²⁷ R. Roth, 'Tea-Drinking in Eighteenth-Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage,' in *Material Life in*

thing increased rapidly, metal was still the main working material for tea preparation in the Orphans' samples. Copper, for instance, was renowned for its efficient ability to conduct heat and was thus immensely popular in London tradesmen's homes. Brass, a metallic alloy of copper and zinc was also an alternative to copper and provided a similar reflective finish to a precious metal. Iron kettles occasionally appear in the inventories although not very often.

Silver kettles and stands seem more popular in rich households. The inventory of Ham House in 1679 recorded a 'furnace for tea garnish with silver' and the Warrant in the Jewel House of 1687 also mentions 'a silver kettle to be made after such fashion'.²⁸ Early records suggest that such items were expensive and mostly owned by the nobility and gentry. Approximately forty inventories recorded a silver kettle although many more recorded a silver salver. Due to their weight a silver kettle could cost significantly more than a salver, besides, its weight made it less mobile for the female host. Presumably, a silver tea board or salver would have the same visual impact without the physical inconvenience and burden to household finance; hence the popularity of silver salvers increased.

Copper and brass tea kettles were much more common in the Orphans' samples. Over eighty inventories recorded such goods. These two metals were working materials often found in the kitchen. Both offering a gold-like finish with excellent thermal conductivity. The relatively low melting point of copper and brass (approximately 900–

America, 1600–1860, eds. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 439–464

²⁸ Timothy Schroder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver in the Ashmolean Museum II* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2009), 726

1000°C depending on composition) made casting easier. The process of mixing zinc and copper matured when the quantities and properties of said alloys could be experimented with. The greater scale of copper mining in Cornwall and Devon in the early eighteenth century certainly accelerated the making of goods and possibly stimulated the use of brass as well.²⁹ The passing of the *Mines Royal Act* in 1689 was a starting point for real commercial exploitation.³⁰ The Act freed all mine activities from monopoly. Copper-mining, smelting and brass-making was finally invested in by private capital. The coming of foreign workers (especially from France and Holland) also provided the much-needed skills and labour in the late seventeenth century. Such industry made copper, brass and other metal alloys readily available in the seventeenth-century English market.³¹

The growth of copper and brass industries was reflected in the high level of ownership in the Orphans' Inventories. Nearly every household had some copper or brass, either in the form of candlesticks, drinking pots, dishes or pans. In some cases, the link between copper, brass and tea ware is indispensable. William Hopkins, a loriner who passed away in 1722 owned a brass kettle, two copper coffee pots and a tea kettle in the kitchen. He also owned some chinaware including a teapot and some cups and saucers in the upstairs living space, presumably a parlour or a dressing room. The specification of a coffee pot and tea kettle indicates the method of drink preparation. Water was first boiled in the copper or brass kettle back in the kitchen and then brought out (possibly by the servant) to the formal public room where guests were sitting. The

²⁹ John C. Symons, *The Mining and Smelting of Copper in England and Wales, 1760–1820* (Unpublished MA thesis, 2003)

³⁰ Rupert Gentle and Rachel Field, *English Domestic Brass 1680–1810 and the History of its Origin* (London: Paul Elek, 1975), 3

³¹ *Ibid.*, 25–28

hot water was kept warm in a silver kettle and lamp to ensure a smooth tea service, although occasionally a copper and brass kettle and stand were found in the same sitting area (Fig 6.2). The overlapping use of materials suggests the flexibility in the forming of tea equipage and mostly importantly an alternative to expensive silver services.



Fig 6.2 Brass Kettle and Stand, c. 1725–1750

Silver remained the most luxurious material in tea accessories. A London goldsmith once wrote to his customers recommending that a 'kettle will not be sold without taking the stand and the lamp with it'. His statement suggests that tea equipment was inseparable from the whole tea service. Indeed, the Orphans' Inventories confirm the use of silver in this regard. Small objects such as tea spoons, tea tongs, salvers, tea casters and strainers repeatedly appear in London tradesmen's homes. John Goodlad, for example, owned '3 salvors, 1 tankard, 1 tea kettle, coffee pott, plate, a saucepan, a spout tankard, 12 spoons, 6 gilt spoons, 4 old spoons, 2 candlesticks, 3 porringors, 1 mugg, 9 teaspoons, ladle, a marrow, gravy spoon, 4 salts, pair of snufffoors, stand, pair of sconces, breakfast saucepan, child's spoon, lamp, pepperbox' in 1723. He also owned '2 dozen china plate; 8 china cups, 6 saucers; 14 saucers, 13 cups, tea pott, plate and sugar dish boat; 3 pairs of choneyware; tea cups and pott; 32 pieces of china; 3 china jarrs with covers and a blue and white cracked punch bowl'. The cost for the whole tea service was significant.

As discussed in Chapter 3, silver was considered a reliable currency and investment in the eighteenth century; naturally inventories usually gave detailed accounts of this material. The value of silver was almost standardised throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. As a raw material, one ounce of new sterling was valued at 5s. 4d. and old sterling at 5s. 1d. A used tea lamp and a stand usually weighing between 65 to 75 ounces would be valued between £28 and £32; a salver between 15 to 20 ounces around £6 to £8; a teapot of 12 ounces at £5 and a tea spoon of 0.5 ounces at 3s. These estimations were not retail prices. They were valued for material only. Elaborate silver sets required more work such as engraving and re-moulding. A

surviving invoice of Paul de Lamerie recorded that: 'Delivered six Little Salvers weighing 78 ozs, 5 dwt, £24 15s. 7d. fashion 18d. per oz., £5. 17s., engraving £1. 17s.' The total cost came in £32 2s. 7d.³² Such records confirm the cost of ordering silver and reiterate the social importance of tea service. Unlike silver, chinaware was not valued by weight and needed little care. There was no universal pricing strategy in a market that was in a constant flux because of changes in the supply chain from China in the early eighteenth century. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, personalised armorial services were extremely expensive. Ostentatious services could easily cost more than the annual wage of a low-skilled labourer, but such examples are rarely seen in the Orphans' samples.³³ Most of the blue and white chinaware would be priced between 2d. and 6d. per piece excluding large tea pots or basins.

Interestingly, early English teapots were often made in silver. One of the earliest models was a tapering cylindrical silver pot (Fig 6.3). It was 'presented to the Committee of the East India Company by the Right honourable George Ld Berkeley of Berkeley Castle' in 1670. The pot was quite large, presumably to serve a large committee. The same cylindrical shape was found in coffee and chocolate pots, but the description clearly indicates that this pot was for tea. Later pear and melon-shaped teapots became popular (Fig 6.4). The round body may have taken inspiration from Chinese teapots (Fig 6.5). Wooden or leather handles were sometimes added to provide more heat insulation. The surface of silver could be elaborately engraved or plainly

³² Irwin Untermyer and Yvonne Hackenbroch, *English and Other Silver in the Irwin Untermyer Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1969), 89

³³ For example, Sir Charles Peer's enamelled service was invoiced at £76 and the Okeover service at £84. Please see Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain and its Influence on European Wares* (London: Granada Publishing, 1979), 196–206

polished, depending on the owner's preference. The fact it was made of silver, not other common metals such as brass and copper, indicates an exclusive ownership.



Fig 6.3 Silver Teapot, c. 1670



Fig 6.4 Simon Pantin, Silver Teapot, c. 1705



Fig 6.5 Pieter van Roestraten, *Still Life with Silver Wine Decanter, Tulip, Yixing Teapot and Globe*, c. 1690

It has to be noted the design of a teapot could be applied to both silver and ceramics. One of the most prized materials for teapot was Yixing ware. Usually unglazed, clay was fired to red, brown and purple stoneware. It was slightly porous and so some claimed that it enhanced the flavour of tea.³⁴ Traditionally, it could be carved into plants such as bamboo trunks or modelled into the forms of archaic bronze vessels such as *he* (盃) or *qui* (簋).³⁵ Hand building techniques added another sculptural effect to the utensil.³⁶ Such aesthetic merit was greatly appreciated in the European market. Producers such as Ary de Milde in Holland, the Biers brothers in England and Meissen in Dresden imitated Yixing models and created their own version of a red teapot.³⁷ The association between Chinese and European products is of importance for several reasons. First, by imitating red stoneware European potters were getting closer to discovering the recipe for white porcelain. After attempting to make 'red porcelain', Johann Friedrich Bottger successfully produced a true porcelain body in 1708. His red production, however, bore his name as Bottger stoneware.³⁸ Second, many European red teapots were made under the prototype of silver ware. This influence could be observed from the common look of hexagonal and octagonal shapes in European red stoneware (Fig 6.6). The inspiration taken from Yixing and European silver models suggests an ambiguity in the use of ceramics and silver. Both materials had interchangeable designs.³⁹

³⁴ Stacey Pierson, *Chinese Ceramics* (London: V&A Publishing, 2009), 68

³⁵ Kuei-hsiang Lo, *The Stonewares of Yixing: From the Ming Period to the Present Day* (London: Sotheby's, 1986), 183 and 227

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 250

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Schroder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver II*, 726



Fig 6.6 Stoneware Teapot, c. 1710

It is difficult to determine in which period porcelain teapots became popular in London middling homes. The scarcity of teapot entries in the early inventories suggests that a porcelain teapot was still a novelty in this period. However, from 1710 onwards the percentage of ownership jumps from a low 10 per cent to an overwhelming 63 per cent by mid-century. It might also be reasonable to conclude that porcelain teapots began to compete with silver at this stage and became the staple item of a tea service. In fact, a small number of inventories between 1740 and 1750 reveal that there was no silver teapot at all. Early Georgian conversation pieces also referenced the correlation between silver tea kettle and dainty porcelain teapot (Fig 6.7).



Fig 6.7 Joseph Van Aken, *An English Family at Tea*, c. 1720

The early versions of imported cups and saucers were without handles and referred to as 'tea bowls'.⁴⁰ The saucer helped hold the cup and prevent the spilling of water. A lid was occasionally added. The purpose was to keep tea warm for a longer period of time. However, the lidded tea cup was hardly mentioned in the Orphans' samples. The earlier saucer sometimes had a deep rim and led the user to drink tea

⁴⁰ Catherine Beth Lippert, *Eighteenth-century English Porcelain in the Collection of the Indianapolis Museum of Art* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis University Press, 1987), 191

from it; hence the reference of 'tea dish'.⁴¹ The pattern of consumption of tea cups and saucers throughout the first half of the eighteenth century was similar to that of teapots and other tea ware. This trend suggests that the growing maturity of tea culture at home was seen as an investment by home owners. A respectable female host should be able to use a wide range of accessories during the service and distinguish the variety of tea available in fancy tea shops. The whole process was extremely time-consuming. So much so that the *London Chronicle* in 1765 stated how a wife wasted the whole morning:

the prime part of the day' at the tea table. She cannot prevail with herself to rise from bed before nine in the morning at the earliest... Tea is such a consumer of time, that it is passed eleven o'clock before breakfast is over and the manifold apparatus for the brewing it are all deposited in their proper place.⁴²

Silver tea spoons, tongs and strainers were repeatedly recorded. It is almost certain that the tea spoon was the most popular item (or perhaps most affordable silver item due to their light weight) in the silver service. Over 200 samples recorded silver spoons. Some were clearly stated to be for tea while others might be for dinner or dessert. For example, William Bass the vintner who died in 1721 had '1 tankard, 4 salvers, 1 soup ladle, 24 large spoons, 13 gilt ditto, 3 castors, 7 salts, 2 candlestick, a pair of snuff boxes, stand, 2 boats, 1 punch ladle, 6 tea spoons, tongs.'⁴³ The total was weight at 256 .5 ounce and valued at £70 10s. 9d. His chinaware was of a modest scale which included '5 bowls, 2 tea pots, 2 sugar dishes, 1 milk pot, 2 slop basins, 12 teacups,

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Quoted from Markman Ellis et al., *Empire of Tea: The Asian Leaf that Conquered the World* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), 141

⁴³ Bass, William, Citizen and Vintner, 1721, Court of Orphan Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3168, LMA

12 saucers, 3 odd cups and 4 saucers, 1 dish, 1 salver, 30 pairs of diverse sorts, broke and whole.' The total value was just £3. 10s.

Sometimes silver tongs and strainers were recorded with tea spoons (to help pick up sugar cubes or filter tea leaves), but neither of them appears as frequently as tea spoons are of themselves. (Fig 6.8) Sugar bowls and milk jugs often appeared alongside silver tea ware. They appear to be made from porcelain as well. Referred to as 'sugar dish', 'sugar cup' or 'milk pot', these items varied in design. In *Still Life: Tea Set*, a disarray of tea accessories was depicted. It is not clear if the porcelain was of Chinese production, but the image of Chinese ladies on the porcelain body suggests that the fashion for exotic patterns and landscape was popular. The lacquer tea tray is adorned with an enamelled teapot, tea caddy, a plate of bread and butter, sugar bowl and milk jug. The cups are disarranged but the sense of abundance is presented through the full bowl of sugar and the buttered slices of bread. Interestingly, Jean-Étienne Liotard chose to include silver tea spoons and tongs. This delicate touch of silver indicates the complimentary role of precious metal.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Kenneth Bendiner, *Food in Painting: From the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Reaktion, 2004), 176–177



Fig 6.8 Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Still Life: Tea Set*, c. 1781–1783

Intriguingly, silver tea caddies or canisters were not often recorded in the samples. Usually coming in a pair or more, a tea caddy was used to store an assortment of tea leaves and was usually locked away inside a wooden tea chest (Fig 6.9). Different shapes of jar or box were seen and some were highly decorative with high relief or complicated engraving. Tea leaves were easily damaged by the humidity in the room. From records, domestic servants were known to have stolen expensive tea leaves. That is why tea canister provided an extra level of protection and security. Nearly half of them were porcelain in the Orphans' Inventories between 1720 and 1740.

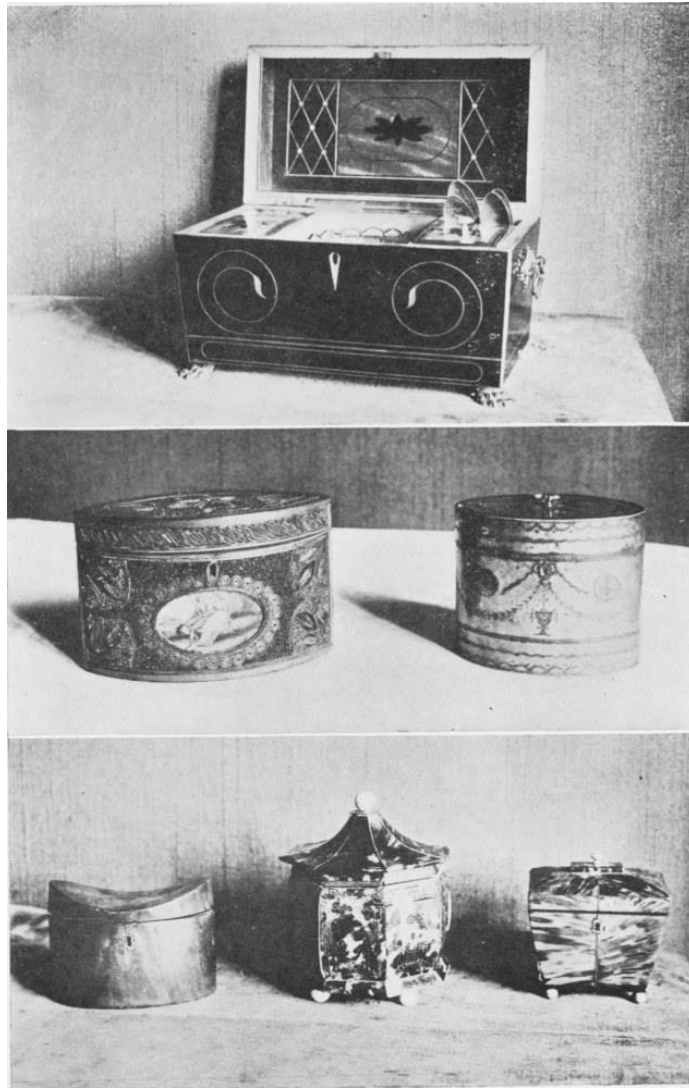


Fig 6.9 English Tea Caddy and Chest, c. late 18th century

Coffee and chocolate, as two other popular drinks were not nearly as popular as tea. Chocolate cups were rarely recorded in the Orphans' samples. The chocolate pot, however, seems to be slightly more common. Nearly all of those who had a chocolate pot possessed a china tea service, but not vice versa. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century ownership of coffee ware never reached 10 per cent. This signals reduced consumption at home, possibly due to the wide availability of coffee houses

already located in the City of London. One interesting find is that although coffee ware made from porcelain was not common, copper coffee pots were available in most kitchens (Fig 6.10). Occasionally, a coffee grinder and mill are found. This may suggest a sophisticated home brew coffee. Silver coffee pots were not uncommon, but there is no evidence for a wide range of accessories for coffee or chocolate. The difference between tea and coffee ware shows that tea was a social drink for home such that home owners were willing to invest more in a tea service.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that the habit of drinking tea in the afternoon significantly delayed dinner time. Drinking tea and eating snacks meant that dinner, the main meal usually served at noon, could be postponed to late afternoon.⁴⁵ As the social hour was extended, the choice of food widened. The meal may include several kinds of meat, soup, vegetable, pie, fish and salad. This variety of choice was usually served in the style of 'à la française' which means all dishes were put on the table at the same time. This perhaps explains the large quantity of pewter and porcelain dishes in the inventories. After dinner, men would remain in the dining room to drink alcoholic beverages while women would retreat to the withdrawing room and drink tea. The ongoing social activities required more utensils for entertainment.

⁴⁵ Kirstin Olsen, *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Greenwood Press, 1999), 235



Fig 6.10 A Collection of Brass and Copper Coffee Pots and Chocolate Pots, c. 18th century

6.2 Chinaware and Gender Consumptions

Primary eighteenth-century literary sources such as letters, commentaries and novels suggest that female consumers supported the strong demand for tea and tea ware.⁴⁶ Recently studies, however, begin to question this gender-fuelled consumption and examine the social connotation behind literary evidence.⁴⁷ It has been pointed out that Chinese porcelain was a conceptual object transformed into a metaphor for femininity and domesticity.⁴⁸ The fragile and white porcelain body was thought to resemble female skin and body; creating an association with virginity and sexuality.⁴⁹ Several examples are given to examine the link between women and their chinaware. For example, *The Country Wife*, written by Wycherley in 1675, offers an exploitation of female sexuality. When Mr. Horner cleverly compared a woman to the hard porcelain body, saying 'Nay, she has been too hard for me, do what I could,'⁵⁰ the audience must immediately have understood the double meaning between the sexual appetite of women and the materiality of Chinese porcelain. Beth Kowaleski-Wallace refers to this as 'a semiotic process' created for 'women to be read in a certain way'.

⁴⁶ Women's peculiar enthusiasm for china was emphasised in some eighteenth-century literature. For instance: John Evelyn mentioned the supper at Lady Gerrard's on 19 March 1652: 'Invited by Lady Gerrard I went to London, where we had a great supper; all the vessels, which were innumerable, were of Porcelain, she having the most ample and richest collection of that curiosities in England.' Other writers including William Wycherley, Joseph Addison, Alexander Pope and Charles Lamb also made similar remarks on women's enthusiasm towards china.

⁴⁷ Vanessa Alayrac-Fielding, 'From the Curious to the "Artinatural": The Meaning of Oriental Porcelain in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century English Interiors,' *Miranda* (2012) <http://journals.openedition.org/miranda/4390> (accessed 18th Feb, 2017)

⁴⁸ Beth Kowaleski-Wallace, 'Women, China, and Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century England,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 (1995–6): 153–167

⁴⁹ John Gay's prose says: 'How white, how polish'd is their skin. And valu'd most when only seen.' Quoted from Stacey Sloboda, 'Porcelain Bodies: Gender, Acquisitiveness and Taste in Eighteenth-Century England' in *Material Cultures, 1740–1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, eds. John Potvin et al. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 27

⁵⁰ Kowaleski-Wallace, 'Women, China and Consumer Culture,' 156

Moreover, broken china had often been associated with the fragility of the female body. The porcelain tea cup, for example, was seen as the extension of a woman's hand.⁵¹ This association was visualised in *A Harlot's Progress*. Moll, the female character, spent money on fashionable exotics to dress her 'veneer of respectability'.⁵² Ironically, her fall from grace was explained by the breaking of Chinese porcelain when Moll tipped over the tea table to help her lover escape⁵³ (Fig 6.11). As the comment went 'glass, China, Reputation, are easily crack'd and never well mended,'⁵⁴ the print subtly suggests that Moll's reputation was permanently ruined.



Fig 6.11 William Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress*, Plate II, c. 1733

⁵¹ Eugenia Zuroski Jenkins, *A Taste for China: English Subjectivity and the Prehistory of Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 136

⁵² Freya Growley, 'Taste a-la-mode: Consuming Foreignness, Picturing Gender,' in *Materializing Gender in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, eds., Jennifer Germann and Heidi Strobel (Oxon: Ashgate, 2016), 44

⁵³ Pennell, 'For a Crack or Flaw Despis'd,' 37–38

⁵⁴ Sloboda, 'Porcelain Bodies,' 28

Stacey Sloboda further analyses textual and visual evidence related to female collectors in the eighteenth century. She suggests that porcelain was transformed into a symbol for fashion, and connoted 'social status for women and their households'.⁵⁵ Women's passion for chinaware was converted into an aesthetic motive often in contrast to men. This division between 'rational' men and 'emotional' women led to a negative association with female ownership. The passion for porcelain was characterised as 'trivial' and 'vain', so female collectors were satirised and depicted as emotional creatures who recklessly spent their husband's money on superfluous things. *The Tea Table*, for instance, epitomised the resemblance between women's petty characters and their chinaware. Five women were sitting around a tea table. Chinaware was displayed on the table as well as on the shelves inside the alcove. Outside, there were two men who tried to eavesdrop, suggesting women were gossiping about a scandal of some sort. Most significantly, a devilish figure attempted to drive two Roman figures (who represent Justice and Truth) out of the door (Fig 6.12). At the end, a moralising comment was made:

How see we Scandal (for our Sex too base) ...

By blaming other's Fictions rents her own

By feigning to oppose she forms a Lie ...

The Scandal spreads, improves on ev'ry Tongue

Who is the charming Fair, if any ask ...

And loose her dear lov'd Volubility⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Sloboda, 'Porcelain Bodies,' 27

⁵⁶ Timothy Clayton, *The English Print 1688–1802* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 82

This kind of 'chit chat' or 'gossiping' between women was one of the most common topics in newspapers and printed magazines. Printing materials were easily accessible in streets and coffee houses, further influencing public opinion towards women's consumption of chinaware.



Fig 6.12 Anon, *The Tea Table*, c. 1710

The spending spree was complained about by 'poor' husbands. Literary comments hint that the fair sex posted a serious threat to household finance. Addison joked about this unfortunate situation:

One man calls his great room, that is nobly furnished with china, his wife's wardrobe. In yonder corner, (says he), are above twenty suits of clothes, and on that scrutoire above a hundred yards of furbelowed silk. You cannot imagine how many night-gowns went into the raising of that pyramid. The worst of it is, (says he), that a suit of clothes is not suffered to last half its time, that it may be more vendible; so that in reality, this is but a more dextrous way of picking the husband's pocket, who is often purchasing a great vase of china, when he fancies he is buying a fine head, or a silk gown for his wife.⁵⁷

Picking the husband's pocket remained one of the most popular themes for satirical essays. Words such as 'dextrous', 'deceitful' and 'excessive' were purposefully placed in the texts which led to a wider consensus on women's relationship with imported luxury. Addison himself once calculated that each issue was read by approximately 60,000 Londoners, nearly one tenth of the London population at the time. Negative comment on female consumption in his publications may have cemented a general belief that women were incapable of managing their finances.

Contemporary social and economic historians begin to question this kind of claim. Vickery examines personal letters and household accounts and proposes that some household items had a certain 'feminine quality'. Everyday haberdashery, tea and

⁵⁷ Kowaleski-Wallace, 'Women, China, and Consumer Culture,' 156

china seemed to be the focus of 'female investment' while men purchased more expensive bespoke ware such as furniture, paintings and clocks.⁵⁸ Weatherill, on the other hand, focuses on probate inventories and points out that the difference in china ownership between men and women was actually quite narrow, at 12 per cent and 13 per cent in the London area respectively.⁵⁹ Social class seems to play a more significant role than gender. People of trades were approximately 10 per cent but almost none of the surveyed farmers had any china in the period 1675 to 1725. Her research shows that items such as table linen appeared more often in the inventories of widows or spinsters; yet chinaware was not part of this picture. From Weatherill's statistics, it is reasonable to suggest that chinaware carried a significant connotation of female taste; it was, however, not the item that saw a clear gender division in ownership. Unfortunately, her research does not provide an explanation as to why some goods were found in women's possession. It is possible that social variations such as age and marriage status are accountable for these discrepancies.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, domestic items were not recorded for personal use so it becomes difficult to tell which item was owned by whom. Although chinaware was often found in the lady's closet or widow's chamber, items such as porcelain cups and saucers were also found in the public domain and were very likely used by both sexes. In addition, the idea of a 'complete separated public sphere' seems to be unlikely as family account books and letters confirm women's participation in wider

⁵⁸ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 288–290

⁵⁹ Lorna Weatherill, 'A Possession of One's Own: Women and Consumer Behaviour in England 1660–1740,' *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986): 141

consumption.⁶⁰ The advancing role of women in household spending supports the assumption that chinaware was used by both genders.

Men's consumption was less noticeable although surviving prints illustrate a wide range of ceramics used outside the domestic realm. One object that stands out from the Orphans' sample is punch bowl. It became a staple household item from the 1730s and 1740s. This is of particular interest as traditionally the punch bowl was used to serve alcoholic beverages for men. This new form of bowl was brought into production in the late seventeenth century.⁶¹ Such gender association has been depicted in many visual references. For instance, William Hogarth used a punch bowl as part of popular subject matter. In *A Midnight Modern Conversation*, a group of men are hopelessly drunk: they sit around a table where a large punch bowl, glasses and candlesticks are displayed; in the centre, a man smoking a pipe removes a ladle from the punch bowl while a young man directly behind him raises his glass in a toast. Empty glasses and smoking pipes – this scene is exclusively male (Fig 6. 13).

⁶⁰ Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 210–214

⁶¹ Schroder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver*, 601



Fig 6.13 William Hogarth, *A Midnight Modern Conversation*, c. 1732

As noted before, stoneware and earthenware were widely used before the mass arrival of Chinese porcelain. London archaeology has discovered that in the vicinity of Southwark, delft punch bowls were made in abundance from the late seventeenth century.⁶² They were made to add fun and pleasure to the drinking experience in taverns or public houses. Riddles, drinking games and slogans were marked on the excavated objects. For instance, a playful drinking vessel indicates a popular drinking culture promoted by men. Its description reads: *My wife drinks Tea and I will drink*

⁶² Aileen Dawson, *English and Irish Delftware 1570–1840* (London: British Museum Press, 2010) 29

punch (Fig 6.14). This bowl displays a separate drinking culture based on genders. Some ceramic objects illustrate a lively male drinking culture with inscriptions directly referencing men and their professions. Slogans such as 'success to trade' or 'success to the king' were commonly found in delftware.⁶³ Such ware was possibly commissioned by individual tradesmen to commemorate their business achievement or declare their loyalty to the State.



Fig 6.14 Earthenware Punch Bowl, c. 1760

⁶³ Ibid.

This leads to a further question as to how and why male customers wanted to personalise their wares. Commissioned Chinese porcelain has been presented in Chapters 3 and 4. China shops and chinamen are known to have offered bespoke services to fashion-conscious customers; unfortunately the gender of their customers cannot be revealed without actual invoices. Another possible channel for placing orders was through networks offered in public houses and coffee shops. The invoice for the Okeover service clearly confirms the hypothesis of such commissions (Fig 6.15). Dated 1743 and signed by Joseph Congreve, the invoice reads: 'From the Jerusalem Coffee House, Change Alley, a consignment of fifty plates and four dishes with your arms.'⁶⁴ Public spaces such as coffee houses and taverns were mostly frequented by men. Women may have been allowed to enter, but most were either waiting staff or there for prostitution.⁶⁵

Public space was used to debate a concerning social problem or to exchange business information. This suggests that chinaware served as a medium in order to advocate political or business ideas; especially as punch was meant to be shared and hence was ideally served for this purpose.⁶⁶ Alcohol-infused debate then transformed the public realm into a 'political' realm and, in the eighteenth century, such realms were dominated by men. If an object can be gendered through its owner, it certainly can change its social identity within its surrounding. Just as a 'teapot' was seen as a symbol

⁶⁴ Clare Le Corbeiller and Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, 'China Export Porcelain,' *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 60 (2003): 32

⁶⁵ Brian Cowan, 'What was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England,' *History Workshop Journal* 51 (2001): 147

⁶⁶ Karen Harvey, 'Barbarity in a Teacup? Punch, Domesticity and Gender in the Eighteenth Century,' *Journal of Design History* 21 (2008): 208

of female hospitality in a private domestic domain; a 'punch bowl' expressed masculinity in the third space.



Fig 6.15 Porcelain Plate, c. 1743

Ceremonial bowls were often made in silver. Such items were usually given as a gift or a trophy. One fine example is the silver monteith with panels (Fig 6.16). The inscription of 'Basingstoke plate Octr:ye 2d: 1688' confirms its commemorative purpose as the prize at Basingstoke Races in 1688. By the late seventeenth century, the monteith

must have become a useful new utensil as literary records attempted to classify or define its purpose. Antony Wood, for instance, commented in 1683 that

this year in the summer time came up a vessel or bason notched at the brims to let the drinking glasses hang there by foot so that the body or the drinking place might stand in the water to cool them. Such a bason was called a monteith.⁶⁷

Later, the record of the Ironmongers' Company in 1694 suggests that a monteith was used to serve different mixed drinks, including the increasingly popular punch: 'a piece of plate in the form of a punch bowl wt a scollop rimme thereon, wch rimme is to take off or being fixted in the said bole, it becomes a monteith.'⁶⁸

Another example is the punch bowl commissioned by George Treby for Arthur Holdsworth in 1723 (Fig 6.17). In a different form from the monteith, this kind of punch bowl enjoyed a longer period of popularity into the late eighteenth century.⁶⁹ Bearing a heraldic design, this bowl was clearly intended as a gift. It has been suggested that the inscriptions of 'Amicitia perpetua' [Peaceful friendship] and 'Prosperity to hooks and lines' celebrated the business alliance between Treby and Holdsworth in the Newfoundland fishery trade.⁷⁰ The bowl may have been used to bid Holdsworth farewell. The overlapping use of such shape in silver, porcelain and even pewter is evident from above objects. This is reflected in the Orphans' Inventories in which silver ladles or spoons were found next to drinking vessels.

⁶⁷ Jessie McNab, 'The Legacy of a Fantastical Scott,' *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1961): 173–174

⁶⁸ Beth Carver Wees (ed), *English, Irish and Scottish Silver at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute* (New York: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1997), 44

⁶⁹ Philippa Glanville, *Silver in England*, reprint (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 70

⁷⁰ Schroder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver II*, 613



Fig 6.16 Silver Monteith, c. 1688



Fig 6.17 Paul de Lamerie, Silver Punch Bowl, c. 1723

It is not surprisingly that porcelain punch bowls were often commissioned by London livery companies and their affiliated members. As mentioned in Chapter 4, a porcelain punch bowl is currently held in the Ironmongers Hall, City of London. (Fig 4.4) A late eighteenth-century production, the bowl illustrates the Mansion House and the Ironmongers' Hall in Fenchurch Street on either side. This suggests that the owner was employed within the City and was affiliated with a London livery company. Such an item indicates some sort of fraternity and masculinity that was clearly absent in the representation of tea gathering demonstrated above. Other punch bowls commemorated life abroad and work related to overseas trade. They often depicted exotic landscapes or a specific trading station. Known as 'Hong punch bowl', one punch bowl was decorated with continuous scenes of foreign trading stations along Pearl River in Canton⁷¹ (Fig 6.18). The factories of the trading companies from Holland, England, Sweden, France, Austria and Denmark are captured in detail. Chinese commercial boats are floating near the quay. Chinese and European merchants are walking along the dock. Such a commission was probably regarded as a souvenir of travel or a statement of work experience.

⁷¹ Regina Krahl and Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Ancient Chinese Trade Ceramics from the British Museum* (Taipei: National Museum of History, 1994), 34



Fig 6.18 Porcelain Punch Bowl, c. 1780–1790

Taking inspiration from popular prints, subject matters in porcelain often concerned public affairs such as trade policy or civic rights. One well-known case is the advocate for John Wikes, an eighteenth-century politician and journalist. Wikes was notorious for his attack on Lord Bute and his support for freedom of speech and liberty. The disagreement between Wilkes and the establishment (mainly George III and his ministers) was widely advertised in English prints and ceramics (Fig 6.19). The same theme was found in Chinese porcelain. Copied from a print by Hogarth, the bowl satirised Wikes with a gimmicky smile⁷² (Fig 6.20). The cross-hatching painting technique known as ‘en grisaille’ conveyed light and shade so the character of the print can be faithfully preserved.⁷³ Another popular theme is the court case lodged by Elizabeth Canning against Mary Squires in 1753. Squires was first found guilty but later

⁷² Krahl and Harrison-Hall, *Ancient Chinese Trade Ceramics*, 38

⁷³ Lars Tharp, *Hogarth's China: Hogarth's Paintings and Eighteenth-Century Ceramics* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1997), 60

Canning's defence changed in the second trial of 1754. The inconsistent testimony eventually led to a sentence reversal. The trial raised public interest and was widely advertised in prints (Fig 6.21). Taking templates from prints, porcelain tankards were painted with portraits and circulated in taverns or public houses, possibly to provoke more support. This kind of object served as a declaration of ideology. An order for such item would take at least one to two years to complete. This indicates the duration of the event and potential profit of souvenir.⁷⁴



Fig 6.19 Earthenware Punch Bowl, c. 1764

⁷⁴ Angela Howard, 'From Canton to the City: Export Porcelain for London,' *Art Antiques London* (2013): 112

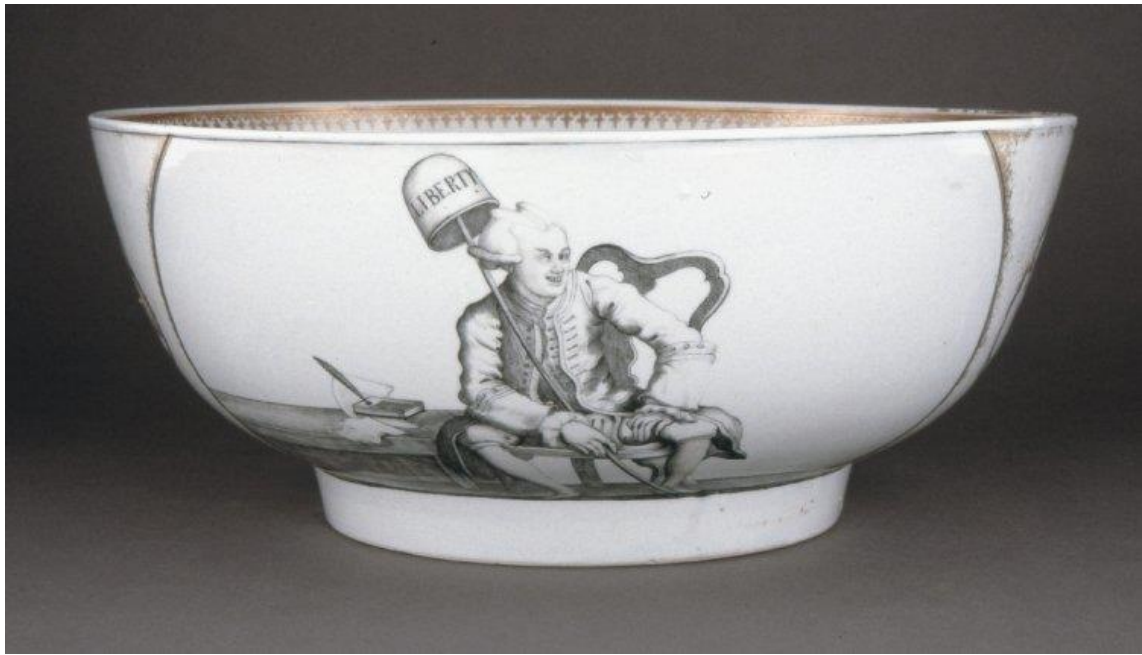


Fig 6.20 Porcelain Punch Bowl, c. 1770



Fig 6.21 Anon, *The True Pictures of Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires*, c. 1754

Mugs or tankards shared similar functions. Alcoholic drinks such as fermented beer, ale and gin were a staple diet in ordinary English households at the dawn of the eighteenth century,⁷⁵ so it is not surprising that beer drinking vessels were commonly recorded in the Orphans' samples. They were usually made in silver but occasionally in china and pewter. There were hardly any in the form of wood or earthenware. The unit of measurement such as pint, half pint or quart pint was sometimes described, and the weight, if in silver, was usually given as between 20 and 30 ounces depending on the size. John Blackwell, a wealthy cloth worker held a significant collection of silver vessels including 'three tankards in old sterling ... two salvers, two stands, a montep, two mugs, three castors, one candlestick, five salts, a saucer, eleven spoons and two tea spoons in new sterling.'⁷⁶

Chinese porcelain mugs were occasionally recorded in the later Orphans' samples. Surviving Chinese porcelain mugs and tankards suggest that the common shapes were cylindrical, globular and bell-shaped; sometimes vessels had a loop or S-shaped handle.⁷⁷ The bodies were painted with under-glazed blue or enamels. The wide variety suggests that porcelain mugs and tankards were imitations of metal ware, particularly silver and pewter. One example of a beer mug belonging to Richard Philcox is of particular interest (Fig 6.22). The spear-head rim and the floral cartouche were popular patterns in the late eighteenth century, but the most interesting thing of note is the inscription which reads 'Vivat Rye' and on the reverse 'VIVAT Rich Phillcox with His

⁷⁵ Carole Shammas, 'Food Expenditures and Economic Well-Being in Early Modern England,' *The Journal of Economic History* 43 (1983): 98

⁷⁶ Blackall, John, Citizen and Cloth Worker, 1722, Court of Orphans Inventory, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3176, LMA

⁷⁷ Rose Kerr and Maria Antonia Pinto de Matos (eds), *Tankards and Mugs: Drinking from Chinese Export Porcelain* (London: Jorge and Welch Research & Publishing, 2016), 37–39

Honest Family, I must work for leathers dear.’ *The Sussex Archaeological Collections of 1868* reveal that a rye cobbler Richard Philcox looked after a man who escaped from a sinking East India ship.⁷⁸ This man eventually made it to China and ordered a service to express his gratitude. The mug was most likely a commissioned piece and may serve as a symbol of fraternity and trade. A teapot and stand with the same decoration is now in the collection of Peabody Essex Museum. Whether the story of Philcox is true, this mug represents an alternative gifting culture through an unlikely medium. Such an object is in direct contrast to a small teapot depicted in satirical engravings of women’s gatherings, suggesting that the gender of consumption was determined by space as well as social occasion.

⁷⁸ William R. Sargent, ‘The Peabody Essex Museum’s Collection of Chinese Export Ceramics,’ *The Magazine Antiques* (2012)
www.themagazineantiques.com/article/peabody-essex-export-ceramics/ (accessed 12th March, 2017)



Fig 6.22 Porcelain Mug, c. 1760–1780

CHAPTER 7. CASE STUDY: THE CROWLEY FAMILY

A lady, without a family, was the very best preserver of furniture in the world.

- Jane Austen, *Persuasion*, 1817

Set against most of the Orphans' samples, Crowley's inventory is an extraordinary case where significant quantities of Chinese porcelain were recorded. The elaborate china services found in Crowley's inventory indicates an increasing level of polite consumption especially with regards to exotic drink, further suggesting a high living standard. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, armorial ware was often commissioned to honour or commemorate alliances between family members and business partners. Such ownership potentially transformed everyday objects into souvenirs of power. Through genealogy and personal records, this chapter hopes to create a better understanding of how Chinese porcelain witnessed the growing ties between prominent mercantile families. Wills are studied to uncover the gender representation in material possession, as men and women may have had different approaches towards their material belongings. These are issues discussed in previous chapters and will be re-addressed here.

7.1 The Crowley Family

The Crowley inventory is selected for several reasons. First, it is one of the most revealing sources of London tradesman's material life. Most tradesmen in the Orphans' samples died at a relatively young age and so were yet to accumulate substantial wealth. Remarkably, John Crowley was one of the wealthiest men in the City by the time he died at 38 years old. In 1713, he took over the ironmonger business from his father Sir Ambrose Crowley and left the estate to his wife and four children in 1728. Due to the timing of John Crowley's death, his inventory reflects a collection of household goods likely used by his father Sir Ambrose Crowley and his wife Theodosia Crowley. Moreover, the inventory itself is recorded in minute detail. The executor paid particular attention to high-value items as the inventory was counter-examined alongside the will created in 1715 and testated to in 1727.

The Crowleys' fortune was made in the second half of the seventeenth century mostly by Sir Ambrose Crowley. Apprenticed in the London Drapers' Company at a young age, Sir Ambrose first established an ironware factory at Winlaton near Newcastle-upon-Tyne and gradually expanded his business throughout the Restoration period.¹ In 1704 he moved his headquarters to Greenwich and by 1707 he had a whole complex of factories and warehouses near the Thames riverside. Dying unexpectedly in 1713, Sir Ambrose Crowley left his four unmarried daughters £10,000 each in South Sea stock and to his only surviving son, John Crowley, the whole ironwork business,

¹ Michael Walter Flinn, *Men of Iron: The Crowleys in the Early Iron Industry* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1962), 41

estimated to be worth well over £100,000 by the time of his death.² It is not clear how much Sir Ambrose Crowley personally purchased for his dwelling house,³ but undoubtedly the same wealth was inherited by his son John Crowley as John Crowley's inventoried goods and stock in Greenwich alone were valued at £48,115 18s. 10d. Further to his, £71,739 5s. 11d. was owed to Crowley in good debts and over £15,000 in debt 'esteemed desperate'. John Crowley himself owed £32,422 12s. 9d. to his business partners, associates and suppliers. Out of this amount, £10,373 was put aside to pay £451 per annum to his wife for the duration of twenty-three years⁴ (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 The Value of Household Goods and Ironmongery in the Estates of John Crowley

	£	s	d
Value of household goods at Greenwich	2,375	7	1
Value of ironmonger wares at Greenwich	48,115	18	10
Value of household goods at Thames Street	772	12	0
Ironmongery in warehouses in Thanet Street and the City	10,924	8	7
Ditto at Ware, Herts	1,040	9	1
Ditto at Blackwall	1,295	1	0
Ditto at Wolverhampton and Walsall, Staffs	742	13	6
Ditto at Stourbridge, Worcs	2,459	9	9
Ditto at Swallowwell and elsewhere in Co. Durham	28,280	11	7
Ready money	2,450	10	2
Total	£98,457	1s	10d

Source: The inventory of John Crowley (CLA/002/02/01/3322)

² Ibid., 66–68

³ Crowley, Ambrose, Will of a Gentleman, East Greenwich, Kent, PROB 11/536/160, National Archives, Kew

⁴ Francis Steer, 'A Housewife's Affairs,' *Guildhall Miscellany* (1958), 43

While Crowley's ironmonger business has attracted some academic interest (mostly in British navy expansion and manufacture methods before the Industrial Revolution),⁵ the material possessions of this family are less explored. Presumably it is because their main residence, the Greenwich estate, is no longer standing. Demolished in 1854, it was replaced by Greenwich Power Station built in 1902. The Orphans' Inventories observes that this house was the primary residence for Crowley's family. Located next to Thames wharf (now Crowley Wharf under Thames Path), Crowley House was first built by Sir Andrew Cogan in 1647, where it was then purchased by Nicholas Cook who sold it on to Sir Ambrose Crowley in 1704. The surviving watercolours reveal the exterior of a former Jacobian mansion (Fig 7.1). The house must have been quite spacious as more than thirty rooms were recorded in John Crowley's inventory. This included several feature rooms such as a Drawing Room, Great Gallery, Blew [sic] Room, White Room, Green Damask Bed Chamber and Marble Hall. Allegedly, dominant architectural features included a central court, wooden staircase and large sash windows (Fig 7.2). The entrance hall was believed to be paved with black and white marble and the ceiling was decorated with popular motifs such as laurel leaves. The iron workshop was built next to the house, so some rooms were given to the managers of the company.

⁵ Selected bibliography includes: Flinn, *Men of Iron*; Leo Huberman, *Man's Worldly Goods* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1936); Marie B. Rowlands, *Masters and Men: In the West Midland Metalware Trades Before the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975); Helen J. Paul, 'Suppliers to the Royal African Company and the Royal Navy in the Early Eighteenth Century,' in *War, Entrepreneurs, and the State in Europe and the Mediterranean, 1300–1800*, ed., Jeff Finn-Paul (Leiden: Brill, 2014)



Fig 7.1 Clarkson Stanfield, *Crowley House, Greenwich*, c. 1854



Fig 7.2 Clarkson Stanfield, *The Drawing Room of Crowley House, Greenwich*, c. 1854

The descriptions from the inventory suggest a rich interior. Each parlour and withdrawing room was probably intended for different functions while working areas such as the pantry, butlery and cellar were built to cater for social entertainment. Most of the rooms were richly decorated with chimney and pier glasses, possibly to create an illusion of space and light. Exotic goods such as a turkey carpet and lacquer table were common additions. For instance, the dining room in the Greenwich estate had:

*two pairs of silk window curtain, three pieces of hanging tapestry, India japaned chairs with green cases, a large chest, two India cabinets, a lacquer stool cover with baize cases, a peer glass, gilt frames ditto frame, an India japaned table, a glass, tong, brass lack and keys, brass hooke, India tea table, an India mahogany tea table, a mahogany book case and a looking glass.*⁶

The term 'India' sometimes was ambiguously used to refer to all things oriental. In this context, the 'India japaned' chairs or table were distinctively separated from European japanned furniture which was also in great demand in the eighteenth century.⁷

Various types of fabric were used in formal reception areas as well as bed chambers. Damask, mohair, calico, silk and satin were widely used in curtains, wall hangings and upholstery for cushions and chairs. The fabrics were likely to be imported from the Middle and Far East such as Turkey, India and China. For instance, Mrs. Crowley's chamber had a yellow mohair blanket, white quilt, cushion of yellow India damask, calico quilt and yellow mohair hanging. The detailed descriptions given on different fabrics illustrate a rich and vibrant colour scheme supported by black lacquer

⁶ Crowley, John, Citizen and Draper, Inventory, 1728, Court of Orphans, City of London, CLA/002/02/01/3322, LMA

⁷ In England, the early making of lacquer furniture such as cabinets, tables and stands started in the late seventeenth century. In 1692, Edward Hurd and James Narcock petitioned for a patent. Later, a 'company of patentees for lacquering after the manner of Japan' was established and they lobbied Parliament to increase the duty for foreign lacquer. Please see: Clive D. Edwards, *Eighteenth-Century Furniture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 104

and gilt furniture. This room was valued at £45 5s., a rather large sum considering many samples of the middling rank only spent between £10 and £20 for bed chambers. In the Marble Hall, 'crimson cheney pull-up window curtain' was mentioned. It is not clear what 'cheney' means in this context, but it could be some sort of oriental textile. Again, this room was lavishly decorated with gilt chandeliers, a large Turkey carpet, a marble table, a large mahogany table, black Spanish leather chairs and other smaller things such as tea board and prints.

Silver was in large quantity. Plate of old sterling weighed 2,414 oz and was valued at £633 14s. 9d. Plate of new sterling weighed 1,579 oz and was valued at £427 15s. 7d. Gilt plate weighed 200 oz and was valued at £55. Most of the plate was in the form for serving food and drink. Spoons, forks, knives, sauce pans, saucer boats, dishes, salts and mugs were recorded. Tea accessories such as teapot, tea kettle, coffee pot, tea casters and tea spoons were among the collection. Large decorative items such as candlesticks and tea tables were also found. The overwhelming opulence was displayed through everyday entertainment.

Interestingly, the Crowley family also owned an incredibly large number of chinaware. The value was £78 11s. in the Greenwich estate and £11 14s. in the London town house. Tea ware remained the main item. Cups and saucers of various sort; small dishes, jars and basins were all presented in the inventories. This finding is consistent with other samples but offers some insight into the range of variety. For example, in John Crowley's town house, he had

14 coloured dishes, 3 soup dishes, ditto 3 dozen and 8 plates, soup plates, coloured punch bowl, blue and white ditto, plate one coloured, quart mug, blue and white pint, basons, 2 half pint, 2 brown ditto, a tea pot, plate, 4 choco cups of sorts, 6 coffee cups, 11 saucers.

Presumably, the brown teapot was a Yixing production. Being part of the tea service, silver items included canister, tea water kettle, lamp and stand and cistern. Elaborate decoration included:

12 blew and white dishes, 4 dozen and 4 plates, 11 soup plates, 3 pint basons, 4 chocolate cups and 3 covers, a large punch bowl, a coloured ditto, 3 soup dishes, 2 salvers, 4 scallop dishes, 2 half pint basons, 4 saucers, a large blue and gold soup dish, 3 flat dishes, 5 small scallop fruit dishes, 2 ribbed pint basons, 8 fine small coloured dishes, 2 dozens of plates ditto, 2 punch bowls, a bason ditto, the bason crackt, 2 small jarrs and covers, one of them broke, 5 large and 6 square scallop japanned garden potts, 2 blew and white ditto, 8 red and gold ribbed scallop tea cups and saucers, 4 blew and gold chocolate cups, a brown tea pot, coloured plate, a slop bason and plate, a sugar dish and cover, plate ditto, 11 fine pink and yellow enamelled tea cups and 12 saucers ditto, a tea pot and plate, a sugar dish and cover, a plate, a milk mugg and plate, a tea boat, a tea jarr, 6 chocolate cups, a slop bason and plate ditto, 6 small white tea cups and saucers, 6 wrought tea cups, 4 oval ditto, a tea pott and plate, 2 sugar dishes and covers and plates, wrough milk mugg, a large slop bason, 3 blew and gold chocolate cups, 8 square tea cups, 4 chocolate ditto, 4 wrought ditto, 2 jugs, 2 small mugs, 2 wrought dram cups on feet, a tea pot and 2 salts, ditto, 6 enammalled choco cups and saucers, 3 brown ditto tea pots, a slop bason, blue and gold ribbed tea cups and saucers.

This is an impressive collection by any standard in the Orphans' Inventories; however, some of the items might not be porcelain. For instance, the wrought tea cups are unlikely to be ceramic, but could be either porcelain mounted or mended with metal. Other items provoke further debate over the patterns of decoration. Yellow and pink enamelled decoration may refer to *famille rose* decoration which gained popularity in

the European market around 1720.⁸ The colour palette usually included pink, green, brown, aubergine and yellow and the variations of colour allowed the decorations to be more diverse in terms of subject matter.

The 'red and gold ribbed scallop tea cups and saucers' are equally intriguing. Such shapes took inspiration from European metal work and required a longer period of moulding, shaping and making.⁹ Such shapes were commonly found in silver table ware such as dishes, spoons and saucer boats in the eighteenth century¹⁰ (Fig 7.3). As for 'red and gold', it is possible that this service was in the style of 'Chinese Imari' or 'rouge-de-fer'.¹¹ It has been suggested that the 'Chinese Imari' style was popular in the first two decades of the eighteenth century while 'rouge-de-fer' was mostly in fashion after 1725.¹² Without seeing the surviving objects, it is difficult to learn which decorative style Crowley's china was, but from the shapes and colour palette, it seems to be reasonable to suggest that this tea service was a special commission. 'Rouge-de-fer' style was almost exclusively reserved for armorial commissions and was popular among those who were closely associated with the EIC in the same period (Fig 7.4). Elaborate borders such as diaper borders or red and gold brocade could be applied to the service.

⁸ Jorge Welsh (ed), *European Scenes on Chinese Art* (London: Jorge Welsh, 2005), 17

⁹ Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange: Additions to the Helena Woolworth McCann Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), 92–3

¹⁰ Michael Clayton, *The Collector's Dictionary of the Silver and Gold of Great Britain and North America*, 2nd edition (London: Antique Collectors' Club, 1985), 158

¹¹ 'Chinese Imari' generally refers to the decoration combined with underglaze blue and overglaze red and gold; 'rouge de fer' refers to enamel decoration based on overglazed red usually with gold or gilt border. Please see David. S. Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain II* (London: Heirloom and Howard, 2003), 78, 82

¹² Ibid.



Fig 7.3 Paul de Lamerie, Silver Ladles, c. 1749



Fig 7.4 Porcelain Dish, c. 1730

Another revealing service is the 'blue and gold' service. There is no evidence to determine that this was a special commission, but an armorial service from Sir Humphrey Parsons offers a glimpse into what the Crowleys' service might look like¹³ (Fig 7.5). The large *famille verte* dish shares the 'blue and gold' motif and is decorated with two dragons chasing a flaming pearl and two phoenix's on either side of a peony spray; all delicately incised and coloured in pale cobalt blue. The arms of Parsons impaling Crowley were meant to be a statement announcing the merging of two families. Such a service was probably a gift from one of the family members or commissioned by the newly married couple as a family heirloom.¹⁴ Through the commission of luxury, the emerging rich celebrated their family connections and new dynastic mercantile relationships.

Sir Humphrey Parsons' armorial ware reveals the strong familial ties between the two families. Like the Crowley family, the Parsons family's rise was meteoric. Sir John Parsons, father of Sir Humphrey Parsons, was the owner of the Red Lion Brewery in Aldgate. He established himself in the City, became an MP and was accordingly knighted by James II in 1687; thereafter he was elected as Lord Mayor in 1703.¹⁵ Sir Humphrey Parsons followed a similar path and was elected as Lord Mayor twice in 1730 and 1740.¹⁶ He later married Sarah, daughter of Sir Ambrose Crowley and sister of John Crowley in 1719. This marriage took place subsequent to Sir Ambrose Crowley's

¹³ Angela Howard, 'From Canton to the City: Export Porcelain for London,' *Art Antiques London* (2013): 106

¹⁴ Barbara Marx, 'Medici Gifts to the Court of Dresden,' *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 15 (2007–8): 46–82; Christine Peters, 'Gender, Sacrament and Ritual: The Making and Meaning of Marriage in Late Medieval and Early Modern England,' *Past and Present* 169 (2000): 63–96

¹⁵ Victoria Hutchings, *The Red Lion Brewery: Hoare & Co* (London: Ashford Colour Press, 2013), 8

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 9–10

death. Thus it was likely arranged by Sir Ambrose but later under John Crowley's full consent.¹⁷



Fig 7.5 Porcelain Dish, c. 1720

It has been suggested that political alliance was the main motivation for this marriage.¹⁸ Parliamentary records confirm that both the Crowley and Parsons family were Jacobite supporters. Sir Ambrose Crowley was described as a gentleman of 'known

¹⁷ Flinn, *Men of Iron*, 64. The marriage portion of the daughters of Sir Ambrose Crowley was generously provided. Lettice, Sarah, Anne and Elizabeth were allotted £10,000 each in South Sea Stocks or Bonds 'at the age of 25 or the day of marriage with their mother and bother's approval'.

¹⁸ Ibid.

loyalty to her Majesty and well affected to the government both in Church and State'¹⁹ while Sir Humphrey Parsons was said to have 'zeal for the King and the unwearied application' which he had through 'the whole course of your life studied his Majesty's service'.²⁰ Undoubtedly, their political views were intricately bound with their commercial interests. For instance, by supporting Robert Harley, Crowley continued to press for the payment for naval contract and extended their influence in the South Sea Company bill.²¹ Similarly, Parsons took an active part in the opposition to Walpole's excise bill both in the City and in Parliament.²² Their involvement with state affairs made both families highly influential in politics and the integration of their influence would only further strength their businesses.

John Crowley's remaining sisters married extremely well. Mary married Sir James Hallett; Lettice married Sir John Hynde Cotton (the third baronet); Anna married Richard Fleming and Elizabeth married Lord St John of Bletsoe. They all shared the same support for the Tory party and had similar interests in overseas trade. Besides, the dowry of the Crowley sisters brought an injection of wealth into their marriages. For instance, when Sarah Crowley married Sir Humphrey Parsons, she brought with her £10,000 worth of South Sea stocks. Similarly, when her sister Lettice Crowley married Sir John Hynde-Cotton, she brought the same amount to her husband. After the death of Lettice Crowley, Sir John Hynde-Cotton the third married Margret, daughter of Postmaster General James Criggs. Her dowry was said to have helped renovate Madingley

¹⁹ D. Hayton et al., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1690–1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Published online: www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/crowley-sir-ambrose-1658-1713 (accessed 18th Jan, 2017)

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Flinn, *Men of Iron*, 161

²² Ibid

Hall in 1727 and 1728.²³ Finally, Sir John Hynde-Cotton the fourth, Sir John Hynde Cotton's son from his first marriage, married his first cousin Anne Parsons, the daughter of Sir Humphrey Parsons. Eventually he inherited and purchased the shares of the Red Lion Brewery from Sarah Parson, his mother-in-law. Curiously, one of Hynde's tea services was decorated in red and gold;²⁴ it is possible that this service may resemble Crowley's red and gold tea service.

Such services were commissioned to showcase the material wealth of emerging tradesmen. Discussed in Chapter 5, this new wealth was often associated with things that were favoured by the nobility and gentry in the past. Through their business connections with the EIC, London's commercial people were able to enjoy a wider variety of world goods. Harry Gough, for example, was the acting agent for some prominent London tradesmen. He was once an EIC supercargo and later became a distant relative to the Crowleys. Gough went to China in 1692 and became an able merchant in Chinese trade. Strongly connected to the East India Company, Gough had opportunities to network with City and china merchants. He himself ordered no fewer than five armorial services and his peers followed the same fashion.²⁵ Upon his marriage to Elizabeth Hynde, Gough commissioned a service around 1720 (Fig 7.6). Among the services ordered by Gough, three of them were showed crests impaled with that of Hynde.²⁶ Later Isabella Lee, Gough's sister, married Eldred Lancelot Lee of Cotton Hall. They also ordered a service²⁷ (Fig 7.7). Influential mercantile families such as Houblon, Hynde, Parsons and Crowley became distantly connected to the Gough family.

²³ Gabriel Glickman, 'The Career of Sir John Hynde Cotton 1686–1752,' *The Historical Journal* 46 (2003): 817–841

²⁴ Howard, *Chinese Porcelain II*, 150

²⁵ Howard, 'From Canton to the City,' 104–114

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

It is hard to say if the Crowley family ordered any armorial porcelain, but if they did, it is very likely that they would have ordered it through Gough.

Personalised objects effectively became a symbol of wealth, power and family lineage and acted in ‘the supplementary role of the passions’.²⁸ These objects were expensive and inaccessible compared to ordinary blue and white ware in china shops. The special orders had to go through business networks within the EIC. To make sure the coat of arms (or other personalised design) was correctly depicted, the agent, often a captain or a supercargo, took the order from their client along with a bookplate or a gaming pearl as a means of showing the image.²⁹ This type of commission marked the difference between shop-bought, affordable utensils which could be replaced by new fashion.



Fig 7.6 Porcelain Cup, c. 1720

²⁸ Victoria Kahn, *Wayward Contracts: The Crisis of Political Obligation in England 1640–1674* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 56

²⁹ Please see Chapter 4, footnote 35.



Fig 7.7 Porcelain Charger, c. 1735

While there is no armorial porcelain recorded in Crowley's inventory, Sir Ambrose Crowley did apply for permission to use a coat of arms in June 1707.³⁰ It is likely that the family would have commissioned heraldry items to display such an honour. A silver mustard pot currently in the care of the Ashmolean Museum once belonged to Theodosia Crowley, the widow of John Crowley (Fig 7.8). The surface bears the arms of Crowley impaling Gascoyne (Theodosia's maiden name). Carefully crafted,

³⁰ William Arthur Young, 'The Story of Sir Ambrose Crowley and His Son John Crowley, Ironmongers and Ironmasters, 1659–1728,' *Newcomen Society Proceedings* 4 (1923–4)

this pot belonged to a significant collection of sterling silver once owned by Theodosia Crowley. The armorial arrangement of lozenge suggests a status of widowhood. The pot must have been made after John Crowley passed away, possibly from a London workshop around 1760.³¹ By that time, Theodosia was in fact the acting executive for Crowley's ironmonger empire and remained in this role until her death in 1782.³²



Fig 7.8 Silver Mustard Pot, c. 1760

³¹ Timothy Schroder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver in the Ashmolean Museum I* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2009), 358

³² Several business documents and public comments confirm the dominating and unshakable position of Theodosia Crowley in the firm. Flinn, *Men of Iron*, 77–97. Please also see: <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000726/html/am726--626.html> (accessed 18th Jan, 2017)

The purpose of this kind of object is not limited to the demonstration of family lineage but to help later generations remember a specific personal or family achievement. It offers a 'window access to the past' and often depicts autobiographical evidence outside of written accounts such as letters and diaries.³³ The contractual obligation and personal affection carried by it indicates the key moments of one's life – birth, birthday, marriage and death.

Traditionally, small commemorative items were made in metal, particularly silver. These items often have an easily convertible economic value. A heart-shaped silver locket, for example, reveals Martha Edlin's passion for her husband Richard Richmond, a London merchant, in the 1660s.³⁴ It was decorated with a Cupid and an inscription. This locket was carefully kept in a casket and passed down to her descendants. Such a thing is one of many examples of commemorative silver in middling households. Christening cups and spoons were also common celebratory objects. English delftware became widely available to English middling households from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. Unlike silver, delftware could be decorated in colours so it was often used in the commemoration of public events. It is possible that this material had a lower economic value, so it could be circulated in a public space without concerns around it being lost or stolen. Royal marriages and celebrations were often commemorated by delftware (Fig 7.9). Mugs, plates and cups were painted with personal messages such as the couple's initials or loyalist imagery. In addition, large

³³ Anita Kasabova, 'Memory, Memorials, and Commemoration,' *History and Theory* 47 (2008): 339

³⁴ Angela McShane, 'Subjects and Objects: Material Expressions of Love and Loyalty in Seventeenth-Century England,' *Journal of British Studies* 48 (2009): 874

bowls or chargers were often decorated with an explicit political message. The overlapping function between materials is evident. Further to this point, the superiority of Chinese porcelain in the form of the armorial dinner service had been firmly established by the mid-eighteenth century as less and less delftware with heraldic designs were found in the later period.³⁵



Fig 7.9 Earthenware Dish, c. 1694

³⁵ Aileen Dawson, *English and Irish Delftware: 1570–1840* (London: British Museum Press, 2010), 28

Indeed, marriage arrangement in the existing social structure provides a platform for the conspicuous services of eighteenth-century England. As discussed in Chapter 3, the ambition of entering landed society was reflected by marriage contracts. It is calculated that in the Restoration period, 60 per cent of London aldermen's daughters were married to gentry and 68 per cent in the mid-eighteenth century.³⁶ Elizabeth Crowley, the granddaughter of John Crowley, married John Ashburnham, the second Earl of Ashburnham. She gave him the Suffolk estate, South Sea annuities and Orphans' Stock. Together the amount was estimated to be worth £200,000.³⁷ Although no armorial porcelain was found in their inventory, a silver armorial centrepiece was commissioned possibly for this marriage (Fig 7.10). This piece was made by Nicholas Sprimont, the founder of Chelsea porcelain. Sprimont also made a ceramic Goat and Bee Jug for the Ashburnhams around the same time (Fig 7.11). The sculptural quality of the ceramic jug was similar to silver. The link between pottery and silversmith was ever so close.

The relationship between material possession and one's social status is often explicit in family wills. In John Crowley's will, a lengthy paragraph was given to instruct his executors on how his wealth should be divided. As his children were still young, Theodosia was the custodian of his estate until his sons reached the age of twenty-one. She was entitled to the following items:

³⁶ Nicholas Rogers, 'Money, Land and Linage: The Big Bourgeoisie of Hanoverian London,' *Social History* 4 (1979), 445

³⁷ It is claimed that Elizabeth Crowley brought £200,000 to the Ashburnhams, resulting in a comment from Walpole that 'My Lord Ashburnham does not keep a fast; he is going to marry one of the plum Crawleys'. Walpole's letter is dated 12 Feb 1756
https://archive.org/stream/completepeerageo01coka/completepeerageo01coka_djvu.txt (accessed 28th Feb, 2017)

All his household goods at barking to her own use (plate excepted) and liberty to two in any of his other houses with the use of the goods there till one of his sons come to twenty one without any rent and then she may take what she shall want of his goods to furnish fully her house at Barking not exceeding £300. He gives her his coach and the coach horses and all the jewells which she had or should have to her own use and the she present to Barking living if owning her life it became void. He gives her also the uses of his plate for her life and after her death to his son Ambrose if he attains twenty one else to his son John but if his wife marry again, she to have no further use of his plate nor of his houses or furniture excepting that at Barking as agreed.³⁸

This paragraph suggests a pre-marriage settlement had been drafted between John and Theodosia as the dwelling in Barking, Suffolk was passed to Theodosia 'as agreed'. Theodosia Crowley herself came from a well-to-do family. She was the daughter of the Reverend Joseph Gascoigne and Anne Theobald who came from a Suffolk landed family. It is likely that the Barking estate was gifted to her by her brother and therefore was arranged to be inherited by her alone.³⁹ In addition, the phrase of 'Barking living' implies a suitable living standard which must be maintained by the ownership of luxury such as coach, horses, jewels and plate.

A sense of borrowing is hinted at by the conditions which sought to exclude Theodosia if she was re-married. Her ownership of high-value investment items such as house leases and the silver of the Crowley estates would be terminated when their sons inherited the family estate. In contrast to his father, John Crowley's will clearly wants to keep Theodosia out of family wealth. Sir Ambrose Crowley generously provided for his

³⁸ Case upon John Crowley's Will, 1726, London, CLC/440/MS08764A, LMA

³⁹ Steer, 'A Housewife's Affairs,' 44

'beloved wife Mary Crowley' £15,000 in South Sea stock and £8,000 in cash.⁴⁰ In addition, he gifted all his household goods, furniture, plate, jewels and coach to her without conditions. The contrast offers a rare insight into the Crowleys' family affairs, but most importantly it suggests that women's financial wellbeing was strictly reliant on their husbands' generosity.



Fig 7.10 Silver Table Centrepiece, c. 1748

⁴⁰ Crowley, Ambrose, Will



Fig 7.11 Ceramic Jug, c. 1745

Because her widowhood was for such a long duration, Theodosia Crowley's finances remained independent and some of her personal possessions were fortunately recorded. Her house in Grosvenor Square, inventoried in July 1757, suggests a more modest lifestyle in this compact urban living space.⁴¹ Valued at £243 13s. 6d., her house was significantly smaller than both properties in Greenwich and Thames Street, London. It only had seven rooms and few rooms were reserved for servants. By this time Crowley House became the business headquarters. High-ranked business managers such as John Hanmer and John Bannister had long been given rooms to reside in the

⁴¹ Crowley, Theodosia, Widow of John Crowley, 1782, Inventory of Household Goods Belonging at Her House in Graverners [GROSVENOR] Square, CLC/440/MS08766, LMA

same house with their master and 'all kinds of iron manufactures' were found in the warehouse next to the Crowley House.⁴²

The goods in the house at Grosvenor Square hint that Theodosia may have downsized or she probably lived alone without a large group of staff. Decorative goods such as damask curtains and covers and mahogany furniture were documented in both Theodosia's and her husband's inventory. This may suggest that some items were removed from the Greenwich estate to this house, probably for entertaining guests as well as for maintaining a certain lifestyle. Strangely, no silver plate and chinaware were recorded and everyday utensils were sparse. It is suspected that this inventory was either incomplete or served for a different financial purpose.

The changing ownership of silver and china between a man and woman is particularly curious in the Crowley's wills. Plate was excessively recorded in John Crowley's will, but chinaware was never mentioned. John Crowley's old sterling, weighing at 2,414 oz 5 dwt, was valued at £633 14s. 9d; new sterling weighing 1,579 oz 10 dwt was valued at £427 15s 7d. The silver plates contained candlesticks, salvers, lamps, basins, teapot, water pot, flask and all sorts of forks and knives. There is no doubt that Theodosia must have owned some silver, but she did not specify the quantity in her will apart from a cistern. It is possible that this cistern came from John Crowley as his inventory did record a cistern in new sterling plate. It is also possible that this cistern was passed to the Earl of Ashburnham as the family later sold their valuables at

⁴² Clive Aslet, *The Story of Greenwich* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), 188

Christie's in 1914 and the sale included a large wine cistern with the Crowleys' arms⁴³ (Fig 7.12). The inside was engraved with the arms of Crowley impaling Gascoigne, suggesting that this cistern was made to celebrate the alliances of two families during John Crowley's time.

The absence of detailed descriptions of silver plate in Theodosia's will reveals that an economic separation between husband and wife was deliberately constructed. Theodosia's will testifies to a strong emotional attachment to her personal belongings such as ornamental china.⁴⁴ In her house in Berkeley Square, 'all the furniture fixtures books and china and all other household goods' should be divided between her 'dear grand daughters'. By gifting personal objects to the next generation, Theodosia would be able to leave her legacy to her successors.⁴⁵ Silver plate, on the other hand, was treated as an asset and passed down to the Earl of Ashburnham except her 'gilt plate' which should be divided among her granddaughters. The fact that Theodosia included these goods in her will suggests that they were likely to be used or owned by her and it is reasonable to associate china with her position as a female head of the family.

⁴³ Christie's Sale Catalogue on 26th March, 1914, lot 206.

⁴⁴ Crowley Theodosia, Widow of Berkley Square, Will, 1782, Middlesex, PROB 11/1090/336, The National Archives Kew

⁴⁵ For example, the Forth's inventory of 1806 mentioned gifting and bequeathing china to several family members. For more detail, please see Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 225



Fig 7.12 Gabriel Sleath, Silver Cistern, c. 1720

John Crowley's oldest son Ambrose died in 1754 and his younger son John Crowley died the following year, leaving Theodosia the only person to take charge of the firm's finances. Despite her involvement in family business, Theodosia's will in 1782 still hints at her role as a temporary guardian of this incredible wealth.⁴⁶ Theodosia divided her assets (including annuity, stock and property) between the remaining family members, mostly her daughters and granddaughters. Rather than 'give' her fortune to her son-in-law and grandchildren, Theodosia 'paid to' their accounts. The language implies an inevitable pay-out rather than a willing gift. The personality of Theodosia Crowley was more obvious in her gift to the servants, churches and the

⁴⁶ Ibid.

hospitals; none of which were mentioned in John Crowley's will. Her commission of silver plate to her parish in Barking perhaps illustrates her growing importance in business and her independent personal finance.

By the time of her death, the only male heir to Crowley's fortune was John Ashburnham, the second Earl of Ashburnham (Elizabeth Crowley died a year before her mother); therefore, Ashburnham was entitled to a third of the business of Crowley & Co in London and the Barking estate.⁴⁷ His children also inherited a large amount of stock and annuity from Crowley's business. At the end, Crowley's family line was completely assimilated into the Ashburnham's and eventually merged into the gentry class, leaving their mercantile background behind.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

Statistical evidence from the Orphans' Inventories suggests that chinaware was a common addition to London tradesmen's homes since the second decade of the eighteenth century. It was used as an ornament and soon evolved into an indispensable utensil for social occasions in and around 1740. While the well-referenced emulation theory provides a clear motivation for the increased chinaware ownership, the patterns of consumption varied according to personal taste and financial means. Through commercial expansion,¹ London tradesmen were able to improve their social status via the accumulation of wealth and business connections with their social superiors. Thus the significance of London tradesmen and their material possessions is reflected by their close ties with the EIC. The Orphans' samples show that over a third of London tradesmen were affiliated with or invested in East India trade;² the EIC directors and high-profile merchants determined the volume and the price of foreign imports and helped promote the greater consumption of chinaware to the middling social groups. The commercial elite were at the pinnacle of overseas trade and the campaigners of conspicuous consumption. Arguably, the ownership of exotica was a reflection of this development.

What is interesting is the change of social perception towards foreign commodities in early modern England.³ From a fantasized curiosity to a symbol of fashion, chinaware remained a foreign commodity with moral implications throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. New social and economic thinkers such as David

¹ Please see Chapter 3, footnote 1

² Please see Chapter 3, 48

³ Please see Chapter 5, 109-115

Hume and Adam Smith helped convert the image of decaying 'old luxury' into the refined 'new luxury'. The advanced making of foreign luxury was thought to benefit local industry and, more importantly, educate the public about how to live in a civilised society. Such ideas helped lift the negative impact of luxury in political discourse and encouraged English potteries such as Bow, Chelsea and later Wedgwood to produce stronger and more decorative wares. Allegedly, later English ceramics were sold via similar sales channels that had been paved by earlier London chinamen; thus, the impact of Chinese porcelain on English productions can also be observed from an established sales and distribution system.

The superfluity of chinaware continued to be associated with female consumers. 'Empty', 'vain' and 'fragile' were the words used to describe porcelain vessels as well as their owners' characters.⁴ The constructed femininity has been analysed by contemporary historians who hope to identify various patterns of consumption. The inventories studied do not suggest a clearly divided gender consumption due to the purpose of the initial valuation; rather they impose an idea of treating the consumption as a unit of household. Expensive large porcelain objects such as punch bowls or commemorative mugs were likely to be commissioned by men due to their higher economic value and the method of order while smaller goods such as tea cups and saucers could be easily purchased in local china shops and presented to housewives. Both types of drinking vessel are commonly found in the later samples and indicate a growth of ownership in sync with the general consumption of chinaware. The only difference is that male drinking culture were cultivated in the public space as well as at home, whilst female tea culture was probably limited to the domestic arena.

⁴ Please see Chapter 6, footnotes 46 and 47

Hidden behind the intricate patterns of consumption is the inter-connectivity of materials as demonstrated in the inventories. Chinese porcelain, in this case, intruded on the existing household economy established by locally-made items. Noticeably, the ownership of delft and pewter ware was affected by the introduction of chinaware. Delft and stoneware retreated to secondary ornaments as they appeared less often in later samples. As for pewter, although the overall percentage was retained, production, in macro-economic terms, declined dramatically in the second half of the eighteenth century. The weight of pewter in London tradesmen's homes did not increase over the first half of the century, suggesting that some pewter was inherited rather than purchased. One reason for the decline of both materials possibly lies on the fact that porcelain offered middling homes an improvement in hygiene as well as fashion. Similar objects like drinking vessels and serving plates were made from different materials throughout this period. The overlapping use of china, delft and pewter ware indicates a fierce competition between ceramics and metals.

The consumption of silver, on the other hand, was largely unaffected. The percentage of ownership remained resilient. Small silver accessories were made to compliment the tea ceremony, suggesting that this precious metal took a supporting role to chinaware in the all-important status play. Silver tea spoons, salvers and tongs were meant to upgrade the luxurious look of the whole tea service while porcelain tea cups and saucers remained the focal point. This is a telling aspect of the impermanent status of superfluous things. Conceivably, the novelty of chinaware challenged the patina of silver when emerging middling households were able to find alternatives for the presentation of wealth. Textual evidence further indicates that the general enthusiasm

for oriental goods promoted the status of chinaware as commemorative item;⁵ but it must be noted that the economic value of silver never receded. Crowley's case was a demonstration of the value of silver but also of the gender difference towards material possessions. Individual cases clearly demonstrate how chinaware was used as an alternative ornament and as an emotional investment.

To sum up, this thesis presents the following points. First, the percentage of china ownership in London middling houses climbed to its peak in the second decade of the eighteenth century. Ornamental china had been popular throughout the first half of the eighteenth century; meanwhile the wider use of utensils seems to take hold slightly later. Second, public perception towards Asian luxury changed with economic and political discourse. The moral implication of conspicuous consumption lessened and the making of chinaware was thought to be advanced and sophisticated. This provided a meaningful motivation for conspicuous consumption. Status utensils were part of polite living and are observed in the Orphans' samples. Third, although gender consumption is not clearly identified in the Orphans' samples, literary sources such as newspapers, novels and satirical comments suggest that men were likely to consume utensils in the third space while females were confined to the domestic arena. This point is further demonstrated in the case study of the Crowley family. Lastly, the consumption of chinaware is not an isolated incident but a collective and continuous event that involved other domestic goods. From how the house was designed to where goods were used, each element played an important role in determining why and how chinaware was consumed. An understanding of London tradesmen's material life could only be advanced through documenting the inter-connection between foreign and local

⁵ Please see Chapter 6, 198–202

materials.

Thus this PhD thesis highlights the unique position of chinaware in London middling homes. By discussing the social and economic functions of chinaware through primary sources including inventories, trade cards and wills, I bridge the gap between the inter-disciplinary subjects such as English material culture and Chinese export ceramics. New evidence from trade cards and crime proceedings enable future historians to study the impact of Chinese porcelain on English domestic consumption prior to the rise of the English pottery industry. On the other hand, probate inventories illustrate the much-needed social context for the study of Chinese export ceramics as few historians have focused on the patterns underpinning consumption in ordinary English households. With both ends in mind, this research hopes to provoke further thinking on the cultural perspective of chinaware in the macro- and micro- household economy and its relationship with other materials. I hope my contribution will open the way for future studies on porcelain, delftware, silver and pewter.

APPENDIX 1

The Orphans' Inventories inspected in this study are extracted from a collective file of Court of Orphans, City of London (CLA/002/02/01) housed in London Metropolitan Archives. The total number of inventories is 596 but only 518 inventories are useful to this study. The rest are either unreadable copies or debt receipts. They appear to have no domestic items.

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 have a slightly smaller pool of samples. This is due to the inconsistent information in each inventory. Only those that recorded the total value of the household are used in Tables 3.2 and 3.3. There are 481 samples for Table 3.1 and, based on these samples, 331 samples are then selected for Table 3.3. Total household value normally includes: domestic items in the dwelling house, linen, silver and shop stock. Occasionally lease value and public security are combined into the total sum. Such information might further indicate the level of personal wealth as discussed in Chapter 3. The problem of using these samples has been presented in Research Material and Problems and Chapter 1.

Tables 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6 have repeated entries. For instance, chinaware can appear in two or three more rooms in one inventory. Likewise, one house could have tea ware as well as dinner ware. The percentages showed in Tables 3.5, 3.6 and 3.7 are meant to reflect each category truthfully in order to draw a meaningful graph of the change of the location and content of chinaware through a short period of fifty years.

From 1730 onwards, the number of inventories decreased dramatically. Only 64 samples are available. The percentages produced from these samples become problematic as they might not faithfully reflect the general trend. This is considered in my work but still presented here for future reference.

The names of London tradesmen are listed in chronological order. The spellings are based on the original inventories. However, if the inventories are unreadable, the spelling would be copied directly from the London Metropolitan Archives website.

Last name	First Name	Company	Year	Last name	First Name	Company	Year
Jones	Thomas	Apothecary	1700	Stevenson	Thomas	Haberdasher	1702
Price	John	Barber surgeon	1700	Bricks	Jane (Andrew)	Upholder	1702
Action	William	Joiner	1700	Burkin	James	Cloth worker	1702
Abbots	Henry	Vintner	1700	Hopkins	Richard	Culter	1702
Brooke	Philipp	Cloth worker	1700	Wigfall	Dorothy	Vintner	1702
Leapidge	Thomas	Pewterer	1700	Wing	Edward	Cloth worker	1702
Blanckley	John	Gun maker	1700	Collins	Thomas	Fishmonger	1702
Haycock	Joseph	Goldsmith	1700	Green	Nathan	Cloth worker	1703
Pickering	Lawrence	Comb maker	1701	Jones	Thomas	Draper	1703
Brown	John	Plumber	1701	Black	John	Shipwright	1703
Frithugh	William	Stationer	1701	Peck	Thomas	inn holder	1703
Roberts	John	Distiller	1701	Dudley	Joseph	Weaver	1703
Barber	John	Founder	1701				
Shettle	William	Cloth worker	1701				

Griffith	William	inn holder	1703	Parrott	John	Leather seller	1707
Maddock	William	Cooper	1703	Paddon	Thomas	Pewterer	1707
Langhorne	Luke	Haberdasher	1703	Knapp	George	Haberdasher	1707
Boulty	Benjamin	Salter	1703	Sprint	Samuel	Stationer	1707
Foche	John	Draper	1704	Kist	John	Culter	1707
Floyer	Peter	Goldsmith	1704	Powell	Adam	Brewer	1708
Cooper	Caleb	Silk throwster	1704	Sabin	Joshua	Weaver	1708
Harris	Edmund	Leather seller	1704	Ewer	Benjamin	Wax Chandler	1708
Place	John	Stationer	1704	Smartfoot	Francis	Merchant tailor	1708
Osborne	Edward	Vintner	1704	Mander	John	Butcher	1708
Coates	Thomas	Vintner	1704	Walford	Richard	Turner	1708
Hicks	John	Cloth worker	1705	Reynolds	Richard	Apothecary	1708
Bennett	William	Blacksmith	1705	Pinckard	John	Upholder	1708
Johnson	William	Haberdasher	1705	Comport	Robert	Grocer	1708
Kirton	Ashar	Turner	1705	Allolt	George		1708
Keay	James	Dyer	1705	Spencer	Edward	Fishmonger	1708
Snow	Joseph	Distiller	1705	Deacon	Bridgett	Widow	1708
Cooke	James	Wax Chandler	1705	Hopkins	Henry	Plumber	1708
Levett	Francis	Mercer	1705	Caldecott	George	Mercer	1708
Richardson	William		1706	Winne	John	Mercer	1709
Dennis	George	Draper	1706	Philipps	Richard	Joiner	1709
Day	Samuel	Goldsmith	1706	Briddle	Daniel	Weaver	1709
Kingman	Charles	Culter	1706	Ratherly	Robert	Salter	1709
Arnott	Paul	Haberdasher	1706	Burrow	Jonathan	Founder	1710
Johnson	John	Draper	1706	Thurgood	Robert	Inn holder	1710
Tabor	Jonathan	Goldsmith	1706	Scott	Daniel	Merchant tailor	1710
Clark	Thomas	Merchant tailor	1706	Taylor	Wyant	Haberdasher	1710
Newbolt	Jerome	Apothecary	1707	Regale	Nathan	Tallow chandler	1710
Jones	Robert	Fishmonger	1707	Lyle	Thomas	Apothecary	1710
Ratcliffe	Apolina	Draper	1707	Whaley	William	Weaver	1710
Luke	Henry	Carmen	1707	Jaggard	Abraham	Grocer	1710
Bennett	Thomas	Stationer	1707	Barnard	Charles	Barber	1711
Blare	Josiah		1707	Heriot	Thomas	Surgeon Haberdasher	1711
				Taylor	George	Gun maker	1711
				Kellet	Henry	Vintner	1711
				Fox	George	Cook	1711
				Finch	Walter	Apothecary	1711

Adamson	Robert	Inn holder	1711	Barnes	Edward	Cloth worker	1714
Hansall	Thomas	Cloth worker	1711				
Aldridge	Richard	Cooper	1711	Bradley	William	Farrier	1714
Barker	Francis	Haberdasher	1711				
Cooke	William	Pewterer	1711	Cocke	Richard	Merchant tailor	1714
Brookes	John	Embroider	1712	Court	Michael	Surgeon	1714
Meakes	Charles	Weaver	1712	Darell	Edward	Painter stainer	1714
Mickethwaite	Jonathan	Mercer	1712	Fawdery	Robert	Coach maker	1714
Watkins	William	Vintner	1712	Henley	Thomas	Butcher	1714
Hunt	Edmund	Apothecary	1712	Hicks	John	Joiner	1714
Hodges	Samuel	Draper	1712	Hunt	Henry	Dyer	1714
Marks	Nathaniel	Grocer	1712				
Mayo	John	Clockmaker	1712	Kellet	Mary	Vintner	1714
Margetts	Robert	Merchant tailor	1712	Mathews	John	Stationer	1714
Rogers	Charles	Clockmaker	1712	Ratcliffe	William	Founder	1714
Metcalfe	James	Goldsmith	1712	Smith	David	Cooper	1714
Moorland	William	Draper	1712	Spike	John	Inn holder	1714
Ewin	Robert	Wax Chandler	1712	Warner	John	Cloth worker	1714
Spiller	George	Skinner	1712	Wilcox	Thomas	Upholder	1714
Luce	William	Broderer	1712				
Winn	George	Grocer	1712	Cole	Robert	Vintner	1714
				Allison	John	Merchant tailor	1715
Abbott	John	Inn holder	1713				
Barnardison	John	Vintner	1713	Andrews	Christopher	Merchant tailor	1715
Bray	Bartholomew	Weaver	1713	Ashby	George	Haberdasher	1715
Dale	Daniel	Tallow chandler	1713	Aylworth	George	Mercer	1715
Gibbs	Francis	Dyer	1713				
Hawkins	John	Cooper	1713	Deacon	William	Stationer	1715
Leach	John	Haberdasher	1713	Dennett	Robert	Barber surgeon	1715
Mosely	Nicholas	Wax chandler	1713	Dodd	James	Haberdasher	1715
Shepherd	Henry	Vintner	1713	Hassard	William	Carman	1715
Usborne	James	Turner	1713	Hawes	Thomas	Tallow chandler	1715
Freeman	Collins	Stationer	1713	Horton	Robert	Carpenter	1715
Cox	Robert	Distiller	1713	Hougham	Solomon	Draper	1715
Archer	John	Distiller	1714	Jackson	John	Goldsmith	1715
Ash	Thomas	Goldsmith	1714	Lamb	Arthur	Draper	1715

Lane	Jonathan	Goldsmith	1715	Boswell	Thomas	Carman	1717
Meredith	Henry	Haberdasher	1715	Cleetor	Francis	Bowyer	1717
Osborne	Thomas	Grocer	1715	How	George	Cooper	1717
Shepherd	John	Barber surgeon	1715	Hurst	George	Cooper	1717
Snare	John	Poulterer	1715	Mann	Walter	Cooper	1717
Stone	Thomas	Joiner	1715	Mansfield	Lodowick	Distiller	1717
Town	Leonard	Haberdasher	1715	Peate	John	Baker	1717
Wickham	Thomas	Distiller	1715	Rayne	Thomas	Vintner	1717
Wilkins	Isaac	Ironmonger	1715	Sanderson	Charles	Vintner	1717
Woodball	Henry		1715	Toone	William	Cloth worker	1717
Wynde	John	Stationer	1715	Wright	James	Haberdasher	1717
Booth	Caleb	Soap maker	1715	Wright	John	Vintner	1717
Ashwood	Benjamin	Cloth worker	1716	Bridges	Stephen	Pewterer	1717
Barnes	Richard	Cloth worker	1716	Blundell	Richard	Barber surgeon	1718
Cooke	Thomas	Upholder	1716	Burlace	Henry	Cooper	1718
Ellis	John		1716	Williams	John	Yeoman	1718
Harding	Roger	Merchant tailor	1716	Leaper	John	Joiner	1718
Hayward	William	Grocer	1716	Mason	William	Grocer	1718
Hender	William	Cordwainer	1716	Williams	John	Joiner	1718
Humberston	William	Cordwainer	1716	Partridge	John	Goldsmith	1718
Mead	John	Grocer	1716	Park	John	Salter	1718
Montage	Thomas	Grocer	1716	Turner	Richard	Cloth worker	1718
Powell	John	Cloth worker	1716	Bricknell	William	Inn holder	1719
Smith	Richard	Haberdasher	1716	Clifton	Francis	Baker	1719
Smith	William	Cooper	1716	Coleman	Isaac	Salter	1719
Staples	John	Upholder	1716	Cotton	Richard	Plaisterer	1719
Walsham	Robert	Framework Knitter	1716	Gardin	John	Draper	1719
Weale	John	Skinner	1716	Jaques	William	Clockmaker	1719
Talman	James	Armourer	1716	Lowndes	John	Skimmer	1719
Bates	Charles	Stationer	1716	Marsden	Thomas	Draper	1719
Appleby	William	Draper	1717	May	Samuel	Brewer	1719
				Perrie	John	Draper	1719

Sorrell	Henry	Grocer	1719	Haines	Edward	Haberdasher	1721
Tom	Thomas	Barber surgeon	1719	Hall	Thomas	Felt maker	1721
Hutton	Robert	Merchant tailor	1719	Leeson	William	Two-plate worker	1721
Jones	John		1719	Meares	William	Musician	1721
Eames	Nathaniel Richard	Pewterer	1719	Moorford	William	Joiner	1721
Bateman	Richard	Barber Surgeon	1720	Pearkes	James	Fishmonger	1721
				Whisker	Daniel	Inn holder	1721
Boyte	Thomas	Pin maker	1720	Wignall	John	Upholder	1721
Carter	John	Tallow chandler	1720	Ashley	Thomas	Merchant tailor	1722
Clayton	John	Founder	1720	Blackwell	John	Cloth worker	1722
Ellison	John	Draper	1720	Brassey	William	Haberdasher	1722
Flemming	Webb	Cooper	1720				
Foster	Abraham	Grocer	1720	Clay	Richard	Draper	1722
Fuller	Jonathan	Silk thrower	1720	Eles	Thomas	Cook	1722
Hawkins	Richard	Armourer	1720	Gibson	Robert	Inn holder	1722
Heiladeon	James		1720				
Hinde	Jacob	Painter stainer	1720	Hasler	William	Gun maker	1722
Hodgkin	Thomas	Cloth worker	1720	Hayford	William	Distiller	1722
Horne	Thomas	Stationer	1720	Hayward	Thomas	Fishmonger	1722
Iverson	Daniel	Goldsmith	1720	Hazard	Thomas	Fishmonger	1722
Pyke	Robert	Haberdasher	1720	Heysham	Robert	Draper	1722
Read	Moses	Draper	1720	Hopkins	William	Louinere	1722
Staney	John	Merchant tailor	1720	Hougham	Francis	Painter stainer	1722
Stile	John	Leather seller	1720	Lucas	William	Cloth worker	1722
Wall	Thomas	Cloth worker	1720	Mayne	Joseph	Mercer	1722
Wootton	William	Vintner	1720	Neale	Harvey	Soap maker	1722
Jonathan	Fulles	Silk thrower	1720	Nicholls	Richard	Goldsmith	1722
Nicholson	James	Apothecary	1720	Partridge	Richard	Armourer	1722
Bagshaw	Joshua	Weaver	1721	Sadler	Thomas	Goldsmith	1722
Bass	William	Vintner	1721	Salt	Samuel	Vintner	1722
Bowen	Peter	Cordwainer	1721	Savage	Richard	Grocer	1722
Bowles	Thomas	Joiner	1721	Shewell	James	Haberdasher	1722
Burrias	Abraham	Cook	1721	Stanley	Francis	Pewterer	1722
Cole	Samuel	Inn holder	1721	White	Henry	Vintner	1722
Dunklyn	Samuel	Scrivener	1721	Withew	William	Fishmonger	1722
Fleetwood	Robert	Glass-seller	1721				

Horton	Peter	Carman	1722	Cazalett	Peter	Shipwright	1724
Whitehead	Robert	Baker	1722	Cholmey	William	Fishmonger	1724
Akerman	Henry	Inn holder	1723	Collins	Thomas	Vintner	1724
Antram	Joseph	Clockmaker	1723	Dawson	Benjamin	Haberdasher	1724
Badcocke	Richard	Weaver	1723	Dawson	Benjamin	Haberdasher	1724
Berdoe	James	Merchant tailor	1723	Doughty	Ezra	Upholder	1724
Brand	Joseph	Plumber	1723	Evans	Adam	Inn holder	1724
Coallyer	William	Barber surgeon	1723	Flower	Adam	Girdler	1724
Dell	Humphry	Goldsmith	1723	Foreman	Luke	Distiller	1724
Goodlad	John	Merchant tailor	1723	Gittons	Thomas	Cooper	1724
Humphreys	Edward	Weaver	1723	Hampden	William	Haberdasher	1724
Jackson	Martin	Clockmaker	1723	Hilliard	John	Wheelwright	1724
Johnson	Mathias	Draper	1723	Hilton	Robert	Brewer	1724
Keighley	Samuel	Painter stainer	1723	Horne	John	Tyer and brick layer	1724
Maters	Edward	Cooper	1723	Horton	William	Cooper	1724
Molt	Joseph	Vintner	1723	Hughes	Edmund	Haberdasher	1724
Monk	John	Skimmer	1723	Hunter	William	Stationer	1724
Morris	Richard	Weaver	1723	Jemblin	James	Salter	1724
Perkins	Thomas	Joiner	1723	Johnson	Jess	Carman	1724
Pickering	Richard	Cooper	1723	Long Gatham	James	Mercer	1724
Price	Robert	Blacksmith	1723	Prestige	Francis	Loriner	1724
Scott	John	Vintner	1723	Shepherd	Gregory	Distiller	1724
Sherman	John	Skinner	1723	Stiles	Lazarus	Joiner	1724
Sherwood	John	Dyer	1723	Stockar	John	Apothecary	1724
Spurrier	Henry	Distiller	1723	Taylor	William	Stationer	1724
Staford	Thomas	Cooper	1723	Warkman	Mark	Cooper	1724
Wilbraham	James	Fruiterer	1723	Watson	John	Embroider	1724
Waylett	George	Haberdasher	1723	Williard	Joseph	Armourer	1724
Atkins	Loss	Carpenter	1724	Hopkins	Robert	Livrnere	1724
Barker	Richard	Wheelwright	1724	Rogerson	Richard	Carpenter	1724
Beaumont	Anslem	Apothecary	1724	Waldron	William	Vintner	1724
Catmur	Thomas	Distiller	1724				

Benton	Major	Girdler	1725	Scott	Titus	Salter	1726
Bosworth	Edward	Clock worker	1725	Smith	Benjamin	Founder	1726
Bugby	Atkinson	Leather seller	1725	Titus	Scott	Salter	1726
Burrett	Phillip	Stationer	1725	Tyler	George	Clockmaker	1726
Butler	Henry	Distiller	1725	Vere	Samuel	Goldsmith	1726
Clark	Joseph	Salter	1725	Walton	Robert	Butcher	1726
Collett	Elias	Cooper	1725	Webb	Joseph	Grocer	1726
Eustace	Henry	Vintner	1725	Wood	Seymond	Haberdasher	1726
Evendon	John	Joiner	1725	Acton	Samuel	Grocer	1727
Garlick	William	Fishmonger	1725	Baylie	Daniel	Salter	1727
Hall	John	Blacksmith	1725	Bell	John	Haberdasher	1727
Holloway	William	clockmaker	1725	Burscoe	John	Vintner	1727
Ingram	William	Fishmonger	1725	Colson	Richard	Merchant tailor	1727
Mill	Charles	Haberdasher	1725	Ford	John	Tallow chandler	1727
Pettie	James	Mercer	1725	Johnson	Thomas	Haberdasher	1727
Roberts	Adam	Merchant tailor	1725	Kemp	Joseph	Merchant tailor	1727
Smith	Benjamin	Plumber	1725	Rayne	Robert	Wax Chandler	1727
Smith	John	Dyer	1725	Shepherd	Thomas	Pewterer	1727
Streatfeild	Thomas	Grocer	1725	Shippey	John	Weaver	1727
Tapps	Richard	Merchant tailor	1725	Slater	John	Cloth worker	1727
Tredway	Walter	Glover	1725	Whittington	Isaac	Haberdasher	1727
Wells	John	Fishmonger	1725	Bignell	John	Cordwainer	1728
Cox	Thomas	Cooper	1725	Bradford	Henry	Bowstring maker	1728
Alsop	John	Vintner	1726	Branch	Isaac	Embroider	1728
Barnes	Henry	Leather seller	1726	Dalton	Andrew	Embroider	1728
Bradford	John	Ironmonger	1726	Delme	Peter	Fishmonger	1728
Daniel	Henry	Haberdasher	1726	Hammond	Francis	Salter	1728
Dyer	John	Soap maker	1726	Hare	William	Salter	1728
Jackson	Thomas	Draper	1726	Keep	Edward	Painter stainer	1728
Johnson	Richard	Skinner	1726	Mount	Fisher	Stationer	1728
Prestland	George	Wiredrawer	1726	Plumbe	John	Stationer	1728
Rhodes	John	Loriner	1726	Revell	Henry	Cloth worker	1728
Rivers	Robert	Carpenter	1726	Sandwell	James	Girdler	1728

Sayer	Joseph	Blacksmith	1728	Fisher	William	Vintner	1731
Scott	Jane	Widow	1728	Hilliard	Thomas	Carpenter	1731
Smith	William	Mercer	1728	Jackman	Samuel	Joiner	1731
Sterrop	Thomas	Spectacle maker	1728	Norgate	John	Clockmaker	1731
Collyer	Samuel	Mercer	1728	Smith	Cuthbert	Distiller	1731
Crowley	John	Draper	1728	Bosanquet	David	Loriner	1732
Benskin	John	Poulterer	1728	Dodd	John	Salter	1732
Aynsworth	Stephen	Mercer	1729	Middleton	John	Merchant tailor	1732
Bennett	Samuel	Cooper	1729	White	John	Haberdasher	1732
Brackstone	James	Apothecary	1729	Hyde	Thomas	Mercer	1733
Farmer	Richard	Vintner	1729	Monk	William	Draper	1733
Folkingham	Thomas	Goldsmith	1729	Stevenson	Ambrose	Goldsmith	1733
Jennells	John	Dyer	1729	Wyatt	Thomas	Shipwright	1733
Peell	Jeremiah	Upholder	1729	Atwood	Savage	Armourer	1734
Robinson	William	Loriner	1729	Batchelor	John	Weaver	1734
Rowley	John	Cooper	1729	Durrey	Garland	Grocer	1734
Seabrooke	William	Haberdasher	1729	Haynes	Thomas	Embroider	1734
Sheppard	William	Woolman	1729	Tompson	William	Cloth worker	1734
Southouse	Henry	Soap maker	1729	Wagstaffe	Thomas	Ironmonger	1734
Wackett	John	Farrier	1729	Blunket	Edmond	Fishmonger	1735
Barnes	McCarthy	Inn holder	1730	Fletcher	Thomas	Girdler	1735
Green	Richard	Distiller	1730	Tash	John	Vintner	1735
Hoar	Thomas	Pewterer	1730	Ellery	John	Dyer	1736
Hodgkin	Joseph	Distiller	1730	Hotckis	Thomas	Weaver	1736
Jones	John	Merchant tailor	1730	Marker	William	Glover	1736
Kent	John	Haberdasher	1730	Ashurst	William	Salter	1737
Lens	William	clockmaker	1730	Ellis	William	Painter stainer	1737
Parteger	Joseph	Apothecary	1730	Page	Gilbert	Barber surgeon	1737
Prime	Samuel	Cooper	1730	Cleeve	Alexander	Pewterer	1738
Salter	Robert	Founder	1730	Colcutt	Daniel	Leather seller	1738
Wyan	Jacob	Draper	1730	Hawkes	Edward	Distiller	1738
Cogan	Thomas	Plasterer	1730	Midwinter	Edward	Stationer	1738
Summer	Christophe r		1730	Chiddick	Joseph	Cooper	1739
				Emerton	Alexander	Haberdasher	1739

Millan	Richard	Mason	1739
Parker	Francis	Leather seller	1739
Snelling	William	Salter	1739
Helmes	James	Coach maker	1740
Middleton	John	Merchant tailor	1740
Norris	Self	Merchant tailor	1740
Pocock	John	Haberdasher	1740
Watts	Reader	Broderer	1740
Robins	John	Barber surgeon	1740
Gilchrist	Archibald	Cloth worker	1741
Heming	Richard	Grocer	1741
Spernick	Joseph	Barber	1741
Friend	George	Upholder	1741
Clark	Charles	Fishmonger	1742
Cowley	John	Pewterer	1742
Hawkes	George	Butcher	1742
Myers	William	Skinner	1742
Neville	John	Inn holder	1742
Bateman	John	Merchant tailor	1743
Fernall	Thomas	Blacksmith	1743
Worthington	Thomas	Tobacconist	1743
Saunders	Edward	Blacksmith	1744
Puller	James	Turner	1744
Howard	Robert	Draper	1745
Page	John	Butcher	1745
Bowen	William	Merchant tailor	1747
Hitchman	Giles	Cooper	1747
Spencer	Henry	Tobacco merchant	1748
Branch	Peter	Poulterer	1750
Gusthart	James	Glover	1750

APPENDIX 2 - THE LIST OF LONDON CHINAMEN, 1700 TO 1800

The names of chinamen recorded here are mainly extracted from three London directories: *Mortimer's Directory 1763*, *Kent's Directory 1761–1767* and *Bailey's Directory, 1790*. A small group of chinamen were recorded in various sales catalogues, Royal and Sun Alliance Insurances and Old Bailey Proceedings.

Title	Surname	First Name	Location	Period
Mr	Motteaux	Peter	near Old East India Company	1704
Mrs	Hunt		Golden Ball in Portugal Street near Old Play House in Lincoln's Inn Fields	1711
Mr	Clarke	Jonathan	King Street near Guildhall	1730
Mr	Shackell	John	Oxford Street	1733
Mrs	Hardwood		West End of St. Paul	1733
Mr	Akerman	John	Cornhill	1736
Mr	Lewin	Edward	Cheapside	1736
Mr	Margas	Charles	Ludgate Hill	1736
Mr	Read	William	Grace Church Street	1736
Mrs	Pickering		New Street, Covent Garden	1740
Ms	Ashburner	Hannah	the Rose Fleet Bridge	1745
Ms	Ward	Hannah	Norfolk Street and Surrey Street in Strand	1746
Mrs	Webb		Broadway Westminster	1749

Mr	Strapham	William	Thames Street	1750
Mr	Payne	Benjamin	Three Cannisters at the corner of Chancery Lane	1752
	Russell	Dorothy	Ludgate Hill	1753
Mr.	Abiss	James and son	Southwark	1753
Mr.	Akerman & Scrivenor		4 Fenchurch Street	1753
Mr.	Carter	Philip	Bishopgate Street	1753
Mr.	Cartony	Joseph and Robert	Long Arce	1753
Mr.	Deard	William	Strand	1753
Mr.	Farrer	Richard	Fenchurch Street	1753
Mr.	Fleetwood	John	Leadenhall Street	1753
Mr.	Goldham	John	St. Paul Church Yard	1753
Mr.	Hodgson	Thomas	Cheapside	1753
Mr.	Jameson & Fell		Cornhill	1753
Mr.	Lambden & Woods		Poultry	1753
Mr.	Margas	Philip	Buckersbury	1753
Ms	Ruffel	Dorothy	Ludgate Hill	1753
Mr.	Taylor	John	Pall Hall	1753
Mr.	Vere	Charles	Fleet Street	1753
Mr.	Warren	Dominie	Pall Hall	1753
Mr. and Mrs.	Taylor	John and Jane	Pall Mall	1756

Mr	Williams	Foy and Thomas	No2, St James Street	1756
Mr	Hodgson	Thomas	Cheapside	1759
Mr	Lawton	Thomas	Wapping	1760
Mr	Fogg	Robert	New Bond Street	1760
Mr	Scarlett	Samuel	Tower Street	1761
Mr	Taylor & Son		Pall Mall	1761
Mr	Wright	William	Poultry	1761
Mr	Cartony	Robert	Opposite to Somerset House, Strand	1761
Mr	Child	Coles	Upper Thames Street	1761
Mr	Clarke & Dickinson		King Street Cheapside	1761
Mr	Cotterell	John	Opposite to Mansion House	1761
Mr	Crols	Thomas	Ludgate Street	1761
Mr	Deard	William	Dover Street Piccadilly	1761
Mr	Deveer	Fredrick	Angel Court, Throgmorton Street	1761
Mr	Fell	William	Cornhill	1761
Mr	Fletcher & Richardson		Cheapside	1761
Mr	Goodchild	Thomas	Pall Mall	1761
Mr	Hanson	John	Holborn	1761
Mr	Jameson	Hugh	Cornhill	1761
Mr	Kellam & Palmer		Fenchurch Street	1761

Mr	Lambden & Woods		Putney	1761
Mr	Metcalf	James	Bucklersbury	1761
Mr	Prosser	William	Strand	1761
Mr	Quintin & Windle		Greenyard Smithfield	1761
Mr	Randall	James	Charing-cross	1761
Mr	Ruffell	Peter	Charing-cross	1761
Mr	Roberts	John	Queen's Head Holborn near Hatton Garden	1761
Ms	Baker	Elizabeth, Ann, Martha	Lombard Street and later moved to Gracechurch Street	1762
Mr	Hardy	Daniel	Holborn	1763
Mr	Clarke	Edmund	N0. 44 Ludgate Hill, St. James Street	1763
Mr	Lattimore	William	St. George Hanover Square	1764
Mr	Arthurs	Thomas	St. George Hanover Square	1764
Mr	Guest	John	St. Botolph, Aldgate	1769
Mr	Abernethy	John	Leadenhall Street	1770
Mr	Mathieu	Peter	Mile End	1771
Mr	King	Thomas	Marylebone Lane	1773
Mr	Farmer	Cam	Oxford Street, St. Marylebone	1773
Miss	Powell		St. Andrews Church	1773
Mr	Fleetwood	John	Ludgate Hill	1774
	Coward	Ann	67 Upper Thames Street	1774
Mr	Wright	Richard	St. Clement Lane	1775
Mr	Wright	Edward	Friday Street, Cheapside	1776

Mr	Sacheverell	William	206 Oxford Street	1779
Mr	Abbot	James	23 Bridge Street, Westminster	1790
Ms	Arthur	Dorothy	Clare Street	1790
Mr	Atwood	Henry	24 Honey Lane Market	1790
Mr	Bank	William	49 Milk Street	1790
Mr	Bell	James	105 Oxford Street	1790
Mr	Baldwin	Thomas	27 Oxford Street	1790
Ms	Howard	Ann	456 Strand	1790
Mr	Bolt & Higgins		3 Ely Place Holborn	1790
Mr	Bounre	James	136 Houndsditch	1790
Mr	Btadley	Joseph	27 Carnby Street	1790
Mr	Brooks	John	53 Swallow Street	1790
Mr	Brown	William	31 Houndsditch	1790
Mr	Burch	Henry	7 Minories	1790
Mr	Calvet	Anthony	Pall Mall	1790
Mr	Clark	Dunford	44 Ludgate Hill	1790
Mr	Clarkson	John	Market Street, St. James	1790
Ms	Clarkson	Mary	127 St. John's Street	1790
Ms	Clement	Mary	24 Lothbary + 19 Prince's Street	1790
Mr	Clenent	Sarnuel	105 Norton Falgate	1790
Mr	Coleman	George	Tothill Street, Westminster	1790
Mr	Crofs	Thomas	3 Ludgate Street	1790
Mr	Drew	William	77 Fleet Market	1790
Mr	Durnford	Clark	Temple Street	1790
Mr	Elliot	Henry	16 Great Marylebone Street	1790
Mr	Elliot	William	27 St. Pauls Church yard	1790
Mr	Ferguson	Hugh	48 Shoreditch	1790
Mr	Fielder	M.	35 St. Paul's church yard	1790
Mr	Finch	James	5 Berkley Square	1790
Mr	Flight	Thomas	22 Bread Street	1790
Mr	Foy	Robert (+son)	50 New Bond Street	1790
Mr	Foster	J.	127 Brick Lane	1790
Mr	Fox	Edward	286 Strand	1790
Mr	Godfrey	John	109 Oxford Street	1790
Mr	Handyfide	Thomas	44 Brick Lane	1790

Mr	Harding	George	45 Leadenhall Street	1790
Mr	Hardy	Daniel	High Holborn	1790
Mr	Harris	Robert	Portugal Row, Lincoln's Inn Fields	1790
Mr	Harris	John	209 Oxford Street	1790
Mr	Hart	Hyam	Prince's Street, Leicester Fields	1790
Mr	Hayward	Charles	115 St. Martins Lane	1790
Mr	Hewfon	William	988 Strand	1790
Mr	Hewfon	William	86 Aldgate	1790
Mr	Hewfon	William	388 Strand	1790
Mr	Hillcock	Robert	57 Cheapside	1790
Mr	Hodgson & Donaldson		Knowles, Court, Carter Lane	1790
Mr	Hopkinson	Jonathon	23 Ludgate Street	1790
Mr	Hucknell	Richard	Great Ryder Street	1790
Mr	Hughes	Thomas / James	23 Blackman Street	1790
Mr	Hunter	William	59 New Bond Street	1790
Mr	Hussey	William	Gough Square, Fleet Street	1790
Mr	Hutchins	John	23 Brewer Street, Golden Square	1790
Mr	Layton	Benjamin	35 Holborn	1790
Mr	Littler Co.		36 Ludgate Hill	1790
Mr	Littleton	John	White Cross Street	1790
Mr	MacFarlane + Fawcett		92 Erace-church street	1790
Mr	Madden	John	30 Minories	1790
Mr	Mafon, Miles and Co.		131 Fenchurch Street	1790
Mr	Morris	John	42 Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields	1790
Mr	Morlock	William	290 Oxford Street	1790
Mr	Newburgh	George	75 Cornhill	1790
Mr	Nisbett	William	93 Leadenhall Street	1790
Mr	Nixton	John	4 King Street, Westminster	1790
Mr	Pacy	William	203 Shoreditch	1790
Mr	Payne	John	18 Bishops gate within	1790
Mr	Phillips & Finch		Berkley Square	1790
Mr	Painter	Abraham	88 Newgate Street	1790

Mr	Rittenor	Enoch	37 Albermarle Street	1790
Mr	Roberts	John	117 Lower Holborn	1790
Mr	Shannon	William	54 Bishops gate without	1790
Mr	Smith	Elizabeth and Co.	62 Gracechurch Street	1790
Mr	Smith	Dennick	Church Lane, St. Martins	1790
Mr	Swann	Issaac	14 Parliament Street	1790
Mr	Tagg	William	35 Holborn Hill	1790
Mr	Taylor	John	18 Cannon Street	1790
Mr	Tideswell	Thomas	121 Shoreditch	1790
Mr	Walker	William	112 Minories	1790
Mr	Williams	Thomas	2 St. James Street	1790
Mr	Wood	Henry	35 Poutlry	1790
Mr	Ponter	Abraham	8 New Gate Street	1791
Mr	Tennant	Thomas	66 St. John Street	1791
Mr	Burch	Henry		1791
Mr	Wilkinson	Thomas	258 Wapping	1791
Mr	Hall	Thomas	207 Wapping	1791
Mr	Withington	John	68 Duke Street	1791
Mr	Issaacs	Issaac	22 Wentworth Street	1791
Mrs	Hardy	Hannah	9 High Holborn	1791
Mr	Standish	William	74 Bishopsgate Street	1791
Mr	Harris	Levy	108 Petticoat Lane	1791
Mr	Levy	Harris	108 Petticoats Lane	1791
Mr and Mrs	Jones	Nathaniel and Elisabeth	12 Denmark Street, Soho	1791

Mr	Brandy	George	246 Wapping	1791
Mr	Allen	John	8 Rotherhithe Street	1791
Mr	Yeats	John	31 St. Paul Yard	1791
Ms	Meader	Margret	26 Rotherhithe Street	1791
Mr	Brandley	James	138 St. Martin's Lane	1791
Mr	Archer	William	21 Vere Street	1791
Mr	Smith	John	17 Portugal Lincoln's Inn	1791
Ms	Griffiths	Elisabeth	82 Leather Lane, Holborn	1791
Mr	Jarman	John	291 Strand	1791
Mr	Blake	Thomas	6 Wardour Street	1791
Mr	Lamden	Francis		1791
Ms	Farmer	Elizabeth	34 Portland Street	1792
Mr +1	Smith	William	29 Panton Street	1792
Mr	Smith	George	2 Little St. Andrews Street, Seven Dials	1792
Mr	Knowles	William	42 St. Albans Street	1792
Mr	Calvert	Anthony	21 New Street, Covent Garden	1792
Ms	Alton	Sarah	16 Dartmouth Street, Westminster	1792
Mr	Fry	Richard	of Every Row at Brooks Mews in Brook Street	1792
Mr	Dorman	John	19 Oxford Street	1792
Mr	Tidmarsh	Frances	Bankside, Southward	1792
Ms	Woodman	Mary	43 Bermondsey Street	1792

Mr	Neunburg	George Vanden	75 Cornhill	1792
Mr	Vaughan	Joseph	22 Ship Yard, Temple Bar	1792
Mr	Nicholas	Thomas	13 Old Paved Alley, Pall Mall	1792
Mr	Love	Edward	168 High Holborn	1792
Mr +1	Slyth	Samuel	40 Lower Brook Street, Grosvenor Square	1792
Mr	Allen	Edward	George Street, Richmond, Surrey	1792
Ms	Jones	Elizabeth	18 Spread Eagle Court, Finch Lane, Cornhill	1792
Mr	Glover	Thomas	29 Shoe Lane	1792
Mr	Tackle	Thomas	9 Queen Street, Westminster	1793
Mr	Reynolds	Peter	27 Duke Street, the Park, Southward	1793
Mr	Phillips	Robert	15 Star Street Shadwell	1793
Mr	Brown	James	16 St. Catherine	1793
Mr	Dawson	Robert	31 St. Pauls Church Yard	1794
Mr	Bebbington	John	8 City Road	1794
Mr	Hooper	William	249 High Holborn	1794
Mr	Beedell	Henry	37 Snow Hill	1794
Mr	Whisker	Thomas	42 Shadwell High Street	1794
Mr	Vincent	John	3 Great Tower Street	1794
Mr	Abrahams	Jacob	5 London Road St. George Fields	1794

Mr	Walker	William	112 the Minories	1794
Mr	Gill	Thomas	Brook Street, Grosvenor Square	1794
Mr	Harris	James	6 Charles Street, Westminster	1794
Mr	Garrett	James	359 Oxford Street	1794
Mr	Cummings	John	St. Paul	1794
Ms	Hebert	Mary	50 Bishopsgate Street	1795
Mr	Todd	William	9 White Horse Street Stepney	1795
Mr	Beckett	Richard	near the Black Horse, Mile End	1795
Ms	Harris	Ann	6 Charles Street, Westminster	1796
Mr	Fincham	William	7 Bagier's Court Tottenham Court Road	1797
Mr	Chrome	Thomas	60 Fetter Lane	1797
Mr	Staples	Luke	146 Wapping Street	1797
Mr	Collinson	Richard	9 City Road	1797
Mr	Phipps	Nicholas	15 Titchborne Street	1797
Mr	Keppel	John Michael	417 Oxford Street	1797
Mr	Smith	George	22 Vere Street, Clare Market	1798
Mr	Lyall	John	29 Hewitts Court, Strand	1798
Mr	Barr	Andrew	Haymarket	1798
Mr	Laking	John	11 Shepherd Market	1799
Mr	Ellis	Thomas	88 Brick Lane, Spitalfields	1800
Mr	Gibson	William	10 Little Tower Street	1800
Mr	Mead	Charles	19 Commerce Row, St. Georges Road	1800

Mr	Standish	William	57 Bishopsgate	1800
Mr	Greig	Robert	265 Wapping	1800
Ms	Pyefinch	Elizabeth	30 Becklerbury	
Mr	Amson	James	Exchange Building at Strand	1757
Mr	Brown	William	Aldgate	
Mr	Bacchus	Thomas	Upper Thames Street	
Mr	Weatherby	John		
Mr	Giles	James	Cockspur Street	
Mr	Crowther	John		
Mr.	Bridges	William	St. Mary, Strand	
Mrs.	Buck	Ann	Queen's Head Holborn	

APPENDIX 3:

1. THE TRIAL OF ALICE BURK COMMITTED THEFT (GRAND LARCENY) AND THEFT (SHOPLIFTING) ON 13TH APRIL 1743

Transcript cited from: *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.2, 02 March 2016), April 1743, trial of Alice Burk (t17430413-6)

Alice Burk of St Bridges was indicted for stealing one China-Bason, val. 14 *d.* the Goods of Charles Vere, March 23.

Charles Vere. The Prisoner came into my Shop the 23d of March, and asked to see some China-Basons, and bid Money for one; and as the Person that served her looked another Way, she took an Opportunity, as it is imagined, to conceal one under her Cloak; she went to the next China-Shop to see some Plates, and while the Person that served her went to take some Things off the Shelf, she took a China-Dish. My Bason was found upon her; my Neighbour came to me, and asked me, If she had bought a China-Bason of me: I said, No: says he, I took this Bason from her. - This is my Bason; here is my own Hand-writing upon it; I am sure I had it in my Shop that Day.

William Casebury. I took a China-Bason out of the Prisoner's Bundle; this looks very much like that Bason, I believe it to be the same; it is the same Pattern.

Q. How came you to take it from her?

William Casebury. I live with Mrs Ashbournier, who keeps a China-Shop not far from Mr Vere's: We were all at Dinner except my Mistress, who was in the Shop; the Prisoner had stole a Dish, and my Mistress had taken it from her; I followed the Prisoner to see if she had got any Thing else; she had a Bundle along with her; I think it was under her Arm; I desired to see what was in it; I looked into her Bundle and saw this Bason, and took it out of her Bundle; she came back along with me, or the Mob brought her after me, I am not certain which; when she came into the Shop, our Man turned up the Bason and saw this Gentleman's Mark upon it, for he knows his Mark.

Charles Vere. I have locked this Bason up ever since, and Casebury told me, when he delivered it to me then, that he took it out of her Bundle.

Prisoner. I went into the City to buy something, and went into this Gentleman's Shop, and asked to see some China-Basons; he shewed me two Basons; I asked him the Price; he said, he sold them generally for 18 d. but I should have One at 17 d. I bid 14 d. and afterwards 14 d. Half-penny, and came out of the Shop; - it was not this Gentleman that

served me; and as I went down the Street, I met two Acquaintance of mine, who were going to the other End of the Town; there was a China-Woman coming by, and I bought this Bason of her, and gave her 15 *d.* for it, and she had one Plate which was like that: Pray do not you sell these to the People who sell China about the Streets?

Vere. Very frequently; but I had not sold any to them that Day.

Catherine Mackenzie. I had been at Tower-Hill, visiting a Friend of mine, who was ill. and was going to the other End of the Town, and met this Alice Burk , in Fleet-street, a little beyond the Fleet-Market; I asked her, how she did, and how her Children did, and told her, I was glad to see her; and that I had some Work for her, and desired her to come to me; and as I was talking to her, this Basket-Woman came by with some China, and the Prisoner asked her, if she had any Enamelled China; and the Woman shewed her this Bason; she asked her the Price of it; she said the selling Price was 15 *d.* and that she would take no less: Said I, Alice, do not buy any China To-day, for you are a little disguised, and you will break them; I saw her pay 15 *d.* for the Bason and desired her not to buy any more, but she said she must, and then I left her.

Q. What Day was this?

Mackenzie. It was this Day three Weeks. - It was a blue and white Landskip, with a blue Spot at the Bottom, (the Bason was produced, and she was asked whether that was the

Bason) it was this Pattern, but I cannot swear to the Bason. - It was such a Pattern, white on the Inside, with a little blue at the Bottom as that is.

Ann Tipper. I was coming from Tower-Hill with this Gentlewoman (Mrs Mackenzie) and met Alice Burk in Fleetstreet, she said she was going to buy some China; I told her she had better let it alone till another Time, but she said she must do it for Fear of disobliging a Friend; and she bought a Bason of a Woman who had some China in a Basket.

Q. Is that the Bason?

Tipper. It was this Pattern. (This Evidence did hardly look at the Bason).

Mary Innys. I have known the Prisoner these three Years, she has worked with me a Year and an half at a Time, at Quilting and Mantua-Making, and worked from six to six. I have trusted her with valuable Silks, and other Things, and she never wronged me of any Thing. I never knew her to wrong any Body of a Half-penny. On the 23d of March, she came to me for fourteen Shillings that I owed her. She said she was to buy some China for a Person, for she had broke some, and was obliged to make it good, and I gave her a Glass of Wine and paid her.

Peter Murphy. I have known the Prisoner between four and five Years, and know her to be an industrious Person, who gets up early to work. I never heard any Ill of her.

Mr - . The Prisoner, when she was at her Liberty, was a Lodger of mine, and behaved honestly and honourably in my House; she has looked after my Wife in Lyings-in. I have trusted her with all I am worth, and she never wronged me of any Thing. I know her to have worked hard for her Living. - I am a Carpenter and Undertaker.

Jury to Mr Vere. Did not you sell any Basons of that Kind that Day?

Vere. No Bason of that Kind was sold that Day either by me or my Servants.

Court to Mackenzie. Can you swear that is the Bason you saw her buy that Day?

Mackenzie. No, I cannot.

Fortman of the Jury. I desire to know the Character of those two Women who were the two first Witnesses, where they live, and what Business they follow?

Mackenzie. I am a Milliner by Trade, and live in Tower-street, facing a Cheese-Monger's. - I have lived there ever since before last Christmas. - There is a Silk-Soowerer lives at

next Door. - I do not keep a Shop, I work in my own Apartment; my Sister and I live together.

Q. Whose House is it at?

Mackenzie. He dresses Dolls for the Shops. - I do not know his Name. I am so frightened I can hardly speak.

Mrs Innys. She lives in Black-Swan-Court now; it is in Mr. Reed's House.

Guilty.

+ Alice Burk was a second Time indicted for stealing a China Dish, val. 10 s. the Goods of Hannah Ashbournier, in her Shop, March 23.

Hannah Ashbournier. On the 23d of March, the Prisoner at the Bar came into my Shop, and asked for some enamelled China Plates. I turned my Back to her, and took some off the Shelf; I showed them her, and told her the Price; she said they were a great deal too dear; I told her I could not take much less. She said she must have them cheaper, for she had broke three of a Gentlewoman's Plates, and that the Gentlewoman said they cost her 4 s. said I, you had better give the four Shillings to the Person; she stood humming and hawing and would not stir; said I, Good Woman, you had better go away; says she, look a little farther; said I, Prithee go about your Business, and I espied under her Arm something of China; thinks I, she may have been somewhere else and bought some. When she was got two or three Steps from the Counter, said I, Mistress, What have you got there? So I took hold of her, and saw my own Dish. I was almost frightened to Death. Said I, Oh, you Bold Face, you have got my Dish. I called up my Servant, and said, This Bold-Face has stole my Dish. She wanted to put the Dish down; I took the Dish from under her Arm; she had a short Cloak over it. I was glad to get my Dish, and I let her go. Says some Body, have you lost nothing else? Says the Boy, I will run after her and see; so he went over the Bridge as far as the Pastry-Cook's; says he, I am come to see whether you have any Thing else of my Mistress's; and she and the Bason were brought back to my Shop.

Prisoner. The Dish lay upon the Counter; I did take the Dish up in my Hand, but with no Intent to steal it, or of covering it, but my Short-Cloak fell down over it, and the Gentlewoman thought I was going to steal it; says she, What are you going to steal my Dish? and took it from me. There are three or four Ladies of Quality that I lived with, but they are out of Town, or they would have come to give me a Character.

Guilty 4 s. 10 d.

2. THE TRIAL OF JOHN AMBERY COMMITTED DECEPTION (FRAUD) ON 27TH FEBRUARY 1760

Transcript cited from: *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.2, 02 March 2016), September 1760, trial of John Ambery (t-17600227-19)

John Ambery was indicted for that he unlawfully, knowingly, and designedly, by false pretences, did obtain from Charles Vere eight china punch bowls, 24 china coffee cups, six china tea cups, six china saucers, six china plates, and six wine glasses, with an intent to defraud and cheat the said Charles Vere of the said goods, to the amount of 3 l. 13 s. his property, Dec. 12 .

Charles Vere. I keep a china shop at the corner of Salisbury Court, Fleet Street . The prisoner came to my house, about five in the evening, on the 12th of December last, and asked to see some china punch bowls, and said that he had taken a coffee-house in the neighbourhood (he appeared dressed like a gentleman) and that he chose to lay out his money with his neighbours. After he had made choice of some china and wine glasses, he wanted to have a bill made out, and said, I beg you will make me a bill of parcels of the whole, for my name is ready money, which he said over and over. I asked him where he lived, and he said he had taken the Apollo coffee-house, in Apollo Court, near Temple Bar. I asked him his name. He said, my name is John Ambery. Then I wrote the bill. He look'd over it, and said it is very right, please to put a receipt to it, I hope you have charged me at the lowest, send them to the coffee-house, for I shall be at home, and I

will pay the servant that brings them, and then went away. I called my servant, James Amson , and bid him carry those things to the Apollo coffee house, and told him that the person who had bought these goods had a very good appearance, but I don't like the situation of the house, so bring the money or the goods again. He put the things into a basket, and in about half an hour's time carried them there: He is in court, and can best tell what was done afterwards.

Q. Was it proposed, betwixt the prisoner and you, that you should trust him?

Vere. No, no; he said his name was ready money, that he had laid out near 400 l. in coming into the house, and that he chose to lay out his money with his neighbours. At first he proposed to pay me in my shop, but at last said he should pay the person that brought them, and that he was going home about some business; the agreement was that of ready money for the goods.

Q. from prisoner. Did you send the china at once or twice?

Vere. The whole of what he bargain'd for then was sent immediately; but afterwards there were other goods sent, which came to 5 s. 6 d. which my servant can give an account of, when he comes to be examined.

Q. Tell the court what you know of your own knowledge.

Vere. My servant came back without either money or goods. I then imagined I was trick'd out of them. My servant told me the prisoner's wife order'd him to carry half a dozen china plates about ten o'clock next morning, and then he should be paid for the whole. I sent him with them, and gave him strict orders not to leave them without the money, as he had done the others; but he came back without the money or plates. As he

will tell the court what passed there, it will be needless to relate what account he gave me at his return.

Q. What did the first parcel which he bought in your shop come to?

Vere. It came to 3 l. 7 s. 6 d.

James Amson . I am servant to Mr. Vere, and carried some goods by my master's order to the prisoner's house in Apollo-Court.

Q. What goods?

Amson. There were eight china bowls and several other things, I can't say exactly what quantity; my master order'd me not to leave them without the money, and I said I would not.

Q. Who put them into the basket?

Amson. I did.

Prisoner. I admit the receiving the goods.

Amson. When I came to the prisoner's house I saw him there, I had the bill of parcels and a receipt upon it. The prisoner said, Well, my lad, what have you got? I told him I had brought the china. He said, Well, my lad, set it out, and I will call my wife down. I set it out, and then he asked me to drink a glass of rum or something. I drank a glass and he another, and then he forced another upon me. Said he, See how my vessels are tumbled about, but I have seen better days; it has cost me 400 l. coming in here. Then his wife came down, and said she liked the china very well. I gave him the bill and he read it over, and she took some of the things away. Then he called for a bottle of wine, and asked me if I would drink again. I refused it, but he swore I should. He then called for a pair of

scissars, the boy brought them, and he was going to cut the receipt from the bill, when I asked him what he meant by doing so. Said he, you must go home, and fetch half a dozen china plates, and then I will pay you for the whole.

Q. to prosecutor. Did the prisoner bespeak any china plates of you?

Prosecutor. No; but he said he should want some other china soon.

Amson. I told him I was ordered not to leave the goods without the money, but he said, several times over,

"Go your way, and bring the plates." I told him I must either have the money or the goods, and then we got to high words. After I had been there almost an hour he said,

"The goods are deliver'd,

"you can't touch the goods, the goods are mine,

"you may go and tell your master that they are "mine."

Q. Did he cut off the receipt?

Amson. No, I would not let him do that, I prevented him; I said I must either have the goods or the money; I will stay with you till I have one of them. When he found I would not go out of the house, he laughed at me, and said, I should have neither; he asked me if I would drink again, and called for more wine, but I would not drink any. He swore I should have neither money nor goods. His wife came down stairs, and said, you must not mind my husband, he is in liquor, come to me in the morning, and bring half a dozen

plates about ten o'clock, and you shall have the money for all. Then I went home, and told my master what had happened. My master sent me in the morning, but ordered me to be careful that I was not tricked out of the plates, and not to leave them as I had done the rest. I went, and when I was at the door, there came a strange woman, who said, my mistress is upstairs, I will take them up to her, and she will come down and pay you. I delivered them to her, and she carried them up. Then the mistress came down, and said, my husband is gone out with two countrymen, to buy some goods, and I expect him to be in every minute. I stayed there a good while, till after eleven o'clock, and he not coming, I asked her to let me have the goods again. She said, there was nothing but what her husband had ordered, and I should not touch anything. Then I asked her to let me have the plates again. She said, it was all by her husband's order, and I should not touch any thing. I came away, and went again two or three times that day, but never could see him.

Q. from prisoner. Was not you offered some money?

Amson. No, I was not.

Q. from prisoner. Did I not order you to bring half a dozen plates the next morning, and say you should have the money?

Amson. Yes, he did tell me so; but I carried the plates the next morning by his wife's order.

Q. from prisoner. Did you deliver my wife a bill?

Amson. I was ready to deliver one, if she would have paid me.

Prisoner's Defence.

This evidence said his master had transported one man for such a fact, and I should be transported, right or wrong. He would not deliver the bill to my wife, and she could not pay him till he did.

For the Prisoner:

Amy Pinborn. I was upstairs at Mr. Ambery's house when half a dozen plates were brought up by a woman to my mistress, who went and took out money, both gold and silver, and went down stairs. I heard her say, here, if you'll give me your bill and receipt, I will pay you, but he would not; they had several words, but what they were, I do not know.

Q. Are you certain you heard the words you have mentioned?

A. Pinborn. I am sure I did. I am positive she said, if you will give me the bill and receipt, I will pay you the money.

Q. Did you see the man?

A. Pinborn. I did.

Q. Is this the man that gave evidence last?

A. Pinborn. I do think it is the same man, to the best of my knowledge.

Q. to Amson. Did you see this woman there?

Amson. I never saw her in my life before, to my knowledge.

Q. Are you certain you did not see her in Ambery's house?

Amson. I am certain I never did.

Q. to A. Pinborn. Will you be positive as to this man?

A. Pinborn. I will not be positive, but I think he is the man.

Court Look at him once more.

A. Pinborn. I do think it is the same.

Q. Will you swear what was the reason the man would not take the money; here is a man that had delivered goods the night before, and he came with a fresh order; he has delivered them, and the mistress comes down stairs, and offers to pay him the money, but he would not take it.

A. Pinborn. She would not pay him without the receipt and the bill, and he would not give it to her; I did not stay to listen to what was said, for they had a great argument.

Q. Did he, at that time, say whether he had the bill and receipt about him or not?

A. Pinborn. I have no more to say; I heard no more.

Q. How came you below?

A. Pinborn. I came down to look after her; I lived there till there were people in possession of the house. Then my mistress said she had no occasion for me.

Q. to Amson. Was there any discourse between the prisoner's wife and you about the bill and receipt?

Amson. No, there was not; she never mention'd the bill and receipt to me that morning.

Guilty.

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