

## **THE GEORGE II BUSTS AND HISTORIC WALL BRACKETS**

The motivation, symbolism and technology by  
which the models can be dated to 1745-6 and  
attributed to the first Bow Factory in Middlesex.



**PAT DANIELS, ROSS AND GAEL RAMSAY**  
Oxfordshire, 2013



George II Bust, a resurrected waster fitted with a bespoke cast-iron stand bearing impressions taken from a silver crown of 1745 on each of its four faces.  
Brighton Museum and Art Gallery (Willet Collection)

Front cover: George II Bust on original Wall Bracket,  
Los Angeles County Museum and Art Gallery  
(?Fox/Danagh/Newton/Hears Collections)

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George II Bust with original fitted socle on wooden stand dated 1745.  
Copyright Plymouth Museum and Art Gallery (Cookworthy Collection).

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## FOREWORD

These splendid porcelain busts of King George II are one of the most significant achievements of early English porcelain. However, from the beginning of the nineteenth century they have been the source of continual controversy as to the nature of their composition, the motivation behind their manufacture, the age of the King as depicted, and also the time and origin of their production. Over time, the busts have been attributed to almost every early English porcelain factory, regardless of whether it had produced a hard paste, glassy, stearitic or phosphatic body. Throughout our investigations, we have discerned the presence of substantial bias within past research, as well as discrepancies within primary sources and inconsistencies that have been perpetrated through ceramic literature since William Burt first mentioned the busts in 1816. This situation has resulted in a state of total perplexity, leaving the task of discovering the truth an extremely difficult challenge.

In our attempts to unravel the confusion left to us, we have been compelled to approach the subject from a wider perspective, aiming to familiarise ourselves with the political, commercial and social aspects of the time of King George II. His reign, 1727-1760, was a turbulent but highly successful period in British history. The continual wars with Continental Europe and the threat of Catholic invasion dominated his time, but conversely saw the rise of British wealth and power abroad, a massive increase in navigation, and the rise at home of the merchant class and demand for luxury consumer goods.

King George II was certainly a warrior king and the last English monarch to lead an army into battle. He showed great courage at two major encounters: Oudenarde in 1708, when he served under Marlborough, and Dettingen in late 1743, when he led the cavalry into the heart of the action. His role in these events is reflected in both the portraiture and sculptures. Before Dettingen he is often shown wearing full armour in the traditional Roman manner as reflective of a warrior hero. After Dettingen he adorns the cuirass, as befits a heroic cavalry officer, and points to his physical engagement in a battle. From the time of Culloden in 1746, a battle in which he was not engaged, he is no longer shown wearing any form of armour. This continues throughout the many victories of the Seven Years' War.

Our research has directed us into the world of eighteenth century sentimentality, with a primary focus on religious dictates and symbolic meaning. These issues, paramount during the time of George II, are difficult for people today to understand. Anti-Catholic feelings had escalated into frenzy since the rise of Jacobitism after the expulsion of James II in 1688 and the accession of the Protestants William and Mary in 1689. This state of affairs permeates the attitudes of the time, and is inevitably reflected in contemporary art works, as we see in the iconography of the wall brackets designed to accompany the busts, both of which relate to current affairs. Thus we have for the first time concentrated on the symbolism behind the design of the wall bracket, a feature which up to this date has been either ignored or misinterpreted.

The tenacity of the Ramsays in completing an extensive programme of chemical analyses over a decade or more has led to important new diagnostic information. Arduous pursuit of provenance to cement the original and present locations of each bust and their links to the Bow factory, has also led to the important discovery of two busts with original socles in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle and St James's Palace. Furthermore, although literature records the existence of anything from four to sixteen busts, we can now guarantee the prior existence of seventeen. This brings the current quota of busts to nineteen. Importantly, within this monograph we have dealt with each of these busts separately, attempting to find evidence of each one's history from manufacture to the present owners and to establish a chronology within their manufacture based upon scientific and technological



features. In fact, through numerous chemical analyses by co-authors Ross and Gael Ramsay, it has been possible to form a logical chronology commencing with what we now know was a waster. The results of the analysis of this waster bust were extremely revealing, showing magnesian and phosphate in the paste, reflective of other early Bow porcelains that have been analysed and are included as evidence. Furthermore, we have detailed the many potting idiosyncrasies, which cannot be ascribed to any other manufacturer.

Finally, we continue to affirm the crucial involvement of the Royal Society of London from its inauguration in the middle of the seventeenth century to the development of the English porcelain industry. This includes its part in the earliest phase of the Bow factory. That is why all the earliest Bow porcelains, whether based on china clay, bone-ash or soapstone, or a combination of both, are entirely innovative and indigenous, as are characters from the London theatre and Vauxhall Gardens portrayed in the earliest Bow figures. My recent book covering the history of Bow porcelain from 1730 to 1747 establishes a connection between the Bow Factory, the Royal Society of London, and Andrew Duche and the new Colony of Georgia, with an immense plan to establish Britain's dominance in World Trade and navigation. The aim was to expand her sovereignty abroad and to make London the most important centre in the world for science, commerce and culture. This required the influence of important members of all branches of society, as well as a tremendous degree of determination and financial risk. An English porcelain industry was but one part of this vast scheme, which was analogous to similar French intentions published in 1727.

This monograph includes complex chemistry and much new information. Sometimes we have been obliged to stray from the core problems because obscure hints and clues are scattered throughout the literature and these needed to be addressed. Only by this *omnium gatherum* have we managed to extricate the history of these unique and important busts and wall brackets.

Pat Daniels, June 2013.

*'...But as the process of reassessment is always silently at work, time gradually impairs in turn the value of each standard book on ceramics. A shift of emphasis, a change of date or provenance in the light of new information may alter the whole surrounding scenery. In the world of scholarship to give and take criticism is all part of the day's work, and each of us in our turn may legitimately criticise our predecessors without being guilty of presumption, so long as we can look forward without rancour to being criticised in our turn by our successors, when our day is past. This is the inevitable destiny of all critics. But the author who is surpassed is not necessarily superseded. If the touchstone of his criticism proves his true metal he has added, like Hobson, one or more links to the golden chain, which long after his intervention is forgotten stands as his contribution to the subject.'*

Soame Jenyns, 1971, p.1.

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*'The aim of the following pages will be to put the evidence, historical and artistic before the reader, and to allow him to draw his own conclusions.'* (W.W.Winkworth)

From the time of their manufacture these splendid porcelain busts of King George II have been a source of continual controversy. One of the most significant achievements of early English porcelain, they have been the subject of discussions as to the ceramic recipe of the paste and glaze; the motivation behind their manufacture; the age of the King as depicted and also the time, origin and place of production.

In order to decipher the original intention behind the manufacture it has been necessary to correct both the discrepancies that exist within primary sources and the inconsistencies and prejudices that have been perpetrated through the literature since William Burt's first mention of the busts in 1816. What we have discerned from this information is the presence of substantial bias within the research. As a result of this confusion, over time the busts have been attributed to almost every early English porcelain factory regardless of whether it produced a hard paste, glassy, steatitic or phosphatic body.

In *The Origin and Development of Bow Porcelain 1730-1747*, Pat Daniels gave a detailed account of the meaning behind the design of the busts, paying particular attention to the symbolism expressed in the accompanying wall bracket. She suggested that the bust related to the Battle of Dettingen and the wall bracket to the Battle of Culloden, dating the production to 1745/6 and suggesting the Bow Factory as the probable manufacturer. She also gave reasons why Bow appears to have made steatitic as well as phosphatic and hard paste porcelain. Since the book was published in 2007 there has been opposition to these theories and other solutions have been suggested. This paper aims to cover all of these theories in detail and present alternatives so that readers can make balanced and independent judgements.

Mavis Bimson presented a paper on the George II busts at the Courtauld Institute on 21<sup>st</sup> February 2009. She alluded to the opinions expressed in the aforementioned book in extremely derisive language, although in the written version later published in the *English Ceramic Circle Transactions* (Vol. 20, Part 3, 2009), her comments were restricted to 'highly imaginative speculation'. Generally, however, there is little or no resemblance between the opinions Bimson expressed in the lecture and those recorded in the written article. For instance, verbally she placed no significance on the King's appearance wearing the cuirass, pointing out that depicting armour was simply a conventional way of flattering egoistic celebrities and showing slides of two busts of a younger George dressed in full armour. Although these busts are illustrated in the above transactions (Nos. 6 & 7, p. 552), within the text Bimson fails to record any opinion regarding the armour.



Of course we are aware that in the portraiture and sculptures of the period such sitters were often shown in full armour. The significant difference with this bust of George II is that he is shown wearing a particular type of armour, the cuirass, which is extremely rare. This light armour, worn by cavalry officers, consisted of breast and back plates and left the arms free for use of the sword whilst at full gallop. This does not give out the same message as full armour and does not mimic the traditional Roman style of depicting great heroic warriors, a tradition continued in Europe from Medieval times. In the two slides shown by Bimson, busts by Rysbrack and Roubiliac in the Royal Collection, the sitter was in full armour in the traditional manner. Dudley Delevingne recognised the significance of the cuirass in a well-researched paper on the busts read to the ECC on 14<sup>th</sup> April 1962 and printed in the Transactions, Volume 5, Part 4, 1963, pp. 236-248. Despite a fair quantity of later published work we consider this remains the most accurate account. We acknowledge our indebtedness to Delevingne's excellent work and quote from his paper:

*'It was, of course, customary to carve and model portraits of notabilities in armour, after the Roman fashion, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but the armour suggests that the original might have been done to commemorate some military exploit. The one which springs immediately to mind is the Victory of George II at Dettingen in 1743. This is the last battle in which a British monarch took part in person, and incidentally makes it likely that the date on the plinth of the Plymouth specimen is that on which the original was executed.'* (ECC Trans., Vol. 5, Part 4, 1963).

Failing to realise the importance of the cuirass has led to the bust being connected by Bimson and others with the period of the Seven Years' War, especially the *annus mirabilis* of 1759. The important fact that the King took no part in these conflicts was not raised until question time at the end of the talk when a heated argument ensued in which John Mallet (then President) vehemently supported Bimson's claim that the bust and bracket relate to this series of victories. Since then we have received several personal communications from John Mallet wherein he continues to urge us to accept that the bust and bracket relate to the Seven Years' War, in particular the *annus mirabilis* of 1759. Mallet is also of the opinion that in the portrait bust the King looks too old for 1745/6 and more appropriate for the late 1750's, as discussed below.

In commenting on Bernard Watney's attribution of the busts to Chaffers Liverpool, Bimson concludes that 'this would give it a date of 1754/5 to c. 1760', which she also favoured in 1990. We consider this impossible, because Robert Podmore (Padmore) didn't sign his agreement with the Liverpool concern until the 14<sup>th</sup> June 1756 when he agreed to reveal the secret of 'making, painting and burning' soapstone porcelain as learnt at Worcester. Podmore would have gained little or no experience of figure making at Worcester prior to 1756, so how could Chaffers have produced these technically sophisticated large busts in

steatitic porcelain by 1754/5? Also, as pointed out by Maurice Hillis (*Liverpool Porcelain 1756-1804*, p. 144), ‘Chaffers and Co first advertised their porcelain in Williamson’s *Liverpool Advertiser* on the 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1756’. Hillis also mentions that no other English porcelain was promoted by such a sustained campaign of newspaper advertising and that Chaffers continued advertising in various papers until 9<sup>th</sup> March 1759. In view of the importance and cost of manufacturing these George II busts, sales would surely have been promoted in any advertising campaign, especially as they supposedly were produced to commemorate the many celebrated victories on land and at sea during the period of the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763). These successes were certainly commemorated on other Chaffers’ wares, so it is evident that the Factory **was** endeavouring to commercialise the popularity of such events. Therefore, it is very hard to believe that they would not have included the George II bust within these campaigns.

At the eleventh hour, Bimson appeared to change her mind, saying that she had always questioned the Liverpool attribution and suggesting London as a more likely manufacturing region. Because of the steatitic recipe, although not London, she proposed that Benjamin Lund’s Bristol Factory was perhaps a more likely producer and circa 1750 a more reasonable date of manufacture. Here again we question the technical capability of Lund’s Factory to manufacture these busts and brackets in 1750, only a year after their first delivery of soaprock and the year in which they first advertised for apprentices. Llewellyn Jewitt in the first edition of his *Ceramic Art of Great Britain* (1877) described the busts as ‘exquisitely modelled, evidences a very advanced state of the Art, and shows great skill in body and firing’ - hardly the infant factory of Lund’s Bristol before they transferred to Worcester in 1752. Certainly nothing produced at Bristol, or early in the operating period at Worcester, resembles the busts or anything that can be associated with them.

We do agree with Bimson when she writes, ‘the arguments put forward for the place and date of manufacture are interlinked’. Of course they should be, but we do not agree with her contention that, ‘if we accept the brackets as referring to the bust then the victory celebrated could be Dettingen in 1743, the defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden in 1746 or, if late, the *annus mirabilis* of 1759’. There is nothing in the iconography of the bracket that points to Dettingen or to the *annus mirabilis* of 1759. Since she also fails to interpret the meaning behind the design of the bracket, let alone describe it in detail or attach any importance to it, confining her comments to ‘the putti on the bracket’, nor can she claim a possible connection with Culloden. As discussed at length later, understanding the symbolism behind the design of the bracket is essential, otherwise the bust is in no way commemorative of Culloden. On the other hand, if one can interpret the iconography of the bracket, it clearly negates any reference to victories in the Seven Years’ War, whether the *annus mirabilis* or otherwise. It seems Bimson is completely awry with her arguments.

Bimson also pointed out that Roger Massey, now President of the English Ceramic Circle, is among those who currently favour Nicholas Crisp’s Factory at Vauxhall as the most likely manufacturer in the middle to late 1750’s. We mention this because the next two publications also favour that manufacturer.

As already mentioned, Maurice Hillis published a very comprehensive book entitled *Liverpool Porcelain 1756-1804* in 2011. In the chapter dealing with Richard Chaffers’ Factory on Shaw’s Brow, to whom these busts have for some time been accredited, he favours

the Vauxhall Factory as the manufacturer, based on the steatitic recipe and the fact that London would have been a more appropriate market than Liverpool.

Roderick Jellicoe has recently written an article on the subject for the Northern Ceramic Society's *Journal* (Vol. 28, 2012, pp. 180-189). Here he assesses not only the George II bust and bracket, but also a group of other figures and an octagonal plaque that Bernard Watney linked to the bust in his paper *The King, the Nun & other Figures*, transcribed in the *ECC Trans.* Vol. 7, Part 1, 1968.

Once again the researcher fails to study in sufficient detail the iconography of the bracket, although he notes that it is 'modelled in great detail with a figure of Fame and Britannia, one holding a laurel wreath, the other a shield with the Union flag'. Regarding the bust, he states that 'some are known to have an accompanying wall bracket', but in fact only one has been discovered with an original bracket and this will be discussed in great detail in this investigation.

In order to discover the modeller of the George II wall bracket (Fig. 1), Jellicoe compares it with a pair of plaster brackets sold by Christies as part of the Christopher Gibbs sale in 2000 (Fig. 2). The 'Apollo' brackets, as named by Christies, were illustrated and described in the catalogue as 'the laurel-wreathed and lyre-bearing deity, perched in a grotto of flowered 'recailles', hearkens the swan's song; while palm-bearing Fame attends and a monstrous figure, symbolising Envy, takes flight'. The catalogue notes a previous attribution of the style of modelling to John Cheere working with his brother Sir Henry Cheere in their Hyde Park Corner workshops.



Fig.1



Fig.2

We do not agree with these interpretations. Fame traditionally carries wreaths of laurel not palms. The appearance of palm fronds, swans and a serpent, described by Christies as a 'monstrous figure' and by Jellicoe as a 'dragon', alludes to the twins Artemis and Apollo. The story concerns the persistent and frightening pursuit of their mother Leto by a huge serpent (sometimes referred to as python) who threatened her throughout her pregnancy. At last she found haven under a palm tree where she gave birth to Artemis. Artemis then assisted Leto to give birth to Apollo, who, at the tender age of only four days, after a long chase, was able to slay his mother's assailant. Hence, as noted by Christies, the bracket shows the dragon-like figure taking flight. The twins were born on the island of Delos that was surrounded by swans.

Jellicoe proceeds to compare the modelling style of these Apollo brackets with the style of the George II bust bracket, suggesting that it too could have been modelled by Cheere. This

is most unlikely due to the lack of affinity between the two styles, which are worlds apart. The figures of Apollo and Artemis are quite formally done. One can almost perceive the sculptor asking the models to 'lift the left arm a little or raise the right leg'. They are very deliberately posed, the svelte line and idealised refinement anticipating the neo-classical period, whilst the 'flowered recailles' are distinctly rococo, so fussy they crowd the figures and detract our attention from them. On the other hand, the sculptor of the George II bust bracket is sensitive and artistic; in fact a master of three-dimensional art. The naturalness of the figures of Fame and Britannia, the eye contact and feeling of communication between them, the wonderful fluidity of the composition and the ease with which he handles the asymmetrical *rocaille* work, never allowing it to dominate the figures, shows the hand of a master. To allow readers to judge for themselves, we will illustrate the bracket in detail when we pursue the possible sculptor at the appropriate time.

In assessing some of the figures coupled by Watney with the George II bust, Jellicoe illustrates a large full-length figure and a bust of *Milton*, a large reclining *Ariadne* and an octagonal plaque moulded with the biblical subject of *Susannah and the Elders*, all previously attributed to Chaffers Liverpool. With this group we can certainly recognise an affinity with the modelling of the Apollo Brackets as they all display the same formality and static pose. The **manufacturer** of both groups may well be one and the same. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the original models were created by the same sculptor: On the contrary, the artist who fashioned the George II bust and its bracket is manifestly more artistic, displaying 'the sculptor's gift of communicating articulate movement', a phrase coined by Arthur Lane (1961).

Jellicoe rightly mentions the unusually large size, the uniform lack of decoration and the presence of incised numbers as linking features. He fails, however, to include another rare potting idiosyncrasy given some importance by Bernard Watney, which is the impression of finger or thumb and palm prints on the unglazed bases of figures he connected with the George II bust. According to Watney they are particularly prominent on the *Ariadne*. In 2007, Daniels was able to connect this unusual feature with some early Bow shell salts and a Bow figure of an abbess that is marked with the chemical symbol for regulus of antimony. Since then the abbess and one of these salts, previously in John Ainslie's collection but now in the Taylor collection in Melbourne, have been tested and the analyses of both body and glaze confirm that the recipes conform to an early Bow phosphatic composition.

As far as incised numbers, names, symbols or fingerprints are concerned, we cannot point to a single piece of Vauxhall porcelain on which any of these is present. There was, however, an isolated incised cross on part of an unglazed base recovered from the excavation of the site (Bimson and Freestone, *ECC Trans.*, Vol. 18, Part 1, 2002). A search through the 128 items of porcelain wares and figures illustrated and described in *Ceramics of Vauxhall* (an English Ceramic Circle publication that accompanied the exhibition of June 2007) revealed only two items marked in any way. Firstly, a beaker (No. 96), painted in blue on the bottom with imitation Chinese characters and secondly a plate (No. 155) with a painted 3. There is no mention of any of the above distinctive potting features. Moreover, as will be discussed under the chemistry of the busts, there is no evidence of Vauxhall producing both a magnesian-lead (Mg-Pb) and a magnesian-phosphatic-lead (Mg-P-Pb) body as found in the busts.

In addition to the above lack of connection with Vauxhall there is also an advertisement to be considered. Nancy Valpy (*ECC Trans.*, Vol. 11, Part 2, p. 124) discovered an advertisement in the *Daily Advertiser* of the 21st May 1753 that informed the public of a sale

*'at Mr. Sander's near the Glasshouse Vauxhall' of 'a strong and useful Manufacture of Porcelain ware made there of English Materials. The Degree of Success, which has already attended the*

*several Attempts, lately made in England for establishing a Manufactory of Porcelain in Imitation of the Ware of China, give Reason to hope, that this Design will still continue to be carried on, till it arrive at its due Degree of Perfection....'*

The wording 'the several attempts lately made in England' suggests that these were not their own attempts but those of other manufacturers. This also implies they were advertising an early, if not their first, sale.

Incised marks are relatively common on very early Bow figures and wares, including names (Muses figures), dates, numbers (the George II busts & others), chemical symbols (for tin, later used by the Plymouth Factory, more regularly for copper, mercury, iron and antimony), as well as R, cross and line marks. The tin mark was recorded on a Bow portrait figure of the actor Woodward and a large Milton in Chaffers' *Keramic Gallery* and was also noted on a Bow hound in Simon Spero's 2004 exhibition. Solon (1903) also mentioned that Bow porcelain sometimes carried the 'Plymouth mark'. Of course the Plymouth Factory did not exist when these tin symbols were incised onto early Bow porcelain. Incised cross marks appear on a variety of early English porcelains from Bow, Worcester and Liverpool, perhaps in some cases representing the chemical sign for talc (soapstone), although it is not uncommon on early Bow phosphatic porcelain. Because at Bow all these incised marks are mostly confined to porcelains made before the setting up of the factory at Stratford in Essex, we feel the chemical symbols, which reflect those on Mortimer's dial (Daniels 2007, Ch. 12), may have something to do with positioning in the kiln.

When suggesting that this group was made in London at the Vauxhall Factory, Jellicoe then includes another group of smaller figures, a nurse (*La Nourrice*), a nun, and a Polish lady, previously attributed to Chaffers Liverpool. Dr. Watney considered they were made at the same Factory as the busts and awarded them to Chaffers, although probably decorated in London. In previous years they have also been attributed to Worcester and Longton Hall. Because of the London decoration and since some counterparts were made at Chelsea and Bow, London is now favoured as the place of manufacture. We do agree with Jellicoe's assessment and the possibility that they were made at Vauxhall, but cannot accept that there is any affinity with the group of large white figures. We believe that they form two distinct groups probably made in different factories. Interestingly, Rissik Marshall had one of the *La Nourrice* figures in his Worcester collection, now at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

Jellicoe notes that *Ariadne's* right foot is missing and glazed over. We illustrate a pair of early Bow figures of *Harlequin* and *Columbine*. Her right foot is also missing and glazed over. There are sparse remains of cold painted colours on these figures and he is marked underneath with a large 8 resembling the incised number on a bust at the Fitzwilliam Museum.



Fig. 3. *Harlequin & Columbine*



Fig. 4. Bases of *Harlequin & Columbine*.

Although both figures have a rather hard looking grey tone, both body and glaze of *Harlequin* have been analysed and found to conform to early Bow phosphatic porcelain. Several very early white rather crude Italian Comedy and Muses figures were released from the Factory with missing feet or hands. Figure 5 illustrates a figure of the Muse *Urania* in the British Museum (1959, 1102.53AN936110).



Fig. 5 Urania, copyright British Museum



Fig.6 Scowling Harlequin, private collection



The Museum catalogue mentions that her left hand was lost during firing and the glaze trickled down over the stump. Obviously the missing hand has been replaced and possibly the compasses. Daniels suggested in 2007 that a few of these extremely crude figures may date to as early as 1740, or even 1739, and we feel this may be the case with this *Urania* as we know of other models depicting this Muse which show considerably more advanced technology. The same can be said of the *Harlequin* figure (Fig. 6) whose analysis shows an elevated aluminous body characteristic of a number of very early Bow items which we date from the late 1730's to early-mid 1740's. A monograph on these early Bow compositions is currently in preparation.

Rissik Marshall had purchased a *Susannah* plaque for his Worcester collection, but later discarded it as possibly Italian, the place of origin suggested for the 'A' marked porcelain at one stage in ceramic literature. Daniels (2007) dealt with the subject matter of the *Susannah and the Elders* plaque and its relationship with a scandal of the early 1740's. In a personal communication, John Mallet expresses the opinion that its association with Peg Woffington is 'pure novel-writing' reminding us that the plaque is no more than 'an aftercast of a van Vianen relief from the 17<sup>th</sup> century'. The author was well aware of this fact, but considered that a literary reference she discovered was relevant and repeats this hereunder so that readers may form their own opinion. The incident concerning Peg Woffington occurred sometime after she first arrived in London from Dublin and signed for Drury Lane in September 1741. The story is related in the *Dictionary of the Biography of Actors*.

*Swarms of gallants had vied for the beautiful actress's attention the moment she appeared in London, and they would besiege her for the rest of her career. Among the others was a curious pair often seen together, Colley Cibber – comedian, playwright, and professional fop – was 70 years old but looked 40, according to Thomas Earl. Cibber's croney Swiney was 61. He had, like Cibber, been prominent in the London Theatres throughout the century, assisting Christopher Rich in management, sharing in uneasy partnership with Cibber, Wilks, and Dogget, shuttling to and from Europe to select singers for Handel. Both now retired, Cibber and Swiney danced eager attendance on Peg, separately and together, bringing nosegays and handing her into coaches....The comic rivalry between the two old men for Peg's regard of course set off jokes about **Susannah and the elders**.*

How convenient for the porcelain designer to appropriate the van Vianen relief to illustrate this latest scandal and how saleable the plaque would have been to gossip mongers of the early 1740's in pleasure gardens, outside theatres, in street booths etc when Peg was at the height of her popularity. Swiney, who died in 1754, actually left his estate to Peg Woffington on the proviso that she professes herself a Protestant. In the print entitled *A New Muster of Bays's Troops* (Folger Library), 'Sold at the Print and Pamphlet-Shops, 1745 (Price Sixpence.)', she appears wearing boys' clothes among actors offering to fight for George II in the Jacobite Rebellion, so it would seem she already had: 'The *Church*, the *Church*, the *Play's* cry, The Church is all in Danger'. This print had interested Daniels in 2007 because it not only featured a number of actors who were modelled in Bow porcelain, but also James Lacy, whose brother Roger was awarded the licence to manufacture potash in Georgia in the

Colony's earliest years. A notice in the *General Advertiser*, 18 September 1745, quoted by Raymond C. Yarbrough (*Bow Porcelain and the London Theatre*, 1996, p. 53), is interesting:

*We hear that Mr. Lacy, Master of his Majesty's company of Comedians at Drury L. has applied for leave to raise 200 men in defence of his Majesty's person and government, in which the whole company of players are willing to engage.*

In a play called *The Honours of the Army*, resurrected to celebrate the victory at Culloden and performed at Drury Lane, Woffington was cast as a female volunteer; a performance also preserved in a print entitled *The Female Volunteer*. We quote John Prebble from his book *Culloden* (1961):

*Mistress Woffington appeared as 'a female officer new dressed' with handsome calves displayed, and she spoke a dashing prologue, an achievement which, considering the length of the piece and the fact that it had been resurrected only the day before, was a remarkable victory in itself.*

This is exactly how Peg is dressed in the *Bays's Troops* print, which also features Colley Cibber, as poet laureate, writing at a desk, perhaps composing Peg's prologue. David Garrick is shown in the character of *Richard III*, costumed as in Hogarth's painting and the model usually attributed to Derby. He appears again as *Tittidol*. Also depicted are *Harlequin*, *Punch* in a grenadier's cap, and *Pierrot* beating the salt-box, all well-known in Bow Porcelain. Mallett also doubts 'whether even the Bow sphinxes were meant to represent her'. We think Yarbrough (1996, pp 51-52 & colour plate III) proved conclusively that at least one of the sphinxes represented Peg. Daniels also discussed these sphinxes in 2007 (p. 266). She suggested that they represented Peg Woffington and Kitty Clive rather than the one actress and recalled a physical fight in the green room between the two temperamental actresses that developed into mutual hatred, embroiling both management and casts and creating an extremely uncomfortable situation. Leading player Clive had given Woffington a haughty sneer on stage and Peg, the more popular actress who had only agreed to take the small part of Lady Percy to help the management at the box office, took exception to Kitty's insult. The incident is recorded in a contemporary print entitled *THE GREEN-ROOM SCUFFLE, or Drury-Lane in an UPROAR* published in 1746. Once again the modeller may have turned to classical history to express the event. The theme of mortal hatred and self-destruction symbolised in the story of the sphinx in classical history relates admirably to this unfortunate scandal. The continuing celebrity of the two actresses suggests that the sphinx models were produced at Bow for some time, but we think that the earliest of them certainly appeared on the market by 1746 (Todd Gilman, 2013).

To sum up, the problem with the Vauxhall theory is **date of manufacture**, as with most of the previous attributions. In the case of the earliest award to Plymouth, why on earth would anyone want to market a bust of George II in 1770, let alone a bust and bracket commemorating the Battle of Culloden? We note, as mentioned by Delevingne (1963), that when catalogued as Chelsea by various museums, the suggested date of manufacture was usually c. 1745. The Vauxhall pottery **did** commemorate the Battle of Culloden, but in 1746 was only capable of producing tin glazed earthenware. The pottery plate in question is inscribed 'Duke William For Ever' (*Ceramics of Vauxhall*, 2007, cat. item 11, p. 26).

The bust alone clearly indicates the victory at Dettingen in late 1743 and the design of the bracket indicates victory over a rebellion. There is no other rebellion to consider except the Jacobite rebellion of 1745/6. The various commemorative medals, prints and songs produced and performed between 1744 and 1746 will be shown to confirm the design of rebellion on the bracket. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763) had nothing whatsoever to do with rebellion but was a global military conflict involving most of the great powers of the time affecting North and Central America, Europe, the West African coast, India and the Philippines. The *annus mirabilis* of 1759 involved Hanoverian triumph over the French at Minden and the success of the British fleets under Boscawen at the Battle of Lagos and Hawke at the Battle of Quiberon Bay. We repeat that these battles had nothing whatever to do with rebellion. On all these later depictions of the King, such as medals, paintings and engravings, including the many transfer prints commemorating the Seven Years' War on pottery and porcelain, the King is never shown wearing the cuirass.

## THE BUST – HISTORY OF THE ATTRIBUTIONS.

We will now briefly detail the literary history of the attributions of the bust to the various factories, although this is by no means complete. Following the earliest attribution to Plymouth by Burt in 1816, in 1885 Rackham at the V&A catalogued the Schreiber bust as Chelsea, after which all other owners and researchers appear to have followed suit. The same situation occurred when Bernard Watney re-attributed them to Chaffers Liverpool in 1968. The latest popular trend is to ascribe them to Vauxhall.

Christies 1775 sale from the estate of Stephen Fox, 2nd Lord Holland (unattributed); Darragh/Newton/Los Angeles County Museum and Art Gallery (Plymouth, Bow, Chelsea, Liverpool); Burt 1816 (Plymouth); Lady Schreiber 1869 (Plymouth, her own bust and the one at Liverpool Museum); Dr. Cookworthy, descendent of William Cookworthy, '*which came to him from the manufacturers*' (presumed by Burt and Lady Schreiber to indicate the Plymouth Factory); Plymouth Museum & Art Gallery ex Dr. Cookworthy (Plymouth, Chelsea & Liverpool); Chaffers Ceramic Gallery 1872 (Bow); Christies Edkins sale 1874 (Bow); Jewitt 1877 (Plymouth); V&A ex Lady Schreiber (Plymouth, Chelsea by Rackham 1885, then Liverpool via Watney 1968); Brighton Museum & Art Gallery, Willett collection formed 1870-1890, catalogued 1899 (Chelsea, later Liverpool); Solon 1903 (Bow, but notes it is sometimes found with the Plymouth mark); British Museum, Honey 1903 (Chelsea from Plymouth); Watney - *fide* Delevingne, 1963 (Lund's/Worcester); Watney 1968 (Liverpool); Hurlbut/MacKenna/Delevingne 1962/3 (Plymouth, Chelsea, Derby); Bimson 1990 (Liverpool); Bimson 1990 & 2010 (Chaffers Liverpool c. 1754-60, perhaps Bristol/Worcester c. 1750 & Roger Massey Vauxhall); Hillis 2011 (Vauxhall); Jellicoe 2011 (Vauxhall); Museum of London 2011 (Vauxhall, previously Chelsea); Untermeyer collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York (Chelsea, Liverpool 1968, Bow 2008, Vauxhall late 2012). By repute credited at some time to Longton Hall, but we have been unable to trace the original source of this attribution. Possibly it emanated from the totally inaccurate analysis produced by Dr. Reginald Milton, which apparently resembled previous analyses on Derby and Longton Hall (Delevingne, 1963), as discussed in Appendix 1.

Whilst reiterating some of the more salient points raised by Daniels (2007), for the purposes of this new appraisal we are now changing direction and looking at the problems from different angles. We commence with a short outline of the King's life, focusing on the events that occurred during his reign that led to the creation of these commemorative busts and brackets. We show ways by which it can be determined why and when they were made, and whether the King's appearance is appropriate for the middle seventeen forties.

### KING GEORGE II (1683 – 1760)

- Reigned: 1727 – 1760.
- 60 years old at Dettingen in late November 1743.
- 73-77 years old from the start of the Seven Years' War (1756) to his death in 1760.

George Augustus, born 10<sup>th</sup> November 1683, died 25<sup>th</sup> October 1760, was the son of a disastrous marriage between Ernest Augustus, Duke of Kalenberg, later Elector of Hanover and King of France, England and Ireland, and Sophia Dorothea, his cousin. By this marriage the duchies of Kalenberg and Luneburg were united, with Hanover as the capitol. After the age of eleven years, George Augustus never saw his mother again as she was put under house arrest in the Castle of Ahlden following the annulment of her marriage. She remained a captive until her death thirty-two years later. The treatment of his mother caused George Augustus to hate his father so long as he lived.

In order to protect the Protestant Succession, in 1701 the English Parliament passed the Act of Settlement by which the crown should pass to Princess Anne and after her death to the Electress Sophia, her heirs and successors. Sophia died shortly before George I, so when the King died on his way to Hanover on 11<sup>th</sup> June 1727 the Crown passed to his son, George Augustus.

In 1740 the death of two European monarchs plunged the continent into war. The first phase of this war, known as the War of the Austrian Succession, or King George's War, lasted until 1748 when peace came with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, although this was only an interlude before the serious involvement with the Seven Years' War began in 1756. The death of the King of Prussia on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1740 and of Charles VI, Emperor of Austria, on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1740, led to a series of power struggles for dominance in Europe, which included the Battle of Dettingen. George II's chief concern as Elector of Hanover as well as King of Great Britain was to protect his dominions from the French, who intended to pass through the Low Countries and invade his beloved Hanover.

Already, as Electoral Prince of Hanover, the future George II had distinguished himself fighting in the cavalry under Marlborough in the decisive victory over the French at Oudenarde in 1708. As a result, Congreve coined the title 'Young Hanover Brave'. So, not surprisingly, he very courageously led the cavalry into battle at Dettingen some thirty-five years later in late November 1743, having recently turned sixty. He was in the thick of the battle with balls from the French cannon going within half a yard of his head. Refusing to move out of danger he was referred to by one of the officers as 'the boldest man I ever saw'.

His soldiers appreciated the way in which he exposed himself so recklessly to danger at the head of several battalions. In the confusion, the King's horse bolted. Having managed to regain control of the horse, the King dismounted saying that he could better trust his legs to continue rather than run away. The King's favourite son, William Duke of Cumberland, fought alongside his father and was wounded in the leg; an injury from which he never fully recovered. The French were comprehensively beaten and Lord Stair urged a vigorous pursuit, but the King, elated by his part in the victory, decided to call a halt and to revive the ancient tradition of awarding knights banneret on the field. Among those rewarded by the King were John Dalrymple 2nd Lord Stair, Charles Lennox 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond and Henry Fox, later 1<sup>st</sup> Lord Holland. Also lieutenant general John Legonier, who had served with distinction in all the campaigns since 1702, including Oudenaarde with George Augustus in 1708 and Dettingen in 1743, as well as in the Jacobite rebellion.

The King's inaction after the battle of Dettingen, which failed to destroy any future aspirations by the French, aroused widespread criticism both from participating officers and from publishers at home. Nevertheless, much to everyone's surprise, he received a triumphal welcome when he arrived back in London, the mobs shouting 'Long Live King George'.

The seriousness of this inaction soon became apparent when a large French army, almost twice the size of the allied forces (The Pragmatic Army) gathered at Fontenoy. Commanded by Cumberland, after a valiant struggle, the British were finally defeated by a brilliant charge from the Jacobite Irish Regiment. The manner of this disastrous defeat had the effect of raising the hopes and confidence of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, and with support from the French, he sailed from Nantes on 27<sup>th</sup> June 1745, arriving on the West Coast of Scotland on 23<sup>rd</sup> July at Moidart.

The King was in Hanover, but sent orders to Cumberland to be ready to take troops over from Holland, whilst in Scotland the Duke of Argyll and Duncan Forbes of Culloden raised new regiments from the anti-Jacobite clans. The Pretender, after successes in Scotland, invaded England, reaching Derby on 4<sup>th</sup> December 1745, but his advance was blocked by Cumberland and Ligonier's force of regular troops and compelled to retreat back into Scotland. Anti-Jacobite protests in London were widespread and violent, and the crowd mauled almost to death two rebel prisoners on their way to the Tower. Supporters of Cumberland vowed to show no mercy to rebels, as would be the case after the decisive victory of the Duke's army at Culloden on 16<sup>th</sup> April 1746.

Because Cumberland failed to capture and destroy the Catholic successor, Bonnie Prince Charlie, the answer was to destroy totally the Clan system by which the chieftains had traditional power to raise armies at their will. This is reflected in contemporary analogies with the second labour of Hercules (Heracles), and his continuing struggles before he was finally able to destroy the many-headed serpent. By this bloody massacre of the Highland Clans, the Protestants were able to protect the Reformation and negate any possibility of the re-establishment of the Catholic Church in England should any future Stuart attempt to claim the throne. Charles Edward Stuart's attempt failed because he relied on support from English Jacobites, not realising that they feared the return of the Roman church more than they

disproved of the Hanoverian succession. ‘England would as soon have a Turk as a Roman Catholic for King’ said Lord Bolingbroke, a Tory member of the Privy Council which met as Queen Anne lay dying. Bolingbroke had been a strong supporter of the Stuart succession, but changed his mind when he realised it was a hopeless cause.

The policy worked, as, by the time of the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763), Pitt was able to raise loyal regiments in the Scottish highlands, recruiting many from Clans who had previously fought for the Prince. These served with great distinction in all expeditions against France in North America, the West Indies, West Africa and the coasts of France herself. Major victories by King Frederick of Prussia, Prince Ferdinand, later Duke of Brunswick, Wolfe, Amherst, Boscawen and Hawke in 1758/9 led to final glory in 1760 with the French surrender of Montreal and conclusion of the war in Canada.

How amazing that under Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, the 78<sup>th</sup> Fraser Highlanders, some 1400 men, fought for the Crown against the French and Indians in the Colonies and in Canada between 1757 and 1759, including with General Wolfe who had previously fought against them at Culloden. Fraser, son of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, who was executed as a traitor on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1747 and had his estates and titles forfeited to the Crown, had the titles reinstated, but nevertheless supported the Jacobites in the rebellion.

All these events are represented in English pottery, porcelain and enamels, especially in the form of transfer prints. Significantly, as already noted, when the King appears in association with any of these later victories he is never shown wearing the cuirass, obviously because at no time did he physically take part in any of the battles. What is notable, particularly with regard to the many different transfer prints, is that the defeated enemy is always indicated by French trophies of war in scenes depicting one or other of the various heroes and their particular battles.

By this time the King was in very poor health and obviously close to death, being also deaf and completely blind in one eye. Already at the beginning of the Seven Years’ War in 1756 he was reluctant to return to London from Hanover claiming he was ‘too old’. He died on 25<sup>th</sup> October 1760 just two weeks short of his 77<sup>th</sup> birthday. It would have greatly pleased George Augustus to be remembered as a distinguished and courageous warrior, victor of Dettingen, and the last British King to lead his army into battle (see Trench, 1973).

*.... the study of decoration should be carried on  
independently of the study of material. That we are  
only on safe ground when the researches into  
decoration and into material meet at the same point.*



The above was the opinion of Herbert Read as expressed in a paper called *Cross-Currents in English Porcelain, Glass, and Enamels* published in the EPC Trans. No. 1V, 1932. We thoroughly agree with his sentiments, although in the case of the George II busts it is also essential that the inspiration behind the production of the models corresponds with events that occurred during his reign and makes sense. Consequently, the first thing that needs to be determined is when and why the busts were made. There are several ways by which we can unravel this problem.

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#### 1: THE BUST - THE KING'S AGE.

For recognition of the sculptor's honest representation of the King's age in the middle 1740's we refer to the coinage. We find that the image of the monarch on most denominations had changed from the young bust to the old bust by 1743, at which date, for the first time, the King is shown wearing the cuirass. For example, the 1743 Silver Crown carries the Old Laureate Bust with comments that it is the same reverse style as the 1741 Crown, **but now the portrait has aged**, showing long wavy hair in a periwig. On the 1745 coins, which continued with the laureated old head, the King is also shown wearing the cuirass. As far as age is concerned, we assert that the image compares favourably with the George II porcelain bust.



Fig.7



Fig. 7a

At Dettingen he was not ‘the youngish victor’ described by John Mallet in a personal communication, but a healthy and vigorous, albeit overindulged, late middle-aged man of 60 as depicted on the coins and portrayed by the bust. He certainly would not have had that appearance during the time of the Seven Years’ War, particularly in the latter stages when he was senile and approaching his 77<sup>th</sup> birthday. Surely he would then have been described as **old**, not late middle-aged. We agree with Bernard Watney when he says that if the bust were made from about the mid-1750’s it would be a flattering portrait of the monarch when aged over 70.

## 2. THE BUST - THE KING’S APPAREL



Fig. 8 by courtesy of the Higgins Art Gallery & Museum

Clearly he is wearing the cuirass, as previously explained a form of light armour that left the arms of cavalry officers free for attack with the sword when charging into battle. Therefore the design of the bust indicates commemoration of a battle in which he physically fought in the cavalry. Only twice was the King involved on the battlefield: At Oudenarde in 1708 under Marlborough and at Dettingen in late November 1743, where the King showed great ability and courage, actually leading his troops into the heart of the action. At his side was the young Duke of Cumberland, William, his favourite son, also depicted in Chelsea porcelain wearing the cuirass. We cannot agree with John Mallet's opinion that 'George doesn't look like the youngish victor of Dettingen, but a baggy-faced man in late middle age, ie. not long before his death in 1760'. It should be emphasized that the King was 77 years old when he died in 1760, surely **old** rather than in late middle age. The bust perfectly portrays a man of 60 years of age and we are convinced that the euphoria throughout the Nation, in London in particular, that followed the defeat of the French at Dettingen, nurtured the idea of creating a commemorative bust. The triumph at Dettingen was almost certainly the inspiration behind the manufacture of these particular busts. Obviously, a master model had to be commissioned and provided and some time must have elapsed before the infant factory was able to technically cope with reproducing copies in porcelain. Descriptions of a waster bust and four groups of differing models will confirm their experimental nature and the difficulties encountered, as each bust within its group shows signs of individual attention during the manufacture. For reasons to be explained below, we would put the earliest production at mid to late 1744 (new style) and the latest from mid 1746 (new style). All four different types will be fully illustrated and discussed at the appropriate place in the text.

It can be seen that our theories regarding the busts centre on **motivation** in early 1744 (new style) and first manufacture in 1744/5, which limits production to the Bow Factory east of London on a site in Middlesex that remains undiscovered. We also believe that the creator

of the master model, probably in terra cotta, was most likely the sculptor Roubiliac working from his studio in St. Martin's Lane, an opinion we will pursue later in the text.

### 3. THE WALL BRACKET – ITS ICONOGRAPHY AND PURPOSE



Fig. 9



Fig. 10.

We can demonstrate from the design of the bracket that it was created to commemorate the decisive victory of the Protestant army under Cumberland over the Jacobite rebels under Prince Charles Edward Stuart at the Battle of Culloden on 16<sup>th</sup> April 1746. Fortunately, the only bust that retains its original bracket is also incised in a distinctive style with the numeral I on the base. Now in the Los Angeles County Museum and Art Gallery, we thank them for the images of the bust and accompanying wall bracket as presented on the front cover and throughout the text. From these we were able to study in detail the iconography behind the design of the bracket. This is a very important bust, because not only is it numbered in this rare manner, but we are also able to trace its history to the 1770's or earlier. A full account of its history is given where appropriate. We propose that it came first in a series of twelve made after Culloden. Of this group of twelve, six more survive, all without brackets: One is incised on its original socle with the numeral 3; two busts are incised in the same distinctive style with 7 and 8; one bust is incised 10 in unknown style; one bust is incised with a cursive 11 and the sixth bust with a differently drawn number 12. All of these numbers are illustrated with their busts. There is also a socle (Higgins Art Gallery & Museum, Bedford) incised in the same way as the Dublin bust and another socle (attached to the British Museum bust) with an incised cursive cross. Figures 9, 10, and 12 show the dragon (representing rebellion) as depicted on the bracket and on the handle of an early Bow Sauceboat sold by Bonhams, London, on 10<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2008 (Lot 299) and we thank them for permission to use their illustration.



Fig.11



Fig.12

Readers will appreciate the exceptional quality of both the design and modelling. Notice that although the figure on the left representing Fame is pointing to the King she is actually handing the laurel wreath signifying victory to Britannia, who is accompanied by martial trophies. Britannia's left hand rests on a shield bearing the union flag and her feet trample on a winged dragon representing rebellion (Fig. 12). Following the Acts of Union in 1707, which united the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, this image of the martial Britannia represented British imperial power and unity. The message conveyed by the bracket is blatantly clear; the Protestant forces of Britannia under the charge of George as 'Defender of the Faith' have defeated the rebel Catholics led by Prince Charles Edward Stuart. The Reformation has been saved. To confirm this interpretation we now refer to contemporary medals, prints and songs.

- BATTLE OF CULLODEN SILVER MEDAL: Very striking silver medal designed by Richard Yeo, a teacher at the St. Martin's Lane Academy and later chief designer at the Royal Mint. Obverse: Bust of the Duke of Cumberland in armour with lion's skin wrapped round his body and Order of the Garter hanging below. Reverse: The Duke, as Hercules, tramples upon Discord and raises Britannia. Inscribed in Latin: 'The **rebels** driven from England and defeated at Culloden 16 April, 1746'.
- COPPER MEDAL: Cumberland riding over a fallen figure bearing the heads of a **Highlander, the Pope and Louis XV**, Culloden House with the battle behind.

Other medals of this period commemorate both earlier and later events.

- CARLISLE RETAKEN: Cumberland attacking the hydra, 1745.
- THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE JACOBITE ARMY TO SCOTLAND: Cumberland in Roman costume standing with one foot on a fallen warrior **whose shield bears the Papal crown**, and offering an olive branch to Anglia, 1745.

Some anti-Jacobite medals designed both before and after Culloden show the Duke's bust on the obverse and on the reverse Hercules (representing the Duke) trampling on a hydra



(Fig. 13). This is a perspicacious allusion to the Jacobite movement and the insidious increase in the threat of invasion from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Take for example the Cycle Club. Instituted on the birthday of the titular King, James III, on 10<sup>th</sup> June 1710, the Club was reconstructed in 1724 when it was agreed that it would ‘meet at the house of Daniel Porter, Innholder in Wrexham, on the first day of May, 1724 and that a new member should be elected every month thereafter’. After 1740 many similar clubs sprang up in quick succession. Most of these appear to have flourished prior to 1745. The Duke of Cumberland’s task was to rid the Kingdom of any possibility of re-establishment of the Church of Rome in Great Britain. The designer of the medal saw this as comparable with the second labour of Hercules (Heracles) when, as fast as one evil head of the hydra was destroyed, two others sprang forth in its stead. The one mortal head had to be destroyed in order to silence the hydra forever. This concept, as mentioned previously, led to the severe and brutal measures to stamp out the Jacobite rebels after the Battle of Culloden. Bernard Watney justifies a 1750’s manufacturing date for the bust because engraved Jacobite portrait glasses were popular about that time. However, all post Culloden engraved glasses were either designed to toast the exiled ‘King over the water’ or are part of the cult which developed around the legendary champion of the cause, Prince Charles Edward Stuart and his family (Grant Francis, *Glasses Devoted to the Jacobite Cause and Clubs*, MCMXXVI, chapter XCV1).

When Cumberland arrived in London he found that both Houses of Parliament had passed the Bill to increase his yearly income to £40,000. In addition, his father gave him the lucrative sinecure of Ranger of Windsor Castle. His soldiers were not forgotten. The Veteran’s Scheme had reached its saturation point of £6,000, and every unwounded man who had stood or ridden on Drumossie Moor could expect at least twelve shillings and sixpence from it. There was also to be a Culloden medal, one of the earliest campaign awards to be struck for the British Army. Cast in gold for the officers, it bears a Roman bust of the Duke with the single word Cumberland in halo above it. On the reverse side the nude figure of Apollo (Cumberland) **transfixes the neck of a dragon with his arrow**. The legend is in Latin, *Actum est ilicet perit* – ‘The deed is done, it is all over’ (Fig. 14). There were copper and bronze copies for private soldiers, and it was ordered that upon ceremonial occasions the medal should be suspended from the neck by a crimson, green-edged ribbon.



Fig. 14



Cumberland's pleasure at such an award was simple and sincere, for however harshly he treated his soldiers he was jealous of their honour. He was delighted, too, when his officers formed a Culloden Society to meet once a year on the anniversary of the battle for suitable celebration. During the autumn of 1746 Cumberland was the capital's hero and George Frederick Handel composed *The Conquering Hero* especially for the thanksgiving service in St. Paul's Cathedral (Prebble, 2003, *Culloden*, pp. 224 & 225).

Of particular note is *THE KING'S SHILLING* with a portrait of William III which was issued to troops who served on the Government side in the battle. King William had been dead for almost 50 years, so why connect him with Culloden? The reason is that when the Protestant King and his wife Mary (elder sister of James II) were invited to England to replace James II, a Roman Catholic, he was heralded as the protector of the Reformation. Obviously the Protestant cause was still seen as strongly represented by William III, especially because he destroyed the Catholic cause in Ireland. The medal recalls William as the Protestant hero. Hence in the early 1730's, the Bristol Council chose to commission a statue of William for erection in Queen's Square rather than one of George II:

*SATURDAY 18<sup>th</sup>.*

*The Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of Bristol, unanimously voted £500 to be given out of the Chamber, and £300 was given from Merchant's-Hall, toward erecting in Queens-Square a fine Equestrian Statue in Brass of King William. – Collections have been made to erect one at Hull, another in Southwark, and one in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. Yet a proposal for erecting one of his present Majesty at Bristol passed in the Negative. (Gentleman's Magazine, Vol III, 1733, 'Domestic Occurrences in December 1731'.)*



Fig. 15

*From Papal Power and Papal Bites,*

*From Relicks, Saints and Romish Rites,*

*Our Church secur'd by GEORGE'S Hands,*

*Now on a Rock triumphant stands.*

*Religion sits beneath at Rest,*

*Smiles on the Prince in whom she's blest,*

*Justice walking bow'd to Applause,*

*On Him depending Britain's Laws.*

*Published according to*

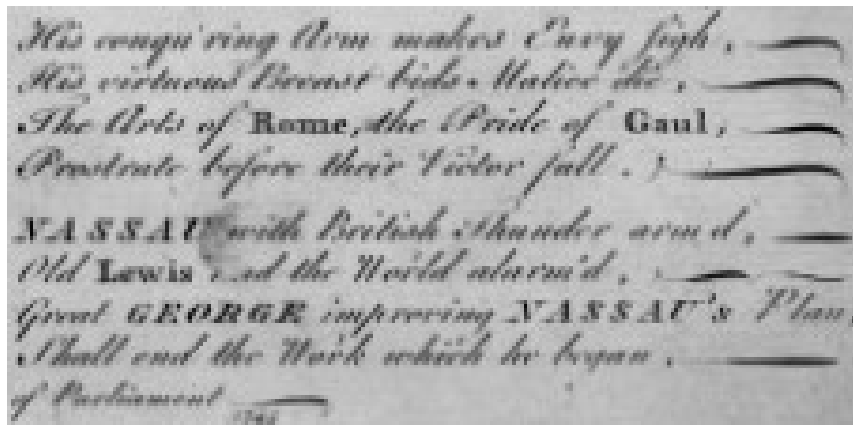


Fig. 16

*GEORGE'S COMBAT*, a rare print now in the Library of Congress, was purchased with over 2000 other items from Windsor Castle in 1953. The words speak for themselves. We note particularly the lines 'Our Church secur'd by *GEORGE'S* Hands/Now on a Rock triumphant stands'. Nassau refers to the House of Orange-Nassau, royal dynasty of the Netherlands, in this case to William the Silent, the first hero of Protestantism. The engraving is inscribed '*J.M. inventor*'; almost certainly the prominent artist John Mynde who engraved the illustrations for Cromwell Mortimer's paper on his metalline thermometer published in the Royal Society's Transactions in 1748 where he was transcribing a paper read to the Society on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1735. Mynde also attended the Royal Society meeting on 10<sup>th</sup> February 1742/3 when Thomas Bryand presented samples of Bow's 'A'-Marked porcelain (Daniels 2007, chapters 2 and 12).

The following song perfectly expresses the sentiments and passions of the Protestant nation during the Jacobite Rebellion and the widespread euphoria that followed the victory at Culloden when the bracket was produced.

*CALLIOPE OR ENGLISH HARMONY*

A Collection of the most celebrated English and Scots Songs

Volume the first

LONDON ENGRAVED & SOLD BY HENRY ROBERTS

Engraver & Printseller MDCCXXXIX

This was re-printed with additions in 1746. In both versions Calliope is depicted with books in her right hand and several laurel wreaths hanging from her left wrist. Beside her are two winged putti, one playing a bass or violincello and one holding a music sheet and singing. Overhead, Pegasus leaps from the top of Mount Olympus (Harding Museum, E799, Bodleian Library, 1746). This closely resembles the Gravelot/Bickham engraving in the second volume

of the *Musical Entertainer*, published in 1738, except that Calliope holds the Bass or Cello herself.

Song No. 155

A Loyal Song sung by Mr. Beard.

*From Barren Caledonian Lands where Famine uncontroul'd Commands; the Rebell Clans in Search of Prey come over ye Hills and Faraway, O'er the Hills and Faraway. O'er the Hills and Faraway the Rebell Clans in Search of Prey come over the Hills and Faraway.*

*Regardless of whether wrong or right  
For Booty not for Fame they Fight*

*Banditti like they Storm They Slay*

*They Plunder Rob and run away*

*O'er the Hills etc*

*With those a vain Pretender's come*

*And Perjured Traitors, Dupes to Rome*

*Determined all, without delay*

*To Conquer, Dye or run away  
O'er the Hills etc.*

*The Popish Priests among us Rule*

*Each weak deceiv'd believing Fool*

*When Justice does her sword display*

*She'll drive these Locust Faraway*

*O'er the Hills etc.*

*Let Briton's firm in Freedom's Cause*

*Assert our Rights Support our Laws*

*Defend our Faith our King obey*

*And Treason soon shall loose it's way*

*O'er the Hills etc.*

*Our Sons of War with Martial Flame*

*Shall Bravely merit lasting Fame*

*Great George shall Briton's Scepter Sway*

*And Chace Rebellion far away.*

*O'er the Hills etc.*

We think this song encapsulates all we need to know about the victory over the Jacobite rebels at Culloden as symbolised by the design of the George II bracket. Incidentally, the composer Thomas Arne lodged a Bill of Complaint with the Chancery in 1741, claiming that Henry Roberts and John Johnson had infringed his musical copyright by publishing some of his theatrical songs. The matter was settled out of court and is interesting in that it was the first known case of a composer asserting intellectual copyright. Associated with this complaint is an engraving with the design of 'Milton, led by the muse Calliope, presenting his works to Handel'. The scene shows one of the groves at Vauxhall and includes the statue of Handel. As mentioned below, the Bow Muses modeller produced a model of Calliope which appears to be based on an original drawing by Gravelot as engraved by Bickham for the title page of the second volume of his *Musical Entertainer*, published in 1738.

Another song with words by Lockman and music by Handel, *A Song on the Victory Obtain'd over the Rebels by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland*, was performed by Thomas Lowe at Vauxhall with music by Arne. Arne wrote many songs for Vauxhall, some of them depicted in Bickham's *Musical Entertainer*. Does this mean that Roberts' engravings for *Calliope, or English Harmony* were copied directly from performances in the gardens or theatres, or from Bickham's work, drawn from life by Gravelot from performances in the gardens or the London theatres. One scene in *Songs in the Opera of Flora, With the Humorous Scenes of Hob, Designed by the Celebrated Mr. Gravelot and Engraved by G. Bickham Jnr., Published according to ye Late Act 29<sup>th</sup> October 1737, Dedicated to John Rich by G. Bickham Jnr*, was drawn and engraved by Gravelot. The rest of the scenes were designed by Gravelot but engraved by Bickham. These scenes were of course used to decorate Bow's 'A'-Marked porcelain.

Part of the above song (titled on the sheet *A Loyal SONG sung by Mr. Beard at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden*) was included in *The Highlander's Medley, or The Duke Triumphant*, a print issued in 1746. The central figure of Cumberland brandishing his sword is surrounded by images of the British and Scottish armies, Britannia and Liberty, a knave in plaid and a gallows. The lyrics read:



*Britons behold the Royal Youth, 'tis he  
Who fights your Battles, sets your Country free  
The Rebels hear & tremble at his Name  
And Ch----s with Envy eyes his rising Fame*

*See there the Highlanders in fearful flight  
On Carrion Horses make a hasty Flight  
Satan has caught 'em in his Net & see  
He drags 'em onward to the triple Tree.*

Many triumphalist lyrics were also sung in the Vauxhall Gardens as part of the year's repertory following this brutal putting down of the Jacobite uprising (See Coke and Borg, 2011). We have produced evidence to demonstrate that the iconography of the bracket must indeed symbolise the successful defence of the Reformation and the King's part as Defender of the Faith. Fame applauds the victorious Britannia for supporting the King in his role as Defender of the Faith, whilst the writhing dragon representing rebellion agonises in the throes of death beneath her feet.

In 2007, Daniels gave a detailed account of the euphoria that followed the victory at Culloden, and one or two points may be relevant here.

'The town is blazing around me as I write, with fireworks and illuminations', wrote Horace Walpole. Within hours of the news 'hastily drawn and rough-cut portraits of Cumberland were sold on the streets...' 'The Duke was the Saviour of the Nation and the **Reformation**, everybody said'.

In Edinburgh a week after the battle, to mark the victory of the '**Protector of the Reformation**', a day of public thanksgiving was observed:

'with the utmost gaiety. As a day of rejoicing for the victory obtained: the most ingenious devices capable of striking the nicest taste were continued. These included window illuminations, candles arranged in the Royal Cipher and in the initials WDC. There were also cut out illustrations of **Victory trampling Rebellion underfoot....**'

The common theme central to all these coins, songs, prints, announcements and wall brackets is rebellion, represented by the dragon, and the defence of the Protestant religion against the Roman Catholic invaders, who remained demonic in the eyes of the public at large.

#### 4. THE BUST AND BRACKET - WAS ROUBILIAC THE SCULPTOR?

W.B. Honey in *Old English Porcelain* mentions an important group of white pieces. This includes busts of George II, George III as Prince of Wales, and of the Duke of Cumberland. He awards them to Chelsea on the ground of paste and glaze, and suggests that all were cast from models by Roubiliac.

For artistic reasons as discussed above, we ourselves feel that Roubiliac is the most likely modeller. There is a distinct similarity in style between the post-Dettingen bust under our scrutiny and the one in the Royal Collection at Windsor produced when the Monarch was a younger and less troubled man (Fig. 17). This bust and other examples of his work, covering such diverse subjects as the small *Head of a Laughing Girl* (Fig. 18) and Hogarth's dog *Trump* (Fig. 19), to the monumental statue of Handel (Fig. 20), serve to demonstrate the sculptor's unique ability to inject life, texture, character and a feeling of movement into the unrelenting material. The artist was able to create naturalness with great elan.



Fig.17 copyright H.M. Queen Elizabeth II, 2013



Fig.18 courtesy of Bonhams



Fig.19 Courtesy of Bonhams

Fig.20 Courtesy of V&A



The statue of Handel, a blend of realism and allegory, includes a putto, his amanuensis, busily copying the composer's manuscript at his feet. Mavis Bimson thought that there was discord between the baroque style of the bust and the rococo nature of the bracket, but we see no such problem. There is no shortage of putti, cupids, or small naked boys disporting themselves in all manner of guises in Bickham's musical publications of 1737 & 1738. Walpole's House at Houghton dating between 1722 and 1735 is literally infested with similarly modelled putti. The design of the wall bracket would not look out of place at this time; in fact it is more appropriate to 1746 than to the decade from 1750 to 1760 when the rococo style became markedly more feminine, as demonstrated by the 'Apollo' bracket discussed above.

Bevis Hillier (2009) records that Mathew Maty, a Fellow of the Royal Society, presented to the British Museum 17 plaster-cast busts by Roubiliac purchased by him at the sale of the sculptor's effects. Hillier's footnote 153 cites the Catalogue of the Museum of London's exhibition *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots 1685-1985*, London, 1985. Illustrated on page 213 are two of the 17 busts (The 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Chesterfield and Martin Folkes FRS). Roubiliac produced likenesses of several Fellows of the Royal Society, including a terracotta one of Dr. John Ray, and owned the original mask of Isaac Newton FRS taken after his death. We are convinced that Roubiliac created the master model from which the George II busts and brackets were cast and that the King's appearance was depicted with the same remorseless truth the sculptor applied to all of his work. We contend that the King was and looks aged 60 when the busts were produced in the middle 1740's.

## 5. DID BOW MAKE STEATITIC PORCELAIN?

The debate about whether Bow utilised soapstone/steatite in its ceramic production has waxed and waned over the years. Earlier workers {Elliot, 1929; Hurlbutt, 1926: 67-68;

and possibly Toppin (*vide* Watney, 1975)}, unlike current thinking, accepted or suspected, that Bow used steatite. However with more recent ceramic experts there has been a reluctance to accept that Bow was not only producing commercial porcelains prior to c. 1747, but was also using a range of recipe types. Consequently there has been an unwillingness to even consider that Bow may have used soapstone or indeed created these George II busts.

Dudley Delevingne (1963) wrote, 'It was a great loss that Mr. Toppin never wrote his book on Bow porcelain; he felt that he should wait until, among other things, non-phosphatic Bow had been discovered'. It is ironical then that Toppin, when cataloguing porcelain in the National Museum of Ireland, attributed to the Bow factory the Butler bust and the bust and bracket on loan from H. H. Newton (now in Los Angeles). Analysis of the Butler bust reported here demonstrates it to be magnesian in composition. Likewise we would strongly suspect that both bust and bracket in the Los Angeles County Museum, notwithstanding results to the contrary obtained using an air-path, hand-held XRF (HHpXRF) as reported below, are also magnesian.

The first evidence that Bow may have been utilising steatite came from the analysis of a polychrome tea canister decorated with the *Island house* pattern in the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria (Ramsay and Ramsay, 2005). At the time the authors believed that the Bow porcelain output could be regarded as compositionally bimodal (Bow first patent, high-Al body and the Bow second patent bone ash body). Consequently they classified this canister with its high-Al body (inferred high-clay) as being a member of the former group ('A'-marked group). However, by 2007 (Ramsay and Ramsay, 2007a, 2007b) it became obvious that the Bow recipe types were compositionally polymodal and that a number of porcelain bodies were being produced at Bow by the early 1740's, if not the late 1730's. The authors specifically recanted and described this porcelain canister as having its own distinctive high aluminium - magnesium - sulphur recipe (Al-Mg-S) and hence not conforming to the 'A'-marked or Bow first patent body. Initially the authors (Ramsay and Ramsay, 2005) were uncertain as to the source of the magnesium in the tea canister body and consequently they provided two possible recipe formulae to account for the bulk chemical composition of the canister, with Recipe 1 requiring the addition of magnesite (magnesium carbonate). The second theoretical formulation (Recipe 2) required the addition of talc or steatite to the porcelain body. Subsequent to that publication, discussions were held with Professor Ian Freestone and the consensus that arose was that talc or steatite was the more likely source for the magnesium.

Daniels (2007) discusses the evidence then available for the use of soapstone at Bow by the middle 1740's. One of her lines of evidence rested with correspondence between the Cornish scientist, William Borlase FRS and Emanuel Mendes da Costa, a naturalist and mineralogist elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1747. Da Costa claimed to be preparing a paper on steatite for presentation at the Royal Society, but this was never delivered. Borlase was aware of a deposit of steatite by at least the mid 1730's when he sent several samples to scientists at Leyden at the request of John Andrews. Finally, Borlase became frustrated with da Costa's constant requests for information on the properties of steatite or soapy rock and in a letter dated 22nd February 1750 (new style) advises him as follows:

*'Has Mr. Fry the painter who makes the London China ware ever seen it? Probably, he may give you many useful hints and I am informed he is a very good natured communicative man'.*

In our opinion this constitutes strong evidence that soapstone was used at Bow prior to 1747 as in a previous letter Borlase records that the Kynance Cove deposit had been depleted by that date. Since da Costa was aware of Woodward's experiments, we contend that Thomas Frye could not possibly have communicated any additional or significant information on the properties and use of steatite unless that material had been used at Bow. Coming from Borlase, this is significant, because the Cornishman was and still is considered to be a particularly reliable scientist. The letter of 1750 dates from after Benjamin Lund had negotiated a soaprock licence for mining the newly discovered deposits at Gew Graze located on the coast north of Kynance Cove, which Borlase considered were, 'in every respect at least equal to what was' at Kynance Cove. This letter was most likely written after Lund had received his first soaprock delivery, of which both scientists were aware, so one questions why Borlase did not direct da Costa to Benjamin Lund in Bristol. It was possibly because Lund was marketing steatitic porcelain at that time and obviously would be reluctant to disclose any of his methods.

A second line of evidence promoted by Daniels in favour of the use of steatite at Bow by the mid 1740s relates to the chemical analysis of the NGV high-Al magnesian tea canister discussed above. In a review of this work Gabszewicz (2008) accuses Daniels of relying on 'weak science' and taking a scientific fact (singular) and making the objects fit one's scheme as a matter of convenience. Gabszewicz further states that he is much more comfortable at forming a balanced opinion by what Adam Bowett (2009:5) describes as the 'myths of connoisseurship', even if that balanced opinion, as Gabszewicz claims, 'is not necessarily the correct one'.

To this end a 'second weak scientific fact' for the production of magnesian porcelains at Bow was presented by Ramsay et al. (2013) where they discuss a Bow bowl decorated in the *famille rose* style which they date c. 1742-1744 (Figs. 21a, 21b).



Fig. 21a



Fig. 21b



Fig. 22a



Fig. 22b

Figs. 21a, 21b: Polychrome bowl decorated after the Chinese in *famille rose* colours, Bow Al-Mg-P porcelain, c. 1742-1744, 12.1 cm diameter. Private collection.

Figs. 22a, 22b: Polychrome bowl decorated after the Chinese in *famille rose* colours, 1740's. Woolley and Wallis, Salisbury. The decoration on this bowl is by the same hand as on the previous Bow bowl (Figs. 21a, 21b) but visual inspection of the porcelain body indicates it to be of a soft-paste phosphatic nature.

This bowl was isolated for testing because visually it looks to be high-fired, as was subsequently demonstrated by its high  $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3$  content (33 wt%). It is well potted, having a tight-fitting, blemish-free glaze distinctive of Bow, and is highly translucent with a greenish hue. The marked presence of  $\text{TiO}_2$  in the body (0.5 wt%) demonstrates that the clay used was most likely a ball clay, possibly from Dorset, and not a primary clay such as Cherokee clay with which the Bow proprietors were contemporaneously producing their hard-paste first patent porcelains ('A'-marked wares). The distinct amounts of  $\text{P}_2\text{O}_5$  and  $\text{MgO}$  in the bowl reflect the use of both bone ash and steatite/soapstone by the Bow proprietors. The glaze is a distinctive Bow glaze (Ramsay et al., 2011b) with high  $\text{PbO}$ ,  $\text{K}_2\text{O} \geq \text{CaO}$  and low  $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3$  and  $\text{MgO}$ . The decoration on this bowl belongs to a stock pattern produced at Bow over a long period of time, but in this case is rendered very individually by a painter whose hand has only been found on one or two other Bow examples. The bowl has an high  $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3$  value comparable to that found in the NGV tea canister (~33 wt%) and this level of clay addition is broadly comparable with that found in a number of Bow first patent ('A'-mark) porcelains that we have analysed. When he visited the National Gallery of Australia in 1977, John Mallet was 'intrigued by it because, although it bore the familiar 'Island Pattern' copied from Chinese export ware at Bow, it was clearly not composed of any known Bow paste'. The exact reason why the bowl was selected for testing. Mallet proposed that the caddy may belong to the 'A'-Marked class, seeing a close comparison with a fluted cup painted in the *famille verte* manner in the collection at the V&A. (ECC 1994). Initially, various ceramic experts argued that the NGV tea canister was Chinese export hard-paste porcelain overpainted in London. However the Al-Mg-S porcelain body militates against this notion. We date both canister and bowl to the early 1740's as it appears that Bow was experimenting at that time with a number of high-clay bodies and moreover we suspect the proprietors were attempting to find alternative high-firing clays rather than rely on the hard-to-obtain Cherokee clay from the New World. Based on visual inspection, a bowl decorated identically with the same stock pattern painted by the same artist, was easily recognised as soft-paste phosphatic porcelain. Manufactured later (1747-50) than the high clay example described above, it was offered for sale by auctioneers Woolley and Wallis in their Salisbury rooms some years ago (Figs. 22a, 22b).

Predicated on the work of Ramsay and Ramsay (2007), Ramsay et al (2013) and this monograph we now recognise the development at Bow of four contrasting magnesian compositions by mid 1744. The first two were the Al-Mg-S recipe found in the NGV tea canister and the Al-Mg-P body found in the Bow bowl (Figs. 21a, 21b). The third and fourth examples of different formulae are represented by two contrasting recipe types found in the George II busts. One of these is the Mg-P-Pb body found in the Willett waster bust at

Brighton that resonates with the Al-Mg-P Bow bowl, the other is the Mg-Pb body that characterises all of the other busts analysed by us to date. This recognition of the development of a variety of magnesian bodies at Bow by mid 1744 has been arrived at through considered enquiry, thinking outside the square, and the application of rational science. Such conclusions could not have been arrived at simply by handling large numbers of porcelain objects, chat sessions with like-minded connoisseurs, arriving at what Gabszewicz (2008) claims is a 'balanced opinion'. As argued by Ramsay et al (2013) this 'balanced opinion' has been so negatively influenced by an inherent failure over the last century to understand the very earliest productions from Bow, that recognition of the importance of the Factory, stretching back to the 1730's, has been greatly diminished. Moreover the realisation that by the 1740's London had become the world centre for porcelain technology and development has remained opaque to ceramic connoisseurs.

As already explained, this use of a variety of magnesian recipes traces back to experimental firings in the 1720's by John Woodward, Secretary to the Royal Society. In her book on Bow porcelain, Daniels argued that the Bow factory was able to develop a range of porcelain recipe types because of technical input from the Royal Society of London, with its extensive repository of information on ceramic recipes, as detailed by Ramsay et al. (2013). According to Daniels, the Bow Factory received practical assistance from Dr. Cromwell Mortimer FRS, who was appointed assistant to Sir Hans Sloane, President of the Society, in 1729. He managed to invent a self-fuelling furnace which could produce temperatures up to the melting point of iron (1400 degrees centigrade), which he could also regulate. After improvements by his colleagues, the renowned clock and instrument makers George Graham FRS and John Ellicot FRS, Mortimer completed his design in 1735. This innovative furnace was built to his specifications by a person called Jackson in 1736, in which year Mortimer wrote to Boerhaave, under whom he had studied at Leyden, informing him of his success. Significantly, in the year 1736 Andrew Duche moved to Savannah, Georgia, in order to despatch quantities of Cherokee china clay to London (Daniels, *The Origin and Development Bow Porcelain 1730 - 1747*, 2007, chapter 12).

The interest of the Royal Society in the firing of porcelain appears to extend back to the time of its inauguration, if not before its Charter of 1662 when both Robert Boyle and John Dwight were at Oxford together in 1655 or early 1656 (Maddison, 1969; Ramsay et al., 2013). A number of ceramic historians have questioned this notion, in particular John Mallet who considers the Society to have comprised scientists who, although attempting some practical applications, acted more often as observers rather than a promoters (Mallet, pers. comm., July 2009). We were therefore pleased to receive a response to our recent Limehouse monograph from Joanna Corden, Archivist at the Royal Society. From this letter we quote the following;

*'A fascinating subject in itself. It is interesting to have it all put together in the way that you did, and it definitely reminds historians of science that the Society were very much concerned with practicalities and, indeed trades as well as what we call science today'.*

We are pleased Joanna Corden mentions the Society's concern with trades, because we firmly believe that from its beginnings in the middle 17<sup>th</sup> century a number of its Fellows were involved in the development of the English porcelain industry. This started with John Dwight, proceeded to the experimental firings undertaken or commissioned by the Society in 1708 (contemporary with the initiation of Meissen), and continued through the period of Woodward's experimental work using soapstone in the 1720's to its input into the several bodies developed at Bow. Compositional and technological pathways enabled Ramsay and co-workers to trace the Si-Al and Si-Al-Ca recipe types initially found in the Burghley House jars of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, to experimental firings by the Royal Society in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, to the Si-Al and Si-Al-Ca bodies found in earliest Bow, and subsequently to Limehouse porcelains of late 1745-early 1746.

We argued (2013) that the Bow factory was a conduit for the soaprock technology developed by Woodward in the 1720's. It passed to Limehouse {provided it can be proven that the Mg-P recipe type recognised by Ramsay et al, was actually used at Wilson's factory (Ramsay et al 2011a 2013)} and thence to Lund's Bristol, Worcester, Vauxhall and Liverpool. From this we suggest that compositional pathways are a much more powerful method of demonstrating factory relationships than linkages inferred through stylistic features or the visual appearance of glazes.

Furthermore, earlier in the text we have recorded two Bow phosphatic figures, Woodward and a hound, each incised with the chemical symbol for tin and shown how all the groups, whether steatitic, phosphatic or hard paste are connected by incised marks of some kind. These incised marks occur over a wide range of early Bow porcelains. As well as the George II bust group they appear on other Bow productions, for instance the incised R and Line mark on a not uncommon group of early domestic wares, and marks for copper, antimony, mercury, iron and tin etc on both figures and wares. The sign for iron is not uncommon on both figures and wares with a drab, or mushroom grey, appearance and these have been confused with Plymouth porcelain. As already pointed out, no other factory has so consistently used similar incised marks.

## 6. WERE THESE GEORGE II BUSTS PRODUCED COMMERCIALY & WHEN DID BOW COMMENCE COMMERCIAL PRODUCTION?

In *Fascination of Fragility Masterpieces of European Porcelain*, Anton Gabszewicz fails to illustrate even one example of Bow 'A'-Marked first patent porcelain. In the chapter on Bow he refers briefly to this porcelain, in particular to the so-called 'high-style' group, as probably representing a special commission or presentation service intended to demonstrate that Edward Heylyn and Thomas Frye could indeed make porcelain by c. 1746. From this we can conclude that Gabszewicz does not regard the brilliant Bow first patent porcelains ('A'-Marked) as representing 'commercial' production. This is a pity, as this first patent porcelain is arguably the only mid-18th century English porcelain that can compare with Meissen, technically, compositionally, and artistically.

An extensive paper dealing with the 'A'-Marked group of porcelain was read at the Victoria and Albert Museum by R.J.Charleston and J.V.G Mallet on 21 March 1970 (*A Problematical Group of Eighteenth-century Porcelains*, ECC Trans., Vol. 8, Pt. L, 1971, pp. 80-121). John Mallet later added to this research in a paper read at the Linnean Society



Rooms on 20<sup>th</sup> February 1993 (*The 'A' Marked Porcelains Revisited*, ECC Trans., No. 15, Pt. 2, 1994, pp 240-257). In the first paper surviving pieces from 9 'high style' tea services and 10 from stock pattern services were identified. In 1994 Mallet was able to add another 3 services, two 'high-style' and one stock pattern, making a total of 22 known separate tea services. With the addition of a 'high-style' cane handle and snuffbox the total number of extant pieces of 'A'marked porcelain was 34. Since then about a dozen more pieces have emerged, but apart from a cane handle and two snuffboxes in the 'high-style', we have not seen these so are currently unaware of their shapes or patterns. Therefore, of course, we do not know whether they will increase the total number of services or add to those already identified. Whatever the case, the factory's output of hard paste porcelain would not account for the 'large Quantities of Tea-cups, Saucers, &c' which, according to the 4<sup>th</sup> Edition of Defoe's *Tour Thro' The Whole Island of Great Britain*, were produced at their Middlesex works before early April 1747 (See Daniels 2007, chapter 6). In the opinion of the authors, significant quantities of both phosphatic and steatitic wares must have been manufactured before the move to the 'New Canton' factory on the other side of the River Lea in Essex about 1747. Significantly, this new 'modern' works was specially designed to cope with mass production methods based on Chinese technology. Keeping in mind that Cromwell Mortimer studied under Boerhaave, who originally suggested 'virgin earth' (bone ash) as a material for making porcelain, and corresponded with him regarding his furnace, we feel that the very earliest Bow porcelain may have involved the use of bone-ash. It would certainly have been easier to perfect than their technically difficult hard paste porcelain.

These contemporary porcelains of three different types need to be identified. The beautiful scratch R and line marked porcelain may well account for the perfected phosphatic body first produced in Middlesex. However, standing in the way of wider recognition is the constant dating of the various Bow porcelains too late, often by as much as a decade. For instance as suggested by Mallet (ECC Trans.1994, p. 245) and we quote:

*Nearly all the 'stock patterns' produced by the 'A'-Marked factory are fluted cups. One of the exceptions is the hexagonal teapot, now lidless, which formerly belonged to Mr. W.W. Winkworth, was not long ago sold at Christies and is now in Melbourne. This bears a rather non-specific Chinese famille verte pattern, not so far recorded on any other specimen, that puts me a little in mind of Lund's Bristol (1748-52), very early Worcester (about 1751-55) or Bow (about 1752-55).*

This observation is made despite the fact that Bow is the only early English porcelain manufactory with documents proving it was operating as early as 1744 (Bow 1st Patent application October 1744). This document also proves it to be the factory importing Cherokee china clay from the American colonies for making hard paste porcelain after the Chinese, whereas Lund's factory could not have been producing much, if anything, before 1750. At Worcester, Davis and Wall were experimenting on a very small scale until 1752 when they purchased Lund's works and soaprock licence. A scan through the literature, exhibitions, auction catalogues etc will reveal a large number of occasions where Bow products that mirror those of other factories are deemed to be later in date.

Our research into the George II busts has identified at least 19 extant models that can be subdivided into two main groups, namely the Dettingen group and the Culloden group. The latter group with incised numbers looks to have formed a commission of a dozen busts, possibly initiated by Henry Fox or the Duke of Richmond. We have been able to locate seven of this twelve, leaving five unaccounted for. This indicates an attrition rate of slightly over 40% since their manufacture in 1746. On the wider front, our total of 19 busts assumes we are correct in tracing the Willett waster bust at Brighton back to the Edkins Collection and the

Los Angeles bust to the Holland House sale in 1775 and they are not additional models. If incorrect, the total number would be 21. Based on a similar attrition rate or perhaps slightly more for the pre Culloden models, this would mean perhaps 30 odd busts were produced in the period mid 1744 - mid 1746.

We do not accept that the Bow proprietors manufactured such a large number of magnesian busts merely to demonstrate that they could indeed make magnesian porcelain. Our research demonstrates that by mid 1744 Bow had embarked on a highly ambitious programme to produce a significant number of busts that must have been of a commercial nature. Likewise the range of shapes and decoration found associated with the Bow first patent porcelains coupled with the extreme lengths the proprietors went to to obtain primary china clay in the New World, tells us immediately that they did not go to this trouble merely to demonstrate that they could indeed make porcelain. That phase of experimental development for a range of Bow recipe types was undertaken in the 1730's - very early 1740's as we have previously shown (Daniels, 2007, Daniels and Ramsay, 2009; Ramsay et al., 2013). Had Bow wanted to demonstrate that they could 'indeed make porcelain' by 1746 then easily obtainable Dorset ball clay or the likes mixed with crushed silica and a potassic flux would have served this purpose and this they were doing most likely by the late 1730's (Ramsay et al., 2013).

What we see here is that by 1744 Bow was producing commercial, sophisticated and ambitious porcelains in the form of a hard-paste Si-Al-Ca body and remarkable Mg-Pb and Mg-P-Pb busts. No other English factory operating in the 1740's had the materials, technology, capability, confidence, or entrepreneurial ability to compete with these products. There is no doubt that Bow was at the time also producing a range of phosphatic recipes in various forms - figures, utensils, and ornamental wares and much of this production has for the last 100 years been dated up to a decade too late.

## CONCLUSIONS:

London Society in the first half of the eighteenth century  
as expressed through Bow porcelain

We have shown how technical features associated with this George II bust group are also connected with other Bow porcelains. We know that the Bow Factory was capable of producing the challenging hard-paste 'A' marked porcelain before July 1745, when it was mentioned in the Vincennes Privilege (Daniels, 2007). We can see no reason why it was not also capable of making these busts, sophisticated examples of steatitic porcelain, by 1744-6. There is also evidence that at least one of the Bow partners was actively anti-Jacobite and a strong supporter of the Hanoverian succession, as were a number of the personalities involved in the London Theatre and the Vauxhall Gardens portrayed in Bow porcelain. The following petition to the King from the *London Gazette*, part of the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century Burney Collection of Newspapers (British Library) was discovered by Dr. Rebecca Daniels.

*London Gazette*, February 25, 1744 (new style); Issue 8305.

St. James's, February 27.

This Day the Merchants of the City of London waited on his Majesty with the following Address.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

The humble Address of the Merchants of

the City of London.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal  
Subjects, the Merchants of your City of  
London, having observed, by your Majesty's  
Most gracious Message to your Parliament, that  
Designs are carrying on by your Majesty's En-  
emies, in Favour of a Popish Pretender, to disturb  
the Peace and Quiet of these your Majesty's  
Kingdoms; think it our indispensable Duty, not  
To omit this Opportunity of expressing our just  
Resentment and Indignation at so rash an  
Attempt.

We have too lively a Sense of the Happiness  
We enjoy in our Religion and Liberties under  
Your Majesty's mild and auspicious Reign, and  
of the flourishing Condition of our Trade and  
Commerce, even in the midst of War, under  
your paternal Care and Vigilance, not to  
give your Majesty the strongest Assurances of our  
highest Gratitude for such invaluable Blessings;  
nor can we doubt, but by the Blessing of God  
upon your Majesty's Arms, and the unanimous  
Support of your faithful Subjects, the Attempts  
of your Enemies will recoil upon themselves,  
and end in their own Confusion.

We therefore humbly beg Leave to declare  
to your Majesty, our unshaken Resolution, that  
we will, on this critical Conjunction, exert our

utmost Endeavours, for the Support of publick  
Credit, and at all Times hazard our Lives and  
Fortunes, in Defence of your Majesty's sacred  
Person and Government, and for the Security  
of the Protestant Succession in your Royal  
Family.

Amongst the hundreds of signatories to this petition are the names of several persons associated with the Bow Porcelain Factory, or who are mentioned in ceramic literature. Foremost is the name of **Edward Heylyn**. Other relevant signatories are Alexander Dick (captain of Edward Heylyn's ship the 'Heylyn's of Bristol'), Thomas Allen (John Campbell sent him for his cousin Arthur Dobbs a parcel of white clay that reminded him of the white clay he had seen at Bow prior to mid 1742), Stephen Theodore Janssen (Battersee Enamel Factory and the Anti-Gallican Society), Samuel Martin, Samuel Baker, John Hanbury, Moses Mendes da Costa, James Theobald, Samuel Smith, Andrew Pringle, John Norris, P. Lefebure, several Frye's (but not Thomas) and a number of Fellows of the Royal Society.

The date of this petition, 27<sup>th</sup> February 1743/4, is shortly after the King's victory at Dettingen, which caused euphoric celebrations, not only in London, but all over the country, although, because the King had failed to totally destroy the Catholic enemy, the euphoria was accompanied by the widespread fear of a future Catholic invasion. Did this wave of national pride and support for the King motivate Edward Heylyn and associates to instigate the production of a bust to commemorate the event?

We have already pointed out a print focusing on actors who were supporters of the Protestant cause. How fascinating that this print is full of characters connected with the London stage, the Vauxhall Gardens and the Bow output of figures, including *Harlequin*, *Pierrot* and *Punchinello*.

In reference to the Vauxhall Gardens and the London Theatre, here we find a further link between all the above groups of porcelain and the Bow Factory, at the centre of which was William Hogarth with his revitalisation of both the gardens and the St. Martin's Lane Academy. It was Hogarth, working with Jonathon Tyers, who commissioned Roubiliac to produce the statue of Handel for placement in the gardens and who brought Gravelot to London in 1732. Gravelot's work is infused with the spirit of the rococo and he was an outstanding draughtsman, as confirmed by the delightful scenes he created for the operetta *Flora* that were reproduced on Bow's 'A'- Marked porcelain. The two artists produced a lot of work together, much of it included in Volumes 1 and 2 of Bickham's *Musical Entertainer* published in 1737 and 1738. In these volumes some theatrical scenes are shown being performed both in London theatres and outside in the pleasure gardens, especially Vauxhall. They also contain Gravelot's interpretations of the Muses as produced at the Bow Factory. Many more early Bow figures emulate characters vending in the gardens, such as cooks, shoe blacks, fruit sellers, posy sellers etc. Others are taken from Francis Hayman's paintings in the

supper boxes at Vauxhall, such as a *Sailor and Companion* after Hayman's *Sailors in a tipping house in Wapping*, and the London stage, such as James Quin, David Garrick, Kitty Clive, Henry Woodward, George Anne Bellamy and Thomas Lacy. Bow also produced a *Thames Waterman* figure after those who carried visitors by boat down the river to Vauxhall. These may very well reproduce drawings from life by Hayman; certainly those of Garrick and Quin do. Scenes depicting children at play, designed by Gravelot and engraved by Bickham, were used by Hayman in the supper boxes at Vauxhall and also feature on Bow's 'A'-Marked porcelain. Statues of Shakespeare and Milton were placed in the groves at Vauxhall and halls were dedicated to performances involving the classical history of the Muses. Bow also made figures of singers, such as John Beard playing the salt box. Should readers wish to pursue this line of thought further we recommend Raymond Yarbrough's excellent book *Bow Figures and the London Theatre*. Daniels covered the connection with the pleasure gardens in much more detail in 2007.

Bow not only had connections with artists attached to the St. Martin's Lane Academy, but with leading exponents of the rococo style of ornament, such as *Designs for rococo cartouches* by William de la Cour (circa 1740-45), some of which were found amongst the Bowcocke Papers. This flamboyant style was well entrenched by 1738 when Gravelot produced the drawing of the Muse *Calliope* for Bickham to engrave on the title page of the second volume of the *Musical Entertainer*. Anti-French sentiments in London after the Battle of Fontenoy in 1745 forced Gravelot's return to Paris in the October (see Daniels 2007, chapter 15, *Let the Porcelain Speak* for a more detailed account of these Bow connections).

We have included these references to the London theatre and the pleasure gardens because they add another dimension to our contention that Bow is the only pottery working before 1750 capable of producing the George II bust and bracket and the associated groups. Important facts relative to the types of Bow porcelain manufactured in Middlesex prior to the move to the New Canton site in Essex about 1747 have been totally overlooked in ceramic research. In early-mid 1746, the Bow proprietors decided to concentrate on mass producing a phosphatic body, but it was in the decade leading up to that commercial decision that Bow produced a number of contrasting porcelain bodies ranging from high-aluminous wares, including a hard-paste Si-Al-Ca body, and a range of phosphatic and magnesian bodies. We have now shown that they developed a recipe based on soapstone, as used for these George II busts and wall brackets. Also it has not been fully appreciated that the earliest Bow porcelains were completely indigenous both as far as formulae and, in the case of figures, subjects are concerned. We recognise a close connection between the Bow coterie, the artists at the St. Martin's Lane Academy and the actors and singers who appeared on the London stage in the winter season and performed in the Vauxhall and other pleasure gardens during the summer. On the science side we recognise the involvement of Fellows of the Royal Society. We also sense that the establishment of the Bow Factory was part of a much larger scheme to expand British industry at home and abroad, to improve its commerce and the arts and sciences in response to the similar intentions published by the French in 1727. This fortunately coincided with the accession of George II, a more agreeable and politically co-operative King than his father. The new Colony of Georgia that provided Bow with china clay and possibly bone-ash and potash, was also part of this plan. Many of our players were associated with its establishment, including some known to be working for Bow (Edward Heylyn and Andrew Duche) as well as Fellows of the Royal Society, especially committee members, including Sir Hans Sloane and the Duke of Richmond.

Finishing details such as incised tool work, 'matting' and other techniques after contemporary silver work, appear on phosphatic Muses figures and on the 'A'-Marked hard paste porcelain as well as on King George's cuirass. All these idiosyncracies combined

constitute a 'house style' unique to Bow (Compare for instance the George II bust and the beautifully modelled *Mongolian Heads*). We can name no other factory's products that combine all these identifying features and was manufacturing at this high standard between 1744 and 1746. Furthermore, in the Bow proprietor Edward Heylyn, we have a known anti-Jacobite prepared to stand up and fight for the Protestant cause.

## THE GEORGE II BUST: A WASTER & EACH OF THE FOUR GROUPS DESCRIBED.

Although previous researchers and writers have mentioned slight variations in a few of the busts, no reasons for such differences have been discussed, nor has the extent of these variations been realised. However, from studying each bust in detail as well as viewing and testing a sufficient number of them, we have not only deduced technical reasons for the modifications but have been able to establish a logical chronology for the manufacture, as shown below.

- WASTER: Mounted on a bespoke cast iron stand, now in the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery. We thank Laura Waters the curator for allowing us to take samples from the bust and also to photograph it. When produced this bust was completely unsaleable for reasons given in detail below.
- GROUP 1: Based on technicalities, we speculate that the first group is confined to the model with an original, unique socle and attachment now housed at Temple Newsam House in Leeds, which may have been the very earliest to be made successfully. It may lack an inch below the bottom curve of the armour, but more likely has collapsed in the kiln, squashing the plinth at the bottom causing total instability. This explains why what looks to be an original socle has been filled with plaster and the bust plastered to it, which makes it impossible to work out exactly why it is shorter in height than any other bust and socle. It remains somewhat unstable and when in place in the house needs to be secured by wire wound round the neck and attached to the wall. As Polly Putnam, the curator at the time of our visit, commented 'we have to garrotte him'. Over the years several different overall heights have been quoted for this bust and socle ranging from 15 ½" to 16 ½", whereas the standard height is 17 ¼" – 17 ¾".
- GROUP 2: This group has an extra inch below the bottom curve of the armour, extending into a more satisfactory plinth that assists stability. Because of problems with the firing, the interior of this slightly later model has been fitted with semi-circular bars or flanges in an effort to prevent collapse in the kiln and a hole has been pierced in the top of the head to help with the circulation of air. Four of the models display these features, although there are variations in the number and positioning of the bars. These are now located at the Plymouth Museum and Art Gallery, the British Museum, the Museum of London and in the Watney Collection. The piercing of holes in the heads of figures is otherwise unrecorded with English made figures. This group we consider was made after Dettingen but before Culloden.
- GROUP 3: Succeeding these in date comes a group of un-numbered busts close in design to the Plymouth model, but lacking the supporting bars in the interior and hole in the head. Of these, six can at present be located. It appears that the potters had worked out how to cope with the difficult firing. Some models in this group show signs that a form of kiln furniture had been designed and placed as a prop between the top and bottom of the open back.
- GROUP 4: The next seven extant busts follow the standard form as in Group 3 but are part of a numbered series that we consider were manufactured after the Battle of Culloden,

probably as part of a commission. Fortunately, as explained already, the bust incised on the base with number I survived with its original bracket and is now in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum and Art Gallery. The other six numbered extant busts conform technically to this design and each is described in detail below. Based on the subdivision of the busts just given (a waster and 4 groups) a progression can be seen in regard to the backs of these busts. This progression is illustrated in sequence commencing with the bust from the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery (Willett bust) as shown in Figure 23.



Fig.23 (Willett bust, Brighton)



Fig. 24 (Temple Newsam)



Fig. 25 (Schreiber bust at Plymouth)



Fig. 26 (copyright British Museum)

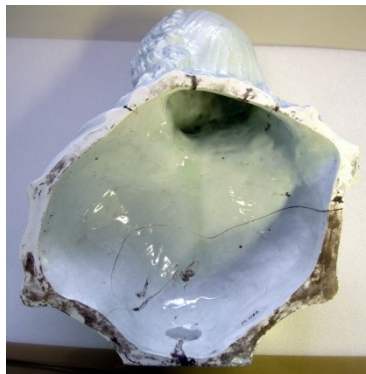


Fig. 27 (Liverpool)



Fig.28(LosAngeles)

Illustrated above are the backs of six busts showing some of the modifications. Particularly noticeable is the narrow opening to Figure 23, the waster bust at Brighton, and Figure 24, the unique model at Temple Newsam House. Figure 25 shows the three supporting bars/flanges inserted in the bust at Plymouth and Figure 26 the two supporting bars as similarly inserted in the other three busts in this group. Figure 27 shows the wide opening and



the marks from kiln furniture on the bust at Liverpool and Figure 28 the interior of the Los Angeles model.

Much confusion with these busts in the literature has been the varying terms used to describe the parts (such as plinth, socle and pedestal when describing the original socles), and the placement of the marks. For the purpose of the present descriptions the PLINTH means the extension of the bust itself; SOCLE refers to the separate contemporary porcelain socle made at the factory. Quite a few busts have individual stands that replace the socles and are made from materials such as wood, stone or plaster and, in one case, cast iron. These are referred to as STANDS. Where marks are incised on the bottom of the plinth this will be listed as on the bust. Only three original socles bear incised marks. The Dudley Delevingne socle incised with the number 3, the British Museum socle with an incised cross and the Higgins Art Gallery & Museum's socle which has a mark that mirrors the incised mark on the Butler bust at Dublin.

We now describe each bust we have researched, the form and position of any marks, whether it has an original socle and the material from which any foreign stand has been manufactured. For ease of reference by future researchers, we are proposing a numbering system based on this monograph: Daniels/Ramsay 2013, written as D/R 2013 – 1, 2, 3 and so forth.

## RECORDED BUSTS AND THEIR LOCATION AT JUNE 2013.

D/R 2013 - 1:



Fig. 29



Fig.30

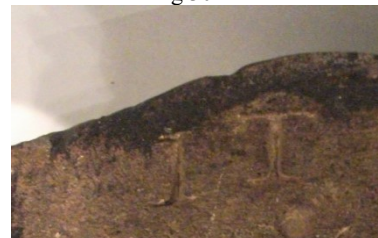


Fig.31



BUST, Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, a resurrected waster on a replacement cast iron stand with George II Silver Crowns of 1743-1745 incorporated into each of its four panels. Height of the bust at the front 13 ¼ ins (330mm), at the back 11 ¾ ins (298mm). Height of the cast iron stand at the front 4 1/8 ins (105mm), at the back 3 1/8 – 3 3/8 ins (80-90mm). Widest width 13 ins (330mm). When acquired the Museum's description was: 'Bust. White Porcelain. George II (after that modelled by Rysbrack). Height 15½". Chelsea c.1745. Acquired by Willett between 1870 and 1890'.

Impressions taken from the obverse of a silver crown of 1743 -1745 were cast into each of the four panels of the replacement black painted cast iron stand. Of course these coins were dated on the reverse, which is not visible, but though the casting is very poor it is possible to see that the word LIMA does not appear below the lion's mask on the King's left shoulder. LIMA on coins indicates that they were made from silver captured by Admiral George Anson's fleet in June 1743. Two crowns were circulated in 1745, one without and one with the word LIMA. In 1746 and 1747 only LIMA coins were circulated and just a handful of plain coins were minted proof only. It is extremely doubtful that anyone would have bothered to purchase an expensive proof only coin from which to decorate a cast iron stand being designed to support a 'worthless' bust. The only feature on the bust that indicates any connection with this date is the appearance of the cuirass, which suggests that the bust commemorates the King's courageous exploits at the head of the Cavalry in the splendid victory at Dettingen in late 1743, as also suggested by Delevingne (1963). Not one feature links the model to the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. The cast iron stand must be contemporary with the bust therefore we consider that the bust was manufactured in 1744 or 1745.

The Willett collection was placed on loan at the Royal Pavilion in Brighton in 1890, but the Museum has no record of exactly when or from whom he purchased the bust, as he kept few records. In 1899 it was part of a significant proportion of Willett's collection that went on display in an exhibition at Bethnal Green during the refurbishment of the Brighton Gallery when it was preparing to receive the entire collection after space ran out at the Pavilion.

We believe that this bust may have been the first one to survive the firing, albeit a waster, for the following reasons. It has collapsed in the kiln from front to back and also slewn sideways, as easily confirmed by the measurements (Height at front 13 ¼", at back 11 ¾") and illustrations, (Figs. 32-37). All the busts we have seen have a mark caused by a piece of kiln furniture on the wig at the back in a similar position, but on the Brighton bust it has deeply embedded itself into the paste suggesting that the model slumped backwards in the kiln (Fig. 35). Figure 37 shows the significant slewing to the left and pox holes in the right hand crevice caused by dragging. This means that the bust is warped as well as shorter at the back. The whole inside shows heavy tool marks from where the unfired paste has been pared away with a palette knife to reduce the thickness of the walls, and the edges are significantly chamfered (Fig. 36). The entire inside and the rims are covered with a thick glassy glaze slightly tinted blue.

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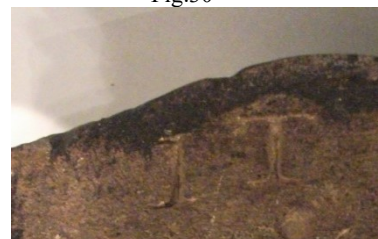


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Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36

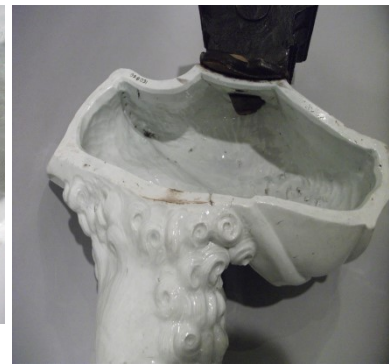


Fig. 37

The amazing thing is that the cast iron stand, bearing the initials I T in intaglio (Fig. 31), has been designed with angles to compensate for warping and variations in height. The weight of iron was needed to keep George upright and stable when standing, otherwise he would simply fall backwards. It has also been shaped to combat the side-ways slump. Even so, it remained difficult to attach bust to stand with a bolt and some form of composition material has been used to even up the meeting of the two parts and also to secure the bolt at the upper end. Figure 36 shows how the composition material squelched out when the two parts were firmly pressed together. One can also see how the stand has been shaped at the top in an effort to counteract the warping. Nevertheless the King still leans backwards, unlike all the other busts where he tends to lean slightly forwards.

We wonder why this stand was made in order to preserve what would normally have been discarded as a waster and can only imagine that it was so important to someone involved in its manufacture that he wanted to keep it as a memento. This person must have felt very proud of their achievement considering the immense difficulties faced in producing such a large and difficult model at this early date. Obviously the proprietors of the factory would not have objected to him rescuing a totally unsaleable model. Hereunder we speculate as to the potter

who may have gone to such trouble and expense to preserve for posterity a very faulty bust of the monarch.

We are informed that Willett purchased his bust between 1870 and 1890 and we do know of a bust sold by Sotheby's on the 21<sup>st</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> April 1874 as part of the Collection of William Edkins. It was catalogued (lot 470) under the heading *BOW PORCELAIN* and read:

'A BUST IN WHITE PORCELAIN OF GEORGE II, modelled by Rysbrach. See Chaffer's *Keramic Gallery*, 1872.'

Had Edkins, like almost everybody else at this time, been of the opinion that his bust was Plymouth we assume Sotheby's would have noted this.

In Chaffers' *Keramic Gallery*, listed in volume II, page xxviii, under BOW PORCELAIN we find number 441, 'Bust in white porcelain of George II. Height 17 in'. This was the bust belonging to the Schreiber's, so it is surprising that Chaffers designated it as Bow (for explanation see D/R 2013 – 3).

Chaffer's appears to be the first expert to attribute the bust to the Bow Factory. When Sotheby's sold William Edkins' bust in 1874 they followed Chaffers and also named Bow as the maker. Is it possible that Edkins knew it was Bow because he was told so by Miss Brittain, the descendant of John Brittain the expert potter whom we believe worked at the Middlesex factory in its earliest days. We will show that Edkins purchased many pieces of John Brittain's collection from Miss Brittain, over a period of time. From information supplied by David Moffatt at Liverpool Museum we know that, although in 1869 Lady Schreiber had already seen the Edkins bust, she was still convinced by Burt's story that the one in Dr. Cookworthy's collection had been passed down from 'the manufacturer' William Cookworthy. She must have felt this was a more reliable provenance than information passed down by word of mouth to Edkins from Brittain's family (See D/R 2013 - 3 below).

On the previous page of the Edkins Sale catalogue, also listed under BOW PORCELAIN we find lot 422, *STATUETTE of Mrs. Clive, the Actress*, but surprisingly under the heading PLYMOUTH, we find lot 405, *STATUETTE of Woodward the actor, with the Plymouth mark*. Daniels (2007) noted the incised sign for tin, as later used at Plymouth as a factory mark, on a Bow model of a seated hound in Simon Spero's exhibition catalogue of 2004 (No. 25). Although the auctioneers noted that the Woodward figure had the Plymouth mark, obviously the actor was portrayed at Bow nearly twenty years before Cookworthy's Factory existed, so use of the tin mark by the Bow Factory preceded its adoption as a factory mark by Cookworthy.

We can prove that many of the items in Edkins' collection were purchased from Miss Brittain and that she had inherited her collection from John Brittain, manager of Champion's Factory at Bristol. Brittain claimed to have made trials upon all the types of porcelain made in England, including hard paste porcelain. In a letter to Thomas Pitt dated 6<sup>th</sup> October 1767 William Cookworthy mentioned that one of the potters he had head-hunted from Nicholas



Crisp's Factory at Bovey Tracey (John Brittain) had worked in 'all the China factories in England but Worcester'. In another letter to Pitt he stated that the potter 'knows a good deal of China Ware making (the Nature of kilns and fires)' so was very experienced with the firing of porcelain. Brittain had of course previously worked for Crisp at Vauxhall, hence the dated and inscribed plate and bowl in the Kite collection described below. Brittain himself stated that he had worked at Bow, Chelsea, Vauxhall and Plymouth as well as Bristol. He actually said he had worked on all the 'trials' conducted at these factories, which means that he must have been employed during their experimental periods. We consider that he was working at Bow when they developed and manufactured the 'A'-Marked porcelain, which we consider is contemporary with the George II bust and bracket. There is much confusion in the literature over the identity of John Brittain (also spelt Britain, Brittan and Britton). We have followed the spelling John Brittain as included in an advertisement offering the Newcastle-under-Lyme potworks to let in 1746 (see Daniels, 2007). He has been confused with another John Britain born in Bristol and apprenticed to a potter there in 1750, who may have been related to him. The older potter's colleague at Bovey Tracey and Plymouth, the modeller Thomas Hammersley, is also recorded as a potter in Bristol in 1771 (Bradford Barton, 1972; see [www.Kalendar.demon.co.uk/porcwork.htm](http://www.Kalendar.demon.co.uk/porcwork.htm)).

It seems that Brittain was fond of retaining certain items he had been involved in making and some of these have provenance to him, for instance:

- i. A Vauxhall plate, inscribed *JB 1753* (John Brittain) and a bowl with the initials *FB Jan: 9 1762* (Francis Brittain) that descended through the Brittain family to relatives called Kite in Devizes (see Roger Massey, *ECC* Vol. 16, pt. 3, 1998 and Daniels, 2007, pp. 46-47). There is considerable confusion in the literature regarding John Brittain because of the many different spellings and the use of the same Christian names through the generations. A lot more research into his career is needed. When Champion's application for the extension of his patent was being examined by a Parliamentary Committee in 1775, he had the benefit of the 'experience of the Manager of his Works' (Brittain), 'a person bred in the potteries' who '**has made several Trials upon all those which had been manufactured in England.**' We speculate therefore that the plate and bowl were manufactured in the pottery where John Brittain was working, but are more likely painted with the initials of family of the next generation, perhaps sons or nephews. As already mentioned, a younger John is known to have started his apprenticeship in Bristol in 1750, becoming journeyman in 1757, but it seems impossible that he could have been involved in these early trials. We notice that Richard Champion described his manager as 'a person bred in the potteries' which we take to mean Staffordshire rather than Bristol where the younger John served his apprenticeship.
- ii. A hard paste biscuit porcelain Plaque, convex oval shape, raised shield with the arms of Burke impaling Nugent, and crest, enclosed by a wreath of flowers delicately modelled in full relief, black wood frame (British Museum Reg. No. 1894,0730.1). The Plaque was donated by Hugh Owen in 1894, and catalogued as previously in the Collection of 'William Edkins Snr, Francis Fry (a Bristol collector), and Miss Britain'. Made at Richard Champion's Factory, one of these plaques is inscribed on the back by Gabriel Goldney 'Specimen of Bristol China modelled by Thomas Briand of Derby 1777'. In

ceramic literature Briand (Bryand) has been discredited as maker of the plaques because the well-known Thomas Briand of Derby, who showed samples of 'A' marked porcelain to the Royal Society in 1742/3, died in Staffordshire in 1746/7. However, in 2007 (pp. 30-31) Daniels suggested that the modeller must have been Thomas Briand junior and this is virtually confirmed by an advertisement in the Bristol Gazette and Advertiser of 26<sup>th</sup> September 1776 discovered by Bradford Barton (1972). This reads:

'Left his Service, at the China Manufactory in Bristol, Thomas Briand, a China Repairer, an Indentured Servant. He is about 5 feet 6 inches high, and fair complexion – whoever employs him will be prosecuted according to law; and if any Person will give Notice to the said Manufactory where he is found, shall receive a handsome Reward'.

Obviously Briand was re-instated in the Factory.

- iii. A Teapot, finely painted with groups of flowers in lake and gold, arabesque borders, with green shagreen panels in the interspices, on exceedingly fine paste, *marked with the initials I.B on the bottom and inside the lid.*

*'These initials indicate the name of John Britain, Champion's foreman, to which the plate once belonged. It was obtained from a descendant of his family'. See Owen p. 0243.*

- iv. A hard paste Bristol porcelain Dessert Plate painted in colours with floral sprays; smoke staining and pitting. Donated to the British Museum by Hugh Owen in 1896 (reg. no. 1896,1118.2). A note attached signed by William Edkins reads: 'W EDKINS to Hugh Owen/Dessert-plate – one of a set used by J. Brittan, R. Champion's Foreman/purchased by me of Miss Britain/his Grand-daughter, in the year 1870/W.Edkins'.
- v. Two Bristol hard paste beakers in the British Museum, described by them as 'made for exhibition in the House of Commons when Champion applied for an extension to his patent'. These beakers were donated to the Museum by Charles Borradaile in 1905 (reg. no. 1905,0218.2). The Museum also notes 'Previous owner/ex-collection William Edkins Snr, Previous owner/ex-collection Miss Britain'. Both beakers were in the sale of William Edkins' Collection sold from 21-23 April 1874, lot 71, £15.

An interesting story regarding an incident during the patent hearing is related by Owen (1873, pp. 117-118):



‘One of the members involuntarily provided the Committee with more fragments of CHAMPION’S china than were desirable. He let fall on the floor one of the special examples – a beautiful cup. The fragments were carefully collected by BRITAIN, and preserved in his family for many years. As time passed, the interest in these relics faded, and they have now disappeared. A lady who remembers these fragments perfectly, describes them as having been nearly transparent, and almost as thin as the so-called eggshell porcelain of Japan. Two of these specially prepared cups or goblets have been preserved in the BRITAIN collection, now the property of MR. EDKINS.’

Charles Borradaile donated many items to the British Museum. Amongst these was a Plymouth mask jug inscribed in red on the base ‘*November ye 27<sup>th</sup> 1770*’ (probably the date of the last firing in Plymouth before the move to Bristol), a Chelsea goat and bee jug incised with a triangle between the word *Chelsea* and the date *1745*. A bowl from the Glaisher collection, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, is also inscribed on the base in red enamel with I.B. Capt/n 1770 & the chemical sign for tin. The Museum notes that ‘Captain’ was a popular title for the foreman of the period, so did Britain retain this bowl as a memento of the first firing at Bristol? We feel that all of these items may have been inherited by Miss Britain.

Borradaile also gave the Museum a number of important antiquities. Besides dealing in ceramics, William Edkins collected and dealt in antiquities – his important collection was sold by Sotheby’s. It seems that Borradaile was a regular customer. Perhaps just coincidence, but, like Willett, he also lived in Brighton and one wonders whether the two men knew each other and both purchased from Edkins. It is such a shame that Willett kept virtually no records of some 2000 items he gifted to the Brighton Museum, which means that today we have no idea of their provenance. The fact that Edkins, Willett and Lady Schreiber were acquainted can be confirmed by their participation in an exhibition of English pottery and porcelain held at the Alexandra Palace in 1873, a few details from which are discussed hereunder.

*Catalogue of the collection of English Pottery and Porcelain exhibited on loan at the Alexandra Palace, 1873* (edited by R.H. Soden Smith, London, 1873, R.K. Burt & Co.) National Art Library Shelf No. 96 C 150.

Mr. J.E. Nightingale and Prof. A.H. Church contributed a huge number of pieces, as did William Edkins and Henry Willett. A small number of pieces was loaned by Mr. Charles and Lady Charlotte Shreiber.

Amongst the early pottery were three pieces of slipware by Toft, including a posset pot and cover, two 17<sup>th</sup> century Lambeth delft cups dated 1646 and 1662, a claret pot dated 1663

and two round dishes, one with a blue enamel portrait of King Charles II and the other with figures of Adam and Eve, all owned by William Edkins. Edkins also gave a number of early dated Bristol delft pieces, including a plate enamelled by Michael Edkins with his and his wife's initials and the date 1760. Henry Willett contributed a 'Drinking Jug found on the Fulham pottery site' and a 'Female Portrait Bust grey stoneware, Fulham late 17<sup>th</sup> century', a set of Merry Man plates, Lambeth, a Bristol delftware large Dish signed T. Bowen fecit 1761 and three commemorative transfer printed jugs. Both collectors loaned Wedgwood Queen's ware and jasper ware. Both gentleman appear to have had very similar taste.

Under the heading FULHAM PORCELAIN, we find the following interesting notes:

'Porcelain was made at Fulham by Mr. John Dwight, as early as 1671, who took out patents to secure his invention, and is mentioned by contemporary writers as having produced "porcelain." Mr. Bailey, of Fulham, possesses original memorandum-books in which reference is made to the receipts for the composition of such porcelain; and it is believed that the white mugs here shown are of Dwight's manufacture; their material is a white, very translucent, somewhat vitreous porcelain, with Oriental ornament in relief.'

In this section a 'Mug. Early Fulham' was contributed by Willett. Under the heading BOW PORCELAIN the following notes were entered:

"The porcelain works at Stratford-le-Bow were probably established about 1730. Heylyn and Frye took out a patent in 1744 for the manufacture of a porcelain containing an earth called *unaker* obtained from America, and Mr. Frye continued for some years afterwards his labourious efforts to improve the manufacture."

"It is stated that Oriental porcelain was ground into a fritt and applied to the composition of the body used at Bow. This may explain the occurrence of very hard paste with Bow colour and decoration. It is also certain that Oriental china was sometimes painted at Bow."

In this category Mr. Charles and Lady Charlotte Schreiber donated several pieces, as also in the following section headed CHELSEA.

The date of 1730 as the commencement of the Bow Factory has always been refuted in ceramic literature until Daniels (2007) proved it to be correct when she discovered that Andrew

Duche was appointed agent for supplying Bow with the unaker in 1732 when he was in London. This followed a Royal Society sponsored journey to Georgia and a visit to the clay pits by Alexander Cuming FRS in 1729/1730. Cuming was able to negotiate a treaty with the Cherokee Indians. One wonders whether the Oriental china mentioned above was actually ‘the very hard’ Bow china made from unaker, because although the 1744 patent of Heylyn and Frye mentions that the composition could contain up to 80% china clay, so far of all the pieces Ross Ramsay and others have tested, a content of only ~70% has resulted. Obviously extra clay would produce a much harder body.

Both Willett and Edkins contributed numerous items of Derby and Worcester porcelain, especially commemorative transfer printed and signed wares. In the Bristol hard paste category Edkins gave thirty-eight pieces and Willett twenty. The exhibition included a total of over 2074 pieces. What a tragedy that almost the entire collection was destroyed in a fire which occurred on Monday, June 9<sup>th</sup> 1873. Apparently only Bristol porcelain and Wedgwood Jasper “resisted the heat”.

In the same month as the fire another exhibition of “ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL PORCELAIN” was held by the Burlington Fine Arts Club, of which Mr. Charles Schreiber was a member. Non-contributing members were noted. Amongst these, who were especially due for the thanks of the members, were Mr. Edkins of Bristol and Mr. Francis Fry of Bristol.

We feel this is proof that these dealers/collectors were very well acquainted and makes it highly likely that Willett purchased his bust from William Edkins. It is definite that a lot of porcelain sold by William Edkins came from the Brittain family through Miss Brittain, John having retained these particularly historic pieces as mementos of his career. If he felt the need to rescue pieces of broken Bristol porcelain and preserve them in his family, we feel it is more than feasible that John Brittain was the potter who preserved the disastrous waster bust and kept it as a landmark of his achievements. Is it purely a coincidence that his relative Francis Brittain was an ironmonger who could perhaps have known of an iron foundry where the stand for the waster bust could have been produced (for more information on the career of John Brittain see Daniels 2007).



Fig. 39



Fig.40

BUST & SOCLE, overall height 15 ½ ins. Now located at Temple Newsam House, Leeds (socle & attachment unique). (The height given in the V&A 1984 Exhibition catalogue was 15 ½ ins., at Sotheby's 16 ins., by Delevingne 16 ½ ins.).

Sold at Sothebys by order of the executors of the late Mrs. Radford, Lested Lodge, Wells Walk, Hampstead, being part of their sale of the Radford Collections on 3<sup>rd</sup> November, 1943, lot 89 for £56. Catalogue description: 'A Fine Chelsea White Bust of George II, wearing a large wig and a loose cloak clasped in front over a floral embossed cuirass, the Star of the Order of the Garter is partly concealed by the cloak, the king's head is turned to his left. The bust is supported on a serpentine fronted pedestal moulded with a panel. Height overall, 16 in'.

Not mentioned in this description is the moulding across the top of the socle or the trails of flowers and leaves on each side of the panel, which make this socle unique even although it appears to be the same overall size and shape as all the others. This bust was exhibited at the Chelsea Cheyne Exhibition, June 1924, at the Exhibition of British Art, 1934, and in *ROCOCO, Art and Design in Hogarth's England*, 16 May – 30 September 1984 at the Victoria and Albert Museum, curated by John Mallet. Numbered O26 in the catalogue, it was attributed to the Chaffers Factory at Liverpool, c. 1757-1760. The height is given as 390mms (15 ½ ins). It was displayed on the wall bracket gifted to the Museum by Wallace Elliot in 1938. The measurement given suggests that this bust lacks the square inch beneath the curve of the armour. Delevingne stated that it has 'a porcelain base similar to my own, but the part of the Bust itself which joins the base, differs slightly from any of the others, as the square base immediately below the bottom curve of the armour is missing – therefore its height is only 16 ½ ins'. It actually measures 15 ½ ins compared with 16.7 ins (British Museum) to 17 ¾ ins (Delevingne Collection).

Sotheby's state the height as 16ins. Their catalogue lists the provenance as 'Mrs. Radford Collection (by 1924, when illustrated by Blunt), sold November 3-5, Lit. Blunt 1924; Burt 1816; Delevingne 1963 pp. 236-248; Friedman and Clifford 1974; Hackenbroch 1957 (fig.10, pl. 4); Hobson 1905; Severne Mackenna 1942; Severne Mackenna 1946, pp. 101-102, pl. 46, fig. 80; Severne Mackenna 1972, no. 22; Rackham 1928, no. 126; Solon 1903; Watney 1968 pp. 48-58; Watney 1972 II; Willet 1899'. In the traceable history of this particular bust we can see that it has been given three different heights, another confusing detail.

A further individual feature with this bust is the method of attachment to the separate unique socle, which looks to be original. A porcelain peg passes through the two pieces and where it appears on the inside of the bust it has a slot cut through it for the reception of a wedge, much like the birdcage on a tilt top tripod table (see illustration). No other bust has a porcelain peg. At some time the socle has been filled with plaster and the bust is also plastered to the socle. According to Mackenna (1972), 'the bust and pedestal were fixed together, having been slightly ground down'.

Although examined physically, it was not, therefore, possible to discover whether it is marked. Delevingne was quite correct in noting that the extension beneath the curve of the

armour that forms a plinth where it connects with the socle is missing. We suggest that the lack of about an inch from the bottom was more likely caused by the collapse of the plinth in the firing, hence the bottom of the bust has been heavily ground and the top of the socle also looks to have had some grinding. There are numerous firing cracks. There is some black speckling, including a gathering on the back of the head. The glaze is thick and unctuous and has mostly a greenish grey appearance, but in some places it is bluish grey. Inside the socle there is an old label and this needs to be deciphered. Tests also need to be done on the paste and glaze of the bust and on the paste and glaze of the socle in order to prove the two were made for each other.

D/R 2013 – 3:



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43



Fig.44

BUST & SOCLE, ht. 17 ¼ ins, Copyright Plymouth Museum and Art Gallery, on an additional wooden stand with gilt inscription ‘Geo. II 1745’. Gift of Miss H.B. Webster (Acquisition No. 1955.43). This bust is illustrated on the title page by kind permission of the Plymouth Museum and Art Gallery. Its interior is fitted with three supporting bars/flanges to prevent sagging in the kiln (Fig. 42) and there is also has a hole in the top of the head to assist air circulation during firing (Fig. 43). It is unmarked. The bust was formerly in the possession of Miss H.B. Webster, a descendant of Dr. Cookworthy and the famous William Cookworthy.

It is mounted on a black painted wooden stand, the design of which suggests a Georgian date, and inscribed on the front of this stand are the letters *G.II 1745*.

This bust was first mentioned by William Burt in his *REVIEW of the Mercantile, Trading and Manufacturing STATE, INTEREST, AND CAPABILITIES of the PORT OF PLYMOUTH*, printed and sold by Nettleton and Son, Plymouth, 1816 and we quote:

‘The next extinct manufactory is one of the finer china, said to have been among the first, if not the first, established in England. On this point I have been so lucky as to meet with a person, employed in it, during his youthful days, from whom I collected the following particulars. It was instituted by Mr. Cookworthy, of Plymouth, (commonly stiled (sic) The great Cookworthy, through his being considered one of the first chemists in the Kingdom) and some gentlemen in Bristol, who, envying its flourishing condition and wishing to transport it to that city, removed it thither about 42 years since, whence, after some time, it was transferred to Staffordshire. While it continued at Plymouth, there was such a demand at home and abroad, particularly in America, for its articles which consisted of enameled (sic) and blue and white china, of all descriptions, both ornamental and useful, that they could hardly be made fast enough. The fuel consumed in the manufactory was principally wood; and from 50 to 60 persons were engaged in its various processes. The manufactory buildings adjoin the Sugar House in Mr. Bishop’s timber-yard, and have retained the name of the China House. The original shop for vending the manufacture, still used as a china shop, remains in Nut-street, Plymouth. Mr. Bone, the celebrated enamel painter, in London, learnt his art and was brought up in this manufactory.

- Mr. Cookworthy, in Butchers Lane, has several specimens of this china, among others a bust of George II, which prove that the clay used in the manufacture was exceedingly good and made very solid and transparent china. This clay was forwarded from an estate belonging to Lord Camelford, in Cornwall. The substance serving as a base for the Plymouth porcelain was a granite found at St. Stephens, in the same county, composed of a reddish feldspar in pieces of a tolerable size, quartz in small grains, and black scaly mica. The same substance was also employed by Mr. Wedgwood. Mr. Cookworthy, proprietor of the manufactory, carried its productions, particularly the glaze (which was formed of the granite just mentioned) and gilding to the highest perfection. The latter adhered under all circumstances, the gold being first dissolved in aqua regia, and then applied as a paint, after which the glaze was laid on.’



This information, published by Burt in 1816, resulted in the George II bust being attributed to the Plymouth Factory, for instance by Llewellyn Jewitt, who in *Ceramic Art of Great Britain*, published in 1877, made the following statement:

‘Amongst the most successful and important productions of the Plymouth works, in white, are busts, of which one or two excellent examples are in existence. The finest of these, a large bust of King George II., was in possession of the late Dr. Cookworthy, of Plymouth, the great-nephew of the founder of the works; it is exquisitely modelled, evidences a very advanced state of Art, and shows great skill, both in body and in firing. Its height is seventeen, and its extreme width thirteen, inches’.

So we have the situation where the two leading writers on ceramics in the 1870’s, Chaffers and Jewitt, assign the manufacture of the busts to different factories, one to Bow and the other to Plymouth! Both writers were referring to the Schreiber bust.

Confirmation that the Plymouth attribution derives from Burt can be found in the early stock books of the Liverpool Museum. We most sincerely thank David Moffat, Assistant Curator of Decorative Art, for his response to all our enquiries and for his persistence in locating this important reference.

Log Entry No. 1180

‘*1 bust of King George II with star & garter, modelled after Rysbrach, glazed white (black wood pedestal).*’ A note to this entry reads as follows:

‘*Only three other copies are known, Lady Charlotte Schreiber & Dr. Cookworthy (descendant of the maker) each owning one with Pedestal, and Mr. Edkins of Bristol, one without.*’

Because in 1869 Lady Schreiber told the museum that the bust came to Dr Cookworthy from the manufacturers, the Curator recorded that Dr. Cookworthy was a descendant of the maker. However, as we have mentioned, Lady Schreiber’s own model was illustrated in Chaffer’s *Keramic Gallery*, published in 1872 (only three years afterwards) as Bow. Although undated, David Moffat thought that the entry was probably in the handwriting of Henry Ecroyd Smith, first keeper of the Liverpool Museum. This is confirmed and an accurate date

established for the entry by Lady Schreiber's Journal. She bought her Bust in 1869 in Edinburgh for £5 from Butti in Queen Street.

On page 57 of volume 1 of her Journal, under the date Oct. 20<sup>th</sup> (1869), Lady Schreiber writes that Lady Hopetoun took her and her husband to Butti's shop 'where the first thing that met the gaze of the delighted C.S. was a Plymouth bust (with pedestal) of King George II, exactly the same as that which belonged to the late Dr. Cookworthy of Plymouth, which came to him from the manufacturers and which he has left as an heirloom in the family. Butti (knowing nothing of its extreme value) sold it to us for 5 pounds'. Whilst at Butti's, the Schreibers also bought a 'Battersea enamel portrait of George II, in bad condition, 15/-'. One wonders whether the two pieces had come from the same previous owner.

In Liverpool, on November 4<sup>th</sup> 1869, the Schreibers 'called first on Mr. Mayer (10 Lord Street) the old jeweller, who had made the magnificent donation of his collection to the town of Liverpool. We saw him in his shop, and he gave us a card of introduction to the custodian of the Museum, Mr. Moore. We spent 3 hours at the Museum and were extremely interested. Mr. Smith, whose department was the china, opened all the cases for us, and we examined everything to our heart's content. There are some excellent specimens of printing on ware and on enamels, and a large collection of tiles. I think only two of them signed 'Sadler'. To our surprise we found another Plymouth bust of George II but without its original pedestal. Of course they did not know what it was till we told them'.

On November 6<sup>th</sup> she 'paid a short but very interesting visit to Mr. Binns at the china works (Mr. Binns was of the famous family of Worcester potters). Mr. More Binns, another member of the family, has written an admirable work on the First Century of English Porcelain. He showed me the celebrated inkstand 'Made at New Canton' (which we know now, by the books we possess, to mean Bow) engraved in his book and in Chaffers. Before midday went on to Bristol'. After buying from various dealers 'we went on to Edkins, with whom we spent the rest of the afternoon, looking at his beautiful things.'

Previously, under the date September 17<sup>th</sup>, Lady Schreiber wrote, 'as usual our visit to our excellent friends Edkins and his wife was most agreeable. We compared notes as to all each had done during the summer, and we looked again at his beautiful things. Edkins had purchased for me three Tiles (two imperfect), of Thornton, during our absence at my request, 6/6d'.

Obviously Lady Schreiber was familiar with the Edkins bust and very friendly with the family, so did Edkins believe his bust to be Plymouth? If so, it seems remarkable that in 1872 Chaffers considered the Schreiber bust to be Bow and in 1874, when Edkins was still alive and Sotheby's sold a large part of his collection, they referenced Chaffers and catalogued the bust as Bow. Was Edkins actually the catalyst, having been informed by the Brittain family that it was made at Bow?

Mr. A.A. Cumming, a previous curator at Plymouth, described the bust to Dudley Delevingne as follows:

This bust is 17 ¼” high, is a greyish-white, and the pedestal is a very much purer white, but very different in composition. The bust was formerly in the possession of Miss H.B. Webster, a descendant of Dr. Cookworthy and the famous William Cookworthy. It is mounted on a black wooden stand, the design of which suggests a Georgian date, and inscribed on the front of this plinth are the letters G.II 1745. It is claimed that the bust was originally in William Cookworthy’s possession, and this may well have been possible, but it does not necessarily follow from this that it was actually made by him at his factory in Plymouth.

These are exactly our sentiments. We also observe that Mr. Cumming considered that the bust and pedestal (socle) were of **‘very different composition’**. Analyses of bust and socle presented below demonstrate that both are magnesian-lead in composition and are closely comparable one with the other. This highlights the difficulty of ascribing these very early porcelains by visual perception or connoisseurship.

Cumming also states that the colour refraction under an ultra-violet lamp ‘did not match any piece in their Cookworthy Collection – is at marked variance with it – and doesn’t match Chelsea either, but strangely enough is almost identical with Worcester’.

Delevingne, p. 244, also expresses this opinion when he writes, ‘it is claimed that the bust was originally in William Cookworthy’s possession, and this may well have been possible, but it does not necessarily follow from this that it was actually made by him at his factory in Plymouth. Whilst I would like to believe that this was, in fact, made by him, I find the attribution difficult to accept. At the same time, I think the attribution to Chelsea doubtful’. On page 245 he continues, ‘the inscription on the (wooden) pedestal of this bust, the design of which, as Mr. Cummings says, is Georgian, seems completely inexplicable. Certainly it cannot refer to the date on which the porcelain was made, and if it refers to that of the original form from which the porcelain bust was taken, the person responsible must have been singularly well-informed’.

Delevingne does not mention the wall bracket in his paper, so he was obviously unaware of it or perhaps, in light of Rackham’s opinion that it was not original to the bust, had not recognised the connection. As already stated, we believe that Delevingne was correct in thinking that the bust was originally designed to commemorate Dettingen. In 1962/3, before Bow’s ‘A’ marked porcelain was known to have been made as early as 1744, it would not have been thought possible that the bust could have been made in 1745. We, however, do consider that it was being marketed in 1745 during the Jacobite Rebellion, and that it is indeed the time of manufacture that is reflected in the dated stands. Recalling Cookworthy’s visit to London early in July 1745, when he most likely met Andrew Duche on the Bow Factory site (Daniels, 2007, chapter 4), we wonder whether the Plymouth chemist acquired his bust at that time. We are also of the opinion that following the Battle of Culloden in April 1746, a bracket was designed to accompany the bust. As fully explained above, this was created with iconography relevant to the victory and the final defeat of the Catholic rebels by the Protestant forces under Cumberland.

We illustrate the Plymouth bust, socle and wooden stand inscribed G.II 1745 on the title page of this booklet and close up views of the interior with supporting bars and hole in the top of the head above. There are no marks.

We have two models (Brighton and Plymouth Museums) with stands displaying the date 1745. If the George II busts were Lund's Bristol about 1750 (Bimson), Vauxhall 1755-1760 (Massey, Hillis and Jellicoe), Chaffers Factory Liverpool 1754-1759 (Watney and Bimson), or Plymouth circa 1770 (Burt/Cookworthy and the Schreibers), why were stands dated 1745 made to fit the busts at Brighton and Plymouth? Considering the bespoke nature of the Brighton cast iron stand, surely both must have been made in 1745 because at any later time nobody could have connected them with that year.

D/R 2013 - 4:



Fig. 45

BUST & SOCLE, Ht. 16  $\frac{3}{4}$  ins, Museum of London, interior similar to Figure 26 with only two supporting bars/flanges and a hole in the top of the head. The bust is on long term loan from a private collection. Now catalogued by the Museum as 'Bust and Socle, Height 425mm (16 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins) produced at the Vauxhall China Works, Lambeth, London 1757-1760 (ID No. C1225a). This bust has bars underneath for support and a hole in the top of the head'.

D/R 2013 – 5:

BUST, Ht. 13 ½ins, Dr. Bernard Watney's Collection (from Frank Smith 1962), interior similar to Figure 26 with two interior bars/flanges across the interior and a hole in the top of the head.

Watney's bust was tested at the British Museum and 'showed magnesium in good quantity & some lead (See appendix ?)'. Mavis Bimson (2010) notes the only provenance as Smith/Watney, 3 January 1962. Frank Smith was a collector/part dealer whose wife ran a shop in Kensington Church Street (information kindly supplied by Simon Spero).

Watney claimed that scientific analyses carried out on the busts had revealed the presence of soapstone in the composition. Initially in 1962 he was inclined to a Lund's Bristol of Worcester attribution (*Fide* Delevingne, 1963) but a subsequent set of analyses (Watney, 1968) resulted in Watney proposing a Richard Chaffers Liverpool attribution based on the deduced soapstone recipe and by comparison with the structure of a hare tureen. The conclusion reached was that the bust was made in the late 1750's to commemorate events connected with the Seven Years' War, particularly the *anus mirabilis* of 1759 (Watney, 1968).

D/R 2013 – 6:



Fig. 46

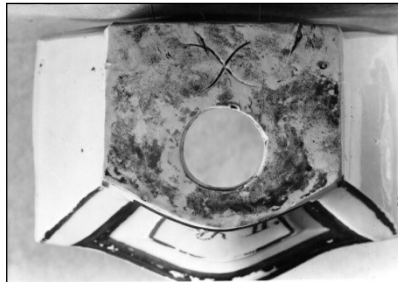


Fig. 47



Fig. 48

BUST & SOCLE, ht 17 1/8 ins from the British Museum. Marked with a cursive cross on the socle. The bust is cold painted and its socle has the gilt inscription 'GR.II'. Part of the A.W. Franks Bequest, 1887 (registration number 1887, 0307.ii.33). Described by the museum as: 'Fitted with two flanges in the interior and aperture for a turned wooden screw device that attaches it to a waisted socle. Top of head pierced by a circular hole; later cold painted and gilded. Cuirass black embellished with gilding (Solon 1903 No. 7, Hobson 1905 1133, Dawson 1987 no. 56)'. The bust and socle have been analysed a number of times and have been shown to be magnesian as discussed below.

It was probably cold painted in 1760 at the time of the King's death and the inscription added to the front panel of the socle. Notice no date was added to the inscription. It seems that by 1760 the bust was no longer associated with Dettingen.

A wall bracket in the collection was gifted by Wallace Elliot in 1938 (ref: 1938, 0314.76). Unpublished analyses of this bracket indicate it to be magnesian as discussed below.

### ***UNMARKED LATER BUSTS***

Next in date come a number of un-marked busts close in design to the Plymouth model, but lacking the supporting bars in the interior and hole in the head. It appears that the potters had worked out how to cope with the difficult firing.

D/R 2013 – 7:



Fig. 49



Fig. 50

BUST & SOCLE in the Victoria and Albert Museum, part of the Schreiber collection (414:134-1885). Purchased in Edinburgh by Lady Schreiber in 1869 as Plymouth porcelain. When received by the V&A in 1885, it was catalogued by Rackham as Chelsea but was then assigned by Watney in 1968 to the factory of Richard Chaffers in Liverpool 1757-1760.

The full story of the Schreibers' purchase in Edinburgh is given under the Plymouth bust, D/R - 3, above.

The bracket in the V&A (Fig. 50) was bought from Mr. G. Lester, 5 Lower Porchester St, Connaught Square, in 1931. Interestingly, there is a family named Lester with a coat of arms and the motto *Pro Rege et Patrie* – For King and Country.

The height of 15 3/8 ins, at present given on the internet and previously in the V&A. 1984 Exhibition Catalogue is incorrect, and is actually the measurement of the bust and socle at Temple Newsam House. This is because, due to conditions imposed in the Schreiber bequest, the museum was unable to display their bust with the associated wall bracket acquired elsewhere and they procured on loan the bust and socle at Temple Newsam for the display. The present display at the museum shows the Schreiber Bust mounted above, but not standing on the wall bracket purchased in 1931. In the 1984 Exhibition Catalogue the wall bracket (VAM C.53-1931) is described (No. 027) as 'Liverpool (Chaffers Factory), c. 1757-60. Glazed white steatitic soft-paste porcelain, h. 279mm' (11 ins.)' (details kindly communicated by John Mallet).

John Mallet had the bracket tested at the British Museum laboratory around early 1971 and the unpublished analysis indicates the paste to be magnesian. As yet we have been unable to locate a copy of this analysis.

D/R 2013 – 8:



Fig. 51 copyright Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

BUST & SOCLE, ht. 17 1/8 ins, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, gift of Irwin Untermyer (64.101.418a, b.). This bust has been undergoing an identity crisis for many years being attributed firstly to Chelsea c.1750, secondly to Chaffer's Liverpool (1968), thirdly to Bow (2008), presently to Vauxhall (2012).

Formerly in the Arthur Hurst collection, sold Sotheby's 28/11/1940, lot 41 for £29. Catalogued by the auctioneers as follows: 'Chelsea white bust of George II wearing a large wig and a loose cloak clasped in front over a floral embossed cuirass, the Star of the Garter is partly concealed by the cloak, the King's head is turned to his left, the bust is supported on a Serpentine fronted pedestal moulded with a panel, 17 1/2 in'.

The provenance given for one of the busts is incorrect in the Untermyer Catalogue. Hackenboch (1957, plate 4, figure 10) lists amongst similar models one originally sold as part of the H. Newton Collection by Sothebys on 28th June 1949 (lot 37). She goes on to specify that it was formerly of the Bellamy Gardner Collection, but the Newton bust sold in 1949, originally from the Darragh Collection, was purchased by Randolph Hearst who donated it to the Los Angeles County Museum and Art Gallery. The bust from the Bellamy Gardner Collection, sold on the 12/6/41 by Sothebys (lot 13), was purchased by H.M. Queen Mary and is now located in Windsor Castle as detailed below.

D/R 2013 – 9:

BUST & SOCLE, ht. 17 1/4ins, Royal Collection, Windsor Castle (RCIN 45085.1). Provenance: Bellamy Gardner Collection sold by Sotheby's 12/6/41, lot 13, for £51.



Described in the catalogue as follows: 'a fine white bust of George II wearing a large wig and a loose cloak clasped in front over a floral embossed cuirass, the Star of the Order of the Garter is partly concealed by the cloak, the King's head is turned to his left, the bust is supported on a serpentine-fronted pedestal moulded with a panel, 17 ¼ins'.

Purchased at Sothebys in 1941 by H.M. Queen Mary. At present no images of the bust are available.

D/R 2013 – 10:



Fig. 52



Fig. 53



Fig. 54

BUST, ht. 13¾in. Liverpool Museum & Art Gallery, formerly in the Mayer Collection, gifted in 1867. Originally entered the collection as of unknown origin, but recorded as Plymouth after a visit by the Schreibers in 1869. Re-attributed to Chelsea, then Chaffers, Liverpool, following Watney (1968). This and other important information recorded in the Museum's archives that was kindly communicated to us by David Moffat is fully described above under D/R 2013 - 3 (Plymouth). Figure 53 shows the wide opening of the back of this bust, reflected in the extra height and the marks from kiln furniture on the rim below the head and on the rim in the centre of the plinth. It appears to have been propped open to avoid collapse in the kiln. Furthermore, Figure 54 is a good example of a mark from kiln furniture. This is typical of others we have seen in a similar position on the back of the wig. There is a replacement black wooden stand.

D/R/ 2013 – 11:



Fig. 55

BUST, ht 13 3/8ins, Rous Lench Collection, sold by Christies in London on the 29<sup>th</sup> May, 1990 for £32,000. It has a serpentine fronted replacement wooden stand. Christies' catalogue cites an anonymous vendor, but records its previous sale at Sotheby's on the 29<sup>th</sup> May 1956, lot 114, at £1150 to the dealer Tilley. It was catalogued by Sotheby's as a 'fine Chelsea white bust of George II, wearing a large wig and loose cloak clasped in front over an embossed cuirass, the Star of the Order of the Garter is partly concealed by his cloak, the King's head is turned to his left, height 13 3/8ins c. 1750; serpentine-fronted wood plinth'.

It was purchased in 1990 by the American dealer Armin B. Allen (personal communication from Simon Spero), and is now located in a private collection in the USA (personal communication from Armin B. Allen).

D/R 2013 – 12.



Fig. 56 ROYAL COLLECTION TRUST/ copyright Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2013.

BUST & ORIGINAL SOCLE ht in the Royal Collection at St. James's Palace (RCIN 45085.2), but not on public view. Acquired in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, possibly by Queen Mary, there is no known provenance, or information as to exactly when it entered the collection, or where it was purchased.

## NUMBERED BUSTS

The next seven extant busts follow the standard form but are part of a numbered series that we consider were manufactured after the battle of Culloden, probably as part of a commission. Fortunately, the bust incised on the base with number I survives with its original bracket and is now in the Los Angeles County Museum and Art Gallery. Three busts have numbers drawn by the same hand as number 1 in Los Angeles, two busts are incised with numbers by a different hand and one bust is incised number 10 in unknown fashion.

D/R 2013 – 13:



Fig. 57

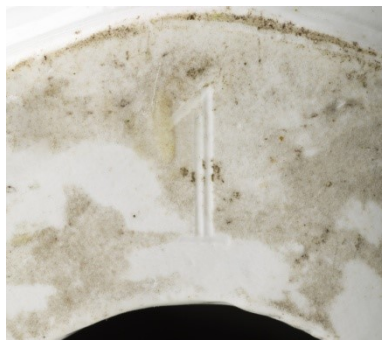


Fig. 58

Fig.59

BUST & BRACKET, ht 25ins, incised numeral I mark on bust. Bracket unmarked. Illustrations copyright Los Angeles County Museum & Art Gallery, donated by Randolph Hearst who purchased it from Sotheby's sale of 28<sup>th</sup> June, 1949, lot 37, vendor H. Newton. The auction house described the lot as:

‘A Chelsea white bust of George II wearing a large wig and a loose cloak clasped in front over a floral embossed cuirass, the star of the Order of the Garter is partly concealed by the cloak, the King's head is turned to the left, the bust is supported on a rococo bracket with a seated figure of a youthful Britannia accompanied by a cupid-like Fame above rococo leafage and scroll work. non-phosphatic. Height 25ins’.

At that time Sotheby's did not publish details of provenance, but did pass the information on to the purchaser. They informed Hearst that the bust was non-phosphatic and came originally from a collection formed prior to 1770 by John Darragh, Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1781/2.

According to a letter mentioned by Mavis Bimson in her ECC transcript (not referenced as to date or where the letter is located), A.J. Toppin recorded two busts in the Dublin Museum, one with turned wood base (D/R no. 10 above), the other with a wall-bracket (the Newton bust). He considered that the bracket was original to the bust and catalogued them all as Bow. Bernard Rackham in volume 1, page 32 of his 1915 *Catalogue of the Schreiber Collection of English Porcelain, Earthenware and Enamels Etc* states, ‘another on loan in the National Museum, Ireland, rests on a wall-bracket, also in porcelain, of rococo style, with figures of Britannia and Cupid modelled in high relief; illustrated in the Bulletin of the National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, ii, part iii, pl. vi (by A.J. Toppin)’. Later Rackham expressed the opinion that the Bow bracket was not made for the bust, which was Chelsea.

Despite Toppin's attribution to Bow when it was on loan in the Museum, Sotheby's followed the current trend and catalogued it as Chelsea.

The bust was exhibited at the Detroit Institute of Arts: **date** *Catalogue of English Pottery and Porcelain 1300 – 1850, pl. 52, NO. 136* (without pedestal). It may have been exhibited without a ‘pedestal’ (meaning socle) because the one photographed by Toppin had no socle, but did have a bracket. Perhaps they did not want to mount it on a wall for the exhibition. The plaster stand shown on the Museum's website and in their catalogue was actually made at the Museum and copies an original ceramic socle, but unfortunately details of this are not given.

John Darragh bequeathed the bust and bracket to his wife, Mary nee Newton, and it passed by descent to the Misses Newton of 24 Royal Terrace, Kingstown. This address goes back in the family at least as far as Walter Crompton Newton, born 1850. In 1912 the Misses

Newton placed the bust and bracket on loan with the Dublin Museum and Art Gallery and in 1935 ownership was transferred to H.H. Newton who worked for the Royal Bank of Ireland and who sold it at Sotheby's in 1949.

John Darragh, Dyer, Alderman, Lord Mayor of Dublin 1781, married Mary Newton on 17<sup>th</sup> September 1750 in the Church of Ireland Parish of St. Mary, Dublin, North City Centre. They had one daughter, Susanna, who married Dudley (son of Miles) Hussey, (c. 1741/3-1785), on 24/6/1775 in the same Church as her parents. There were no grandchildren and on the instructions in the will of John Darragh the bust passed to the Newton family after the death of Mary Darragh in 1799. The Darraghs were Scots-Irish, but the name derives from a Pictish clan of ancient Scotland who lived in Darroch in Stirlingshire. The Bust remained in the Newton family until sold by H. Newton at Sothebys in 1949.

John Darragh was a china and earthenware merchant as well as a dyer, but it is unclear whether this was before his marriage. It appears that his father, also John, was a dyer, so he probably inherited the business. Mary's father, a George Newton, was a glass and china merchant, as was her brother on Aston Quay, Dublin. After the marriage of Mary Newton and John Darragh the two families seem to have been in partnership in a shop on Ormonde Quay, Dublin (C.A.R.D., vol.11, page 426, refers to John Darragh of Ormond Quay (Dyer). He was a Freeman of the City and worth over £2000 (15<sup>th</sup> April 1768).

Because no other bust with original bracket, but no socle, has emerged on the market, or appeared in any collection or museum between 1770 and the present time, we believe that it was most likely acquired by John Darragh from a sale at Holland House in 1775. Henriette and Errol Manners discovered this important Christies' catalogue of the sale that followed the death of Henry Fox, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Holland, and his son and heir Stephen, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Holland, in 1774. The sale took place on November 20, 1775. Under the heading CHINA IN STORE ROOM, the catalogue entry that most interests us reads as follows:

‘Lot 14. A large bust of George the II and bracket’.

We have discovered that John Darragh was in London for some time by August 1776, so he could have acquired it from a local dealer, or collected it from the auction house. The Council, of which he was an alderman, requested him ‘*to use his endeavours to procure persons skilled in pipe water works.*’ (C.A.R.D. 12/433).

Significantly the bust and bracket were located amongst items of porcelain in the ‘store room’. Obviously, having purchased a wall bracket, it was originally mounted on a wall in the main part of the house, possibly in the entrance hall, as was the trend in the middle 18<sup>th</sup> century. For reasons of diplomacy, it must have been taken down when the King died in 1760 and replaced by some kind of portrait of the new King, George III.

Information regarding it having belonged to John Darragh before 1770 was written in a letter to Delevingne from the Los Angeles County Museum and Art Gallery. As this would have negated the idea that it was from the Holland House sale we commissioned a search for any Darragh/Newton documents, insurances, wills, etc., in an effort to discover where the statement that the bust was in John Darragh's collection before 1770 came from. After a thorough hunt, documents were located but nothing was found regarding ownership of the bust and bracket. We think the mystery can be solved. After Burt's publication in 1812, followed by Lady Schreiber's misguided opinion that Dr. Cookworthy's model had 'come to him from the manufacturers' and her assumption that the manufacturer was his great uncle, William Cookworthy, the bust was universally accepted as a product of the Plymouth Factory. As Cookworthy's Factory in Plymouth closed at the end of 1770, the family must have assumed that the bust was purchased prior to the closure. The misguided information was obviously passed down through the family. A similar mistake is recorded in that the family thought Darragville, Kilcoole, was built by George Newton in 1830, but actually Mary Darragh in her Will leaves her house, lands and demesene to George Newton c, 1782. Errors such as this are not uncommon.

We have already established that the allegory behind the bracket celebrates the victory over the Jacobite rebels at Culloden, thus it must have been produced after 16<sup>th</sup> April 1746. As this bust is incised on the base with the numeral 'I', we think it was one of a commissioned series of 12 taken from a model of the King already produced in commemoration of the King's glorious victory at Dettingen. The re-taking of Quebec in 1745 increased the King's popularity because the American colonies were opened up for expansion. This was to the great advantage of shipping and exporting merchants in Britain, as well as to merchants importing raw materials from the new world, such as the Bow Factory with china clay and possibly potash/bone ash from Georgia. We suggest that Henry Fox could well have commissioned this series to present to fellow officers who had played major roles in the final defeat of the Jacobites. The following evidence suggests he was unusual in ordering directly from porcelain manufacturers. In an article *Some Continental Influences on English Porcelain* (ECC, vol. 19, part 3, 2007 pp. 442 & 443), Errol Manners related how Henry Fox commissioned Meissen porcelain through his friend Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams, British Envoy in Dresden from 1747. Fox bespoke three snuff-boxes painted with a portrait inside the lid of his wife Lady Caroline, daughter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond. The first of these was completed in June 1748 and this Henry Fox kept for himself. The second was a gift to the Richmond's and remains at Goodwood. The third has not been discovered and may not have

been supplied because the Meissen factory had great difficulty producing the boxes and suffered many kiln losses. They had probably produced the first two at a loss.

Therefore, it could well have been Henry Fox who commissioned the twelve George II busts and kept number one for himself. He and his father-in-law fought at Dettingen, both being knighted by the King immediately after the battle. Both were instrumental in bringing about the defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden. Henry enjoyed a close relationship with Cumberland and with the King. Amongst others also knighted were General Legonier, who commissioned Roubiliac for a bust of the King in 1760, and John Dalrymple, Lord Stair, a vehement anti-Jacobite.

The above Henry Fox (28/9/1705 – 1/7/1774), MP 1735, was a supporter and devotee of Walpole. After Walpole fell in 1742 he supported Henry Pelham. He was Lord of the Treasury in 1743. He married in 1744 Lady Caroline Lennox, daughter of the Duke of Richmond, without her parents approval. He had two sons: Stephen, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Holland, and General Edward Fox (died young in military service). His grandson, Charles James Fox, was 3<sup>rd</sup> Baron Holland. He was on the Privy Council in 1746. He was a close friend and confidante of the Duke of Cumberland and a favourite of George II, who supported his inclusion in Governments whilst opposing Pitt's. He was Secretary at War between 1746-1755. His father-in-law, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond FRS, Lt.General in the British Army, served under the Duke of Cumberland in the Hanoverian campaign against the 1745 Jacobite Rising. He was one of the five Fellows of the Royal Society who financially supported the settlement of Georgia, contributing funds to the exploratory journeys of Houston and Cuming. He was interested in ceramics and from the time he inherited the dukedom of Aubigny in 1735 he regularly visited the factory at Chantilly. Furthermore, he was early cricket's greatest patron.

Richmond, despite being the grandson of Charles II, was ardently anti-Jacobite. His opinion following Culloden was:

*I own I had always much rather the Duke should destroy the rebels than that they should lay down their arms. The dread example of a great many of them being put to the sword, and I hope a great many hanged, may strike a terror in them and keep them quiet, but depend on it nothing but force can do it, for 'tis vain to think that any Government can root out Jacobitism there.*

This opinion can be matched by that expressed by fellow parliamentarian Lord Chesterfield who advised Newcastle on how to treat the Highlands:

*Starve the country by your ships, put a price on the heads of the Chiefs, and let the Duke put all to the fire and sword.*



It seems that Cumberland may not have acted alone when ordering the unmerciful slaughter that followed the victory on Drunmossie Moor.

Both Henry Fox and the Duke of Richmond are likely candidates to have commissioned this series of twelve busts.

## NUMBERED BUSTS WITHOUT BRACKETS.

D/R 2013 – 14:



Fig. 60



Fig. 61



Fig.62

BUST AND SOCLE, ht 17  $\frac{3}{4}$ ins. Socle incised 3 (Fig. 61). Dudley Delevingne's Collection and remains in the family.

The Delevingne bust is whiter and has a more pellucid glaze than those described by Watney who comments on the hard looking grey toned glaze, such as that in the Victoria and



Albert Museum. The Delevingne bust was previously in the Hurlbutt and Mackenna collections, as shown on the label in the above illustration. Hurlbutt purchased it from a Bristol dealer in 1936 for £15. This dealer said it came to him from a Mrs. Francis, whose father was a Cornishman. In 1957 it was purchased by Dudley Delevingne at Sotheby's.

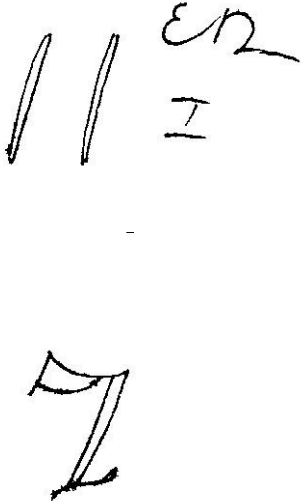
The Delevingne bust follows the standard design with the original socle. The appearance is quite white, but in places where the glaze has pooled it showed a distinct grey-blue tone indicating the presence of cobalt. The glaze is patchy on the base where it fits to the socle and also on the rim around the interior. On one bare patch of this rim we could see a rectangular area of about 1/2in x 1/4in where a sample had been removed, probably by Reginald Milton (see appendix ?). The firing was generally pretty successful except on the front of the socle in particular where there was a gathering of black specks from spitting. There were no pox marks. The number 3 was beautifully drawn (incised into the paste) on the top of the socle where there is also the unique feature of a line incised around the aperture through which the bust can be attached. There was no brown staining, but there was one patch free from glaze on the back of the head, on the curls of the wig. This latter feature seems to be the case with most of the busts.

The paste and glaze of has been analysed and has been shown to be magnesian-lead as discussed below and in Appendix 1.

D/R 2013 – 15:



Fig. 63 Courtesy of the Higgins Art Gallery and Museum



Figs.64/65

Cecil Higgins Art Gallery & Museum, Bedford. The bust is incised with number 7, the socle incised as above (Fig. 64) ht 12 7/8ins (42.8 cms). It was catalogued firstly as Wedgwood, then Liverpool c. 1760 after Watney (1968). Purchased by Cecil Higgins from Montague Marcussen Ltd on 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1932.

D/R 2013 – 16:



Fig. 66 copyright Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



Fig. 67

BUST, ht 13 5/8ins, incised with the numeral 8. Supported on a replacement black marble stand, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, bequeathed by Roger Francis Lambe (1872-1951), London. Accession No. C.7-1951 (Applied Arts). Catalogued initially as Chelsea, then perhaps Richard Chaffers' Factory, Liverpool following Watney (1968). Described as press moulded and coated inside and outside with very pale greyish-blue lead-glaze, which has bubbled, particularly on the shoulders, and small craters where the bubbles have burst. Marks caused by the paring away of the clay to make the wall thinner are visible (See D/R No. 1). Present attribution uncertain but 'other notes' mention recent research which has resulted in the suggestion that the bust was made at Bow (Daniels, 2007). Analysis of the bust, as discussed below, shows it to be magnesian-lead.

D/R 2013 – 17:



BUST, ht 13 ½ ins, incised No. 10 in unknown style on base. Mounted on a turned wood replacement stand. Previously in John Hewitt's Collection, now in a private collection in London. Provenance, Mrs. M.J.A. Russell, sold Sotheby's 2<sup>nd</sup> Oct, 1984. Described in the catalogue as follows:

Lot 91. 'A rare Bust of George II, circa 1760, in the white, the king wearing a large wig and loose cloak clasped at the front over an embossed cuirass and partly concealing the star of the Order of the Garter, his head turned to sinister, *incised numeral 10*, Chaffers Liverpool, replacement wooden socle, 13½in'.

The bust was purchased by the dealer Robert Williams for John Hewitt (personal communication from Simon Spero) and re-offered for sale in 1997 by Albert Amor Limited.

*Rarities from The John Hewitt Collection of Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century English Porcelain*, Thursday 24<sup>th</sup> April to Thursday 15<sup>th</sup> May 1997, 37 Bury Street, St. James's, London. Catalogue Item 32: 'Bust of King George II, plain white, his head turned to the left. He wears a full-bottomed wig, cloak clasped about his shoulders over an embossed cuirass and the Order of the Garter. Black ebonised wood pedestal. No mark; height 17 ½ x 11 ¾ wide. Circa 1755.'

The height given includes the turned wooden stand. Between 1984 and 1997 the bolts connecting the bust to its wooden stand must have become rusted, so it was impossible for Amor's to take the two pieces apart and observe the incised number 10 noted by Sotheby's. We can confirm that the incised number remains hidden by the wooden stand that cannot be separated from the bust.

An extremely old hand written label on the base is just legible and reads *Reynolds Coll.* In the Addenda to the *Catalogue of the collection of English Pottery and Porcelain exhibited at the Alexandra Palace*, edited by R.H. Soden Smith, London, 1873, (National Art Library Shelf No. 96 C 150), we found the following:

No. 2074 Bust of Mrs. Pepys (?) on Pedestal. Grey stoneware finely modelled. Dr. Dwight's Fulham ware. Height without pedestal 6 ½ins. REYNOLD'S COLLECTION, donor Prof. A.H. Church.

Obviously Church owned the bust in 1873, so the Reynold's collection, or part of it, must have been dispersed before then. However, in Chaffers' *Keramic Gallery* of 1872, a very large number of items of Continental porcelain and pottery and a '*Plateau, Charles II and Queen, by Ralph Toft, 1677*' was listed as being in the collection of a Mr. C.W. Reynolds.

D/R 2013 – 18:

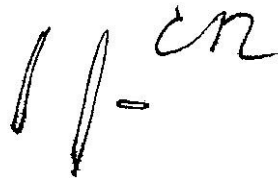


Fig. 69

BUST, ht 13 3/8ins, incised on base as above (Fig. 69). The bust is now fixed to a replacement turned wooden stand and located in the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin. It was purchased by the museum from the sale of the property of Lord James Wandesforde Butler in 1893. Stock Book entry 'NMIDC:1893.553, BUST OF GEORGE THE SECOND, white porcelain; on circular wood base. English (Bow) 18<sup>th</sup> century. Bought (Lord James Butler's Coll.) £9'.

The incised mark on the base of this bust is mirrored on the socle that is attached to the bust, marked no. 7, in the Higgins Art Gallery & Museum, Bedford. It is a mystery why this came about. The inscription is similar in style to the incised cursive cross on the socle in the British Museum.

In 1911 or 1912 A.J. Toppin catalogued this bust as Bow. At the same time he also catalogued a bust and bracket on loan from the Misses Newton as Bow, mentioning that he considered the bracket was original to the bust.

Butler's ancestors were very divided in their religion. The Butler of Ormonde family is one of the most illustrious of Ireland. Their history dates from the Anglo/Norman invasion to the death of James, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Ormonde, at Avignon, in November 1745. This 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke was one of the first nobles to join the standard of the Prince of Orange and when William ascended the throne he was conferred Knight of the Garter and High Constable of England for the Coronation. He fought with William at the Battle of the Boyne and in 1702 Queen Anne made him commander-in-chief of the land forces sent against France and Spain. He destroyed the French fleet, sunk the Spanish galleons in the Harbour of Vigo and took the Fort of Redondella, for which he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. In 1711 he was declared Capt-Gen. and C-in-C of the land forces in Great Britain and served until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. In the reign of George I he became embroiled in the political intrigue

surrounding Jacobitism and in 1715 was accused of high treason and forced into exile in France, after which he was *attainted* in Great Britain and his Estates forfeited. In 1721 an act of Parliament enabled the Duke's brother, the Earl of Arran in the Peerage of Ireland and Lord Butler of Weston in the Peerage of England, to assume his honours. The titles supposedly became dormant when the Earl died in 1758, but were actually vested in John Butler of Kilcash, the heir male of the family, through Walter, the 11<sup>th</sup> Earl. These descended to John, the 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Ormonde (1740-1795) who married Lady Frances Susan Elizabeth Wandesforde, daughter and sole heiress of the 1<sup>st</sup> and last Earl of Wandesforde, in 1769.

James Wandesforde Butler, 1<sup>st</sup> Marquess and 19<sup>th</sup> Earl of Ormonde KP (1777-1838), an Irish nobleman and politician, was the 2<sup>nd</sup> son of John Butler, 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Ormonde and Frances Susan Elizabeth Wandesforde. Butler was MP for Kilkenny City in the Irish House of Commons in 1796 and the UK House of Commons from the Union in 1801. He became a close companion of the Prince Regent and at his coronation was created a Peer of the United Kingdom as Baron Ormonde of Llanthony, in the County of Monmouth and in 1825, Marquess of Ormonde in the Peerage of Ireland.

Captain James Wandesford Butler, (1815-1893) who was his second son, married Lady Rachel Evelyn Russell, daughter of the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Bedford, on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1856. He served with several regiments in the 1830's and 1840's, was A.D.C. to Earl de Grey, Lord Lieut. of Ireland and State Steward to the Duke of Abercorn.

Captain Butler owned the bust until his death in 1893. His family history makes him likely to have inherited a bust. He and his father were most certainly Protestants.

On the other hand, it is possible that the bust was inherited through James Wandesworth Butler's wife's family. Her father, the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Bedford, was descended from John Russell, 4<sup>th</sup> Duke (1710-1771), Fellow of the Royal Society, First Lord of the Admiralty 1744-1748 and Privy Counsellor. He married Lady Diana Spencer, daughter of Charles, third earl of Sutherland, and sister of Charles, third duke of Marlborough and after her death in 1735 he married secondly Lady Gertrude Leweson Gower, daughter of John, 1st Earl of Gower. He entered the House of Commons on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1732. He was a Whig who followed Carteret in opposition to Sir Robert Walpole and was Lord Justice of Great Britain in 1745, 1748 and 1750. During the rebellion of 1745 he raised a regiment of foot for the King, was appointed a colonel, but was prevented from marching northward with it by a bad attack of the gout. On his recovery, he joined his regiment at Edinburgh after the Battle of Culloden. He was also present at Dettingen and Fontenoy. The capture of Louisbourg in 1745 was one of the chief events of his administration. This victory was of great benefit to British merchants and ship owners. He supported Frederick Prince of Wales and later William, Duke of Cumberland and in the 1750's was in alliance with Henry Fox. Apparently he was not a participating soldier, but it should be mentioned that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century colonels did not always fight with their regiments in the battles. He is also a possible candidate for ownership of a bust.



Fig. 70 Courtesy of The National Museum of Scotland



Fig. 71 (as previous illustration)

BUST, ht 13  $\frac{3}{4}$ ins, Edinburgh Museum and Art Gallery, incised 12 on the base (Fig. 71). Now on a sculptured stone stand. This bust was acquired in 1882 from a London dealer.

In a letter to Delevingne the Royal Scottish Museum made the following remarks, ‘the only mark the bust bears is the numeral 12 incised on the base. The height of the bust is 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins, the breadth 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. It is interesting that the bust is regarded as Plymouth. Ours was bought from a London dealer in 1882, when it was described as Plymouth. It may be that all were thought to be Plymouth at this date’. (This date precedes the attribution to Chelsea by Rackham in 1885, when he catalogued Lady Schreiber’s gift, but comes after Chaffers attribution to Bow in his *Keramic Gallery* of 1872 and the Edkins sale of 1874 when it was sold as Bow). The Bust did not have a porcelain socle or wall bracket. The present stand (sculpted stone) was made in Edinburgh.

We wondered why the Museum did not purchase the bust acquired by Lady Schreiber from the Edinburgh dealer Butti in 1869. Upon enquiry we were informed that at that time the museum was only interested in objects closely related to Scottish history, or made in Scotland. Obviously in 1869, having no bracket to reveal its association with the Jacobite rebellion or the Battle of Culloden, it was not considered relevant to the collection. Sometime before 1882 the Museum was enlarged and became interested in international artworks.

We then wondered why the Schreiber bust should have surfaced in Edinburgh in 1869 and what its provenance may have been. An Edinburgh family who could easily have inherited a bust is the Dalrymple’s of Newhailes House. We are including a short history of their ancestry in the hope that some record of the bust may in the future be discovered in their archives.

James Dalrymple of Stair supported the Reformation (1560) and opposed the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to Lord Darnley. John Dalrymple 1st Earl of Stair (succeeded 1703) was responsible for the massacre at Glencoe in 1692 and was largely instrumental in bringing about the Union of Scotland and England. John Dalrymple 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Stair (1673-1747) served at Dettingen and was knighted on the field after the battle. He was Ambassador in Paris from 1715-1720 and secured the expulsion of the Old Pretender. He served under the Prince of Orange and Marlborough having succeeded to the Earldom in 1707. He was born and died in Edinburgh. He fought at Dettingen, in the War of Spanish succession, the War of Austrian succession and the Jacobite rebellion. The family was strongly anti-Jacobite. For 300 years the Dalrymple family have occupied Newhailes House near Edinburgh – now the National Trust for Scotland.

Dalrymple of Newhailes House, Edinburgh. Lineage the Hon. Sir David Dalrymple 1<sup>st</sup> Bt. of Hailes, Co. Haddington (died 1721) was the 5<sup>th</sup> son of the Viscount Stair. He purchased the house, originally named Whitehill, from Lord Bellenden in 1709. He was a younger brother of John (1648-1707) created 1st Earl 1703, who was involved in the massacre at Glencoe. The Stair and Dalrymple crest is the same– A rock, ppr, motto: Firm. This crest and the inscription *Overhailes* appears on a pair of porcelain mugs manufactured in Scotland by William Littler at West Pans that were donated to the Edinburgh Museum by Mr. A. Hepburn of Tupsley, Herefordshire in 1867. A family named Hepburn originally owned some of the

Dalrymple lands and the two families were intermarried. (See ECC. Trans. Vol. 5, no. 2, 1961, *William Littler of Longton Hall and West Pans, Scotland*, a paper read by Arthur Lane at the V&A on March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1960).

The date 1869, when Lady Schreiber purchased her bust, is interesting being only two years after the date the two Dalrymple mugs were donated to the museum. It could be that when the Museum rejected the bust Mr. Hepburn sold it to Butti.

## SUMMARY

We have isolated a waster and 4 groups of differing models with variations within the groups. This gives us a total of 19 traceable busts. If we are incorrect in assigning the bust owned by William Edkins of Bristol to the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery and the bust with an original bracket sold at Holland House in 1775 to the Los Angeles County Museum and Art Gallery then the total would increase to 21. We have included in the descriptions of some busts possible original owners hoping that future researchers or archivists may detect a bust obscurely recorded in family papers or other records. Should any reader have more information on any of the busts listed, or know the whereabouts of an unrecorded model, would they be kind enough to contact Pat Daniels, [pdaniels@live.co.uk](mailto:pdaniels@live.co.uk) or [wrramsay@hotmail.com](mailto:wrramsay@hotmail.com)



## CHEMICAL COMPOSITIONS OF THE GEORGE II BUSTS:

A review of previous chemical studies:

The history of previous studies into the chemical composition of the George II busts, socles, and brackets is an unfortunate saga of spot tests, vague references to supposed analyses by analysts by methods unknown, partial analyses with low precision levels, and at least one analysis seemingly obtained by guesswork. These will be discussed below. What is remarkable is that until now, after close to 200 years of discussion as to the attribution and date of manufacture of the busts, no reliable full chemical analysis (bust, socle, or bracket) of what is arguably England's most significant group of figural porcelains has appeared in the literature.

The first reference to chemical testing of a George II bust, associated socle and/or bracket is reported by Glendenning (1931) where he illustrates a bracket in the rococo style belonging to Wallace Elliot. Glendenning further notes that it is similar to a 'Bow' bracket in the National Museum of Ireland, where it supports a 'Chelsea' bust of George II. In this connection Glendenning refers to the *Catalogue of the Schreiber Collection* (Rackham, 1928, No. 126, p. 34).

Glendenning records that Elliot tested his bracket (we suspect by a spot test for phosphorus developed by H. J. Plenderleith of the British Museum Research Laboratory) and it was shown to be highly phosphatic (Glendenning, 1931, p. 81). Subsequently, the British Museum undertook tests on its George II bust and on two bases, the results of which were completed by early 1962. According to the brief report dated 11th May, 1962 (British Museum, 1962, No. 1209, Registration No. II.33, Serial No. 60724) all three objects gave negative tests for phosphorus, however no details are supplied as to the analyst or the method of analysis. The mention of two bases, we believe refers to both the British Museum socle and bracket; the latter formerly owned by Wallace Elliot, which, according to Glendenning, tested positive for phosphorus. In early April 1962, the bust alone was further examined by semi-quantitative emission spectrography and it gave MgO between 8-10%, CaO between 1-3%, and P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> between 1-2% (Catherine Higgitt, pers. com., November 29th, 2011). We assume that the bust concerned was the one held by the British Museum as it was reanalysed in March 1967 including the associated cold colours, as discussed below.

Dudley Delevingne (1963) appears to have been the first to attempt a full chemical analysis of one of the George II busts. In his paper on page 242, Delevingne states that a Bow attribution could be ruled out, since the body was not significantly phosphatic. Here we assume that he had undertaken a spot test on his bust and the results indicated the presence of minor phosphorus, which we conclude indicated that his bust had but a small bone-ash component. Delevingne noted that phosphate levels in Bow porcelains are usually about 18 wt%. Consequently he referred the problem to the Research Laboratory of the British Museum. The report from their laboratory, conveyed by Mr. Hugh Tait, stated that the body

of his bust was non-phosphatic and that the busts (plural) are typical glassy, English, soft-paste porcelain, which by inference indicated an attribution to Chelsea, Derby, or Longton Hall (Delevingne, 1963: p. 242).

We suspect that the Delevingne bust was tested for the presence of phosphorus in early 1962, at about the same time as the British Museum bust, socle and bracket. However, based on a letter of enquiry sent by the authors of this monograph to the British Museum Research Laboratories on August 13th, 2011, no record of the report on the Delevingne bust exists. The only record of this negative test for phosphorus on the Delevingne bust, coupled with mention of a (?verbal) report supplied by Hugh Tait that we can find, is that by Delevingne himself in his paper of 1963.

Delevingne then decided to carry out a full chemical analysis of his bust and commissioned Dr. Reginald Milton to this end. The results of this analysis we initially assumed were derived by classical gravimetric means, but now suspect were probably calculated more by guesswork, as discussed in Appendix 1. Milton's calculations were published by Delevingne (1963: p. 242) and are reproduced in Table 1 and Table 6.

**Table 1.** Previous published analytical results obtained for the George II busts (wt%)

	1	2	3	4			
SiO <sub>2</sub>		56.2					
TiO <sub>2</sub>		nd					
Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>		12.4					
MgO	8 - 10.0	0.2	10.0 - 12.0	9.5 - 11.5			
CaO	1 - 3.0	19.9	1.9 - 2.3	1.8 - 2.2			
Na <sub>2</sub> O		1.8					
K <sub>2</sub> O		2.6					
P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	1 - 2.0	2.7	1 - 1.5	1 - 1.5			
PbO		4.25	4.3 - 5.3	3.4 - 4.4			
		100.05					
1. Semi-quantitative emission spectrographic analysis of the British Museum George II bust, April, 1962							
2. Assumed gravimetric analysis of the Delevingne bust by Dr Reginald Milton (Delevingne, 1963)							
3. Spectrographic analysis of the Watney George II bust (Watney, 1968)							
4. Spectrographic analysis of the British Museum George II bust (Watney, 1968)							

**Table 6.** Comparison of analyses by Dr Reginald Milton with those of this study

	Milton analysis of Delevingne bust of Geo. II	Our analysis of the Delevingne bust of Geo II	Our analysis of the glaze to the Delevingne bust of Geo. II	Milton analysis of the Scott and Scott Bow prunus plate in the white	Our analysis of the L & E James prunus octagonal plate in the white	Our analysis of the glaze to the L & E James Bow prunus plate	Our analysis of a Bow white, prunus plate. Private collection	Our analysis of the glaze to a Bow prunus plate Private collection
SiO <sub>2</sub>	56.2	72.2	56.8	58	41	40.3	40.6	55.5
TiO <sub>2</sub>	ND	0	0	ND	0.1	0	0.1	0
Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	12.4 *	3	3.8	8.2 *	6	0.5	7.3	7.5
FeO		trace	0		0	trace	0.1	0
MgO	0.2	8.6	3.3	1	trace	0	0.1	0
CaO	19.9	3.2	1.8	20.3	26	1	26.2	6
Na <sub>2</sub> O	1.8	1.2	2	1.2	trace	0.6	1.3	2
K <sub>2</sub> O	2.6	2.7	3.8	2.5	1	5.3	1.5	2
P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	2.7	0	0	4.8	25.5	trace	22.7	0
PbO	4.25	9.8	28.8	4	0	52	0	27
Total	100.05	100.7	100.3	100	99.6	99.7	99.9	100
* includes both Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> and Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>								
ND not determined								

This analysis by Dr Milton appears to be somewhat unusual with very high CaO (19.9 wt%), low P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> (2.7 wt%), and negligible MgO (0.2 wt%). The low P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> level resonates with the initial statement by Delevingne that his bust was not 'significantly phosphatic' but contrasts with the British Museum Research Laboratory report that the bust was non-phosphahtic. Delevingne observed that such an analysis was unlike normal Chelsea compositions of any period but did resemble certain analyses of Derby and Longton Hall. He recorded that several analyses of Derby porcelains from the period 1758-1770 showed some similarities with the Reginald Milton analysis being closer than any known Chelsea compositions. The closest analysis that he could find was one undertaken by Dr Plenderleith on *The Man Carrying a Keg* held in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Based on all of this Dudley

Delevingne concluded that his bust was most likely made at Derby in 1760, but he did not rule out that more than one factory may have been involved in the other George II busts.

At the end of his paper, Delevingne stated that on the previous Thursday (that is in early April, 1962) Bernard Watney had phoned to advise him that his own bust (see Watney, 1968; Bimson, 2009, Fig. 1) had been analysed at the British Museum and the results had shown the presence of significant magnesium and some lead. On this basis Watney was inclined at that time to a Lund's Bristol or Worcester attribution. Again we can find no record of this analysis by the British Museum and we assume that this ?partial analysis of the Watney bust was by semi-quantitative spectrographic analysis and this was carried out at about the same time as the analysis of the British Museum bust in early April, 1962, for which there is a record. Strangely, the record of the British Museum bust refers to P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> (1-2%), MgO (8-10%), and CaO (1-3%) only and makes no mention of lead as PbO, which contrasts with the verbal advice provided to Delevingne by Watney that his bust contained some lead.

The next contribution to appear in the literature on the composition of the George II busts was by Bernard Watney (1968). In this paper Watney referred to the very adequate account of the busts provided by Dudley Delevingne. He then claimed that in his opinion some of the analyses carried out by Reginald Milton and quoted by Delevingne were inaccurately performed or wrongly reported to that author. Watney then continued with a remarkable tirade directed, we infer, against Dr Reginald Milton.

*English Ceramics have been bedevilled during the past twenty years or so by the publication of a very high proportion of inaccurate analyses, mostly emanating from one source. Samples have been reported as being lead-free, or containing no magnesia or phosphate, whereas in reality a large amount of any of these ingredients may have been present. Even this small class of figures (George II bust group) has been drastically split up in the past by misleading analyses which have been mistakenly accepted as scientific proof against the evidence of visual examination of paste and glaze.*

Initially we were somewhat bemused by these comments, but with the elision of time in the preparation of this monograph we find that we concur with a number of points raised by him in relation to the Milton analysis of the Delevingne George II bust as discussed in Appendix 1.

Watney also stated that spectrographic analyses of his bust and an associated Nun figure demonstrate that both contain major amounts of magnesium, whilst phosphorous and lead are minor constituents, as in Worcester porcelain (Table 1). These analyses came from an unnamed laboratory and analyst, though, by reference back to Delevingne, it was most likely the Research Laboratories at the British Museum. We suspect that this spectrographic analysis on the Watney bust was carried out in March 1967 as a repeat spectrographic analysis on the British Museum bust carried out by Dr. Werner at their Research Laboratory

(No. 1209, Registration No. II.33, Serial No. 60724), also provided by Watney (Table 1), was also carried out in March of that year. The cold colours applied to the British Museum bust were also analysed by emission spectrography (Plate No. 688).

Watney reported that in addition, X-ray diffraction (XRD) studies on both his bust and the Nun figure gave very similar patterns resembling those of Worcester porcelain, although again he provided no details as to the laboratory, the analyst, or the data from the associated X-ray diffraction study. We suspect that these additional analyses, both spectrographic and XRD, were also undertaken at the Research Laboratories of the British Museum but no record appears to exist. Based on these results, Watney considered three possible attributions; Lund's Bristol/Worcester, Vauxhall, or Chaffers Liverpool. He decided on Chaffers Liverpool as the most likely attribution based on the deduced soapstone recipe and by comparison with the structure of a Chaffers hare tureen (Watney, 1972: Plate 177b, 1973: Plate 58c, 1997: Plate 32a; Bimson, 2009).

Subsequently, Watney (1972: 224) wrote that in late 1970 or early 1971 John Mallet, then of the Victoria and Albert Museum, showed him a porcelain wall-bracket from that museum's collection (C53-1931). It had previously been fixed high out of reach and had only recently been taken down during redecoration procedures. At the time Mallet suggested that this wall bracket too might be Chaffers Liverpool. A testing of the bracket, apparently in early 1971 by the British Museum Laboratory, showed the wall bracket to be magnesian so likely to have been made at the same factory as the George II bust. Watney also thought it was probably made by Chaffers at Liverpool because of the hard-looking and greyish appearance of the glaze. At the time of writing this monograph we have been unable to trace either the report or associated analysis of the Victoria and Albert wall bracket, through either the British Museum or the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Since Watney's paper in 1968 it has been generally accepted, until Daniels (2007), that the busts are magnesian (steatitic) and could be attributed to Chaffers Liverpool. However, although Delevingne considered his bust was most likely to be Derby, Synge-Hutchinson (1970) concludes that the busts appear to be too early for a Derby steatitic body, nor apparently are they slip-cast as are all Derby models. Synge-Hutchinson suggests that Nicholas Crisp of Vauxhall, to whom the younger John Bacon was apprenticed in 1755, is not an impossible candidate.

In correspondence with the British Museum we have been able to locate records relating to the examination in early 1962 of the bust and the two bases held by them. The mention of two bases is taken by us to mean the socle and the associated bracket. Likewise records exist for the subsequent re-analysis of the British Museum's bust and its cold colours in March 1967. Catherine Higgitt (pers. com., November 29th, 2011) advised that the report pertaining to the bust and two bases (1887, 0307, II.33) is project number 1208 and this file can be viewed at: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/csrmellonpdfs/PR01209\\_u.pdf](http://www.britishmuseum.org/csrmellonpdfs/PR01209_u.pdf). According to this report the British Museum bust of George II and two bases were submitted for a phosphate test on March 2nd, 1960 and March 30th, 1962 and the work completed on May 11th, 1962. All three items gave a negative response to phosphate. The bust alone was re-examined by semi-quantitative emission spectrography and the following results were recorded; MgO 8-10%, CaO 1-3%, P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> 1-2%. It was then re-examined again in March 1967 and the results (Table 1) were published by Watney (1968). In addition, the cold colours

applied to the bust were also analysed by emission spectrography (Plate No. 688) and the results were; black - carbon black, white - lead white, red - vermilion, green - copper green.

In a subsequent British Museum internal memo dated 21 June 1990 from Mavis Bimson to Aileen Dawson, it is reported that samples from the British Museum bust and base (socle) (BMRL 33521T, catalogue II 33) and the associated wall bracket (BMRL 33522R, MLA 1938 3-14 76) gave XRD results which indicated they were all soapstone porcelains. XRF analysis of powders under vacuum showed that they had very similar elemental analyses. Quantitative differences in the minor elements i.e. lead, potassium, and calcium between the bust and base (socle) on the one hand and the wall bracket on the other, suggest that they did not come from the same batch of porcelain but were not sufficiently great (different) to indicate another manufactory. Again, at the time of writing this account we have been unable to locate the original data on which these comments were based.

The most recent development in determining the composition of one of the George II busts and its associated bracket is a set of qualitative tests undertaken at the Los Angeles County Museum using a hand-held air-path XRF with a rhodium target (John Hirx, pers. com., May 17th, 2013). It is reported that neither bust nor bracket generated any spectra for magnesium and phosphorous and by implication both lack either soapstone or bone-ash. The use of either hand-held or bench-top air-path XRF's is becoming common in ceramic studies because the technique is both non-destructive and rapid (Bonhams, 2011a, 2011b, 2012). However we have considerable reservations with such an analytical technique despite possible claims to the contrary by the manufacturers.

- Detection levels for elements with atomic numbers of  $\leq 14$  are considerably reduced depending on the instrumentation used and hence the key light elements Na, Mg, and possibly Al will either not be detected or be poorly resolved using air-path analytical procedures with hand-held XRF instrumentation (Clark, 2005; Wood et al., 2007). Wood et al. (2007) obtained energy-dispersive XRF analyses in air run at 40 kV, 0.3 mA, and count times of 200 s. Semi-quantitative estimates were based on elements with atomic numbers of 19 (potassium) and above.
- Jay (pers. comm., 2012) points out that glaze compositions found on Meissen porcelains between 1725-1763, glaze on Limehouse production (c. 1747), and glaze compositions found on Bow first patent porcelains ('A'-Marked porcelains) comprise between 10 - >20 wt % light elements which are unlikely to be detected by hand-held XRF instruments using air-path techniques and hence quantification of many glaze compositions containing key light elements may not be adequately attained. Furthermore, in the investigation of handheld XRF instruments for porcelain analysis Bezur and Casadio (2012) state *XRF results are insufficient to draw conclusions about the specific nature of paste ingredients*.
- We question anecdotal claims currently circulating that analytical results such as we have been reporting for the last decade using SEM JEOL 840, JEOL 840A, or JEOL JSM-6700F instrumentation were, *carried out using older techniques and their accuracy is in question*. We do not accept that analyses undertaken under either high vacuum, or by more recently developed instruments capable of operation under variable pressures using modern SEM techniques with energy dispersive attachments can be categorised as older techniques with questionable accuracy. The normal requirements that the SEM is calibrated daily against known standards and that the instrument settings are correctly selected for the matrix under examination would ensure that the results obtained are

consistently accurate. Neither do we accept that even older techniques involving classical gravimetric methods must necessarily have questionable accuracy.

We strongly suspect that the non-detection of magnesium in the Los Angeles bust and bracket is confirmation of the statement by Bezur and Casadio (2012) in discussing XRF instrumentation and porcelain analyses in respect to the inability to detect both sodium and magnesium. We conclude that at least some air-path, hand-held XRF instrumentation is incapable of, or at best hindered in the detection of magnesium and by inference other light elements with atomic numbers <12, if not higher.

Compositions of the George II busts based on our research:

Over the last nine years the authors of this monograph have been analysing a number of busts, their socles, and associated glazes. Those analysed are the Fitzwilliam bust at Cambridge, the bust in the National Museum of Ireland (Butler bust), the Dudley Delevigne bust, the Brighton Museum bust (Willett bust), and the Plymouth Museum and Art Gallery bust and socle (Cookworthy bust) (Tables 2 and 3).

<b>Table 2.</b> Summary of porcelain analyses of the George II busts (wt %)							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Cambridge	Ireland	Ireland	Plymouth Bust	Plymouth Soccle	Delevigne	Brighton
SiO <sub>2</sub>	72.2	75.9	75.7	73	77.01	73.15	68.8
TiO <sub>2</sub>	0.47	0.07			0.13		
Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	4.69	3.05	3	4	2.95	2.77	4.2
FeO	0.07	0.39			0.25		0.4
MgO	11.12	10.76	9.7	12	11.36	8.33	8.6
NiO							0.2
CaO	0.97	1.61	2.3	2	2	2.91	5.8
Na <sub>2</sub> O	0	0.99	1.7	1	1.06	1.15	1
K <sub>2</sub> O	0.88	2.09	3.3	3	1.73	2.6	2.8
P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	1.28	0.93			0.41		2.2
PbO	5.35	3.94	4.7	5	3.32	9.1	6.2
SO <sub>3</sub>	3.02	0.33			0.33		
	100.05	100.06	100.4	100	100.55	100.01	100.2
1. Fitzwilliam bust (Monash) average of 2 analyses							
2. Ireland bust (Monash) average of 3 analyses							
3. Ireland bust (Otago) average of 3 analyses							
4. Plymouth bust (Otago) 1 analysis							
5. Plymouth soccle (Monash) average of 4 analyses							
6. Delevigne bust (Otago) average of 4 analyses							
7. Brighton bust (Otago) average of 5 analyses							





Some of these analyses were initially undertaken at the Department of Engineering, Monash University, Melbourne in 2004 using a JEOL 840A SEM fitted with an Oxford Instruments' ATW X-ray Energy Dispersive Spectrometer (XEDS). The last few batches were analysed in 2011, 2012, and 2013 at the Medical School, Otago University using a JEOL JSM-6700F field emission scanning electron microscope fitted with a JEOL 2300F EDS system. Operating conditions are given in Appendix 2.

Based on these analyses of five busts out of a known extant total of nineteen (26%) two distinct compositions are recognised, namely a magnesian-phosphatic-lead (Mg-P-Pb) body and a magnesian-lead (Mg-Pb) body.

#### Magnesian-phosphatic-lead body:

The recipe in the Willett bust from the Brighton Museum is a magnesian-phosphatic-lead (Mg-P-Pb) porcelain. Based on the bust's physical appearance in the form of marked kiln slumping, we suggest that the bust was most likely a factory waster. Five duplicate analyses were obtained from the porcelain body of the Willett bust (Table 4) and MgO averages 8.6 wt%.

**Table 4.** Porcelain body and glaze compositions of the Willett bust, Brighton (wt%)

	porcelain body					average	glaze		
	B356-1	B356-2	B356-3	B356-4	B356-5		B356-6	B356-7	average
SiO <sub>2</sub>	69	62	72	72	69	68.8	50	48	49
TiO <sub>2</sub>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	4	4	5	4	4	4.2	9	7	8
MgO	9	8	9	8	9	8.6	0.5	0.5	0.5
NiO	0	0.5	0	0	0.5	0.2	0	0	0
FeO	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	0.5
CaO	6	10	4	4	5	5.8	4	5	4.5
Na <sub>2</sub> O	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
K <sub>2</sub> O	3	2	3	3	3	2.8	4	3	3.5
P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	3	5	0.6	0.6	2	2.2	0	0	0
PbO	6	7	6	6	6	6.2	31	33	32
SnO <sub>2</sub>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.5
Total	101	99.5	100.6	98.6	99.5	99.8	100.5	99.5	100.5

This magnesium is taken to represent the use of soapstone because in two of the analyses trace nickel was detected indicative of a peridotitic source rock from which soapstone typically originates. CaO shows a positive correlation with increasing P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> (Table 4, Fig. 72) and consequently the source of phosphorous is attributed to the addition of bone-ash. Based on Fig. 72 we estimate that there were two sources for the CaO (5.8 wt%) in the bust. Firstly, a non bone-ash component of some 3 wt%, possibly derived from the addition of lime-alkali bottle glass and secondly a bone-ash component of 2.8 wt% CaO. Confirmation of this estimation is to be found in the CaO/P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> ratio of the bone-ash component of the bust which gives 1.27, close to that of apatite (1.32). The PbO is assumed to represent the addition of lead in the form of lead glass or lead frit judging by the distinct level of K<sub>2</sub>O (2.8 wt%) in the bulk analysis. This level of potassium is considered to be above that necessary to form a lead glass and this excess K<sub>2</sub>O (and CaO) may represent the minor addition of a lime-alkali bottle glass as noted above. Based on the porcelain analysis of the bust we deduce the general recipe comprised crushed silica or chert, soapstone (approximately 25 wt%), bone-ash, lead-based glass, and possibly a minor amount of lime-alkali glass. The bust's compositional divergence from both the other bust analyses reported here (four busts) coupled with those two busts comprising partial analyses, as reported by Watney (1968), gives a total of six analyses. This does suggest to us an early recipe was used in the Willett bust, possibly an early experimental composition.

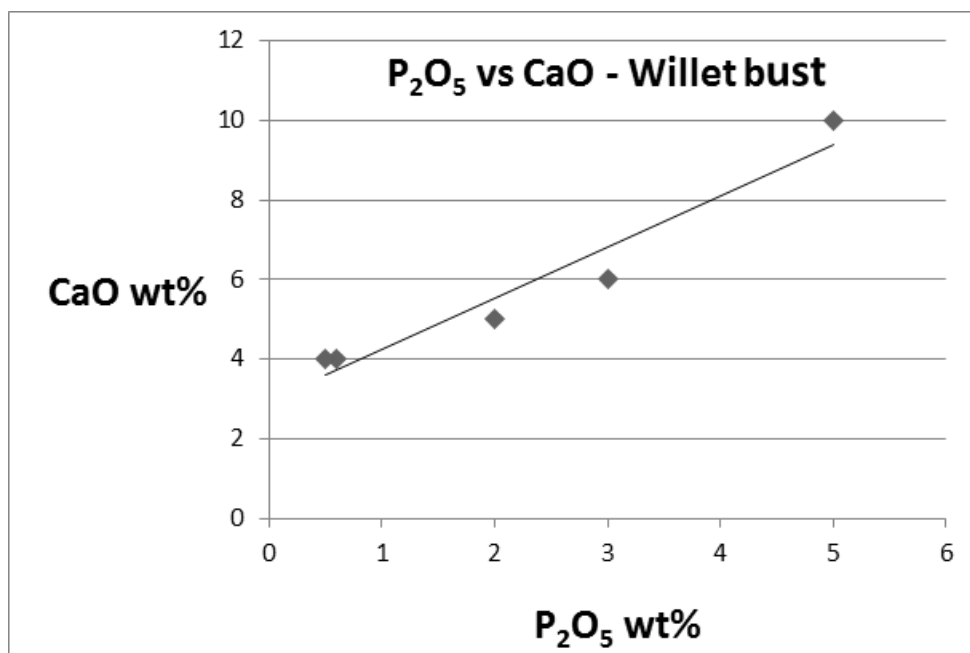


Fig. 72. Plot of CaO vs P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> for the porcelain body of the Willett bust. From this graph it is estimated that some 3 wt% CaO was derived from a calcic source, possibly a lime-alkali glass and the remainder to lift the bulk CaO level to an average of 5.8 % (Table 4) was provided by the addition of bone-ash.

The glaze composition associated with the Willett Mg-P-Pb body (Table 3) is a moderate PbO glaze with high Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> (8 wt% average), marked CaO (4.5 wt% average) and K<sub>2</sub>O (3.5 wt% average), and a minor amount of SnO<sub>2</sub> (tin oxide). This glaze composition differs from the characteristic 'Bow' glaze composition as typically found on Bow phosphatic porcelains (Ramsay et al., 2011a) and this divergence is discussed in more detail below.

#### Magnesian-lead body:

The other four George II busts and the associated Plymouth socle analysed for this monograph all show a broad concordance in porcelain composition (Table 2) and can be regarded as comprising a magnesian-lead (Mg-Pb) body as defined by Owen (2007). Average MgO contents range from 8.3 wt% in the Delevingne bust to 12 wt% for the Plymouth bust and 11.4 wt% in the associated socle. PbO shows some variation with the lowest value (3.3 wt% ) found in the Plymouth socle and the highest value in the Delevingne bust (9.1 wt% ). Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> is assumed to come from steatite or soapstone as demonstrated for the Willett bust and not from the specific addition of an aluminous clay such as ball clay. The lowest Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> value is found in the Delevingne bust (2.8 wt%) and the highest level occurs in the Cambridge bust (4.7 wt%). One apparent compositional distinction between the four busts is found in the Cambridge bust where 3 wt% SO<sub>3</sub> was recorded in the porcelain body (Table 2). The authors

were uncertain as to whether this reported presence of sulphur is real or is indicative of interference from the lead spectra obtained. A duplicate sample was forwarded to Monash University (April 2013) and analytical work conducted there through the courtesy of Dr Bill Jay has been unable to confirm the presence of sulphur. Minor  $P_2O_5$  was detected in the Cambridge bust (1.3 wt %  $P_2O_5$ ) but low enough to regard the Cambridge bust as belonging to the Mg-Pb group of busts.

Glaze compositions (Table 3) are of the moderate lead glaze type with the lowest PbO content found in the glaze to the Plymouth socle (19.9 wt%). Some discrepancy in lead contents occurs in glaze compositions obtained between the Monash University and the Otago University results (Table 3). In the case of the glaze to the bust in the National Museum of Ireland, the Monash results give an average of 28.5 wt% (n=5), and for Otago an average of 34 wt% (n=2). With the glaze to the Plymouth bust the Monash results give 29.8 wt% PbO and Otago results give 32 wt% PbO (n=2). Follow-up work at Monash University by Dr Bill Jay has confirmed the presence of minor tin oxide ( $SnO_2$ ) in the glaze of the Cambridge bust.

In summary, the analyses obtained for the four magnesian-lead (Mg-Pb) George II busts and socle show a general agreement in composition, whilst the associated glaze is of the moderate lead type with distinct levels of  $Al_2O_3$ ,  $Na_2O$ , and MgO.

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Comparisons with other magnesian porcelains:

In the study of magnesian porcelains there has arisen a significant fallacy, which can be traced back to the pioneering work of Eccles and Rackham (1922). Their classification of porcelain bodies recognised five major types and subsequent to their publication for many years little effort was made to expand this research, no doubt in the belief that English porcelain compositions were now fully defined and moreover composition was unlikely to

inform further the enquiry. Consequently any porcelain body which showed the presence of magnesium, regardless of the amount or what else was added to the paste, was immediately defined as steatitic in the belief that such a body could safely be regarded as largely uniform and homogeneous in composition regardless of the factory source. This denial of the plurality of magnesian compositions can be seen for example in the output of the porcelains from Lund's Bristol where for years it has been argued by numerous authorities that the recipe used by Benjamin Lund was a (uniform) steatitic composition. This simplistic notion obscured the fact that a significant component of Lund's output was not simply 'steatitic' but rather comprised a magnesian-phosphatic body (Ramsay et al., 2011a) and as a consequence bone-ash was a major raw material used in what looks to be an important component of that factory's output. Likewise in the case of Bow, four contrasting magnesian recipes can now be recognised (Ramsay and Ramsay, 2005; Ramsay et al., 2013; this publication). This lack of interest in the potential range of magnesian compositions contrasts with the inordinate amount of time spent in classifying and discussing various decorative idioms to be found on these porcelains and the visual appearance of associated glazes.

A not dissimilar situation exists with the George II busts where, based on partial analyses by Watney, the group has been defined as 'steatitic' and little concern has been extended in determining the range of magnesium present or in exploring what else was added to the porcelain mix. Our research as presented here demonstrates that bone-ash was in some instances added and that at least one of the extant busts contains both soapstone and bone ash. Predicated on the assumption that all the George II busts, socles, and brackets were produced at the one factory and on considering the analyses alone as published here, we suggest that it is possible to make some observations and deductions regarding the attribution of the George II busts.

Several English factories are recognised as having used a magnesian (steatitic) recipe and over the years based on the initial partial analyses undertaken by Watney in early 1962 and subsequent work by him published in 1968, four factories have been proposed as a source for these busts, namely Lund's Bristol or Worcester (Watney, *vide* Delevingne, 1963; Bimson, 2009), Chaffers Liverpool (Watney, 1968, 1997; Mallet, *vide* Watney, 1972), Liverpool (Bimson, 1990), and Vauxhall (Syngé-Hutchinson, 1970; Hillis, 2011; Jellicoe, 2012). The problem as we see it is that such attributions lack any basis in a full chemical analysis and till now no complete analysis of any of the George II busts (discounting the Reginald Milton analysis of the Delevingne bust) has appeared in the literature. Reliance to date appears to have been placed on the published partial analyses comprising but four elements with poor precision levels (Watney, 1968). To add to this uncertainty the assumption has been that all four factories to which these busts have been variously each made a uniform magnesian body, which would have corresponded with that found in the George II busts based on the four elemental oxide results as published by Watney.

In the case of Vauxhall, there are now a number of published analyses in the literature (Tite and Bimson, 1991; Owen et al., 2000; Bimson and Freestone, 2002). These results show that Nicholas Crisp produced two magnesian bodies, namely a high-Ca magnesian body and a low-Ca magnesian body. The high-Ca magnesian body does not accord with the compositions found in the George II busts but the low-Ca magnesian composition does.

However, Bimson (2009) appears to dismiss Vauxhall as a possible attribution for the busts based on her comments in relation to the Mg-Pb body.

*However, analysis of a representative sample of Vauxhall wasters found on site, showed that sufficient calcium was present in the body to form diopside on firing, a magnesium calcium silicate, rather than enstatite, a magnesium silicate typical of most soapstones porcelains.*

The problem here is that Bimson has overlooked the work of Owen et al. (2000). In this contribution on Vauxhall, Owen and co-workers demonstrate that in the case of some Vauxhall magnesian sherds, the lime-poor (2.1 wt% CaO) sample Vx5 contains 9.1 wt% MgO and the 'glassy matrix" in this sherd is strongly (but variably) enriched in MgO relative to CaO as shown in their Table II. This indicates that this phase contains enstatite components probably in the form of entrained sub- $\mu\text{m}$  scale crystallites, as have been documented in other Mg-Pb wares (e.g. Worcester; Owen, 1997, 1998, 2003). Hence we would suggest that based on the Mg-Pb bust composition one cannot rule out low-Ca magnesian Vauxhall as a source for the Mg-Pb George II busts.

However, in the case of the Mg-P-Pb composition found in the Willett bust, we suggest that the situation changes. Work by Owen et al. (2000) and Bimson and Freestone, (2002) demonstrates that Crisp also experimented with a bone-ash recipe. Bimson and Freestone (2002) observe that although a significant number of phosphatic sherds have been found at Vauxhall, all are unglazed and these sherds do not necessarily indicate that a phosphatic porcelain was exploited commercially. They conclude that the production of a phosphatic porcelain at Vauxhall may have gone no further than the experimental stage. Although phosphatic sherds have been recovered, what is of significant is that until now no wasters or porcelain wares from Vauxhall have been shown to be both magnesium-bearing and phosphatic (Mg-P-Pb) as found in the Willett bust. Furthermore, no wasters of the busts themselves have been recovered. We conclude that until evidence of a magnesian-phosphatic-lead (Mg-P-Pb) body is shown to have been made at Vauxhall, that factory may be regarded as an unlikely source for the George II busts.

When one examines the ceramic output from Lund's Bristol, we now know that Benjamin Lund produced both a Mg-Pb body and a Mg-P-Pb body (Ramsay et al., 2011a). Consequently, based on composition alone without other considerations, Lund's Bristol can be considered as a possible manufacturer of the busts. However, when one considers additional features, it is apparent that Benjamin Lund, with all his financial woes, apparent limited time in operation, and the wooden-looking figures of *Lu Tung-Pin*, could not have made these busts. Recent research into Limehouse porcelains (Ramsay et al., 2013) has demonstrated that Lund's technical knowledge was possibly derivative from Limehouse, which in turn at several levels was derivative from Bow.

In our opinion, the claim by Bimson (2009), quoting Honey (unreferenced), that one of the George II soapstone busts may have been given as a gift to William Cookworthy from

the founder of the Lund's Bristol factory in acknowledgement of his help and advice on the use and sources of soapstone is without foundation because of the following:

- Based on research into Lund's Bristol and Limehouse porcelains (Ramsay et al., 2011a; Ramsay et al., 2013), the technology pathway for the use of steatite (and bone-ash) can be traced from Lund's Bristol, possibly to Limehouse, thence to Bow, and then back to John Woodward and his ceramic firings in the 1720s using Cornish soapstone;
- There is no known link that we are aware of between William Cookworthy and the use of Cornish steatite or soapstone;
- Whilst Cookworthy did procure a soapstone bust of George II *from the manufacturers*, as argued in this monograph, this was most likely when he was in London in early July 1745. This bust had no association whatsoever with Lund's Bristol.
- In 1748 William Cookworthy was not known in the field of ceramics and was in no position to advise anyone on the making of porcelain, steatitic or otherwise.

In the case of Worcester, the Mg-Pb body comprised the dominant output through to the Flight, Barr, and Barr period (1813-1840) (Owen, 2003), however that factory did experiment with a Mg-P-Pb body very early in its existence at, or soon after, its takeover of Lund's Bristol in early 1752. Based on extensive analyses of Worcester sherds (Owen, 2003) it has been shown that some of the earliest analysed magnesian-lead sherds (W44E, W44C, and W47) from Warmstry House also contain a phosphatic component, assumed to represent bone-ash (Table 4). Owen describes these compositions as post-February 1752 transitional pastes and he further notes that the use of bone-ash was abandoned shortly after. The fact that these Mg-P-Pb wasters are among the earliest experimentation at Warmstry House, reflecting technology transfer from Lund's Bristol, militates in our opinion against Worcester producing the range of George II busts so early in its existence. Moreover no ceramic wasters of the busts have been recovered from the Warmstry House excavations.

With Richard Chaffers there is still to date only one magnesian analysis published in the literature (Tite and Bimson, 1991; No. 743) that we are aware of and this analysis shows some similarities with the Willett bust having 1.6 wt% P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub>. Tite and Bimson (1991) report that this underglaze blue porcelain fragment from Liverpool contains a scatter of calcium phosphate particles, less than 10 µm across. However the lead content in the Chaffers' analysis (1.3 wt% PbO) is well below that of the Willett bust and in fact below that of all the other busts analysed. Watney (1997) has argued that some of the Chaffers' magnesian output, such as examples with the *Jumping boy* pattern, have about 1% phosphate added to the body. However the level of P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> mentioned by Watney looks to be too low to make any valid comparison with the Willett bust composition (See Table 5). Moreover, the analytical method used appears to have been by emission spectrography with precision levels that would be totally unacceptable to Sir Arthur Church. To add to the uncertainty regarding the composition/s of the Chaffers' output, Hillis (2011, 147) is of the opinion that Richard Chaffers did not produce phosphatic porcelain, although based on the single Tite and Bimson analysis, minor amounts of bone-ash look to have been added to at least some of the Chaffers' output.





and/or bone-ash of which the most significant group is the Bow first patent Si-Al-Ca body, whose initial commercial production dates to *c.* 1743 (Daniels, 2007; Ramsay et al., 2003; Ramsay and Ramsay, 2007a, 2007b). The presence of an aluminous Mg-P-Pb body as discussed by Ramsay et al. (2013) demonstrates that Bow was using what appears to have been soapstone and moreover mixing it with bone-ash by *c.* 1742.

In the case of the Mg-Pb body, we suggest that based on the analytical techniques used to date and detection levels, as well as the range of elements investigated by us in this monograph, it is not possible to assign the four Mg-Pb busts to any one of the factories known to be producing a Mg-Pb body (Lund's Bristol, Worcester, low-Ca Vauxhall body, or Chaffers Liverpool bearing in mind the dearth of analyses for Chaffers in the public domain). As shown in Fig. 73, the overlapping 'cloud' of factory compositions and the busts themselves, both body and glaze, preclude a clear attribution to any one factory.

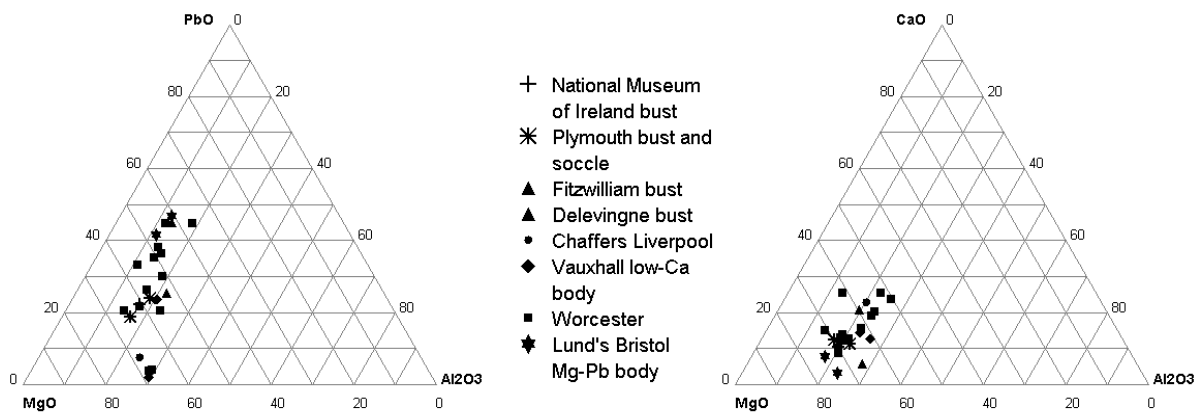


Fig. 73a: Triangular plots of porcelain compositions of various magnesian bodies including those from the George II busts

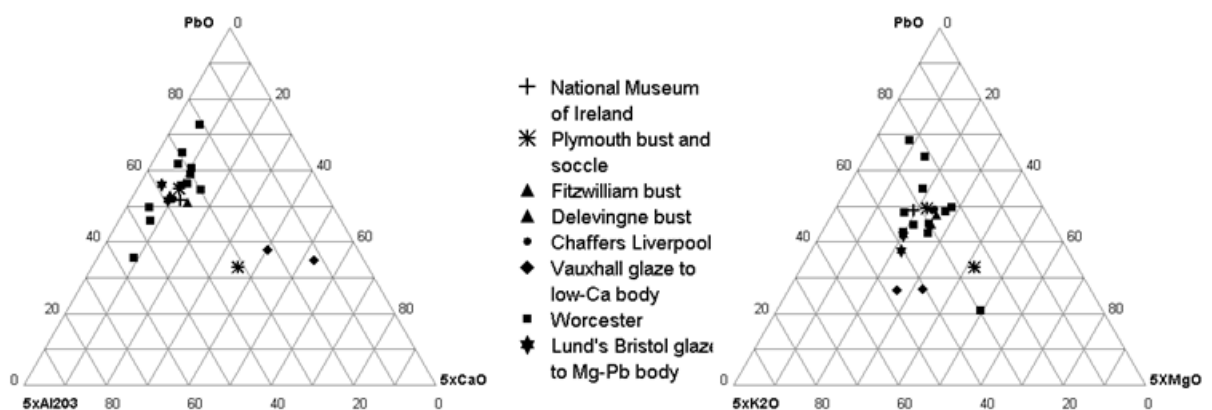


Fig. 73b: Triangular plots of glaze compositions associated with various magnesian bodies including the George II busts

However the presence of the Mg-P-Pb bust recipe allows us to cast doubt on a Vauxhall attribution based on current published analyses. Likewise the dearth of reliable analyses for Chaffers Liverpool precludes any firm comment other than that a single analysis can be compared with the Mg-P-Pb Willett bust, although the lead content is too low. In the case of the more ubiquitous Mg-Pb busts we are not aware of any other Chaffers analyses to compare as the single reported analysis does not accord well. In the case of Worcester, several Mg-P-Pb wasters were recovered from the lowest levels of the Warmstry House excavation. However the date of the busts appears to be too early in the Worcester output. Moreover, we suggest that any archaeological excavation would have produced a considerable number of bust wasters and neither at Vauxhall or Worcester has this occurred. Lund's Bristol has been shown to have made wares using both the Mg-Pb and Mg-P-Pb recipes, but again when one factors in other considerations we reject any suggestion that Benjamin Lund of Bristol could have made these busts.

Glaze compositions on the George II busts:

Analyses of glaze compositions to the various busts and one socle show a broad coherence which in itself suggests a common factory source. The glazes are a moderate lead glaze ranging from 19.9 wt% PbO in the Plymouth socle to 34 wt% PbO in the Butler glaze

from Ireland. All glazes analysed are potassic with the lowest value of 2.9 found in the Fitzwilliam glaze and the highest level (3.7 wt% K<sub>2</sub>O) found in both the Butler glaze and the Delevingne glaze. Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> is present in all the glazes from 3.7 wt% Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> in the Fitzwilliam glaze to a high 8 wt% in the Willett glaze. MgO is also a prominent component with the lowest level found on the Willett glaze of 0.5 wt% MgO.

Glaze compositions reported for both the Vauxhall low-Ca and high-Ca bodies (Tite and Bimson, 1991; Owen et al., 2000) show some divergence from glaze analyses obtained from the George II busts. Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> levels in the Vauxhall wasters are markedly lower than that found in the busts, PbO is also lower with the exception of the Plymouth socle, and K<sub>2</sub>O is considerably higher. However with the phosphatic waster (Vx3) reported from Vauxhall (Owen et al., 2000) lead increases to 37.9 wt% PbO, although Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> remains low at 0.98 wt%. Published glaze analyses obtained from both the Mg-Pb and the Mg-P-Pb Lund's Bristol bodies (Ramsay et al., 2011a) show general concordance with glaze compositions found on the busts being a moderate PbO glaze with distinct levels of Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> and MgO. One partial exception is the high PbO content (40 wt%) found in an ivy leaf pickle dish (Phillips, May 10th, 2000, Sale No. 30,924, Lot 5510).

The glaze composition from two Worcester Mg-P-Pb sherds (W47 and W44E) as published by Owen (2003) show only partial comparisons with the Mg-P-Pb Willett bust. The latter has much higher Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> (8 wt%) and lower MgO (0.5 wt%) when compared with the two Worcester sherds. Furthermore, W44E has a small amount of sulphur added (1.2 wt% SO<sub>4</sub>) and the glaze to W47 has a distinct amount of P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub>. In the case of the characteristic Worcester Mg-Pb body, the associated glazes typically show good agreement with that found on the Mg-Pb busts.

With Chaffers Liverpool we are aware of only one published glaze analysis (Tite and Bimson, 1991; No. 743). Compositionally this glaze shows good agreement with that obtained from the Mg-Pb busts,

A survey of Bow glazes associated with the Bow phosphatic output (Ramsay et al., 2011b) has demonstrated a coherence in glaze compositions with high PbO (>40 wt%) and negligible Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> (<1 wt%) and low MgO (<0.5 wt%). Research by Ramsay et al (2011b) has shown that whilst the broad glaze chemistry found on Bow phosphatic wares remained essentially constant from the early 1740s through to factory closure there was a cryptic compositional drift with time. Over the 30+ year output at Bow, PbO declined both in absolute and relative terms with regard to SiO<sub>2</sub>, and K<sub>2</sub>O, whilst K<sub>2</sub>O showed a minor increase in both absolute and relative terms. CaO remained a persistent additive during this period. The glazes associated with the George II busts contrast markedly with the glaze composition found on phosphatic Bow wares. However ongoing research now indicates that very early Bow did vary the glaze composition and experimented with various glaze recipes. A case in point relates to two applied prunus plates in the white (Table 6, Fig. 74) where one plate has a typical phosphatic Bow glaze as identified by Ramsay et al. (2011b), with 52 wt% PbO, 0.5 wt% Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>, and 0 wt% MgO. However the second plate has a glaze composition more in keeping with the glaze compositions found on the George II busts with 27 wt% PbO and 7.5 wt% Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>. This latter glaze composition found on a Bow applied prunus plate dating

from early to mid 1740s demonstrates that Bow, in its initial years, did experiment and vary the lead glaze composition used. A discussion on both plates and their associated glazes is given in Appendix 1.



Figure 74a. Octagonal applied prunus plate in the white, Bow P-Pb porcelain, c. early - mid 1740s. L. and E. James collection



Figure 74b. Round applied prunus plate in the white, Bow P-Pb porcelain, c. early - mid 1740s. Private Collection

### Summary and Discussion:

Several aspects arise from a study of the chemistry of the George II busts. Firstly, based on current analytical techniques and detection levels, compositionally the Mg-Pb body is non-diagnostic with regard to providing an attribution for the George II busts, as this composition was broadly replicated by a number of known factories. In the case of the Mg-P-Pb body identified in the Willett bust the situation is different and we suggest that Vauxhall can be discounted. The paucity of analyses for Chaffers Liverpool, both body and glaze, suggest only a similarity with the Willett Mg-P-Pb bust but not with the more common Mg-Pb busts. The use of both a Mg-Pb body and a Mg-P-Pb body has been recognised for the Lund's Bristol output (Ramsay et al., 2011a) and for Worcester based on waster analyses (Owen, 2003) but on consideration of a number of factors we reject both Benjamin Lund and very early Worcester as sources for the George II busts.

The second aspect relates to the coherence in glaze type used on the busts, which in itself is suggestive of a common factory source for all the busts. The third main point to emerge is that, based on the notion that *ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny*, there is likely to have been a common parent for this Mg-Pb recipe type used at Lund's Bristol, Worcester, Vauxhall, and Chaffers Liverpool (Fig. 73). Watney (1993) argued that this parental concern was to be found in London and he assigned the parental compositional source to Limehouse based on unpublished analytical data that supposedly showed that Limehouse manufactured a soapstone body.

Based on a significant number of published Limehouse analyses of factory wasters (Freestone, 1993; Owen, 2000; Jay and Cashion, in press) there is no evidence of Limehouse manufacturing either a Mg-Pb or a Mg-P-Pb body at 20 Fore Street, Limehouse (Ramsay et al., 2013). Two possibilities now present themselves to explain the presence of a Mg-P body in extant 'Limehouse' porcelains (Ramsay et al., 2013). Firstly, the possibility that this body came from a factory site on the north side of Fore Street and not from 20 Fore Street on the southern side. Secondly, that these Mg-P wares, as identified by Ramsay et al. (2013) are not Limehouse. Moreover, Ramsay et al., (2013) point out that it is difficult to accept that Limehouse, a short-lived, little known, unsuccessful factory had the resources to initiate the use of both soapstone and bone-ash porcelains together with two other porcelain types (Si-Al, Si-Al-Ca) in such a short period of time. As yet the production of a Mg-P-Pb or a Mg-Pb body as found in the busts has not been recognised as Limehouse, as the overwhelming output, both sherds and whole porcelains, has been typically shown to have low to negligible lead.

Regardless, it now appears that there was a larger more developed concern from which Limehouse derived its recipe types, its stylistic features, its underglaze blue technology, and most probably a number of its artisans (Ramsay et al., 2013). This parental porcelain manufactory can reasonably be regarded as having acted a conduit or bridging concern with even earlier porcelain firings conducted by or sponsored by former members of

the Royal Society of London (Daniels, 2007; Ramsay et al., 2013). We have suggested that this larger and more established concern, which had both the expertise and confidence to have produced these brilliant figural porcelains and the remarkable hard-paste porcelains (that make the Limehouse output look at best second rate), must have been Bow, and this concern was most likely operating in one form or another from the 1730s (Daniels, 2007; Daniels and Ramsay, 2009; Ramsay and Ramsay, 2007a, 2007b; Ramsay et al., 2013). Examples of recipe types used by Bow and derived from earlier firings by members of the Royal Society include its well-known phosphatic body and a number of associated phosphatic variants (Ramsay and Ramsay, 2007a, 2007b), a Si-Al-Ca body, a Si-Al body, a Si-Al-Mg-P body, a Si-Al-Mg-S body, and both a Mg-P-Pb and a Mg-Pb body, as found in the George II busts (Daniels, 2007, Ramsay et al., 2013).

A major hinderance in recognising the source of the George II busts has been the widespread reluctance in the literature to countenance the notion that Bow may have used steatite, even though it was demonstrated nearly a decade ago the Bow was producing a magnesian body (Ramsay and Ramsay, 2005). Our collective research (Daniels, 2007; Daniels and Ramsay, 2009; Ramsay and Ramsay, 2005, 2007a, 2007b; Ramsay et al., 2013; this study) has demonstrated that Bow was operating commercially much earlier than currently realised and moreover we recognise that Bow was utilising a number of contrasting recipe types involving various phosphatic and magnesian bodies and a variety of aluminous bodies including a ball clay-potassic flux recipe and a hard-paste Si-Al-Ca body using imported china clay from the New World. Evidence for the use of soapstone, sourced most likely from Kynance Cove by Bow and used in its porcelain output prior to 1747, is given by Daniels (2007), Daniels and Ramsay (2009), Ramsay and Ramsay (2005, 2007a, 2007b), and Ramsay et al. (2013).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY (to be completed)

### Appendix 1

The Reginald Milton analysis of the Delevingne George II bust:

As discussed above, at sometime around 1961- early 1962 Dudley Delevingne requested that Dr Reginald Milton carry out a full chemical analysis of his George II bust. The results were published by Delevingne (1963: p. 242) and this analysis is presented in Tables 1 and 6 The porcelain body is apparently composed of high CaO (19.9 wt%), low P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> (2.7 wt%), and negligible MgO (0.2 wt%) and it is assumed by us that this analysis was by classical gravimetric methods. In a detailed discussion on possible attributions for the bust based on the Milton analysis, Delevingne argued that the closest existing composition in the literature of the day was one carried out by Dr Plenderleith of *The Man Carrying a Keg* in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Consequently Dudley Delevingne suggested that his bust was made at Derby in 1760.

Several comparable analyses have been published elsewhere in the literature characterised by high CaO, moderate to high  $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3 + \text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$  and low  $\text{P}_2\text{O}_5$ , low MgO, and low to negligible PbO the bulk of which were undertaken by Reginald Milton (Tilley, 1957; Scott and Scott, 1961). One of these analyses is of an early Bow plate in the white with applied prunus decoration (one of two octagonal plates) which belonged to Cleo M. Scott and G. Ryland Scott (Scott and Scott, 1961: p. 131, plate 177). The Scotts provided an excellent description of both their plates which are described as 8.25 inches (~21 cm) diameter, being badly warped, with elongated spurs under the base, having prominent moons under transmitted light, and the prunus blossoms having 6 petals instead of the more usual 5 (Scott and Scott, 1961). Both Hugh Tait and Sigmund Katz were of the opinion that the plates were early Bow with Katz dating the pair to 1744-48 and Tait no later than 1750. An analysis of one of these plates is presented by Scott and Scott in their Appendix 1, page 131 and is reproduced here in Table 6. This analysis by Reginald Milton, was carried out, we assume, around 1960 by classical gravimetric methods. If our assumption on the date when the Scott and Scott analysis was undertaken by Reginald Milton is correct, we question why he did not draw attention to the similarity between the analysis of the Bow plate and that of the George II bust to Dudley Delevingne, who presented his bust analysis approximately a year later. Delevingne made no reference to this assumed earlier analysis by Milton. In the analysis of the Scott and Scott plate, CaO is high, (20.3%),  $\text{P}_2\text{O}_5$  is moderate (4.8 %), and MgO low (1.0%). The immediate impression the authors of this contribution initially arrived at is that this concordance in analyses between the Delevingne bust and the Scott and Scott Bow plate was highly important and consequently these two items needed to be reanalysed.

The authors have been unable to trace the Scott and Scott plate, but two closely comparable examples in the white were sampled. The first is an octagonal plate from the L. and E. James collection. Here the prunus blossoms have 6 petals and the plate shows minor warping (Fig. 74a). The plate is 21.5 cm diameter and came from the Adams Collection, No. 14/George Garrett estate. The second is from a private collection in London and is in the round, has 6-petalled blossoms, has a thick scummy glaze which has run, is badly warped, and in transmitted light has very prominent moons up to 1.5 cm diameter (Fig. 74b). Prominent blisters from the body have broken through the glaze.

Analyses of both plates contrast strongly with the analysis done by Reginald Milton (Table 6). Both plates are phosphatic and compositionally they fall within the *Defoe-New Canton period* of the Bow porcelain output (Ramsay, Sutton, and Ramsay, 2011b: Table 1). The only elements that show some similarity in concentration between the Milton analysis and our two analyses are  $\text{Na}_2\text{O}$ ,  $\text{K}_2\text{O}$ , and possibly  $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3$ . In the case of our analyses of the glaze taken from the two plates, the glaze on the L. and E. James plate closely compares with Bow glazes on early phosphatic wares with  $\text{PbO} > 50$  wt% and negligible  $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3$  and MgO (Ramsay et al., 2011). In contrast the glaze from the applied prunus plate from a private collection has much lower PbO (27 wt%), high  $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3$  (7 wt%) and  $\text{CaO} > \text{K}_2\text{O}$  (Table 6) and represents a departure in glaze composition from all Bow glazes so far analysed associated with Bow phosphatic bodies (Ramsay et al., 2011b) but does show many similarities with the glaze compositions obtained from the George II busts (Table 3). In other words, we have a

glaze composition from a Bow phosphatic plate which compares with the glaze type and all busts analysed.

After some considerable sleuthing the Dudley Delevingne bust of George II was located and as a result of the generosity of the owner was resampled. The results from both body and glaze are given in Table 2, Table 3, and Table 6. What is immediately apparent is that our analysis of the Delevingne bust body bears no relation to that provided by Dudley Delevingne by Reginald Milton in the early 1960s. Our analysis shows the bust to be magnesian (8.3 wt%) with low calcium (2.9 wt%) and low  $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3$  (2.8 wt%). These results demonstrate that the Delevingne bust conforms with other Mg-Pb bust analyses and by assumption based on the prominent level of magnesium, is assumed to be steatitic in composition.

Published in the literature are two analyses by Reginald Milton, both characterised by low to negligible MgO and high CaO, which by assumption indicate a glassy, calcium-rich body. The Milton analysis of the Delevingne bust sums to 100.5 wt% and that of the Scott and Scott plate to 100 wt%, which in itself is revealing. Our subsequent analyses of two comparable over-fired Bow plates with applied prunus decoration and prominent moons in one, as with the Scott and Scott plate (hence the visual observation that they may comprise a glassy body), show both to be phosphatic. In the case of the reanalysis of the Delevingne bust, the bust is shown to be of a Mg-Pb composition. Our strong suspicion is that Reginald Milton may not have analysed either item as published, as it is difficult to imagine how such differing bodies (one shown by us to be magnesian and the other two, phosphatic) should give such closely comparable analyses summing to 100% and 100.5% as claimed by Milton. In the wider context we draw attention to a publication by Frank Tilley (Tilley, 1957). A standout feature of this book is that Frank Tilley identified over 40 porcelain items, of which a number at that time were of concern regarding their debatable factory attribution. In a remarkably innovative approach Tilley sought to apply rational science to their attribution rather than rely solely on connoisseurship in seeking an attribution. Consequently he sought the help of Reginald Milton. The publication by Tilley contains 42 analyses by Reginald Milton coupled with a further 5 taken from the literature. A feature of many of the Milton analyses is the moderate to remarkably high CaO levels with most reported as >10wt%. Based on our reanalysis of the Dudley Delevingne bust coupled with analyses of two Bow applied prunus plates in the white comparable to that described and illustrated by Scott and Scott, we suggest that the Milton analyses published by Tilley (1957) must remain suspect until each item has been reanalysed. In the case of the Delevingne bust of George II our analysis in no way conforms to that by Reginald Milton.

## Appendix 2:

Samples of ceramic powder and glaze obtained from various Bow porcelain items were mounted in synthetic blocks and polished. Each block was subsequently coated with a film of amorphous carbon (<3nm) to prevent a build-up of charge during analysis.



Quantitative chemical analyses were performed using a JEOL 840A scanning electron microscope (SEM) equipped with an Oxford Instruments ATW X-ray Energy Dispersive Spectrometer (XEDS). The microscope was operated at a high-tension of 40 kV, the probe current was set at 6 Na and the working distance at 39 mm. The resolution of the energy-dispersive detector was 147 eV at 5.9 keV. Typically, the live time was 100 seconds. All spectra were acquired using a focused (~1 µm diameter) probe. Bulk compositions were determined by raster analyses of single fields using the maximum available area. All quantitative analyses involved applying the ZAF matrix correction procedure to the measured intensities of the Na-K $\alpha$ , Mg-K $\alpha$ , Al-K $\alpha$ , characteristic x-ray and Pb-L $\alpha$ , Si-K $\alpha$ , P-K $\alpha$ , S-K $\alpha$ , K-K $\alpha$ , Ca-K $\alpha$ , Ti-K $\alpha$ , Fe-K $\alpha$  peaks. Oxygen content was calculated by difference based on the assumed stoichiometry of the oxides. The internal standards and references used in this investigation included apatite (Ca, P), anhydrite (S), plagioclase *An 65* (Al, Si), tugtupite (Na), sanidine (K), iron (Fe), lead (Pb), magnesium (Mg) and titanium (Ti). The presence of trace quantities of other elements was confirmed by inspecting spectra by eye. Due to peak overlap, it was not possible to confirm visually for (a) sulphur when lead was present and (b) sodium when remote fluorescence from the copper sample holder gave rise to a Cu-L peak. In most instances results are regarded as +/- 5% however in some cases, where the amount of powder was very small, this degree of precision would decrease.

In the case of the analysis of the Delevingne bust body and glaze Minute amounts of ceramic powder and glaze were mounted in plastic holders, polished, and then carbon-coated using an Emitech K575X Peltier-cooled high-resolution sputter coater fitted with an Emitech 250X carbon coater. Analyses were undertaken at the Otago University Centre for Electron Microscopy using a JEOL JSM-6700F field emission scanning electron microscope fitted with a JEOL 2300F EDS system. Analysis was performed at an accelerating voltage of 25kV. A variety of spot and area analysis was used. Spectra were collected for 120 seconds. The EDS systems resolution and calibration was checked using a X-checker performance monitor (SPI supplies, USA). The Mn Ka FWHM was 130eV.