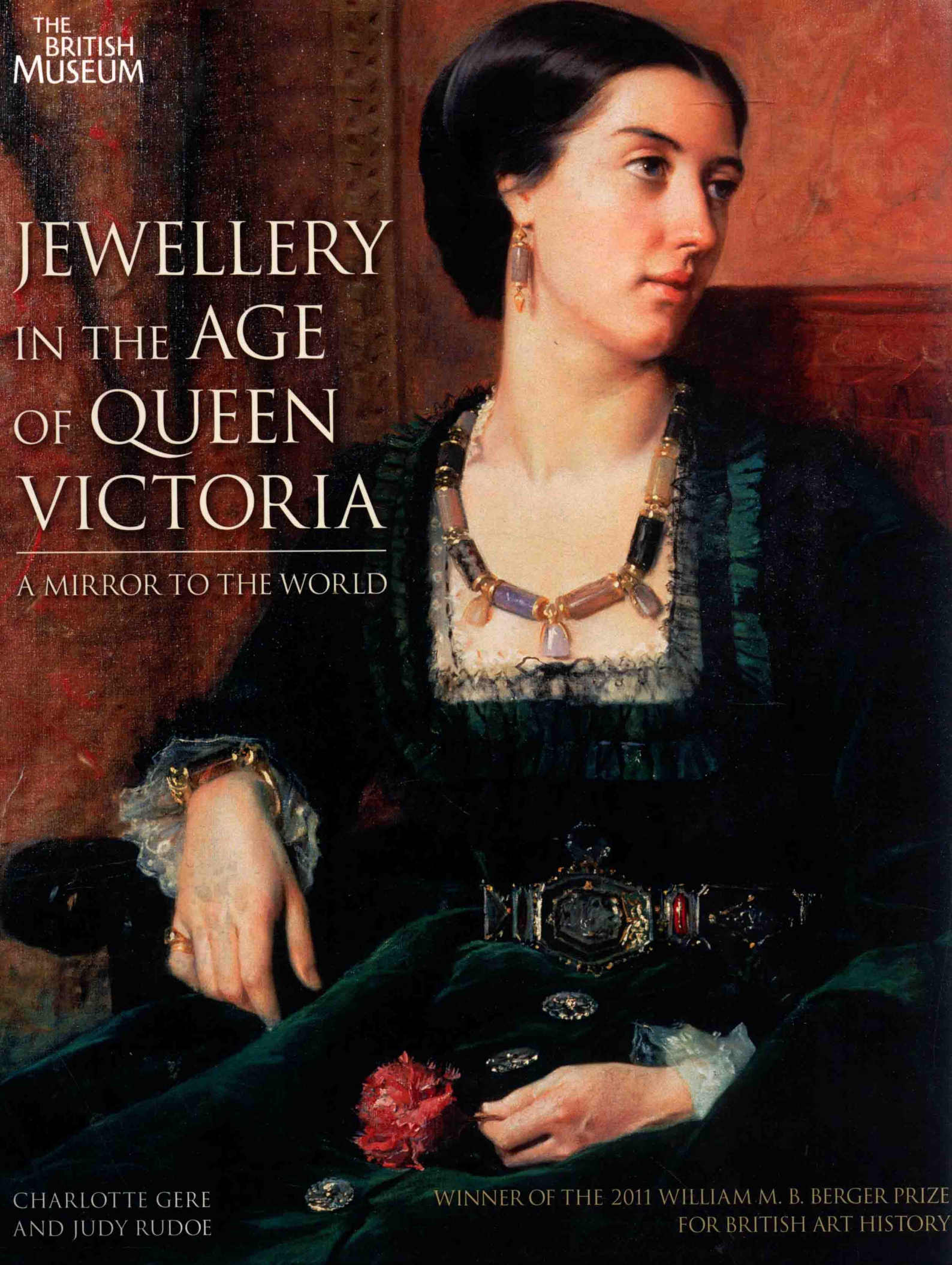


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JEWELLERY IN THE AGE OF QUEEN VICTORIA

A MIRROR TO THE WORLD



CHARLOTTE GERE
AND JUDY RUDOE

WINNER OF THE 2011 WILLIAM M. B. BERGER PRIZE
FOR BRITISH ART HISTORY

'The wonderful thing about this book is that one can see what was happening in the world at the time reflected in the jewels discussed... the book takes you through some of the most beautiful objects you could possibly imagine... I can't recommend it highly enough'

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'This book is a triumph of visual and social history, a truly original publication... and a pleasure both to look at and to read'

The Art Newspaper



THE BRITISH MUSEUM PRESS
ISBN 978-0-7141-2819-1

9 780714 128191
£55.00

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© 2010 The Trustees of the British Museum

Published in 2010 by The British Museum Press
A division of The British Museum Company Ltd
38 Russell Square, London WC1B 3QQ

Reprinted 2012

www.britishmuseum.org/publishing

Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe have asserted the right to be identified as the authors of this work

ISBN 978 0 7141 2819 1

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Designed and typeset in Trajan and Berkeley Oldstyle by Price Watkins Design

Printed and bound in Hong Kong by Printing Express Ltd

Half-title page: Chimera brooch by E. Fontenay, c. 1870.

Private collection (see Fig. 426)

Frontispiece: *Portrait of Grace Rose*, by Frederick Sandys, 1866.

New Haven (CT), Yale Center for British Art (see Fig. 138)

Title page: Camellia brooch, 1850–60. British Museum (see Fig. 132)

Web resources

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Note to readers

The captions to the illustrations indicate, where space has allowed, the role of the jeweller who signed the piece or whose name appears on the case. Some are manufacturing jewellers, such as Brogden, Giuliano, or Castellani, while others are retailers only and did not make the pieces they sold. Hancock and Harry Emanuel were both, in that they sold work made for them by others but also made their own. 'By' without any other qualification is used when the role of the jeweller is uncertain. Where the distinction is clear we have used 'made by' to mean made in the firm's own workshops, or 'retailed by' to mean that the piece was bought in from another manufacturer.

The workings of the trade are exceedingly complex. No firm would undertake every one of the many specialized operations, such as diamond setting or the supply of jewellers 'findings' (clasps, brooch pins etc). Even Brogden and Streeter, who advertised their manufacturing capacity, would have had recourse to these specialists.

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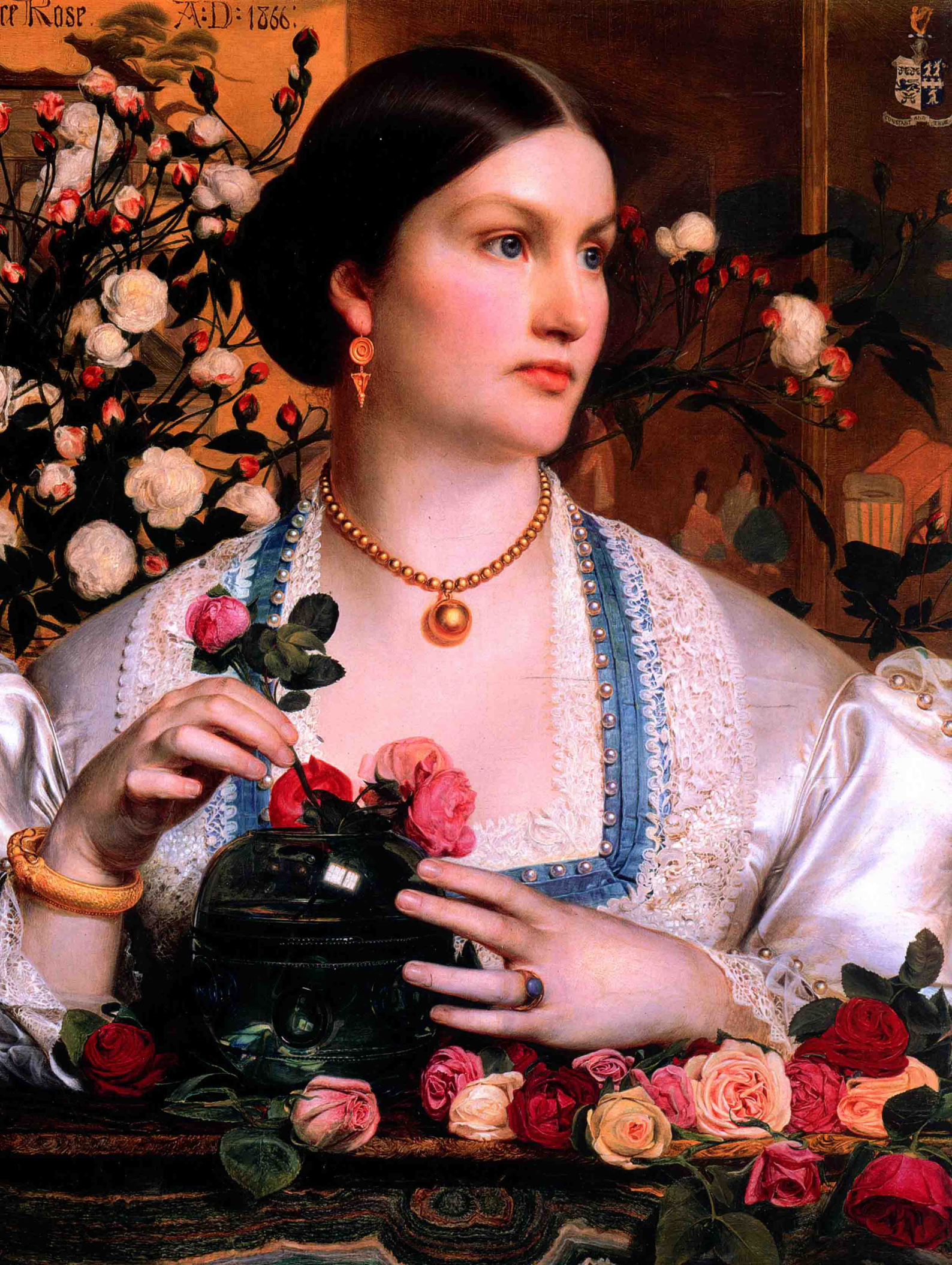
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et Rose. A.D. 1866.



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Diamond lace bertha or *garniture de corsage* by Tiffany & Co., as displayed at the 1889 Paris Exhibition (see Fig. 240)

PREFACE

THIS book offers a new approach to the subject of jewellery in the age of Victoria. It is not about the great masterpieces of Victorian jewellery, but about the way in which jewellery in that period, more than any other branch of the applied arts, reflected the preoccupations and aspirations of its owners. Rather than concentrating on the major figures at the top end of the trade, or indeed offering a chronological survey of the development of styles and fashions, we have tried to understand how the Victorians used jewellery and what it meant to them, both literally and metaphorically.

To do this, we have of course relied on surviving jewels in collections across the UK, Continental Europe and America, some hardly known or published. But a prime source of our understanding we have found rather in contemporary records, both written and visual, chiefly the diaries and letters of the period which give insights into how individuals explained the meaning they attached to jewellery. Fiction takes things a stage further by universalizing these meanings, building character and adding a moral or symbolic dimension. We have selected instances where the implications of choices of clothes or jewels would have been immediately apparent to their readers. Portraits add a further dimension to the language of jewellery: each jewel can be decoded, often disclosing multiple messages.

Newspapers have provided a completely different angle, confirming time and again our conviction that jewellery played a central role in the cultural life of the period. Online newspaper archives, one of the most remarkable advances of the digital age, have enabled us to find in seconds information that would previously have taken months, if not years, to assemble, as well as items we would never even have thought to look for. We have concentrated on *The Times* and the *New York Times*, since it soon became evident that we would drown in material if we went much beyond these two papers. We incorporate information from the news pages, a previously understudied area, as much as from society columns, an invention of the period. *The Times's* daily Court Circular and the reports of royal or official events, society balls and weddings record the changing fashions at court and in the upper levels of society. Indeed, it would be possible to chronicle what Queen Victoria wore for almost every event of her life.

Reports on international exhibitions perform something of the same function, but they go further. They chart the rise and fall of different countries in Europe and the moment when European dominance in fine jewellery production was shattered by

America at the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876; they record the appearance of new trade rivals such as India and Japan, and the introduction of new categories such as 'peasant' jewellery, formerly outside the traditional concept of manufactures. Newspaper reports demonstrate the extraordinary exchange mechanism provided by these exhibitions, with contracts being signed for the distribution of objects far from their country of origin, so that these new kinds of ornament, from contemporary living cultures, were seen not merely as exotic rarities but were brought into everyday commercial trade. Advertisements add yet another dimension by recording a more mundane world of jewellery use – the everyday, routine, non-special jewels, and the jokey pieces that would have been beneath the dignity of a great exhibition. These we have culled not only from the newspapers, but also from the illustrated press – trade journals, fashion and women's magazines. These everyday jewels were popular at a different level, with manufacturers targeting a wide market in the local high street rather than Bond Street. Many advertisements placed in consumer as opposed to trade magazines must have been designed to exert pressure on high street jewellers to stock the designs in order to satisfy requests from readers. Such advertisements also demonstrate the astonishing speed with which manufacturers responded to topical news through jewellery design.

Because these sources have revealed so much new information, a large part of what follows has not been published before. A number of major themes have emerged. Marketing is one of them, and it deserves a book in itself. John Culme's *Directory of London Gold and Silversmiths, Jewellers and Allied Trades 1838–1914* (1987), with its biographies compiled from sources as diverse as insurance records and Post Office directories, has been an indispensable reference tool. Here, we have attempted merely the beginnings of an investigation into the placing within different levels of the market of well-known firms such as Phillips, Brogden and Streeter, how the different manufacturers were linked, the retail trade and the distribution of jewellery. This has taken us into a number of company archives and also the rich resource provided by the Registered Designs volumes in the National Archives. On payment of a small fee, the design was protected from copyists for a certain number of years. Streeter apart, the big Bond Street firms did not register designs. Much of what they produced was expensive gem-set pieces, so it would have been beneath them and unnecessary. But for the cheaper ranges of novelty jewellery with a limited life the pirating of designs mattered. Comprehensive

examination of the Registered Designs for jewellery was beyond the scope of the present study, but it would be a rewarding subject for the future. We have looked briefly at the way in which jewellers exploited the new means of distribution offered by the transport revolution and a universal postal system. The two London-based jewellery trade journals launched in the 1870s meant that buyers around the country saw illustrations of new lines before the manufacturers' travellers reached them with samples. Samples could also be sent by post within days: the consequent mail order business was in full swing by the 1870s in Europe and America. The search for novelty in design may have been in part a consequence of the depression in the trade which lasted from 1873 to the end of the century. Quite apart from new items, there was a thriving market in second-hand jewellery; periodicals such as *Exchange and Mart* (1868–71) and its successor *Bazaar, Exchange and Mart* (1871–1900), as well as exchange columns in women's magazines, reveal the tastes and desires of those who left no diaries or letters. Moreover, in an age when women did not have control of their own money, swapping jewellery was a cost-free way of keeping in fashion and having control over at least some aspects of their life.

Shopping for jewellery is a theme that recurs throughout the book. We had initially wished to devote a section to it but realized it was too big a subject. Nonetheless, we have touched on the range of establishments where jewellery was sold, to indicate that in London alone, beyond Bond Street and the West End at the top end, there were retail jewellers in the manufacturing districts of Holborn and Clerkenwell, and completely different businesses, gift shops in effect, such as the Baker Street Bazaar, or Rimmel's Emporium in the Strand, where jewellery could be bought amongst a host of other accessories and domestic items. Permanent indoor bazaars (as distinct from temporary charity bazaars) contained individual stalls rented by the week and mostly run by women. While all these outlets serve to emphasize the increasing range of products, we discovered little, beyond the obvious grand diamond pieces, that indicated clear divisions of class in the type of jewellery worn or where it was purchased. The upper echelons of society had their own jeweller, usually one of the big Bond Street firms, and would stick with him for life; but it cannot be said that they never went into the emporia for presents. Shopping in the West End was intimidating, since no prices were marked on the goods. The rise of the new department stores with jewellery departments, like Howell & James or Whiteley's, who maintained fixed prices on everything, encouraged a wider public. To this end, some firms, Streeter for instance, gave prices in their advertisements in *The Times*. Brogden made a point of the fact that his jewellery was all made on the premises in Covent Garden (this was an exception among West End firms), enabling him to offer manufacturers' prices. Grappling with issues of class is difficult, but we have tried to show that cheapness is not in itself a class indicator. Cost tells

us about ornaments considered suitable for daytime as opposed to evening wear; it demonstrates wealth and what people could afford, but not necessarily class. In artistic circles women wore rough silver pieces and unpolished stones to blur differences in levels of wealth.

While it is relatively simple to establish a time-frame for the introduction of a model or type of jewel, it is far harder to pinpoint its demise. As well as the exchange and sale of second-hand items, catalogues and advertisements dating from the very end of the nineteenth century include types that were introduced at the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign. The steady growth of tourism kept in production local and traditional jewellery, made from indigenous materials and employing a repertoire of locally significant imagery, largely unchanged, for decades.

The geographical focus of the book is on Western Europe and America, but it touches on the rest of the world where relevant: America, which played no international role in this field before 1876, is treated in its relation to European jewellery. We make no claim that this is a survey of American jewellery. While including other European countries in some depth, especially France, Germany and Italy, the core of the book is about what jewellery meant in Britain, as seen from a British viewpoint, with Queen Victoria at its heart. The chronological scope covers the period from 1830 to 1901, the girlhood of Queen Victoria to her death, but without including the stylistic revolutions of Art Nouveau or Arts and Crafts, for which the term 'Victorian' is inappropriate.

One theme emerging from the wider European perspective, perhaps not previously emphasized in surveys of nineteenth-century jewellery, is the role it played in the promotion of national identity. The myriad strands of nationalism in different countries are here brought together and compared and contrasted. Within Britain, we discovered, Queen Victoria acted as arbiter of many of these fashions to a much greater extent than we had suspected. What she wore influenced what her subjects wore, and this very fact is an aspect of British nationalism. Pride in being British was reflected in how she chose to define Britishness. The strongly waged royal campaign for British manufactures was one aspect of this nationalism, to the extent that widely reported royal trousseaux had to be entirely British-made. Naturally this led to a certain national one-upmanship, pointedly played out by Queen Victoria and Empress Eugénie but fostered just as much by the international exhibitions. From the initial idea of assembling the whole world under one roof, they became celebrations of national landmarks, such as the Philadelphia centenary in 1876 and Paris in 1889.

We have grouped these various themes in the following order. In recognition of the overriding influence of the royal family on taste in jewellery, we begin with the life of Queen Victoria as seen through her jewellery. Almost every aspect of jewellery discussed in subsequent sections is to be found here, and so Chapter 1 provides both an introduction to and a context for the entire book.

Chapters 2–4 deal with the symbolic weight that jewellery was expected to carry, the constant tension between status and fashion, the relationship of jewellery to dress, and the different kinds of messages that jewellery conveyed. Following these, Chapter 5 is devoted to the Victorian obsession with novelty, itself a kind of message, and the direct impact on jewellery of topical events worldwide, popular entertainment, and developments in the scientific and natural world. This leads into Chapter 6, which explores the place of jewellery at the international exhibitions and the role of these world fairs in providing a conduit for trade. The resulting familiarity with the arts of the Islamic world, India, China and Japan, and with previously unregarded traditional and regional jewellery from Continental Europe (described as ‘peasant’ jewellery by the Victorians), had a tremendous impact both on the design of jewellery and on the wearing of imported ornaments.

Exhibitions played a key role in establishing a sense of national pride, and Chapters 7 and 8 deal with the cultures of the past and the ways in which styles of former ages were appropriated by the European countries struggling to create a national identity. The so-called ‘revivalist’ tradition is set in its political and historical context, to demonstrate that it is not always a matter of looking backwards for inspiration, but rather a desire to harness the glory of the past to make a point about the present. A crucial aspect of the understanding of national styles was the growth of tourism, and this forms the subject of Chapter 10, with an account of shopping for souvenirs at home and abroad. Italy is a special case because of its long-standing hold on visitors from northern Europe and America, and a remarkable amount of information survives about what and how people bought, not least about Italy’s flourishing cameo industry. Cameos form the subject of Chapter 9, which examines their sources, both antique and contemporary, to show how the cameo became perhaps the quintessential Victorian jewel.

A book of this scale has required input from both authors to every section. Nonetheless, there are broad divisions of responsibility. Charlotte Gere has written the first four chapters, on Queen Victoria, the role of jewellery, jewellery and dress, and the language of jewellery. She has also written the final two chapters, on Victorian cameos and souvenirs of travel. Judy Rudoe has written the chapters on the cult of novelty, on jewellery at the international exhibitions, links with the East and the role of peasant and regional jewellery, on nationalism and historical styles (except the section on historical revival jewellery in England which was written by Charlotte Gere), and on archaeological discoveries.

We owe an incalculable debt to our precursors, without whom this volume could not have been attempted. The first history of nineteenth-century jewellery was in many ways the most remarkable: a three-volume illustrated survey of jewellery in France, *La Bijouterie française au XIXe siècle*, published in 1906–8 by Henri Vever, himself a distinguished jeweller who was largely describing his contemporaries, making it an incomparable first-hand account.

There has been nothing else like it for any other country and it has helped to give the whole subject a rather French slant, not unreasonably since France was seen as a leader in the field throughout the nineteenth century. The fate of jewellery from other countries has suffered in consequence. Little followed until 1951 when Margaret Flower published *Victorian Jewellery*: coinciding with the centenary of the 1851 Great Exhibition, this was the first book written from a British perspective and it is remarkable for the accuracy of its judgement and conclusions. But the view was still widely held that it was impossible to attribute English jewellery, and that, beyond a very few firms, the makers could not be named. Joan Evans’s *History of Jewellery 1100–1870* (1953) gave scant attention to the nineteenth century; in the preface to the second edition of 1970, however, Evans wrote, ‘Since this book came out, interest in nineteenth-century jewellery has rapidly increased . . . and I decided to add to this new edition examples of jewellery designed by Pugin and Castellani, as well as a selection of pieces from less well-known hands.’ The revision was largely carried out by Ronald Lightbown. In 1971 the scholar and collector Dora Jane Janson organized an exhibition entitled *From Slave to Siren* at Duke University, North Carolina, and the accompanying catalogue was a revelation of the interpretations that could be applied to nineteenth-century jewellery. Janson was a great friend of Shirley Bury (eventually Keeper of the Victoria and Albert Museum’s metalwork collection), who was to produce her major book twenty years later (see below), and they influenced one another enormously. Janson’s catalogue was followed by Charlotte Gere’s *Victorian Jewellery Design* (1972) and *European and American Jewellery 1830–1914* (1975). It was *Victorian Jewellery Design* that inspired the collector Anne Hull Grundy to collect documentary Victorian pieces, selling much of her diamond jewellery to do so.

We first collaborated on the Hull Grundy Gift to the British Museum in 1978, initially on the display of the gift and then on the two-volume catalogue published in 1984. Publication of a scholarly catalogue of the entire gift of some 1,200 pieces was a condition of its acceptance, and it broadened the subject in a way that had not been possible before; it was the first collection catalogue devoted to nineteenth-century jewellery. The present book emerges from that collaboration. When we (and our co-authors, Hugh Tait and Timothy Wilson) compiled the catalogue, however, there was still very little literature on nineteenth-century jewellery. The collections that Anne and John Hull Grundy put together and donated to the British Museum and to other museums across the UK have provided a phenomenal study collection which we have made a point of exploiting to demonstrate the depth of Mrs Hull Grundy’s collecting. By her own admission, Anne Hull Grundy bought the unwearable and wore it, taking an interest in archaeological-style jewellery long before it became more widely collected. She also bought outstanding examples of under-appreciated categories such as ivory carving and three-colour chased gold work.

The wide distribution of so much material related to Victorian culture did much to change people's perceptions of Victorian jewellery and to inspire the publications that have informed the present book. A major contribution, Shirley Bury's massive two-volume survey *Jewellery 1789–1910: The International Era* (1991), is the starting point for any study of the subject. It covers a much larger time span than the present work in enormous detail; we have treated many of the same topics but from a different perspective. She investigated in detail the internal workings of the trade as it responded to fashion and technological developments. Here we aim to track the progress of Victorian jewellery through external events, cultural, socio-economic and historical, starting from outside stimuli rather than from the jewels themselves.

Invaluable monographs on specialist subjects include Geoffrey Munn's pioneering account of Castellani and Giuliano (1983); Marie-Noël de Gary's exhibition catalogue on the Fouquet dynasty (1983), to which Charlotte Gere contributed; Martha Gandy Fales's *Jewelry in America 1600–1900* (1995); Brigitte Marquardt's two-part history of jewellery in the German-speaking countries (1983 and 1998); and Katherine Purcell's study of Falize (1999). Purcell also translated Vever's comprehensive survey into English, with many additional images. Literary criticism opened up new avenues of research: the late Professor Kurt Tetzeli's 1984 study of jewellery in Victorian fiction has been a major inspiration. Most recently, James David Draper's *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin* devoted to cameos (2008) has established beyond doubt the importance of nineteenth-century cameos, and his long association with Charlotte Gere inspired her interest in the subject. Without these scholars, we could not have functioned. Many, such as Geoffrey Munn and John Culme, have been collaborators as well as long-standing friends.

Among many other scholars at museums and other institutions throughout the UK and abroad we owe an enormous debt to our colleagues at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Royal Collection in London. At the V&A, our first tribute must be to the late Clive Wainwright, who confirmed our sense that the nineteenth century was worthy of serious study. Richard Edgcumbe has given constant encouragement and support throughout the project, offering us the opportunity of examining the jewellery collection prior to its redisplay: to discuss it with him and his collaborators on the new gallery was a revelation. Jane Perry encouraged us to include the section on 'peasant' jewellery, while Beatriz Chadour has been a fount of information over decades, from her time in Cologne and Hanau to the present. Lucy Johnston and Catherine Howell showed us the extraordinary Animal Products collection, while Nick Barnard's knowledge of Indian jewellery and his willingness to discuss the V&A's enormous collection have been invaluable. Revinder Chahal helped with a large and complicated request for photographs. At the Royal Collection, we have benefited from Kathryn Jones's research on Queen Victoria's

jewellery and the discovery of many hitherto unpublished pieces for the exhibition *Victoria and Albert: Art and Love* at the Queen's Gallery in 2010 and we have shared as much information as possible. In addition Stephen Patterson, Jonathan Marsden, Anna Reynolds and Jane Roberts have been unfailingly helpful in tracing and providing information about items owned by Queen Victoria. At the Museum of London, we are indebted to Beatrice Behlen, and also to Edwina Ehrmann and Tessa Murdoch (both now at the V&A), who opened up the museum's remarkable collection, much of it from Queen Mary, for Charlotte Gere's work on the exhibition *Treasures and Trinkets* in 1991, and subsequently for a report on the potential uses of the collection. The curators of Hull Grundy Gifts across the UK have helped us, often over decades: Julia Poole at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Rosemary Watt at Glasgow Museums; Glennys Wild at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery; Elizabeth McCrum and Elise Taylor at the Ulster Museum, Belfast; Victoria Partridge (and formerly Caroline Bacon) at the Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Bedford; Francesca Vanke (and formerly Robin Emmerson) at Norwich Castle Museum; Veronica Tonge at Maidstone Museum; Laura Nugent at Doncaster. In addition we wish to thank George Dagleish and Elizabeth Goring at the National Museums of Scotland, and Rosalind Marshall formerly at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh; Pamela Robertson at the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow; Howard Coutts at the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle; Alex Ward and the late Mairead Dunlevy at the National Museum in Dublin; Hannah Obee at Chatsworth; Antonio Mazzotta at the National Gallery; Jeremy Warren at the Wallace Collection; David Beasley at the Goldsmiths' Company; Patrick Streeter, Nigel Israel, Christopher Cavey and Laura Knowles-Cutler. We are indebted to Henrietta McCall for her insights into the Assyrian revival. We have been fortunate in the excellent resources available in London, in the National Portrait Gallery Archive, the British Library, the National Art Library, and the London Library, whose subscription to *The Times* Digital Archive proved invaluable.

Our thanks go to many individuals abroad: in Paris, to Evelyne Possémé at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, who spent an entire week allowing Judy Rudoe to work through the jewellery from the Vever collection with her in 1979; to Marc Bascou at the Musée d'Orsay and now at the Louvre; and to the archivists at Boucheron (Michel Tonnelot), Mellerio (Anne Imbert) and Cartier (Betty Jais). In Rome, the late Gabriella Bordenache Battaglia at the Museo di Villa Giulia showed Judy Rudoe a large part of the Castellani collection, not then on display, in the 1980s; subsequently Ida Caruso and the Director, Francesca Boitani, have supported her research, while Maria Grazia Branchetti gave much help with the Castellani archive at the Archivio di Stato, and Arnold Nesselrath of the Vatican Museums opened countless sealed doors in Rome. Thanks go also to Kirsten Piacenti at the Museo degli Argenti and subsequently at the Museo Stibbert, and Caterina del Vivo at the Archivio

Storico del Gabinetto Vieusseux, in Florence. We wish to acknowledge, too, the late Martha McCrory of Baltimore, who was studying the Medici archives in Florence when we first met her in the late 1970s and who remained a constant source of information on Italian sources and enthusiasm for the nineteenth century. In Germany, the collections of jewellery are so numerous that space prevents us from listing all those who have shown us items in their care or responded to our enquiries, but we would like particularly to thank Rüdiger Joppien of the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg; Michael Koch, who organized the landmark exhibition *Pariser Schmuck vom zweiten Kaiserreich zur Belle Epoque* at the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, in 1989; Barbara Mundt, former Director of the Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin, whose groundbreaking 1973 *Historismus* exhibition catalogue and subsequent book have been a constant guide; Fritz Falk, former Director of the Schmuckmuseum, Pforzheim, who opened doors to factory archives for Judy Rudoe, and his successor Cornelia Holzach. In Austria, we were helped by Elisabeth Schmuttermeier at the Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna, and in Sweden by Eva Helena Cassel-Phil. In America, we are indebted to James Draper, the late Clare Le Corbeiller and Catherine Jenkins at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; to David Kiehl (formerly of the Metropolitan Museum); to Marybeth de Filipis at the New-York Historical Society, Deborah Waters at the Museum of the City of New York, and Yvonne Markowitz at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; to Annamarie Sandecki and her colleagues in the archive at Tiffany & Co. for innumerable kindnesses, and to John Loring, former Design Director; to the late Samuel Beizer, Director of the Jewelry Department at the Fashion Institute of Technology, New York; to Ralph Esmerian and the late Penny Proddow; to David A. Taylor of the Library of Congress in Washington for supplying numerous American references; to Ruth and the late Joseph Sataloff of Philadelphia for making their remarkable collection available to Judy Rudoe, and inviting her to speak at one of their 'jewelry camps', later run by Joyce Jonas, which introduced her to the wealth of interest in jewellery in America; to Elyse Karlin, editor of *Adornment*, and to Michelle Hargrave. Others who have helped with specific queries, both in the UK and abroad, are acknowledged in the notes.

The support of the trade has been invaluable. We owe a huge debt to Geoffrey Munn, Katherine Purcell and Kieran McCarthy at Wartski for constantly showing us items and for their unstinting help in providing photographs; to David Callaghan, former Director of Hancocks, and his late colleague, Malcolm Carr (whose pioneering account of the Saulinis appeared in 1975); to Madeleine Popper, and to the late Raizel Halpin of Ares Rare in New York, who sold many pieces to Mrs Hull Grundy.

A book of this kind cannot be written without financial assistance and the contributions of three bodies and individuals have been critical. First, the award of a six-month Research Fellowship from the Leverhulme Trust allowed Judy Rudoe's place at the British

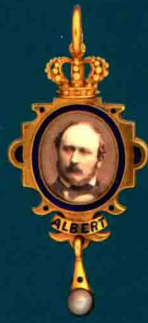
Museum to be filled so that she could work full-time on it. We thank, too, the three referees who gave their support: Jonathan Marsden, Richard Edgcumbe and Marcia Pointon. During that time, long-standing friends and supporters of the British Museum, who also happen to be passionate about jewellery, learnt about the project and immediately offered to extend her time away by paying for her replacement to stay on for an extra two months. They wish to remain anonymous but are no less deserving of our gratitude. Lastly, and by far the largest contribution financially, was an exceedingly generous grant towards the production costs of the book from The Isaacson-Draper Foundation of New York. Publishing well-produced books has become increasingly expensive; this enabled us to use the illustrations we needed rather than those we could afford, and the speed with which the Foundation's trustees responded to our tentative request meant that we could concentrate on the research and writing instead of fund-raising.

At the British Museum we wish to thank the Keeper of the Department of Prehistory and Europe, Leslie Webster, for her initial support of the Leverhulme application, and her successor, Jonathan Williams, for generously allowing Judy Rudoe to return part-time until the text was handed over to the British Museum Press. Her replacement, Natasha Awais-Dean, deserves our thanks, as do other colleagues who undertook extra duties in her absence. Many excellent new photographs were taken by the Museum's chief photographer, John Williams. Many items were specially cleaned for this by Rachel Berridge, Maickel van Bellegem and others from the metals conservation section. Katerina Pantelides and Anna Lisa Jensen worked as volunteers to help with assembling images and text corrections, Amy Dale helped prepare the index and Christopher Coles scanned images with remarkable speed.

At the British Museum Press, the book has been expertly handled by Teresa Francis, who has been unfailingly supportive and inspiring, while Ray Watkins's sensitive design has enhanced our text in a way that we never imagined possible. The copy-editing was undertaken by Elisabeth Ingles, the proof-reading by Bev Zimmern, and production by Charlotte Cade. Axelle Russo helped us obtain the 500 images from nearly seventy different institutions. We are especially grateful to those who waived or reduced their reproduction fees.

Lastly, we owe much to our anonymous readers, every one of whose suggestions we adopted, and to those who kindly took the trouble to read parts of our text at draft stage: Jonathan Marsden, Jane Perry, Catherine Howell, Nick Barnard, Rosemary Watt, George Dalgleish, Alex Ward, Ragnall O' Floinn, Ben Roberts, Paul Collins, Richard Parkinson, Timothy Clark, Marc Bascou, Rüdiger Joppien, James Draper and Annamarie Sandecki. Their comments, along with those of Richard Edgcumbe and Antony Griffiths, have saved us from countless errors and made this a much better book.

Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe



QUEEN VICTORIA
A LIFE IN JEWELLERY



1 QUEEN VICTORIA: A LIFE IN JEWELLERY

JEWELLERY meant a great deal to Queen Victoria throughout her long life (1819–1901). As a record of significant events, it marked the transition from girl to young queen and from wife to widow; it embodied her adoration of her husband, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, in life and in death; it expressed her delight in her children and grandchildren. From the time of her first gifts of jewellery as a young girl and even through her long widowhood she wore fashionable or popular items alongside her state and family jewels. Sentiment, to her, was the most important attribute of jewellery. She made little distinction between state jewels and personal mementoes, and when she came to list the Jewels of the Crown she included both the most precious and those of greatest sentimental significance.¹ Meticulously engraved on the reverse with donor and occasion, her personal jewels act as a journal of her intimate life during her marriage.² With the untimely death of her husband at only forty-two, Victoria entered her long widowhood, bringing up a family of still-young children without the support of their father and her most valued mentor. Later, as a more remote figure, revered monarch, Queen-Empress and ‘Grandmother of Europe’, with descendants reigning in many European courts, she presided over a vast empire and celebrated two significant new-style jubilees. She was greeted on her jubilee appearances in 1887 and 1897 with wild public enthusiasm, prompting many surveys of the achievements of herself and her people and a consolidation of the ‘Victorian’ idea.

As trophies of state, jewels gave her an aura to match the image of monarchy created by Victoria and Albert. As modest gifts, reflecting her general prudence, jewels encapsulated the latest scientific and technical innovations as well as expressing gratitude, conveying moral and religious messages and a full range of sentimental and intimate meanings. This chapter surveys the role of jewellery in her reign, the fashions set by her example, the gifts given and received as young girl, wife and mother with a large family, widow, grandmother, and in old age, and serves to introduce the themes of the book. The effect on the arts – and in this context jewellery – of a fixed and influential figurehead over such a span of time forms the background to this study.

The influence of Queen Victoria and her reign

New research has demonstrated how Victoria stood at the cultural heart of her reign and how she actively promoted her own image by influencing the media.³ A modernizing monarch, she contracted a marriage to a highly cultivated husband that produced a perfect partnership, domestically and constitutionally. As the mother of nine children – the ‘ideal’ Victorian family – her circumstances were mirrored across the nation. Victoria herself broke with many age-old traditions at court and the Prince spent an enormous amount of thought and energy – and attracted great unpopularity – in reorganizing the Royal Household. Albert was the Queen’s first cousin, and the British royal family had ties of blood with royal families across

Europe.⁴ Contacts with the 'cousinage' and further marriages consolidated shared conventions and court etiquette, which spilled out into the wider populace. The Court Circular in *The Times* reported fully on the Queen's costume and jewellery, as did the *Morning Post* and the *Morning Chronicle*.⁵ The extensive listings of guests at royal entertainments provide a well-rounded picture of the character of the court.

The rapid growth of a print and visual culture was decisive in shaping the direction of an up-to-date monarchy.⁶ The start of the Queen's reign more or less coincided with the beginning of mass media communications, social reporting and the proliferation of women's magazines on fashion and home-making. In its very first issue in 1842 the *Illustrated London News*, founded by Herbert Ingram and his friend Mark Lemon, editor of *Punch*, stated its mission to act as a 'chain' connecting the cottage to the palace.⁷ The incessant flow of intimate personal detail inevitably diminished the mystique of the Crown. The Queen and her family became effectively public property, commercially significant in generating a trade in royal style and in souvenirs of royal events. There was no legal control over the use of the royal image or even of the royal arms, resulting in commercial exploitation of every aspect of the reign. Her portrait featured in advertising across the whole range of consumer goods, even some laughably inappropriate, such as starch and shoe polish.

The Queen was much in demand for portraits; she was a willing and co-operative sitter and a stern critic of the outcomes. The visual record of her life is extraordinarily rich and informative, with early images emphasizing the glamour and allure of a young unmarried girl appearing in the 'Books of Beauty' popular at this date. The novelty of a young female sovereign had its effect: as early as February 1839 the *Art-Union* noted that more than fifty portraits of her were available.⁸ For her portrait in the French magazine *La Perle* (Fig. 1), her jewellery includes a fashionable *ferronnière* and garnet-set brooch and earrings. A similar gold and cabochon garnet brooch of the same date is preserved in the V&A (Fig. 2).

Every new technique was employed for reproductive portraits, from embossing to produce a medallion-like image, to gilding and images in silk-weaving for ribbons (see Fig. 23). Her coronation and marriage resulted in an avalanche of portraits.⁹ Press attention reached frenzied levels and opportunist reporters, 'penny-a-liners' as they were known, became so intrusive that a system of appointing royal correspondents was put in place and has remained ever since. Prints of the Queen and the events of her early reign offered as prizes in the lottery run by the *Art-Union* magazine ensured their wide distribution to the public. Portraits were issued as pull-out supplements to illustrated periodicals, to be detached and framed. The public in its widest sense was fully informed of the Queen's taste and style and that of her family. With her marriage and growing family, the focus shifted to domestic propriety and maternal responsibilities. The family groups, centred on a Raphaelesque Madonna-like Queen, reinforced the message of the mother as the moral heart of the family (i.e. the nation). Victoria herself was very interested in the personalities and character of other courts; she collected portrait prints avidly, and, as soon as they became available, photographs, of which she had a vast number. Her familiarity with the European princely families was to prove valuable in her search for spouses for her children.

From 1843 Queen Victoria's jewels and those of her children and members of the extended family are revealed in the Crown Jeweller Garrard's royal ledgers.¹⁰ These present a virtually complete history of taste and attitudes to jewellery during her lifetime. This unique

picture of Victorian jewellery spans the whole spectrum from the diamond-set Crown Jewels to earrings set with babies' teeth and the Scottish pebbles treasured by Victoria through their association with her husband and her beloved Balmoral estate. With the notable exception of Princess Alexandra of Denmark, who married the Prince of Wales in 1863, the Victorian royal family has been dismissed in terms of fashion. Studies of royal jewellery tend to focus on the celebrated treasures of the Crown, the famous diamonds and suites of precious jewellery worn by Victoria and her successors on ceremonial occasions. However, the ledgers present a different story, with the royal family leading the way in popularizing jewellery and fashionable accessories at every level.¹¹ Many typically 'Victorian' jewellery types originated in royal circles. While it would be an exaggeration to say that the royal ledgers chart national progress in the arts, nonetheless the silver and jewellery reflect an aspect of the profoundly serious Victorian attitude to culture.

Examination of royal purchases reveals that they were partly motivated by concern for native industrial prosperity and commerce. This tendency probably reflects the Queen's patriotic and sentimental character and her obsession with associations. It raises the question as to whether royal example affected choices made by the general public, particularly in the case of the 'Celtic fringe', where she actively promoted national and traditional Scottish and Irish ornaments. Victoria's interest in revivalist styles embraced English discoveries in ancient Assyria (Chapter 8) and the English historical revival in the shape of 'Holbeinesque' jewellery. The distinctive 'Elizabethan' or 'Holbein' jewel type was employed in royal circles in the early 1840s (p. 345). Royal taste in exotic jewels embraced British-ruled India and the expanding empire, but not Persia, China or Japan, apparent confirmation of the patriotic character of her patronage. When Prince Albert received a deputation of Birmingham jewellers in a time of recession in 1845 he expressed surprise 'that fashion could perversely persist in going abroad for articles of *bijouterie* when it could command-so admirable and exquisite a manufacture of them at home'.¹² Royal example could – and often did – reinvigorate a failing trade; credit for reviving the use of tortoiseshell went to the Queen:

Fashion, however, makes a great difference in the consumption of this shell. I was a few years ago at a comb manufactory in Sheffield, where I was informed that an unusual amount of activity was going on after years of depression. On enquiring the cause, I learned that her Majesty had visited the opera with a Jenny Lind comb in her hair, and this had made all the difference between almost starvation and a state of great prosperity to the poor combmakers of Sheffield.¹³

Since many of the orders fulfilled by the Crown Jeweller were for presents, royal taste was promoted widely, in court circles in Britain and on the Continent. Royal gifts were matched by official presentations, all duly reported in the press. The great industrialized cities threw up a civic aristocracy that shared royal attitudes to jewellery and its public function; civic offerings to royal brides and at the Queen's two jubilees significantly augmented the Crown Jewels. Royal wedding presents were publicly exhibited and reported in detail, particularly the jewels. Both the *Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* issued wedding supplements, fully illustrated, and these were copied abroad, notably in the USA.

Victoria was an acute observer and indefatigable diarist and letter-writer. Her taste



was formed in childhood by her passion for the theatre, opera and ballet. Her love of strong colours and floral trimmings was remarked on, usually disparagingly, by many observers. Although she was indifferent to fashion (she deplored crinolines, which she attempted to ban at court), she was very interested in clothes and jewellery – her own in an objective but uncritical way and other people’s with a reporter’s eye for telling detail. Her comments in her *Journal* reveal her own views about social usage, and provide a contrast with the alternative story derived from fashion journalism and advertising. Many thousands of guests were received at Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle, and displays of her dresses were put on by Madame Tussaud; through these means a court style percolated out into the wider market for precious ornaments and accessories.

Victoria broke new ground as a role model for her ordinary subjects. Her passage through the rites of marriage, childbirth, widowhood and mourning brought empathy and moral weight to her position. The fact that her personal and domestic circumstances so closely matched those of her subjects had an impact on jewellery and popular taste in general. Lord Salisbury, one of her Prime Ministers, summed up the situation:

1 Above left
Brooch with drop-shaped pendant and long earrings. English, about 1835–40. H. of brooch 6.6 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Joicey Bequest

This stamped gold jewellery set with cabochon garnets, typical of the date, closely resembles that worn by Victoria in Fig. 2.

2 Above
Victoria (Alexandrina Victoria, 1819–1901). Colour lithograph after Richard James Lane (1800–72), from *La Perle*, Paris, 1838. British Museum

The young Queen wears a *ferronnière* with a set of garnet brooch and long earrings. The ribbon of the Order of the Garter has been erroneously coloured in red instead of blue. If the rest of the colouring of this French version of the print is to be relied upon, Victoria chose to wear the national colours of red, white and blue.

She had an extraordinary knowledge of what her people would think – extraordinary because it could not have come from any personal intercourse. I have said for years that when I knew what the Queen thought, I knew pretty certainly what view her subjects would take, and especially the middle class of her subjects. Such was the extraordinary penetration of her mind.¹⁴

The Queen identified with ordinary people and with the servants in her own household. She made no secret of her lack of sympathy with London society and the aristocracy, whose influence she particularly feared for her sons. Albert also actively disliked the aristocracy and was disliked by them in return.

Her widowhood reflected the condition of many Victorian women. The flow of portraits diminished to almost nothing; only her two jubilees in 1887 and 1897 reactivated the spate that had marked her accession and early reign. Victoria's life-long adherence to black increased and prolonged the observance of mourning ritual by all classes of society. Her determined and much resented seclusion after the Prince's death, although less than popularly supposed, may have been a factor in restoring a measure of her mystique. The Court Circular and the press generally recorded her active participation in public events, such as the laying of foundation stones and the inauguration of important national projects. The Queen lived to be filmed, old and stiff, able to move only with difficulty. She had seemed immortal and her death came as a shock to the nation.

The girlhood of Princess Alexandrina Victoria, 1819–1837

Victoria's accession to the throne was the consequence of the tragic deaths of the children of William, Duke of Clarence, and his wife Adelaide. William IV succeeded his brother in 1830, eleven years after Victoria's birth, and at this point she became heir to the throne. She had lost her father in infancy and during her secluded and relatively impoverished upbringing at Kensington Palace the young Victoria (always known as Drina) was plainly and modestly dressed. She wore pretty, inexpensive jewels like those of her contemporaries in 'polite' society. Public interest in her character and appearance was fed by images of simplicity and a conscious lack of ostentation. Her Journal provides an interesting record of her daily life and, most pertinently, of birthday and Christmas presents. Among these were many jewels, easily recognizable as currently fashionable but modest pieces in the form of flowers, bows and lockets. The only valuable jewels she owned before her accession were the diamond, sapphire and emerald-set pieces given her by William IV and Queen Adelaide as the inevitability of her succession drew near. Her earliest jewel-memory was the gift in 1826 from 'Uncle-King' George IV of his portrait in miniature: remembering the occasion in 1872, she wrote, 'He said he would give me something to wear, and that was his picture set in diamonds, which was worn by the Princesses as an Order to a blue ribbon on the left shoulder.'¹⁵ It was the first specific acknowledgement of her place in the succession.

Princess Victoria recorded the presents on her fourteenth birthday: on 24 May 1833 she received from her mother 'a lovely hyacinth brooch ... a beautiful bracelet, two lovely féronières [sic], one of pink topaz, the other turquoises'.¹⁶ 'The Queen gave me a pair of diamond earrings from the King. She gave me herself a brooch of turquoises in the form of a bow



... from [her cousin] George Cambridge, a brooch in the shape of a lily-of-the-valley ... Ladies Sarah and Clementina Villiers sent me some flowers as a comb and a brooch.¹⁷ From other family members she had a turquoise bracelet and pin, a pearl *ferronnière* and a blue topaz watch-hook.¹⁸ These presents meant a lot to her and were enumerated with care and in detail, but they were simply currently fashionable pieces manufactured in quantities.¹⁹ Presents received in 1833 included popular mid-1830s lily and hyacinth flower jewels of turquoise and gold. Surviving examples were made by jewellers patronized by the royal family and the court (Fig. 3). As well as the flower pieces she received another pair of precious earrings set with sapphires and diamonds presented by the King in 1835, when she was sixteen.²⁰

3 Lily-of-the-valley sprays on tortoiseshell combs. English, 1833–7, supplied by Rundell, Bridge & Co. L. of comb-mount 8 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The two-colour gold sprays set with chrysoberyls and rubies can be precisely dated from the label in the heart-shaped display case: the firm traded under this name from 1833.

4

Princess Victoria shortly before her accession. Stipple engraving, printed in colours by R.J. Lane, 1837. British Museum

The Princess wears long top-and-drop pearl earrings. The connection between earrings and maturity is underlined by Mrs Walker (*On Beauty*, 1837), who notes that 'ear-rings should never be worn by the young'. This may also reflect the ambivalence towards ear-piercing frequently expressed by the Victorians.



The King's gift of diamond earrings in 1833 is in contrast with the modesty of the other presents. They would have been designed for pierced ears, as with all earrings at this date, and we know that the Princess had started to wear earrings, to her great satisfaction at this mark of maturity, the year before.²¹ Portrait prints of the period show her wearing fashionably long earrings, notably a popular image taken from Sir George Hayter's first portrait of her, shown at the Royal Academy in 1833.²² It was designed to show the Princess leaving girlhood behind and preparing for her great destiny; even her hairstyle of a coronet of plaits prefigures the crown she would wear as Queen. Her jewellery is more prominent than in earlier images. She is fingering a rose, symbol of her role in the popular imagination as 'the rose of England', and many other early portraits play on the 'rose' symbolism.²³ A widely circulated portrait by Richard Lane (1837) also shows her with long pear-shaped pearl 'top-and-drop' earrings, a type in fashion through the early years of her reign (Fig. 4).

Albert gave her a similar pair with even larger drops, now owned by the present



5

The First Earring, by Sir David Wilkie (1785–1841). Oil on mahogany panel, 1833–5. London, Tate

This subject was exhibited at the Royal Academy just as the images of Princess Victoria with pierced ears and wearing her first earrings were published.

Queen.²⁴ It seems unlikely to be coincidence that Sir David Wilkie's celebrated painting *The First Earring* (Fig. 5) was begun in 1833 and finally shown at the Royal Academy in 1835 (no. 88). A study in innocence giving way to worldliness and maturity, the face of the girl shows a speaking mixture of fear and vanity. A second version, shown at the Academy in 1836, had the accompanying line in the catalogue, 'Il faut souffrir pour être belle'.

Her confirmation aged sixteen in July 1835 was an important rite of passage (as it was to be for her own children), marking her spiritual and intellectual maturity.²⁵ The King gave 'a very fine set of emeralds'.²⁶ From her mother at Christmas 1836 she had 'a beautiful massive gold buckle in the shape of two serpents'.²⁷ The following year her eighteenth birthday (and coming of age) was celebrated with a drive through enthusiastic crowds and a ball; less than a month later on 20 June she was woken very early in the morning to learn of the King's death and her own accession to the throne. Her simple girlhood jewellery, with its emphasis on flowers and bows, and her eager adoption of the fashionable *ferronnière*,

are typical expressions of the English Romantic Movement. She was eventually to present an altogether more formidable image, but on her accession it was still the alluring qualities of youth and femininity that were stressed in the flood of portraits feeding an avid public.

Queen and wife: accession and marriage to widowhood, 1837–1861

Victoria succeeded her ‘wicked uncles’, the dissolute George IV and his brother, William IV, whose brief reign, marked by his opposition to reform and a dowdy court, made little impression on art and culture. The British crown was precarious, discredited and unpopular. A first consideration had to be the eradication of an essentially negative view of the monarchy, with financial prudence to the fore. The public was fascinated: to have a woman as the head of state was unfamiliar and the domestic and private life of the royal family was subjected to intense public scrutiny.

Victoria’s first action on coming to the throne was to announce Court Mourning for the late King in the *London Gazette*.²⁸ Black was decreed for dress; jewellery was to be jet and a new trade, ‘jewellers (black)’, was listed in directories after the general jewellers. However, nothing could dampen her spirits on at last gaining her freedom from the dominance of the Duchess of Kent and the hated Comptroller of her Household, Sir John Conroy, who had plotted to secure the Regency for the Duchess and the office of her secretary for himself. She moved immediately to Buckingham Palace, even though it was unfinished and had been uninhabited since the time of George IV. Victoria’s first mentor, her uncle Leopold, was replaced by the worldly and amusing Lord Melbourne, who guided her through the minefield of court protocol and with whom she discussed every detail, including the planning of her coronation.

For her First Council immediately after her accession she wore the serpent bracelet that Wilkie included in his painting of the occasion (Fig. 6).²⁹ It shows the Queen in a white dress, an image of youth and innocence in contrast to the darkly dressed men. In fact she was correctly dressed in black mourning for the King: a stickler for accuracy herself, she deplored this departure from the truth and never cared for Wilkie’s picture. She had a number of serpent bracelets; this was probably the one given to her by Queen Adelaide for her birthday in 1837. Wearing it for her First Council sent an important message that she had or aspired to ‘the wisdom of the serpent’. The Queen had several serpent jewels from her girlhood, some made entirely of hair, and these had a quite different message: the snake biting its tail to form a circle is a symbol of eternity and enduring love.³⁰

Victoria’s uninhibited enjoyment of court life brought gaiety and fashion to the balls and receptions that now took place. She set the style with jewels that had belonged to her predecessors, reset by the many suppliers angling for royal favour, including the jewellers to the Crown, Rundell, Bridge & Co. Queen Adelaide had handed over to her what remained of the great heritage of Crown jewellery bequeathed by Queen Charlotte, consort of George III. Among these were her little nuptial crown (the only piece to survive intact to this day), two sleeve bows, a pair of diamond earrings with three large diamond drops, a pair of diamond earrings with single diamond drops, a diamond necklace with a pendant cross, the point of a large stomacher, a diamond bouquet, and six diamond wheatear ornaments and pearls.³¹ Adelaide gave her sunray necklace, made from Queen Charlotte’s diamonds, to

6
Serpent bracelet worn by Queen Victoria for her Accession Council, 20 June 1837. Study in red chalk and watercolour by Sir David Wilkie, 1837. Royal Collection

The Queen wears the bracelet in Wilkie’s group portrait of *The First Council* (Royal Collection) and in his portrait of her in robes of state (Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight).





7

Queen Victoria in a theatre box, Drury Lane, 15 November 1837. Mezzotint engraving by Charles Edward Wagstaff (after Edmund Thomas Parris, 1793–1873), published 5 April 1838. British Museum

Victoria wears Queen Adelaide's 'sunray' diadem set with family diamonds by Rundell, Bridge & Rundell in 1830, Queen Charlotte's girandole earrings and lace sleeve-ruffles. Before the introduction of machine manufacture, lace was expensive and very highly prized.

Mrs Stirling, in her memoir *Life's Little Day* (1924), recalled her mother, owner of a fine collection, saying, 'My own mother gave me my choice, as the eldest daughter, which I preferred to have – her lace or her jewellery, and I chose the lace, because in those days [the 1840s] there was a great fashion for artificial jewellery, but there was no artificial lace; and if you wore it everyone knew it was real and a beautiful possession.'

Victoria, who always wore it as a diadem. It is shown in an unofficial portrait of the young Queen at Drury Lane (so widely circulated in print form that it almost achieved 'official' status) by E.T. Parris, painted shortly before her coronation (Fig. 7).³² Parris drew the Queen from the box opposite; her dress is trimmed with Van Dyck-style lace and she carries a fashionable cornucopia bouquet holder. A sunray diadem appears in another iconic portrait by Winterhalter (see Fig. 28). At her death the Queen left it to the Crown; her will has its original description as a fringe necklace rather than a diadem.

Victoria was regularly observed dancing tirelessly until the early hours. On her birthday in 1838 she danced until 4 o'clock in the morning. The diarist Charles Greville attended a *Levé* in March 1838: 'The Queen was magnificently dressed, and looked better than I ever saw her.' However, Buckingham Palace did not yet match up to the French court – and was never to do so: in May Greville was 'at a ball at the Palace – a poor affair in comparison with the Tuileries'.³³ And this was during the reign of the 'Citizen King', Louis-Philippe, whose entertainments paled in comparison with the glittering social scene during the Second Empire in the 1850s and 1860s. Greville had personal experience of the entertainments at the Tuileries: in January 1837 he went to 'one of the great balls, and a magnificent spectacle indeed... the interior, with the whole suite of apartments brilliantly illuminated and glittering from one end to the other with diamonds and feathers and uniforms, and dancing in all the several rooms, made a splendid display'.³⁴ There were three or four thousand people present, double the number that could be accommodated at Buckingham Palace.



8, 9
Mrs Samuel Wilson, by Charles Martin (?)
 (1820–1906). Oil on canvas, 1838.
 City of London, Guildhall Art Gallery

Mrs Wilson, wife of Alderman-Colonel Samuel Wilson, Lord Mayor of London (elected 1838), wears a white silk dress with tiered lace sleeve-ruffles, a crimson velvet train trimmed with ermine, and curling ostrich plumes with a lace veil; her jewellery consists of a diamond cross-pendant, long diamond earrings and floral stomacher, pearl and gold vine brooch and armlets, a pearl and gold bracelet and a narrow 'frontlet' diadem, also of pearls.

In Trollope's novel *The Eustace Diamonds*, the disputed 1830s collet necklace has a pendant cross like Mrs Wilson's (see p. 181). Samuel Wilson was painted in his mayoral robes by Charles Martin in the same year.



Victoria had no existing circle of courtiers and household members to determine the character of her court. A large contingent of Ladies of the Bedchamber and Maids-of-Honour was quickly recruited under Harriet, Duchess of Sutherland, Mistress of the Robes (she was to be Mistress of the Robes four times).³⁵ Like Prince Albert's, Victoria's mother tongue was German and she spoke with a slight German accent. She and the Prince communicated in German and in the royal household German was spoken, but in English society the ability to speak French was almost a necessity and the Ladies of the Queen's household were expected to be fluent in both German and French.

Not all cost-cutting measures were popular, notably the 'penny-crowning', as her economical coronation ceremony on 28 June 1838 came to be known. There had not been a Queen Regnant since Queen Anne, and much anxious discussion went into the details. Taking William IV's coronation as a precedent, lavish expenditure was carefully avoided and much of the romantic pageantry of George IV's crowning was dropped. Although in many ways deeply moving and impressive, the event was badly rehearsed and many of the participants had no idea what they were supposed to do. Only the young Queen remained unshakeably dignified. Official coronation portraits show her in regal splendour, barely able to move for the weight of robes and regalia, and looking older than her years. They record key moments of the ceremonial, the Queen receiving the Sacrament (by C.R. Leslie) and the crowned Queen on her throne (by Sir George Hayter).³⁶ The coronation brought out the jewels of the guests in dazzling splendour. For her portrait in ostrich feathers and ermine-bordered train, Mrs

Samuel Wilson, wife of the Lord Mayor of London, wears a mass of diamonds including a tiara, long earrings, a cross and chain, vine armlets, bracelets and a floral stomacher (Figs 8, 9). Only a rich man could afford the self-funded social commitments of the Lord Mayoralty.

In 1838 the American Thomas Sully composed a strikingly glamorous image of the Queen in her Garter robes and collar, viewed from behind and turning her head over her shoulder (Fig. 10).³⁷ Sully's portrait – or rather a print after the painted portrait – was reviewed in the *Art-Union* as 'the picture of a fine young maiden, and yet of a crowned Queen'.³⁸ She is shown with George IV's diamond-set regal cirlet, made by Rundell & Bridge, first 'Jeweller to the Crown', in 1820, and Queen Charlotte's three-drop diamond earrings. They fulfilled the dynastic role of royal jewellery, in that they were not fashionable, but heirlooms. Although Victoria selected the diamond earrings for the Sully portrait, she did not actually wear them at the coronation itself, because of her characteristic hairstyle with looped plaits over her ears.



10
Queen Victoria in Coronation Robes.
 Lithograph by Henri (Pierre Louis)
 Grevedon, after the portrait by
 Thomas Sully (1783–1872), published
 in Paris, 1838. British Museum

The Queen is in her Garter robes, wearing George IV's diamond cirlet and a pair of diamond three-drop earrings, probably Queen Charlotte's. The lithograph, which shows Sully's portrait in reverse, was the source for a cameo portrait by Paul Lebas (see Fig. 471).

When she was a girl Victoria followed fashion, but as Queen she led the way. Her newly acquired precious jewellery was a matter for the dignity and power of the monarchy and, with the exception of the treasured items from her husband, seems not to have touched her in the same way as the earlier gifts from her family and friends. This is demonstrated by her attachment to the heart locket containing her husband's hair, which she wore constantly; it is her only ornament in Winterhalter's intimate image of her with flowing hair, commissioned for Albert's birthday in 1843 and known as 'the *secret* portrait' because it was not seen in public on account of her state of undress.³⁹ As she noted in her Journal, she had begged a lock of Albert's hair four days after their betrothal on 15 October 1839.⁴⁰ Anything associated with her husband was sacred and carefully enumerated. She wore his portrait miniature, set in a diamond border, from her marriage in 1840 until her death. Another much-cherished jewel, visible in a number of portraits, is the large sapphire brooch bordered with diamonds given by the Prince the day before their wedding.

Victoria's marriage to Albert took place at the Chapel Royal, St James's Palace, on 10 February 1840. The ceremony was at one o'clock in the afternoon, a break with the tradition of holding royal weddings in the evening. Victoria had given much thought to her dress, searching for precedents, particularly in the marriage of her grandfather George III to Queen Charlotte. Many of these she rejected, dressing in white rather than cloth-of-gold or cloth-of-silver and leaving off the crimson or royal purple robe of state in favour of a train from the waist of white satin trimmed with orange blossom.⁴¹ The satin for the dress and train was made at Spitalfields.

Reporting started early, with *The Times* stressing the Queen's commitment to troubled native industries, silk from Spitalfields and lace from Honiton in Devon. On 15 January *The Times* noted that 'various tradespeople have received commands from Her Majesty to execute a large and superior assortment of presents, and amongst others Messrs Turner (the goldsmiths) are actively engaged in preparing several elegant and valuable articles in jewellery'.⁴² Hoping for the Crown Jeweller title, they had to be content with several Royal Warrants and with acting as back-up to their rival Garrard's. On 20 January it was reported 'that "wedding favours" of lily-white satin or silk riband will be universally worn on the wedding day', and that 'extensive orders' had given employment to thousands 'who would otherwise have suffered depression usual at this season'.⁴³ The ribbon was woven with a crown, a true lovers' knot and a rose, thistle and shamrock wreath.⁴⁴

On the day she rose early and 'had my hair dressed and the wreath of orange flowers put on . . . I wore a white satin gown with a very deep flounce of Honiton lace, imitation of old. I wore my Turkish diamond necklace and earrings and Albert's beautiful sapphire brooch'.⁴⁵ Although painted seven years later, the clearest image of her wedding dress, lace and jewels is shown in a portrait by Winterhalter, made for the Prince on the anniversary of their wedding in 1847 (Fig. 11). Her choice of white and orange-blossom flowers became the 'uniform' of brides throughout the Victorian period and beyond. The creamy-white silk-satin dress survives in the collection of the Museum of London, while the magnificent Honiton lace flounce survives in the Royal Collection.⁴⁶ Her Honiton lace veil is thrown back to reveal her face. The cost of the lace veil and flounce, made by Miss Jane Bidney of Beer near Honiton in Devon with a team of helpers, was reported variously at £1,000 and £1,500. An intriguing detail reported in the press, the lace had been in preparation for months before the betrothal



was announced.⁴⁷ As the indefatigable *Times* reporter observed, the Queen ‘wore no diamonds on her head, nothing but a simple wreath of orange blossoms. . . . A pair of very large diamond earrings, a diamond necklace, and the insignia of the Order of the Garter, were the personal ornaments worn by the Queen’.⁴⁸ Her ‘Turkish’ diamond necklace and long fringe earrings were made by Rundell’s in 1839 from diamonds in the gift of jewellery presented to her by Sultan Mahmúd II in 1838. Prominent on her lace collar is Albert’s sapphire brooch.

The twelve train-bearers, all in their early twenties, a number of them on the verge of marriage themselves, were drawn from the innermost court circles; experience should have modified some of the hazards of such ceremonies, notably the ill-considered trains that had

11
Queen Victoria in her Wedding Dress, by Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1805–73). Oil on canvas, 1847. Royal Collection

The Queen wears the sapphire and diamond brooch given her by Prince Albert with her ‘Turkish’ diamond necklace and earrings.



12

The Duchess of Bedford, by Richard Buckner (1812–83). Oil on canvas, about 1850. Bedfordshire, Woburn Abbey

Lady Elizabeth (Sackville) West (d. 1897), married the 9th Duke of Bedford in 1844 and became Queen Victoria's Mistress of the Robes; here she is wearing her train-bearer's brooch with other presents from the Queen.



13

Brooch in the form of a German eagle with wings displayed. Made by Charles Du Vé, London, 1840. W. 4.6 cm. British Museum, given by the Hon. Mrs Mary Anna Marten

The brooch, in gold and silver *pavé*-set with turquoises, was a souvenir of the royal marriage. One was given to each of Queen Victoria's twelve train-bearers. The turquoise eagle has a diamond beak and ruby eyes and grasps two large pearls in its claws.

made their dresses at the coronation so unmanageable.⁴⁹ For several of the train-bearers it was a re-run of the coronation, where they had played the same role. All of them unmarried daughters of dukes, marquesses and earls, they wore white silk trimmed with white roses and had roses in their hair. A watercolour by the Queen for her Mistress of the Robes, Harriet, Duchess of Sutherland, showed exactly the design she wanted for their dresses: as Lady Lyttelton remarked, 'They looked like village girls, among all the gorgeous colours and jewels that surrounded them.'⁵⁰ Victoria gave each a turquoise brooch, designed by Albert himself, in the form of a German eagle (Fig. 13). The brooches were treasured in the families of the girls as

a souvenir of a great occasion. The eagle, *pavé*-set with turquoises, has a ruby eye (for passion), a diamond-set beak (for eternity), and holds pearls for 'true love' in its claws.⁵¹ The Queen presented the train-bearers with their brooches in dark blue velvet cases after the ceremony.

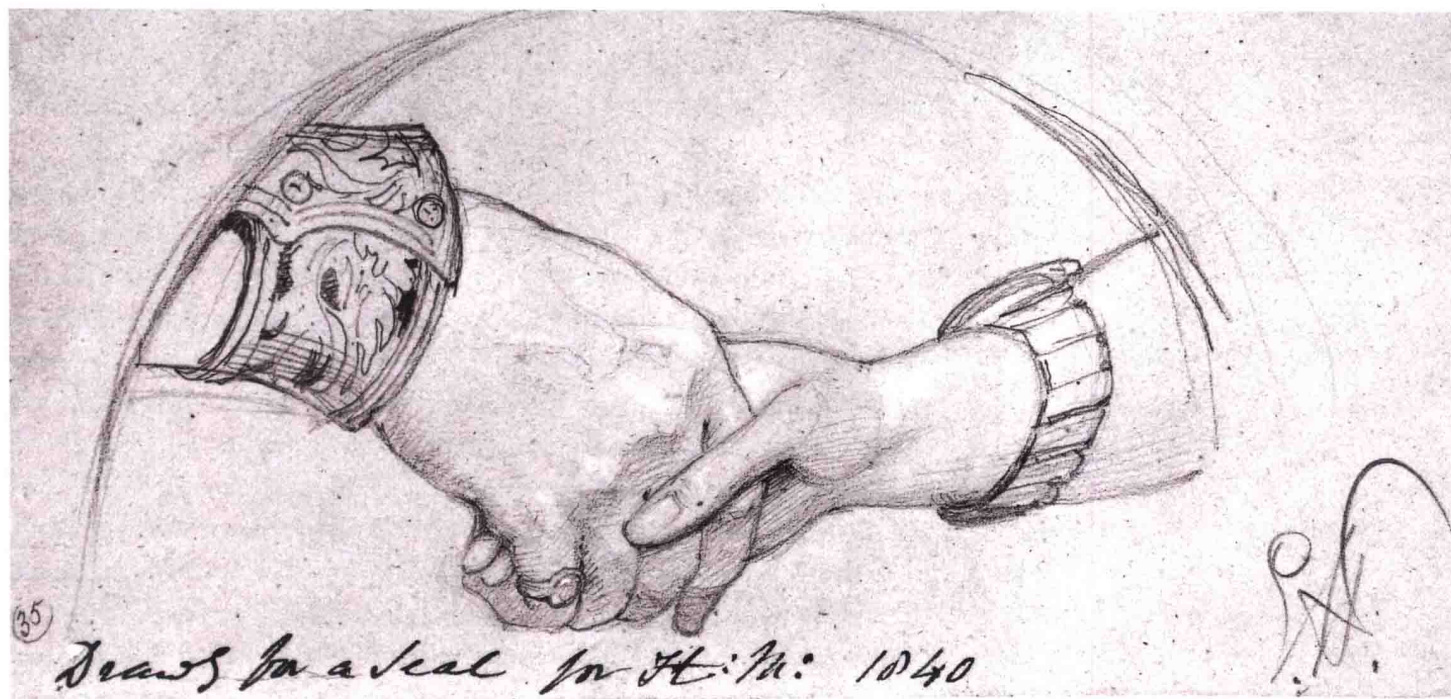
At Woburn Abbey and Hatfield House they remain with the descendants of Lady Elizabeth Sackville West (daughter of the 6th Earl de la Warr, who married the 9th Duke of Bedford, and became Queen Victoria's Mistress of the Robes) and Lady Frances Cowper (whose granddaughter married the 4th Marquess of Salisbury). The Bedford brooch retains the original rosette of white ribbon as shown in the portrait of the duchess painted by Richard Buckner (Fig. 12). With the eagle brooch the duchess has a diamond diadem, earrings with enormous pearl drops, a four-row necklace of large pearls and three bracelets, one set with a large Neo-classical cameo and one a snake, the latter being a present from the Queen. She is carrying a fan with elaborately worked gold sticks. One of the eagle brooches found its way back into the Royal Collection, probably through the Queen's granddaughter Princess Marie Louise, who mentions it in her memoirs.⁵²

To commemorate the ceremony Victoria asked Hayter, artist of the official wedding portrait, to design an engraved seal (Fig. 14).⁵³ The design of clasped hands is a conventional expression of love in jewellery, and also has a personal meaning in showing the actual moment in the marriage ceremony of the joining of hands by the couple.⁵⁴ The seal, if it was made, has not been traced.

Other commemorative jewels include six dozen gold and blue-enamelled rings set with medallion portraits of bride and groom, surmounted by a sprig of turquoise and diamond forget-me-nots, ordered from Rundell's for presentation to friends. The presentation piece for men was an enamelled gold novelty pencil case (a propelling or 'everlasting' pencil of the type invented by Sampson Mordan), set with a turquoise and medallion portraits of the royal couple. Souvenir rings for the public were advertised in *The Times*, 12 February 1840: 'The RING, with the minute medallion of Her Majesty, engraved by Wm. Wyon Esq., R.A., can now

14
Design for an engraved seal.
Pencil drawing (slightly enlarged)
by Sir George Hayter (1792–1871),
1840. British Museum

This seal design was commissioned
by Queen Victoria to commemorate the
royal wedding ceremony.





15
Suite of orange-blossom jewellery.
French and English, 1839–46.
Royal Collection

The set in enamelled gold and porcelain comprises a wreath, brooches and earrings in the form of orange-blossom flowers and fruit.

be obtained at Rundell, Bridge & Co., Ludgate Hill. Price £1 11s 6d. and upwards.⁵⁵ *The Times* reported that a waxwork tableau of the wedding was speedily put on show by Madame Tussaud. The details were made as correct as possible, and, it was said, the veil and flounce of Honiton lace had been copied by the same lacemaker, Miss Jane Bidney.

Most romantic of all the jewellery gifts designed by Albert was Victoria's parure of porcelain and gold orange blossom (Fig. 15). Made of gold, enamelled gold and porcelain, it was given to the Queen in instalments. The first French-made brooch was sent from Wiesbaden in Germany in November 1839, as an engagement present.⁵⁶ The second brooch and the earrings were presented at Christmas in 1845, and the wreath in 1846, on their sixth wedding anniversary. She wrote in her Journal: 'My beloved one gave me such a lovely unexpected present . . . the leaves are of frosted gold, the orange blossoms of white porcelaine [sic] & 4 little green enamel oranges, meant to represent our children.'⁵⁷ The wreath is the finest item in the suite, with porcelain blossoms studied from real flowering sprigs. For anniversaries the



16

Three orange-blossom brooches. English, 1830–50. W. of brooch (top) 6.7 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The brooch in enameled gold and porcelain (top) retains its original Hunt & Roskell display case, and was probably made in the wake of the royal wedding. The firm traded under this name at 156 New Bond Street from 1846. Orange-blossom brooches in textured gold with engraved veins set with coral and shell flowers were popular from the 1830s. The petals in the lower brooches are each formed by one half of a bivalve shell (see pp. 235–6).

suite was brought out and worn, often with the Honiton lace. At dinner on her wedding anniversary on 10 February 1856, Victoria wore a new pink dress from her mother, the Duchess of Kent, with the wreath from the set.⁵⁸ Orange blossom became an essential element in royal weddings, ensuring the popularity over a long period of ‘orange blossom’ jewellery made in a variety of materials including porcelain, shell and even fish-scales (Fig. 16). Orange blossom and myrtle struck from cuttings taken from Victoria’s wedding wreath in 1840 flourished on the terrace at Osborne House, the royal maritime residence on the Isle of Wight, to be used in marriage wreaths and bouquets for future royal weddings. On significant anniversaries sprigs were sent to married daughters living abroad. For example, in March 1858 the Queen sent orange blossom and myrtle from Osborne to the newly married Princess Royal in Berlin.⁵⁹

A portrait by John Partridge painted shortly after her marriage in the autumn of 1840 shows Victoria wearing one of her *ferronières* with the ribbon and star of the Order of the Garter, a double-bar of diamonds to secure the ribbon, the diamond-set garter armband

17

Queen Victoria, by John Partridge (1790–1872). Oil on canvas, inscribed on the reverse with artist, sitter and date, 1840. Royal Collection

The three-quarter-length portrait shows the Queen, in a black evening dress and black and silver headdress. She wears the blue ribbon, badge and star of the Order of the Garter, a ruby and diamond *ferronnière*, a diamond brooch set with a large ruby, and a bracelet with a miniature on ivory of Albert; she holds a fan with gold guards and sticks and a lace-trimmed handkerchief. She always carried a fan and owned a very fine collection.

On the table, beside the letter on which she rests her hand, is one of the novelty 'everlasting pencils' invented in 1822 by Sampson Mordan & Co. Partridge was appointed Portrait Painter Extraordinary to the Queen in 1843.

18 *Opposite*

Angelica Singleton van Buren, by Henry Inman (1801–46). Oil on canvas, 1842. Washington DC, White House Historical Association (White House Collection)

Angelica van Buren (1816–77), daughter-in-law of the American President Martin van Buren, wears a white moiré English-style court dress with curling ostrich plumes, a spray of pink roses and buds and a pearl and diamond *ferronnière*. Her three-string pearl necklace is centred on a large diamond.

The popularity of ostrich plumes, at its height towards the end of the century, made 'feather millionaires' out of many dealers. An advertisement in the first issue of *Exchange and Mart* (13 May 1868) gives an idea of the currency of the plumes: 'Wanted, long white ostrich feather. Will give strings of gilt glass beads and pearls, large black bead necklace, jet cross, a sitting of first-rate golden-spangled Hamburg eggs, gilt waist clasp, vulcanite watch chain. Open to offers.'

probably supplied by Rundell & Bridge in 1837, a treasured bracelet with Prince Albert's miniature after a portrait by Sir William Ross, a fashionable diamond and ruby brooch with pendant and her heart locket on a chain (Fig. 17).⁶⁰ Her fan and handkerchief with a deep edging of lace were her usual accessories. Angelica Singleton van Buren, daughter-in-law (and 'First Lady' at the White House) of the United States President Martin van Buren, spent her honeymoon in Europe and attended Queen Victoria's coronation. Her style in Henry Inman's 1842 portrait (Fig. 18) follows English court dress and the Queen's example in particular, even to the ostrich feathers and lace-trimmed handkerchief. Angelica is dressed in white, with a pearl and diamond necklace and pendant and a pearl *ferronnière*. Martin van Buren served only one term, and his failure to be re-elected was put down by some to his 'monarchical' style at the White House.⁶¹



Costume balls

Shortly after the royal marriage, Buckingham Palace was enlivened by a new form of entertainment, fancy dress balls with a historical theme, the first of which, the 'Plantagenet Ball', was given on 12 May 1842.⁶² Although they were a novelty at Buckingham Palace, fancy dress balls were nothing new (see pp. 333–4). In 1828, when Princess Victoria was just nine years old, the Marchioness of Londonderry reopened her London residence, Holderness House, with an entertainment in historic costume of the time of Elizabeth I, which character she herself played wearing an astonishing array of jewels. Victoria would certainly have been aware of the costume balls held at the Belgian court in 1835 and 1836, in which Queen Louise, favourite daughter of Louis-Philippe and wife of Victoria's uncle Leopold, played a succession of great ladies of France. Victoria was sent copies by her aunt of watercolours by J.B. Madou showing Queen Louise's magnificent costumes as Marie de Bourgogne and Elisabeth of France.

As with all Albert's schemes, the fancy dress balls had a purpose. In fact the scheme had two intentions, first to provide a high-minded, nationalistic and 'instructive illustration of the History of their Country, and a living gallery of the portraits of the greatest and best of their ancestors', and second a commercial side, to revitalize the ailing Spitalfields silk industry. For the 1842 ball James Robinson Planché, Somerset Herald, prolific author, playwright, antiquary and costume historian (his *History of British Costume* was published in 1834), was called in to give advice, and every effort was made to achieve historical accuracy in the costumes for the Prince and the Queen, who were dressed as Edward III and his Queen, Philippa of Hainault (Fig. 19). Their appearance was recorded in Edwin Landseer's double portrait, an imaginary medievalizing state portrait, confirmation, if such were needed, of the serious purpose of the event (see Fig. 290).

The stuffs for Queen Victoria's costume of velvet and brocade were specially woven; jewels were remade, armour was borrowed for the gentlemen. Planché claimed that the preparations for the ball provided employment for thousands. The 2,000 guests were received in the Throne Room by the royal couple, surrounded by members of their households, also dressed in costumes of the time of Edward III. The *Illustrated London News* commenced publication just in time to report on the ball. The illustrations showed guests in their costumes accompanied by detailed descriptions. Albert's choice of Edward III is interesting and was certainly carefully considered. Edward was the founder of the Order of the Garter and his reign was regarded as one of the great periods of English history. He was seen as an outstanding example of monarchy and known as 'the father of the nation'. Edward and Philippa were married for forty years, presumably a model for the royal couple's projected future. It was a bold strategy to cast the young German Prince in this role, part of a carefully stage-managed Anglicization of the predominantly German court.⁶³ Somewhat specious genealogies concocted to suppress Victoria's German lineage hark back to the Plantagenets and even the Anglo-Saxons.⁶⁴

Two more costume balls were set respectively in the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries, the *bal poudré* of 1845 held on the centenary of the Jacobite Rebellion and the Stuart Ball, set in the time of Charles II, held during the Great Exhibition in 1851. Again these events were announced as having significantly benefited trade. The *bal poudré* was precursor to an important revivalist trend in mid-Victorian dress, the Rococo or eighteenth-century style that



19

Queen Victoria in costume as Queen Philippa for the Plantagenet Ball. Colour lithograph bordered with stylized leaves and flowers, 1842. British Museum

The decorative border to this image of the Queen, costumed as the wife of Edward III (r. 1327–77), is taken from early 15th-century manuscript sources.

dominated fashion from the late 1860s. High society in London seethed with rumour and speculation about the costumes for these events: Lady Harriet Granville writing to her brother the Duke of Devonshire noted: 'London May 26, 1845: 'Dress rages. Freddy has got a charming suit lent him by Lord Glengall, as the unfortunate household have been ordered to bedeck themselves in new suits and this one Lord Glengall had worn last year. It is remarkably pretty, white with scarlet facings – V. and A. as yet secrets.'⁶⁵ The Queen's dress of gold silk with floral decoration in the style of the 1740s, made by Vouillon et Laure, was said to have 'an almost magical effect'. With it she wore large diamond bows that had belonged to Queen

20

Queen Victoria in 1740s costume for a fancy ball. Colour lithograph after a watercolour by Louis Haghe (1806–85), 1845. London, National Portrait Gallery
The Queen imitates the 18th-century 'échelle' (ladder) stomacher ornaments with diamond bows of diminishing size, probably once owned by Queen Charlotte.



Charlotte (Fig. 20).⁶⁶ With pardonable excitement – and exaggeration – the press reported the diamonds in the stomacher to be worth £100,000.⁶⁷

For the 1851 Stuart Ball, the guests wore historical versions of the currently fashionable 'Van Dyck' style. The royal costumes were designed by the French artist Eugène Lami, who had fled Paris at the time of the 1848 revolution. Victoria's Stuart dress survives in the Royal Collection. The Queen was interested in establishing links with her Stuart predecessors and this may have inspired the theme.⁶⁸ Although she gave no more costume balls, the Queen never lost her taste for amateur theatrical entertainments and charades with historic fancy dress. The last royal costume ball of the Victorian period in Britain was held by the Prince and Princess of Wales at Marlborough House in 1874, but these events remained popular, particularly at the court of the Second Empire in France and in America in the 1880s and 1890s, culminating in the spectacular Devonshire House Ball in London, celebrating the 1897 Diamond Jubilee (see p. 386).

Court jeweller, court dress

In 1843 the firm of R. & S. Garrard & Co. was officially designated as Crown Jeweller, an office held by only one other firm before them, Rundell, Bridge & Co.; from that date the story of the Victorian royal jewels can be followed in detail in the firm's royal ledgers.⁶⁹ The six great leather- and brass-bound volumes span five reigns and are richly rewarding in terms

of insights into royal ceremonial and the intricacies of the Crown Jeweller's everyday role. New procedures came with Albert's rationalization of the Royal Household, when the haphazard sending of irreplaceable historical objects for repair to a number of different firms had resulted in irretrievable losses. The scale of the operation is awe-inspiring. Garrard's was contractor for every necessity of royal protocol, from the setting of the coronation crown to providing an ounce or two of jewellers' rouge for polishing the silver.

Robert Garrard positioned himself adroitly to capture the role of Crown Jeweller. Although Garrard himself was a relative newcomer to the London jewellery trade, the origins of the firm could be traced from George Wickes, one of the leading goldsmiths of London in the eighteenth century.⁷⁰ There were plenty of other contenders, all enjoying royal patronage, and initially Garrard did not have exclusive claim to the title, acting more as a sort of clearing house for royal orders. The ledgers reveal something of a co-operative effort, with commissions fulfilled by a number of different suppliers.⁷¹ The well-established Joseph Kitching might have hoped for the title himself, since Kitching & Abud were named 'Jewellers to the Queen' in 1837; they continued to supply royal commissions. A shared workshop in Harrison Street hints at collaboration between Garrard's and Rundell's and many of the early ledger entries are similar to Rundell orders for the royal family. It is also possible that Robert Garrard gave some undertakings about cost; the sums he charged remain surprisingly consistent throughout the whole of the Queen's reign. The annual Ascot race 'cups', sculptural silver pieces requiring enormous skill and work, always come in at £200. Presentation gold boxes inset with portrait miniatures were graded by the status of the recipient from £350 down to a mere £18. The average cost of a diamond tiara was about £3,000. Victoria had several made for her own use and ordered one for each of her daughters as they married. These prices remained fixed for sixty years.

Among the earliest jewellery orders in the Queen's ledger are 'two emerald and diamond twin pins' for £50.⁷² The important royal jewellery purchases from Garrard begin with a large diamond and emerald necklace in 1848, followed swiftly by a brooch and earrings in 1850. From 1850 onwards the pace of the jewellery orders never slackened. As well as formal jewellery for entertaining and public appearances, royal orders closely reflect personal events in the Queen's life: a brooch with the baby Princess Royal as an angel, designed by Albert in 1841 (Fig. 21a); the setting of babies' teeth in flower jewels (for example Princess Beatrice's milk-teeth, Fig. 21b); the birth of an heir marked by the production of jewels incorporating diamond Prince of Wales feathers. The miniature of the Princess Royal was inspired by the angel heads in Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* in Dresden, one of a number of angel subjects popular in Victorian jewellery (for example the angels after Carlo Maratta's *Infant Christ Adored by Angels* adapted by Sir Joshua Reynolds among others, which was common as a motif in silver jewellery).⁷³ The brooch was given to the Queen by Prince Albert in December 1841: 'It was entirely his own idea and taste.'⁷⁴ The Raphael connection is typical of Prince Albert – the choice of a painting in a German gallery is significant – and his efforts in documenting Raphael's oeuvre were very important for art history. In the decades following his death orders for precious jewellery often reflect family marriages and births: tiaras for the princesses and lockets for the granddaughters and great-granddaughters. At a mundane level, badges for the Ladies of the Household and presents for more menial long-serving members of the staff feature constantly in the ledgers.

**21 A & B**

Above: Brooch in enamel and diamonds with Vicky as a winged angel. English, 1841. W. 6.8 cm. *Right:* Pendant and earrings in the shape of fuchsias, about 1864. L. of pendant 4 cm. Royal Collection

The head of Princess Victoria is cut down from a copy of Sir William Ross's 1841 miniature. The brooch was given to Victoria by Albert for Christmas that year. The pendant and earrings are set with milk-teeth from Princess Beatrice (Princess Henry of Battenberg, 1857–1944). Garrard's royal ledger has an entry for November 1864, 'mounting small teeth in gold and enamel as earrings'. They re-entered the Royal Collection in 1946 when they were given to Queen Mary by Victoria Eugenie of Spain, Princess Beatrice's daughter.

Eleanor Stanley, a Maid-of-Honour, described the presents given by the Queen for Christmas at Windsor in 1842: 'Lady Douro's present is the usual Lady in Waiting's bracelet with her picture and Miss Hamilton's and mine are of enamel with a little buckle of pearls by way of clasp – it was so nice of the Queen to have given them herself instead of sending them by a dresser.'⁷⁵ The enamel miniature by Henry Bone at the centre of the bracelet was taken from Hayter's official painting of the Queen's marriage; it was later replaced in these tokens with the head from Winterhalter's 1843 state portrait of the Queen in Garter robes, which remained in use for many years.⁷⁶ Some of the miniatures were quite large. Mary Hughes, Maid-of-Honour 1891–1901, and Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria's granddaughter, Princess Marie Louise of Schleswig-Holstein, received a brooch still using the younger image of the Queen by Winterhalter within a double row of diamonds.⁷⁷ On the reverse it has the VRI cipher and 'M.F.H. 1891'. It was worn on a red ribbon to denote her position.

Political unrest on the Continent brought many refugees to London, adding a cosmopolitan flavour and technical expertise to all manner of art manufactures. They gravitated particularly to the jewellery and precious metal trades. As Victoria remarked after the fall of the Orleans monarchy in 1848 and the flight to Britain of Louis-Philippe and his family, 'There is no end to the jewellers & artists arriving from Paris, half ruined and with beautiful and tempting things, some of which one cannot resist buying.'⁷⁸ She employed the émigré artist Eugène Lami to make watercolours of entertainments at court. The expatriate English artist James Roberts (see Fig. 30), a favourite of the deposed French King, escorted Princess Lieven to London (she travelled as 'Mrs Roberts'), 'with gold and jewels secreted in her dress'.⁷⁹

The need to display precious jewellery at court was taken for granted, and those connected with the Royal Household had to equip themselves with appropriate ornaments. For the junior Ladies of the Household, serious jewellery, as opposed to fashionable trinkets and accessories, often had to be rustled up from older members of the family, aunts and grandmothers supplying the essential suites of gem stones. When she was appointed as a '1

Maid-of-Honour to Queen Victoria in 1888, Marie Adeane, whose family was far from rich, was fortunate to be given 'a fine set of emeralds' by her godmother the Duchess of Grafton, 'so that she should have something to wear'.⁸⁰ Court dress consisted of headdresses with three plumes of white ostrich feathers, a low neck exposing the shoulders and a train more than three yards long, which was manipulated into place by the Gentlemen of the Household with long batons.⁸¹ For Levées (held about once a month) and Drawing Rooms (about four during the Season), the Queen always wore a tiara or diadem, sometimes with fresh flowers or leaves. Eleanor Stanley noted in a letter to her parents in 1848: 'We all appeared in pink yesterday, except Lady Charlemont, with green leaves in our hair, only mine were sham, and the Queen's and the Duchess's were real ivy.'⁸² Of one Levée on 21 March 1838 the Queen recorded in her Journal that she 'went for a moment to the dressing-room to ease my head, as my diadem (which Lord Melbourne thought "very handsome") hurt me so dreadfully'.⁸³ The Drawing Rooms, at which débutantes and newly married women were presented, took place at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, affording a spectacle for the London public, as the queue of coaches bearing the befeathered and bejewelled guests crawled towards Buckingham Palace. At times of court mourning black was worn, even to the ostrich feathers. For half-mourning, lilac and white or grey and white were worn with colourless jewels (i.e. diamonds and pearls) or plain gold ornaments; the débutantes of course wore white. As the focus of formal dress, the court played a role in setting fashion.

The Queen's attachment to tiaras, giving her height and regal presence, percolated into high society. Tiaras were worn even for events such as royal christenings, which took place in the afternoon. Courts in Continental Europe were even more rigid in their observances; low-cut bodices, trains and headdresses with diamond jewellery for the women and knee-breeches for the men, with orders and sometimes dress swords. When the Princess Royal arrived in Berlin after her marriage she found that full evening dress was expected even though the court dined between 2 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon.⁸⁴ It was often the case that the smaller and more provincial the court in question, the more unbending the etiquette.

In May 1846 Madame Tussaud advertised an addition to her popular groups showing the royal wedding and the 'Royal Family at Home: Her Gracious Majesty, Prince Albert and their four lovely children' (featured in an eye-catching handbill and in *The Times*, 6 January). The new tableau comprised 'Twenty-five LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S NEW COURT DRESSES, of surpassing beauty, intended to amuse and instruct the MIDDLE CLASSES and to give them an idea of the REGAL SPLENDOUR, . . . just added to Madame TUSSAUD & SONS EXHIBITION'; it was described as 'a most pleasing novelty, and calculated to convey to young persons much necessary instruction'.⁸⁵ This display of court style spread its fashions at a populist level.

Events in the Palace were terrific squeezes, with the Grand Staircase and the State Rooms packed to capacity and beyond. Effie, wife of the eminent critic John Ruskin, was presented at Court in May 1850. Ruskin described the event to his father: he thought the Queen 'much younger and prettier' than he expected and much like the portraits, even those which flattered her most.⁸⁶ 'At one place', he continued, 'there was the most awkward crush I ever saw in my life. The floor was covered with the ruins of ladies dresses, torn lace and fallen flowers; but Effie was luckily out of it and got through unscathed, and heard people saying "What a beautiful dress" just as she got up to the Queen.' A month later they were back at Buckingham Palace, as Effie reports:

We then entered the reception room where there was a dense crowd of waving plumes and diamonds crushed as close as they could pack. I was fortunate in getting a seat which if I had not I am sure I would have fainted. Several ladies did and one went into dreadful hysteria and screamed and laughed like a lunatic. She was carried out. We stayed in this broiling but amusing condition for two hours, the heat was dreadful but I was close to the door and saw all coming in. The diamonds were splendid and in greater quantity than I ever imagined⁸⁷

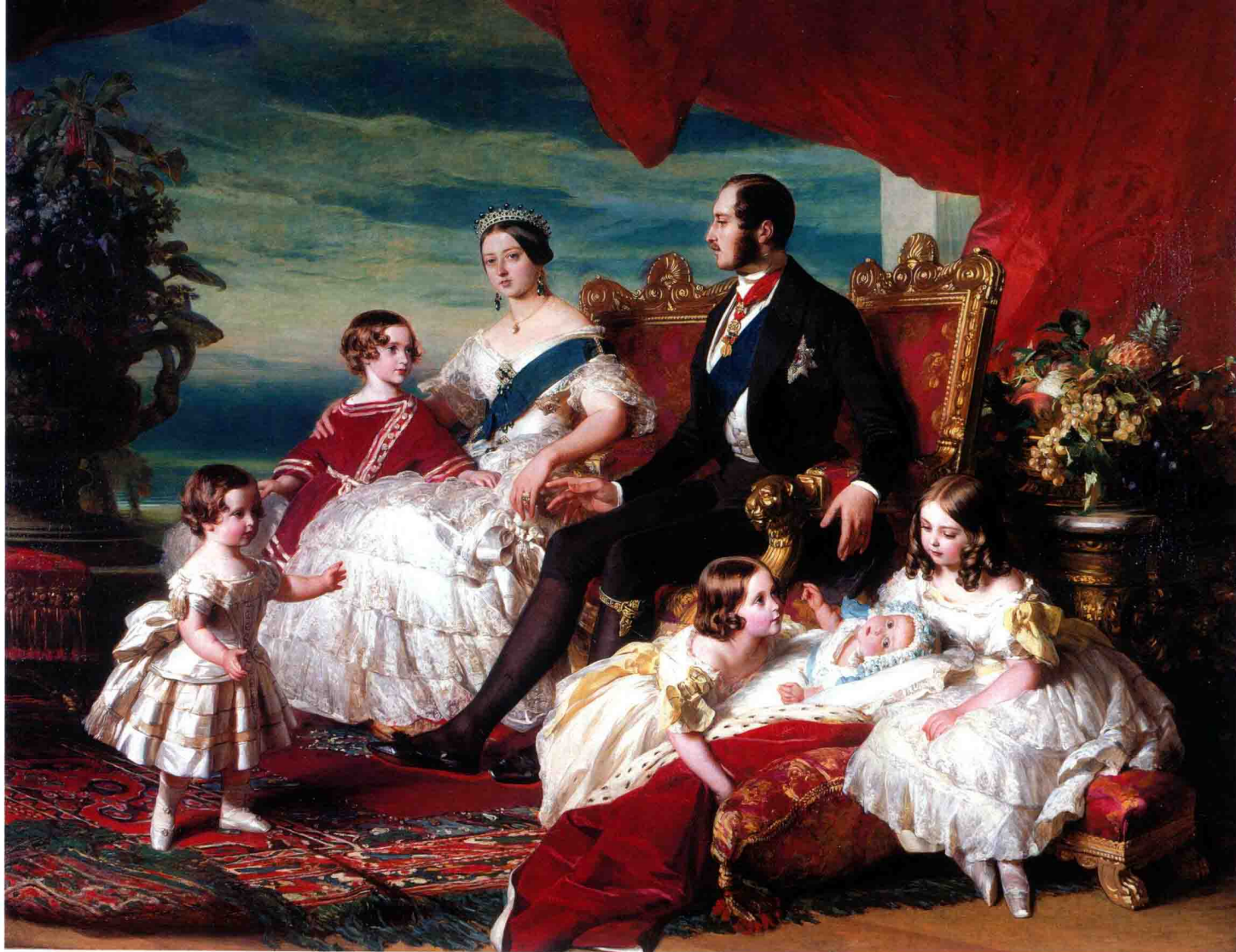
The Ruskins were part of a new democratic element at royal entertainments. John Ruskin's father was a wine importer, 'in trade' in other words, an unthinkable relaxation of the social hierarchies of earlier times.

Victoria and Albert at home: Windsor, Osborne and Balmoral

The domestic life of the family was centred on three residences, Windsor, Osborne House on the Isle of Wight and Balmoral Castle in the Highlands. Christmas was celebrated at Windsor with elaborate ceremony; the Queen's birthday at Osborne. A large family group painted by Winterhalter in 1846 for Osborne shows the Queen and Prince surrounded by their young children, in a room open to a view of the sea (Fig. 22). Victoria is wearing the diamond and emerald tiara, brooch and earrings designed by the Prince and made by Joseph Kitching for £1,150 in 1845.⁸⁸ After only six years of marriage the family already numbered five children: four more were to follow, and Victoria was unusually fortunate in losing none in childhood. When shown at St James's Palace in 1847, the painting attracted 100,000 visitors.⁸⁹ It was widely distributed in print form and in multiple applications, including silk-weaving for ribbons (Fig. 23). The maritime character of Osborne was emphasized by the sailor fashions adopted for the royal children, later to become an important fashion trend for adults as well. Souvenir brooches in the form of sailor hats with the names of the royal yachts round the rim appear in the royal ledgers. The gardens provided sheltered conditions for the orange and myrtle bushes that supplied royal marriage bouquets and wreaths.

The royal couple's discovery of Scotland resulted in the most distant royal retreat, the Balmoral estate, acquired in 1847, but Scottish jewellery was collected from the time of the very first visit. For their wedding anniversary in February 1843, just after their first visit in 1842, Albert gave the Queen a brooch in the form of a crowned heart.⁹⁰ It is engraved on the reverse 'From Albert Feby 10th 1843'. Victoria confided to her Journal, 'My beloved Albert gave me a lovely brooch which is so original in design & which I am delighted with.' It is in fact a traditional Scottish crowned heart brooch (see pp. 458–9). Victoria left the jewel to her daughter Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll, perhaps on account of its Scottish associations.

On a second royal visit to Scotland in 1844, Lady Canning recalled the presentation of jewellery consisting of deer's teeth set in enamelled gold leaves at Blair Castle: 'The Queen is so sorry to go away from here; she really has been very happy & the visit has answered very well. The Glenlyons & Drummonds dined. . . . The Queen gave Ly G a very good bracelet of blue enamel and diamonds & the print of the children, & Albert gave us a little souvenir of himself, the teeth of a stag set like acorns with green enamel leaves.'⁹¹ Albert was probably responsible for the design of the Glenlyon parure and for the many stags' teeth souvenirs with



22
The Royal Family in 1846,
 by F.X. Winterhalter. Oil on canvas,
 1846. Royal Collection

In this portrait painted for Osborne House the Queen wears, besides the Garter sash and badge, her suite of sapphire tiara, earrings and brooch, designed by Prince Albert. Beside the Queen on her right is the Prince of Wales, wearing a red Russian blouse; Prince Albert is on her left and in front of the couple Prince Alfred is approaching his three sisters, Victoria, Alice and the infant Helena.



23
 Stevengraph (woven silk) after
 Winterhalter's 1846 royal family
 group portrait. English, about
 1862. British Museum

The blue of the woven image may reflect the colour of the sapphire jewels. Stevengraphs, patented in 1862 as pictorial bookmarks by Thomas Stevens of Coventry (d. 1888), are coloured pictures in silk produced on a Jacquard loom. The images were based on prints or photographs. Designed to rescue the silk-weaving industry threatened by a trade deal with the French, they were popular souvenirs of Victorian royal events.



24
Brooch, holly tied with a tartan ribbon.
English, probably supplied by Garrard,
1851. Royal Collection

The tartan is Dress Stuart; the brooch in
enamelled gold set with stag's teeth was
given to Victoria by Albert in May 1851
as a birthday present.



25
*Charlotte Viscountess
Canning at Balmoral*,
by Carl Haag (1820–1915).
Watercolour, 1853.
Royal Collection

Lady Canning (1817–61)
wears a tartan plaid and
silver Scottish ring brooch
with a wide bracelet,
necklace and earrings.
Members of the
household were expected
to wear Royal or Dress
Stuart plaids in the
evening. This is a study
for a large group subject
by Haag, *An Evening
at Balmoral*.

Charles Greville,
summoned to Balmoral
in September 1849,
observed: 'Much as I
dislike Courts and all that
appertains to them, I am
glad to have . . . seen the
Queen and Prince in their
Highland retreat, where
they certainly appear to
advantage. . . . They live
there without any state
whatever; they live not
merely like small
gentlefolks, but like very
small gentlefolks . . .'
(Whitwell Wilson 1927,
vol. II, p. 453).

the date of the 'kill' inscribed on the back made by the Crown Jeweller (see Fig. 202). A number of them were charged a half-share to the Prince in the royal ledgers (Fig. 24). He was also the principal inspiration behind the baronial Balmoral Castle that eventually rose on the site, a reminder of the Neo-Romantic architecture in the Prince's mountainous homeland. Balmoral was a sporting estate, where the Prince pursued the various forms of hunting he had loved since boyhood. In her *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands* (privately printed 1865, popular edition 1868), Victoria called Balmoral 'this dear Paradise'; the most ordinary pebbles found on the estate and mounted as jewellery had almost the status of holy relics.⁹² Just as sailor suits were worn at Osborne, the royal family wore 'Highland things' when they were at Balmoral (see p. 454). Widely circulated photographs show Princes Albert, Arthur and Leopold wearing Highland or military costume with Scottish traditional jewellery.⁹³ For evening wear and the annual Ghillies' Ball at Balmoral in particular many of the participants wore the plaid, secured by a ring brooch (Fig. 25). Victoria gave Lady Augusta Stanley a kilt-pin for her nephew, the future Dean of Windsor, which suggests that he owned a Highland costume.

Albert found a large cairngorm on the estate at Lochnagar, and had it set as 'a Celtic brooch'. It is listed by Victoria among jewels designed by Albert:

A Cairngorm picked up by my beloved husband at Loch-na-gar Sept. 27th 1848 and set as a Celtic Brooch, gold, alternate garnets set in blue enamel and flowers of small pearls, a running pattern of blue and white enamel, connecting the flowers and stones. To be worn on the shoulder by the Prince of Wales.⁹⁴

In October 1848 Garrard's mounted a pebble in silver as a brooch for £2. 10s. The following year more deer's teeth were mounted, this time as studs and brooch. The next entry is for polishing pebbles and repairing 'cairngorm pins' (the most popular of Scottish souvenir jewels) and in 1858 for 'cutting heart-shaped earrings from granite and mounting d[itt]o in silver', again charged to Prince Albert. This pattern of commissioning Scottish pieces, with the Prince often bearing half of the cost, persisted until his death in 1861. Thereafter the pace slackened, but the Queen's interest was aroused by 'Scottish' events, such as the engagement of her daughter Louise to the Marquess of Lorne (see p. 66).

Victoria was meticulous in noting the Prince's contribution to her jewellery collection and it is not hard to spot further evidence of his hand in the royal ledgers. Apart from the sapphire and diamond wedding brooch and the 'Coburg eagle' train-bearers' brooches, he designed the exquisite little sapphire and diamond diadem that she wears in a much-copied 1842 portrait by Winterhalter. With its subtle historical references, it is a most unusual design. The band is fully articulated and it can be worn in a number of different ways, which the Queen exploited to the full.⁹⁵ Albert was also very active with her jewels of state. The jewels were a collaborative effort, with Albert 'arranging' (as she liked to put it) the parures of diamonds and precious stones. One of Victoria's most original items was the diamond and opal 'Oriental' or Indian-style tiara; created in 1853, it broke new ground with its exotic design (Fig. 26). Albert was also behind the controversial recutting of the Koh-i-noor diamond in 1852, a jewel of considerable symbolic significance for the Queen who wore it on many public occasions.

26

Queen Victoria's 'Oriental' tiara. English, designed by Prince Albert and made by Garrard, 1853. Royal Collection

The pointed-leaf 'Indian' design is set with rubies and diamonds. It was originally set with opals, but Queen Alexandra replaced them with rubies. Garrard's royal ledger has a detailed specification for the stones and setting of the tiara.





27

Queen Victoria's 'Crimean' brooch. English, applied label 'JL' for John Linnet, London, 1855. W. 4.5 cm. Royal Collection

The brooch, commemorating the Crimean War, of gold set with diamonds, rubies and sapphires with an enamelled ribbon bearing the date, was designed by Albert and given to Victoria at Christmas 1855. At the same date Albert designed a jewelled Crimean brooch for Florence Nightingale, presented by the Queen as 'a mark of high approbation of your sovereign!' Miss Nightingale wore it reluctantly, as it resembled a military badge.

Contemporary events that caught the Prince's attention can be identified in the ledgers alongside the personal items. The Crimean War is represented by the brooch (or badge) designed in 1855 for presentation to Florence Nightingale.⁹⁶ The Prince also designed a 'Crimean' brooch for his wife, composed of a trophy of the allied flags (Fig. 27). However, the badges for the Victoria Cross, established as the premier award for valour in 1856, were by Hancock rather than the Crown Jeweller, an indication of the character of Garrard's role. Albert designed the opal and diamond suite with a tiara for the Princess Royal's wedding in 1858. It was made by Turner's of New Bond Street, one of several back-up warrant-holders, such as Joseph Kitching. Variants on the opal suite were made for the marriages of the other princesses and for the Princess of Wales, presented in the name of the deceased Albert jointly with the Queen (see Fig. 42).

Science and art: Albert's triumph

As Albert gradually discovered his role as royal spouse and from 1857 as Prince Consort, he immersed himself in the cultural and commercial life of the country. An art-lover and patron, he was passionately interested in the progress of design, the improvement of manufactures and the education of the artisan. Month after month works from the Royal Collection featured in the *Art-Journal*; the royal acquisitions in sculpture, painting, watercolours, drawings and photographs are reflective of the Victorian age, a visual panorama of the important personages and events of the day.⁹⁷ Loans of jewellery and *objets d'art* from the Royal Collection, always generous, allowed the public to see the crown diamonds and the valuable gifts from the East India Company as well as historic royal treasures, like the sixteenth-century 'Damley' jewel.

The significance of Albert's presidency in 1843 of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce (founded in 1754 but in decline until it was revitalized by Henry Cole, Albert's able lieutenant in all his art and industry undertakings) can hardly be overstated. 'From the moment that he assumed the presidency he impressed on the Society that the main object of its existence henceforth must be the application of science and art to industrial purposes.'⁹⁸ He was as concerned with maintaining a foremost position in science, invention and education as with commercial progress. Science and technology needed a high-profile advocate, and in Prince Albert they found one. Britain's position in world trade required huge investment in design and manufacturing talent, both of which were actively promoted through the Society and its programme of displays and prize medals. Prizes, in the form of premiums, were offered for solving certain identified challenges in mechanical and experimental processes. Initiatives of this kind injected vital energy into a range of crafts and manufactures, for example through the prize competitions for Art-Workmen.

In 1844 an annual exhibition was proposed and small one-day events showing 'British Manufactures and Decorative Arts' took place in 1847, 1848 and 1849 at the Society's premises. After these had proved a success, the steering committee decided to promote 'a periodical Exhibition of the Works of Industry'.⁹⁹ Out of these modest beginnings and the long-established programme of national exhibitions in France would emerge the Age of International Exhibitions (Chapter 6), starting in London in 1851 with the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, and carrying a valuable system of awards to boost reputations and trade. For the Prince the alliance between science and art held the key to the improvement

of manufactures. Promotion of innovations in jewellery design and production methods transformed the trade. In 1850, during the run-up to the Great Exhibition, the Society put on an exhibition of 'Antient [sic] and Mediaeval Art' which included Renaissance and Tudor jewellery, a significant stimulus to the historical revival style (see pp. 343–4). The Prince was elected President and the Queen lent generously, thus persuading many private owners to follow her example. The exhibition was a great success; Albert visited on 18 March, just before the public opening.

In the early 1850s the Queen and the Prince became Patrons of the Photographic Society, another interest they shared. Following the first exhibition devoted solely to photography in 1852, it was formally constituted in 1853 with the active encouragement of the Society of Arts. In 1860 Victoria authorized the publication of a Royal Album of *cartes de visite* photographs taken by John Edwin Mayall of Regent Street, one of the leading photographers of the day. Immensely successful with the public, it helped to popularize the fashion for collecting *cartes de visite* and secured the fortunes of Mayall.¹⁰⁰ Victoria herself was an avid collector – and giver – of *cartes de visite* and photographs in general. She assembled a photographic *Album of Important Occasions* which is preserved in the Royal Collection. Henry Collen, the Queen's miniature painter, took up photography in 1841.¹⁰¹ Photographs supplanted miniatures in royal memorial and sentimental jewellery to a great extent, but for jewellery, the most important innovation was the discovery by J.B. Dancer of Manchester of a way to miniaturize images, prompting a whole range of novelty jewellery (see p. 56). In 1853, as soon as they were available, the Queen began to order jewels set with micro-photographic portraits.¹⁰² The earlier orders were for souvenirs of a very inexpensive type, brooches in oxidized silver charged at just £2 each ('Mounting calotype miniature as Brooch in oxidized silver'). Several were delivered in 1853 and 1854, and they appear in the ledgers for years afterwards. Other minute photographs were mounted as studs and waistcoat buttons in 1854. Photographic portraits replaced prints as the basis for enamelled miniatures. A brooch inset with a portrait of Albert, copied from a photograph by J.E. Mayall (May 1860), shows off its modernity with an industrial age nut-and-bolt motif (see Fig. 32).¹⁰³ Its purpose is not known; dating from so near the end of the Prince's life, it may have been a memorial piece. Photographic miniatures were later to serve as memorials to the Duchess of Kent and the Prince, who died in quick succession (see Figs 32, 33).

Albert's influence was pervasive in private as well as public. Many Germanic family rituals instigated by him and followed in the royal household became part of the national scene, such as birthday and Christmas celebrations, with individual tables laden with presents for each family member. Christmas at Windsor was celebrated with two vast trees lit with candles, one of them surrounded with presents for the household. The Prince told his brother that everything was 'totally German and *gemütlich* [cosy]'.¹⁰⁴ The tall, magnificently decorated royal Christmas tree was shown in the *Illustrated London News* for the first time in 1848. Other German customs infiltrated English celebrations and festivals; many often assumed to date from a much more distant past originated with Albert's arrival. The birthday and Christmas tables enjoyed by the royal family hardly penetrated outside their circle, but Christmas revelry with tree and wreaths of holly and ivy extended into the general populace. Marking wedding anniversaries and celebrating silver, gold and diamond weddings and jubilees were further German imports, and brought in their wake a considerable trade in 'year' jewels, formed as



28
The First of May, 1851, by
 F.X. Winterhalter. Oil on canvas, 1851.
 Royal Collection

The Queen is dressed as for the opening of the Great Exhibition, but without Queen Charlotte's little diamond crown, worn on the back of her head on the day. Prince Albert looks towards the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, which housed the exhibition. Prince Arthur offers a bunch of lily-of-the-valley to the kneeling Duke of Wellington (his godfather). The 1 May was both the Duke's birthday and Prince Arthur's (he is one year old in the painting). The casket held by the Duke belonged to the Queen, a present from her husband, shown instead of a gold cup, the Duke's present to Prince Arthur. Lily-of-the-valley is the May birth-flower.

the four figures of the date or with the date as the main motif (see Fig. 142). The German custom of placing fresh flower wreaths on coffins was unknown in England until the Victorian period. Festivals demanded souvenirs, with a beneficial impact on the jewellery trade. So pervasive was this spread of German culture that it attracted comment in papers like the *Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic*.

A conspicuous demonstration of the advantages of political stability, and of Albert's role in the revitalization of the Society of Arts, was the fact that the first international exhibition, the 1851 Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, was held in London rather than Paris. At the opening of the exhibition Victoria was ecstatic: in her Journal she wrote, 'This day is one of the greatest and most glorious of our lives, with which, to my pride and joy the name of my dearly beloved Albert is forever associated!'¹⁰⁵ The royal loans, including the Koh-i-noor diamond, were listed at the head of the catalogue. Having responsibility for the royal display, Garrard's, unlike many of their competitors, did not create items especially for the exhibition. The large volume of business generated by their royal appointment was both a wonderful advantage and a fatal inhibition of their creativity. After the exhibition closed

Victoria was presented with 'a specimen of each of the principal articles exhibited' by the Directors of the Honourable East India Company, among them 'truly magnificent jewels', some, such as the 'Timur' ruby, emanating from the Lahore treasury. She noted in her Journal:

The very large pearls, 224 in number, strung in four rows, are quite splendid and a very beautiful ornament. The girdle of 19 emeralds is wonderful and also of immense value. The emeralds, square in shape and very large, and alternately engraved, and unfortunately all are cut flat. They are set round with diamonds, and fringed with pearls. The rubies are even more wonderful, they are cabochons, unset but pierced. The one is the largest in the world, therefore even more remarkable than the Koh-i-noor. I am very happy that the British Crown will possess these jewels, for I shall certainly make them Crown jewels.¹⁰⁶

This valuable gift is marked in the ledgers with altering and resetting Indian necklaces and the use of 'lask' or flat-cut Indian diamonds in new jewels. Despite the differences in the cutting of the stones, the Indian gifts provided a resource that the Queen drew on for years (for example, the wedding jewel for Princess Helena set with Indian stones, p. 66). The setting of the Koh-i-noor after its recutting in 1852 occupies a whole ledger page: Garrard's had arranged for its security and display at the 1851 Great Exhibition.

The glorious opening day is implied in Winterhalter's painting *The First of May* (Fig. 28). The Queen, in the pink and silver silk dress worn for the opening of the exhibition, with her sunray tiara like a halo round her head, holds the infant Prince Arthur, whose first birthday is being celebrated. Kneeling like a magus before the Madonna-like Queen, the Duke of Wellington, Prince Arthur's namesake and godfather, offers the child a casket in return for a bunch of lilies-of-the-valley ('Many happy returns' in flower language). Albert, behind the Queen, gazes at the prospect of Hyde Park and the Crystal Palace.¹⁰⁷ The exhibition, advertising both the country and the success of the Queen's reign, empowered the Victorians with the idea that they could encompass the whole world. The financial profit was used to purchase land at South Kensington for Albert's dream, a cultural nexus for all the arts and sciences, which came to be known as 'Albertopolis'.

Exchange of visits with the Emperor and Empress of the French, 1855

In 1855 reciprocal visits, first to London by Napoléon III and the Empress Eugénie and then shortly afterwards the State Visit to Paris by Victoria, Albert and the two eldest of the royal children, timed to coincide with the first international exhibition in France, offered an opportunity to show what English jewellers could do.¹⁰⁸ Victoria kept detailed notes for her diary of what both she and her guests of honour wore in London and also what she and the French Imperial entourage wore in Paris. Both ladies had newly set crown jewels to display, Queen Victoria's by Garrard's and Eugénie's by the imperial jewellers, Bapst.

In view of the reputation of the French for elegance and fashion the normally prudent Queen was concerned over her own costume: 'I have had such trouble with my toilette, dresses, bonnets, caps, mantillas &c., &c., of every sort and kind.' By 1855 Victoria had accumulated

an impressive collection of jewellery. She had the Koh-i-noor, the 'Diamond and opal tiara of Oriental design' delivered by the Crown Jeweller on 1 April 1853, and the 'Timur' ruby with its three smaller companions in Oriental-style settings of coloured enamels: the royal ledger entries show that both tiara and necklace could be altered for different uses (see p. 106).

The imperial party arrived in London on 16 April: the Queen received her guests wearing a light blue dress with shaded trimmings and a pearl necklace. Eugénie wore a fashionable plaid travelling dress with a straw bonnet. That evening she dressed in grey silk trimmed with pink bows, a wreath of pink chrysanthemums, and 'a necklace and brooch of emeralds and diamonds, no earrings, and beautiful bracelets'. In fact, she had borrowed the dress from one of her ladies, as her luggage had not arrived. More crucially, M. Félix, her hairdresser, was very much delayed, so her hair was dressed by one of her maids. Victoria was in a lace-trimmed yellow dress with her 'Oriental' diadem. On the second evening Eugénie wore pearls as a necklace and in her hair, whereas the Queen wore flowers.

Victoria noticed that Eugénie never wore jewellery with her day-dress; 'as usual not an ornament, – only a black lace handkerchief round her throat', she remarked on 18 April. That evening Eugénie wore her 'pearl diadem' (the pearl and diamond diadem made by Lemonnier from gems belonging to the Empress Marie-Louise, Napoléon Bonaparte's second wife) and the Queen her diamond regal diadem with the Koh-i-noor and her 'Indian pearls' (the four-row necklace, see p. 47). On 19 April the party transferred to Buckingham Palace; in the evening Eugénie was again in emeralds and diamonds while the Queen countered with 'very-large Indian rubies' (the 'Timur' and its three smaller companions).¹⁰⁹ The descriptions are not detailed enough to recognize all the ornaments, but it is likely that Victoria would have worn Queen Adelaide's sunray diadem and the emerald suite made by Garrard in 1848.

During the visit Napoléon was invested with the Order of the Garter. An exchange of gifts followed: for Vicky (the Princess Royal) there was a 'beautiful watch of rubies and diamonds, with a beautiful little chain, seal, and watch-key to it'. The Queen responded with 'a pencil' for the Emperor (the propelling pencil, of enamelled gold set with a turquoise and medallet portraits of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum)¹¹⁰ and a hair bracelet for Eugénie: 'The Empress was touched to tears when I gave her a bracelet with my hair.' On the last evening (20 April) Eugénie, with diamond flowers in her hair, 'looked so simple and so elegant, I wish I could make a sketch of her as she was'. Regret at parting next day was tempered by the prospect of a return visit to Paris in August.

The Paris visit was a greater challenge than the low-key events at Windsor Castle in April. Victoria lavished an uncharacteristic amount of thought and cash on her clothes and the Crown Jeweller accompanied the party to look after the Koh-i-noor diamond. In Paris the Queen and her family were more exposed, with many more public events. The French court presented a dazzling spectacle in contrast to the gatherings, consisting mainly of family members, at Windsor and Buckingham Palace. The International Exhibition in Paris was in full swing so a great deal was at stake for both nations. During the Second Empire France had emerged as a force to be reckoned with, ruled by an emperor with far greater powers than those wielded by Queen Victoria, a constitutional monarch. Napoléon controlled the Paris exhibition personally, an opening shot in a rivalry that continued into the 1860s with two further exhibitions, in 1862 in London and 1867 in Paris.

Much thought was given to the royal gifts. This was to be a demonstration of British

triumphs at many levels. Following the example of Hunt & Roskell and others who had shown Assyrian-inspired jewels at the 1851 exhibition, the Queen ordered a selection of 'Nineveh' pieces to take to Paris. These were to make the point that the British had also been involved in the discovery of ancient Assyria (see pp. 387–8). Victoria had direct personal experience of Assyrian sculpture, having been given three alabaster slabs by Sir Austen Henry Layard himself.¹¹¹ The jewels are itemized in the royal ledger as 'A turquoise & brilliant Nineveh brooch, £285', 'A round Nineveh carbuncle & brilliant brooch, £17. 10s.', and 'A turquoise and enamel Nineveh necklet £22. 10s.' The first of these is expensive enough to have been for Eugénie herself; the others appear to be novelties for lesser members of the imperial suite. Sadly, the 'Nineveh' pieces are lost to posterity. The gem-set Garrard jewels were very different from popular novelties of Assyrian inspiration featuring miniature replicas of the relief sculptures. The last and most expensive piece listed is a 'Ruby & Brilliant Grecian bracelet, £285. 10s.'

Victoria's powers of observation and faculty of total recall are at their most sparkling in her account of the Paris visit. Sightseeing was for her an intense pleasure and her account of the sights is minutely detailed. The usual delays with the luggage marred the first evening on 18 August and Eugénie, who was pregnant, 'did not dine'. The next day, a Sunday, was spent quietly, driving round Paris and attending prayers read by the Chaplain of the British Embassy. In the evening 'the dear Empress, who sat opposite with Albert, had a white *organdi* dress, embroidered with blue and straw, with turquoise and diamond ornaments, and I a green silk dress, trimmed with lace, roses and violets in my hair'. The turquoise and diamond parure probably descended from the Duchesse d'Angoulême, last daughter of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette, and was among the still wearable pieces that were so beautifully made that Eugénie kept them unaltered.¹¹² The next evening was a splendid occasion, with the imperial crowns on display; the Queen noted that they were 'made with very few diamonds' so that the rest could be used for parures for Eugénie. On his marriage in 1853 Napoléon had hurriedly ordered the resetting of large numbers of the Crown diamonds as jewels for his bride. Because of the size of the order and the need for speed a number of Parisian firms collaborated with Bapst, the Crown jeweller, and these pieces were delivered finally by Bapst and by Marret & Baugrand in July 1855, in time for Queen Victoria's visit.

That evening Eugénie was wearing a sapphire and diamond diadem to go with a dress embroidered with cornflowers and Victoria was in her favourite pink with her opals. For a visit to the opera on 21 August, Empress and Queen, both in white dresses, wore emeralds and diamonds and, in an aside, the Queen noted that Princesse Mathilde (the Emperor's cousin) was also dressed in white with emeralds and diamonds. The chief event of the following day was a visit – the first of several – to the Exposition, escorted by the Emperor. One of the memorable sights was the display of the French Crown jewels, which Victoria found 'truly superb, and most beautifully set'. At a large dinner party that evening Eugénie wore pink with pearls, Victoria white *organdie* with diamonds and blue flowers. A ball at the Hôtel de Ville on 23 August at last brought out the Koh-i-noor in its diamond diadem. Victoria's dress was made in Paris, white net embroidered with gold and trimmed with red geraniums, and very full. It was 'much admired by the Emperor', who may have been somewhat disconcerted at its origin. He asked if it was English.

The most magnificent of Eugénie's toilettes was worn on 25 August for the first state ball at the Palace of Versailles since the time of Louis XVI:

The dear Empress met us at the top of the staircase, looking really like a fairy queen or nymph, in a white dress trimmed with branches of grass and diamonds; a beautiful *tour de corsage* of diamonds round the top of her dress, and all *en rivière* [a string of diamonds]; the same round her waist, and a corresponding coiffure . . . The Emperor said when she appeared, '*Comme tu es belle*'.

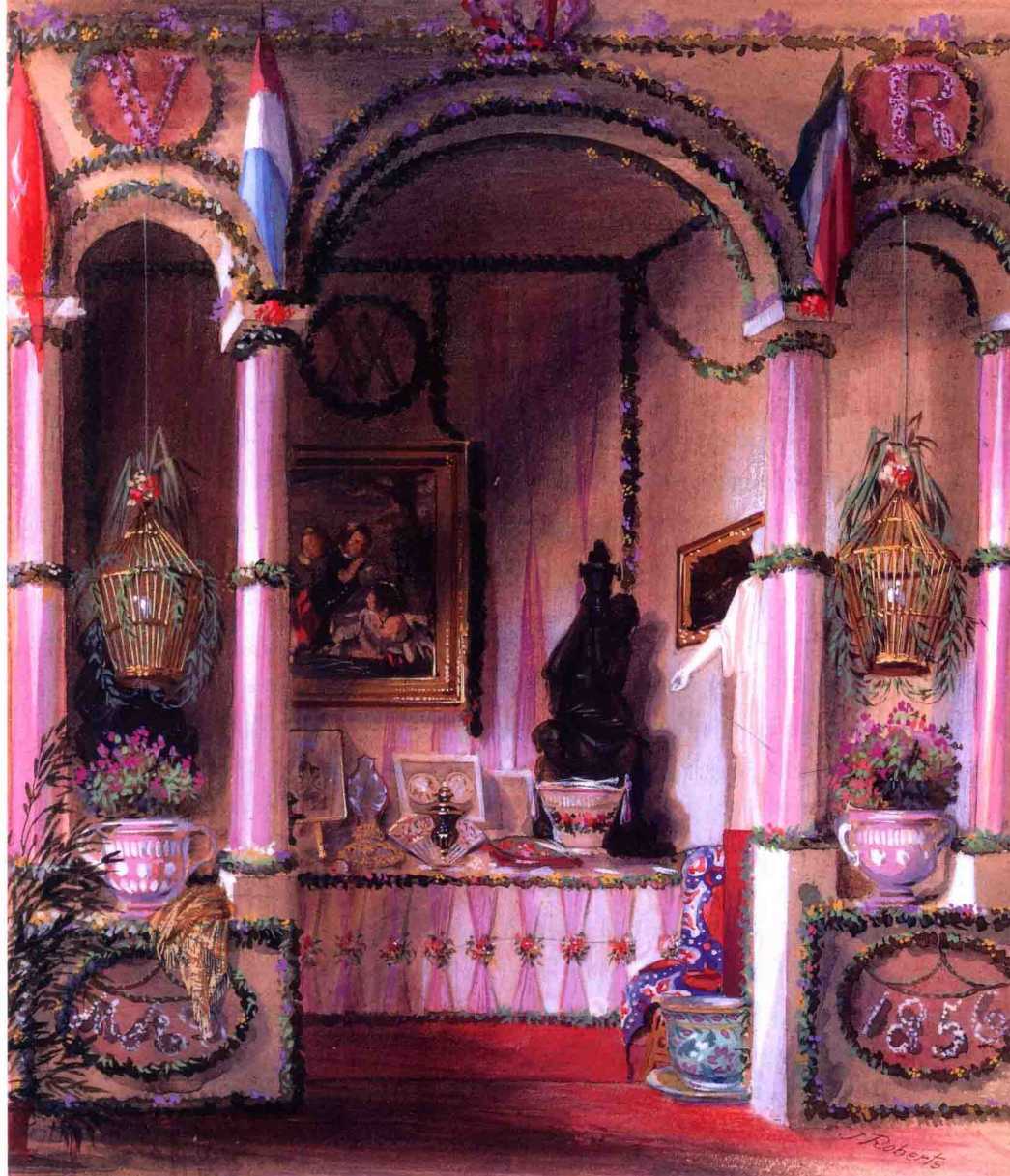
The end of the visit was marked on 26 August by an exchange of gifts. Victoria's journal hints at unspoken protocols: the previous Sunday Eugénie had pressed on her 'a beautiful bouquet-holder of diamonds, pearls, and rubies, with the stems of enamel. She said nothing beyond hoping I would take the bouquet; and I felt shy about accepting it, and enquired through my dresser of her dresser, who then said she hoped I would retain it. It is quite lovely' (Fig. 29). 'Garrard's ledger reveals that Victoria also treasured other more trifling gifts: a 5-franc



29

Porte-bouquet (bouquet-holder). French, about 1855. L. 18.2 cm. Royal Collection

This bouquet-holder, of enameled gold set with rubies, diamonds, pearls and turquoises, was given to Queen Victoria by the Empress Eugénie in Paris in 1855. The pin on a chain goes through the upper part of the holder, piercing the stems of the flowers to keep them in place.



30

Queen Victoria's Birthday Table at Osborne, May 1856, by James Roberts (c. 1800–1867). Watercolour, 1856. Royal Collection

Visible just left of centre on the Queen's birthday table is the large red morocco display case for the parure of jewellery in filigree and pearls, consisting of necklace, ornaments for the head, earrings, brooch and bracelet, bought by Albert at the 1856 Paris Exhibition.

piece, drilled by the Crown jeweller in September 1855 presumably for a bracelet charm, an enamelled and diamond brooch engraved 'VR Paris Augst 1855', and in 1856 a miniature of the 'Empress of the French' mounted in oxidized silver with a gold violet border (violets being the Bonaparte emblem). On the Queen's birthday table in 1856 was the parure of tiara, necklace and earrings, bought by Albert from the Paris exhibition, in its display case (Fig. 30).

Eugénie was far more influential than Victoria in the realms of fashion and taste, but with the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, 1870–71, the Second Empire fell and French art and commerce were again dealt a terrible blow. Paris always had an unrivalled capacity for self-renewal, particularly noticeable after the 'July Revolution' in 1848; it was later summed up by G.A. Sala after the events of 1870–71 in *Paris Herself Again 1878–9*, his collected reports on the 1878 International Exhibition.¹¹³ It is fruitless to speculate on how great a challenge the French luxury market would have been to the British without these set-backs, but there is no question that it would have been formidable. French trade survived by virtue of a highly developed export market, with stylish and fashionable products unmatched by mass-market jewellery in Britain and Germany. French supremacy in the luxury market was never seriously undermined, but French reversals in fortune gave Britain a chance to develop in a way that was not entirely overshadowed by Paris.

1858: the Hanoverian Settlement and the marriage of the Princess Royal

On her accession Queen Victoria had been barred by Salic law (which does not allow female succession while any male heir is living) from the throne of Hanover, which went to George III's fifth son, the much-disliked Ernest, Duke of Cumberland. Under the terms of Queen Charlotte's will, Ernest laid claim to her jewellery and plate. The ambiguous wording of the will resulted in a long-running saga that rumbled on for more than thirty years.¹¹⁴ When the late King's executors handed over the Crown jewels in 1837 Victoria wore them and, like Queen Adelaide before her, had many pieces reset to provide more modern ornaments. The jewellery claimed by Hanover was hard to identify and Victoria hoped for some kind of compromise, particularly after the accession of Ernest's son, her cousin George, with whom she was on friendly terms. She received a nasty shock on 15 December 1857, when the judgment went against her and she had to give up a number of diamonds and pearls, diamond bows, three-drop and single-drop diamond earrings, a diamond cross, Queen Charlotte's small nuptial crown, which she wore at the opening of the Great Exhibition, a diamond nosegay and three of the six diamond wheatear ornaments from Queen Adelaide. Her regal diadem, which had been altered to accommodate the Koh-i-noor and Cumberland diamonds, and her Oriental tiara were both dismantled. The two ornaments most closely associated with her public image, George IV's coronation circlet and Adelaide's sunray tiara, escaped.

It was accepted that the Paymaster General would defray the cost of providing essential replacements. In 1858 Garrard's began making up the losses as best they could, using stones taken from orders, badges, swords and 'other useless things' at a cost of £8,851 1s. The Oriental tiara was remade; the three missing wheatears were replaced. Queen Charlotte's bow-knots were replaced by a set of three, two large and one small, fashioned from 506 diamonds supplied by the Queen. The diamond nosegay corsage ornament was not replaced in spite of being so fashionable.

The Settlement marked a critical point in Victoria's attitude to the Crown diamonds. Coming as it did after the exchange of visits with Napoléon and Eugénie and the Queen's sight of the riches of the imperial cabinet of jewels, she moved to enhance and consolidate the Crown holdings, her 'trophies of monarchy'. The ambiguities of Queen Charlotte's will made her painfully aware of the hazards of unsecured female property. A ledger was ordered from the Crown Jeweller for an inventory of her jewels, many of them now designated as Crown Jewels, inalienable property for the use of her successors. A year after the Settlement the recently married Princess Royal was outraged to hear that the Queen of Hanover was wearing the jewels: 'It makes me so furious that anything you have worn should be worn by anyone else.'¹¹⁵ The Hanoverian reign was short-lived: Hanover was annexed by Prussia in 1866 and became part of a united Germany under Prussian rule.

At this time the marriage of their eldest daughter Vicky was an intense preoccupation to Victoria and Albert. It was long planned, from the first meeting between Vicky and Prince Frederick William of Prussia at the opening of the Great Exhibition in 1851 when the Princess was only ten years old. They were secretly engaged on 29 September 1855, when the Prince somewhat obliquely made his feelings known on a walk up the heather-covered slopes of Craig-na-Ban, near Balmoral.¹¹⁶ He presented Vicky with a sprig of white heather and this told

her all she needed to know about his nuptial intentions.¹¹⁷ The engagement was agreed on 27 March 1856, the day after her confirmation – an event judged to be a sufficient mark of maturity to deflect criticisms about her betrothal at such a young age (sixteen years old) – but the marriage was not to take place until she was seventeen. The public announcement came on 19 May 1857 and the marriage date was set for 25 January 1858 at the Chapel Royal in St James's Palace. As Princess Royal, she was the first to receive in June 1856 a badge of the future Royal Family Order of Victoria and Albert (confirmed in 1862), consisting of a double-portrait cameo with diamond border and ruby crown above (see Fig. 487).

This was a love match, but it was also a cherished dynastic scheme of Albert's to cement ties between Britain and Germany and to bring British political ideas to the backward-looking German system. It was also the Prince's greatest sacrifice, to lose his favourite and most promising child to a foreign marriage. Given the dynastic and political significance of the match, the bride's trousseau assumed great importance as an export of British goods and artistic design. Two years were spent assembling an enormous quantity of clothes, linen, jewels and plate. These were dispatched ahead of the ceremony in three shipments consisting of one hundred packing cases.¹¹⁸ The wedding presents included a fine row of pearls from the bridegroom. A report in *The Times* was filed from Berlin on 23 January 1858:

The nuptial present destined by Prince Frederick William for his Royal bride consists of a pearl necklace of unusual beauty and costliness: the necklace consists of 32 large Oriental pearls, pronounced by connoisseurs to be remarkably pure, and the larger of which, those towards the centre, are of the size of a hazel nut; the cost of this little collection, which has been completed only by dint of great diligence during a lengthened period, is stated to amount to 25,000 thalers (4,200l).

The Prince had another traditional duty to perform, offering mementoes to the Princess's Ladies. As noted by *The Times*:

For six ladies, who have been the companions and friends of the Princess Royal hitherto, (whether these ladies are the same as those selected by the Princess to officiate as her bridesmaids, I have not heard) the Prince takes with him six golden bracelets, consisting of a broad rich band of gold, bearing a shield on which is mounted a Prussian eagle, the wings of which are encrusted with diamonds.

His mother, the Princess of Prussia, chose 'a set of diamond and turquoise ornaments arranged with excellent taste'. The wedding rings were Silesian gold, made in Breslau. From Berlin, the *Times* correspondent reported, 'the maker of them – who has also a large gold refining establishment in that town – has had the two rings mounted on a skin of parchment, on which is engrossed with every attention to calligraphy, a short history of his gold works in Reichenstein'.¹¹⁹

This first royal marriage in the younger generation replicated as far as possible the marriage of the bride's parents. A full description in *The Times* (26 January 1858) is worth reading for the flower decorations alone. As usual the clothes and jewels are itemized in detail; the Queen wore her regal diadem and 'crown diamonds' including the Koh-i-noor, and her Honiton wedding lace, the flounce as an overskirt to her mauve moiré and silver dress.¹²⁰

'I felt as if I were being married over again,' she wrote, 'only much more nervous.'¹²¹ This is borne out by a touching daguerreotype taken just before the ceremony, in which the figure of the Queen is blurred by her uncontrollable trembling. The Princess was in white moiré with Honiton lace flounces and trimming and posies and swags of orange blossom and myrtle (this German custom having become part of royal marriage ritual), with a diamond necklace and earrings and the Prussian Order of Luise. The ceremony was to set a pattern for the future, but before the marriage of the next daughter, Princess Alice, the bride's grandmother, the Duchess of Kent and her father, Prince Albert, were dead. This tragic sequence of events meant that succeeding family weddings would never be the same.

The departure of the Princess and her husband for Berlin was unbearably distressing. The separation was eased by an exchange of letters that eventually numbered some eight thousand, an extraordinary record of a relationship between mother and daughter. The almost daily correspondence tells an illuminating story of their personal jewellery and its associations. The Queen was in a fever to know how the lovingly assembled trousseau was received in Berlin, and badgered the Princess unmercifully for every detail. Albert thought the correspondence a strain on his daughter and attempted to curb the Queen, but to no effect, and the stream of minutely detailed reporting and questioning continued unabated.

The frequency of the letters allowed for an unprecedented degree of domestic detail. They are particularly illuminating about Victoria's attitude to gifts and the sentiments they express. Her complete indifference to monetary value is a theme running throughout the exchange. Even flowers and ivy have associations: in March she was sending orange flowers, myrtle and ivy from Osborne, the latter to make wreaths: 'I am sure you will like to wear some of your own dear native ivy – from the woods here. I wore a wreath of it with some red ribbon on Monday night, also some years ago I put diamonds amid the leaves.'¹²² In April the Prince of Wales was confirmed in the Chapel at Windsor: 'I wore a blue moiré antique made thus [sketch] the body trimmed with blue ribbon, white silk with guipure lace over it. The lace is off the Empress's dressing gown [presumably given to the Queen by Eugénie in 1855]. . . . I wore the brooch of you as a little angel.'¹²³ The 'little angel' brooch shows Vicky as a baby, from the miniature by Sir William Ross (Fig. 21). From Windsor Castle on Christmas Day, 1858, giving thanks for a bracelet from the Princess and her husband, she wrote, 'I had your picture on my arm (a little photograph in the wedding dress) and Affie's in a locket, and your pretty little locket given me the last evening at dear Babelsberg round my neck – and while I gazed on the happy merry faces – amongst whom you used to be – I thought of the inroad time had made on the "children"!'¹²⁴

Now that the future of the Princess Royal was settled, the most important topic for the Queen was the search for a bride for the Prince of Wales. He was a great worry to her, falling short inevitably of the perfection of her husband. 'He is my caricature', she wrote to the Princess.¹²⁵ She believed the right wife would transform him, and her letters are full of anxious enquiries about suitable royal princesses in European courts. When Princess Alexandra of Denmark was eventually secured, she regarded it as little short of a miracle. She was deeply attached to the Princess from their first meeting, referring to her as 'a jewel' and 'a pearl not to be lost'.¹²⁶ But this satisfactory outcome arrived only after her life had been rocked to its foundations by the death of her mother in March 1861 and the tragic demise of the Prince Consort on 10 December that same year.

The widow of Windsor

The death of the Duchess of Kent in March 1861, closely followed by that of Albert on 14 December, marked the beginning of Queen Victoria's determined retreat from public life. This was highly damaging, undoing much so laboriously achieved by the Prince, now enshrined in the Queen's memory as the 'perfect angel'. Albert's death from typhoid fever was completely unexpected and the shock of it reverberated across British society. Dressed in black silk and lace with a black fan, and wearing only a half-concealed pendant and her wedding ring, the Queen, epitome of public feeling, gazes sorrowfully from a chromolithographic portrait issued at this time (Fig. 31).



HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

31

Queen Victoria in Mourning. Colour lithograph, about 1862. British Museum

The Queen's hand, showing her wedding ring, touches a hidden pendant on a black ribbon at her throat, possibly the heart-shaped locket with her husband's hair. Otherwise she has only a black fan, but no more jewellery. The description of a widow wearing only her wedding ring is a device much used in Victorian fiction to denote pathos. The image must date from the first three months of strict mourning. From March 1862 the Queen always wore white collar and cuffs with lace or a frill framing her face.

Garrard's ledgers reflect these events with a flurry of orders for mourning jewellery. In March 1861 a locket enclosing a portrait photograph of the Duchess was ordered along with another of 'Oriental agate' in a gold snake border (see Fig. 76). Both were to have '3 curls' inserted in the glass-covered compartments.¹²⁷ Lady Augusta Stanley (née Bruce), long-serving Lady-in-Waiting to the Duchess, was for several days occupied with the distribution of the memorials. On 23 April 1861 she told her sister Lady Frances Baillie, 'I am all day writing lists of the things the Queen gives as souvenirs, and letters to go with them.' The next day she noted, 'I went at 9.30 to make lists and arrange the packing of the jewels with the Garrard's man.'¹²⁸ The task went on for several more days: a great many memorial jewels must have been distributed. Lady Augusta was also present at the Prince's deathbed; she gives a long and detailed account of it, but this time she was not involved with the distribution of memorials.¹²⁹

Memorials for the Prince feature in Garrard's Royal Ledger on 9 January 1862: '9 chased gold lockets for photo miniatures with crown loops and black pearl drops. Putting hair in lockets and engraving'. Portrait photographs, symbolic of the corporeal presence of the loved one, were to become interchangeable with hair but Queen Victoria continued to deploy both

32

Jewels set with portraits of the Prince Consort, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (1819–61). *Left*: Brooch, gold with an enamelled miniature of Prince Albert. English, after 1860. Diam. 2.2 cm.

Right: Gold and black pearl memorial pendant-locket supplied by Garrard. English, 1862. L. 4.7 cm. See also page 12. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The locket commemorating Prince Albert, in its Garrard's display case made by C.J. Kitz, was given by Victoria to the Countess of Caledon (d. 1888), Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen. It encloses a miniaturized photograph by Camille Silvy, taken on 3 July 1861, in a Renaissance revival setting of Fontainebleau-style strapwork with a black pearl pendant. The enamelled portrait in the circular brooch is based on a photograph by J.J.E. Mayall, taken in 1860. The brooch was probably once the head of a stick-pin.



in the locket, which feature in the ledgers for years. Their sorrowful inscriptions give a powerful impression of the atmosphere at court.

For a middle-aged Victorian, the Queen was surprisingly unfamiliar with close family bereavement. Although her father died when she was only eight months old (before she could remember), all her children survived into adulthood. A note by the diarist Lucy Lyttelton (as she was before her marriage to Lord Frederick Cavendish, brother of the Duke of Devonshire) in the early months of the Queen's widowhood shows her overwhelming distress: 'Granny showed me the most piteous heart-broken letter, which she has received from the Queen, who has sent her a miniature photograph of the Prince in a brooch.'¹³⁰ Lucy's grandmother, part of the close-knit 'household' network, was Lady Lyttelton, former Lady of the Bedchamber and governess to the royal children, known as 'Laddle'.¹³¹ Memorial pendants with the Prince's photograph by Camille Silvy taken on 3 July 1861, in a setting of Fontainebleau-style strapwork, were ordered for many of the Queen's closest confidants (Fig. 32). Men were presented with stick-pins with the portrait set in gold martyr's palms (Fig. 33).¹³²

The longest period possible for public mourning was set at three months. The order for court mourning was issued by the Lord Chamberlain's Office on 15 December: 'The Ladies attending Court to wear black woollen stuffs, trimmed with crape, plain linen, black shoes and gloves and Crape Fans. The Gentlemen attending Court to wear black cloth, plain linen, Crape Hatbands, and black swords and buckles.'¹³³ A modified form of mourning dress was ordained at court for the rest of the Queen's life. Victoria herself rarely wore colours again; her jewels were largely 'colourless' (diamonds and pearls with gold) and many items set with coloured stones were passed on to members of her family.

Queen Victoria's first widow's cap and veil was the fashionable Mary Queen of Scots type; she is shown wearing it in the well-known portrait by A. Graefle, which was widely circulated in print form (see Fig. 79).¹³⁴ Two of the authentic portraits of Mary belonged to the Queen, a Hilliard miniature and *Mary, Queen of Scots in White Mourning* by an unknown artist, and both show the mourning cap.¹³⁵ This cap with widow's peak inspired many imitations. Victoria's mourning apparel stuck in the infant memory of Princess Helena's daughter Marie Louise (b. 1872). The first period of strict mourning in dresses heavily trimmed with crape was followed by an unchanging costume; the Queen

always wore black silk, with very full skirts, the bodice buttoned down the front, and a square *décolletage* which was filled with a dainty chemisette of white lisse (similar to tulle). The sleeves were rather wide, reaching just below the elbow, and to them were fastened full sleeves of white lisse – rather like those of a bishop – fastened at the wrist with a small button and loop.

She wore flat-heeled satin sandals with ribbons crossed over the instep. For jewellery 'a few diamond stars were added to her widow's cap. . . . Her bracelets were gold chains from which hung various locket containing the hair of her children and grandchildren'. By day she wore a locket with miniatures of Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse (died 1878) and Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany (died 1884). 'On birthdays and other family anniversaries, any special brooches or other pieces of jewellery given to her in commemoration of these events were always worn on the day itself.'¹³⁶



33 Prince Albert memorial stick-pin. English, supplied by Garrard, 1862. H. of pin 9.5 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The head of the pin is set with the same photograph by Camille Silvy used for the memorial pendant (Fig. 32), within a frame of gold martyr's palms. The pin, in its maroon leather display case lined with royal blue velvet and silk, is engraved on the reverse 'In remembrance of the beloved Prince, Dec. 14 1861 from VR'; it was owned by Lord George Lennox, brother of the Duke of Richmond, whose name is engraved on the rim.

When Lucy Lyttelton took up her duties as Maid-of-Honour in 1863, the court was still in deep mourning. Nonetheless her appointment was a welcome event in such a large family (she was one of twelve children), since in those days the Queen's Ladies were paid a salary. The Queen's Maids-of-Honour, Women of the Bedchamber and Ladies-in-Waiting were drawn from among the old English families, many of them not particularly well off. The salary, though small, was better than 'pin money' and helped to defray the unavoidable expenses associated with being 'in waiting'. In preparation for her first tour of duty Lucy bought, along with dresses, hats, gloves, buckles and studs, black silk and a 'set of jet'.¹³⁷ Deaths occurring among the intricate ramifications of the royal family across the courts of Europe meant that black for mourning was often needed in the royal household. For a 'Household dinner' at Windsor Lucy was relieved to find that her 'scrambled-into dress is correct: black with black gloves but gold ornaments; and green leaves and lilac flowers are allowed'.¹³⁸

In the years immediately following the Prince's death the character of the Queen's correspondence with her eldest daughter altered, and the letters are full of pain and sadness. Her feeling of aloneness seemed to increase rather than diminish. The few beguiling details of jewels given and received are submerged in painful memories and pressing political problems, which she has to face without the advice and support of the Prince. However, less than a fortnight after his death she roused herself to consider the Family Order jewel (see pp. 477–8): writing from Osborne on 23 December 1861 she revealed: 'The Badge or Order you wear, I think of founding as an Order, in double remembrance, for our descendants.'¹³⁹ The Royal Order of Victoria and Albert, formally instituted on 10 February 1862, recalls the date on which, twenty-two years earlier, the royal couple were married: it came to an end with the Queen's death in 1901.¹⁴⁰

With the opening of the 1862 London International Exhibition in May the Queen fled to Balmoral to be as far as possible from the memories of 1851. No courts were held in 1862 and in June Princess Alice was married privately at Osborne, Victoria observing sadly that it was more like a funeral than a wedding. The Princess was allowed to wear white trimmed with Honiton lace, although it was not unknown for 'black' weddings to take place when mourning a parent. Notwithstanding the Queen's reluctance, jewels had to be ordered and a trousseau assembled. The royal ledgers show diamond tiaras and necklaces for each successive bride. The need to launch her children into married life entailed costs that came at a bad moment. Victoria incurred heavy expenses pensioning off the household of the Duchess of Kent, and now she was deprived of her husband's income as well. However, Albert had been shrewd with money and Victoria was noticeably fortunate with legacies, the largest being a completely unexpected £250,000 in 1852 from a miserly and eccentric solicitor, John Camden Neild. The Queen was by no means penniless, but the marriage partners chosen for the next generation were by royal standards impoverished.

The marriage of Albert Edward, Prince of Wales (always known as Bertie), was a far more onerous event for the Queen than the weddings of her daughters. The bride-elect, Princess Alexandra of Denmark (Alix), was the daughter of Prince Christian of Denmark, who, although heir to King Frederick VII, subsisted largely on his army pay. His wife, Louise of Hesse-Cassel, came from the same German background as so many members of Victoria's family. Alix was a fourth cousin of Bertie, both of them being descendants of George II. In spite of her Danish nationality, her antecedents were almost entirely German. The painfully slow

progress of the negotiations dominates the letters to Vicky. Since plans for the marriage had been in train before Albert's death, it became an article of faith with the Queen to carry out his wishes in respect of Alexandra. Preoccupied as ever with defects in her son's character, the Queen admonished Vicky from Osborne on 16 April 1862:

One word about Princess Alix; don't encourage too much dressing or smartness; great quietness and simplicity going to the opposite of loud or fast dress, like our foolish English girls. For God's sake don't let Wally [Walburga Paget, née von Hohenthal, former Maid-of-Honour to the Crown Princess] try to encourage them to catch the poor boy by that fashionable dress! Anything but that.¹⁴¹

In September 1862 Bertie proposed and in November Alix was sent on a visit to the Queen at Osborne – 'on approval', as she was later to remark. With consummate tact she chose a plain black dress without ornaments for her first meeting with her future mother-in-law. Victoria was delighted with her and presented her with 'a sprig of white heather picked by the Prince at Balmoral, saying she hoped it would bring her luck'.¹⁴² On the advice of Princess Mary Adelaide of Teck, Alix acquired a number of 'French jet' ornaments to wear in these trying early days (see p. 125). They showed respect for the Queen's recent loss, but no excessive mourning for a father-in-law she would never know. Throughout her life the Princess showed her exquisite sensibility in preferring 'second mourning' colours, lilac and pale purple with white for the evening. In January 1863 she held a Drawing Room on behalf of the Queen. Official court mourning had ended, but Mrs Bruce, Woman of the Bedchamber, wrote to the Lord Chamberlain, 'The Queen desires me to let you know that Her Majesty wishes the Ladies of the Corps Diplomatique, the wives of the Cabinet Ministers and the Ladies of Her Household to be in black, with black feathers and gloves at the first Drawing Room. All other ladies may be in colours.'¹⁴³

The date for the marriage was fixed at last; 10 March 1863. Lady Augusta Stanley advised the Princess that 'three or four trains and *grandes toilettes*' should form part of her trousseau.¹⁴⁴ This must have startled Alix, whose previous life had contained nothing of the kind. Her new status was brought into sharp focus in Copenhagen in the days before her departure for London, when on 1 March deputations bearing wedding gifts arrived throughout the afternoon. As *The Times* reported on the display of trousseau lingerie at Mr Levysohn of Kjöbmagergade, Copenhagen, every garment was stitched by hand: 'Finer specimens of needlework will not easily be found. The stitches are so fine and the work so delicate that they have excited universal admiration.'¹⁴⁵ In spite of the unaccustomed munificence of her wedding preparations, the idea that Alix would try to entrap Bertie with fashionable dresses could not have been wider of the mark. She habitually made her own dresses and bonnets. In all innocence, she told the Queen, who admired a smart little jacket she was wearing, that it was a practical solution as it could be worn with different skirts to vary the toilette. Simplicity and prudence inculcated in girlhood served her well; they were the basis of her impeccable taste as an adult, which never deserted her. From the day of her arrival on 6 March, when crowds far in excess of any anticipated by the authorities clogged every yard of her route, the Princess was in the public eye. It was generally conceded that she had nothing to fear in terms of competition from the reigning royal beauties, Eugénie and Elisabeth, Empress of Austria.

The Prince and Princess of Wales

From the day of their marriage the Queen's place in the fashionable world was taken by her son and his bride. There was no way of making this wedding into a private ceremony like Princess Alice's, huddled off-stage in the Osborne House dining room. The Queen had to face a degree of public visibility, and to allow an element of rejoicing (her constant aim was to avoid 'joyousness'). Even so, she insisted that the ceremony take place in the comparative privacy of St George's Chapel, Windsor. She watched the proceedings, half-concealed, from Catherine of Aragon's Closet. Her renunciation of colours and jewels comes across poignantly in her Journal: on the wedding day, she wrote,

I dressed wearing my weeds, but a silk gown with crape, and a long veil to my cap, and for the first time since December '61, the ribbon, star, and badge of the Order of the Garter, the latter being the one my beloved one had worn, also the Victoria and Albert Order, on which I had my dearest Albert's head put above mine, and a brooch containing a miniature of him set around with diamonds, which I have worn ever since '40 [1840].¹⁴⁶

The bride was in white, tiers of Honiton lace looped with orange blossom, and an orange-blossom wreath (Fig. 34).¹⁴⁷ Her Honiton lace dress was a gesture to national interests. King Leopold of the Belgians gave a magnificent present of Brussels lace for the wedding dress, but this could not be used because of the royal policy of supporting native industries. Her jewels consisted of the necklace and brooch from the wedding parure of diamond and pearl jewellery given by the Prince, with the Royal Family Order badge presented to her by the Queen on the day before the wedding, the 'City of London' diamond necklace, and bracelets from the Queen, the ladies of Leeds and the ladies of Manchester. She followed the precedent set by Queen Victoria of wearing an orange-blossom wreath. The bridal bouquet was supplied by the celebrated horticulturalist James Veitch of the Royal Exotic Nursery, King's Road, in Chelsea.¹⁴⁸ It was composed of 'orange blossoms, white rose buds, rare orchideous [sic] flowers, and sprigs of myrtle, with a trimming of Honiton lace'. The bouquet holder made by London and Ryder of rock crystal, inlaid with a crowned cipher and Prince of Wales feathers in diamonds, emeralds and pink coral, was given by the Maharajah Duleep Singh (Fig. 36).¹⁴⁹ The myrtle, symbolizing Venus, came from Osborne, as in the bouquet made for Vicky's wedding by the same Mr Veitch. The bridesmaids were in white with pink roses. The mourning colours worn by the ladies of the royal family ensured an unusual harmony to the scene; Vicky and Alice wore their trousseau tiaras. The Windsor venue involved the guests in unintentionally comical scenes as they took ludicrously overcrowded 'special' trains from London, dressed in all their finery and jewels at 10 o'clock in the morning. It was a miracle that only very few losses were reported.

As was common with most aristocratic nuptials, the royal wedding presents were widely publicized, with surprisingly accurate estimates of the cost of the jewels and services of silver plate. They went on show in the North Court of the South Kensington Museum, attracting dense crowds (see pp. 439–40). The private view was a near-disaster, 'an ill-arranged affair' according to the *Illustrated London News*, with some five thousand people crushed into the approaches to the museum, queuing for hours. Dresses were torn and tempers frayed; the



34

Detail from the wedding photograph of the Prince and Princess of Wales by J.J.E. Mayall, 10 March 1863. Royal Collection

The wedding of Prince Albert Edward (1841–1910) and Princess Alexandra of Denmark (1844–1925): with her Honiton lace dress, trimmed with 'cordons' of orange blossom, myrtle and white heather, the Princess wears the necklace, earrings and brooch from the diamond and pearl parure given to her as a wedding gift by the Prince (see Fig. 35). Etiquette stipulated that Victorian wedding outfits should be worn on a variety of social occasions in early married life, such as the first married dinner-party or, for a day-dress, the first attendance at a church service and the first bridal 'at homes'.

long queues for admission remained throughout the exhibition. As the *Illustrated London News* reported, on one of the free days 'the number of persons admitted from 10 am till 10 pm was 20,467 besides 372 babies in arms'.¹⁵⁰ On 5 June *The Times* reported a set of twenty-five views of the wedding presents available from the London Stereoscopic Co., remarking that the gifts could be seen 'without any risk of suffocation, crushed crinolines or rent skirts'.

Royal wedding presents are the public face of the Crown Jeweller's role. Anticipating the marriage, a new ledger was opened. A souvenir volume of the wedding, published in 1864 (Figs 35, 36), acts like a Garrard testimonial, since so many of the presents were supplied by the firm.¹⁵¹ Apart from a vast service of table silver, the most expensive item was the parure of pearls and diamonds for the bride. Speculation in the Press put the cost at £15,000, which was close to the mark, the actual cost being about £14,000 – very much more expensive than the ones for her sisters-in-law. The higher sum would have been correct if a pair of bracelets forming part of the suite had not been dropped on the grounds of economy.

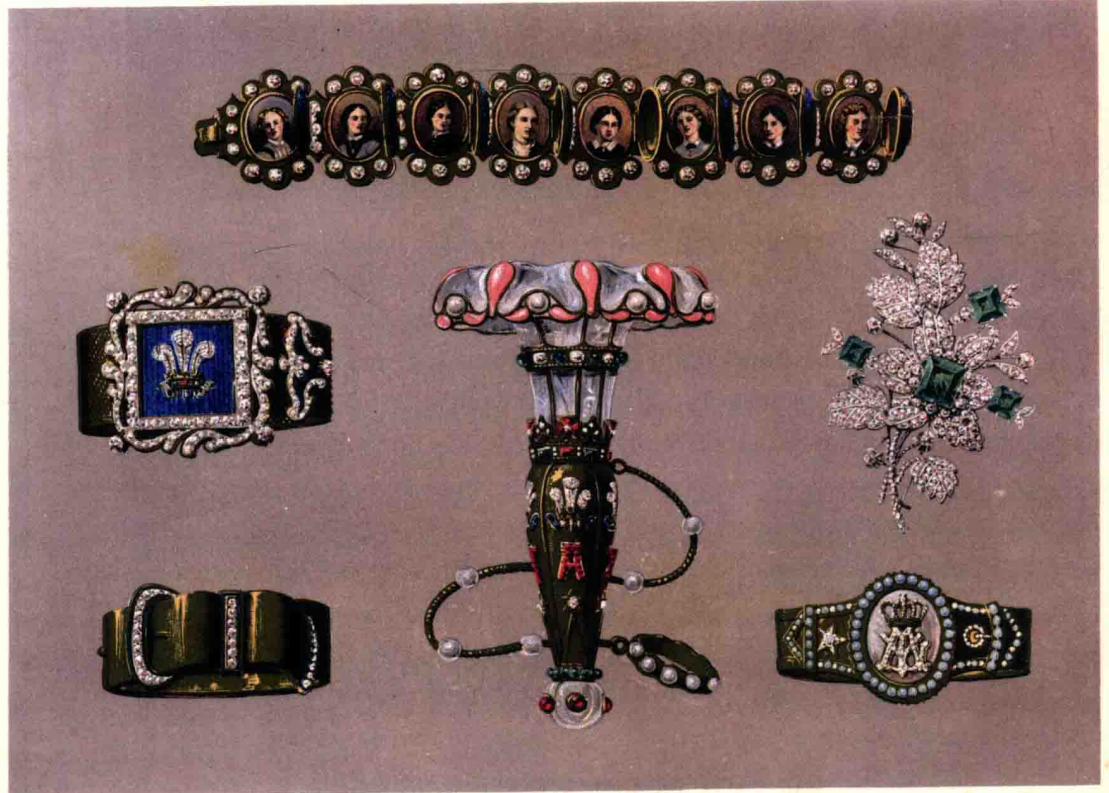
The tiara cost £8,000, the 'fine pearl and brilliant cluster necklace' £2,680, the brooch £2,650. Alix wore both necklace and brooch frequently but usually with three or four other necklaces of diamonds and a mass of brooches, and they are hard to disentangle in her portraits.



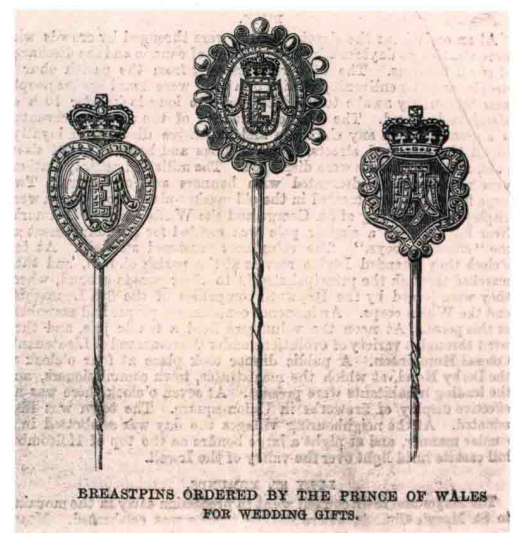
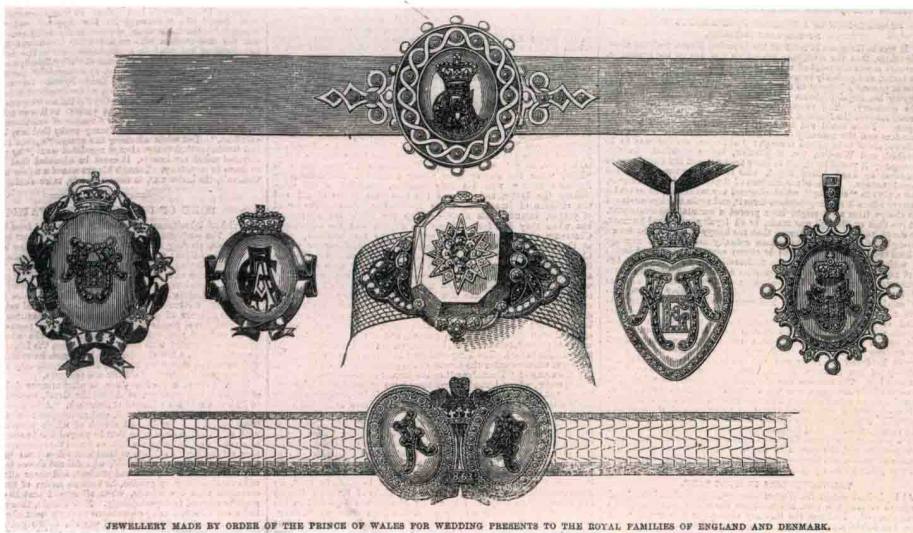
Parure of Alexandra and pearls The gift of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales

35
Page showing the diamond and pearl wedding parure from Sir W.R. Russell's souvenir volume, *A memorial of the marriage of H.R.H. Albert Edward Prince of Wales and H.R.H. Alexandra Princess of Denmark, The Various Events and Bridal Gifts illustrated by Robert Dudley, London, 1864*

36
Page from the Wales wedding souvenir album showing Duleep Singh's bouquet-holder with family gifts and the bracelet from the bridesmaids composed of lockets containing their portrait miniatures
The bracelet with the Prince of Wales feathers in diamonds was given by the Duke of Cambridge; the fashionable buckle bangle by his daughter Princess Mary; the flower brooch came from the Duchess of Cambridge; these were supplied by Garrard. The bracelet with the entwined initials of Princess Alice and her husband Prince Louis of Hesse is by Wondra of Darmstadt, jewellers by appointment to the Grand Ducal family.



1. Bracelet with Portraits Presented by The bridesmaids	4. Bracelet Presented by H.R.H. The Princess Mary of Cambridge
2. Bouquet Holder The Maharajah Duleep Singh	5. brooch H.R.H. The Duchess of Cambridge
3. Bracelet H.R.H. The Duke of Cambridge	6. Bracelet T.R.H. The Prince & Princess Louis of Hesse



The engagement or 'guard' ring was a massive gold hoop set with stones to spell 'BERTIE' (beryl, emerald, ruby, tourmaline, jacinth, emerald). The Queen gave a suite of cross, three brooches, earrings and a bracelet of opals and diamonds designed by her late husband. The cost was charged to the ledger maintained in his name after the Prince's death – his influence continued from the grave. The fact that Alix had a superstitious dislike of opals was immaterial; they were Albert's favourite stone. Victoria also handed over Indian jewellery from the East India Company, a multi-strand pearl necklace with emerald and diamond drops, a bracelet set with flat-cut diamonds, enamelled in a floral design on the reverse, and a choker with enamelled pendant. From the City of London the Princess received a magnificent diamond collet-set necklace of thirty-two very large old-cut Golconda diamonds (collet-sets encircle the stone with a plain metal strip) and 'top-and-drop' earrings, with 'matchless' drops, together weighing over 172 carats. These were supplied by Garrard's and cost £10,000. The diamond bracelet from the ladies of Manchester came from Hunt & Roskell; Joseph Mayer of Liverpool supplied the diamond cross and pearl necklace from the ladies of Liverpool.

The Prince's wedding account includes a gold wedding ring at two guineas; among gifts for the bridesmaids of crystal lockets set with pink pearls and diamonds representing the royal Danish colours and other mementoes is a crystal locket set with emeralds, rubies and diamonds costing £18, his present to his mother. The locket is inset with the monogram AEA for Albert Edward and Alexandra, framed with a wreath of emerald and enamel orange blossom and surmounted with Prince of Wales feathers in diamonds. The Queen's locket and his presents to the rest of the family and his royal Danish in-laws all follow the same lines, with inset jewelled monograms. They are identified by the *Illustrated London News* as the work of a firm contending for the position of Crown Jeweller in the 1840s, J. & T. Turner of Bond Street, a fact not noted in the royal ledger, but meticulously recorded in the press (Fig. 37).¹⁵² The *Illustrated London News* also pin-points the involvement of an enterprising upstart, Harry Emanuel, who made more than twenty 'breast-pins' with jewelled monograms for the Prince's male relatives and friends: Emanuel was another absentee from the annals of the crown jeweller (Fig. 38). The Byzantine-style 'Dagmar' necklace from the Danish King, also featured in the *Illustrated London News* (see p. 441), was embarrassingly similar in style to the pearl and diamond festoon necklace from the Prince, but considerably grander.

37 Above left
The Prince of Wales's gifts: lockets for the Queen and Princesses. *Illustrated London News*, 21 March 1863, p. 321
These were made by J. & T. Turner of Bond Street.

38 Above right
The Prince of Wales's gifts: breast-pins for the Princes. *Illustrated London News*, 21 March 1863, p. 328
These were made by Harry Emanuel.



39

Alexandra, Princess of Wales. Photograph by Sergey Lvovich Levitsky, probably taken in Paris, 1868. London, National Portrait Gallery

The Princess is wearing her signature black ribbon choker, designed to hide a scar on her neck, with a diamond star brooch. Black ribbon chokers were a popular accessory for the 1770s-style square necklines as they provided a solution to the immodesty of the excessively revealing *décolletage*.

The Princess's closest fashion model was the French Empress. Her wedding jewels in particular reflected the suites of pearls and diamonds in the French crown jewels made for Eugénie in the 1850s. Alix's 1864 portrait by Winterhalter shows the brooch and earrings from her diamond and pearl wedding parure, her Family Order badge on her shoulder and numerous fashionable bracelets (Fig. 40). She influenced fashion all her life; even strategies to hide her defects were imitated. She had a small scar on her neck which, at the time of her marriage, was concealed by the long 'Alexandra curl' over her shoulder (false hairpieces like these could be bought from London hairdressers).¹⁵³ When hairstyles altered to expose the neck, Alix devised a form of choker to conceal the scar, made either of a simple black velvet band for day-wear or of strings of pearls or precious stones (Fig. 39). The 'dog-collar' necklace was fashionable for almost fifty years. The contrast between her way of wearing precious jewellery, combining the different elements with dash and panache, and the straightforward approach to the Crown jewels adopted by her mother-in-law is very marked. Among the royal ladies it was Alix and Eugénie who were most capable of turning royal trophies into fashion statements.

In 1866 Alix's sister Dagmar married Alexander, heir to the Russian throne. She converted to the Orthodox Church and took the name Marie Feodorovna. She found a court life of almost barbaric splendour, with many ceremonies based on the old Byzantine Empire, more Eastern than European. The splendour and value of the Russian crown jewels was a



40

Alexandra, Princess of Wales, by F.X. Winterhalter. Oil on canvas, 1864. Royal Collection

The Princess wears a white ball-dress decorated with blue ribbons, the badge of the Order of Victoria and Albert with the brooch and earrings from her wedding parure and many bracelets. In her hair, instead of the tiara, she has a wreath of roses and other flowers.

wonder of nineteenth-century court life. They were worn with superb court robes, based on rules laid down by Nicholas I (reigned 1825–55), comprising Russian national dress of white silk, red velvet bodice with long hanging sleeves, a long train richly embroidered and a kokoshnik headdress, also of red velvet, embroidered with jewels. The trains were so heavy with jewels and gold and silver bullion that it was difficult to move unaided. The traditional headdress was the keystone of Russian revivalism, even invading architecture in the form of the 'kokoshnik' arch. Marriage and coronation ceremonies, with their insistence on national heritage, were part of a political and imperial policy to strengthen Russian culture.

In the same year Princess Helena, Victoria's third daughter, married Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein. Her presents were listed in detail, filling a whole column in *The Times*:

41

Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, by Heinrich von Angeli (1840–1925). Oil on canvas, 1875. Royal Collection

Princess Christian (Helena, 1846–1923, third daughter of Victoria and Albert) wears an Indian pendant with a large emerald drop as a necklace centre, her wedding gift from Queen Victoria (she was married in 1866), with a star ornament in her hair, a wedding gift from her younger siblings.



the Queen gave the usual suite of diamonds and opals as well as ‘a very large pendant composed of seven large diamonds, with a ruby in the centre, and a large emerald drop; the diamonds, ruby and emerald taken out of India jewels presented to Her Majesty in 1863’, and a parure of turquoises set in diamonds and diamond hairpins in the form of flowers that had belonged to the Duchess of Kent.¹⁵⁴ An 1875 portrait by Heinrich von Angeli reveals that Helena evidently had the ruby and diamond pendant with its great drop-shaped emerald adapted to form the centre of a multi-strand pearl necklace (Fig. 41). Bertie and Alix gave ‘a handsome diamond bandeau for the head’. The younger children combined to give diamond stars (possibly those worn in her hair in the portrait). The many lockets among the presents, set with the initials of the donor and containing portraits and locks of hair, are typical Victorian gifts. This minutely itemized list marks a watershed; a certain public fatigue with royal alliances appears to have set in during the 1870s and 1880s, and royal marriage gifts were henceforth reported much more tersely.

With the marriage in 1871 of her fourth daughter Princess Louise, a talented sculptor, to the Marquess of Lorne, heir to the Duke of Argyll, the Queen’s interest in Scottish jewellery revived. The Queen wrote to Lord Lorne:

I send you here a little pin made out of a piece of granite I picked up on the path to the Glassalt Shiel on 26th October, with 3rd October engraved on it at the back, and with a wreath of *bog myrtle* [emblem of the Campbell clan to which Lord Lorne belonged] round it, which I hope you will sometimes wear. Louise has a brooch just like it made out of the same stone.¹⁵⁵

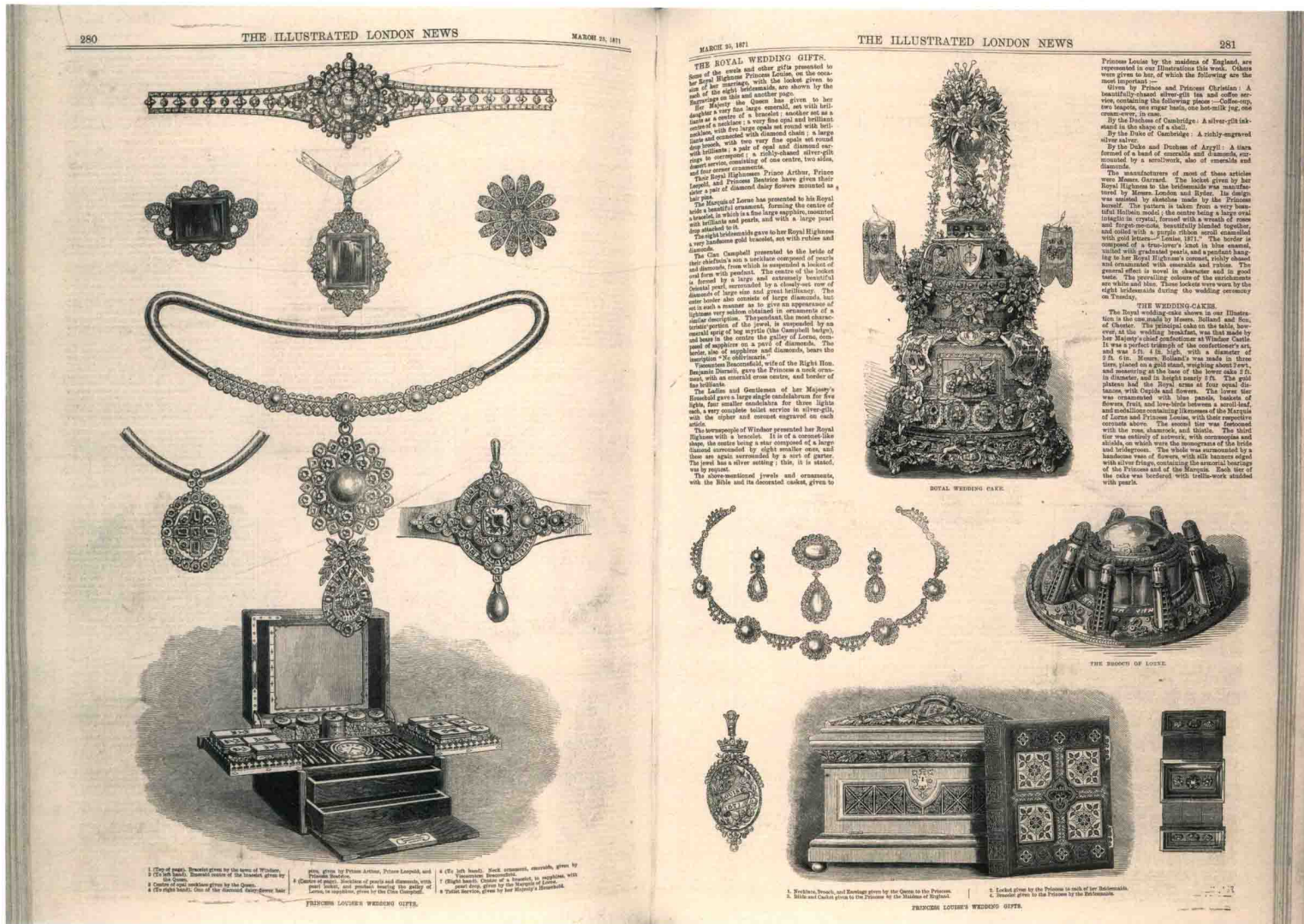
True to her feeling for sentimental jewellery of all kinds, the Queen expected Lorne to treasure this pin above any precious jewel. In fact Lorne's father, the Duke of Argyll, had pre-empted the Queen some months earlier by giving Louise a cross cut from an 'Iona stone' found on the island. To show his attentions were welcome Louise wore it on the contrived occasion on 3 October 1870 when she and Lorne were left alone so that he could propose.¹⁵⁶

The servants at Balmoral gave a gold and Scotch pearl necklace and earrings of Edinburgh manufacture. 'The articles . . . are quite small but exquisitely chaste in design . . . the earrings alone cost close upon 40l [£40].'¹⁵⁷ Lorne commissioned from Robert Phillips a tiara of the leaves and buds of bog myrtle. A report in *The Graphic* illustrated a number of jewels, including a bracelet in the 'Runic style' from the 'loyal people of Mull' and the rock crystal bridesmaids' lockets supplied by London & Ryder.¹⁵⁸ The lockets, designed by the Princess, are described by the *Illustrated London News* as 'taken from a very beautiful Holbein model'.¹⁵⁹ The people of Windsor subscribed to a diamond-encrusted bracelet, as they did for all the royal brides; these were exhibited in the Town Hall before each wedding. The Queen gave the usual opal and diamond suite (Fig. 42).¹⁶⁰

Links between the British Crown and the Romanovs were strengthened in 1874 by the marriage of Victoria's second son Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, to Dagmar's sister-in-law,

42
Wedding gifts to Princess Louise, Marchioness of Lorne, *Illustrated London News*, 25 March 1871, pp. 280-81

Among the gifts to the Princess (fourth daughter of Victoria and Albert; later Duchess of Argyll, 1848-1939) pictured for the magazine is the Brooch of Lorne (see pp. 455-6) and, to the left of the brooch, the suite of diamond and opal jewellery given by the Queen. In November 1842, many years before this matrimonial alliance, Queen Victoria received from Prince Albert a 'gold brooch after the pattern of the brooch of Lorn' set with a carbuncle and ten Scottish pearls.



1. Opal and diamond suite given by the Queen to the Princess Louise.
 2. Tiara of the leaves and buds of bog myrtle, given by the Duke of Argyll to the Princess Louise.
 3. Runic bracelet, given by the Princess Louise to her bridesmaids.
 4. Brooch of Lorne, given by the Duke of Argyll to the Princess Louise.
 5. Gold brooch after the pattern of the brooch of Lorne, given by Prince Albert to Queen Victoria.
 6. Gold brooch after the pattern of the brooch of Lorne, given by the Duke of Argyll to the Princess Louise.

1. Wedding cake, given by the Queen to the Princess Louise.
 2. Brooch of Lorne, given by the Duke of Argyll to the Princess Louise.
 3. Brooch of Lorne, given by the Duke of Argyll to the Princess Louise.

Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna. Bertie and Alix attended the marriage celebrations in St Petersburg with Vicky, Crown Princess of Germany. The artist Nicholas Chevalier made detailed drawings of robes and jewellery for his large painting of the ceremony. Alix is wearing the tiara and brooch from her pearl and diamond wedding parure (Fig. 43). Lady Augusta Stanley, in St Petersburg with her husband Dean Stanley who was to conduct the Anglican marriage ceremony, thought that the Grand Duchess 'must have ached with the immense weight of jewels, the necklace of diamonds seemed to me the most beautiful I ever saw and the gown was studded with them, round the body and sleeves and down the front of the body and skirt'.¹⁶¹ Lady Augusta had scrambled to find dresses and diamonds equal to the occasion, borrowing from her family (a great responsibility, as she ruefully remarked), but she was able to say, 'I feel I have done quite well, and my diamonds have struck terror into all beholders, though really here, one gets almost tired of them – The Grand Duchesses are literally covered with them – belts, trimmings, skirts, bodies, heads – gigantic stones – and emeralds and other stones besides.'¹⁶²

Reports in the Press of the coronation of Alexander III and Marie Feodorovna nine years later give some idea of the formal magnificence of the Russian court. However, it is from the letters of Madame Waddington, American-born wife of William Henry Waddington, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, who represented France as Ambassador-Extraordinary at the coronation, that the most vivid and detailed picture of the elaborate ceremonial of the occasion emerges. Faced with the challenge of Russian court jewels, she searched around her family for diamonds:

I have been rather bothered about my jewels . . . I have taken everything the family own. Anne's necklace, with some extra stones I had, has been converted into a tiara. All Russian women wear their National coiffure at the Coronation, the Kakoshnik [sic]. As that is very high, studded with jewels, any ordinary arrangement of stars and feathers would look insignificant. Freddy, who is an authority on such matters, advised me to concentrate all my efforts on the tiara – he also suggested ropes of pearls (artificial) but I couldn't make up my mind to that. Chemin, the jeweller, was very anxious I should 'louer' a sort of breastplate of diamonds – but on the whole I preferred taking less – merely mine and the sisters'. What I shall do if they are stolen or lost I am sure I don't know.¹⁶³

The Waddingtons took a vast retinue including a coiffeuse and nine huge horses to draw their ceremonial carriage. Madame Waddington had eighteen dresses made, many with full court trains covered with embroidery. Among the incredible array of jewels at court she singled out the ropes of huge pearls worn by the Empress and the 'splendid jewels' including beautiful sapphires belonging to Mrs Mackay, wife of the 'silver king' John William Mackay, American financier and Nevada mining mogul, who was attached to the United States Mission. After the Russian Revolution in 1917 many of the crown jewels were sold, like the jewels of France and Spain, to become the trophies of rich collectors.

At last, in 1888, Alix realized her ambition to have a jewel to rival those of her sister. For her twenty-fifth wedding anniversary she was presented with a kokoshnik-style tiara made by Garrard's, copied from the Russian crown diadem in which Dagmar was frequently portrayed. It was given to Alix by the 'Ladies of Society' – in other words the 365 peeresses

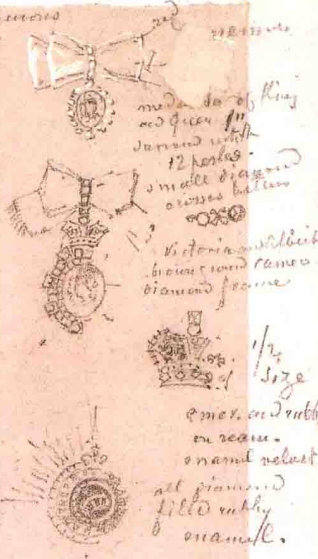
43 *Opposite*

Alexandra, Princess of Wales, dressed for the marriage of Prince Alfred and the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna, by Nicholas Chevalier (1828–1902). Pencil and watercolour, 1874. Royal Collection
In this sketch of the dress worn by Alexandra at the marriage in Russia of Prince Alfred (second son of Victoria and Albert; Duke of Edinburgh, 1844–1900) to the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna (Duchess of Edinburgh, 1853–1920), Chevalier has filled the margin with details of Alix's jewellery and orders, including the diamond and pearl tiara and brooch from her wedding parure.

Ribbon - St Cath.

*on the breast, Victoria's Order
in the throat, and Danish
in neck & throat parts
small ornaments feathers on left shoulder
and on the shoulders
diamonds
diamonds on the middle jewel
on the shoulders*

*Coronet of 10 flowers
the largest in front,
all diamonds*



*medal of King
and Queen for
diamond with
12 holes
small diamond
crosses below*

*Victoria's Order
diamond and cameo
diamond frame*

*1 1/2 size
emerald and ruby
in scarlet
on a small velvet*

*all diamonds
filled with
emerald*

*101
pearls and diamonds
upon black velvet*



*nat.
size*

*rose velvet
silken embroidery
rose, shamrock
and thistle*

*Line of white brocade
with*

*Dress worn by H.R.H. the Princess of Wales
23 Jan, 1874*

44

Study by Nicholas Chevalier of the dress worn by the Empress Marie of Russia at Prince Alfred's wedding. Pencil and coloured chalks, 1874. Royal Collection

Chevalier has taken details of the sapphire and diamond jewellery and kokoshnik headdress worn by the Empress Marie (1824–80).



of the United Kingdom. Supervised by the Marchionesses of Ailesbury and Salisbury and the Countesses of Cork and Spencer, the tiara is composed of sixty-one graduated platinum bars set with 488 large brilliants, and cost £4,400. She wore it for the wedding of her second and oldest surviving son to Princess May of Teck in 1893. The tiara was illustrated in its presentation casket in 1888 in the *Illustrated London News*, along with the dog-collar necklace of large, oval faceted sapphires linked by diamond chains given by Alexander and Dagmar (Fig. 45).¹⁶⁴ The Queen ordered an orange flower spray in gold and silver, reminiscent of her own suite of orange blossom from her husband and supplied by Garrard.¹⁶⁵ Bertie gave his wife a large pendant cross set with diamonds and rubies. A pendant cross was one of the rare daytime ornaments worn by the Princess.

The social circle of Bertie and Alix centred on their London home at Marlborough House was known in consequence as the 'Marlborough House Set'. They were even more



45

The Princess of Wales's silver wedding presents. *Illustrated London News*, 17 March 1888, p. 278

Visible in this illustration are the orange-blossom spray from the Queen, the kokoshnik-style diamond tiara and the diamond cross from the Prince of Wales, and, at the top, the dog-collar necklace with sapphires from the Emperor and Empress of Russia.

exactness on the question of dress than the Queen in the heyday of her reign. Bertie, otherwise a genial host, could be bitingly critical of guests who failed to conform to the conventional 'uniform' of diamond tiara and other precious jewellery. However, young and forward-looking, he played a crucial role in breaking down class barriers at court and his love of extravagant display and Parisian fashions enlivened London's social life. Situated to the east of St James's Palace, Marlborough House had been Queen Adelaide's dower house and housed the Museum of Ornamental Art before being earmarked for the Prince on his marriage. It constituted a second court, frequented by the gambling and racing 'fast set' in high society. Bertie's social life had a French flavour – he cherished a life-long passion for Paris, where he had a number of affairs – and he greatly admired the chic and fashionable Parisian way of life. Entertainments at Sandringham, his country estate in Norfolk, had more in common with the Second Empire splendours of Compiègne, where he had been a guest, than with

the muted formalities of Windsor. The Anglo-French element in British society with which the Prince so closely identified himself was a useful antidote to the Germanic character of the court.

Keeping up with the Marlborough House Set was expensive, precursor of the extravagant social style of the Edwardian era. Owing to Victoria's determined seclusion, this developed well in advance of the Prince's accession as King Edward VII in 1901. The perpetually indebted Prince enjoyed the company of the very rich as well as those distinguished by lineage and land ownership. The cult of the 'professional beauty' flourished at Marlborough House. The 'beauties' selected each year from the new arrivals in the enclosed circle of London society had the crowd standing on chairs in Hyde Park to watch them pass by on horseback or in carriages. Alix was the original 'beauty', an icon of style and loveliness. Bertie's first acknowledged mistress, Lillie Langtry, was a 'professional beauty' who later made a career as an actress based on her famed looks; one of the great attractions was the jewellery she wore on stage (see p. 90).

Another element very much to the Prince's taste infiltrated British society, in the form of wealthy American brides chosen by impoverished members of the aristocracy to rescue their crumbling fortunes and estates. The Prince paid a successful visit to the United States in 1860, and he kept warm memories of America and the Americans all his life.¹⁶⁶ The ball given in his honour on 12 October 1860 at the New York Academy of Music, memorable partly because the floor collapsed, was the most reported social event held in the city.¹⁶⁷ The jewellery was dazzling, much of it bought from the rising firm of Tiffany & Co., but much of it borrowed, from Tiffany and their great rivals, Messrs Ball, Black & Co. The latter claimed they had made enough from the loans to pay their store rent for a whole year.¹⁶⁸ This occasion marked the start of the American love-affair with Charles Frederick Worth; two of his dresses worn at the ball survive, one in the New-York Historical Society and the other in the Museum of the City of New York.¹⁶⁹

The dowry of the New York heiress Cornelia Bradley Martin, who married the 4th Earl of Craven in 1893, included valuable jewels, among them the Angoulême ruby and diamond tiara and bracelets, acquired in 1887 at the sale of the French crown jewels. Like the Angoulême turquoise suite, these had been worn by Eugénie in Paris in 1855 (see p. 49). There were many other American wives, often better educated than their English contemporaries and 'finished' in Paris. Their dresses and jewels were Parisian, from Worth – who had the absolute monopoly of the American market – and Boucheron or Cartier. They were immensely stylish, formidable competition from the point of view of fashion, and they set the tone of Bertie's circle. Although she was persuaded by the Prince to receive some of the American ladies, the Queen did not really approve.

The re-emergence of the widowed Queen

On her rare public appearances the Queen deployed a changing selection of diamonds and pearls. At the Opening of Parliament in 1866, the first she had undertaken since her husband's death, she wore 'a widow's cap of the Mary Stuart fashion, with an aigrette of diamonds in front, the blue Ribbon of the Garter, a massive diamond necklace, the Koh-i-noor set as a brooch and black gloves'.¹⁷⁰ Even in the 1880s the Ladies-in-Waiting always wore black; the Maids-of-Honour, in a nod to their youth, were allowed white, grey, mauve and purple. The

style at court was hardly fashionable: when she took up her duties as a Maid-of-Honour in 1888, Marie Mallet described her colleague the Hon. Harriet Phipps, who had served the Queen from 1862 to 1888:

[She was] dressed in what I should call the English style with many trimmings and ribbons and bristling with jewelry of little intrinsic value, mostly Royal gifts. She wore dozens of bangles which rattled as she walked. . . . Attached to these were many minute lockets containing the hair of her relatives past and present.¹⁷¹

Because of her determined avoidance of social and public life, from the time of her retreat to Osborne House and Balmoral events at the Queen's court were largely viewed from within. A deadly quiet reigned; numerous deaths sent the entire household back into unrelied black, with jet jewellery and black feathers and lappets (streamers from the cap or headdress, often of lace) for Drawing Rooms. The letters and memoirs of a number of her ladies give a picture of unvarying routine. Members of the household were banned from keeping diaries but could not be forbidden to write letters home.¹⁷² There was a relentless dedication to sad memory, but flashes of enjoyment enliven these reminiscences and there is no question that Victoria, however exacting and capricious, was much loved.

Contemplating the future married happiness of the Prince of Wales in September 1862, Victoria lamented the loss of a focus for her own feelings: 'I am alas! Not old – and my feelings are strong and warm; my love is ardent.'¹⁷³ This dangerous vacuum was to be filled by a succession of male servants of dubious suitability, most notoriously John Brown, a Highland ghillie who had served Prince Albert since 1859. Much disliked at court, he was to remain her fanatically devoted servant and intimate companion until his death in 1883. Brown died, like Albert, as a result of dedication to duty; obsessed with the Queen's security, he insisted on checking the grounds of Balmoral in pouring rain. He caught a chill and was dead within three days. The Queen indulged in an orgy of mourning, giving way to extravagant expressions of sorrow, almost a parody of her actions in 1861. Although three of her children and several of her grandchildren predeceased her, none received such elaborate and profound mourning as Brown. Portraits and sculptures, mourning jewellery and souvenir publications were ordered on a scale not seen since the death of the Prince twenty-two years earlier.

An item in the royal ledger, 'cutting dies for medallion portrait of the late John Brown', was calculated to annoy the Prince of Wales and those of the household who had suffered from Brown's trenchantly expressed opinions. More than sixty medallions were struck and mounted as memorial pins. Mementoes of Brown were buried with the Queen in 1901. Pieces survive allegedly containing his hair, but busts commissioned by the Queen were smashed by Bertie at the time of his accession.¹⁷⁴ Brown was succeeded by a far more disreputable figure, her Indian servant the Munshi Hafiz Abdul Karim, named her 'secretary', to the indignation of the household. He caused far worse difficulties than the faithful Brown, even being suspected of espionage. His brother Hourmet was detected stealing a brooch given to the Queen by the Grand Duke of Hesse and selling it to Wagland, the Queen's Windsor jeweller.¹⁷⁵ The Queen refused to believe the irrefutable evidence and the brothers remained for many more years to annoy the household.

In 1870 the Second Empire fell in ruins and Eugénie fled from Paris under the protection of her American dentist, Dr Evans. After the defeat of the French army at Sedan she was joined by Napoléon and they made their home at Camden Place, Chislehurst. She had managed to secrete many of her personal jewels in her baggage and these were sold anonymously as the property of 'a distinguished person' in 1872.¹⁷⁶ Many of the pieces were fashionable novelties and ornamental items of no great intrinsic value. The real scramble for the French royal treasures would come at the sale of the *Bijoux de la Couronne* in 1887, when the grandest international firms vied to acquire a piece of jewellery history (see p. 91). Napoléon III died in January 1873, and the Queen's affection for Eugénie was now strengthened by fellow feeling as sorrowing widows.

On 1 May 1876 the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India, an event anticipated and celebrated by a visit to the sub-continent by the Prince of Wales (see p. 296). His trip was reported in detail in *The Times*, engendering great interest in Indian art and design. In the same year the Ashanti gold, brought back from Sir Garnet Wolseley's punitive expedition in 1874, was shown at Garrard's Haymarket premises (see pp. 198–9). In 1882 Prince Leopold, the Queen's haemophiliac youngest son, married Princess Helene of Waldeck and Pyrmont. The wedding presents followed the now standard pattern and were shown in special wedding supplements in the *Illustrated London News* (2 May 1882) and *The Graphic* (6 May 1882). The bracelet from the town of Windsor was a double serpent of enamelled gold set with diamonds and a large sapphire in the head.

The youngest daughter Princess Beatrice's marriage in 1885 to Prince Henry of Battenberg and the birth of their children brought a happier atmosphere to the Queen's household. The usual bangle was subscribed by the inhabitants of Windsor. The Princess wore Queen Victoria's wedding veil and flounce of Honiton lace and a tiara of diamond stars for her wedding. Prince Henry was much loved by the Queen, but his death in 1895 brought a habitual gloom back to the household.

However, the Queen had to some extent resumed a more outgoing attitude, travelling abroad and sightseeing. The two themes of mourning and love of new experiences are united in an anecdote told many years later by Harold Nicolson, in a letter to his wife Vita Sackville-West:

George Peel told me an interesting story at the Beefsteak today. When he was a boy, in 1888, he went out to Florence. The Duomo had been renovated and there was a great crowd in the piazza to see the west front unveiled. He watched from the crowd, and while he was waiting, a carriage drew up just in front of him. In it were Queen Victoria and her lady-in-waiting. He noticed that the Queen fumbled in her corsage and took out a locket which she held up to the Cathedral at the moment of unveiling. He was puzzled by this odd behaviour in a Protestant woman, and meeting the lady-in-waiting some days afterwards, he asked her what it meant. She said, 'Oh, it was a miniature of the Prince Consort. She always holds it up so that he can see something interesting or beautiful.'¹⁷⁷

The effect of her unchanging costume had become more impressive with time. The black silk dresses were embroidered and trimmed with black glass beads and the finest lace



from her unrivalled collection. Diamond jewellery decked bodice and headdress: the lace or muslin cap and jewels were prepared on a form like that used for hats in her dressing room and lifted on to the Queen's head. Her bonnets, from a shop in Windsor, were not fashionable, but she showed better judgement than her critical children in refusing to alter their shape. Later portraits of the ageing Queen in 1875 and 1899 by a favourite artist, Heinrich von Angeli, show her still in black, with long ropes of pearls symbolizing 'tears', a reference that would not have been lost on her subjects. The 1899 portrait she regarded as his best likeness of her.¹⁷⁸

46
Queen Victoria. Golden Jubilee photograph by Alexander Bassano, issued 1887. London, National Portrait Gallery

The Queen wears the Koh-i-noor in its brooch setting and the 1858 diamond collet necklace with one of the 'Lahore' drops with her wedding lace veil and flounce.

Queen Victoria's two jubilees produced totemic images of her reign. In heavily retouched photographs published to mark her Golden Jubilee in 1887 and her Diamond Jubilee in 1897, her clothes and jewellery inscribe her life-story on her person (Fig. 46). By subtle suggestion, her costume recalls great events, from her marriage to her position nearly half a century later as Queen-Empress of a vast empire. In the 1887 photograph the fine white Honiton lace flounce and veil, made for her wedding in 1840, give an almost bridal effect to her habitual uniform of black silk bodice and skirt. The blue Garter sash, secured by the pair of diamond bar brooches made for this purpose in 1839, crosses her lace collar under an impressive array of diamonds, including the Koh-i-noor in its brooch setting. Her Garter Star is just visible under the lace collar. To secure her veil Victoria chose her small lightweight diamond crown, made by Garrard's in 1870 for ceremonial occasions such as the Opening of Parliament. Although made twelve years after the settlement of the Hanoverian claim, it resembles Queen Charlotte's exquisite little bridal crown which had been surrendered. The diamonds were taken from a fringed corsage ornament, made by the Crown Jeweller in 1856. The lightweight crown was symbolic; a constant refrain of the Queen's mourning was the unbearable burden of her royal duties. The weight of the crown was actually and metaphorically unendurable; only with a lighter crown could she consent to return to the public arena.

Her graduated twenty-eight-collet necklace was among the items supplied in 1858; the diamonds had come from a Garter badge and ceremonial sword, with the addition of the large pear-shaped 'Lahore' diamond as a pendant. The earrings, large drops suspended from diamond collet-set tops, were, like the 'Lahore' diamond, taken from the original setting of the 'Timur' ruby, presented by the Honourable East India Company in 1851. With the Koh-i-noor, these were spoils of empire. On her left arm the Queen wore a wide diamond bracelet; on her shoulder her unique version of the Family Order Badge with the cameo cut to show Albert's profile over her own. Her 'VRI' (Victoria Queen and Empress) cipher badge in diamonds denoted her imperial status as Empress of India.

On New Year's Day 1887, the Prince of Wales gave his mother a jubilee inkstand, the first of a flood of celebratory and souvenir pieces. The Queen responded with gold brooches with her photograph on the reverse, and gold stick-pins set with diamonds for her family. The 'Women of the British Empire' presented her with a diamond and pearl necklace with a crowned pendant at the centre. Jubilee mementoes constituted a vast industry, ranging from a distinguished jubilee medal designed for the Art-Union of London by the sculptor Alfred Gilbert to mass-produced stamped souvenirs. A grateful trade could barely satisfy the demand; the *Watchmaker, Jeweller and Silversmith* lamented that jubilees came around so seldom.¹⁷⁹ A fine painted miniature in a diamond setting (Fig. 47) copies Carl Rudolph Sohn's 1883 portrait in using the charming device of imitating the miniature worn on a necklace by the Queen in the portrait.¹⁸⁰ The story of the Queen's reign was repeated in Jubilee special numbers across the whole spectrum of popular publishing. The procession through London followed by a Thanksgiving Service at Westminster Abbey on 21 June was the high point. The family had hoped to persuade Victoria to wear her crown and robes of state for the service, but after giving the matter thought she decided that her second-best bonnet would do. To offset its mundane appearance it was trimmed with the finest lace from her collection and rimmed with diamonds.



47

Jubilee brooch, 1897.
Engraved on the back
DIAMOND JUBILEE 1837–1897.
H. of brooch 3 cm. British
Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Left: The miniature portrait of Queen Victoria, in a gold setting bordered with diamonds is after an 1883 portrait by Carl Rudolph Sohn (1845–1908), based on a photograph by Alexander Bassano. It is in its original Goldsmiths & Silversmiths Company display case (case-maker William Betteridge, 1881 to 1916). *Above:* The miniature in watercolour on vellum photographed out of the setting (slightly enlarged).

On 31 December, at the end of a packed programme, the Queen wrote in her Journal: 'Never, never can I forget this brilliant year, so full of the marvellous kindness, loyalty, and devotion of so many millions, which I really could hardly have expected.' She had overcome her dread of 'hustle and bustle' to enjoy renewed popularity and affection. In 1897 another jubilee was celebrated, on an even grander scale than in 1887. Every colony from the Queen's vast empire sent a detachment of troops, making a glorious show as the Diamond Jubilee procession wound through London on 22 June. Jubilee photographs again show the Queen's unchanging black transformed into something magnificent by a profusion of diamonds and pearls, embroidery and lace.¹⁸¹ The official photograph by W. & D. Downey, bearing the Queen's facsimile signature and the dates 1837–1897, was deliberately left unprotected by copyright so that it could be distributed freely. The image was everywhere, on souvenir articles of every conceivable kind.¹⁸²

The 1897 Jubilee provided the excuse for the now legendary costume ball at Devonshire House on 2 July (see Fig. 358). A privately printed album of photographs recording the occasion was presented to the Duchess of Devonshire by her friends. The magnificent costumes and jewellery were breathtaking, a showcase for an array of ancestral pieces and modern precious ornaments. The Prince of Wales went as a Grand Prior of the Order of Jerusalem, the Princess as Marguerite of Valois, wearing beneath her diamond choker the multi-strand

Indian collar of pearls, emeralds and diamonds that had been a wedding gift from the Queen. A number of guests went as their noble ancestors.

In spite of her seeming invincibility, the Queen was by now very lame and had difficulty in walking or in entering and leaving her carriage. Further, her sight was failing and she was increasingly unable to cope with the burdens of state, which she still adamantly refused to surrender to the Prince of Wales. Prince Leopold had died in 1884; in 1892 she had to face the death of the Heir Presumptive, the Duke of Clarence, eldest son of the Prince and Princess of Wales. He died leaving a sorrowing fiancée, Princess May of Teck, who, however, the following year was married to Prince George, now his father's heir (later George V). Prince Henry's death in 1895 was a heavy burden and was followed too soon by that of Prince Alfred in 1900. The births of granddaughters and great-granddaughters had been greeted by lockets bearing the Queen's cipher and enclosing a photograph of her dead husband. Now more melancholy jewels were ordered. After the death of the Prince Consort, mourning and memorial items were made to a small stock of patterns that were retained until the Queen's death, now close.¹⁸³ Her health rapidly deteriorated; on 22 January 1901, she died at Osborne, attended by her personal physician, Sir James Reid. According to Princess Marie Louise, there was 'great consternation and bewilderment in the Lord Chamberlain's office, as well as in the Royal Family, as to what was the correct mourning for the Sovereign'.¹⁸⁴ No one knew any longer what should be worn. After anxious studies of 'prints and pictures of long ago' full court mourning was decreed for six months and mourning jewellery followed the conventional lines of the mid-Victorian period, although it was now quite out of step with modern life.

It fell to Reid, who had been resident in the Queen's household for twenty years and knew some of her most intimate secrets, to carry out her private instructions about the items to be placed with her body in the coffin.¹⁸⁵ With her dressers, Mrs Tuck and Miss Stewart, he placed under the false bottom of the coffin 'rings, chains, bracelets, lockets, photographs, shawls, handkerchiefs, casts of hands'. A dressing-gown that had belonged to Prince Albert was another of the items; also:

[The] plain gold wedding ring which had belonged to the mother of my dear valued servant and friend J. Brown which I have worn constantly since his death. A coloured profile Photograph in a leather case of my faithful friend J. Brown, his gift to me – with some of his hair laid in it and some of the Photographs which I have marked with an X and have often carried in a silk case in my pocket, to be put in my hand. *All* these objects, which have been so dear to me during my life time and have never left me – I should wish to be near my earthly remains.

Sir James carried out these instructions to the letter, concealing the photograph and John Brown's hair in the Queen's hand with tissue paper and flowers from Princess (now Queen) Alexandra.

'On Saturday 26 Jan 1901 at 1.30 I received a Telegram from Osborne "Come at once".' So begins the record kept by Henry Bell, Crown Jeweller and director of Garrard's. This summons, only four days after her death, alerted Bell to begin his work of sorting and allocating the jewellery left by the Queen to her 'children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, etc.,

according to the lists which were handed to me'. The task was to take more than a month, but first the arrangements for the funeral had to be put in train.

The coffin lay for ten days in the dining room at Osborne. Bell then fetched the regalia, consisting of two orbs and the sceptre, from the Tower of London. These were arranged on the coffin with the small imperial crown and the collar of the Garter. The coffin was draped with the Royal Standard over the pall. Thus caparisoned, the Queen's body began the long journey from the Isle of Wight to London and on to Windsor Castle for the lying-in-state. People were seen kneeling in homage all along the railway line. The Queen was buried in the mausoleum at Frogmore beside her husband. Public mourning was profound and sincere; after a reign of sixty-four years she had appeared immortal.

Queen Victoria had designated many of her jewels as the property of the Crown, to be held in trust for all future queens of England, and these went automatically to her successor. The list is vividly redolent of her attitudes to jewellery and to the significance of association and sentiment. The obvious items are all included; the diamond-set ornaments made in the wake of the Hanoverian Settlement, the regal circlet and sunray tiara that survived from the Queen's accession and her sapphire and diamond brooch from Albert. Alongside these were a number of other gifts from Albert of little intrinsic worth, bracelets set with hair of various family members and twenty-four memorial finger rings, mainly eighteenth-century.¹⁸⁶ The Duchess of Kent's amethyst suite, one of the few pieces to survive from the early nineteenth century, was listed. The oxidized silver cross with a crown of thorns encircling a pearl, given by Fritz and Vicky in memory of Albert, joined the collection of memorial rings.

Henry Bell was intimately familiar with the Queen's large personal collection of jewellery. Because the items were kept in a safe, in trays with shaped indentations for each piece, they had to be cased for distribution and the royal ledger entry in favour of the 'Executors of Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria' lists new jewellery cases of purple morocco lined with white velvet and with the late Queen's cipher on the lid. In this way Victoria's jewellery was disseminated among a later generation, where it could act as witness to a particular sensibility and social culture.



THE ROLE OF JEWELLERY,
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE



2 THE ROLE OF JEWELLERY, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

JEWELLERY affected all classes and conditions in Victorian society and had significance beyond that of mere personal adornment, fashion or intrinsic value. In a period of accelerating social and economic change, outward signs of wealth and respectability assumed great significance. For successful professional men, jewellery worn by their wives played an important role in the public display of material wealth. With financial prosperity and rising social status people were anxious to be seen to do the right thing. Conduct and etiquette, including rules on wearing jewellery, were regarded as important and widely followed at every social level. Minute gradations in status were demonstrated by the correct ornaments and accessories. Etiquettes of usage resulted in a widely recognized social uniform for events from the most formal to daytime and leisure activities. In parallel with the requirements of court circles, the general public adapted many fashions set by the upper class. These were satisfied by a newly mechanized trade with ready-made (as opposed to individually ordered) pieces. From being privileged and exclusive, jewellery entered a new era of democratization.

Horace Walpole observed Queen Charlotte's habits with regard to her jewels in his *Memoirs of the Reign of King George III*: 'The King made her frequent presents of magnificent jewels; and as if diamonds were empire, she was never allowed to appear in public without them.'¹ Queen Victoria was well aware of the implications of her 'state' jewels. She knew without being told that 'diamonds were empire', that her jewels were pivotal to her image. In her early reign she is often shown wearing Queen Adelaide's Grand Diadem and George IV's regal circlet, both decorated with the national emblems of rose, thistle and shamrock alternating with crosses pattées.² From 1840 George IV's circlet featured on the first postage stamp and on the coinage.

Jewellery at court

The Victorian era was the last in which crown jewels were ordered in quantity for European royal houses. Demonstrating the best that modern design and craftsmanship could achieve, they were star attractions at the succession of World's Fairs dominating the second half of the nineteenth century. Paris was the source of jewellery for many of the courts of Europe. One of the oldest-established firms, Mellerio of the Place Vendôme, supplier to the French court since the time of the First Empire, was patronized by the Spanish Queen, the Belgian royal house, the Dowager Empress of Russia, Queen Margherita, daughter-in-law of Vittorio Emanuele II of Italy and consort of Umberto I, and the Swedish Queen Louise.³ Mellerio's display at the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle included both the pearl and diamond scallop-shell tiara made for Queen Isabella II of Spain and the diamond tiara worn by Queen Margherita on her marriage in 1868 (Fig. 48). Queen Margherita's tiara was bought from Mellerio by her father-in-law as a wedding gift.⁴ Gabriel Lemonnier, who had shown important diamond-and-emerald and diamond-and-sapphire parures made for the Queen of Spain at the 1851 Great Exhibition

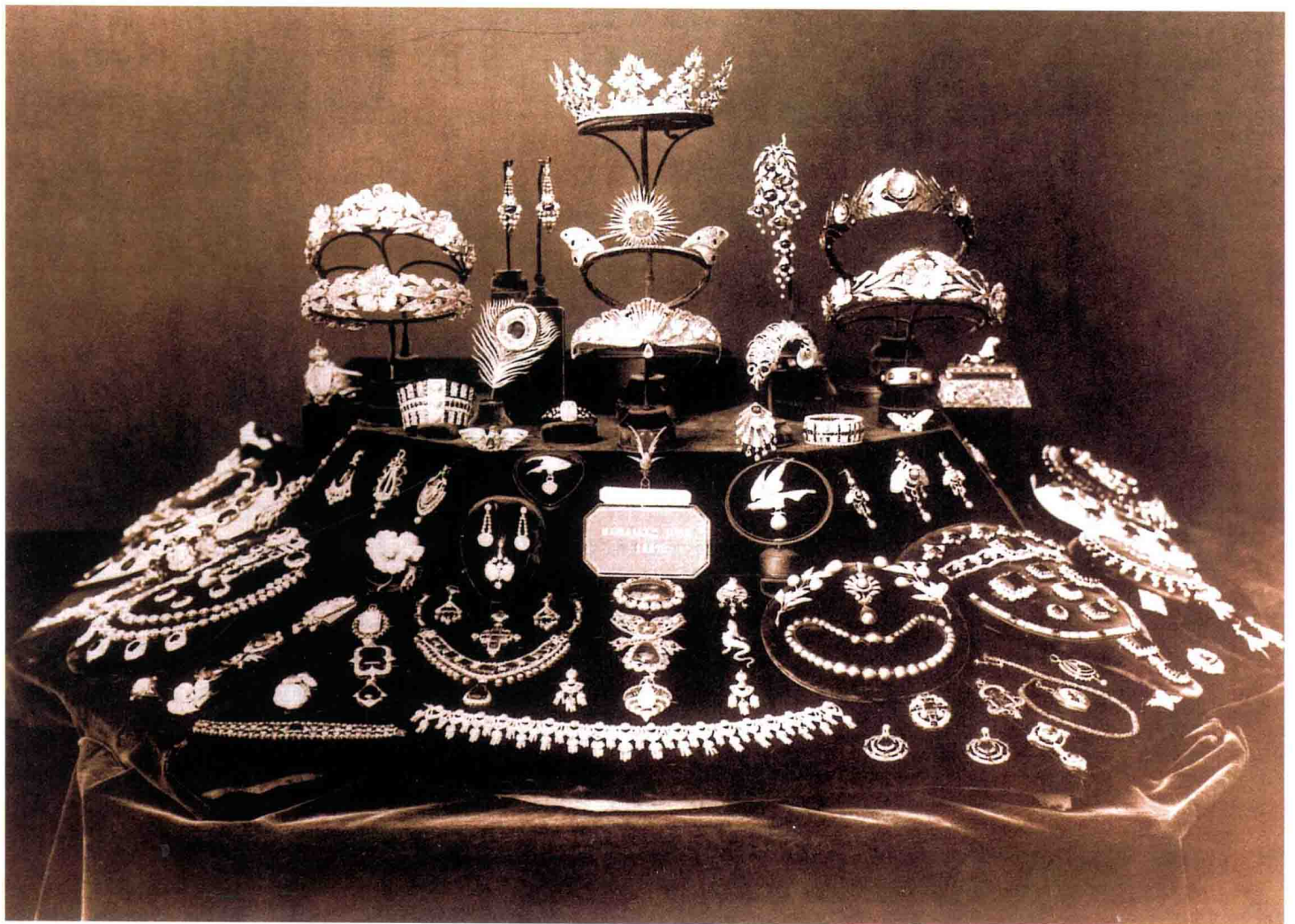
in London (see p. 104), reveals another instance of international royal patronage of Paris firms, becoming one of the principal jewellers to Emperor Napoléon III.

By an accident of history both Victoria and Eugénie owned mostly new – if not ‘modern’ – state jewels. The resetting of many of the English and French crown jewels occurred at much the same date, the English in 1858 on account of the Hanoverian Claim and the French in 1853 to celebrate the Emperor’s marriage: they reflect similar perceptions of the role of jewellery in monarchy. The fact that the paymaster general accepted the obligation to replace Queen Charlotte’s crown diamonds, surrendered by Victoria in 1858 in settlement of the Hanoverian Claim, is evidence that valuable jewels were seen as a defining element in nationhood and associated with the power and dignity of the Crown. Winterhalter’s 1859 portrait of the Queen in robes of state shows the magnificent twenty-eight-stone diamond necklace weighing 161 carats and matching drop earrings.⁵ However, in 1861 she adopted the mourning that she was to wear for the rest of her life, abandoning for many years any display of precious jewellery. The 1858 jewels re-emerge only in portraits and photographs of the 1880s and 1890s, at the time of the two royal jubilees.

As in Britain, the French crown jewels were visible trophies of power, worn by the Empress herself and repeatedly displayed in public. Winterhalter’s 1855 portrait of Eugénie shows her in the diamond and pearl diadem and coronet (the coronet is just visible within

48
Mellerio’s stand at the Paris Exposition Universelle, 1867. Paris, Association Mellerio

This view of the Mellerio stand shows the scallop-shell tiara made for Queen Isabella II of Spain (1830–1904), at the centre of the third row from the top, and the diamond laurel-leaf and rose tiara (second row left) worn by Queen Margherita (1851–1926) on her marriage in 1868 to Umberto I of Italy.





S. A. IMPÉRIALE

M^{me} la Princesse Mathilde

49 Above
Princesse Mathilde Demidoff. Lithograph by Siroux after a portrait by Charles Giraud (1819–92), 1853. British Museum
 Mathilde (*née* Bonaparte, 1820–1904) wears an embroidered frontlet with matching circlets at the side to decorate a coiled plait of hair, enclosing a three-drop pearl pendant, and a gothic-style pearl-set diadem worn over a fabric-covered chignon at the back of the head. The seven-string necklace of 384 pearls was given to her mother, the Queen of Westphalia, by Napoléon I. The necklace was sold in 1904 for 445,000 francs.

50 Above right
 Eugénie, Empress of the French. Lithograph by Poquet after a state portrait by F.X. Winterhalter, 1855. British Museum

The portrait shows Eugénie (*née* de Montijo, 1826–1920) wearing both the diamond and pearl diadem and the coronet made by Lemonnier, with multiple rows of pearls at her neck and wrists.



S. M. EUGÉNIE

IMPERATRICE

the circle of the diadem) made by Lemonnier at the time of her marriage with gems taken from a parure created for the Empress Marie-Louise by Nitot in 1810–12, as well as multiple rows of pearls at her neck and wrists (Fig. 50). Eugénie's jewels, reset from the old French crown jewels, advertised Napoléon's successful bid for Empire, but they were also part of an important strategy to promote national supremacy in this branch of the applied arts, an area particularly associated with the French.⁶ The resetting of the Crown diamonds was entrusted to firms with their own workshops, who were truly manufacturers and not just retailers.⁷ As an incentive to luxury consumption, they performed their function spectacularly well.

The confrontation between the English and French crown jewels during the exchange of visits between Queen Victoria and Napoléon III in 1855 bears all the marks of a gladiatorial contest with jewels deployed as weapons.⁸ The royal ladies pitched diamonds against emeralds, rubies and sapphires against pearls. At strategic moments Victoria deployed her trophies of Empire, the Koh-i-noor diamond and the Timur ruby; Eugénie retaliated with the new crown jewels and the beautiful Angoulême parures of diamonds with emeralds, sapphires and rubies. Throughout both visits Victoria noted her own and Eugénie's costume and jewels in meticulous detail (see pp. 47–50). Surprisingly, the Queen only once mentions the jewellery of Napoléon's cousin, Princesse Mathilde Demidoff (*née* Bonaparte,

daughter of Jérôme, King of Westphalia), who was a powerful force in the cultural development of the court of the Second Empire. As well as her position at court she presided over the most important literary salon in Paris. Having been expected to marry her cousin, she actually married the immensely rich Russian Anatole Demidoff, who was thereupon created Prince of San Donato. When they divorced after an unhappy relationship, Mathilde came to Paris with all the Demidoff jewellery in lieu of a divorce settlement (Fig. 49). Through her friendship with the Duke of Sermoneta, she was responsible for introducing Alessandro Castellani to the Emperor (see p. 403). She shopped as well; from Cartier alone she bought some two hundred items, starting in 1856.⁹ In her portrait by Giraud she wears the seven-string necklace of 384 pearls given to her mother, the Queen of Westphalia, by Napoléon I. Her jewels were legendary, as Frédéric Masson remembered: 'Not that she loaded herself with jewellery, but at each occasion she brought out a parure – one single one – such as no private individual possesses and such as any Queen would envy.'¹⁰ Their great extent was revealed at the sale after her death in 1904.¹¹ Along with another magnificent pearl necklace were seventy brooches, fifty-nine bracelets, twenty-five necklaces and twenty pairs of earrings.

The demands on the French crown jewels in 1855 were considerable. As well as the exchange of visits, there was the opening in April of the first French international exhibition. The royal wedding in 1853 had resulted in a magnificent corsage brooch in pearls and diamonds to go with the diadem by Lemonnier, and four shoulder brooches in the same style by François Kramer. The influence of these densely set diamond and pearl ornaments can be seen in royal jewellery across Europe for many years. In 1855 Kramer made a diamond belt with a buckle in the form of a bow (reset in 1864 with articulated hanging chains or *pampilles* ending in tassels). It was bought by the American millionaire William Astor after the 1887 sale of the French crown jewels.

The 1855 International Exhibition was important in defining Napoléon's reign and his role in reinstating France's commercial pre-eminence. For the opening ceremony a tiara for Eugénie was ordered to display the famous *Régent* diamond, made by one of the great craftsmen of the day, Oscar Massin, for the firm of Viette. Napoléon, however, disliked the design of scrolls and flames and it was dismantled to make a classic 'Greek' diadem. One of the most fashionable pieces in the Crown collection was the diamond corsage spray in the form of a large bouquet of flowers made by Théodore Fester in 1855 (see p. 171). More jewels were mounted in the following years, including an emerald and diamond diadem made in 1858 by Eugène Fontenay, and a sunray diadem like Queen Victoria's made by Bapst in 1864. In a miniature by Pierre de Pommayrac (Fig. 51) the Empress wears Fontenay's tiara, a magnificent Crown necklace of pearls with pear-shaped drops matched with drop-pearl earrings known as the 'tears of Venus' from her private collection, and the emerald and diamond trefoil brooch given her by the Emperor at Compiègne in 1853 (see p. 113).

In spite of a troubled political climate, France remained the source of the finest luxury goods. Paris was throughout the duration of the upstart court of the Second Empire from 1852 to 1870 the fashion capital of Europe. The imperial couple presided over a succession of receptions, balls, public fêtes and entertainments of every kind. Numerous costume balls were held, allowing the guests to wear scandalously revealing costumes as well as a dazzling display of jewellery. Lillie Moulton, American wife of Charles Moulton, millionaire son of an American banker resident in Paris since the reign of Louis-Philippe, was an acute observer

51

Empress Eugénie, by Pierre Paul Emanuel de Pommayrac (1807–80). Watercolour miniature on ivory, after 1858. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, purchased by Henry Walters, 1895

Eugénie wears Fontenay's emerald and diamond tiara, delivered in 1858 with a necklace of pearls with pear-shaped drops, matched with drop-pearl earrings known as the 'tears of Venus', and the emerald and diamond trefoil brooch given her by Napoléon III (1808–73) at Compiègne in 1853. The miniaturist has incorrectly coloured the stones blue, suggesting that they are sapphires.



of this scene. Born in Boston, she trained as a singer, and was a welcome guest at the imperial court. Her published letters range across the social life of Paris in the last years of the Second Empire and she even braved the siege of Paris before returning to the United States with her husband in 1870. For a fancy dress ball at the Tuileries in 1863 she assessed the cost of dressing the 400 guests by Maison Worth at \$200,000. Eugénie was dressed as the wife of a sixteenth-century Doge of Venice: 'She wore all the crown jewels and many others. She was literally *cuirassée* in diamonds, and glittered like a sun goddess. Her skirt of black velvet over a robe of scarlet satin was caught up by clusters of diamond brooches.'¹² Princesse Mathilde went as Holbein's Anne of Cleves: 'She wore her famous collection of emeralds, which are world known.' As Lillie remarked, 'A fancy ball is an occasion which allows and excuses any extravagance of jewelry; whereas, at an ordinary ball it is considered not in good taste to wear too much.'¹³

Lillie twice attended the week-long autumn entertainments at Compiègne. This involved purchasing about twenty dresses, including an 'absolutely essential' green cloth dress for the hunt, five tea-gowns and seven ball-dresses, one for each evening. She had to hire a professional to pack her trunks. All the outfits demanded appropriate jewellery.¹⁴ This veneer of opulence papered over an essentially fragile régime, but while it lasted it was a time of prosperity for the Parisian luxury trades, and especially jewellers and costumiers. The women of

the imperial household were, many of them, acknowledged beauties. With the stylish Eugénie as the figurehead, French fashions were synonymous with style, reported and imitated round the world. In another sense jewels are trophies or tributes paid to great beauty. When Napoléon exclaimed to his wife, '*Comme tu es belle*', (see p. 49) he was acknowledging the power of the whole ensemble: a beautiful woman in a lovely dress enhanced by a dazzling display of diamonds.¹⁵ Taking precious luxuries, in their widest sense, to include fans, bouquet-holders, chatelaines, *étuis*, buttons, eye-glasses, vinaigrettes, scent-bottles, parasol-handles and a host of other fashionable trinkets, owning these useful articles in precious metal and gemstones showed disposable wealth and amplitude in style of life.

The display of the French crown jewels at the 1867 Paris Exhibition cannot but appear as a bid to bolster the régime. Napoléon and Eugénie showed little appreciation of the gathering storm, and orders for jewels continued right up until the final showdown in 1870. After the fall of the Second Empire the French crown jewels were stored away. Their sale, ordered by the President of the Republic in 1887, took place at the very moment when Golden Jubilee images of Victoria were reminding the public of the magnificence of her own trophies of monarchy. These remained in the British royal family while Eugénie's went to enhance the status of the newly wealthy.

The crown jewels of France and the personal jewels of the Empress exemplify the two strands in her life, public and private. The crown jewels were worn for all official ceremonies and entertaining; the private collection included, as well as some pieces of equal magnificence, items of sentimental value and amusing novelties. It was Madame Pollet, Eugénie's long-serving secretary, who helped her to spirit her personal jewellery out of the Tuileries as she fled Paris on the evening of 4 September 1870. These precious possessions were given to Princesse Metternich, roughly wrapped in newspaper and with no inventory. Many were auctioned in 1872 to provide money for the family's living expenses. An official investigation after the collapse of the Second Empire absolved her of any attempt to remove crown jewels and so the 123 lots sold at auction by Christie's in London in 1872 truly represent her private property.¹⁶

The highly cultivated and musical Princesse Pauline Metternich had been a loyal friend and intimate of the Empress since her arrival in Paris as wife to the Austro-Hungarian ambassador in 1859. She was not a beauty, but she epitomized manners and fashion in Second Empire Paris for a decade, having made a huge impact on the social scene with her stylishness – she called herself *le singe à la mode* (the stylish monkey) – and her outrageous behaviour.¹⁷ She smoked cigars, wore tight black dresses or unusually short skirts and tried to interest Parisians in skating. She once tempted Eugénie into a scandalous episode when they rode on an omnibus in men's costume. She promoted the careers in France of both Richard Wagner and Franz Liszt. It was she who had introduced Eugénie to the couturier Charles Frederick Worth, thus starting him on his meteoric career. She lived in Vienna in later life, meeting the Empress only once in her exile.

Eugénie's private collection encompassed an important suite of emeralds; diamond earrings 'like large pears' which had belonged to Marie-Antoinette; a necklace of brilliants and a great many pearls.¹⁸ The early lots in the sale included a number of fashionable trifles: a lyre-shaped gold brooch enamelled with a mask and foliage; a brooch with a carved coral cherub's head set with diamonds; a brooch and earrings in the form of enamelled silver tortoises;

a gold locket with flowers and foliage in turquoises, diamonds and pearl; and earrings and brooch in the form of guitars.¹⁹ Queen Victoria noted that Eugénie wore no jewels during the day (see p. 48), but this cannot always have been true. These are pieces that were suitable only for day wear, amusing trinkets that any lady of fashion might own. The lyre brooch and the guitars were bought by Robert Phillips, presumably for their association value.²⁰

Although the sale was anonymous, the thin veil was easily pierced. An article in the *London Daily News* on 25 December 1872, noted that

The jewels of the Empress EUGENIE are for sale. Mr HARRY EMANUEL has many of them at his establishment in New Bond-street, and is now offering them to his customers. There is no concealment as to the late ownership. MR EMANUEL had those that he showed on Saturday direct from the Empress, and many jewels in it [the sale] have been familiar through portraiture for years.²¹

Descriptions in the article amplify the somewhat inadequate auctioneer's catalogue, with breathless reports of fabulous diamonds and emeralds. Eugénie was reputed to have retained many even more valuable pieces for future financial crises.

Eugénie had worn pearls at her wedding, not troubled by the Spanish superstition that this would bring bad luck. However, after the disasters that befell the Second Empire and herself personally, she included them in the 1872 sale. A 'beautiful brilliant brooch formed as a cornflower and a group of foliage', possibly by the crown jeweller Bapst, was among the auctioned items, bought by Phillips for £348. It may be the cornflower and wheat bouquet illustrated by Fontenay (Fig. 52), or at least one closely resembling it. Displaying a similar taste for the eighteenth century, a trembler spray in the Hull Grundy Gift to the British Museum with the same combination of cornflowers and wheat-ears still retains its typically French velvet-lined morocco leather display case (Fig. 53). Eugénie was by inclination rather plainly dressed, the secret of her elegance, but when the occasion demanded she was bedecked in hummingbirds and beetle-wings (see p. 229). Her taste for amusing novelties is reflected in French fashions of the time, and the survival of numbers of these evanescent but often beautifully made trinkets is evidence of their popularity. That they were highly regarded products of the jewellery trade is apparent from the amount of attention they receive from Vever in his survey of French nineteenth-century jewellery (see p. 218).²² The Garrard ledgers show that the fashionable preferences of the British royal ladies were similar to Eugénie's. Queen Victoria ordered studs and pins with flies and spiders, men's dress studs set with green beetles and many other novelties.

The Prince of Wales loved Paris and the Parisian culture of modish decadence. His taste for jewels with messages and mottoes was certainly inspired by the French. The mottoes hint at the *doubles-entendres* much loved by the Victorian public – and a staple of music-hall humour. It is significant that these orders tail off very abruptly with the fall of Napoléon's Empire. Paris during the Second Empire was notorious for the social visibility of the demi-monde.²³ The expensively bejewelled and fashionable cocottes who frequented the Parisian social world gave it an edge entirely absent from its more staid British counterpart. Vever reports quite impartially on diamonds owned by the Empress and her ladies and on those of successful courtesans like the equestrienne Cora Pearl, La Belle Otéro, the actress Hortense Schneider, La Barrucci,



52
Bouquet of cornflowers and wheat-ears
designed by Bapst. From Eugène Fontenay,
Les Bijoux anciens et modernes, 1887,
p. 365



according to Vever ‘a former “model”’, the Russian Comtesse de Païva and the Comtesse de Castiglione, Italian spy and mistress – briefly – of the Emperor.²⁴ The luxurious possessions of courtesans form the striking opening passage to the *Dame aux camélias* by Alexandre Dumas fils (1847). The worldly goods of Marguerite (of the title) are being sold to discharge her considerable debts. An inquisitive crowd, including the author, once lover of her real-life counterpart, pore over her treasures; leading Parisian firms supplied the gold and silver accoutrements of her dressing-table; her earrings consist of two large and valuable diamonds. The *demi-monde* of mistresses was extravagant and luxurious, consciously flaunting the wealth of the men who kept them. The kept women had theatre and opera boxes; their social life, with exclusively male guests, aped the *soirées* of aristocratic society. Their jewels were, to put it crudely, trophies of exploitation. Cora Pearl, latterly mistress of Prince Napoléon, owned – appropriately – a magnificent double-row necklace of large black pearls. A photograph from the 1860s shows her in evening dress, wearing the necklace and fashionable long earrings (Fig. 54).²⁵

Cora appeared on stage in 1867 in Offenbach’s operetta *Orphée aux enfers* (‘Orpheus in the Underworld’); as the *Illustrated London News* reported, ‘She was one blaze of diamonds – diamonds in her hair, round her neck, on her tiny cloak, round her arms, round her waist and round her ankles.’²⁶ This was the great attraction of the stage appearances by generally

53

Aigrette in the form of a ribbon-tied trembler spray of cornflowers and wheat-ears. French, about 1860. H. of aigrette 9.3 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

This popular model of a bouquet of wheat-ears and cornflowers in diamonds set *à jour* in silver and gold is in the original (probably French) display case, with a hinge at the side instead of the back. It is similar to one of Eugénie’s personal jewels, sold in London in 1872. Aigrettes were interchangeable, as corsage ornaments or for wearing in the hair.



54
 Photograph of Cora Pearl from an album, 1860s. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Theatre Museum Collection
 On the album page the *carte de visite* portrait of Cora (1835/8–86) is encircled by a necklace of pearls with a beetle-wing pendant; she is also wearing the famous black pearl necklace and earrings reflecting her assumed name. The photograph was inserted into the frame via the slit below. By Cora Pearl's time the social separation of the *monde* and the *demi-monde* was blurred and her successful stage career was built on her notoriety.



55
 Coloured photograph of Lillie Langtry by W. & D. Downey (from *Celebrities of the Stage*). British Library
 Lillie (Emilie Charlotte, *née* Le Breton, 1853–1929) is wearing an impressive selection of diamonds from the celebrated collection of jewels that enhanced her presence on stage. She has removed a sunray diadem from its frame and slung it round her waist as a girdle. She claimed to have bought the jewels for herself, having failed to make prudent provision for her future through her lovers.

untalented famous courtesans, that they were covered in real jewels, the spoils of their trade. Count Henckel von Donnersmarck, protector of La Païva, purchased Eugénie's pearls at the sale of her personal jewellery in 1872 as a wedding present for his mistress and she wore this trophy, according to Jean Philippe Worth, in revenge for all the social slights she had endured during the Second Empire.²⁶ The critic Edmond de Goncourt heard that La Païva had married 'avec le diadème de l'Impératrice sur la tête'²⁷ ('with the Empress's diadem on her head').²⁸ La Païva features often in the Goncourt *Journals*, and descriptions of her jewels – the sight of her wearing 600,000 francs' worth of pearls or 'streaming' with emeralds – vie with accounts of the opulent Hôtel Païva and its discomforts.²⁹

In her unreliable memoirs, Lillie Langtry, a Tiffany customer and mistress of, among others, the Prince of Wales, claims to have purchased 'a parure of large emeralds and diamonds which had formed part of Eugénie's collection' (Fig. 55).³⁰ Having failed to profit from her early liaisons with the Prince and members of the aristocracy, Lillie was careful to ensure that her

later lovers were rich and generous. She bought much of her own jewellery out of the proceeds of her acting career. An account of Lillie's jewels comes from an episode when they were lost through a fraud perpetrated on the bank where they were housed. She lists the highlights of her collection with some of their provenances. If her account is to be believed, she owned an awe-inspiring 'casket of jewels', kept in a strong-box measuring 2½ ft × 2ft. Tiffany & Co. of New York supplied the setting for 'a *rivière* of immense sapphires and diamonds'. A brooch reputedly set with 'the largest ruby in the world' was among the loot; however, the whole collection was valued at a mere £40,000, not enough to lend credibility to the descriptions.

Lillie was a celebrity; her stage career lasted from 1881 until after the First World War. Her name was used to advertise Pears' soap, cigarettes, even the 'Langtry wave', a false hair-piece for the front of the head imitating Lillie's tight curls, offered by Mrs Thompson of New York in *Godey's Lady's Book* in January 1884. In April 1900 the *Jewelers' Circular* featured the 'Langtry girdle and pulley belt combined'. The pulley belt was designed to exaggerate the fashionable wasp waists: a leather or fabric belt several inches smaller than the actual waist, fitted with two metal rings at each end, as well as two lengths of ribbon that were passed through the rings, pulled excruciatingly tight and tied in a bow in front. The Langtry version had a 14-carat gold-filled chain with a large medallion of Langtry at the back and two smaller ones at each end, next to the rings. Lillie had become an American citizen in 1887, and made regular visits to her wine estate in California.

Looking back at the Second Empire from the perspective of the siege of 1870, Henry Labouchere of *The Daily News* wrote: 'Paris, under the fostering care of the Emperor, had become, next to St Petersburg, the dearest capital in Europe. . . . Extravagance in Paris makes extravagance the fashion everywhere; under the Empire, to spend money was the readiest road to social distinction. . . . Good taste was lost in tinsel and glitter: what a thing cost was the only standard of its beauty.'³¹ It seemed as if such social and cultural decadence might be contagious. Shortly after order was restored Mrs Henry Adams visited with her husband in April 1873 and found a depressed scene: 'Paris is much changed; I've not seen a handsome turnout and not a gaily dressed woman. It looks very bourgeois and the demi-monde is not rampant as in '66 when it was so disgusting. Paris without Louis-Napoleon . . . is quite a different city – better, it seems to me.'³²

The sale of the French crown jewels

Eugénie's diamonds and pearls were destined to provide prizes of wealth and power in a different and alien milieu. Among the leading jewellery firms of the day, Tiffany & Co. were significant purchasers at the sale ordered by the President of the Third Republic, which took place from 12 to 23 May 1887. Imperial booty percolated into an entirely new order of high society, led by the millionaire collectors of America's Gilded Age, in the high noon of American capitalism. The jewels were shown at Tiffany's Paris branch, Avenue de l'Opéra, in burgundy leather display cases stamped on the lid in gold 'Diamants de la Couronne', and buyers flocked to secure them. An additional inducement to buy in Paris was the 10% discount which came from avoiding USA import tax.³³

Tiffany's expenditure at the sale amounted to more than a third of the total. The firm came away with twenty-four lots, including all the parts of the corsage of currant leaves made

56

Jane Lathrop Stanford, by Léon Bonnat (1833–1922). Oil on canvas, 1881. California, Palo Alto, Stanford Family Collection

For her portrait, Jane Stanford (1828–1905) chose a gown by Worth of Paris with jewellery, including a pendant and tiara, from her extensive and important collection. On the chair by her side is a wrap by the Parisian dressmaker Pingat.



by Bapst in 1853, which had been broken into several lots. Two elements of Eugénie's emerald and diamond girdle went to respectively Mrs Bradley Martin, heiress wife of a wealthy lawyer and partner in the Morgan bank, and Jane Stanford, wife of Leland Stanford, president of the Central Pacific railroad. Mrs Stanford also acquired four rows of magnificent pearls which she had restrung into a six-row necklace. Mrs Martin's other trophies included the ruby and diamond tiara, cruciform pendant and pair of bracelets from the 1816 Angoulême parure. A four-row diamond necklace was sold to Kate Pulitzer, wife of the wealthy publisher Joseph Pulitzer. The banker Junius S. Morgan bought twenty-eight very fine diamonds from Eugénie's waterfall comb. The sunray diadem by Bapst, almost a twin of Queen Victoria's, was bought by Garrard. The pearl and diamond diadem by Lemonnier, worn by the Empress in Winterhalter's state portrait of 1855 (Fig. 49), went to the jeweller Julius Jacoby.

For her portrait by Léon Bonnat, a leading French Academician much favoured by American visitors as well as the Parisian *haute monde*, Jane Lathrop Stanford wore a grand gown by

Worth of Paris and jewellery from her extensive and important collection (Fig. 56). Her first taste of public life came with the election of her husband as governor of California in 1863. In 1868, after eighteen years of marriage, she gave birth to a son, Leland Jr, their only child, an event commemorated by the gift of a diamond-set gold watch by Patek Philippe.³⁴ She and her husband and son travelled on a series of European Grand Tours in the 1870s and 1880s, spending time in Paris en route. It was her son's tragic death during their European Grand Tour from typhoid fever in Florence, just two months before his fifteenth birthday, that prompted the Stanfords to found a university at Palo Alto in California. The death of Leland Sr in 1894 plunged the new university into financial difficulties, and in a supreme act of renunciation in the late 1890s Jane Stanford surrendered her jewel collection, which included, as well as the items from the French crown jewels, pieces from the deposed Queen of Spain (sold in 1878 when Tiffany were significant purchasers), to fund the library for the university.³⁵

In the spring of 1898 she commissioned Astley Cooper, an artist and *bon viveur* based in San Jose, to make a painting of her jewels as a permanent reminder of her Gilded Age trophies (Fig. 57). This unique record of an important collection includes the pendant from her portrait, her Patek Philippe jewelled watch, two magnificent necklaces from Tiffany, and the pearls that once belonged to Eugénie, as well as enamelled bracelets from the Falize firm, possibly bought during the 1884 trip, and a diamond monogram brooch of her initials.

57

Jane Stanford's Jewel Collection, by Astley D.M. Cooper (1856–1924). Oil on canvas, 1898. California, Palo Alto, Stanford University Library, Stanford Family Collection

Although the items in this 'catalogue' painting of the Stanford jewellery collection are numbered, the key has not survived. Some pieces are recognizable: the watch by Patek Philippe, recently recovered by the university (16); miniatures of family members (7, 8, 9) and bracelets by Lucien Falize (10).



The long shadow of Marie-Antoinette

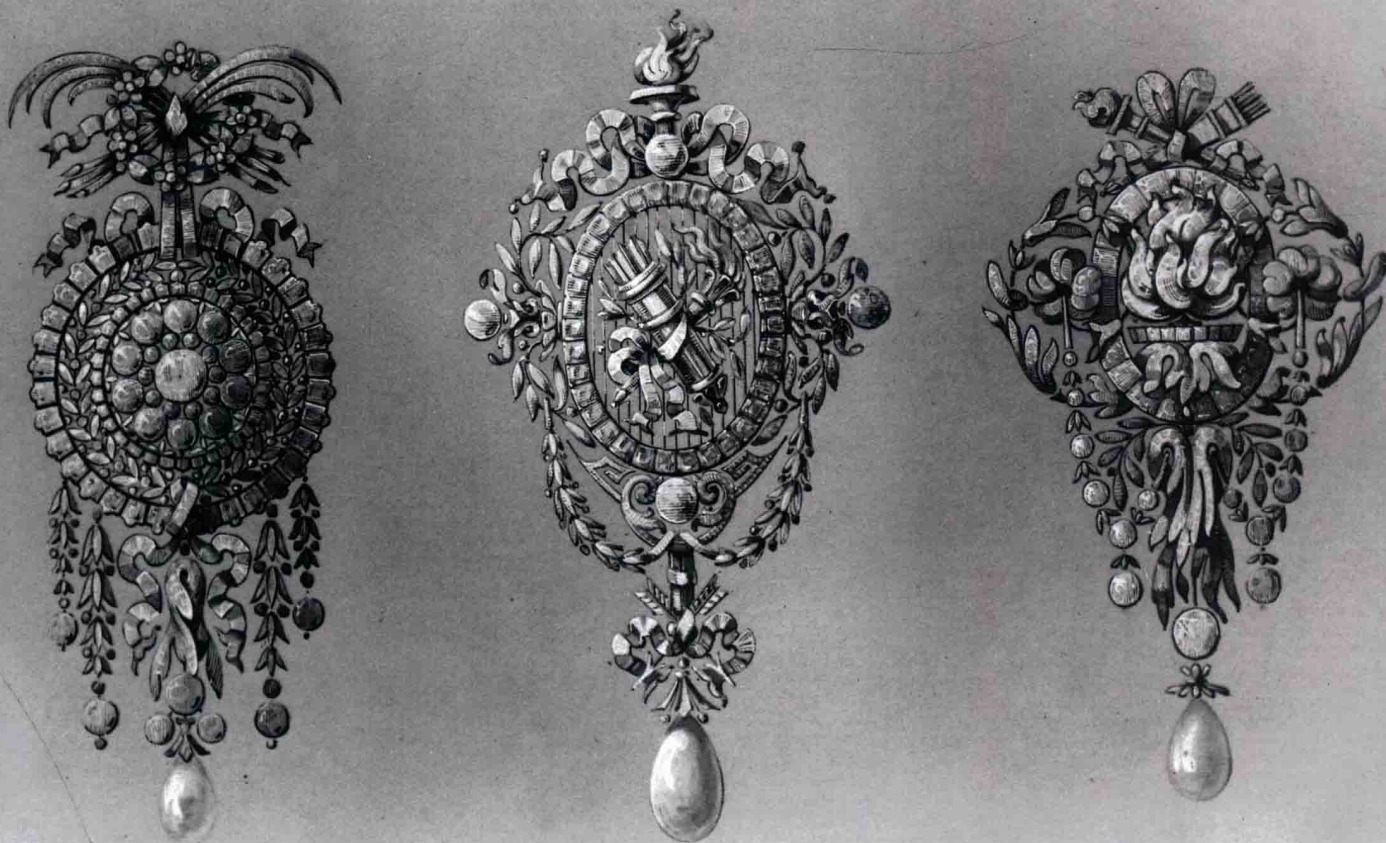
According to her reader Madame Carette, Eugénie made a cult of her tragic predecessor. Eugénie's set of *aiguillettes* (diamond pins with *pampilles* or waterfalls of diamonds) were allegedly copied from Marie-Antoinette's dress ornaments. Brooches in the 'style Louis XVI' made by Baugrand for Eugénie were shown at the 1867 Paris Exhibition (Fig. 58). Following Eugénie many fashionable women adopted the style of the 1770s and 1780s, a trait particularly noticeable in precious Parisian jewellery from firms like Boucheron. The early stock-books of the Cartier firm include diamond bow-knot brooches inspired by those that had belonged to Eugénie.³⁶

Pretty and fashionable, jewellery in the eighteenth-century style is not usually discussed in the context of Victorian historicism, but the terms in which it was described underline its historical connotations for a contemporary audience. Diamond jewellery, with its tendency to look backwards, lent itself to an elegant form of revived eighteenth-century rococo: flower bouquets, bows and other dress ornaments. By the mid-1860s the popular and ubiquitous rococo was largely superseded by the Neo-classical Louis XVI mode, according to periodicals like the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* and *The Queen*. The fashion for eighteenth-century decor and dress had political overtones, referring the Second Empire to pre-Revolutionary France and the monarchy. It was also a response to a romanticized view of the tragic life and death of Marie-Antoinette. The myth was fed by a stream of *Ancien*

58

Designs for brooches by Gustave Baugrand (d. 1870). Pencil heightened with white. New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design

The brooches in the style of Louis XVI were shown at the Paris 1867 exhibition.



Régime memoirs which started to appear soon after the defeat of Napoléon I at Waterloo in 1815. Discreet revelations were provided by her first lady of the bedchamber, Madame Campan, in her *Mémoires sur la vie privée de Marie Antoinette*, published posthumously in 1823. The book was immediately translated into English and many times reprinted. It was closely followed by the personal memoirs of the Queen's dressmaker and milliner, Rose Bertin, published eleven years after her death.³⁷ Rose Bertin was credited as the inventor of *haute couture*, which held a particular resonance for the Second Empire. In 1867 Henry Vizetelly's *The Story of the Diamond Necklace* brought renewed interest in a great pre-Revolution scandal. The necklace was ordered by Louis XV for Madame Du Barry; Marie-Antoinette was accused of trying to acquire it without Louis XVI's knowledge. The design of long diamond ribbons with bow-knots and tassels inspired countless imitations, among them one made for La Belle Otéro by Cartier in 1903.³⁸

Baroness Burdett-Coutts, wealthy heiress of the Coutts banking dynasty, was caught up by the romance of Marie-Antoinette. She was the owner of very fine jewellery and a collector of antique lace and eighteenth-century trinkets, such as memorial rings and lockets, paste buckles and bracelet clasps and jewels set with Wedgwood Jasperware medallions, which were popular with women collectors at the time.³⁹ On a summer evening in 1845 the Irish poet and writer Tom Moore called on her as she was preparing to set out for a ball given by the Queen, dressed, as he remarked, 'in all her splendours', including a tiara which had reputedly belonged to Marie-Antoinette. He returned the next morning: 'Would you like', she asked, 'to see it by daylight?' She took him to a room upstairs, to view the jewels and tiara. 'On my asking her what, altogether, might be the value of her dress last night,' he recalled, 'she answered in her quiet way, "I think about a hundred thousand pounds".'⁴⁰ This enormous sum can only be accounted for by the provenance of the tiara. The romance of history and an owner with a tragic destiny made its value vastly higher than its intrinsic worth.

Inevitably the French crown jewels were the most prone to this mythologizing. Apart from Marie-Antoinette's earrings, Eugénie's parures which descended from the Duchesse d'Angoulême used stones from the old crown jewels that had possibly belonged to Marie-Antoinette. Through misdating and confusion over its style, Eugénie's pearl and diamond tiara by Lemonnier was dated to 1820 and ascribed to the royal jeweller Evrard Bapst in the catalogue of the sale of the crown jewels in 1887. Described in 1889 as being 'in the purest Louis XVI style', it rapidly acquired a provenance from Marie-Antoinette.⁴¹ The tiara was bought from Julius Jacoby in 1890 by Prince Albert VIII von Thurn und Taxis, along with pearls from the sale, on his marriage to Princess Margarete, Archduchess of Austria, the royal house of Marie-Antoinette. His wife's connection with the Austrian monarchy may have inspired the gifts; in the old gem-lore nomenclature, margaritas (pearls) represent her name, Margarete. The tiara is now in the Musée du Louvre. Also in the Louvre is the sapphire and diamond parure once owned by Louis-Philippe's wife, Queen Marie-Amélie, which descended to the Comte de Paris, and was for years believed to be Marie-Antoinette's; it was a high point of the 1954 Marie-Antoinette exhibition at Versailles. Lady Gladwyn, wife of the British Ambassador at the time, wrote in her diary: 'We had a dinner for the Comte and Comtesse de Paris at which the women wore tiaras. I had seen Marie Antoinette's sapphire diadem in the exhibition at Versailles last summer, and had wanted to see it worn. So Madame promised to wear it with the rest of the parure. She looked quite lovely.'⁴²



59
Parure of necklace, bracelet and earrings.
Probably Swiss (Geneva), about 1880–90.
H. of largest miniature 4.5 cm.
British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

A set with sixteen enamel portraits of French ladies: the identities of fourteen of them are written on the back of the miniatures. Marie-Antoinette's portrait is in the large central pendant of the necklace. The parure, retailed by Collingwood & Son, retains its

original display case (case-maker C.J. Kitz), which, in spite of its publication by Sah Oved in 1953 as 'Marie-Antoinette's necklace', is the clue to its true dating. The portraits include several royal mistresses, Louise de la Vallière, Madame de Montespan and Madame Du Barry, making ownership of the set by Marie-Antoinette improbable. Collingwood & Son succeeded Abud & Collingwood in 1870; the firm traded as Collingwood & Co. from 1876 until 1924.

An exhibition of jewellery at the Louvre in 1962 included two tiaras credited to Marie-Antoinette, one lent by Earl Spencer (the diamond tiara worn by the late Princess of Wales at her wedding), the other – in the same style, according to the catalogue – borrowed from Sir E. Reid (but not illustrated in the catalogue, and now difficult to identify).⁴³ The Spencer tiara has since proved to be a composite, mounted from various elements by Garrard in 1937.⁴⁴ As recently as 1978 the British Museum was presented with ‘Marie-Antoinette’s necklace’, one of the star pieces in the Hull Grundy Gift (Fig. 59).⁴⁵ It forms part of a parure of necklace, bracelet and earrings set with enamel miniature portraits of historic women of the French court, and the inclusion of a number of royal mistresses made its ownership by Marie-Antoinette somewhat puzzling. In fact it is an 1880s pastiche of the eighteenth century. Marie-Antoinette’s jewels, real or false, were part of a long-lived taste for that period that has never entirely disappeared from precious jewellery, a combination of fashion and myth.

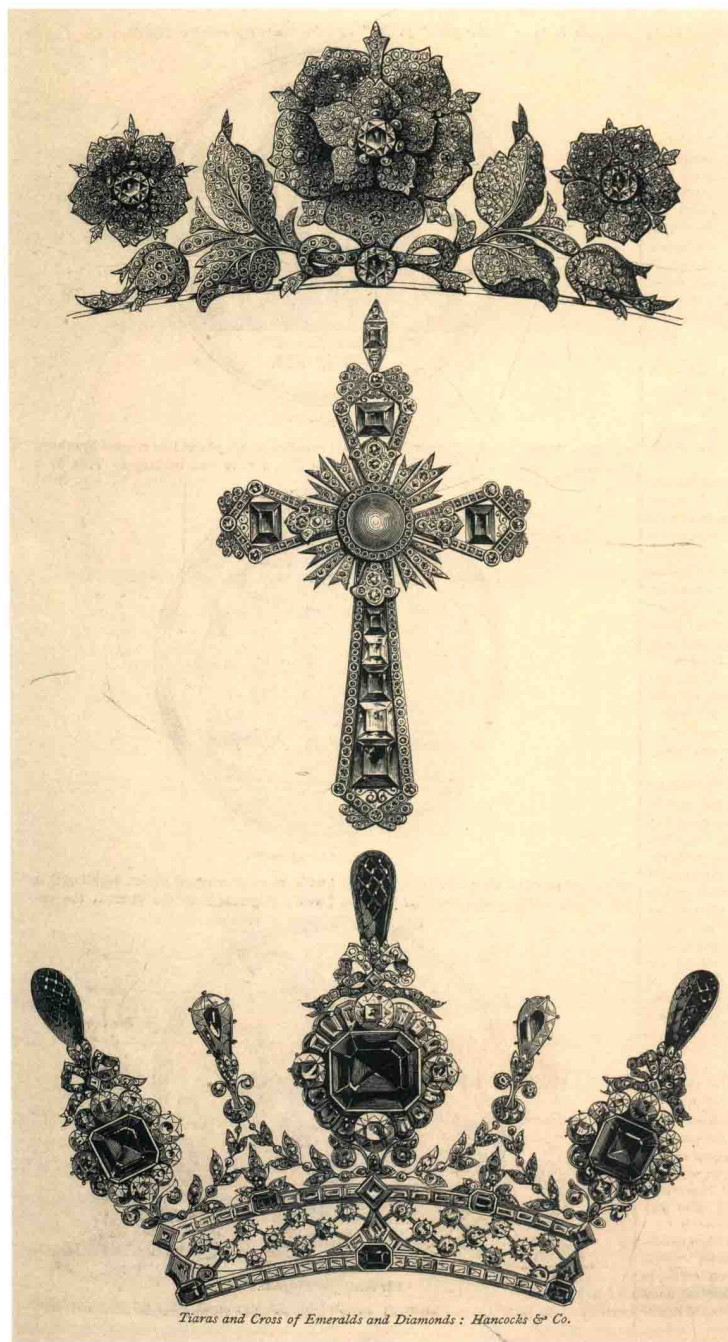
Trophies of collecting

Jewellery had a dual role as aesthetic object or work of art as well as personal ornament. The fabulously wealthy William Ward, 1st Earl of Dudley, was a famous jewellery collector – a note in the catalogue for the sale of the Dudley jewels in 1902 said he was ‘acknowledged to have been one of the greatest connoisseurs of his day’ – paying the highest prices for outstanding exhibition pieces in the 1860s and 1870s. Dudley was particularly interested in jewellery, since he traced his descent from Humble Ward, jeweller to Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I. Dudley’s collection was well known through its display at international exhibitions; in London in 1862 it was shown by Hunt & Roskell. An idea of the jewels is conveyed by Lord Stanley of Alderley in a letter to his wife, describing Lord Dudley’s marriage in 1865 to his second wife, the beautiful Miss Georgina Elisabeth Moncrieffe, a girl barely out of her teens: ‘Ld Dudley’s marriage took place this morning, an immense crowd & a gorgeous wedding dress which it is said cost £3,000, all Paris was ransacked for fine lace. Poor girl, they say she does not like her lot in spite of all the jewels and lace.’ The next day he reported: ‘I saw all the splendid jewels of Lady Dudley, 4 magnificent rows of pearls, diamonds & ruby coronets & necklaces in profusion – she wd be a happy woman if they were sufficient but they still say she wanted to be off, even the last day & they also say people in the crowd round the church called out shame.’⁴⁶ This outcry was not just on account of the great disparity in age between bride and groom, but because of Lord Dudley’s unprepossessing appearance. In caricature he looks like nothing less than the Beast of fairy-tale.

In Paris in 1867 Hunt & Roskell again displayed the jewels, now valued at £160,000. At the Exposition Universelle Lord Dudley went on an epic spending spree. He had the advantages of an insider, being President of the jury for jewellery; also on the jury as *rapporteur* was the brilliant French designer Gustave Baugrand. Dudley bought two of the finest of Baugrand’s exhibits: a Neo-Renaissance clock and a jewelled peacock brooch (see Figs 224, 225).⁴⁷ From Boucheron Dudley bought an enamelled and gem-set hand-mirror by the supremely talented enameller Riffault (see p. 274). Dudley conceived a great admiration for Riffault; as the Boucheron archives reveal, he went on to buy many more pieces, including a bracelet and earrings in diamonds and enamel.⁴⁸ Dudley also bought one of the Castellani copies of the Etruscan ‘Cumae’ diadem from the Campana collection for the staggering sum of 1,000

guineas (£1,050).⁴⁹ Described as a 'sumptuously-worked coronal', an earlier version was said by Alessandro Castellani to be the 'largest and principal work' in the Castellani display at the International Exhibition in London in 1862 (see Fig. 225); it was typical of Dudley's interest in revivalist techniques. Many of his important purchases featured in the exhibition and were widely noticed and illustrated in the press. He was buying works at the top of the luxury market, true trophies of the worldwide exhibition programme. In spite of a fulsome and partisan encomium in the *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue* of the Exposition, which judged the French and English exhibitors to be equal, Dudley's patronage favoured Parisian firms.⁵⁰

Dudley soon transferred his custom to the enterprising Charles Hancock, formerly employed at Hunt & Roskell and now proprietor of the Bruton Street firm of Hancock's &



60

Engraving of the emerald tiara made for the Earl of Dudley, Vienna International Exhibition, 1873. *Art-Journal*, 1873, p. 152

The Hancock tiara (*bottom*), made for William Ward, 1st Earl of Dudley (1817–85), has pinnacles of facet-cut drop-shaped emeralds. The rose tiara and the pendant cross are also set with emeralds and diamonds.

Tiaras and Cross of Emeralds and Diamonds: Hancock's & Co.

61

Photograph of the Countess of Dudley, 1889. Hulton Archive

Lady Dudley (*née* Georgina Moncrieff, 1846–1929) wears a necklace of diamond-set rosettes and three rows of pearls with the ‘Dudley’ pearl as a pendant.



Co. On the eve of the 1873 Vienna exhibition he acquired from Hancock a diamond tiara with pear-shaped emerald points, facet-cut rather than *en cabochon*, a considerable technical feat. The tiara, ‘prepared expressly for Vienna and purchased by the Earl of Dudley only the evening before it was forwarded to its present destination’, was featured in the *Art-Journal* supplement devoted to the Vienna Exhibition.⁵¹ It was a truly extraordinary piece: ‘the emerald spikes, though pear-shaped are not *en cabochon* but cut with facets, a task the difficulty of which all admirers of the beryl gem, so rarely found without flaws, will easily understand’ (Fig. 60).⁵² Hancock took charge of the jewels, which were brought out of their safe when Lady Dudley wished to wear them. When the Dudleys left Vienna about a month after the opening, Hancock was permitted to exhibit the jewellery, now worth a rumoured £300,000.⁵³ The emerald and diamond tiara was the star exhibit. Dudley remained a valued patron of Hancock’s, buying lavishly from the shop. His purchases included an Assyrian revival gold bangle (see pp. 390–91).

Lady Dudley was among the most celebrated beauties of her time, her portrait photographs in huge demand. Among the most valuable trophies in the Dudley collection was the ‘Star of South Africa’ diamond, which she bought for £25,000. A key find in the early development of the Cape diamond mining industry in South Africa, the 83½ carat Star of South Africa was unearthed in 1869, just two years after Dudley’s spectacular purchases (see above).⁵⁴ Lady Dudley wore the large drop-shaped stone as the centrepiece of a hair ornament. She wore the enormous pear-shaped ‘Dudley’ pearl, another highlight of the collection, as the pendant from a necklace of matched pearls (Fig. 61). In a widely circulated portrait



62
 Enamelled gold festoon necklace and earrings set with cameos. English, by John Brogden, 1867. L. of necklace 39.8 cm; h. of earring 5 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Bolckow Bequest
 The necklace and earrings, shown by Brogden at the 1867 Paris International Exhibition, are set with chalcedony and

agate cameos of antique masks. The pendants are topped with clusters of forget-me-not flowers and the drops between the cameos terminate in trophies in the 18th-century style. The translucent enamelling is similar to that on the brooch set with a plaque copying the 'Sale of Cupids' taken from a Pompeian wall-painting (Fig. 419).

photograph she wears the pearl with a dress in the Van Dyck style, referring to the seventeenth-century fashion for pearls so particularly evident in Van Dyck's paintings.

The flavour of the collection emerges in the catalogue of the sale of the Dudley jewels at Christie's in 1902.⁵⁵ The thirty-one lots are mainly magnificent precious stone pieces, dominated by diamonds and pearls. Lot 6, 'a brilliant collar of 11 bands of collet diamonds with five bars of graduated brilliants', is an example of the fashionable dog-collar at its most extravagant. The trophies of enamelling and goldsmiths' work were not included, so the impression of magnificence lacks the connoisseurship that Lord Dudley's insider status brought to his purchasing. The 'Dudley' pearl fetched £13,500. In spite of its ill-omened beginning the marriage proved successful, resulting in seven children. Lord Dudley died aged sixty-eight in 1885, having been devotedly nursed by his wife; Lady Dudley lived on until 1929.

The Dudley purchases are paralleled on a more modest scale in the collection made by Harriet, second wife of the Middlesbrough steel magnate Henry William Bolckow, whom she had married in 1851. Harriet was in many ways a typical woman collector of her era, with an interest in fine antique lace, old watches and scent bottles, cameos and Spanish devotional jewellery. She bought Berlin iron jewellery, possibly a nod to her husband's business, and she was a discriminating buyer of jewellery in the archaeological taste by Castellani and his English imitators. Information accompanying the bequest reveals that most of her purchases were made through Robert Phillips.⁵⁶ John Brogden made the Neo-classical necklace and earrings in enamelled gold hung with cameos of classical masks she appears to have bought from the Paris 1867 Exhibition (Fig. 62). The archaeological theme continues with two heavy gold bracelets in the classical revival style by English goldsmiths, one by Hancock, another by Brogden imitating an Assyrian relief in the British Museum (see Fig. 361). The closest parallel with Dudley emerges in Harriet Bolckow's enamelled diamond bracelet with matching cross from Boucheron. Her ring in the eighteenth-century taste by Charles Lepec (Fig. 63), another reminder of the 1867 exposition where Lepec was awarded a gold medal, is a fine example of the French enamelling revival (see p. 274). Phillips was Lepec's London agent.



63
Enamelled gold and diamond finger ring. French, by Charles Lepec (1830–after 1885), about 1870. H. of bezel 2.2 cm (slightly enlarged). London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Bolckow Bequest

Lepec was represented in London by Robert Phillips, from whom Harriet Bolckow acquired this ring inset with an enamel of a dancing nymph. She bought most of her jewellery from Phillips. Lepec's most famous work, the large-scale *Clémence Isaure*, now in the Musée d'Orsay (*Catalogue OAO 712*), was bought from Phillips by Harriet's husband.

Jewels and etiquette

As the Victorian class structure became more complex and diverse a new social élite, the 'aristocracy of riches', jostled the old aristocracy of birth and property, once undisputed rulers in high society.⁵⁷ Disposable income available to the professional classes had risen far above the cost of the necessities of life, and possessions (including luxuries of no practical utility) became a means of using this extra money. Any study of Victorian luxury goods is inevitably overshadowed by the moral issues that so exercised the older generation, many of whom were raised on strict Evangelical principles and were therefore strongly opposed to any display of wealth. Material possessions were understood as rewards for piety and self-restraint. In a new climate of indulgence the moral control imposed on such pleasures as shopping and ownership was bound to be overcome in all but the most pious families. The newly wealthy exchanged deferred gratification for instant pleasure.

Women were seen to benefit most obviously from outlay on adornment and show. Luxury implied expenditure and advertised wealth, and the sensibility to use personal adornment discreetly and with propriety was seen as a mark of gentility. In 1905 Georg Simmel, the

German cultural historian, proposed that fashion is 'a product of class division' and has 'the double function of holding a given social circle together and at the same time closing it off from others'.⁵⁸ Simmel was interested in the social implications of jewellery, seeing the wearing of precious ornaments as 'an act which exclusively serves to emphasize and increase the importance of the wearer'. But wearing jewellery is more complicated than Simmel allows, with sentiment an important factor in its usage.

More than any other gemstones, diamonds were regarded as singular. Walburga von Hohenthal, Lady-in-Waiting to the Princess Royal at the time of her marriage to Prince Frederick William of Prussia, remembered curious rituals around wearing diamond jewellery in 1840s society in Dresden in her parents' youth:

My parents received much, and when they went to Court we were allowed to see my mother dressed, and I remember especially a lilac gown all shot with silver, and embroidered with green leaves, in which she looked beautiful. When she wore her diamonds she always rouged, that was the old etiquette. In those days diamonds were only worn on grand occasions. It would be considered vulgar to do so in the morning, as is the fashion now.⁵⁹

High social class entailed obligations: a duchess was expected to dazzle with precious jewels on any grand social occasion and royal entertaining was hedged with unwritten – but widely understood – protocol relating to the wearing of appropriate ornaments. In Mrs Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters* (published 1866, but set earlier in the century) the assembled company at the charity ball in the small town of Hollingford eagerly awaits the arrival of the Duchess of Menteith in her famous family jewels, the Menteith diamonds. Entirely misjudging the occasion – and giving great offence to the assembled company – the Duchess arrives 'dressed almost like a girl in sprigged muslin, with natural flowers in her hair, but not a vestige of a jewel or a diamond. Yet it must be the duchess; but what was a duchess without diamonds?'⁶⁰

During the first half of the Queen's reign, until the agricultural depression in the 1870s, the landed aristocracy remained hugely wealthy, and with the rapid expansion of a prosperous bourgeoisie there were many occasions to wear precious ornaments and accessories – occasions when, in fact, as at court, they were mandatory. Full evening dress with jewels was worn at the theatre and the opera. Often employed in paintings of modern life, the opera or theatre box acted like a showcase, framing the fashionably dressed and bejewelled occupants like a work of art. One of the most popular portraits of the young Queen Victoria shows her in a theatre box, wearing her heirloom sunray tiara (see Fig. 7). In caricature, where the theatre box was also a popular subject, the high fashion and jewels seem exaggerated, but fashion plates of the period indicate that the caricatures are broadly truthful.

Conduct books, the popular manuals of instruction on etiquette for young ladies covering every social and domestic eventuality, much in evidence in the first half of the nineteenth century, are united in deploring a display of expensive finery. Mrs Walker's *Female Beauty*, published in the year of Victoria's accession, outlines rules for day and evening wear:

In promenade or carriage dress jewels are out of place. Nothing should be worn round the neck but a plain or watered ribbon, about half an inch broad, or a chain

of silver or gold, as a guard to suspend a watch, or eyeglass if the wearer be short-sighted, for wearing an eyeglass without occasion for it is a piece of impertinent affectation. [In the evening] the ball dress requires a union of beauty, elegance, lightness and magnificence. . . . No trivial embroidery of gold or silver must glitter there: their place is supplied with pearls, diamonds and other jewels.⁶¹

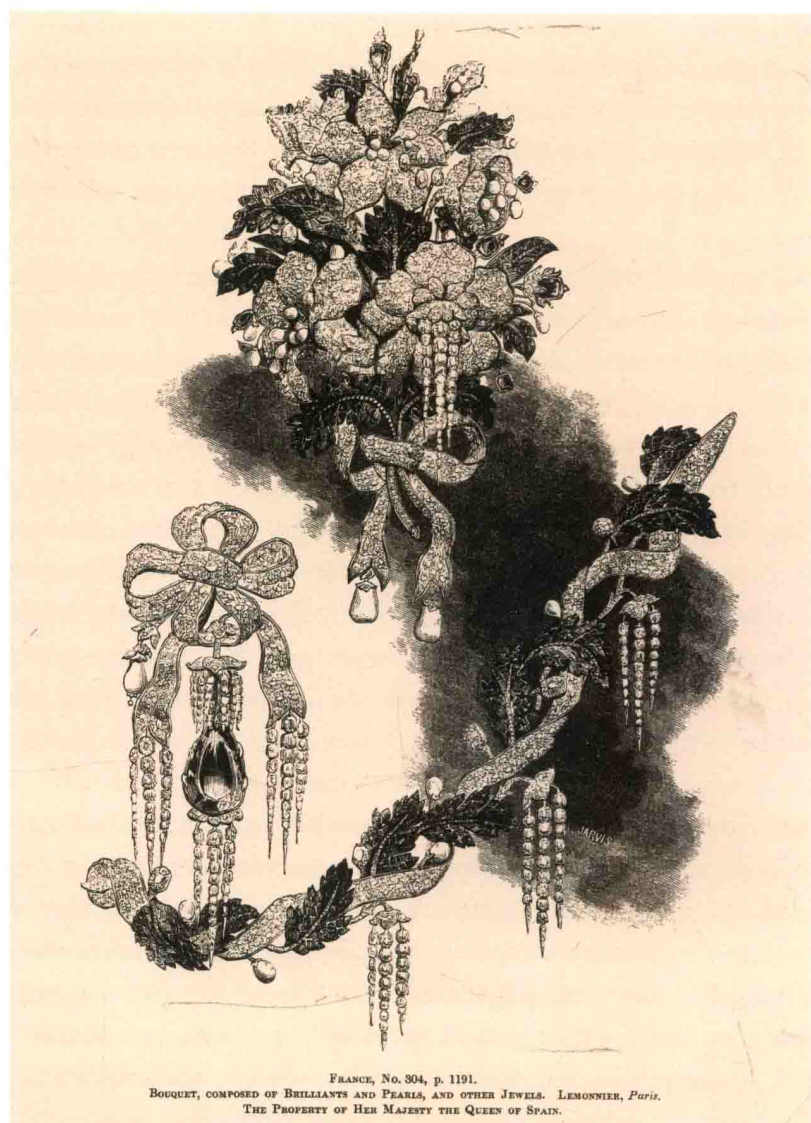
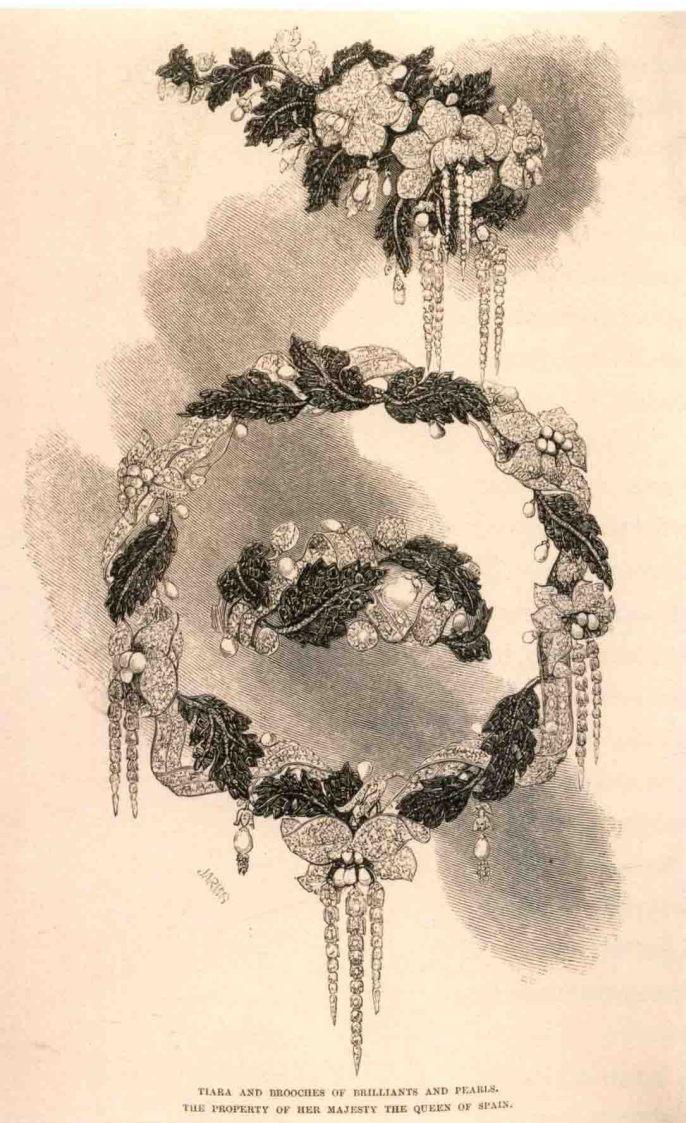
Mrs Merrifield, writing in 1854, stigmatizes an extravagant display of dress and jewels as shallow and frivolous. 'Jewels, for instance, though suitable to middle age, seem misplaced on youth, which should always be characterized by simplicity of apparel; while flowers, which are so peculiarly adapted to youth, are unbecoming to those advanced in years.'⁶²

Like Mrs Walker, Mrs Merrifield equates propriety with usefulness: 'The great principle to be observed with regard to ornament is, that it should be appropriate, and appear designed to answer some useful purpose. A brooch, or a bow of ribbon, for instance, should fasten some part of the dress; a gold chain should support a watch or eye-glass, or other object.'⁶³ This principle translated into good commercial sense and was widely followed, as demonstrated by the survival of innumerable ornamental chains, hooks, bows, studs and links. However, the restraint counselled in conduct books was increasingly ignored and late nineteenth-century fashion periodicals show increasing unease at the excessive display in dress and jewellery.

Young girls did not wear diamonds until they were married, so jewellery was an important and much discussed element of the trousseau. A report in *The Times* of the spectacular wedding on 4 May 1857 of Leonora de Rothschild to her Parisian cousin Alphonse focused on the diamond necklace given to the bride by her parents: 'the design, which is perfectly novel, . . . furnished by the mother of the bride the Baroness Lionel de Rothschild, the execution . . . entrusted to Messrs. Hunt & Roskell of Bond Street'. The guests were given a sight of the wedding gifts, 'rivalling the wealth of the Indies', as one reporter remarked.⁶⁴

Diamonds and other essentials of the upper-class trousseau, such as furs and silver plate, were not necessarily the responsibility of the bride, being provided by whichever side of the family was the wealthier. At her first ball after her marriage to Lord Frederick Cavendish (brother of the 8th Duke of Devonshire) in 1863, Lucy Lyttelton noted in her diary that she 'wore some of the Duke's diamonds on my head and round my neck for the first time'.⁶⁵ For her presentation at court she 'went in gorgeous array of white lace (my wedding lace) and white moiré train, with my beautiful diamond tiara on my head, and felt every inch a married woman'.⁶⁶ After the excitement of these first newly married occasions, she rarely mentions her clothes or jewellery unless she has adopted some fashion innovation or observed a new trend. In spite of the attention she paid to the jewellery in her wedding gifts and trousseau, the fact that she never mentions it again suggests that the wedding presents and the Devonshire diamond heirlooms handed to her by the Duke, along with the jet bought for her time at court (see p. 58), met all her needs in her married life. There is much evidence to support the crucial importance of marriage jewels, which often served their owner for life, only trinkets and memorial pieces being added later. As part of the trousseau of any bride making a respectable alliance they gave a very public show of wealth and status, since wedding presents were routinely exhibited to the guests at the wedding reception.

For ordinary people there was an element of contriving to meet social expectations. Tiaras, diadems and circlets were in themselves trophies of social status. Through the influence of the

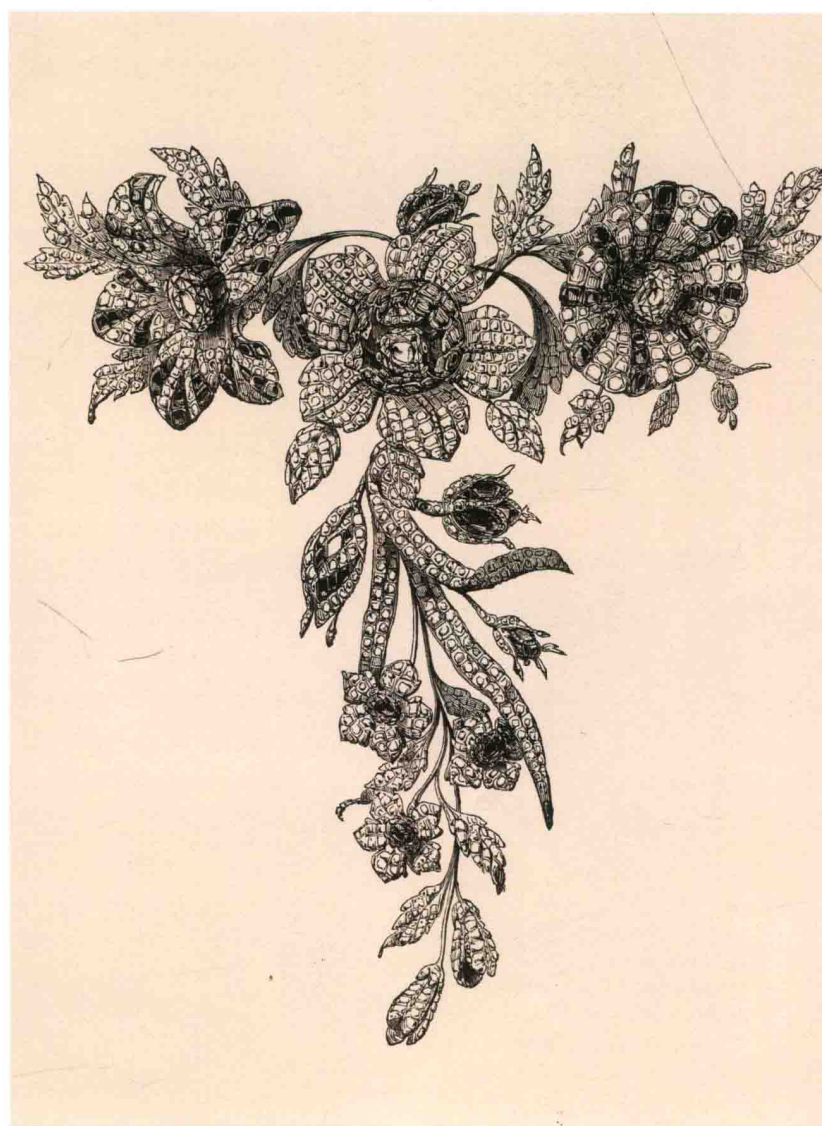
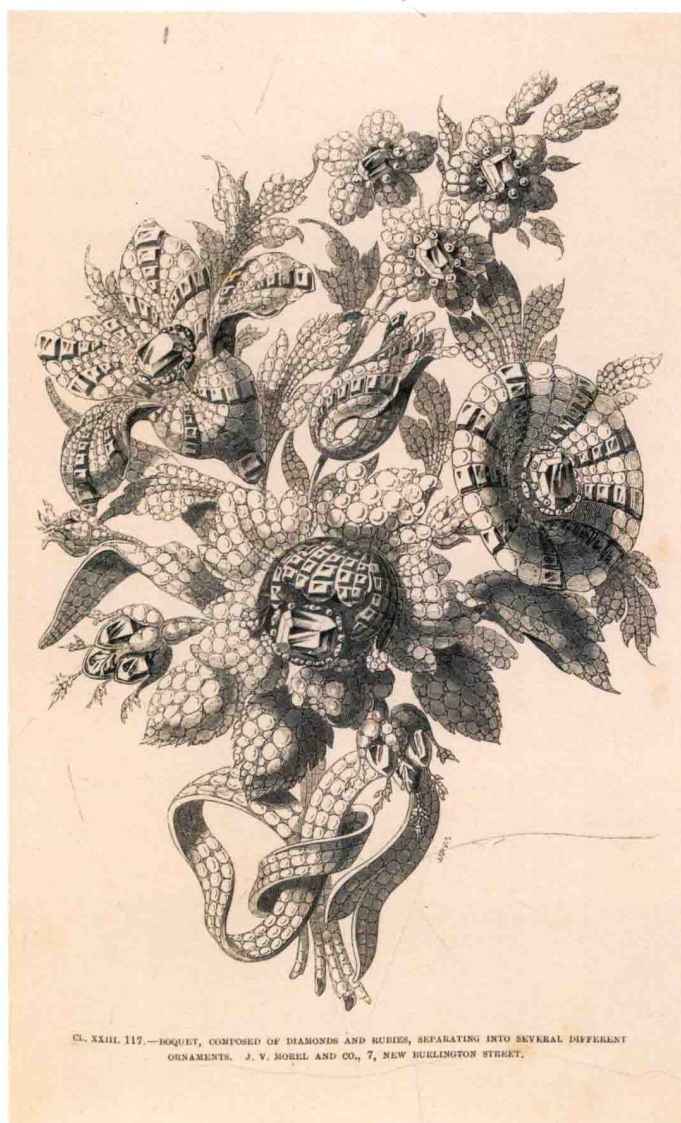
**64 A & B**

Convertible jewels at the Great Exhibition of 1851: suite in emeralds and diamonds made for the Queen of Spain by Gabriel Lemonnier. Contemporary illustrations from the *Official Illustrated Catalogue* of the 1851 exhibition

On the left the jewels are arranged, according to the caption, as brooches and tiara. On the right they are rearranged as a bouquet brooch, corsage ornament and shoulder-knot. They could also be adapted as a necklace, which may be what is shown on the left, rather than the tiara.

court, the myriad hair ornaments of the 1830s and 1840s, combs, pins, slides and other devices, gradually gave way to the coronet or diadem-shaped tiara around 1850. Formal evening dress with a full complement of jewellery including diamond hair ornaments was *de rigueur* for country house visits. Barbara Charlton, wife of a Northumbrian squire, decided to alter her diamonds to the new style. In 1850, invited to Alnwick, seat of the dukes of Northumberland, where there was to be a large house-party, she 'got busy with [her] diamonds for the occasion and had them mounted by Tessier in a tiara shape, a setting that has been universally admired both in England and abroad'.⁶⁷ Many instances in Victorian memoirs tell of contriving tiaras from necklaces and other jewels (for example, Lady Augusta Stanley, and Madame Waddington, p. 68). As ambassador's wife in Madrid in the early 1870s Lady Layard made do with placing diamond brooches and buttons in floral wreaths for dinners at the royal palace; she did, however, own a diamond and emerald tiara for formal receptions at court.⁶⁸

A more practical solution arrived with convertibility: the greatest diamond trophies harboured a secret, their capacity to transform. It is not uncommon to find that large diamond pieces converted into a number of different ornaments. Exhibitions provided an ideal showcase for 'transformations', with some of the more ingenious being reported in the Press. If the



crowd-pullers at the 1851 Great Exhibition were specimen stones like the Koh-i-noor and the blue 'Hope' diamond, close on their heels for awe and wonder were the bouquets and wreaths of diamonds, rubies, emeralds and sapphires demonstrating consummate skill not only in matching colour and quality and in gem-setting, but also in creating convertible elements which could be rearranged as the occasion required. An example is Lemonnier's emerald and diamond parure made for the Queen of Spain. Illustrations in the *Official Catalogue* show how the suite of bouquet brooch, headdress and shoulder knot, stomacher, necklace and bracelet could be combined (Fig. 64). According to the *Illustrated London News*, 'the flower-buds are composed of pearls, and the leaves of emeralds, the whole set on springs so quiveringly tremulous that every movement presents them in a new and more beautiful point of view'.⁶⁹ Jean-Valentin Morel, the émigré French enamellist and jeweller who enjoyed temporary status as an English exhibitor, presented an immensely valuable diamond and ruby rose, tulip and convolvulus bouquet, which separated into stomacher, headdress, brooches and bracelet. The *Official Catalogue* again illustrated the transformation (Fig. 65).⁷⁰

A diamond wreath of oak leaves and acorns of about 1855 in the British Museum (Hull Grundy Gift) comes apart into three separate sprays, which can be reconfigured on a

65 A & B

Convertible jewels at the Great Exhibition of 1851: diamond and ruby bouquet by J.-V. Morel. Contemporary illustrations from the *Official Illustrated Catalogue* of the 1851 exhibition (left) and the *Illustrated London News*, 26 July 1851, p. 125 (right)

Morel's jewelled bouquet, with rose, tulip and convolvulus, could be separated into stomacher, headdress, brooches and bracelet. The right-hand image shows the bouquet rearranged as a stomacher.

different frame to make a large corsage brooch or on to combs for the hair (Figs 66, 67). The retailer of the tiara, Hunt & Roskell, occupied the address on the satin lining of the case-lid from 1844 for more than a hundred years. The combs were supplied by the partnership of Peirce Dalton between 1835 and 1864, when Dalton retired. It was cased by one of the best-known case-makers and a long survivor, C.J. Kitz.⁷¹ A viscount's coronet with the initials MP on the lid suggests Viscountess Portman, whose name was Mary, and a date around her marriage in 1855. Few convertible jewels of this type survive with their original fittings. The ingenious mechanisms were not always easy to manipulate for the inexperienced and many items must have been returned to the jeweller to be repaired. Diamond hairpins, such as rosettes, crescents and stars, were usually provided with screw-fittings to convert them to brooches or pendants, and – a nice touch – a small screwdriver secreted in a compartment under the pad of the jewel case.

This practical approach was adopted by the royal family: many new pieces made for the Queen and the Princess of Wales were convertible. For example, the 'Oriental' diamond and opal tiara designed by Prince Albert in 1853 could be reduced to a small diadem by removing husk and spire ornaments and part of the outer frame (see Fig. 26). Small screw-fittings released the Koh-i-noor from its place in the front of the regal circlet (remade for Victoria from Queen Adelaide's Grand Diadem) into a Greek honeysuckle brooch of small diamonds. The four large rubies and the diamonds in the 'Timur' necklace were mounted on springs to form brooches and an additional centre was made to take the Koh-i-noor in place of the Timur.⁷²

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Diamond oak-leaf sprays, tiara frame and tortoiseshell combs. Hunt & Roskell, 156 New Bond Street, after 1852. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Shown in the original display case, marked with a blind-stamp 'K' for the case-maker C.J. Kitz. Carl Jacob Kitz, in business from 1852 to 1898, was used by most of the leading London jewellers. The combs are by the firm of Peirce Dalton, of 31 St Martin's Court, 1834 to 1864 (Frederick Dalton was sole proprietor from 1840, but the mark was used for longer). The diamonds are set in silver; the frames are gold for greater flexibility.

67 A, B, C *Opposite*

The three diamond oak-leaf sprays (Fig. 66): (*top*) mounted as a tiara on a gold frame, diam. 16.3 cm; (*centre*) the three sprays mounted as a stomacher on a gold frame; (*bottom*) two sprays mounted on combs. Length of spray 9.3 cm.

The need for such ingenuity all but disappeared with the influx of the new South African diamonds into the British Market after 1867 (see p. 99). This meant that diamond ornaments became plentiful and cheaper. By the late 1880s they were widely available to those with social aspirations. However diamonds never lost their mystique as the ultimate trophy gemstone.





68

Princess Alexandra. Photograph by Alexander Bassano, 1881. London, National Portrait Gallery

The Princess wears the tiara and diamond star brooches given her by the Prince of Wales in 1863. The tiara could be lightened by removing the 'in-betweens'. The diamond stars on her bodice could be mounted on a frame to make a tiara. The stars may have had 'trembler' settings. In *Dombey and Son* (1848), Dickens gives the second Mrs Dombey 'an arch of diamonds spanning her dark hair like a starry bridge' (vol. II, Chapter 17). As we learn earlier, 'the shaken diamonds in her hair started and trembled'.



The arches of Victoria's small diamond crown, made in 1870, could be removed leaving a circlet. Princess Alexandra's wedding tiara, itemized as a 'very rich diadem, made to divide into brooches', could have the interlace motifs and the floral crests dismantled to make a lighter ornament. In a photograph taken by Bassano in 1881 she is wearing the full tiara (Fig. 68).⁷³ She has hung her wedding necklace with further pendants. Across her bodice she has the nine diamond stars given by her husband, which could be set into a diamond bandeau ordered in 1866 to make another tiara.

The democratization of consumerism: the matching set

While it is misleading to overstress the importance of the middle-class market to Victorian jewellery, there is no denying that the nineteenth century saw a democratization of fashionable consumerism, not least of precious ornaments and accessories. With its implications of solid prosperity and respectability, the parure, a set of matching brooch, bracelets and earrings (the term demi-parure is used for a set of brooch and earrings) might have been invented to serve the middle class. Infinitely flexible in its applications, its value lay in being a matching set rather

than a miscellany of trinkets. In Charlotte Brontë's *Villette* (1853), Lucy Snowe's unprincipled friend Ginevra Fanshawe has cynically inveigled jewels from Isidore, her despised admirer. Ginevra shows the trinkets to Lucy: 'She thought the praise not warm enough, and proceeded to direct attention to the various decorative points of her attire. "Look at this *parure*," said she, "The brooch, the earrings, the bracelets – no-one in the school has such a set, not madame herself."⁷⁴ Lucy counters with criticism and Ginevra questions her right to 'sermonize':

Certainly! I have little right; and you perhaps have still less to come flourishing and fluttering into my chamber – a mere jay in borrowed plumes. I have not the least respect for your feathers, Miss Fanshawe, and especially those peacock's eyes you call a *parure*. Very pretty things, if you had bought them with money which was your own, and which you could well spare, but not at all pretty under present circumstances.

Further evidence that the taste for matching sets was seen as aspirational comes in a passage from *The Art of Beauty* by Mrs Haweis (1878):

Machine made jewellery has debased to the utmost the few fine forms which once were popular, and increased the ignorant and mistaken craze for 'sets' and 'pairs', which are themselves antagonistic to all true beauty, the essence of which is change, variety, freshness. ... It is food for regret that it has been found possible to manufacture so much cheap work, and to find buyers among the vulgar and uncultivated masses.

Mrs Haweis always voiced the artistic view, essentially antagonistic to the culture of monetary value and trophies of wealth and success. She was writing at a time when enterprising retailers were advertising sets of imitation jewellery for a few pounds (see Fig. 149). As James Laver remarked in his study *Taste and Fashion*, 'For it is the bourgeoisie, the respectable people, who finally decide what a fashion shall be, although they very rarely inaugurate it. What they do is to assimilate as much as they can from the intellectual mode of the period and turn it to their own uses.'⁷⁵ In fact, the identity of the 'respectable people' is almost never preserved, leaving their place in the culture and fashion of their time largely conjecture.

The last word on the culture of trophies of fashion and status must go to the Norwegian-American sociologist and economist Thorstein Veblen, in his study of consumerism, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899); he noted in a chapter on 'Dress as an expression of pecuniary culture' that 'the conscious motive of the wearer or purchaser of conspicuously wasteful apparel is the need of conforming to established usage, and of living up to the accredited standard of taste and reputability'.⁷⁶ Veblen (influenced by Charles Darwin) saw economics as evolutionary, the result of social and cultural developments. When he was writing his book American society was entering on a prolonged phase of rapid acquisition of wealth and conspicuous spending. It was he who coined the phrase 'conspicuous consumption' to describe the growth of shopping for non-essentials and its corollary 'conspicuous waste'. Many of his conclusions about fashion and the consumer are contested, but evidence from letters and diaries tends to support his conclusion about 'wasteful apparel', among it the jewels and precious accessories that were often acquired with reluctance for purely social reasons, to display as the trophies of success or in bowing to the tyranny of fashion.



JEWELLERY AND DRESS



3 JEWELLERY AND DRESS

JEWELLERY and dress are interdependent, but their relationship and their roles in fashion are complex. Although jewels might be inspired by fashion, they were rarely fashion statements in themselves. Augusto Castellani actually referred to his ‘war on fashion’ (*la guerra alla moda*, see p. 401). Revivalism played a large part in fashions in dress, but portrait evidence suggests that there was little regard for correctness in wearing archaeological and historical jewels. Castellani’s own productions were rarely worn with appropriate costume. Standard and traditional types were worn with the prevailing fashions of the time. Symbolism and sentiment, the main driving forces in much Victorian jewellery design, have nothing to do with fashion.

Jewellers are infrequently named in fashion magazines and the repetition of certain names suggests something close to modern product placement. Evidence based on changing fashions is elusive in a culture where the long-lasting and durable were highly prized qualities. Jewels long survived dresses, being passed through generations and sold to new owners. There was no idea of costume jewellery in the twentieth-century sense of jewels designed to go with a particular *haute couture* outfit, to decorate a plain ensemble or to provide a contrasting colour or focal point. Far from this, much Victorian jewellery, often elaborate in itself, was worn on patterned fabrics hardly calculated to show it off to advantage. Wearing jewellery was dictated by etiquette rather than style, particularly in the case of mourning jewellery; like mourning dress it was designed to satisfy a specific code of conduct. An important element in the show of grief and memorializing the departed, mourning jewellery spans all levels of quality and cost, since all classes were expected to observe the rules. Victorian mourning rituals, set by the Queen’s unwavering commitment to black, were not entirely dropped until well into the twentieth century.

The elaborate construction and decoration of costume and the role of hairdressing – and false hair – had vital functions in the design of jewellery. The latter part of the nineteenth century saw a huge increase in the use of edgings and embroidery on dress – often with gold and silver braid, jet, steel *paillettes*, beads and crystals – leaving no place for jewels other than plain strings of pearls. A dress from Worth, Doucet or Pingat was complete in itself, so heavily trimmed that jewels were almost a superfluity.¹

These characteristics are set out by way of introduction to aspects of dress in relation to jewellery. This section follows the Victorian debate about colour in dress and jewellery, and the development of a parallel mode of ‘artistic’ dress with its different jewel conventions. Outside the close-knit Victorian art world, ‘artistic’ dress evolved in the wake of the Dress Reform Movement. Jewellery was conceived as a foil to the dress and to enhance the wearer. Although men’s jewellery was much reduced in contrast to the eighteenth century, many more precious accessories were worn than the notably restrained portraits of the period suggest. One frequently overlooked aspect of men’s evening costume is colourful uniform, both for the armed services and the Corps Diplomatique. The gold braid and embroidery almost constituted a

Previous pages: left, enamelled stick-pin (see Fig. 93); right, Charles Augustus Howell (see Fig. 94)

form of 'jewellery'. In addition, many men at court would be wearing orders and decorations with their sashes and ribbons and these often sparkled with gemstones and enamel. Prince Albert's favourite order was his jewelled Golden Fleece, which he wears in many portraits. Finally, taking the survey to the turn of the twentieth century, the role of sporting jewellery, which, unlike other novelties, was designed to go with the costume of the sport, is examined in relation to the emergence of the professional and emancipated 'New Woman'.

In and out of fashion

Madame Carette, reader to the Empress Eugénie from 1864, singled out the English-born couturier Charles Frederick Worth and the milliner Madame Virot as having transformed Parisian fashion through their most influential patron. Eugénie was the role model for fashionable dress and jewellery across Europe, and Madame Carette's analysis of her habits is interesting, particularly for protocols surrounding dress and jewels. Twice a year Eugénie received her costumiers and purveyors of lace, fans and other accessories with their models and materials, from which she chose her wardrobe for the new season. For state occasions she wore her 'political toilettes', heavy Lyons silk trimmed with French lace, chosen on the Emperor's orders to encourage manufactures. The crown jewels, worn with these official toilettes on all state occasions, were designed with the same end in view, to advertise the superiority of French craftsmanship and design; they had little to do with fashion, although they were certainly imitated. Eugénie's position as fashion leader brought certain of her 'political' choices into fashion. For evenings when there was no official reception she still appeared *décolletée*, in white satin or velvet according to the season and with modest jewellery, often including the trefoil of emeralds and diamonds given her by Napoléon during the house-party at Compiègne in December 1852, when he first showed a marked preference for her company (see Fig. 51). Her Ladies of the Household wore similar simple dresses, *décolletée* and with few jewels other than their diamond-set badges of office. No *gauzes* (muslin or gauze scarves or fichus) were permitted to obscure the naked shoulders demanded by etiquette. Her discarded robes were given to her ladies; according to Madame Carette this 'was a great source of profit to them, because they sold them generally to people in America and elsewhere, where it is customary to lend toilettes on hire'.²

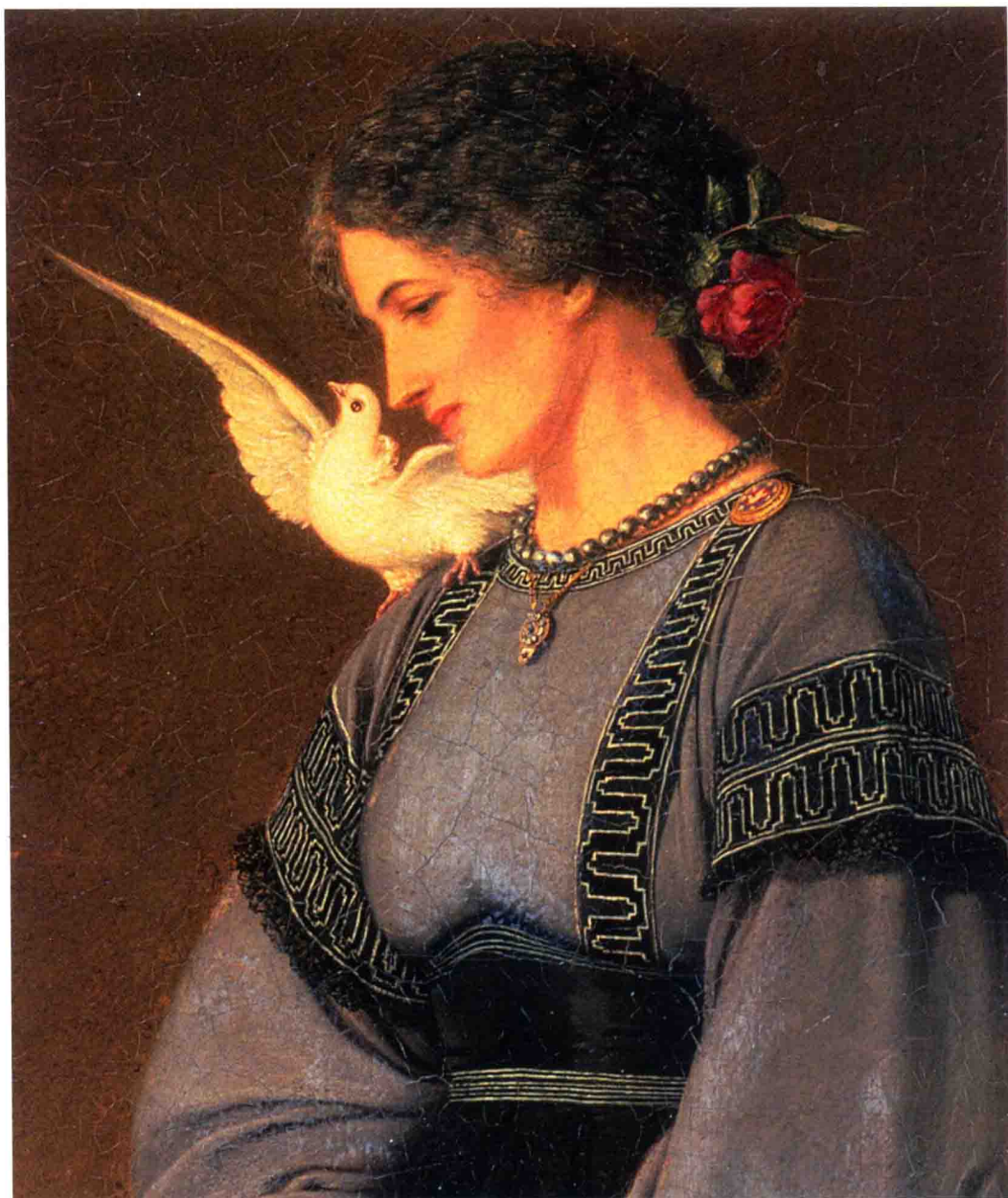
For many women, the jewellery in their wedding trousseau formed the basis of their wardrobe for the rest of their lives.³ Fashionable trifles like the ubiquitous *ferronnières* could be contrived out of bits and pieces of jewellery and scraps of velvet ribbon (see p. 334). Victorian fashion borrowed indiscriminately, both from the past and from other cultures. As Lady Eastlake remarked, the increasingly eclectic tastes of the Victorians meant that fashion and fancy dress were almost interchangeable; at a Devonshire House reception in May 1850 she noted, 'the dresses were beautiful, and so fantastic that they would have passed for fancy dress a few years ago'.⁴ Fancy dress was worn on many occasions besides the popular costume balls, for example by the stall-holders at charity bazaars. Peasant costume was popular, but all kinds of quaint inventions were worn as well.⁵ Queen Victoria made drawings of her children in traditional costume from Thuringia, Prince Albert's homeland, and the family owned a collection of historic dress for theatricals and parties.⁶

For his 1863 portrait of the elegant Mathilde Loeser, a professional singer, John Brett,

69 A & B

Lady with a Dove (Madame Loeser),
by John Brett (1830–1902). Oil on canvas,
1863. London, Tate

With her gold and mosaic jewellery in the archaeological taste, probably made in Rome, Madame Loeser wears a necklace of grey 'pearls' to match her crinoline costume.



Ruskin's protégé and a Pre-Raphaelite sympathizer, conceived a finely tuned classical image, with dress and jewellery in harmony, a rare example of his portraiture (Fig. 69).⁷ It was begun while Brett and Madame Loeser were in Capri in the winter of 1863–4. Her jewellery is Italian: a necklace of grey beads, a gold Roman lamp pendant on a fine chain and a disc brooch set with a micromosaic of a dove on a red ground worn correctly, toga-like, on her shoulder. On her other shoulder is a living dove, potentially the bearer of many messages, sacred and profane. The image at the centre of the brooch follows the same Christian iconography as the dove of peace set in Elizabeth Barrett Browning's brooch (Fig. 501), but the real dove with its wings lovingly encircling her cheek may refer to Brett's feelings for his sitter, about which there has been much speculation. The grey and black dress makes subtle reference to Italian traditional costume with its full sleeves and braided trimming.

Victorian dress and jewellery appealed to the senses, sight, sound, scent and touch. Crape, for example, had a quite distinctive smell and damp or heat enhanced the already

heavy odours of wool and velvet. Many women wore scented flowers, choosing a favourite as their 'signature' – orange blossom, for example. Ivy, often used for wreaths combined with diamonds, has a sharp metallic smell. The susurration of silk, the faint crackling of starched muslin, the rustling of layered petticoats and the creaking of whalebone could be heard from a distance. The sounds changed with the fashion of the moment – the muffled puffing like air escaping from a balloon caused by a swaying crinoline was replaced by the sinuous slithering of a silk ruffled train across the floor. Ankle-boots with little heels, sharply tap-tapping, replaced silent flat slippers with their criss-crossed ribbons. Trimmings of jet and bead fringing made a slight tinkling sound and a muted clash of bracelets and their innumerable pendants announced the wearer. A louder clatter accompanied a chatelaine laden with accessories. The novelist Charlotte Yonge ridiculed this kind of chatelaine in 1879 (see p. 132).

For many Victorians, fashion was inherently comic. Certain types in particular attracted satire. The chatelaines hanging from the waist, popular in the 1830s and 1840s and revived in the 1870s, occasioned much mirth, attracting the attentions of *Punch*. The year 1849 yielded a bumper crop: some event must have sparked off such a concentration of satirical comment (Fig. 70). The humour could be extended to make a political point, with one 'chatelaine' cartoon in the same year showing 'France' with a cap of liberty, wearing a chatelaine with cannon, gun, bayonet, sword, and so on (p. 55 of the 1849 volume: jokes were often flogged to extinction by the magazine). This illustrates an article called 'Paris Revisited' (at the end of January) shortly after Louis Napoléon was elected President of the Second Republic in December 1848. The Manning murder trial at the Old Bailey towards the end of the year prompted 'Fashions for Old Bailey ladies (La Mode Criminelle)': among the macabre ornaments is a necklace in the form of a running cord *à la Calcraft* (the public hangman); the chatelaine is hung with prison keys, chains, hand-cuffs and miniature scaffolds.⁸

Chatelaines were constantly in fashion papers and jewellers' advertisements; the extent to which they were actually worn is harder to establish.⁹ From the simple watch-chatelaine fashionable in the 1830s grew the monstrous creations of the late 1840s and 1850s. In the light of exhibits by the firms of J.B. Durham and J.J. Thornhill at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851 (see pp. 258–9), the jokes are not so wide of the mark. Possibly on account of this volley of satire, chatelaines quickly reverted to a more convenient size and the mockery abated for a while, only to return with the new fashion for sporting belts in the 1870s: the caricaturist Linley Sambourne takes over the role played by John Leech in the 1849 assault. In 1875 we find Sambourne tilting at sport as well as chatelaines with his 'Belle à la Mécanique (a Rink Wrinkle)' of October 1875 (see p.147).

Blatantly false chignons and clusters of false curls provided another opportunity to mock. One of George du Maurier's 'Society Pictures' for *Punch* with the title *Triumph of Art* shows a young woman having her hair dressed by her maid, captioned 'And now Ma'am, I hope that'll plaze ye; shure there's niver a soul as would think it was your own hair!'¹⁰ Obviously false chignons and curls feature in the advertisements for combs and coiffure of the 1870s by John Hassall of St Paul's Churchyard (Fig. 71). Hairdressing dictated the position of hair ornaments and the type of pin or comb, and even, when it was dressed low and hiding the ears, whether earrings were worn at all. Because it was not possible to wear earrings without having the ears pierced, they enjoyed a chequered career, being viewed as signs of womanhood (as in the case of the young Princess Victoria, see p. 20) or as repellent evidence of violation.



70
 'The Chatelaine – a really useful present'.
 Cartoon by John Leech (*Punch*, vol. 16
 1849, p. 16)

In 1849 *Punch* ran a series of jokes about chatelaines, emphasizing their size and eccentric choice of pendant implements. The reason for this spate of satiric illustrations is not obvious, but this particular one must refer to the fact that Queen Victoria acquired a chatelaine from Thornhill's in 1849 (Marsden, 2010, cat. 261), and that coupled with her growing family probably prompted this joke. Very large chatelaines were a feature of the 1851 Great Exhibition in London two years later.



71
 John Hassall's advertisement for combs and coiffure. *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, December 1873, p. 305
 Chignons of false hair were very widely worn. Trading in hair was well established, serving both hairdressing and the hairwork jewellery industry. The use of substantial false hair additions allowed women to wear the heavy aigrettes, combs and other hair ornaments fashionable during the mid-Victorian period.

It was certainly an ordeal. Emily Birchall put herself through it on her wedding tour in Rome in 1873 in order to wear the archaeological-style jewellery she so admired:

Yesterday [Mrs Hartley] took me to have my ears pierced, which seemed an operation mysteriously difficult to accomplish, for we applied in vain at several jewellers shops, and at last were conducted by a very nice jeweller whom Mrs H. knew, to an old woman up about 8 flights of stairs, who preceded to do one, but couldn't manage the other, my ears were 'so fat!' so the man did that one himself. They put the rings in at once, without first doing them with a needle. My ears are considerably 'took' today, but I am glad the ceremony is over.¹¹

There were periods when earrings were hardly worn until the invention of the screw-fitting removed the need for piercing. This happened, according to *Godey's Lady's Book*, in 1867:

A novelty in the way of an ear-ring has just appeared in England. It is intended for those who are opposed to having their ears pierced, and still wish for the ornaments. We copy the description as we think it would take well if introduced in this country.

'The rosette in front of the ear-ring is the head of a screw, which, by being partly withdrawn, allows the wires to separate, and on being screwed back when adjusted, presses the wires on the lobe of the ear. The wires are so constructed that they do not uncomfortably press the ear; in fact the fastening, instead of entering the flesh, clasps it.' (February 1867, p. 204)

The *Godey's* report is probably lifted from a British source such as *The Queen*, from whence much of their material derived.

Colour in dress and jewellery

The question of colour in dress and jewellery was hotly debated. Coloured gemstones became widely available, particularly with the opening in 1830 of the high-yielding Siberian mines at Yekaterinburg in the Ural Mountains. This produced a wealth of coloured material, including fine aquamarines and the prized multi-coloured Alexandrite (named after Alexander II); the same source yielded prized green Demantoid garnets. Bohemia produced inexpensive garnet jewellery made from the abundant pyrope or blood-red stones of the locality. Deep red Almandine garnets, which were cut as the characteristic carbuncles (smooth domed cabochons with a concave reverse) of High Victorian jewellery, were found in gem mines all over the world (Fig. 72). Siberian amethysts, with their dark purple colour, were valued above the more abundant pale stones used in 'trade' jewellery. Opals, from Bohemia and later Australia, enjoyed a rather mixed response with their reputation for bringing ill-luck, but they were Albert's favourite stone and royal example played its usual part in making them popular.

The taste for coloured gemstones challenged the trade, formerly dependent on foil-backing and other means to enhance the stones, and the finest pieces, where well-matched gems exhibit intense colour, are among the great achievements of Victorian jewellery and very expensive. New chemical processes for intensifying colour were developed and cutting techniques were

72

Gold brooch with tassel pendant. English, about 1850–60. L. with tassel 12 cm. Museum of London, J.G. Joicey Gift

This 'shield' brooch displays the English mid-19th-century taste for very fine cabochon garnets, known as carbuncles, with the brilliant fire of old mine-cut diamonds. Flexible gold chains threaded through a diamond-set gold hoop support a diamond and garnet-set pendant with a tassel of silky gold fringing, set shorter at the front so as to display its three-dimensional quality. The 'shield' or target shape resembles the fashionable Saxon shield pattern (see pp. 377 and 432). Queen Victoria ordered a 'Saxon Shield brooch with carbuncles' from Garrard in 1856.



refined to bring out the colour of the stones. The use of enamelled gold set off the coloured gems. In the 1850s new synthetic dyes made the most brilliant tints available for dress, their popularity assured because, unlike much earlier plant-based colour, many of the modern dyes were fast. Synthetic dyes had another advantage: being produced in Britain, they made richly hued fabrics available to women of all classes. Brilliant colour was not always admired. Hippolyte Taine, a correspondent for *La Vie parisienne*, visiting London in 1862, penned a diatribe against his neighbour at table at an evening party: 'Pink dress, a crown of red flowers, green trimmings, and a gold necklace, like some savage queen: they rarely have any sense of colour'.¹² The Victorians also had a love of contrasting trimmings, tartan plaids and vivid floral patterns, best set off by the plain gold jewellery popular in the middle years of the century, but evidence from portraits shows that coloured jewellery was also worn amongst this profusion of shades and textures.

Coral and turquoise traditionally had protective qualities, which may help to explain their long popularity. For coral the darkest red colour was the most prized until it was usurped by the delicate pink of 'angel's skin' in the 1860s (see Fig. 201). In the 1850s Queen Victoria had corals from Naples set by Garrard's: the royal ledger itemizes a coral and vine leaf brooch and earrings, remounting fifteen corals as a head ornament, mounting a large coral head of Jupiter as a brooch in plain gold, mounting a carved coral figure as a brooch, and repairing a Neapolitan coral three-drop brooch. Turquoise, with its dual messages of sentiment – in jewel language, turquoise stands for true love – and colour (a dense and brilliant blue could be obtained by *pavé*-setting small cabochons), has always had a place in jewellery, but was especially fashionable in the 1840s.

A report in *The Times* attached to a long review of the jewellery at the 1867 Paris Exhibition is focused on the propriety of wearing coloured stones next to the skin and in the hair:

The jeweller . . . has in his hands to use, as he will, a range of the most brilliant colours; and he is sometimes tempted to use them without any discretion It must be remembered, however, that these colours are to be used in the adornment of a surface which is itself beautifully coloured. To the human eye the human skin in its perfection is the fairest thing in nature, and presents the most wonderful of all tints – it is so delicate, so tender, so subtle.

This is a veiled critique of exhibitors who put the need to stand out against competition above the true purpose of the ornaments, but the question addressed in the report is crucial to later developments in dress and jewellery, particularly 'artistic' taste with its restraint in jewelled ornaments. The report is clear on this point, insisting that

a pretty woman should be sparing of personal ornaments. She does not need them, and they are only intrusive. But if use them she must, then at least she must be careful of the colours; she may use pearls and opals and diamonds, and gold sometimes if it is not burnished, but rather dull; and anything black, from a piece of jet to a black pearl or diamond, and such dull-hued stones and shells as are made into cameos and intaglios.

The effectiveness of this kind of reporting cannot be denied. The report reads like a blue-print for developments in jewellery in the period immediately following its appearance.¹³

Black and white in dress and jewellery: fashion, marriage and mourning

The question of colour, and particularly the point about black jewels quoted above, raises issues of black and white in dress and jewellery, rarely examined outside the context of weddings and the rituals of death. In 1870 *The Queen* reported:

Jet jewellery is much in vogue this season, both in and out of mourning. The French jet is made of glass, the English jet of carbon; the latter is more durable. A cheap imitation is sold which breaks easily and is not worth buying. Floral designs are much worn, as are also medallions; and sets are shown bearing the names Eugénie, Patti and the Princess of Wales, with cameos of these personages festooned with chains and pendants.¹⁴

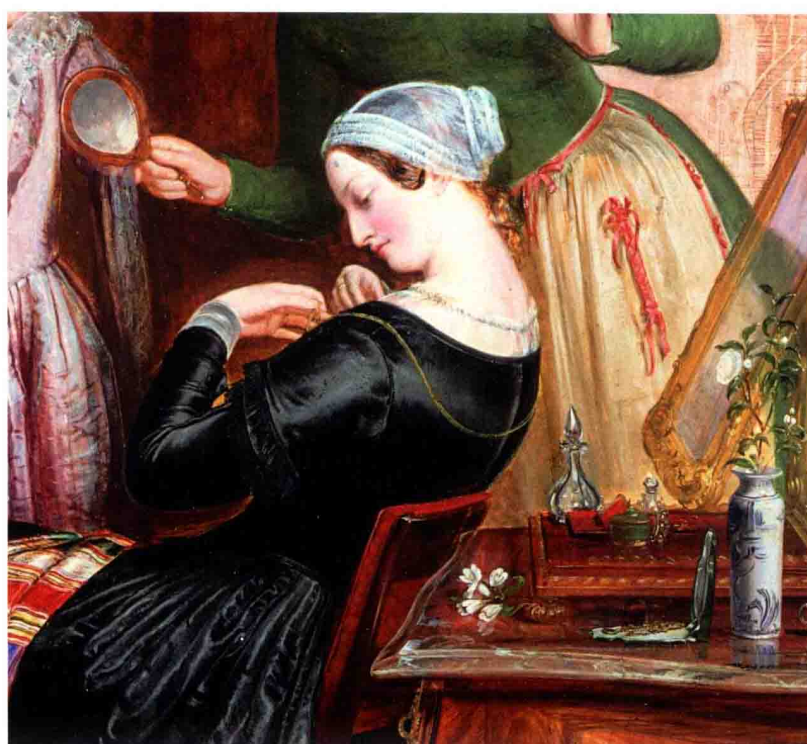
Nothing could have been more persuasive than the names of these fashion icons.

Alongside the commercially significant trade in jet and ivory for mourning (ivory, being colourless, was permitted), large-scale production of white jewellery was developed for weddings; orange-blossom brooches inspired by Queen Victoria's marriage, carved ivory sheaves of corn (for 'plenty' or 'prosperity') and ubiquitous flower bouquets and hands holding roses for 'beauty'. Fragile shell and iridescent fish-scale wreaths and bouquets, rare survivals from the Animal Products collection at the South Kensington Museum, are a reminder of a sizeable trade now quite forgotten (see Chapter 5). Pearls, with their dual message of 'beauty' and 'tears', were applicable to both marriage and mourning, and were far more highly valued than now. Richard Redgrave's 1846 genre painting on this theme, *Preparing to Throw Off her Weeds*, employs these polarities of mourning and marriage in Victorian dress (Fig. 73). He shows

73 A & B

Preparing to Throw Off her Weeds, by Richard Redgrave (1804–88). Oil on panel, 1846. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Sheepshanks Gift

This picture attracted considerable comment at the Royal Academy in 1846, on account of the 'vulgarity' of the subject, mourning being a topic not to be trifled with, even at this date fifteen years before the Queen's widowhood. In spite of criticism of the subject, the technical brilliance of the rendering of the black satin was much admired. In the detail of the dressing-table can be seen a jewel-case, possibly for a watch-chatelaine, by a sprig of orange blossom, denoting 'marriage'.



74

Mrs Hood. Photograph by Camille Silvy, London, 3 September 1865. London, National Portrait Gallery

Here a fashionable black and white costume is accessorized with black jewellery, probably 'French jet' for the necklace and earrings (see Fig. 82 below) and carved Whitby jet for the linked hairband and bead bracelet, with vulcanite imitating jet for the springy flat-band bangle (see Fig. 160).



the eagerly anticipated day when a widow abandons the blacks and jet of mourning. She is unpinning a brooch from the bodice of her black dress. It seems that she is to be married again that day; she is about to put on her wedding dress and veil, and no doubt also the sprig of orange blossom lying on the dressing table near a jewel-case for a pendant or small watch-chatelaine.

The use of black in Victorian dress is intensely ambiguous, especially in the light of mixed feelings about the brilliant colours that became available in the 1850s. A preoccupation with death that permeated Victorian culture at all levels has led to the assumption that women depicted in black with jet jewellery must be in mourning. But this must be backed by evidence showing that the trimmings are of crape, a fine wrinkled silk, or that the dress

is made from the twilled silk and worsted called bombazine, both materials specifically decreed for mourning wear.¹⁵ In *The Custom of the Country* (1913), Edith Wharton's novel set in *Fin-de-siècle* Paris and New York, these ambiguities are underlined. Undine's former husband Ralph has died by his own hand: 'She had worn black for a few weeks – not quite mourning but something decently regretful (the dressmakers were beginning to provide special garb for such cases)'. Such layers of meaning, inaccessible to us now, complicate any assessments of the significance of wearing black. Black was always fashionable and represented a form of elegant reticence for married women of a certain age.¹⁶ Black velvet was regarded as flattering (because of its slimming effect) and was widely worn in the evening. A Frenchman, noting the elegant Mrs Pattison, wife of the Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford (and later, through her second marriage, of the politician Sir Charles Dilke), paid her the ultimate compliment of comparing her to a Parisian:

Beside him walked his wife, small, erect, and ultra Parisian, all in black with a black parasol – I did not know then how often Frenchwomen thus enhanced the brilliance of a personality: still less did I know how few but Frenchwomen could do it. But there, plain to be seen for the least accustomed eyes, was the gift of style.¹⁷

Evidence from photography is confusing since the crude lighting of the day could not cope with light colours and sitters were instructed to wear dark dresses. Maull & Polyblank, the West End photographers, suggest 'black silks and satins are the most suitable for ladies' dresses. The colours to be avoided are white, light blue and pale pink'. *The Queen* (5 March 1864) advised, 'nothing comes out better than black silk'. Portrait photographs demonstrate that black jewellery was worn across all levels of society as a smart accessory. A portrait by Camille Silvy dated 1865 shows Mrs Hood in a fashionable black and white dress, carved jet link headband and bead bracelet, with star necklace and earrings, probably in 'French jet' (Fig. 74). In *Men in Black* (which is by no means exclusively about male costume), John Harvey cites Jay's General Mourning Warehouse in Regent Street as marketing black apparel around 1860 through 'Jay's Manual of Fashion' (not 'Mourning Fashion'). They advise that 'in Paris at the present time, Black and White enjoy a decided favouritism. . . . It is necessary to explain that the subjects of the Illustrations are made up in various materials, suitable either for Ladies who adopt Mourning, or for those who wear Black in accordance with the taste of the day'.¹⁸

In 1867 Jay's offered a 'Coiffure Diadem for Ladies' in steel immediately following 'Mourning for Families'. The 'coiffure' is described as 'The novelty of the Season': 'This mixture of gold and cut steel has a brilliantly elegant and scintillatory effect upon the head. The rings or drops are pendant, and the conformation being oval gives height to the wearer. The demand for these new ornaments in Paris is excessive; but Messrs Jay have imported a few of them, and others will follow as soon as they can be made.'¹⁹ In spite of the fact that it might have been allowable as colourless (steel being nearly white) with gold (generally accepted at the second stage of mourning), the ornament clearly has nothing much to do with mourning. Jay's gained a reputation for using only the richest materials; they were agents for Parisian fashions, offering 'the masterpieces of Worth and Pingat, though in subdued tints'.²⁰

The discovery of a way to deepen the permeable dark layer of onyx to a dense black opened up many possibilities for its use in black jewellery. 'German' onyx features frequently



75
Nathan Meyer de Rothschild's memorial brooch. English, supplied by Garrard, 1836. W. 4 cm. Museum of London

The gold brooch, inscribed on the reverse, 'N M Rothschild Esq Ob. 28 July 1836 Aet 58 HSC', has a central cabochon of three-coloured banded onyx encircled with an enamelled snake biting its tail, symbol of eternal love. The coloured banding of the central stone embodies three of the cardinal virtues (see p. 155).



76
Gold mourning brooch. English, about 1860. W. 4.5 cm. Bedford, Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Hull Grundy Gift

This brooch with a banded onyx surrounded by snakes closely resembles the description in Garrard's royal ledger of an 'Oriental onyx locket with snake border', a memorial brooch for the Duchess of Kent, 1861.

77 Right
Fringe necklace and earrings. French, by Marret et Baugrand, Paris, about 1860. Private collection

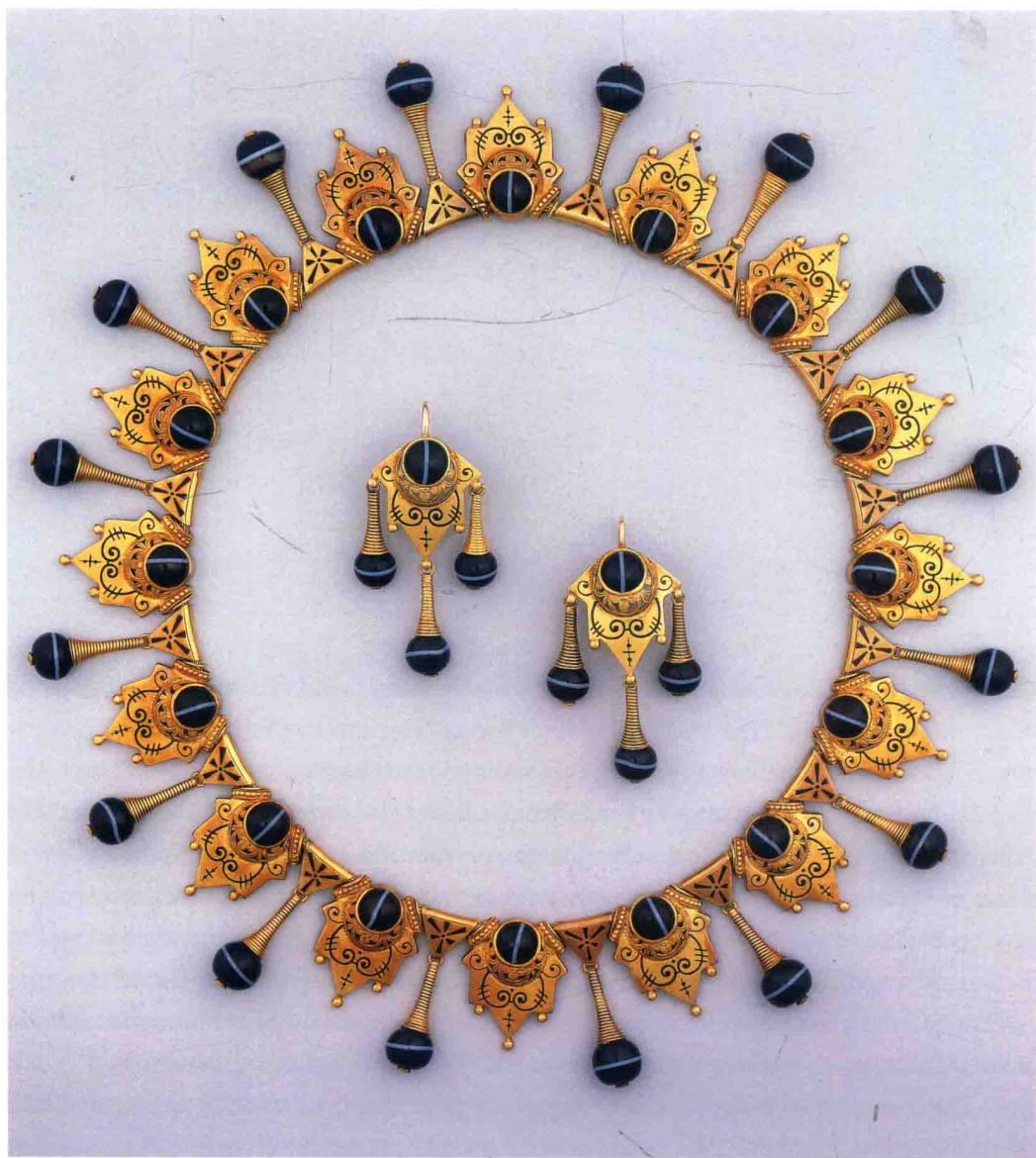
This suite of fashionable Second Empire jewellery, in gold with black *champlevé* enamel and onyx beads, employs the white line in the banded onyx to produce a design of horizontal and vertical stripes.

78 Opposite
'French' jet parure in the original display case. English, retailed by Charles Packer, London, about 1870. L. of case approx. 20 cm. British Museum

Packer was born in 1790; his long-established mourning emporium was at 76–78 Regent Street from 1834 to about 1917. The original display case is marked with a blind stamp 'T' for the firm of Edward Teden of 3 Poland Street, Soho, dating this set to after 1868.

in Garrard's royal ledgers, presumably imported from the specialist-stone-cutting centre of Idar-Oberstein. Their use of onyx for mourning is illustrated by a brooch with an onyx encircled by a snake, made in 1836 to commemorate the death of Nathan de Rothschild (Fig. 75). It shares characteristics with the mourning brooches ordered as memorials to the Duchess of Kent in 1861 (Fig. 76). Onyx beads polished to produce a narrow white stripe in the black are employed in a different context for a striking and fashionable suite of necklace and earrings retailed by Marret et Baugrand (Fig. 77). The onyx beads are set so as to show the thin white band both horizontally and vertically, while the gold settings are decorated with fine scrolls of black *champlevé* enamel.²¹ This type of gold jewellery decorated with black enamel in interlaced and scrolling motifs was a speciality of French firms like Alexis Falize and the Maison Fouquet in the 1850s and 1860s, and was popular in the United States, where large consignments were imported before the American jewellery trade developed its own capacity to manufacture on a large scale.

The cross-over between mourning and fashion drew on a variety of black jewellery materials, some, including newly developed plastics such as celluloid and rubber by-products like




C. PACKER
GOLDENITH
&
JEWELLER
205 1/2 N. BROAD ST.



79

Queen Victoria in Mourning. Engraving by W. Holl after the painting by Albert Graefle (1807–89), published 12 July 1864. British Museum

The Queen is shown with a posthumous memorial bust (1862) of the Prince Consort by William Theed (1804–91). The text reads: 'The Queen/1864/'May all love/His love, unseen but felt, o'ershadow Thee'/Tennyson/Published by command and dedicated to Their Royal Highnesses the Princesses.' The quotation is from Tennyson's dedication of *Idylls of the King* to the late Prince Consort.

In 'Fashions' (1 April 1867) *The Ladies' Treasury* reported: 'At the court recently held by the Queen, Her Majesty wore a black silk dress, with a train trimmed round with crape, and the Mary Queen of Scots cap, with a long veil of white crape lisse, and a coronet of jet. HM also wore jet ornaments, the ribband and Star of the Order of the Garter, and the Victoria & Albert Order.'



The Queen

1864.

*May all love,
His love, unseen but felt, o'ershadow Thee"*

gutta-percha, being used for popular novelties (see Chapter 5). Whitby jet and Irish bog oak fed the souvenir trade as well as being used in mourning (they were carved or pressed into representations of local landmarks). 'French jet' (the glass is not, in fact, black but very dark red, from Bohemia rather than France; it appears black when set on black-painted japanned metal plates) was often the choice for 'slight mourning' but it was also marketed as a fashion item by mourning specialists and in fashionable stores, notably Whiteley's in Bayswater.²² The jeweller Charles Packer of 76–78 Regent Street, one of the largest suppliers of mourning

**80** *Far left*

Mourning brooch. English, about 1850. W. 4.7 cm. Private collection

The brooch in enameled gold and pearls with a compartment for hair in the reverse employs a common motif for remembrance, the forget-me-not, widely used in Victorian mourning jewellery, applied as here to black enamel or carved in black and white layered onyx.

81

Round jet brooch carved with the name 'Aunt Butler'. English, 1889. Diam. 4.1 cm. British Museum, given by Charlotte Gere

This unusually personal mourning jewel commemorates the death in 1889 of Harriet Butler, half-sister of Maria Edgeworth, the Irish author.

jewellery in London, sold 'French jet' for fashionable social life (Fig. 78). Packer probably supplied the 'French jet' daisy diadem and matching bandeau, pansy and ivy earrings and butterfly hairpins acquired by Princess Alexandra when she arrived in England (a buckle from the group has his mark on it). These were bought according to Garrard's Ledger in 1863, and – proof that she wore them – repaired on later occasions.²³ A neat compromise, they bridged a gap between mourning and ordinary social wear.

The rituals of mourning were embedded in Victorian society, and there was a widespread consensus about their observation. Mourning dress featured in fashion magazines like any other costume.²⁴ Suggestions for fashionable mourning appeared almost immediately after Prince Albert's death, but it seems unlikely that many widows dressed in the way shown in fashion papers. Barely two weeks after the event the *Illustrated London News* featured dresses in black glacé silk with crape and jet and in black tulle, and a mantle with crape fluting. In fact, images of the mourning Queen were probably as influential as fashion plates (Fig. 79). Victoria's mourning was itself a factor in the prosperity of the fashion trade, since it set standards of etiquette that could only be satisfied by the purchase of specific clothes, jewellery and personal accessories. Swift response to a death was essential; Jay's offered a complete range of 'ready-to-wear' mourning clothes and jewellery.

Oddly for ornaments of such great personal significance, mourning jewels, in outward appearance at least, are almost completely impersonal. The need for them to be worn immediately after a death produced standard types with memorial inscriptions already in place. The names and dates are hidden at the back of brooches and within the band and hoop of bracelets and rings. A conventional repertoire of motifs remained unaltered throughout the Victorian period (Fig. 80). A rare example of a mourning brooch carved with the deceased's name commemorates 'Aunt Butler', Harriet, half-sister of Maria Edgeworth, the Irish authoress, who married the Rev. Richard Butler in 1826 and died in 1889 (Fig. 81).

Unpolished jet produced the 'dead' black for the depths of 'first mourning', which varied in length of time according to the degree of closeness in a relationship.²⁵ Whitby was the source of the best jet for jewellery. An article on the Whitby jet industry in the *Art-Journal* in 1856 made the comment: 'Since jet manufacture has been almost entirely confined to the purposes of ornament, and those ornaments such usually as can be worn only in season of sorrow, there are no very extended limits for the art of the designer' and this is evident in the many surviving examples of jet jewellery.²⁶ Thomas Andrew of Whitby, jet-ornament manufacturer to Her Majesty, and Isaac Greenbury, supplier of bracelets to the Empress Eugénie, were singled out for praise. Greenbury's prosperous business had outlets in London and Brighton. The fashion for jet jewellery coincides predictably with the



82 Whitby jet mourning jewellery worn by Mrs Craig of Edinburgh. English, second half of the 19th century. Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland

The full set consists of the massive chain with anchor, three pairs of bracelets, a delicate drop necklace with a pendant cross, a brooch, a comb and a bow-tied necklace of close-strung faceted drops.



83 Cross and brooch in carved ivory. *Left:* Pendant, cross of thorns with entwined holly; *right:* Oak-leaf spray with empty acorn cup. English, about 1850–70. H. of cross 6.5 cm. Bedford, Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Hull Grundy Gift

The cross incorporates the thorn branch and holly, two symbols of the Passion of Jesus Christ. The oak means strength or enduring love; the empty acorn cup, a commonly used motif in mourning jewellery, signifies the inevitable end of love. Mrs Forbes-Gibbon wears ivory ornaments with her jet jewellery (Fig. 85).



sophisticated development of the trade in the 1870s.²⁷ In a portrait photograph taken in India in 1878 Mrs Angelina Forbes-Gibbon is wearing masses of jet jewellery in long strings and pendants (Fig. 85). A similar suite of very fine jet ornaments, worn in Edinburgh in the second half of the nineteenth century by Mrs Craig, mother of the historian Thomas Craig Brown, is preserved in a Scottish museum (Fig. 82).

There were alternatives to jet. A pendant pearl cross retailed by Packer in about 1855 proclaims its suitability for mourning, as it is white (i.e. colourless), made of pearls (for 'tears') and in the form of a cross with a forget-me-not at the junction of the arms of the cross, signifying love (Fig. 84). In the instructions on royal mourning issued by the *London Gazette* white ornaments and pearls are allowable at 'second mourning' (i.e. after six or eight weeks). Ivory when used for mourning jewellery employs conventional motifs like an oak-spray with one empty acorn cup, which stands for the inevitable end of love in death, and holly- or ivy-entwined crosses (Fig. 83). Holly stands for the Crown of Thorns with red berries as drops of blood.

84 Pearl cross pendant. English, retailed by Charles Packer, about 1870. H. 5.5 cm. Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The pearls are threaded on a cruciform mother-of-pearl frame. The central flower is probably the commonly used forget-me-not for remembrance.



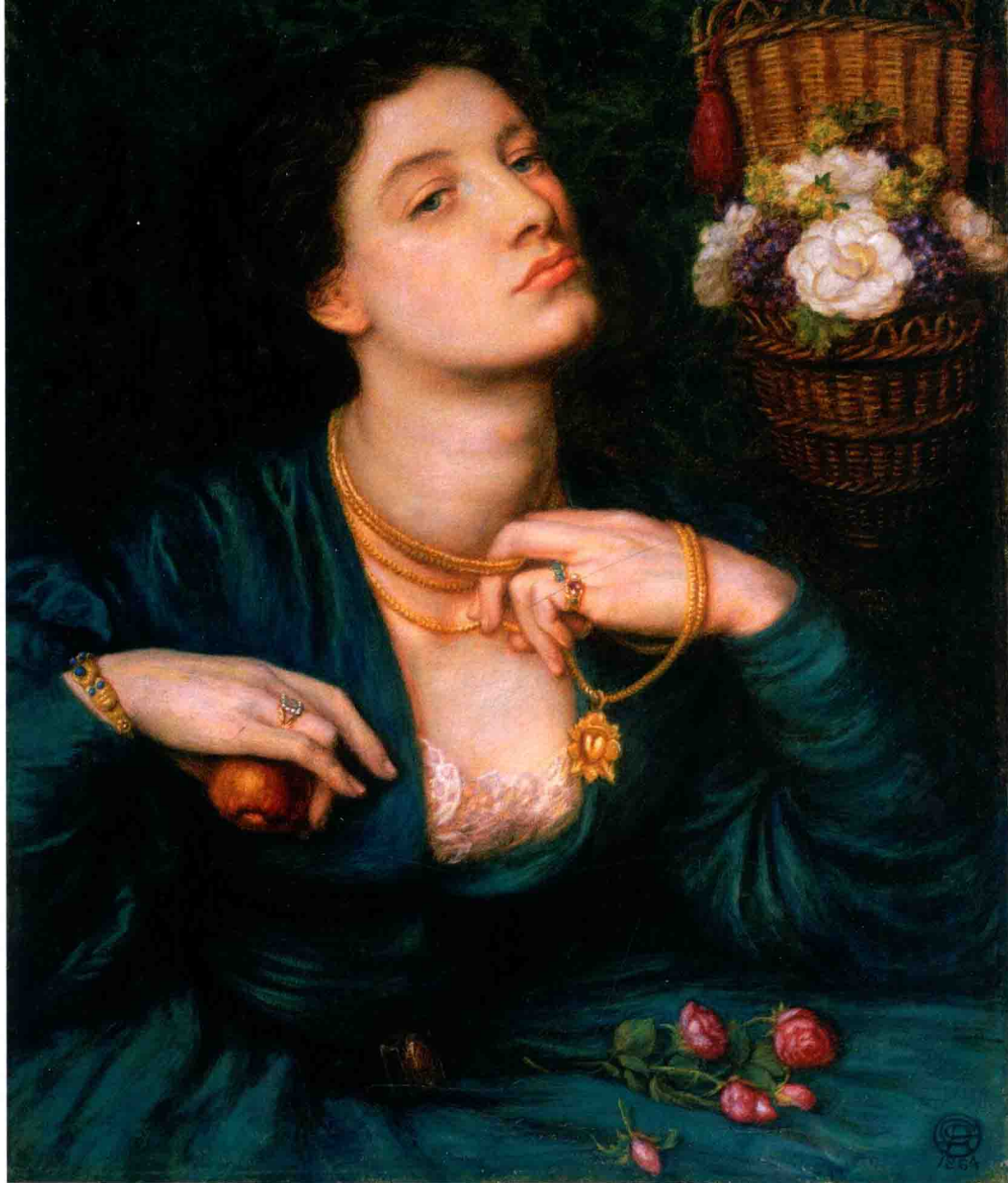
85
Mrs Angelina Forbes-Gibbon. Photograph by Bourne & Shepherd, India, 1870s. Manchester, Platt Hall

Mrs Forbes-Gibbon wears a black satin dress, so newly unpacked that it still shows the folds. Her hair is dressed with black jewellery and she has a profusion of carved Whitby jet chains and pendants and other ornaments in ivory. The style of her ornaments closely follows those owned by Mrs Craig of Edinburgh (Fig. 82).

86

Monna Pomona, by Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–82). Watercolour, 1864. London, Tate

Apart from the fashionably 'artistic' character of the costume, this bejewelled 'fancy' half-length of the model Ada Vernon is filled with messages: the apple that gives the subject its title is for desire, the red and white roses stand for various aspects of love, and the turquoise ring on the fourth finger of her left hand means 'true love'. The necklace with its pendant of an arrow-pierced heart belonged to Rossetti and appears in other works at this date.



Artistic dress

The Artistic or Rational dress movement during the second half of the nineteenth century was a reaction against the garish colours of aniline dyes, the distortions of boning and tight lacing and the extravagance of lavish trimming. Artistic or 'aesthetic' taste affected a wide sweep of cultivated and educated women of different classes and allowed them to adopt a mode of consciously anti-fashion dressing. Although it originated in the 1850s among the wives and daughters of artists, it rapidly gained a wider following, influencing taste far beyond the Bohemian milieu until about 1880. This anti-fashion was bold in using shades that were never reported in fashion magazines and rejecting all the rules of *haute couture* with its bones and hoops. Artistic fashion looked at historic costume and local and traditional dress and jewellery from Italy, Northern and Central Europe and the East, actively promoted through displays at international exhibitions (see Chapter 6). Artistic taste in dress prompted a different way of looking at jewellery, which led at the end of the century to the distinctive products of the Arts and Crafts Movement, with their emphasis on craftsmanship and stones of little intrinsic value. At a commercial level Liberty's of Regent Street advertised in their first catalogue of 1881 inexpensive handmade Indian 'bazaar' jewellery, sold alongside their admired Oriental

fabrics.²⁸ In 1884 Liberty opened an artistic dress department but it was not until around 1900 that they developed their own distinctive line in *Art Nouveau* jewels and silver.

Mrs Merrifield, a follower of J.R. Planché and author of *Dress as Fine Art* (1854), was among the earliest to investigate strategies for artistic modes of dressing. She suggested copying dress from paintings, including 'peasant' costume and ornaments (see p. 316) such as could be seen in the works of Sir Charles Eastlake, Rudolf Lehmann and Thomas Uwins.²⁹ From the 1850s paintings by the Pre-Raphaelite artist Dante Gabriel Rossetti inspired 'artistic' dress. He amassed a quantity of antique trinkets and Eastern jewelled curiosities to use in his 'fancy' portraits in the Venetian Renaissance manner. Many of the ornaments are identifiable as of Indian native workmanship, and the exotic became an important element in Aesthetic imagery.³⁰ A south Indian gold bangle with heads of mythical beasts and Chinese feather hair ornaments appear in *The Beloved* (1865–6, Tate), while in *Bocca Baciata* (1859, Boston Museum of Fine Arts) and *Fair Rosamund* (1861, Cardiff National Gallery of Wales) similar but not identical gold flower-head necklaces appear to be Indian babul work with textured spheres (see Fig. 243).³¹ However, the Negro slave boy in *The Beloved* is wearing a large traditional Norwegian marriage pendant.³² In *The Blue Bower* (1865, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham) Fanny Cornforth, Rossetti's model-mistress, has gold peasant buttons on her jacket. From the wide spread of origins of these accessories, it is apparent that Rossetti owned the kind of Indian ornaments and European peasant jewellery increasingly available in London. He gave a number of jewels to his great love, Janey, wife of William Morris, among them a South Indian bracelet and a Chinese buckle, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.³³

Like many artists Rossetti was a pioneer collector of antique jewellery. The posthumous sale of his effects held in 1882 included 'an old-fashioned lady's gem ring with garnet centre, set in diamonds' (lot 364); it is probably the ring on Ada Vernon's left little finger in his 1864 painting *Monna Pomona* (Fig. 86). With it is an early nineteenth-century turquoise ring, and on her right hand a mourning ring formed of a hair compartment bordered by pearls of a similar date. A South Indian bracelet and a long gold chain with a pendant heart pierced by arrows of a European local or traditional type complete her costume.³⁴

James McNeill Whistler also owned both antique and exotic items. On his marriage to Beatrix Godwin, widow of the architect E.W. Godwin, in 1888, the Comte de Montesquiou sent the couple a gold butterfly brooch (Fig. 87) in honour of Whistler's familiar butterfly



87
J. McNeill Whistler's butterfly brooch.
Chinese, 19th century. L. 5.5 cm.
Glasgow, Hunterian Museum and
Art Gallery, Whistler Collection

Probably a hairpin ornament, this Chinese butterfly, closely resembling Whistler's signature motif, was given to Whistler and Beatrix Godwin as a wedding present.



88 Above left
J. McNeill Whistler's jade necklace. Indian, 19th century. Glasgow, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Whistler Collection



89 Above right
Rosalind Birnie Philip wearing Whistler's jade necklace. Photograph by W. & D. Downey, about 1898. University of Glasgow Library, Department of Special Collections
Rosalind was Whistler's sister-in-law. She is shown wearing the necklace in his painting *The Jade Necklace* of 1896.

insignia. The butterfly has a long antenna, like Whistler's, formed of a glass bead mounted on coiled wire; it is a contemporary Chinese piece, probably a hair ornament. The Whistler collection in Glasgow includes a set of antique garnet jewellery, as well as contemporary imported jewellery, such as a multiple strand necklace of minuscule bright blue and turquoise glass beads typical of Venetian work, a necklace of stamped and patinated brass beads most probably from Japan, and two massive hardstone bead necklaces from India. These consist of three strings joined in the centre and fastened with a woven silk clasp.³⁵ A necklace of green beads, identified as plasma, appears in Whistler's painting *The Jade Necklace* of 1896, worn by his sister-in-law Rosalind Birnie Philip, and, more clearly, in a photograph of Rosalind reading of about 1898 (Figs 88, 89).³⁶

A preference for genuine ancient pieces over gem-set jewellery earned a certain intellectual and cultural cachet in artistic circles. In 1876 Mrs Haweis reported to her mother on an evening party at Broadlands, home of the Cowper Temples:

The ladies dress beautifully. Mrs Temple has a dress of crimson plush and rose-point lace which is the finest lace of all and plain diamonds. But Lady Ashburton wears an ancient Keltic necklace of pure gold which I wd rather have than diamonds! . . . My eccentric dresses make me quite celebrated, I find.³⁷

Mrs Howeis had made her reputation as a dress historian and her writings were influential in spreading the taste for 'artistic' dress worn by her women friends in the London art world, Mrs Walter Crane and Mrs Alma-Tadema. Mrs Howell, wife of Charles Howell, who acted as Ruskin's secretary and a member of Rossetti's circle in the 1870s, adopted what might be described as Aesthetic 'uniform'; a dress in the eighteenth-century taste with an exotic imported many-stranded necklace of rough-cut turquoises and Regency earrings (Fig. 90). However, the style was not always admired; Lady Layard was generally fashionable in her tastes and was happy to experiment with Renaissance-inspired dress (as her portrait by Palmaroli demonstrates, see Fig. 370), but she had no time for Laura Alma-Tadema's way of dressing. At a Royal Academy reception in 1880 she describes her in 'steel grey satin like a sack . . . and evidently no stays!'³⁸ It took courage to abandon corsets and crinolines, which remained formidable signs of respectability.

90

Mrs Charles Augustus Howell, by Frederick Sandys (1829–1904). Coloured chalks on buff paper, signed and dated 1873. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery

Mrs Howell is wearing a fashionably 'artistic' necklace of rough turquoise beads filling the extreme *décolletage* of her flowered silk dress, with its square neckline, which is in the revived style of the 1770s. The rings on the fourth finger of her left hand seem to be bands of turquoises with perhaps a snake. Her antique earrings are coral or cornelian with seed-pearl borders. The bracelets are Bedouin, from Palestine or Jordan. In the background is a bouquet of jasmine in a Chinese ginger jar with the prunus design admired by Rossetti.



In *Magnum Bonum*, Charlotte Yonge (1879) included a scene in which a brother teases his sister, who has adopted an aesthetic costume that she believes to be historically accurate:

... Janet was arrayed in a close-fitting pale blue dress, cut in semblance of an ancient kirtle, and with a huge chatelaine, from which massive chains dangled, not to say clattered – not merely the ordinary appendages of a young lady, but a pair of compasses, a safety inkstand, and a microscope. Her dark hair was strained back from a face not calculated to bear exposure, and was wound round a silver arrow. Elfie shook with laughter, murmuring – ‘Oh dear! what a fright!’ in accents which Miss Ogilvie tried to hush; while Babie observed as a sort of excuse, ‘Janet always is a figure of fun when she is picturesque.’
 ‘My dear, I hope you are not going to show yourself to any one in that dress,’ added her mother.
 ‘It is perfectly correct,’ said Janet, ‘studied from an old Italian costume.’

The danger was that the taste for Aesthetic or ‘Pre-Raphaelite’ dress would become yet another banal fashion. Already in 1878 *Cassell’s Family Magazine* suggested, ‘Copy almost any old costume of the three last centuries and you will scarcely go wrong.’ When it became mixed up with the Rational Dress Movement and early feminism in the 1880s, its picturesque qualities were sublimated into concerns for health, hygiene and freedom from corsets and tight-lacing, and its romantic associations with artists and Bohemian life were lost.

Late Victorian fashions, more impractical than ever, were very much in opposition to the movement for dress reform. Fragile dresses were fussily trimmed with embroidered panels, a profusion of lace, muslin frills and bows. In a reaction to the large jewels with heavy settings of High Victorian taste, jewellery had become smaller and more delicate and the use of large intensely coloured cabochons declined. Little brooches and pins were stuck randomly amongst the frills, and long fine chains were draped and looped over lace-trimmed necklines. In 1890 the *Young Ladies’ Journal* advised readers that

Fancy jewels are more fashionable than ever; pins and brooches of all styles – flowers, birds, emblems, animal’s heads, beetles, dragon-flies, etc. It is the fashion to stick pins, the head of which is a jewel, here, there, and everywhere – in the hair, in the draperies of the bodice, in folds of lace or bows of ribbon, and even in bonnets and hats.³⁹

In 1893 Charles Robert Ashbee, architect and silversmith and visionary member of the Arts and Crafts Movement, turned his attention to the poor state of design in fashionable jewellery. He was appalled by the trivia of the commercial fashion trade. Writing in the *Art-Journal* he exclaims, ‘Well, we live in an ugly time, and jewellery is not the least of the lost children of Art ... let us look to the Cinque-cento.’⁴⁰ Ashbee discovered Cellini – he translated Cellini’s *Treatises*, which had appeared in the Italian original in 1857 – and adopted the idea of jewellery as an art form that both enhanced the wearer and complemented the dress. He concluded:

Our modern ladies have little or no understanding of how jewellery should be worn, or what relation it should have to the person or the costume. Their jewellery

is vulgar and tawdry, showy or mean, and is usually treated as a fashionable adjunct rather than as the final point up to which the whole costume should lead; it is almost a commercial article and scarcely ever a work of art. The ladies of the Cinquecento, or the men too, and the artists who painted them knew better.⁴¹

There followed a flowering of jewellery design within the Arts and Crafts Movement, strongly influenced by the Italian Renaissance. But it came to fruition in the early years of the twentieth century and is outside the scope of this book.⁴²

Jewellery for men

Throughout the Victorian period jewellery was routinely worn by men. Notwithstanding the 'great renunciation' of finery in the later eighteenth century and the fastidious dress code of the Regency dandies, a number of precious ornaments and accessories were normal for men in high society and professional or public life. However, an extravagant show was regarded as quite out of place: writing from Paris on 30 November 1838, Lady Harriet Granville remarked to her sister Lady Carlisle of one of her dinner guests, 'If Lord Castlereagh would cut off his long hair, and take off his large turquoise ornaments, fastened with long diamond chains, making him look like a pane of a jeweller's shop-window, he would be better than most others in conversation.'⁴³ It was the bejewelled exquisites known as 'fops' who frequented 'Fops' Alley' in the stalls at the Opera House in the 1840s who ignored the rules of restraint formulated by the dandies. The youthful Benjamin Disraeli, hero-worshipper of Byron and future Prime Minister, left off his ruffled shirts, over-large cravat pins, numerous chains and finger-rings on entering political life, when his reputation as a 'fop' became inappropriate.⁴⁴

The 'Prince of Dandies', Comte d'Orsay, described by Thomas Carlyle as the 'Phoebus-Apollo of dandies', visited the Carlyles twice with an interval of five years. Jane Carlyle, writing in her notebook in 1845, pondered the changes in his appearance:

To-day, oddly enough, while I was engaged in re-reading Carlyle's 'Philosophy of Clothes', Count d'Orsay walked in. I had not seen him for four or five years. Last time he was as gay in his colours as a humming-bird – blue satin cravat, blue velvet waistcoat, cream-coloured coat, lined with velvet of the same hue, trousers also of a bright colour, I forget what; white French gloves, two glorious breast pins attached by a chain, and a length enough of gold watch-guard to have hanged himself in. To-day, in compliment to his five more years, he was all in black and brown – a *black* satin cravat, a *brown* velvet waistcoat, a *brown* coat, some shades darker than the waistcoat, lined with velvet of its own shade, and almost *black* trousers, *one* breast-pin, a large pear-shaped pearl set into a little cup of diamonds, and only one fold of gold chain round his neck, tucked together right on the centre of his spacious breast with one magnificent turquoise.⁴⁵

The Regency breast- or cravat-pin lingered on well beyond Victoria's accession. These are given a number of different names, cravat-, scarf-, breast-, for a pin of up to three inches

MR STREETER, (LATE OF CONDUIT ST.)

Links, Pins, and Studs.

Sleeve Links, Studs, and Collar Studs, plain gold, in cases ... £3 to £10.

Plain gold Pins ... from £1 upwards.

18, 20. Single Pearl Studs from £5 to £50.
17. Pearl Pavé Studs from £10 to £30.
19. Coral or turquoise and diamond Studs from £10 to £30.

It is impossible to give the various prices of these small things, but an assortment will be sent to the country at any time upon a London reference being forwarded.

Cheques payable at London & County Bank, Hanover Sq.



with a decorated head, worn vertically to secure neckwear of all kinds (the novelist R.S. Surtees uses the slang term 'starcher' for the hunting scarf or cravat). The modern 'stick-pin' is used here unless the Victorian term is documented. D'Orsay's friend Charles Dickens wore a double pin joined by a chain in the late 1830s (Fig. 92). A double pin set with portrait medallets was made to mark the christening of the infant Prince of Wales in 1843 (Fig. 93). Stick-pins were vehicles for little masterpieces of jewellery, for novelties of all kinds, including mottoes and puns (Figs 91, 93).⁴⁶ A variety of pins, bar-pins and rings secured the neckwear, some hard to distinguish from the multitude of little pins and brooches used by women as lace-pins, sleeve-pins and dress-ornaments in general.

Apart from stick-pins, the most susceptible to fashion, there were many opportunities for men to wear jewellery in much the same way as women. For his portrait by Frederick Sandys, Charles Augustus Howell wears a necktie-ring mounted with a fine cameo (Fig. 94). His pose shows off handsome gem-set sleeve-links. There is the suggestion of a ring in the hand that supports his head. Rings were widely worn, particularly signets set with armorial intaglios. The impression is of dandyish tendencies, the jewels being conspicuous rather than discreet. Jewelled studs and cuff-links were worn during the day as well as in the evening. The knot of gold-mounted fob seals at the waist, mark of the Regency dandy, made its reappearance in the 1880s. It was part of Oscar Wilde's provocative get-up worn during his lecture tour of the United States in 1882, when he posed as the quintessential Aesthete. He kept the fobs long after he had abandoned the satin knee-breeches and silk stockings that had so shocked the American audiences at his lectures.

94 Right
Charles Augustus Howell,
by F. Sandys. Coloured chalks
on tinted paper, 1882. Oxford,
Ashmolean Museum

Howell (c. 1840–90) wears a soft silk tie secured with a cameo-set necktie-ring, loosely tied to reveal his gold shirt-stud. His cuff-studs are set with a milky blue stone, and on the hand supporting his head he wears a ring possibly set with another cameo. The cameo at his throat is a bull in the antique style, symbol of strength.



91 Opposite top left
Page of stick-pins from a *Catalogue of Designs and Prices* issued by Edwin Streeter (1834–1923) of 18 New Bond Street, about 1885. Patrick Streeter

Streeter embarked on his career as a buyer with Howell & James around 1853. He moved to Harry Emanuel as principal showroom manager in about 1858. He took over the firm of Hancock, Burbrook in 1868 and moved to 18 New Bond Street in 1878.

92 Opposite top right
Portrait of Charles Dickens (detail), by Daniel Maclise (1806–70). Oil on canvas, 1839. London, National Portrait Gallery

Dickens secured his wide cravat with a double cravat-pin, the two heads joined by a chain like the example in the centre of Fig. 93 below. Considered to be a very good likeness of the author, this is one of Maclise's finest portraits. It was widely circulated as a print and became known as the 'Nickleby portrait' through its use as a frontispiece to the novel, published in 1839. Later portraits of Dickens suggest that he gave up wearing conspicuous jewellery in middle age.

93 Opposite below
Group of twelve stick-pins, mainly sporting and commemorative. European, 1830–1900. L. of pins (average) 8.2 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift (except item G)

A & I: Enamelled gold dog portraits, great dane (1876) and pug (1882), English, signed and dated by W.B. Ford; B: Chased gold sparrowhawk with cabochon ruby eyes, Paris, about 1900; C & J: Carved ivory horses, possibly Swiss, about 1840; D & I: Chased gold sporting dogs, a pointer and two greyhounds, French, about 1850; E: Cast silver bust of the 1st Duke of Wellington (d. 14 September 1852), Elkington, Birmingham, 1852; F: Enamelled gold double cravat-pin set with medallet portraits of Victoria and Albert and the head of the infant Prince of Wales, celebrating his birth, English, 1843; G: Cast glass cameo double portrait busts of William IV and Queen Adelaide, English, 1830, by descent to Lady Patricia Ramsay (Princess Patricia of Connaught); H: Chased gold, a log split by a woodman's axe with a white metal blade – the imagery of axe and log is associated with Gladstone (and his tree-cutting activities) and Liberal politics, English, about 1870; K: Carved limestone bust of the Stoic philosopher Seneca, taken from a Roman portrait bust, Italian (Naples), about 1850.

An anonymous publication of about 1860 addresses the question of men's jewellery:

To exaggerate a fashion is to assume a character, and therefore vulgar. The wearing of jewellery comes under this head. Jewels are an ornament to women, but a blemish to men. They bespeak either effeminacy or a love of display. The hand of a man is honoured in working, for labour is his mission; and the hand that wears its riches on its fingers, has rarely worked honestly to win them.

The writer goes on to deplore 'an incredulous young man of the nineteenth century, dangling from his watch-chain a dozen silly "charms"'. He suggests a signet-ring, a scarf-pin 'neither large nor showy', and a 'rather thin' watch-guard with a cross-bar. A piece of prescient advice foretells the taste of the 1870s and 1880s: 'An antique or bit of old jewellery possesses more interest, particularly if you are able to tell its history, than the most splendid production of the goldsmith's shop.'⁴⁷ An auction notice in *The Times* of stock from the Davies Street firm of Mimpriss in 1866 outlines the generally accepted range of men's accessories: 'gentlemen's finger-rings, scarf-pins, scarf-rings, sleeve-links, shirt-studs and waistcoat buttons (particularly one set of dress-buttons and studs of magnificent single-stone brilliants), gold neck and



95

Black-enamelled shirt-studs, retailed by Frédéric Boucheron (1830–1902), Paris, about 1870. W. of case 5.8 cm. Bedford, Cecil Higgins Art Gallery

The address printed on the lid-satin of the display case, 152 and 153 Palais Royal, Paris, was occupied by the firm from 1863 to 1873. The case has a lidded compartment in the base for the stud fittings. The studs were probably for mourning wear.

THE JEWELERS' CIRCULAR AND HOROLOGICAL REVIEW.

David F. Conover & Co.

(SUCCESSORS TO WM. B. WARNER & CO.)

Importers, Manufacturers and Dealers in

Watches and Jewelry,

AMERICAN WATCH WHOLESALE SALESROOM,

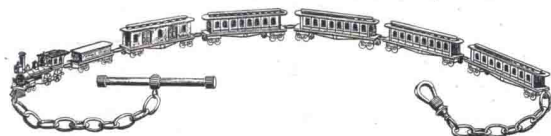
Southeast Cor. Chestnut and Seventh Streets, First Floor,

PHILADELPHIA.DAVID F. CONOVER,
C. FRANK WILLIAMS,
B. EDGAR RIGHTER.

Wholesale Agents for

Rogers & Brother's Flat and Hollow Ware**CELLULOID EYE GLASSES,**

AND SOLE AGENTS FOR THE

Patent Railroad Train Watch Chains, Nickel.

96

'Patent Railroad Train Watch Chain' in nickel silver, advertised by the Philadelphia firm of David Conover & Co. in the *Jewelers' Circular* in 1880



97

M. le Capitaine ... (Gentleman in a Railway Carriage), by James Jacques Joseph Tissot (1836–1902). Oil on panel, about 1872. Worcester, Mass., Worcester Art Museum

The gold pocket-watch on a waistcoat chain held by the sitter in his left hand is a prominent feature of this portrait, signifying status in the manner of Renaissance courtly portraiture, but the gentleman's identity is unknown. The watch and the guidebook on his knee emphasize the importance of time in the railway age.

Albert chains, gold pencil-cases &c'.⁴⁸ The neck chains were used to suspend an eye-glass. Men's mourning jewellery included black jewelled shirt and waistcoat studs (Fig. 95).

In some walks of life, men would have been regarded as underdressed without a stick-pin, Albert watch-chain, cuff-links and signet ring and in the evenings a gold-headed cane. Tissot's portrait of the anonymous M. le Capitaine shows a prosperous figure in a railway carriage, wearing a magnificent – almost regal – fur-trimmed overcoat, consulting the watch that he wears on a waistcoat chain (Fig. 97). The conjunction of the railway journey and the watch emphasizes modernity – the busy man of affairs had become subject to 'railway time', when time was systematized across Britain, which formerly had different time zones, in order that the trains could run to a timetable.

There was a certain aristocratic disdain for this kind of slavery, and a conspicuous watch and chain were regarded by upper-class men of leisure as a mark of the entrepreneurial

98

Mr Milford. Photograph by Camille Silvy, 1861. London, National Portrait Gallery

Mr Milford's most conspicuous ornament is a watch chain hung with a collection of lucky charms. His dandified attire gives him an almost libertine air. In Geraldine Jewsbury's novel *The Half Sisters* (1848) the lascivious theatre manager Mr Montague St Leger prepares for his intended seduction of the innocent heroine Bianca by dressing himself with 'elaborate care; his hair was curled and perfumed, a large diamond-stud glittered in his glossy, black satin stock; he had altogether a flashy, supercilious *roué* look . . .'. Accustomed to finding himself irresistible to women, St Leger swears he will ruin Bianca.



merchant or wage-slave. However, most men saw them as one of the last acceptable ways to own and use precious trinkets and souvenirs and to make their accessories individual (the wristwatch was an introduction of the later 1880s). For American men and boys there was the 'Patent Railroad Train Watch Chain' in nickel silver, advertised by the Philadelphia firm of David Conover & Co. in the *Jewelers' Circular* in 1880. Apart from a short length of simple trace chain (plain oval links) at each end, the links are in the form of a steam engine with carriages (Fig. 96). The advent of the railways must have produced enthusiasts who travelled for the fun of it, for whom this would be the perfect gift.

In addition to the watch and ornamental watch-key, the watch-chain often had small locket containing hair or portraits and a chased gold fob (Fig. 98). The Prince of Wales, who always wore a watch-chain – the appropriately named 'Albert' – was very interested in correct dress. Photographs show him as a man-about-town, with pearl-set pin, gold watch-chain and slender gold-mounted cane.⁴⁹ He habitually wore small precious accessories on his watch-chain, such as a vesta or match-case and a pencil-case (propelling pencil invented by Sampson Mordan). An anecdote told by his Corsican detective and courier, Xavier Paoli, recalls how he had admired a tiny gold match-box engraved with the royal crown that the Prince wore on his watch-chain. Without hesitating Bertie pressed it on Paoli as a souvenir.⁵⁰

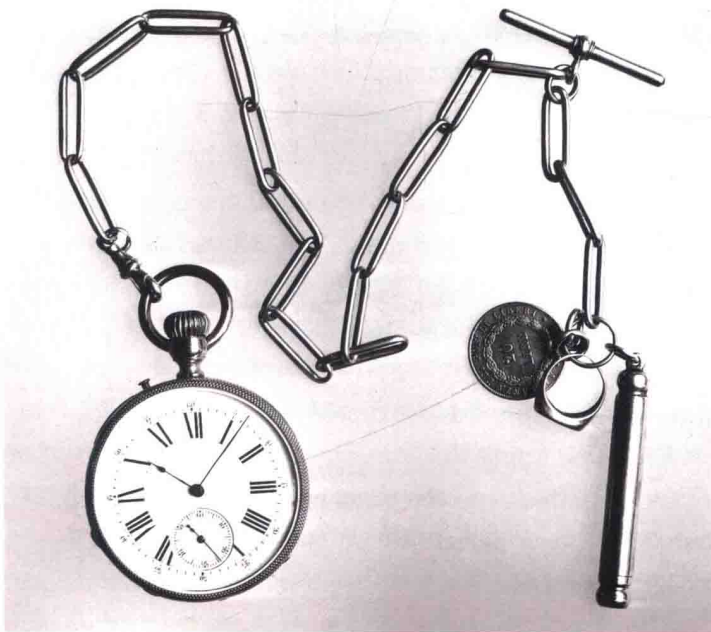
The poet, Robert Browning carried a watch-chain with a telescopic pencil and two items of great sentimental significance, a ring and a twenty-lira coin dated 1848 (Figs 99, 100).⁵¹ The ring, a small gold signet engraved with the letters AET (in Greek meaning 'always'), had belonged to his wife Elizabeth Barrett Browning, a gift from their friend Isabella Blagden. The coin, struck in Venice in 1848 to commemorate the popular uprising against Austrian rule, was also a souvenir of his dead wife and was treasured by Browning. 'I love this coin,' he wrote, 'as she would have loved it. You know what she felt and wrote about United Italy.'⁵²

Men, almost as much as women, exchanged and wore tokens of sentiment and friendship. Locks of hair were incorporated into many male accessories. The eighteenth-century pendant miniature portrait as an item of dress was replaced by a locket, usually hidden from view. An episode in Wilkie Collins's sensational early novel *Basil* (1852, part II, ch. 5) concerns a man's locket. The eponymous hero, who has contracted a secret and discreditable marriage, is with his sister when a careless movement causes a locket containing a lock of his wife's hair to fall from his waistcoat pocket. Clara, the sister, instantly recognizes that the locket is the clue to the secret that she suspects her brother is keeping from his family: 'When I see a new locket drop out of my brother's waistcoat . . . and when I find him colouring very deeply, and hiding it again in a great hurry, I should be no true woman if I did not make my own discoveries and begin to talk about them directly.' She jumps to the conclusion that he is about to be married, never suspecting that he is secretly married already. The locket is assumed to be the repository of a sentimental secret. Without a description, which is not provided, it is not possible to discover whether this locket had some distinctive feature to

100

Photograph of Robert Browning (1812–89). London, National Portrait Gallery

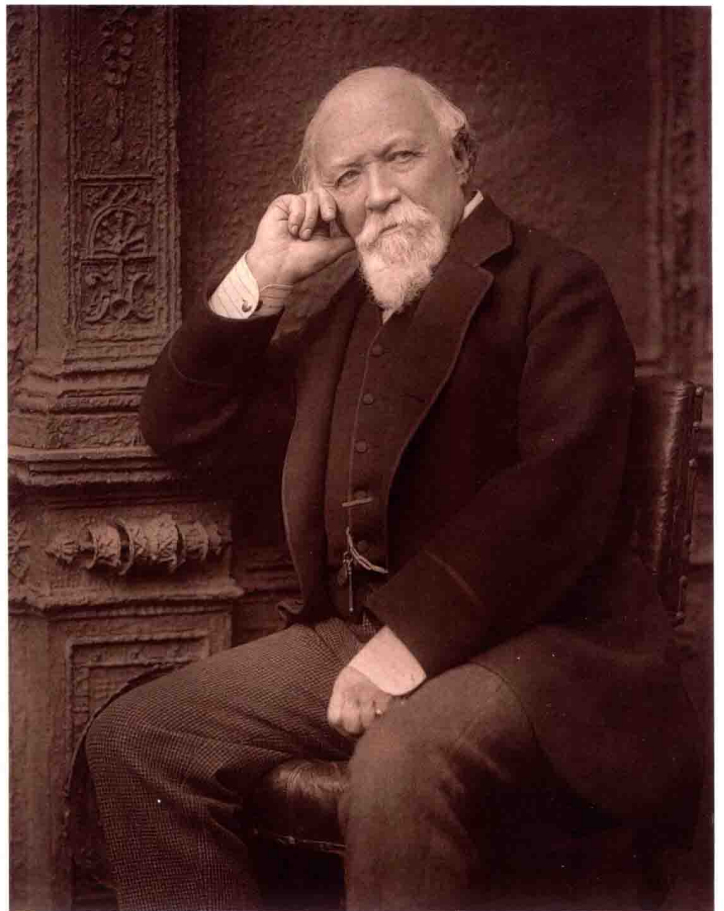
The poet Browning wears his watch-chain hung with cherished memorials of his wife, a gold ring, a coin and a pencil.



99

Robert Browning's watch-chain with coin, ring and pencil. Formerly British Museum

The chain and ornaments were bequeathed to the British Museum in 1922, but subsequently stolen.



differentiate it from its female counterpart, but it probably resembled the 1840s *fausse montre*, that served as a secret repository by masquerading as a watch.

In 1857 the West End jeweller C.F. Hancock sued a member of the aristocracy for non-payment of an account.⁵³ Lord Ernest Stewart, third son of the widowed Frances Anne, Marchioness of Londonderry, had run up a bill for £150 while still a minor and Hancock faced the distasteful necessity of going to law against the Marchioness. The question arose as to whether the items of jewellery could be regarded as ‘necessaries’, which would alter the position with regard to the responsibility for the debts of a minor. Among the items under discussion was an enamelled pearl star locket valued at £3 10s. This led to a spirited exchange between the Judge and Mr Edwin James QC, appearing for the defence:

The Judge: A locket! What is that, Mr James?

Mr James: You ask me what it is, my Lord, and I will tell you, for I once had a locket. (Laughter in the Court.) A locket is a thing in which you wear a piece of the hair of the lady to whom you are attached. (Laughter.)

The Judge: Then I have been without a necessary all my life. (Renewed laughter.)

A pair of onyx sleeve-links, valued at £3, caused further mirth: ‘That surely must be a necessary article for a noble lord, for only fancy Lord Ernest Vane-Tempest riding with his mamma with a pair of pewter studs and brass sleeve rings!’ Another receptacle for hair and a blood-stone locket with the initial ‘E’ on it in diamonds caused Counsel to remark that the noble defendant appeared to be much attached to hair. This caused further laughter. Hancock provided evidence that ‘it was usual for gentlemen to wear bracelets and lockets’. The lockets purchased by Lord Ernest appear to have been indistinguishable from those worn by women.

Sporting and gaming costume and jewellery

... bracelets strung together of little gold cards and dice and dominoes; a necklace in gold and platina, formed of ingeniously linked horseshoes, whips, bridles, stirrups, and saddles, and the weapons of rouge-et-noir and roulette, hung as earrings, are other costly toys which catch the eye in this collection.⁵⁴

One aspect of vastly increased consumer choice was the development of costume for special purposes, principally sports. Sporting costume was one of the few areas of fashion where the English excelled and one of the few fashion exports, along with Scottish tartan, to have an impact in Paris. The most fashionable tailor in Paris was an Englishman, Henry Creed, a genius at cutting riding costume for both men and women. Napoléon III was Creed’s client. This was an area of fashion ‘crossover’, with many of its important characteristics – flattering, tight-fitting and well-tailored – shared by men and women. Taine, no admirer of English costume, could approve of the female riding-habit, ‘black, close-fitting to the torso, simple and without ornament, denoting boldness, agility, strength, physical well-being’.⁵⁵

Sporting costume is usually only a slight modification of the fashion of the day; for women this meant a shortened skirt, which allowed the wearer to show off chic boots and shoes. Certain styles of clothing became associated with certain sports: for example,

101

Fashion plate from the
Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine,
January 1870

Skating was only rarely possible, in very severe winters, but a consensus quickly formed around appropriate costume and jewellery: sealskin jackets with tartan skating costume and Scottish jewellery, in this case a ring brooch. With the demise of the bonnet, stylish hats often had a jewel pinned to the brim. Here a cap with badge and feathers completes the Scottish outfit (see also Fig. 454).



3.—WALKING AND SKATING COSTUME.

tartan costume and 'Scotch pebble' jewellery were adopted for skating. In January 1870 the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* illustrated tartan skating costume with long tartan sashes slung over the shoulder and fastened at the hip by a large ring brooch (Fig. 101).⁵⁶ A report in *The Graphic* for January 1871 confirms this as an established trend (a particularly cold winter had made skating on the Serpentine by torchlight popular): 'Skating costume – A Campbell-plaid velvet tunic and tight jacket of sealskin trimmed with natural beaver, hat of the same materials as tunic with a humming-bird in front of the crown. Balmoral boots, spun silk stockings to match the petticoat, Scotch pebble brooch and earrings.'⁵⁷

The popularity of sporting costume and jewellery in the second half of the nineteenth century has as much to do with the emergence of the urban professional with a career and leisure time as with the introduction of new sports such as lawn tennis or roller-skating. Expansion of the railways enabled people to take holidays and days out on a far greater scale than hitherto, and with that came the discovery of the seaside. Some sports, such as yachting, remained exclusively upper-class, while others, such as hunting and racing, had their upper-class elements but were much more democratic. The class structure of sport is complex; it was explained by Joan Evans in her pioneering survey of *The Victorians*:

In its pursuit, especially in racing, men of all classes met on an equal footing. Outside the racecourse, it is broadly true that the upper classes stalked, hunted, shot and fished; that the upper middle classes hunted, shot and fished; and that the middle classes shot and fished when opportunity offered. The upper classes gambled heavily at cards; the upper middle classes played piquet and whist with great skill; the middle classes were a little apt to think of cards as the devil's picture books and to stick to cribbage and other harmless games, and the lower classes to venture their pence on dice or any other game of chance. Outside a few classic matches between great public schools, cricket and football were taken vastly less seriously than they are now.⁵⁸



102
Silver and gold boar's-head pin by Hubert Obry (1808–53). French, about 1845–50. Private collection
Obry's exceptional sculptural skills are apparent in his animals of the chase. The boar's head is cast from a wax model, then subtly chased and textured by hand.

103
Silver and silver-gilt watch-chain with stag-hunting motifs. French, made by Néville for Morel et Duponchel, about 1848. L. of chain 35.2 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift
The chain shows a horseman and hounds hunting a stag. The fob and watch key are trophies of game-birds and rabbits. Néville was a leading gold chaser.

These are largely traditional sports and there are some omissions: there is no mention of archery, which reached a mass audience by the 1860s, or of the new sports such as bicycling and roller-skating. Some sports produced only a smattering of jewels; for card-playing enthusiasts there were ladies' enamelled playing-card studs, described in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* in 1869, and stick-pins for men.⁵⁹ There is little jewellery for cricket and football, as they were then exclusively masculine sports: cricket-bat propelling pencils as watch-chain novelties were the most common; football produced almost nothing. A design registered in 1877 for a brooch inscribed 'KICK OFF' with a ball and foot in a rectangle remains known only from the records in the National Archives.⁶⁰

Joan Evans is right to say that cricket and football were public school sports (public schools in Britain are private schools elsewhere); as Mark Girouard explains:

The whole vast fabric of contemporary sport derives, not just from Victorian England, but from the small percentage of Victorian Englishmen who went to the public schools. The games which public school men took up or invented, the rules they laid down for them, the clothes which they wore, the settings and equipment which they devised, the language which they used and the seriousness with which they took the whole business gradually spread down the social scale and out to the rest of the world.⁶¹

By the end of the century football had a large working-class component, especially in the north of England. Class unquestionably played a significant part in the market for sporting jewellery; the social aspect of sport was critical in creating the need for appropriate ornaments, whether among a vast crowd of racing spectators, or at an informal home croquet match. And the seasonal nature of some of these sports – hunting in the winter, racing in the summer – generated new designs each season, for both men and women.⁶² Deer-stalking, a royal and aristocratic pursuit, produced an almost industrial-scale trade in antler furniture and bibelôts (for Prince Albert's deer-stalking mementoes from Balmoral, see pp. 40–43 and Fig. 202). Social life in aristocratic country houses revolved round the sporting calendar, with big house-parties for hunting, racing and shooting and much gambling in the evenings. Sporting jewellery, more than any other type of novelty, was popular with the aristocracy. For competitive sports, particularly horse-racing, jewels using racing or club colours were worn, like courtly favours in medieval tourneys, to show allegiance.⁶³

Hunting had its characteristic jewellery types, which demonstrate the French penchant





104

Men's watch-chains and watch-chain pendants with sporting motifs, made by N.C. Reading & Co., Birmingham. English, late 19th century. W. of compasses card 11.6 cm. British Museum, given by N.C. Reading & Co.

From the firm's historic sample collection, these accessories are all made of 'Albo', an imitation silver alloy (see p. 203), and retain their original display boards. The chains are decorated with horseshoes and horse bits; the compasses include a horseshoe, a camel to suggest long distance, and nautical emblems. The map measurer is a later piece, after the advent of the motor car.

for sculptural jewels versus the English taste for two-dimensional portraits of animals. Vever devotes several pages to the modeller and chaser Hubert Obry, son of the Duc de Berry's chief whipper-in, who was himself a passionate hunter and accomplished horn-player. Obry's natural ability to model the animals of the hunt led him to train as a goldsmith and open a workshop in Paris. He employed several craftsmen to fulfil commissions from the French nobility, for whom Obry's lifelike animal stick-pins and charms with boars, stags, foxes, rabbits and hounds were fashionable gifts (Fig. 102; see also Fig. 93 for pins with pointer and greyhounds). Obry's fame spread to Leopold I, King of the Belgians, who ordered pieces every New Year's Eve. Combining profession and hobby, the eccentric Obry insisted that all his pupils should play the hunting horn too, and in true troubadour style travelled with his band to country châteaux to serenade the lords of the manor, who, on receiving the players, discovered that their guest was none other than Obry himself. Having taken his jewellery with him, Obry would casually produce it, to the delight of his hosts, and the troupe would wander off with a full purse.⁶⁴ This was before Napoléon's revival of the royal hunt tradition at Compiègne, with its special buttons and other insignia.⁶⁵ A larger than life character, Obry tends to overshadow contemporaries like Néவில், whose boar-hunt watch-chain illustrated by Vever resembles an example in the British Museum (Fig. 103).⁶⁶

In Britain fox-hunting dominated the sport (wild boars had died out by the eighteenth century). R.S. Surtees, creator of those immortal fox-hunting men, Mr Sponge and Mr Jorrocks, gave them an absurd quantity of sporting jewellery:

Notwithstanding Jawleyford's recommendation to the contrary, Mr. Sponge made himself an uncommon swell. He put on a desperately stiff starcher, secured in front with a large gold fox-head pin with carbuncle eyes; a fine, fancy-fronted shirt, with

a slight tendency to pink, adorned with mosaic-gold-tethered studs of sparkling diamonds (or French paste, as the case might be); a white waistcoat with fancy buttons; a blue coat with bright plain ones, and a velvet collar, black tights, with broad black-and-white Cranbourne-alley-looking stockings (socks, rather), and patent leather pumps with gilt buckles.⁶⁷

Aside from the equestrian motifs discussed below, images of foxes and hounds were the staple of Victorian hunting jewellery, in the form of reversed crystal intaglios or painted enamels (Fig. 105). The long tradition of painted enamel portraits was sensitively adapted to animal heads by G.W. Bailey and W.B. Ford, both pupils of the celebrated miniaturist William Essex (see Fig. 93).⁶⁸ From the mid-1850s painted miniatures were displaced by photography for portraits of people, but enamellists made a career painting animals. Among the standard types are portraits of individual animals. Hunting and shooting generated jewellery for both sexes. Like stag's teeth, ptarmigan and grouse feet were mounted as brooches (see Fig. 204).

The reversed crystal technique, employed for men's studs, cuff-links and scarf-pins as well as women's ornaments, created miniature three-dimensional scenes with the birds or animals in their natural habitat. The process of cutting and painting a hemisphere of rock



105

Group of sporting jewellery. English and American, second half of the 19th century. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

A: Brooch set with reversed crystal intaglio of a pheasant; B: Painted enamel fox-head spur brooch with revolving rowel, buckle and strap, diam. of enamel 2 cm, signed by G.W. Bailey; C: Sleeve-studs for women set with reversed crystal intaglios of grouse and partridge by John Brogden; D: Gold brooch in the form of a fishing rod and creel containing a fish on a chain, probably by Sloan & Co., New York. L. 6.7 cm.

crystal was long and laborious. The dome is cut and ground by hand to a perfect cabochon; this could take as many as twenty different grades of polish. Once the stone is shaped, the design is drawn on the reverse with watercolour, the image scratched into the stone, then engraved on a lathe with steel tools. With the cutting complete, the painting is done in reverse, sometimes with brushes that have only a single hair.⁶⁹ The convex dome acts like a lens, magnifying the whole scene. Introduced by the mid-1850s, the technique remained popular well into the twentieth century.⁷⁰

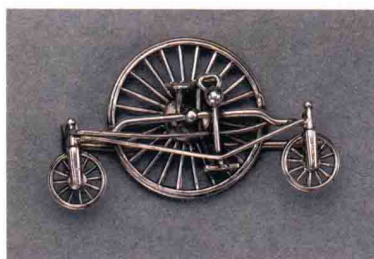
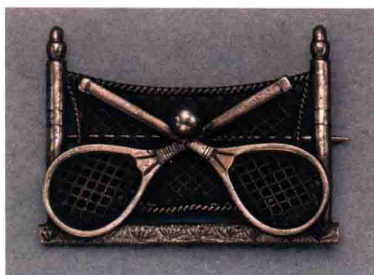
The widespread taste in France for equestrian or horse-racing jewels (*bijoux hippiques*) is dated by Vever to the opening in 1857 of the new racecourse at Longchamp in the Bois de Boulogne, when the Paris Grand Prix was run for the first time. Napoléon III adopted the English passion for horse-racing following his exile to London in the 1840s, and it was he who encouraged the sport in France. From 1857, Vever notes, 'tout devint hippique', horse imagery took over, with jewellery in the form of horseshoes, whips, bits, nails, spurs or stirrups (for Vizetelly's similar comment, see p. 218). The sport was not an exclusively male preserve: demi-mondaines such as Cora Pearl and Madame Musard took a lively interest in it.⁷¹ In Britain most upper-class women were accomplished horsewomen: Queen Victoria, Empress Eugénie and Princess Alix set an example and were aped by the fashionable. Motifs were used interchangeably for hunting or racing; in 1870 the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* reported a new 'horseshoe suite of enamel, in various colours and gold, set with pearls or turquoise; a stirrup and buckle is a novel addition to the slightly fast horseshoes', and later 'A saddle with stirrup will prove an acceptable and neat hunting brooch'.⁷² The horseshoe was also a good-luck symbol, and was a popular gift from grooms to bridesmaids at the end of the century.

Views differed on the propriety of such ornaments: the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, reporting on the Birmingham contribution to the 1872 International Exhibition in London, noted 'that neither horseshoes, even if in diamonds, nor an ingenious hotch-potch of horse gear made up as a necklace and pendants, can ever be aesthetically right...'.⁷³ The *Art-Journal* went even further, describing Hancock's horseshoe suite as 'an outrageous instance of misapplied ingenuity and skill... and that any woman would condescend to wear such abominations is more inconceivable still'.⁷⁴ The range of watch-chains for men with stirrups and bits, made in all sizes and in anything from gold to nickel silver, does not seem to have attracted the same opprobrium; the aesthetic rules for men were different. The imitation chains could be massive and indubitably showy and one should not forget the 'curb' chain with its oval slightly twisted links, named after the chain from the bridle-bit beneath a horse's jaw (Fig. 104). An indication of the popularity of horse-racing is provided by Montague Guest's little-known collection of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century badges, in which the number of racing badges from clubs across Britain far outstrips the numbers of badges for cycling, fishing, or rifle associations.⁷⁵

While Napoléon and his companions were off hunting at Compiègne the women practised archery.⁷⁶ In Britain the Toxophilite Society was founded in 1781 and given a royal charter in 1847, but the fashion gathered momentum and a much wider social significance with the first annual Grand National Meeting in 1844 and the founding of the Grand National Society in 1861. In May 1862 a news item in *The Times* announced 'The Grand Archery meeting' at Crystal Palace, attended by societies from all over the country.⁷⁷ The sport was especially popular with women from the 1870s onwards; by 1884 the Bond Street firm of Thornhill &



106
Silver crossed-oars brooch. English, about 1880. Norwich Castle Museum, Hull Grundy Gift. L. 6.3 cm.



107 A, B & C
Silver sporting brooches. English, 1870s and 1880s. Norwich Castle Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Top: Crossed rackets and net, with maker's mark JT and design registration mark for 11 September 1880, by John Taylor of Birmingham. L. 4.3 cm.

Centre: Bicycle, stamped to imitate cut gemstones, with Birmingham date-letter for 1874–5. L. 4 cm. *Bottom:* Folding Coventry lever tricycle with large front wheel and two smaller back wheels, first made about 1876; design registration mark for 1883. L. 4.1 cm.

Co., known for its fashionable accessories, was marketing an 'archery belt' as a follow-up to its successful 'Norwegian' belt (see p. 325–6).⁷⁸ But these count as sporting equipment rather than sporting jewels. The prizes, in the form of archery trophies in jewellery, varied enormously in scale and cost. In 1839 Queen Victoria presented an archery prize to competitors at St Leonards-on-Sea in Sussex, which took the form of a gold bracelet with enamelled crowns and roses, the trophy in the centre. A later prize brooch of around 1880 is made of enamelled silver. By this date the championship winners are listed as Mrs or Miss and are never titled.⁷⁹

Rowing had long been popular. The Oxford and Cambridge boat race started in 1829 and the Henley Regatta in 1839. Brooches in the form of rowing boats or crossed oars were fashionable from the 1870s onwards, while for men there were watch-chains such as the 'Regatta' chain with links in the form of rowing boats advertised by the New York firm of Kossuth Marx & Co. in the *Jewelers' Circular* in 1880.⁸⁰ Few of these can be related to particular events. Fishing jewels are much less common; it is hard to know whether this is because fewer numbers participated or whether it has more to do with the fact that it is a one-man sport with few opportunities for social gatherings. Some typical designs were reported in the *Jeweller and Metalworker* in 1888: 'Scarf pins . . . one specially suited for fishermen is a fishing rod of gold with suspended line. On the end of the line is a small diamond. A brooch which would be favoured by the better halves of the followers of Isaac Walton consists of two gold fishing rods crossed, supporting in the centre a fish and fish bag of the same material (Fig. 105).'⁸¹ A similar tie-pin was made by Gorham & Co. of Providence, Rhode Island, in 1897. Fly-fishing lures made of real feathers were also adapted as jewels, especially in America, where feather salmon flies were turned into tiny pins for both men and women; Tiffany mounted a reversed crystal intaglio of a salmon fly as a gold cravat pin, with the fishing line wrapped round the fly.⁸²

But it was new sports developed in the nineteenth century such as croquet and lawn tennis that prompted the greatest volume of novelty jewels. The modern form of croquet, established in Ireland in the 1830s, came to England in the 1850s.⁸³ It was evidently popular by 1864 when there was a vitriolic correspondence in *The Times* about the pirating of a croquet manual involving the Earl of Essex. As a relatively sedate sport, it was suited to women as well as men. The 1860s and early 1870s are the period for croquet jewels in both Britain and America. Among the designs in the Design Registration volumes at the Public Record Office are those of 1874 for a croquet hoop and crossed mallets for use on lockets, charms, etc.⁸⁴ *Godey's Lady's Book* for 1867 noted earrings in the form of croquet mallets (see p. 221), and in 1876, reported on novelty 'croquet studs for collars and cuffs: the first of these represented mallets, and they became so popular that a second style has been introduced representing a lawn tennis [sic, racket omitted?]. They are manufactured in bright and oxidized silver and in silver-gilt, and for young ladies who play the fashionable game they are very appropriate.'⁸⁵ The All England Croquet Club was formed in 1869 and the sport was still fashionable at the end of Victoria's reign.

In 1875 the Croquet Club failed to attract enough visitors and decided to offer Lawn Tennis as well. This was an instant success, helped by the new rubber balls which bounced on the grass and gave a huge boost to the sport. On 10 July 1877, *The Times* noted that lawn tennis was 'the most recent pastime which has largely been adopted as an outdoor amusement'. Designs for tennis racket jewels start to appear in the Design Registration volumes in

April 1876 and continue unabated for at least the next two decades. Among the first was a pair of rackets forming a dress-holder, to hitch up the long skirts while playing. There followed brooches in the form of a racket and wishbone, crossed rackets and net, or crossed rackets and straw hat. The design of crossed rackets and net was registered by John Taylor of Birmingham on 11 September 1880 (Fig. 107).⁸⁶ Gifts of sporting jewels suited many occasions: among novelties noted in *Godey's Lady's Book* (July 1893, p. 127) is 'a pretty bracelet, which would form an appropriate gift for a bride devoted to tennis, has a center formed of two crossed racquets in gold, with a pearl ball laid upon each, while on each side is a spray of gold leaves set with fine turquoises.'⁸⁷ Racket brooches were made in jet and other black materials in the form of a hand holding a racket and ball; evidence for whether these were gifts for sporting women in mourning or simply cheaper remains to be uncovered.⁸⁸

Almost contemporary with croquet and tennis was bicycling; the all-wood velocipede of the 1860s developed into the metal frame bicycle in the 1870s. The front wheel grew larger and larger to increase the speed, evolving in the 1880s into the penny-farthing, the classic bicycle image of the later nineteenth century. The safety bicycle with chain drive and gearing appeared in 1885 and in 1888 the pneumatic tyre was introduced. The tricycle appeared around 1879. This more expensive machine was avidly taken up by women, and perceived as more genteel since only those classes with sufficient income could afford machines for women. The report in *The Times* of the sixth annual Bicycle and Tricycle Show at the Albert Hall in 1883 included among the new machines a folding bicycle and tricycle which could go through an ordinary door.⁸⁹ These inventions were translated into novelty jewels, usually in silver and made in Birmingham, whether a cravat-pin with a penny-farthing, a whole range of bicycles, or a folding tricycle (see Fig. 107).⁹⁰

The new sport of roller-skating, introduced following the development of the four-wheel turning skate by the American James Plimpton in 1863, reached a fanatical pitch in the winter of 1875–6 if the volume of cartoons in *Punch* is anything to go by. Roller-skating, the new comfortable indoor sport, was for the rich, or at least the reasonably well-off, while ice-skating,

108 Below left
'Belle à la Mécanique (a Rink Wrinkle)'.
Cartoon by Linley Sambourne from *Punch*
(16 October 1875, p. 156)

Roller-skating took place in specially built rinks and was popularly known as 'rinking'. A fashionable belle wears skates in the form of steam-engines, a fireman's helmet and a chatelaine with all manner of appendages including a slide rule, evidently a pun.

109 Below right
Advertisement for snowshoe jewellery
from a trade catalogue issued by
Thomas Allen & Co. of Montreal.
Canadian, mid-1880s. New York,
Metropolitan Museum of Art

The set consists of brooch, earrings
and scarf-pin.



SNOW SHOEING.

An Indian invention, and the only means known of walking with ease over soft and deep snow.

Canadians have made a sport of this Indian discovery, and as large numbers of Clubs are in existence, Ladies can enjoy the exercise.

One of the most picturesque sights of our enjoyable winter is the

Tramp of the Snow Shoers.

Views of McGill College and Vicinity at Parks'.

Jet Goods at Palmer's.

6

DESIGNED BY THOS. ALLAN & CO.



Registered at Ottawa, 1881.

Snow Shoe Set and Scarf Pin, made of Gold, Silver and Oxydized.

7

the traditional open-air sport, was the poor man's substitute. A cartoon of January 1876, for example, shows two 'skate' figures, a small thin threadbare ice-skate holding out a bag into which a large well-to-do roller-skate, standing in front of a board labelled 'Nouveau riche', slips a note, with the caption: 'Thawed out yer honor'. Others include the politicians of the day 'Practising for the Westminster rink' (they are all falling down), 'Rink Tennis' by Du Maurier, and Linley Sambourne's 'Belle à la Mécanique (a Rink Wrinkle)' of October 1875 (Fig. 108).⁹¹ Many designs for roller-skate jewels were registered in 1875–6, for example a roller-skate brooch, pin or charm in the form of a skate attached to a foot registered in June 1875.⁹²

Ice-skating was too seasonal and uncertain to have inspired skating jewellery in Britain. North America was a different matter, but who would expect a hairwork bracelet charm in the form of an ice-skate? Was the idea that the loved one's hair brought good luck on the rink?⁹³ A trade catalogue of *Gold and Silver Jewellery Representing the Winter and Summer Sports of Canada*, issued by Thomas Allen & Co. of Montreal in the mid-1880s, contains not only a complete matching set of earrings, brooch and scarf-pin in the form of ice-skates, but also matching sets for lacrosse, described as the national game of Canada, for curling, tobogganing (sic) and snow-shoeing. The curling set takes the form of crossed brooms and stone (the brooms were used to 'sweep' the stones along the ice). Tobogganing and snow-shoeing are both acknowledged as 'Indian' (i.e. Native American) inventions, and in the case of the snow-shoes 'the only means known of walking with ease over soft and deep snow. Canadians have made a sport of this Indian discovery, and as large numbers of Clubs are now in existence, Ladies can enjoy the exercise' (Fig. 109).⁹⁴ The snow-shoe set could be either single or double shoes, or combined with a toboggan. They were all available in 'gold, silver and oxydized'.⁹⁵

One activity that raised questions of morality for the Victorians was gambling. At the International Exhibition in 1872, G.V. Wisedil of London contributed two men's scarf-pins, with a serpent, the symbol here of evil, coiled round a dice. Was this intended as a barbed gift from a disapproving spouse? The exhibitor clearly thought so, for he displayed them 'with a label containing a moral about gambling'. But for the Society of Arts reviewer, this was a step too far: 'The pins are sufficiently good to have been allowed to speak for themselves, the coil of the serpent round the dice being particularly good; but the jeweller's art should be on the side of beauty, not morals, and it entirely mistakes its proper function when the latter supersedes the former.'⁹⁶

Enter the 'New Woman'

With women's sporting fashions aping men's tailoring, male jewellery types were adapted for female wear. This initiated a taste for lapel studs based on men's dress studs, tie-pins and cravat-pins. Women's watch-chains, known as 'Albertines' or 'Victorias', lighter in weight than men's, served the same purpose for a display of charms and small souvenirs. Princess Alix ordered 'waistcoat chains' of platinum and gold in 1874–5, and is credited with popularizing studs through her taste for tailored costumes. Among several royal items given to the London Museum by Queen Mary in the 1930s, a stud and brooch set of spider webs set with intarsia-work showing flies on a white ground may be the 'set of enamelled gold spider-web studs' supplied to the Prince of Wales by Garrard's in 1868. These are large, but the set of small studs enamelled with bees by Carlo Giuliano could have been worn by a man or woman (Fig. 111).⁹⁷

110 A & B

Two artist's palette brooches. Silver, English, 1880s. Norwich Castle Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Top: Birmingham maker's mark for Payton Pepper & Co., about 1887–8. The gems are used to denote the colours on the palette. *Bottom*: Engraved silver with a horseshoe for good luck and ivy for friendship, about 1880. W. 3.5 cm.



The neat undecorated styles of tailored costume encouraged freedom of movement, indicating professionalism and independence. With more women taking up careers, it was apparently fashionable for jewellery to indicate professional activity. *The Artist*, a London publication, reported with some scepticism in 1880 an artist's palette in gold with gemstones for the colours, as worn by French ladies to indicate their profession (see Fig. 110).⁹⁸ An almost identical text had already appeared in the *New York Jewelers' Circular* for September 1880; such copying was standard journalistic practice and probably both were taken from a common source. The artist's palette was also said to represent 'harmony', probably the message of the Princess of Wales's palette brooch listed in her royal ledger account for 1875.

Along with the taste for artistic dress, tailored and sporting costume hastened the demise of the crinoline and later the bustle. Dress studs, ornamental buttons, tie-pins and Belcher chains went with the chic close-fitting tailored jacket and gored skirt worn with a high-necked blouse secured at the waist by a wide belt with an ornamental buckle, the fashionable day-wear for the 'New Woman' in the 1880s and 1890s.

111

Three sets of dress studs. English and Italian, second half of the 19th century. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Left: Castellani, gold ram's-head studs, diam. of stud 2.2 cm, about 1850–60, in Goldsmiths & Silversmiths Company display case (established 1880); the lid embossed in gold with the initials 'FA' and CASTELLANI, cased after 1880; *right:* Carlo Giuliano, set of enamelled gold 'bee' dress studs, diam. of stud 2 cm, 1874–80, the display case marked with the blind-stamp 'H&B' (Harker & Betteridge, 1869–80); *centre:* John Brogden, studs with engraved Assyrian bulls, diam. of stud 1.4 cm, 1852–5; in display case with Brogden's prize medal for 1851; made after 1851 and before 1855. Giuliano, Castellani and Brogden were all manufacturing jewellers.





THE LANGUAGE OF JEWELLERY



4 THE LANGUAGE OF JEWELLERY

ALL jewellery has meaning by association; this chapter explores the many different codes and messages used in sentimental exchange. Trinkets of little or no value – a jet brooch, a locket enclosing a portrait or hair, a ring with a particular combination of stones or a bracelet of plaited hair – hold a whole world of information. Armed with knowledge of the language of material, motif, and design, of gem-lore, flowers and the cult of hair work, even at this distance of time the modern observer can recover much of the symbolism behind Victorian jewellery. Contradictions between monetary worth and personal significance were resolved by giving jewels moral and spiritual meaning.

Because it is important to our understanding of meaning in Victorian jewellery, the significance of gem-lore and jewels with messages is considered first. Hair work, standing for the corporeal presence of the loved one, was used in sentimental exchange and for friendship tokens as much as for memorializing the dead. The taste for botanical jewellery persisted throughout the century and its longevity, in Britain at least, had much to do with the perception of the love of horticulture and botany as a defining national trait. Jewels were used in Victorian literature and art to convey messages and to reveal issues of morality in the owning and wearing of jewellery. Victorian fiction assumes an intimate familiarity with jewel symbolism. This first-hand written and visual material is crucial to our understanding of attitudes to jewellery in the nineteenth century.

Jane Carlyle, lively correspondent and wife of the historian Thomas Carlyle, a person with no pretensions to fashion and few precious ornaments of her own, constantly observed and recorded the usage of jewellery in society (Fig. 112). In photographs she is always very plainly dressed in a style that never changes: a plain brooch secures the crossed ribbons at her neck, on her wrists are bracelet clasps, also on black ribbon bands, and on her hands the two single-stone rings she habitually wore as well as her plain wedding band. Her attitude to her few simple jewels as memorials, historical relics and friendship tokens emerges from Thea Holme's study of *The Carlyles at Home* (Jane Carlyle's own words are in quotation marks):

... there was a curious little gilt ring with a design of dolphins which she wore constantly. She was wearing it when she died. In 1862 she gave two brooches to Mary Russell: 'the brooches can be worn as clasps, down the front of the dress, also; and look very well on a dress of any colour'. She accepted in exchange an old pebble brooch in the shape of a thistle, which had once been her own – 'my Mother was with me when I was allowed to choose it! and my father paid for it!' – and which she took back out of sentiment. ... on her forty-sixth birthday Carlyle gave her a cameo brooch, which she received without enthusiasm: 'I cannot tell you how it is, but his gifts always distress me more than a scold from him would do,' she told Helen Welsh [her cousin]. A pebble brooch, set in gold, she gave away to Miss Craik; and to Macready, playing Macbeth, she presented an old Scottish brooch that had belonged to Flora Macdonald.¹



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Jane Carlyle. Photograph by Robert Tait (1815/16–97), 1855. London, National Portrait Gallery

The only jewellery worn by Mrs Carlyle (1801–66) is a brooch pinned to a crossed velvet ribbon, two bracelet clasps and a plain ring.

The 'old pebble brooch in the shape of a thistle' is a reminder of her Scottish origins. Giving Flora Macdonald's brooch, with its romantic historical association, to the famous actor-manager William Macready must have caused her a pang. She bitterly mourned the accidental loss of a brooch, 'a large topaz, set richly in gold, forming a clasp to a bit of black velvet ribbon', the first jewel she ever possessed, given her by her father. It was traced to a shop; she must have pulled it from her pocket with her purse. The children of the proprietor had been given it to play with and only the gold mount could be found. Jane decided to have hair put in place of the lost topaz. Not all her jewels were so significant: for her forty-sixth birthday in 1847 Jane received from Helen Welsh a tiny gold basket containing mounted hair, 'a beautiful little thing as ever I beheld!' She feared it was 'too beautiful and too youthful for the individual intended to wear it'. 'Whose is the hair in the little basket?' she enquired. 'I have attached it to my bracelet, but it seems almost a pity to wear it there. I was thinking whether I ought not to have my nose pierced and suspend it from that.'²

She was not thrilled when in 1851 Lady Ashburton, Carlyle's friend who caused her so much distress, gave her a carnelian bracelet from Switzerland. For the diamonds 'blazing' at society events, she adopted the sneering tone common among the intelligentsia. After visiting Lord and Lady Ashburton at The Grange in Hampshire in 1860 she wrote to her friend Mary Russell: 'The house was choke-full of visitors – *four-and-twenty* of us, most of the time. And the toilettes! Nothing could exceed their magnificence; for there were four *young new-married ladies*, among the rest, all vying with each other who to be the finest. The blaze of diamonds every day at dinner, quite took the shine out of the chandeliers.'³

At a certain level the language of jewellery is very simple; precious materials speak for themselves. The act of offering certain items of jewellery has traditionally constituted a binding contract, as in the case of the betrothal ring. Diamonds are the badge of marital status, their adamantine hardness meaning 'endurance' for the enduring quality of love; turquoise is the emblem of love and also the 'tell-tale' of love betrayed (see p. 156). The most intimate language is often expressed in the extremes of valueless currency: jewels of hair, babies' first teeth, pressed flowers and leaves or pebbles from a significant site can all be found in Garrard's royal ledgers, and equally apply to a wider picture of sentimental exchange in all levels of society. With material value all but eliminated, the sentiment becomes the currency, the *raison d'être* of the piece.

Gem-lore in Victorian jewel 'language'

In the mid-century popular manuals on lapidary and gem-lore took the subject from its antiquarian roots to a wider audience. Madame de Barrera's *Gems and Jewels, Their History, Geography, Chemistry and Ana[anecdotes]*, was published in London in 1860; in 1865 two important books appeared: *Diamonds and Precious Stones: Their History, Value, and Distinguishing Characteristics*, by the diamond dealer and goldsmith Harry Emanuel, and C.W. King's *Natural History Ancient and Modern of Precious Stones and Gems and of the Precious Metals*.⁴ Archibald Billing's *The Science of Gems, Jewels, Coins and Metals* followed two years later in 1867.⁵ *Precious Stones and Gems* by Edwin W. Streeter, like Emanuel a diamond dealer and jeweller, appeared in 1877, followed in 1882 by his *Great Diamonds of the World, Their History and Romance*.⁶ William Jones's *A History of Precious Stones* was published in 1880; Jones, a prolific author, also wrote *Finger-Ring Lore* (1877), a packed repository of superstition and gem-lore. These books went into several printings and revised editions, evidence of their popular appeal.

Stories of famous diamonds inspired the most famous gem in Victorian fiction, Wilkie Collins's yellow-tinged 'Moonstone'. The gem was quickly identified as the Koh-i-noor, which had been constantly in the public eye since it arrived in Britain in 1850.⁷ It was shown at the 1851 Great Exhibition (see pp. 259–62), re-cut in a blaze of publicity in 1852 and shown in its new form at the 1862 International Exhibition in London. The Queen wore it on many public occasions, including her first emergence from widowed seclusion when she opened Parliament in 1866. *The Moonstone* was serialized in Dickens's magazine, *All the Year Round*, the very next year (it was issued in book-form in 1868). Collins's novel is modern both in form and subject-matter. It is among the first of a new genre, the detective novel, and it deals with the theft and return to India of a sacred diamond, contemporary subject-matter with many-layered resonances for the Victorian public. Like the Koh-i-noor, the stone carries with it a trail of bad luck and its owners are cursed.

The 'Moonstone' is in fact a composite of two famous diamonds, the Koh-i-noor and the similarly shaped Russian 'Orloff', which, like the Moonstone, had been stolen from the eye-socket of an Indian deity. Both these and the rose-tinted 'Darya-i-noor' or 'Sea of light', now part of the Iranian crown jewels in the Iranian National Treasury at Tehran, had at various times been identified with the 'Great Moghul', the ultimate stone of myth and romance, which was probably also in Collins's mind when he imagined the history of his

diamond. Collins's notes, written on Athenaeum Club headed writing paper and presumably concocted in the library of the club, reveal that his reading for the 'Moonstone' included King's *Natural History*. The notes suggest that Collins investigated the history of the Pitt diamond, which King recounts in his book.⁸ He would have known the models of the Orloff and Pitt diamonds, which had been in the British Museum since its founding in 1753 (they were transferred to the Natural History Museum with mineralogy in 1881).

He used the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* for information on coloured diamonds, and some of his readers, and possibly Collins himself, would have been familiar with Emanuel's handbook, which went into a second edition in 1867. Collins's level of research is impressive and greatly contributed to the verisimilitude of the story. The plot also reflects another event, the Indian uprising of 1857, known as the Indian Mutiny. By setting the novel in 1848, Collins contrives to have the 'Moonstone' returned to India at the moment when the Koh-i-noor was expropriated at the Treaty of Lahore which ended the Sikh Wars. Collins concluded his 1868 preface with a startling claim: 'The famous Koh-i-noor is also supposed to have been one of the sacred gems of India; and more than this, to have been the subject of a prediction, which prophesied certain misfortune to the persons who should divert it from its ancient uses.' The curse of the Koh-i-noor related only to male rulers, and by ensuring that it was worn by a queen (and subsequently only by queens, either regnant or consort) the ill luck might be deflected. Collins, however, does not make the distinction and implies that ill luck might come to Victoria. All too fresh in the public mind would be not only the Mutiny, but the tragedy of Albert's death in 1861. The thoughts of the Queen on this, if any, are not known.

Widespread knowledge of ancient gem-lore is implied in the traditional usage of a particular conjunction of gemstones derived from medieval amuletic jewels. The combination of ruby and turquoise – not in itself a particularly attractive juxtaposition – featured on Victorian love tokens for years. The attributes of the stones are true love for the turquoise and the protection of love for the ruby. The Victorian public, deeply versed in the Bible, would also have been familiar with the foundation stones of the Heavenly City in *Revelation*: jasper, sapphire, chalcedony, emerald, sardonyx, sardius, chrysolite, beryl, topaz, chryso-prase, jacinth and amethyst are listed by Streeter.⁹ Streeter displayed on his premises models of *The Gates of the Holy City* and *Aaron's Breastplate*, both set with gemstones as described in *Revelation* and *Exodus*. That the promotion of gem-lore had clear commercial advantages is attested by the inclusion in Victorian advertising of lists of birthstones, biblical references and other inducements to purchase. Streeter included a list of gemstones relating to the Apostles in his book *Precious Stones and Gems* (1877), while his catalogues include lists of birthstones for each month along with the newly introduced notion of stones for the days of the week. He stocked jewels for every eventuality.¹⁰ The enterprising Carlo Giuliano of Piccadilly and his successors Carlo and Arthur were quick to exploit this idea.¹¹

C.W. King records a number of old superstitions culled from earlier writings such as the work of the monk Marbode, eleventh-century Bishop of Rennes.¹² Sardonyx was said by Marbode to typify three of the cardinal virtues, black for Humility, white for Chastity and red for Modesty.¹³ Onyx was used for pendant crosses as mourning jewels. The ruby is able to foretell calamity or misfortune by darkening and becoming opaque in proportion to the severity of the threat.¹⁴ Emerald was said to protect the chastity of its wearer.¹⁵ Turquoise was

reputed to go pale when its wearer sickened and to lose its colour completely on death, only to recover when worn by a healthy owner. It preserves sight and protects from injury. When it cracks it spares the owner from a broken bone.¹⁶ When received as a gift it is a declaration of love, but if bought its power is lost. In his book on gems, Streeter explains the attributes of the turquoise:

Few stones had such wonderful gifts and virtues attributed to them as this had. But to realize these advantages, it was a necessary condition that the stone should have been received as a gift. Even to this day, in the north-east, there is a proverb, 'That a Turquoise given by a loving hand carries with it happiness and good fortune'.¹⁷

Some turquoise fades or turns greenish over time and so the belief arose that it revealed inconstancy: these superstitions persisted in remote areas. Streeter's remark that belief in gem-lore was still strong in parts of the country gives immediacy to the endless recurrence of these signals in paintings and fiction.

There is a curious history behind the set of Russian turquoises owned by the Queen.¹⁸ She had set her heart on a set of 'turquoises of rather a light colour, single stones not for *pavé* and of different sizes' for a parure, and in 1842 when Lord Stuart de Rothesay was appointed Ambassador in St Petersburg she asked Charlotte Canning to commission her mother, Lady Stuart de Rothesay, to find them for her. After complicated negotiations, the Queen chose forty-two turquoises costing 3,500 roubles. She was aware that they were not very good stones, but preferred the light colour.¹⁹ They were set by Garrard's in a suite with diamonds. On her return from Russia, Lady Stuart was received by the Queen in March 1845:

The Queen was very kind and gracious, & agreeable, she sent for her Turquoises, to bewail their turning green, which we laid to the change of the Coiffeur's Pomade, & did not suggest the superstition of 'Inconstancy', in the *Bien Aimé* of which Turquoises are supposed to be able to be *tell tales*, and evidently she had no *arrière pensée*, when she said 'I wish I could find a remedy, for it makes the Prince *so unhappy!*'²⁰

This raises an interesting question as to what extent the Queen was aware of the more arcane aspects of the language of jewellery. King notes that in German jewel lore the turquoise is the pledge of love, a gift to the betrothed and an affirmation of feeling. The permanence of its colour was believed to depend on the constancy of the donor.²¹ There is no doubt of Victoria's appreciation of the sentiments involved in giving and receiving jewels. She was acutely conscious of associations, awarding precious status to pebbles and baby teeth because of their place in her own experience, and she was well versed in the language of flowers. Whether she placed much importance on the magical and superstitious attributes of jewellery is open to speculation, as the above quotation shows.

There are many examples of pearl symbolism in fiction, for instance in the novels of Charlotte M. Yonge. Pearls are the jewels of Venus, since both arise from the sea, and they signify 'beauty'. They were associated with their medieval name of 'margaritas', deriving from the Greek *margaron*. By extension this became Marguerite – Margaret or daisy – and both the

name and the jewel acquired connotations of 'beauty'. The other meaning of pearls is 'tears', and this dual identity, of name and gem, winds its way through Charlotte Yonge's most famous novel, *The Daisy Chain*, published in 1856. The way the jewels predict or control events is crucial to the plot. The family's names (the 'Daisy Chain' of the title) and the attributes of jewels are so intricately woven into the novel that familiarity with pearl lore is essential to understanding the story. The fictional Margaret May's fiancé, Alan Ernescliffe, gives her a 'hoop of pearls' as a betrothal ring, and true to its fatal meaning – it was considered unlucky to associate pearls with marriage – he fails to return from a sea-voyage. The ring is finally used to encircle the stem of a chalice in the church built by Margaret's sister Ethel, emphasizing the religious significance of pearls and renunciation. The heroine Margaret shared her name with Miss Yonge's god-daughter Margaret Moberley, and the lives of the Mays and the Moberleys uncannily intersect. For many years Charlotte habitually wore a gold St Andrew's cross with an enamelled daisy in the centre as a pendant. The date 1854 (when she began work on *The Daisy Chain*) was inscribed at the back and a compartment held a curl of Margaret Moberley's hair.²²

The painter Edward Burne-Jones was fascinated by the lore of gemstones. Drawing on the ancient lore of gems, he constructed a fanciful world of meaning and metaphor for his friend Frances Graham, in a letter written shortly after her marriage to Sir John Horner in 1883:

Sapphire is truth, and I am never without it. Ruby is passion, and I need it not. Emerald is hope, and I need it; but cut emeralds are like glass and no better, and a fat round one is hopeless to get; and a diamond is strength, and it sparkles and fidgets and is of this world – and amethyst, or as the little stone man I know called it 'Hammersmith', is devotion – I have it – and Topaz is jealousy, and is right nasty. Sapphires I make my totem of! Prase is a wicked little jewel, have none of him.' I gave one to Margaret [his daughter] and it winked and blinked and looked so evil she put it away. And I got her a moonstone that she might never know love and stay with me. It did no good, but it was wonderful to look at – cold and desolate, and you sighed when you looked at it, as when you looked at the moon – and a black pearl I got her, because 'far-fetched and dearly bought is good for ladies,' that's pretty on her finger – but of all things I gave her to wear on her little fingers none looked so sweet as a poor cheap bit of ivory, stained so that it looked like a cherry, and it makes you laugh with delight at its funny red splash of colour, and it beats all except the sapphire that is crown of stones.²³

The discovery of many rare gems in North America inspired a new breed of gem-collector, men of science rather than connoisseurs of gemstones. A curious trend reported in the *Washington Post* in 1889, 'Men who carry thousand's of dollars' worth of gems', concerns their habit of carrying unset stones by the pocketful. 'The late Henry Ward Beecher [brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe] used to carry in his pockets a number of beautiful diamonds, pearls and other precious stones, which he would sometimes take out in his hand and gaze at in admiration for several minutes at a time.' The reporter concludes with a rhetorical question, 'Do ladies have this habit? Well, I think not. I never met a woman who cared to hide her jewels in her pockets. On the contrary, they always like to have them set and displayed as conspicuously as possible.'²⁴



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Doves and forget-me-nots. English, 1830–50. L. of earrings 8 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift, with stick-pin given by Ann Louise Luthi

Demi-parure of brooch and earrings, three-colour gold, turquoises, pearls and rubies (the set retains its original display case for Turner of New Bond Street); two-colour gold brooch converted from a comb-mount with a dove on a trembler spring and set with stones spelling 'dearest'; gold dove pavé-set with turquoises carrying a heart in its beak, hair compartment in the reverse; two-colour gold dove with ruby eyes and a letter in its beak, dated on the reverse 'Louisa, 18 March 1850'; brooch in chased two-colour gold on an oval plate to be worn on the shoulder, a dove in flight, the turquoise-set wings hinged to tremble when worn; stick-pin, the pavé-set turquoise head opening to reveal a compartment for hair.

Messages and devices

Simple 'message' jewels as sentimental offerings took many different forms according to fashion. James and William Tassie's 'gems', glass paste casts bearing devices and mottoes, many deriving from classical models and designed for setting as seals, were very popular in the early nineteenth century.²⁵ William Tassie's 1816 catalogue (enlarged and reprinted in 1820) lists the devices with translations of the mottoes, which were given in French, the common language of sentiment. For example, the much-used device of a lyre with broken strings stands for '*qui me néglige me désolé*' which is translated by William Tassie in his 1820 catalogue as 'By neglect thou ruinest me'. In 1836 Frederick Knight published his charmingly illustrated *Knight's Gems or Device Book* listing the meanings of many of the motifs found in souvenir jewellery of the time. For example, a dog denotes 'I have served thee faithfully'; an arrow means 'It glitters but it wounds'; a heart with a keyhole 'Thou hast the key'. Knight used many of Tassie's devices and continued the eighteenth-century practice of using French as the language of sentiment. A butterfly and lyre was for '*Ton inspiration*'; Cupid riding a lion meant '*J'en fais un agneau*' [I make a lamb of him]; a butterfly on a flower was '*Je me fixe*' [I am settling] and so on. A popular acrostic used plus and minus signs as follows: + *qu'hier* – *que demain*, for 'more than yesterday, less than tomorrow' (*plus qu'hier, moins que demain*).²⁶

These trinkets of sentimental exchange seem to have been worn by both men and women. In the early Victorian period they took the form of small pins, rings and charms set with a variety of gems whose initial letters spell out words such as 'love', 'dearest' and 'regard'. 'Regard' jewels are set with ruby, emerald, garnet, amethyst, ruby and diamond; 'Dearest' is

similarly spelled out. In order to decode the messages it is essential to know the old names for gems, such as 'vermeil' for garnet, which is often used to supply the 'v' in 'love', and that 'j', as in jacinth, stands for the elusive 'i' not found in the lapidaries' vocabulary. These codes, combined with love-birds bearing further messages, were popular in the 1840s and 1850s (Fig. 113).²⁷ For Christmas in 1842 the Duchess of Bedford received from Queen Victoria 'a love of a brooch, a turquoise and pearl dove holding a turquoise heart upon which is a hearts-ease at the back of which is some of her Majesty's hair'.²⁸

Other small charms came in the form of a heart-shaped padlock and key (a variation on Knight's device for 'Thou hast the key'), books and purses enclosing compartments for a curl or plait of hair and hands holding flowers, often set with gems spelling words of love. The Prince of Wales had a taste for horseshoe-shaped brooches, with gems for the nails, spelling out 'souvenir' and 'regard'. One cryptic entry in Garrard's ledger refers to a bangle set with jacinth, emerald, turquoise, amethyst, diamond, opal, ruby, emerald; it takes a moment to work out JE T'ADORE. This panoply of sentiment was annexed in the later nineteenth century by the lower end of the trade, with silver novelties stamped in relief. MIZPAH (from Genesis 31: 49, 'And Mizpah; for He said, The Lord watch between thee and me when we are apart'), BEST WISHES, or the recipient's name: all had their period in fashion.²⁹ According to *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* in 1874, Mizpah rings, brooches and chatelaines were given as valentines.³⁰ *Godey's Lady's Book* scorned the 'fashion for names on ornaments' as leading to over-familiarity: 'Gentlemen who ignore the names of young ladies speak of them as "Jeanne" and "Marguerite", simply because "ces demoiselles" have thus ticketed themselves round the throat and on their bags, insteps and belts.'³¹ Once decoded, sentiment was largely confined to silver novelties.



114
Ornamental comb in original retailer's display case. English, 1833–40. W. of comb 8.9 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Leaves and flowers with a dove on a trembler spring, the tortoiseshell comb marked PEIRCE DALTON (comb-manufacturers, St Martin's Court, 1834–40), the original retailer's display case labelled 'Kitching & Abud, Jewellers to the Queen, 46, Conduit Street', (at these premises 1833–54).

A passage in Dickens's *Little Dorrit* offers a glimpse of both the complexities and the commercial benefits of the 'language' of jewellery. Having arrived in Paris, Mr Dorrit visits the 'most famous' jeweller's 'to buy a little gift for a lady'. The shop-woman asks him what species of gift he requires, distinguishing between a 'love-gift' and a 'nuptial gift', pointing to a set of 'ravishing' earrings and necklace as a 'love-gift' and to brooches and rings 'of a beauty so gracious and celestial' as nuptial gifts. Mr Dorrit purchases examples of both with an assurance from the shop-woman that a 'lady so crushed with gifts would find them irresistible'. Mrs General, the object of Mr Dorrit's advances, turns him down (Charles Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, vol. II, ch. XIX).

Celebrating events

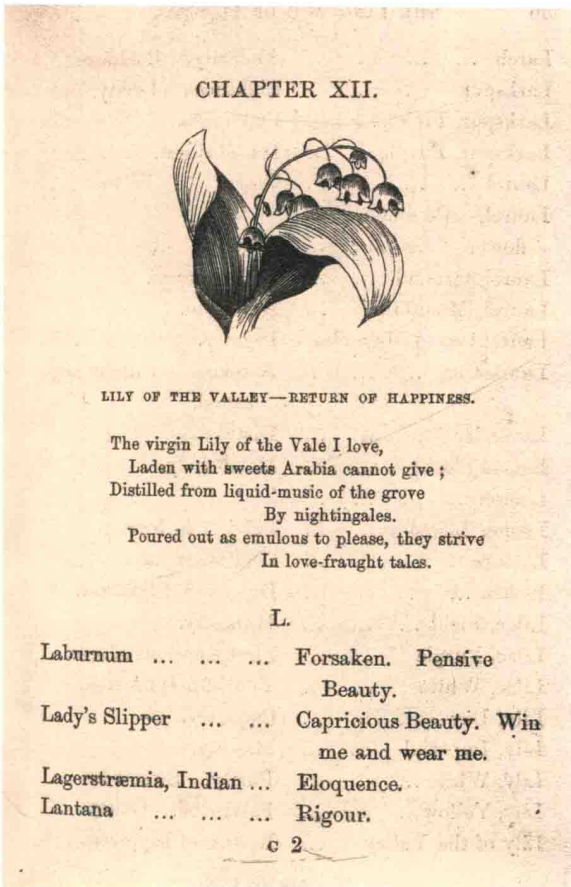
Balancing the coded communications were jewels that took the form of the message they conveyed, such as the birds in flight shown in Fig. 113. Set as comb-mounts (Fig. 114), brooches and lockets, these are lovers' gifts, marking betrothals and marriages. Such jewels are designed not for secrecy but to celebrate the occasion. Most of them incorporate a 'box' or compartment for hair, the ultimate pledge; dated examples locate them in the mid-century. All had their prescribed forms, many of them botanical (see below). Forget-me-nots in turquoises and pansies or heartsease in amethyst and citrine (see Fig. 134, for *pensées*, or 'thoughts') were ubiquitous. Lily-of-the-valley, with its message, 'fond return of love', was used to mark birthdays, as in 'Many Happy Returns', as well as in courtship (it also means 'meekness', no doubt an attraction to a man looking for a prospective wife) (Fig. 115). Designers of these brooches may have been familiar with the illustration from Mrs A. Burke's *Illustrated Language of Flowers* (1856), a popular manual of the period (Fig. 116).³² Evidence as to cost, if not usage, comes from an entry in the exchange column in *The Queen* (26 November 1870, p. 346): 'Set of carved ivory ornaments, earrings, brooch and cross (lily-of-the-valley pattern) very handsomely carved, cost £1 a few months since, and never worn.' Lily-of-the-valley is found in jet as well as ivory, being associated with death and mourning through its meaning 'return of happiness' (to be reunited in death with loved ones).

Lilies-of-the-valley had this double meaning for Queen Victoria, used as a birthday emblem in Winterhalter's *The First of May* (see p. 46) but in her correspondence as symbols of grief. For the funeral of her private secretary General Grey in 1870 she sent lilies-of-the-valley to his daughter Sybil to be placed with the wreaths on his grave, 'as they were his favourite flowers, as they are mine. He sent them to me, on my poor old birthday from his garden and I therefore wished that this small tribute of affection and friendship should be placed in his last resting-place'.³³

The Victorians saw the start of a whole new commerce in jewels celebrating events. The evidence for gifts of jewellery on significant dates is revealing; as in the royal family, births and christenings often prompted gifts of jewellery. In December 1836 Mary Elizabeth Lucy and her husband, George Lucy of Charlecote, gave a party in their newly decorated 'dinner-room' to mark the christening of their fourth son. Mary Elizabeth wore in her hair the diamond wheat-ear comb ornaments given to her by her husband to honour the occasion, with a pearl and emerald lily brooch (Fig. 115) and pink topaz bracelets.³⁴ Other gifts from her husband included coral cameos, diamond earrings 'composed of several stones of the finest water' and heavy gold bracelets set with rubies and diamonds received on her twentieth birthday in 1823; her engagement ring was a hoop of turquoises. The diamond earrings were worn for the first time at court, for her presentation on marriage.

Certain conventions attached to this form of giving. Confirmation was marked with a pendant cross or locket. The Queen describes Princess Alice's confirmation ceremony in a letter to Vicky from Windsor Castle, 23 April 1859:

She will tell you of her presents; such fine ones; from us the Order [the Family Order badge, the same as the one given to Vicky at her own confirmation in 1856], and a diamond necklace and earrings like yours (of her own money except £1000 which I added as she had not as much as you).



115

Lilies-of-the-valley in carved ivory and gem-set gold. English and German, 1830–50. H. of locket 5.2 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Ivory: brooch carved in high relief; wheel-turned ivory locket-case opening to reveal a double miniature frame; brooch with lily-of-the-valley and forget-me-nots. English or German. The work is close to examples in the Deutsches Elfenbein-Museum in Erbach-im-Odenwald. Gem-set: two brooches converted from a set of comb-mounts, gold set with emeralds and pearls. English, 1840s. The long curving pins went through small tubular fittings on the combs (see Figs 114 and 66–7). These two differently sized sprays would have had two matching sprays for the left-hand side.

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Page with lily-of-the-valley from Mrs Burke's *Illustrated Language of Flowers*, 1856

Pocket-book, only 13.3 cm high, tiny enough to fit into a reticule (a small bag hung from the wrist), giving the lily-of-the-valley's attributes in verse with further verses and an alphabetical list of some 700 meanings ascribed to the flower.



117
 'The Christmas Carol Singer', gold locket set with a reversed crystal intaglio. English, after 1858. H. including loop 5.9 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift
 The image of the robin on a snow-covered branch is from a design for Christmas 1858 by Harrison Weir, a successful wildlife artist who knew Charles Darwin. The locket contains a contemporary photograph of a man.

The Crown Princess had sent a 'marble cross and locket'.³⁵ Princess Alice wore the Family Order badge on her sixteenth birthday two days later. On these occasions a valuable family item might be passed on, as this was seen as a sign of maturity or even of becoming marriageable.

The sign of betrothal was, and still is, a finger-ring. The Victorians were very interested in rings; William Jones's *Finger Ring Lore* (1877) went into many printings and remains one of the most useful introductions to the subject even today. By the mid-century rings for all purposes, mourning as well as betrothal and marriage, had become fairly stereotyped, and betrothal rings settled into a repertoire of clusters of diamonds or half-hoops of diamonds and coloured stones. Queen Victoria gave Prince Albert a ring with a single emerald. It was she who introduced the German custom of the bride exchanging a gold wedding ring with the bridegroom and this was followed by her children.³⁶ Princess Alexandra's ring for the Prince of Wales was inscribed within the hoop 'ALEXANDRA'.

Weddings, anniversaries and newly elaborated Christmas festivities were valuable to trade, to jewellers particularly. The significance of Christmas is reflected in an important new industry supplying the newly invented greetings cards and gifts; it is even visible in jewel novelties such as the robin motif cut in a crystal and set into a pendant (Fig. 117). It is one of the most successful Christmas images: 'The Christmas Carol Singer' by Harrison Weir, first issued in 1858 as a coloured lithograph and then as a very popular Christmas card.

The ever-informative diaries of Lucy Lyttelton offer a useful perspective on the exchange of jewels of sentiment on specific occasions, giving a microcosm of jewel 'language' at a certain level of society. The Lytteltons were not rich, but Lucy had served at court and married into a ducal family. During her brief time as a Maid-of-Honour to Queen Victoria, she became engaged to Lord Frederick Cavendish, brother of the 8th Duke of Devonshire, on 21 April 1864, and the careful record she kept of her presents has much to say about the conventions of betrothal and marriage. On her engagement she received a number of jewels: the first from her husband-to-be was 'a locket with diamonds and pearls, to have his hair in it'.³⁷ She wore it on a pearl chain that had belonged to her mother, who had died after the birth of her twelfth child in 1857. This came even before her diamond 'betrothal ring'. Her betrothal gifts to Lord Frederick were an onyx signet ring and a 'crystal locket with a scratchy bit of my hair in it'.

Victoria gave Lucy an amethyst locket bordered with pearls and with a diamond cross on it, remarking that the cross was 'an emblem of what I have to bear day after day' (referring to her widowhood). The betrothed couple went on 10 May with Lord Frederick's sister Lady Louisa Cavendish 'to Mimpriss's, where after g[rea]t cogitation, we chose lockets for the bridesmaids, six with small pearl crosses, six with small turquoise ditto'.³⁸ On 24 May she went with Lord Frederick 'to Garrard's and got a pretty crystal locket with an emerald cross on it, for A[un]tie P. [Mrs Gladstone] to have our hair in'. Her present from her father is a reminder of Lucy's deep religious faith: 'At Dev[onshire] House, Papa turned up and gave me a beautiful large gold cross, in which I shall put his dear hair and Mamma's.' On 5 June 'Papa brought me his cross, with these words engraved inside. On the transverse, my new name, which I can't yet write; then: "From her loving Father June 7th, 1864 [her wedding day]. In Memory and Hope".'

The epitome of 'Victorian' jewellery types, the locket suspended from a chain or velvet ribbon, was the most frequent choice of gift, marking great occasions both happy and sad. So ubiquitous was it that *London Society* published a cartoon of a *Locketomaniac*, a fashionable

lady wearing some thirty-two lockets all over her costume.³⁹ The locket was the Queen's preferred commemorative offering with its compartment into which hair, miniature portraits, photographs and other memorial material could be inserted. Garrard's ledgers reveal that they were used for a variety of purposes, both in gratitude for exceptional services and for mourning. The locket was a repository for tokens and symbols hidden from view and revealed in confidence only to intimates. The numerous lockets given and received by Lucy Lyttelton meant a great deal to her. One of her most treasured contained her mother's hair and was given her by her father on her sixteenth birthday, which took place very shortly after her mother's death. She followed a widespread convention in choosing lockets for her bridesmaids. They feature in royal marriages from that of the Prince of Wales onwards. Princess Alexandra's eight bridesmaids responded in kind, with a bracelet of eight lockets which opened to reveal their portraits (see Fig. 36). Royal example was widely followed, and wedding gifts were selected from the great variety advertised. Trade catalogues and jewellers' advertisements show the ingenuity with which this very basic form was varied, but fundamentally the purpose remained to provide a hinged oval receptacle or reliquary for the materials of intimate exchange (Fig. 118). One of the lockets has the popular jewel device A.E.I., the Greek word for 'always'.

118 Pages of lockets from a *Catalogue of Designs and Prices* issued by Edwin Streeter (1834–1923) of 18 New Bond Street, about 1885. Patrick Streeter Locketts were popular as bridesmaids' gifts, and Streeter offered a reduction when six or more were ordered. The inclusion of prices in his catalogue was a move away from the West End practice of adjusting the cost of goods to the financial standing of the purchaser. One of Streeter's shop-men remarked in 1896, 'In these days there is a great deal of chance custom, whereas in years gone by such was not the case; people had their family jeweller, who was handed down from one generation to another, like the family lawyer or banker. Now purchasers will go from one shop to another until they discover what they consider the best market for their money' (*The Woman at Home*, vol. V, London, 1895–6, p. 126).

M^r STREETER, (LATE OF CONDUIT ST.)
Locketts—18-carat Gold.

The above Locketts are made either with glass backs, single box, or double box, holding one or more portraits.
 Price, from £1 to £5.

Cheques payable at London & County Bank, Hanover Sq.

18, New Bond St., LONDON, W.
Locketts, for 2 Portraits.—(continued.)

14. Sunk centre, with pierced gold monogram, A.E.I. ...	£3 to	10	s.	d.
15. Raised band of gold ...	£3 to	6	0	0
16. Enamelled, with pearl centre raised on gold surface ...	£4 to	10	0	0
17. Red and white enamel, double heart, true lovers' knot ...	£4 to	6	0	0
18. Raised cross in gold ...	£3 to	8	0	0
19. Raised gold bead and grain border ...	£4 to	10	0	0
20. Etruscan border, High Church ...	£8 to	15	0	0
21. Pierced gold A. E. I., on plain locket ...	£4 to	15	0	0
22. Dagmar cross, raised and chased ...	£4 to	15	0	0

The Ornaments on all of the above are of raised Gold; if in Enamel, £1 extra.
 The cheapest have open backs; the others, double boxes.

P. O. Orders payable at Vere Street, Westminster District.

Another of many importations from Germany, celebrating anniversaries – jubilees, silver, gold and diamond weddings – was enthusiastically promoted by the trade. However, increasing commercialization of these novelties was eventually to rob them of much of their meaning. In 1868 the *Illustrated London News* used a disparaging tone to describe the latest fad: ‘It is the fashion this year for ladies to wear lockets on black velvet ribbon round their necks – the more lockets you can collect and wear the finer you are. Each locket represents an event such as a birthday or anniversary, a bet – any excuse serves as a pretext for giving a locket.’ Queen Victoria would have been profoundly shocked to see birthdays or other anniversaries compared with a bet. However, it was her two jubilees that made ‘date’ jewellery into a popular novelty (see p. 190).

From public display to intimate secrets: the cult of hair work

Hair work in the nineteenth century was employed in two different types of ornament. A standard piece of gold or silver jewellery could be set with a glass-covered compartment containing a tiny picture made from hair in various techniques or a device made from a lock of hair. Sometimes the hair was visible; sometimes it was hidden by a cover or at the back of the jewel (Fig. 120). The other type, introduced by the 1830s, was created from three-dimensional elements – chains, rosettes and bows – made from woven hair, which remained springy to the touch. Bracelet bands and watch-chains were made from plaited hair. In this second type the entire piece excepting the metal mounts was made from hair (see Figs 121–3). Both types were designed to display the hair work.

Hair mementoes had been in use since the seventeenth century, with minute panels of plaited hair backing the motifs under crystal in memorial jewels. By the late eighteenth century the setting of hair beneath glass or rock-crystal had developed into intricate pictures ‘painted’ in chopped hair with a binding medium. In the early nineteenth century a new technique was developed of laying strands of hair on a flat surface, glazing them to form a sheet which was then cut into shapes to make the image, either flat or built up in relief (see Fig. 120).⁴⁰ Enclosing hair inside a jewel continued right through the nineteenth century. The importance of actual hair of the beloved is emphasized by G. Dewdney, ‘Artist in Hair’ of 172 Fenchurch Street, frequent advertiser in the classified columns of *The Times* from 1850, who offered ‘every description of hair jewellery’ incorporating ‘A LOCK OF HAIR, the only everlasting memento of the living & departed’.⁴¹ Within a few years photographs displaced hair, becoming the bait used by the enterprising Dewdney to attract buyers for his jewellery:

BEFORE YOU HAVE YOUR LIKENESS TAKEN send for DEWDNEY’S PATTERN OF BROOCHES, lockets, bracelets, etc, which are sent free in receipt of two postage stamps. Registered revolving brooches in solid gold, to show either likeness or hair, at pleasure of wearer, from 45s each. A good plated brooch or locket sent free to any part of the kingdom for 10s 6d. Fenchurch Street, City. (*The Times*, 9 December 1858, p. 15).

One of Dewdney’s competitors, Davorens, artists in hair of 39 Wych Street, Strand, offered ‘hair rings’ with conjoined hands or hearts in gold, assuring customers that they

'guaranteed that every order be made with the hair entrusted to them'.⁴² This was intended to allay fears of the hair of strangers being used. A favourite offering from a young girl to a special male friend was a plaited hair watch-chain; a satirical account in *Punch* of a lady's stall at a Fancy Charity Fair in 1845 has a verse beginning 'Here are watch-guard chains of hair, neatly plaited' (see Fig. 121).⁴³ Hair to be worked in this way had to be cut from the living. After talking to a Breton hairwork dealer, Henry Vizetelly learned that hair cut from the dead 'is too brittle to be cut or twisted into proper form'.⁴⁴

Victorian hair work is usually classed with mourning jewellery, but this is to overlook its key importance in the language of sentiment and friendship, amply demonstrated both in the royal ledgers and in Lucy Lyttelton's diary. The exchange of hair represented a stage of intimacy, in friendship or courtship, as well as acting as a memorial to the dead.⁴⁵ Queen Victoria had almost spiritual feelings about the significance of hair in jewellery. She was evidently introduced to the sentimental cult of hair at an early age, probably by her beloved German governess Baroness Lehzen, whose keepsake album held locks of her charge's hair from babyhood up to the age of twenty-three.⁴⁶ When the Princess was about sixteen she wrote a story dedicated to her mother. In an affecting deathbed scene the heroine observes that her mother's last gift to her, of 'a string of hair to which was attached a locket with a lock of hair in it', is 'more valuable to [her] than all the diamonds and pearls in the world'. She explains: 'About two months before my poor Mamma died she cut off a long piece of her beautiful black hair and as she could plait very well she made it into this string and put a lock of her hair into this locket. Well, when she felt her last moment approaching she called me faintly to her bed, and taking this string and locket from her neck said: "This is my work – my hair – and my last gift. Always keep it by you: and remember your dying Mother's last words"'.⁴⁷ Hair work bracelets were among the gifts exchanged in 1855 by the Queen and the Empress Eugénie (see p. 48); these, although professionally made, would have had to be of their own hair in order to express the intended sentiment.⁴⁸

Lucy Lyttelton's preoccupation with the hair of her loved ones is shown by her wearing the locket given to her by her betrothed containing his hair. She wore it with her mother's pearl chain, a reminder of a further dimension to the jewellery of sentiment, the personal relic. Amongst the avalanche of novelties and new jewellery for anyone who could afford it, such inherited relics acquired a significance far outweighing their value or historical importance. The 'crystal locket with a scratchy bit of my hair in it', which she gave him at their marriage, was buried with Lord Frederick after his assassination in Phoenix Park, Dublin, in 1882. After his death she asked that a lock of his hair be cut to put into a diamond-set locket for her. Lucy gave away her coloured clothes and jewels after her husband's death.⁴⁹

Deathbed scenes in Victorian memoirs feature the dying person asking one of the watchers to cut off a lock of hair for the purpose of memorializing. In order to prevent substitutions in royal hair mementoes, hair from the principal family members was kept available to the crown jeweller. Locks of hair from Queen Victoria and her eighteenth-century predecessor Queen Charlotte were kept in inscribed boxes provided by Garrard's, and itemized in the royal ledgers. Among the papers of George Whitford, who acted as Garrard's liaison with the royal household, is an envelope with a lock of Princess Alexandra's hair for use at the time of her wedding.⁵⁰ The exchange of hair continued among royal family members right up to the Queen's death. A bracelet with heart-shaped lockets containing the hair

119

Queen Victoria's heart locket bracelet.
Gold with enamelled lockets. English,
supplied by Garrard, 1840–57. L. 11.2 cm.
Royal Collection

Each locket in a different colour of
enamelled gold contains the hair of one
of the royal children. The clasp is dated
'Nov 21 1840' for the Princess Royal. The
hearts were given as the children were
born and are engraved on the backs with
the dates of birth. One heart is shown
open to reveal the baby's hair within.



of Victoria's own children survives in the Royal Collection and her correspondence with her daughters contains many references to hair in jewellery, her own, that of her daughters and of her grandchildren, given and received on birthdays and other anniversaries (Fig. 119).⁵¹

* Hair work jewellery made by weaving and plaiting to make ornamental chains, necklaces and bands was, according to an article in *The Ladies' Companion* in 1850, 'lately introduced among our countrywomen . . . a recent importation from Germany, where it is very fashionable'.⁵² The article includes detailed instructions and diagrams for making chains, earrings, bracelets of plaited hair, and brooches with cut and laid hair motifs: 'Hitherto almost exclusively confined to professed manufacturers of hair trinkets, their work has now become a drawing-room occupation . . . free from all the annoyances and objections of litter, dirt, or unpleasant smells . . . while a small handkerchief will at any time cover the apparatus and materials in use.' This may be yet another instance of the pervasive influence of Albert and the Germanic court, since braided and woven hair was already common in France and Switzerland.⁵³ One of the most skilled exponents of braided hair work, the Swiss-born Antoni Forrer, 'Artist in Hair Jewellery to Her Majesty' from 1845, of 136 Regent Street, exhibited his work at the 1851 Great Exhibition and the 1862 International Exhibition in London.⁵⁴ Forrer had been in partnership with Charles Packer (see p. 124) from 1852 to 1857.

Lemonnier et Cie of Paris, the French royal jeweller, exhibiting in 1851 as a specialist in hair work, is frequently mentioned in contemporary French fashion reporting, notably in *Petit Courrier des dames* from 1852 and *Les Modes parisiennes* in the 1860s. Three-dimensional woven hair was already popular in Romantic jewellery in the 1820s and 1830s; a number of marked examples survive in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris.⁵⁵ French and Swiss hair work was highly sophisticated. The mounts are mainly of gilded metal rather than the gold more common with later English work. The technique of covering a wooden core with plaited or woven hair may be a French development (Fig. 123).

Benjamin Lee of 41 Rathbone Place, another 1851 exhibitor, published patterns for woven hair work jewels to go with his display (Fig. 122).⁵⁶ Following the example of *The*



120

Jewellery with woven, plaited and laid hair work. Probably English, 1835–55. H. of card case 7.6 cm. British Museum, given by Ann Louise Luthi

Two hair bracelets with pendants containing hair; a ring with an enamelled bezel inset with a diamond cross, the hoop opening to reveal a band of woven hair; two brooches with compartments for the hair of several members of a family, each inscribed with the initials of the individual whose hair is enclosed, one in the form of a butterfly; an ivory card case with a portrait and devices in cut and laid hair decorating the name 'Ellen'.

The two brooches are probably sentimental tokens, like Queen Victoria's bracelet (Fig. 119). Two compartments on the butterfly brooch bear inscriptions recording the date of death, so only those two family members had died when the brooch was made. The round brooch is dated 1852, possibly a death date. Similar pieces made as mourning jewels tend to have specific inscriptions.

Jewels commemorating several family members in quick succession are a reminder of epidemics like cholera; scarlet fever could decimate a family in a few days. It is hard to comprehend nowadays the rush of infant mortality that could visit an unfortunate family under those circumstances.

Ladies' Home Companion, instruction manuals like *The Jewellers' Book of Patterns in Hairwork* by manufacturing jewellers William Halford & Charles Young of St John Street, Clerkenwell (1864) and Alexanna Speight's *The Lock of Hair* (1871) made techniques available to home workers. Speight offered to supply the tools for working with hair.

Cherished pets were commemorated by jewels enclosing their hair, sometimes with their portraits. Mostly these remembered dogs, a practice that goes back to Augustin Edouart's early nineteenth-century dog portraits painted with particles of hair.³⁷ A portrait of a popular breed with the Victorians, a white German Spitz or Pomeranian, carved in a reversed crystal intaglio and set in gold, has a compartment with a curl of white dog hair in the back accompanied by an inscription 'FAITHFUL AND TRUE, MUFF obit Nov. 24th 1862 at Dinapore,

121

Accessories made of hair. European, 1840–70. H. of cross 7.5cm. British Museum, given by Ann Louise Luthi

Snake motifs were popular, used here for studs, stick-pin, rings and coiled bracelet. The shirt-studs retain their retailer's case for Turner of New Bond Street. The case label gives Turner's royal appointment to the Queen of 1843; he was appointed to the Prince of Wales in 1866. The bow is a rare example in white hair. The cross and the necklace with gold heart pendants have plaited hair laid in channels. The man's sporting watch-chain has a pendant whip.

Hairwork was prized for its intimacy but when that was lost it became merely distasteful. In *The Woman in White* (1860) by Wilkie Collins, Frederick Fairlie gives his niece Laura a wedding present of 'a shabby ring with her affectionate uncle's hair for an ornament instead of a precious stone, and with a heartless French inscription, inside, about congenial sentiments and eternal friendship' (vol. I, part 3). Fairlie's character is based on the collector of gems and rings the Rev. Chauncey Hare Townshend, friend of Collins and Charles Dickens.



122

Sample display case. English, mid- to late 19th century. H. 16.1 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

These hairwork samples to be mounted as jewellery were acquired in 1889 from a supplier of false hairpieces, Edwin Creer of 589 Commercial Road East in London's East End. They comprise two anchors, flat bands for bracelets, a bow and two pairs of long earrings. The latter would have been long out of fashion in 1889, suggesting that the display case was a historic assemblage when acquired.

123 *Opposite*

Jewels made of hair, woven and plaited into hollow shapes. European, 1830–70. L. of earrings at left 11 cm. British Museum, given by Ann Louise Luthi

The hair is woven in a hollow tube and stiffened to form bows, rosettes, chains, beads and long drops. The bow brooch and bell earrings (top centre) use hair of different shades. For the acorn earrings and the bracelet links, the hair is woven round a wooden core which it covers completely; this skill was perfected by the French in elaborate curtain fringing in which silk was used for the same technique.





124
Memorial brooch for a dog. English, 1862.
Diam. 3.3 cm. British Museum, Hull
Grundy Gift

Gold brooch set with a reversed crystal intaglio portrait of a Pomeranian. At the back a compartment with his hair and an inscription: FAITHFUL & TRUE/MUFF obit Nov 24th 1862 at Dinapore aged 8 Years & 6 months. Dinapore, in Bihar, north-east India, was a base for British officials and their families even after the Indian Mutiny in 1857. The preponderance of dog portraits over other domestic animals may be because they symbolized constancy.



125
Memorial brooch for a horse. English,
1846. H. 5.5 cm. Doncaster Museum and
Art Gallery, Hull Grundy Gift

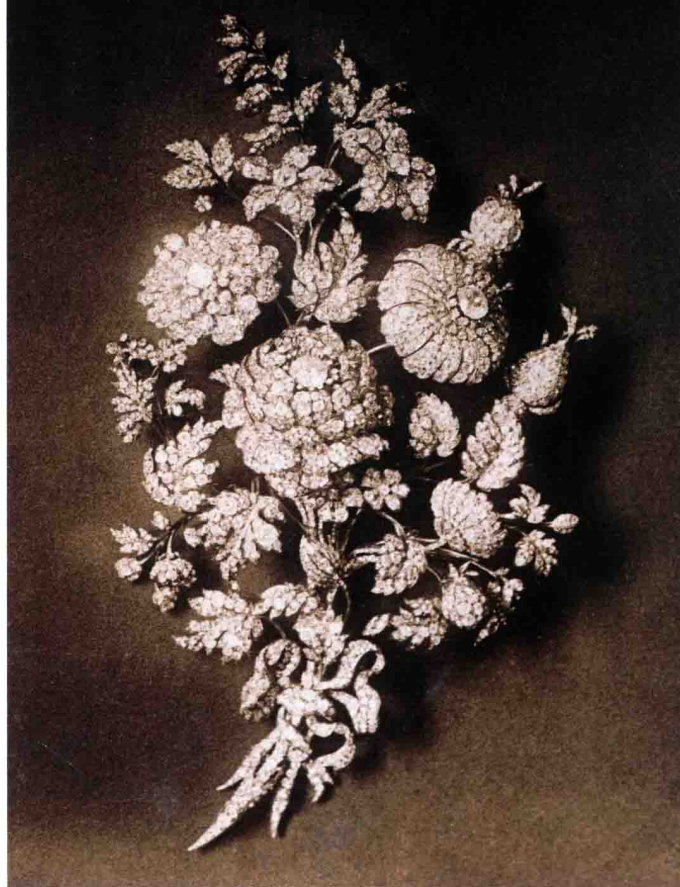
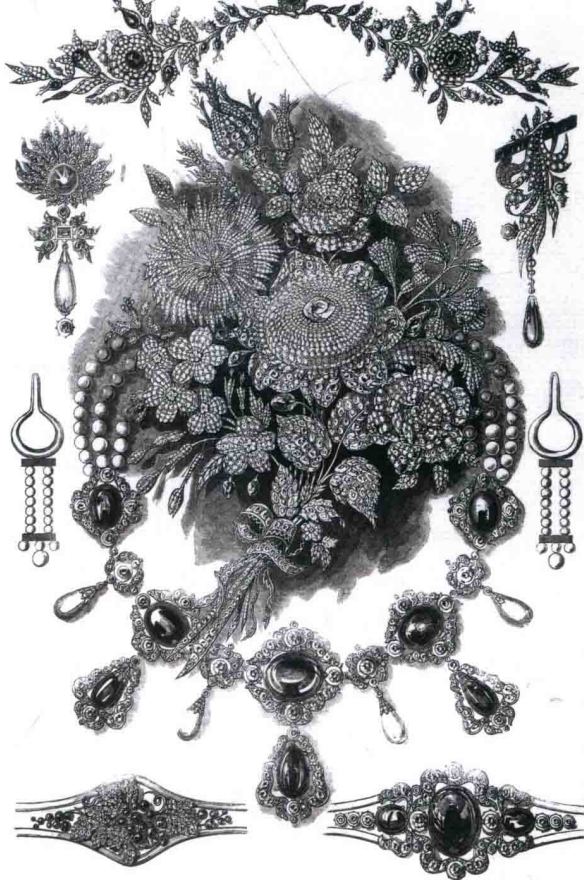
Gold 'Heart of Oak' brooch, with horse's hair enclosed under glass within an oak tree trunk, the branches of which form a heart. The oak is a symbol of fidelity because of its strength.

aged 8 years and 6 months' (Fig. 124).⁵⁸ 'Muff' must have been a favoured name at the time: a tiny gravestone once in the garden at Marlborough House recorded the death of Princess Alexandra's pet dog, 'Muff', aged two, in 1865.⁵⁹ In 1863 the Prince of Wales ordered from Garrard's a crystal (a reversed crystal intaglio) of the Queen's much-loved collie Gypsey, which had recently died.⁶⁰ One exceptional memorial, for a horse, is a 'Heart of Oak' brooch in the form of a branch with textured gold leaves and acorns, enclosing horse's hair under glass, bearing the inscription 'AGED 25 years obt. A PLEASING TRIBUTE to her faithful services of nearly 22 years WAS SHOT March 24th 1846'. It is said to have come from the Wellington family (Fig. 125).

Botanical jewellery and the language of flowers

Flowers in jewellery date from the earliest times; in antiquity funerary wreaths of myrtle, the shrub of Venus and therefore of 'love', symbolized 'love in death'. In Renaissance Italy flowers as ornaments were considered ill omens; their brief span in bloom was a reminder of death and decay.⁶¹ In the later sixteenth century fascination with horticulture, as well as interest in the amuletic and medicinal properties of plants, began to overcome the *vanitas* connotations of flowers, and they became very popular in the seventeenth century, copied in enamel and coloured stones for fashionable bouquets. The lily, the sunflower, the poppy and the forget-me-not were believed to have protective powers, and were chased or enamelled on lockets enclosing a compartment with a sponge soaked in the essence of the plant. Flowers remained popular throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Victorians were armed with the materials and techniques to bring the imitation of nature to the highest degree of sophistication; this presented a challenge to the ingenuity of jeweller and goldsmith, employing a huge range of materials from diamonds and coloured pastes to shells and fish-scales. These jewels vied with the real and artificial flowers worn in profusion with evening dress. Flower designs culled from French eighteenth-century pattern-books provided inspiration for the rococo-revival jewellery fashionable from the 1860s.

In the 1830s when floral jewellery was very popular, modern gardening was still in its heady early development. New species of flowering plants were pouring into the country from plant-hunting expeditions all over the world. Fine colour-illustrated periodicals dealing with botany and horticulture proliferated. Botany was commercially significant to the expanding British Empire and was taught to every pupil, though the study of scientific botany and horticulture was still a novelty for women. Young women were expected to be able to paint flowers to a reasonable standard and 'botanizing' was an approved pursuit for sheltered girlhood. All these factors stimulated interest in botanical jewels and the accurate imitation of nature, which lasted throughout the nineteenth century. But the taste for flower jewellery is only partly explained by new plants and growth of knowledge, because so few of the new species were actually taken up by jewellers. It is probable that the sentimental 'language of flowers', then enjoying great esteem in poetry, keepsakes and cards, prevailed over any other stimulus. Flowers were alluded to as 'jewels' and the real bloom was often regarded as more sincere than its precious imitation. Queen Victoria liked ivy for wreaths, particularly ivy from Osborne. She probably took a straightforward view of its meaning: because of its clinging habit it is associated with marriage and fidelity. However, in the extensive literature on old country lore a garland of ivy was believed to be an aid to love, and its association with Bacchus was protection from drunkenness.



Botanical jewellery was one of the few English types exported to Paris. Empress Eugénie's large corsage spray in the form of a diamond flower bouquet, made by Theodore Fester in 1855, has obvious similarities with the diamond bouquet shown as the centrepiece of Hunt & Roskell's display at the 1851 exhibition (Figs 126, 127). According to the *Official Catalogue*, 'The flowers: anemone, rose, carnation etc, are modelled from nature. This ornament divides into seven different sprigs, each complete in design, and the complicated flowers, by mechanical contrivances, separate for the purpose of effectual cleaning. It contains nearly 6,000 diamonds, the largest of which weighs upwards of 10 carats' (presumably the central stone of the rose).⁶² It remained with Hunt & Roskell until at least 1862 (see p. 265) and may well have been taken to Paris in 1855. Whether it had a direct influence on the design of Eugénie's bouquet (displayed in 1867) is hard to say, but the scale of the two jewels is much the same. The relationship between the two has long been obscured through an error in the 1887 auction catalogue of the French crown jewels, where the Fester corsage spray was dated to the Restoration period. The mistake was perpetuated by Vever in his history of French nineteenth-century jewellery, and the facts were unravelled by Bernard Morel only in 1991.⁶³ The flower-language meanings of the principal blooms is oddly contradictory: anemone is 'forsaken'; rose is usually deployed for 'beauty'; carnation is symbolic of 'betrothal'. The reputation of English gem-set jewellery was such that even the French felt they had something to learn: the young Oscar Massin, maker of the diadem worn by Eugénie at the opening of the 1855 exhibition, travelled to London to study English design, creating exquisite floral jewels on his return that set a new fashion in France.⁶⁴ His diamond 'wild rose' spray designed in 1863 was so popular that it was repeated for twenty years.⁶⁵ There is little evidence that the French saw any meanings in flower jewels.

Among an array of flower jewels including nasturtiums, pansies, clover leaves and bouquets of *Parma violets*, Princesse Mathilde owned a corsage spray in the form of an open rose with two buds and leaves, entirely covered in fine Brazilian diamonds. It was sold with

126 Above left
Jewellery by Hunt & Roskell at the Great Exhibition, *Illustrated London News*, 26 July 1851, p. 113

The centre of the illustration shows the large convertible diamond flower bouquet that was one of the star pieces of the exhibition. At each side of the bouquet, level with the bow, are the Nineveh earrings discussed on p. 389.

127 Above right
Archive photograph of Empress Eugénie's large diamond flower bouquet made by Théodore Fester, Paris, 1855. London, Goldsmiths' Company, Twining Collection

This large diamond corsage ornament may have been inspired by the bouquet shown by Hunt & Roskell in 1851 (Fig. 126).

128

Coloured gold and diamond flower bouquet. Probably English, about 1850. H. 9.4 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The ribbon-tied bouquet has forget-me-nots, pansies and a rosebud, with a butterfly on a trembler setting hovering over a rose-leaf. A large three-dimensional jewel like this with a trembler ornament was almost certainly an aigrette to be worn in the hair.



130 *Opposite* —
Detail of aigrette (Fig. 128)

This is a masterpiece of chasing (hammering the metal from the front) and engraving (removing metal). The pansy petals are line-engraved using a multiple-line tool, following the contours of the petals to suggest their velvety texture. The upper petals are in yellow gold, the lower petals in green gold, with the central petal striped alternately in yellow and green, the yellow patches soldered in. The leaves and the butterfly, by contrast, have all-over chasing or matting with engraved veins. The coloured golds throughout are thin veneers soldered on to a gold sheet.

the rest of her jewels in 1904.⁶⁶ The French rapidly mastered this particular area, with jewels of astonishing naturalism modelled on real flowers. One of the most admired, the purple enamelled lilac spray by Mellerio shown in the 1862 London International Exhibition, was illustrated in J.B. Waring's *Masterpieces of Industrial Art and Sculpture at the International Exhibition, 1862* (see Fig. 219). A white lilac spray set all over with diamonds and made by Rouvenat was acquired by Eugénie from the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle.⁶⁷ It was described in *Les Merveilles de l'Exposition Universelle de 1867*:

Nous avons aussi remarqué une branche de lilas, chef-d'oeuvre d'imitation de fleurs naturelles, qui n'a que le défaut d'être trop riche et d'avoir sa grappe un peu trop fournie. Cette branche de lilas est une des plus curieux échantillons des produits de cette maison; l'artiste qui l'a exécuté a eu, dit-on, pendant tous le temps de son travail un branche de lilas blanc près de lui. Chaque fleur a été créée séparément sur nature, et l'exactitude a été jusqu'à la reproduction du bouton et des fleurs à demi ouvertes.⁶⁸

Octave Loeuillard's designs for Boucheron (see Fig. 233) demonstrate the greatest sophistication of which this type of gem-set jewellery was capable.

Earlier imitations of nature in coloured and textured gold led to the development of realistic surface textures achieved by chasing with special matting tools to suggest a rough fruit skin, a silky petal or a velvety pansy. Astonishingly lifelike effects were achieved; veins of leaves or birds' feathers were added by engraving and colours were suggested by coloured gold alloys, generally soldered on to a gold base, forming a second layer of appliqué. Sometimes several colours were used in a complex structure of overlays. Copper was added for red gold, silver for green gold; yellow gold colour was often almost pure gold. A bouquet of rosebuds, pansies and forget-me-nots in the Hull Grundy Gift to the British Museum is executed in three colours of gold: red, green and yellow. A butterfly on a trembler spring hovers over the stems, indicating that it was designed to be worn in the hair (Figs 128, 130).

129

Coloured gold brooch with a trembler-mounted dove on a peach branch. English, about 1850. W. 5.3 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The 'bloom' on the peach is inlaid in a patch of red gold into the green gold. Three-dimensional shapes like this were made of two halves soldered together.





The butterfly wings are matted all over with a variety of tools. Engraving on the pansies follows the contours of the petals, using a multiple-line tool to achieve delicate parallel lines, with a larger tool for the veins; the lower petal on the left-hand pansy is inlaid with alternate layers of yellow and green gold. The peacock-feather 'eyes' are set with diamonds. It is exceptional in its quality and variety of texturing and colouring.⁶⁹ The bouquet conveys combined messages of love: the rosebuds for happy love, the pansy for thoughts and the forget-me-not for true love. The diamonds are for enduring love. The butterfly has many meanings. The classical allusion is to the soul; with its brief lifespan, it is sometimes used as a metaphor for the transience of beauty. It is also the symbol of resurrection and rebirth: the chrysalis appears to die and then to be reborn as a butterfly. The finest naturalistic pieces like this example are near to life-size, as in the best tradition of botanical illustration.

Similar techniques with the addition of three-dimensional elements shaped in two halves are used for a brooch in the form of a bird on a peach branch, also from the Hull Grundy Gift (Fig. 129). Matting and engraving were widely used for leaves and stems; the florescence or the fruits employed a variety of coloured stones and organic materials such as ivory, shells and coral. The naturalistic effects included insects and dewdrops on the leaves (see Fig. 172). Fruits imitated in appropriately coloured gemstones include red and white currants of cornelian and chalcedony, grapes of amethysts and chrysoprases and mulberry of very deep purple amethyst (Fig. 131). The use of coloured gold to imitate the markings of a zonal pelargonium is a brilliant technical feat and a celebration of a newly introduced plant.

'Stained ivory was used for flower petals and carved flower heads. The ivory petals on



131

Four jewels in coloured gold and stones imitating nature. European, 1840–70. H. of white currant branch 4.9 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The branches of red and white currants and mulberry have leaves in two-colour gold with cornelian, white chalcedony and amethyst fruits; the mulberry has an enamelled gold ladybird on the leaf; the zonal pelargonium leaf has markings in three colours of gold and a pearl and gem-set butterfly alighted on it.



132

Four coloured gold jewels imitating flowers.

Continental and English, 1840–80. H. of dog-rose spray 8.8 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The spray of trembler-mounted dog-roses is *pavé*-set with chrysoberyls; the piece is not marked but looks Continental (the use of chrysoberyls might suggest an Iberian origin). The other three flowers appear to be English: the camellia is tinted ivory, delicately striped; the coloured gold and pink shell convolvulus entwined round a twig is a comb-mount converted to a brooch; the ribbon-tied convolvulus spray, of chased and polished two-colour gold set with rubies and turquoises, is usable as a comb-mount or a brooch.

a large brooch in the form of a single lightly striped camellia flower and bud in the Hull Grundy Gift are particularly fine. The leaves are finished with texturing and engraving to imitate the surface and veining (Fig. 132). Although meanings can be assigned to all these pieces – the black mulberry, for example, means ‘I will not survive you’ and the enamelled ladybird on the leaf may be a warning as in the nursery-rhyme ‘Ladybird, ladybird, fly away home’ – it seems likely that their main purpose was the faithful imitation of nature. Camellia is ambiguous; one meaning ‘unpretending excellence’ is suitable to sentimental exchange, but it has less attractive connotations, the showy scentless blooms signifying worthless glamour, ‘your beauty is your only attraction’.⁷⁰

The popular manuals, on which much Victorian flower language is based, should be used with caution. Given the religious climate in the nineteenth century many of the flowers and plants may be expressions of faith rather than sentiment. While jasmine, forget-me-not, pansy and wild roses suggest a reading in terms of sentiment, there are many discrepancies between flower jewels and flower language in the exchange of covert messages. For example, the daffodil, meaning ‘regard’, is not used in jewellery, the message being spelled out in stones. The absence of white heather is noticeable given the anecdotal evidence for its use in the rituals of wooing. According to Mrs Burke the fern is fascination, but ferns are used in mourning jewellery under their alternative meaning of ‘sincerity’. The forget-me-not for ‘remembrance’ is used for sentiment and for mourning, in which case the flower in pearls or diamonds is inset in a black enamel or onyx ground (see Fig. 80).

Carnations, traditionally the flower of betrothal, are less common in fine jewellery than orange blossom. In portraits, however, they often underscore the messages conveyed by jewellery. In Palmaroli's 1870 portrait celebrating the marriage of Enid Guest to Austen Henry Layard (see Fig. 370) the carnation so conspicuously shown in her hand certainly carries a meaning. In the language of flowers the carnation signifies 'fascination' or 'woman's love', but Enid Layard's knowledge of history and legend may point to an earlier meaning as the symbol for betrothal or marriage, which was much employed in Tudor bridal portraiture, particularly by Holbein. The jewellery she wears was all given to her by Henry, as wedding gifts or on their first trip to Italy.

This interpretation is used by Lady Stanley in a letter to her husband, Lord Stanley of Alderley, on the engagement of their daughter Blanche to the Earl of Airlie in August 1851:

It is all settled, & I do hope it will be for our darling's happiness – I never saw more deep feeling than on his part, & tho' Blanche is very nervous yet she is glad it is settled . . . I had given her a red carnation (like those I used to give to you) to give him, at first she said she would not, but then she came down with the heath [heather] in her hair he had got for her & waited on the stair case to give him the flower – he never spoke but looked very pale.⁷¹

It is plain that the flower signified her willingness to receive his proposal. Leigh Hunt's 1837 poem, *Love Letters made of Flowers*, confirms the meaning:

Growing one's own choice of words and fancies
In orange tubs, and beds of pansies,
One's sighs and passionate declarations
In odorous rhetoric of carnations ...⁷²

Blanche confided to Jane Carlyle that she cared more for the trousseau than her betrothed.⁷³

Jewel 'language' in Victorian fiction

Jewellery plays an important role in Victorian modern life novels, both symbolically and in adding to the realism of scene and characterization.⁷⁴ It is an area that has been widely studied, and it is beyond the scope of the present volume to analyse the poetic and fictional messages in full. The examples here address the particular issues with which this book is concerned, and are designed to illuminate a deeply embedded form of communication. Victorian writers assume possession and wearing of precious ornaments in all circles above the most poverty-stricken; in his novel *Sybil* Disraeli even gives his 'factory girls' coral necklaces and gold earrings.⁷⁵ Female authors used jewellery with particularly intimate understanding, to define character and social milieu in a way that goes beyond physical attributes and conventional notions of value. Kurt Tetzeli von Rosador's pioneering study of these themes in Victorian fiction compares the fictional jewels with surviving Victorian jewels to reinstate their importance in understanding the plot.⁷⁶ The following examples extend Professor Tetzeli's thesis, linking the fictional jewels with real jewels in contemporary letters and memoirs.

The pull between conscience and social expectations in jewel usage is often presented fictionally in black-and-white terms; the modest and virtuous treasure jewels of little worth while the display of expensive ornaments is a hallmark of vulgarity and possible dishonesty. Charles Dickens's characters the Merdles and the Veneerings, in *Little Dorrit* (1857) and *Our Mutual Friend* (1865), perfectly conform to the type. Mrs Veneering is characterized as an 'absolute jeweller's window'. In *Little Dorrit* Dickens gives Mrs Merdle, wife of a railway speculator, 'beautiful-formed arms, and the very thing for bracelets', simply a vehicle for the trophies of her husband's shady financial dealings.⁷⁷ Here he throws in the name of a well-known society jeweller in Bond Street to underline Mr Merdle's pretensions as his wife becomes an advertisement of his success:

It was not a bosom to repose upon, but it was a capital bosom to hang jewels upon. Mr Merdle wanted something to hang jewels upon, and he bought it for the purpose. Storr and Mortimer might have married on the same speculation.

Like all his other speculations, it was sound and successful. The jewels showed to the richest advantage. The bosom, moving in Society with the jewels displayed upon it, attracted general admiration. Society approving, Mr Merdle was satisfied.⁷⁸

Dickens, whose fiction is deeply preoccupied with class, had a gift for building character through jewellery. His sharp eye for the sartorial eccentricities of characters on the edge of respectable society emerges in the lawyer's clerk Mr Wemmick in *Great Expectations* (1860–61). The young hero Pip takes stock of him:

I judged him to be a bachelor from the frayed condition of his linen, and he appeared to have sustained a good many bereavements; for he wore at least four mourning rings, besides a brooch representing a lady and a weeping willow at a tomb with an urn on it. I noticed, too, that several rings and seals hung at his watch-chain, as if he were quite laden with remembrances of departed friends.⁷⁹

The rings must have been collected from the detritus of clients' funerals, where they would have been distributed to favoured mourners. As a mere lawyer's clerk he was too lowly to receive a ring himself, but his master would hardly value such meaningless professional tributes. Stripped of personal significance these things became worthless, trinkets available to the casual scavenger.

One of Dickens's most striking jewel images also occurs in *Great Expectations*, with Pip's first sight of Miss Havisham, who, abandoned at the altar by her faithless lover, wanders among the wreckage of her marriage feast. He enters her dressing-room, 'well-lighted with wax candles', to find 'the strangest lady' he had ever seen sitting at a dressing-table:

She was dressed in rich materials – satins, and lace, and silks – all of white. Her shoes were white. And she had a long white veil dependent from her hair, and she had bridal flowers in her hair, but her hair was white. Some bright jewels sparkled on her neck and on her hands, and some other jewels lay sparkling on the table. . . . I saw that the bride within the bridal dress had withered like the dress, and like the flowers, and had no brightness left but the brightness of her sunken eyes.

Pip sees the dress and veil as grave clothes and shroud, their owner as a waxwork or corpse; only the jewels that she put on for her wedding have withstood the ravages of time. Miss Havisham bequeaths the jewels to her ward Estella, intending them as a blighted inheritance to enslave her to her future husband.⁸⁰

The morality of luxury is a preoccupation in Victorian fiction, as it was in life.⁸¹ George Eliot uses jewellery to define character rather than class and social aspirations, finessing her protagonists' response to particular situations. An early scene in *Middlemarch* (1871) finds two sisters, Dorothea and Celia Brooke, discussing the division of the jewel casket left by their deceased mother.⁸² The scene is set by characterizing the sisters' mode of dress: it is 'plain' because they are 'ladies' with no taint of trade in their ancestry. And then there is 'religious feeling', in Dorothea's case 'enough to account for plain dress'. This combination of gentle birth and religion imposes moral obligations that transcend the simple role of jewels as adornment. It is Celia who raises the question of the jewels: 'Dorothea dear, if you don't mind – if you are not very busy – suppose we looked at mamma's jewels to-day, and divided them?' Dorothea prevaricates, concluding, 'Well, dear, we should never wear them, you know.' Celia pleads that to ignore the jewels shows a lack of respect for their mother's memory – an argument calculated to breach Dorothea's defences – and she adds, 'Necklaces are quite usual now; and Madame Poinçon, who was stricter in some things even than you are, used to wear ornaments. And Christians generally – surely there are women in heaven now who wore jewels.'

Dorothea relents and the jewels are brought out: 'It was no great collection, but a few of the ornaments were really of remarkable beauty, the finest that were obvious at first being a necklace of purple amethysts set in exquisite gold work, and a pearl cross with five brilliants in it.' Dorothea puts the amethysts round her sister's neck and also presses the cross on her: 'Oh Dodo, you must keep the cross yourself', insists Celia, not seeing the pitfall before her. Shuddering 'slightly', Dorothea responds, 'Not for the world . . . A cross is the last thing I would wear as a trinket.' Further investigation of the casket reveals a ring with an emerald set in diamonds with matching bracelet. Surprisingly, Dorothea's scruples are overcome by the colour and beauty of the stones and she agrees to take them. 'All the while her thought was trying to justify her delight in the colours by merging them in her mystic and religious joy.' 'Shall you wear them in company?' enquires Celia; 'Perhaps,' replies Dorothea, 'I cannot tell to what level I may sink.'

As a piece of scene-setting this is masterly, encompassing a wide range – one could almost say the whole range – of issues connected with morality and propriety in jewel usage. Dorothea stigmatizes as 'miserable men' the workmen and salesmen connected with the jewel trade. The less intellectual but more worldly Celia sees inconsistencies in Dorothea's stand; either she should accept her full share, sparing Celia a feeling of moral inferiority, or reject the jewels entirely. George Eliot's writings reveal familiarity with gem-lore and she may have used the emeralds to illuminate traits in Dorothea's character: the emerald was believed to protect chastity and to have medicinal powers to restore weak sight. Dorothea's short sight is one of her defining attributes and the cause, either literally or metaphorically, of much that happens in the book.⁸³

In another jewel-laden plot, *Daniel Deronda* (1876), Eliot reveals a world of gambling and pawn-shops and money-driven value systems, as opposed to the moral landscape that informs *Middlemarch*.⁸⁴ Unlike the inherited jewels in the latter, Gwendolen Harleth's necklace which she decides to sell in order to redeem her gambling losses is modern and fashionable, an 'Etruscan' pattern set with three large turquoises. The scene where Gwendolen rejects the

'poisoned diamonds' from her new husband Grandcourt (Chapter 31) uses the imagery of the malignity of diamonds found in Dickens and Charlotte Yonge. *Middlemarch* is set in the past, in 1832, year of the great Reform Bill; *Daniel Deronda* is a contemporary morality tale, set in the 1870s. The narrative potential in the ownership and wearing of precious jewellery is minutely explored, but George Eliot was too great an artist to confine herself to a moral agenda for jewellery, which becomes an overriding tendency in Charlotte Yonge's novels.

Miss Yonge's tales of family life give an accurate picture of the pious Victorian middle class and its values. The jewellery has intensely personal meanings, and to make these plain she employs a transparent jewel language. In one of her most popular titles, *Heartsease*, published in 1854, the jewels represent a straightforward confrontation between opposing attributes: good, signified by modest ornaments with pious or sentimental meanings; worldly and extravagant, represented by glittering gemstones with no message other than wealth. *Heartsease* is a study in contrasting characters, the high-born and self-willed Theodora Martindale, and Violet, wife of her brother Arthur, who has married beneath him. Violet, meek, unassuming and pious, will triumph in the end. Theodora's wilfulness is punished in the most fearful way, in an ordeal by fire; Violet's gentleness makes her the greatest influence for good in the family and wins her husband from a life of vice and dissipation. Her path to success is plotted through her reactions to a succession of jewellery gifts.

Central to the theme is the coral cross given to Violet by her brother-in-law John and once owned by his dead fiancée. 'He then took out a small box and after a moment's hesitation, put into Violet's hands a pink coral cross, shaped by the animals themselves, and fastened by a ring to a slender gold chain'.⁸⁵ This becomes her talisman, on a par with her other most treasured possession, the first gift from her husband of a ring set with a forget-me-not. However, in the early days of her unequal marriage she is not proof against the attractions of more costly presents, one of them a serpent bracelet from her father-in-law, which she displays proudly: 'Look at its scales and its crown and eyes. Arthur says they are sapphires.' She admires her pious friend Emma Brandon's diamond butterfly, but Emma dismisses it as an heirloom, empty of meaning,

'The only thing I do care for is this' – and she drew out a locket from within her dress. 'There is my father's hair, and that is my little brother's. They both died before I can remember; and there is mamma's nice pepper-and-salt lock round them.'⁸⁶

When he is rapidly descending into bankruptcy, Arthur purchases a blue enamel locket set with a diamond fly at Storr & Mortimer (like Dickens, Charlotte Yonge uses that firm to indicate thoughtless extravagance), but Violet is more charmed with a wreath of flowers made from feathers, sent to her from Madeira by her brother-in-law John.⁸⁷ Throughout the book the coral cross acts as a reminder of her goal, complete submission to the will of God.

The distaste shown by Dorothea Brooke for wearing a cross as a trinket and the symbolic role of the coral cross in *Heartsease* act as reminders of the importance of religion in Victorian culture. From jewelled crosses and crucifixes to more covert expressions of religious affiliation, religious symbolism crossed all boundaries of cost, materials and manufacture, whether expensive diamonds, like the cross that Dorothea would not wear, or cheaply stamped medallions in base metal. Some are antiquarian, some are as much fashionable as religious, but the design conveyed a powerful message. The 'language' of the cross pendant illustrated in Fig. 133 uses

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Gold cross and chain set with lapis-lazuli and bordered with pearls. Probably English, about 1875. H. of cross 9.9 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Gift of Miss Victoria Levenson-Gower

The lapis-lazuli and pearls symbolize the blue cloak and tears of the Virgin Mary. Ground lapis is the main component of the ultramarine used by Renaissance artists for the blue of the Virgin's robe.



134

Jewels imitating violets and pansies or heartsease. Probably English, 1840–50. L. of violets brooch 4.9 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The gold and stained ivory demi-parure of violets retains its display case for the firm of Martin, Baskett & Martin of Cheltenham, a manufacturing jeweller that still survives; the firm received its royal appointment very early in the Queen's reign, in 1838. The three gold brooches with gem-set pansies have petals of amethysts, citrines and topazes, imitating the colours of the native flower.



colour and gem-lore to proclaim its purpose. Lapis-lazuli stands for the Virgin's garment, the pearl border for her tears.

Queen Victoria read *Heartsease* and was quick to notice a fault; in an age when the 'language of flowers' was universally understood, the title gets this wrong. She remarked in a letter to her eldest daughter that 'Heartsease' is not the same as Violet, but is the native pansy or viola; the meaning is 'thoughts' or 'Love in Idleness'.⁸⁸ Violet, fittingly, means 'modesty', 'chastity', 'faithfulness' and (not so suitably, since Violet survives a terrible illness) death of the young (Fig. 134).

In contrast, *The Eustace Diamonds* (1873), set in the fashionable world of Anthony Trollope's 'political' novels, is almost amoral in tone. True to the title, the plot centres round the ownership of the eponymous jewels: whether the valuable diamond necklace is an heirloom of the Eustace family to descend in the male line or property in the gift of the late Sir Florian Eustace. That a three-volume novel of over 700 pages could be sustained by this single strand – for the machinations of the disputed owner and chief protagonist, Lady Eustace, are supported by fairly exiguous marital sub-plots – is a measure of jewellery's immense importance in Victorian culture.

The famous 'Eustace diamonds' are valued at the enormous sum of £10,000. In

parentheses it should be noted that among the Crown diamond necklaces, the 1863 City of London marriage gift to the Princess of Wales cost with its matching earrings £10,000 and the sum, widely publicized, may have been picked by Trollope for its topicality. We are told that the necklace is a circle of stones, presumably large collet-set brilliants like the City of London necklace, with a pendant Maltese cross. The story is set in the 1860s but the necklace, now outdated, was made for Sir Florian's mother in the period 1820 to 1830, a plausible date for the design with its Maltese cross. It lives in a morocco case, supplied, it must be supposed, by the jeweller responsible for its resetting.

The story is embellished with references to contemporary events and recognizable persons. The honourable firm of jewellers employed by the Eustace family, Messrs Garnett, must be Garrard, the Crown Jeweller, and the dishonest firm, prepared in extremity to receive stolen goods, is named Harter & Benjamin, on whose identity it is best not to speculate. Howell & James are introduced as suppliers of fashionable wedding gifts. Lurking in the background is a question of compensating the 'Sawab of Mygawb', presumably the Maharajah Duleep Singh, an echo of the Koh-i-noor acquisition. Legal wrangling over the definition of heirlooms bears more than a hint of the Hanoverian Claim (see p. 52), and at one point Trollope remarks on 'this grand necklace affair', a clear reference to the 'affair of the necklace' that ensnared Marie-Antoinette in the eighteenth century. Henry Vizetelly's popular book *The Story of the Diamond Necklace* had been published in 1867, shortly before Trollope began work on *The Eustace Diamonds* in 1868. The plot is resolved by a burglary, disposing of the diamond necklace, which is never seen again.

The prominent jeweller Charles F. Hancock is quite recognizable as the egregious Mr Ruby in Benjamin Disraeli's *Lothair* (1871). Mrs Disraeli frequented Hancock's shop and her husband may have been repaying Hancock for luring his wife into extravagance. Hancock is portrayed – or rather lampooned – rubbing his hands with glee as he leads the hero into more expensive purchases than he had intended. *Lothair* was a best-seller partly on account of the high society subject-matter. A *roman-à-clef*, its plot is a thinly veiled account of the sensational conversion in 1864 to Roman Catholicism of the young and fabulously wealthy Marquess of Bute. Hancock styled himself 'Successor to Storr & Mortimer', the firm Dickens names in the ambitious parade of Merdle wealth in *Little Dorrit* and which Charlotte Yonge holds up as the tempter of weak and dissipated young men in *Heartsease*, an interesting parallel with Mr Ruby in *Lothair*. Such digs did little to harm Hancock, with his aristocratic customers and the patronage from nearly all the royal houses of Europe.

Jewel symbolism in Victorian painting

The jewels in Victorian genre painting, often overlooked in studies of Victorian art, are used to convey messages to their audience. The examples given here demonstrate their pivotal role in character definition and storytelling. The *vanitas* tradition, still surviving in the Victorian period, employed jewels to signify the folly of worldly desires. The subject of Lilly Martin Spencer's *We Both Must Fade* of 1869 is a young woman in a blue dress trimmed with lace holding a rose in bloom that is doomed to fade, unlike the jewels that her hand just touches (Fig. 135). An important American genre painter in the mid-century, Lilly Spencer, whose work was widely circulated in prints, appealed to an emerging female leisured class with a

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We Both Must Fade (Mrs Fithian),
by Lilly Martin Spencer (1822–1902).
Oil on canvas, 1869. Washington DC,
National Museum of American Art,
Smithsonian Institution

The flowers that will fade are contrasted with the jewels that will survive the loss of beauty and the death of the young woman in her finery. Jewellery was frequently used in fiction as a convenient metaphor for worldliness and extravagance, but in paintings exterior signs of wealth often include lace, as here, and expensive fans and other accessories.



taste for sentimental nostalgia mixed with humour. The subjects were enjoyed for their accurate depiction of a bourgeois domestic world and its aspirations.

The painting dates from a time when the American luxury market was in its earliest development. Consumerism had been brought to an abrupt halt by the Civil War and its aftermath, and was slow to recover. Popular fiction was expected to be uplifting, with the contrast between vanity and modesty still strongly promoted and with many plots implying criticism of consumption and worldly values. In 1860 the *American Lady's Home Magazine* carried a story entitled 'Rich and Rare Were the Gems She Wore', in which the beautiful, gem-laden Miss Helen Harvey is contrasted with the modest, unassuming Miss Mary Gardiner, who wears only a simple cameo in a pearl setting and is disdained by Miss Harvey. The cost of the Harvey diamonds, more than \$2,000, is compared with the 'real gems, rich and rare' which are the pious thoughts, beyond price, of Miss Gardiner. Miss Harvey, the narrator insists, has 'no jewels in her soul'.⁸⁹

Jewels are also 'bonds': according to Madame de Barrera the Romans considered a bracelet as 'a token of slavery'.⁹⁰ Mrs Walker, in *Female Beauty* (1837), believed that everything

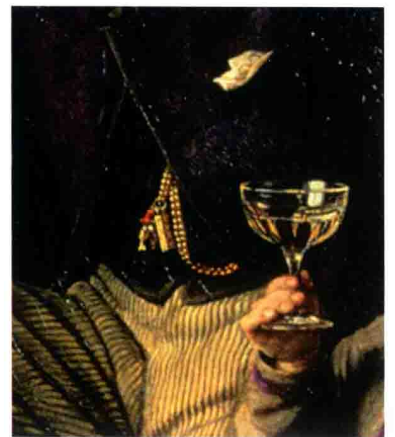
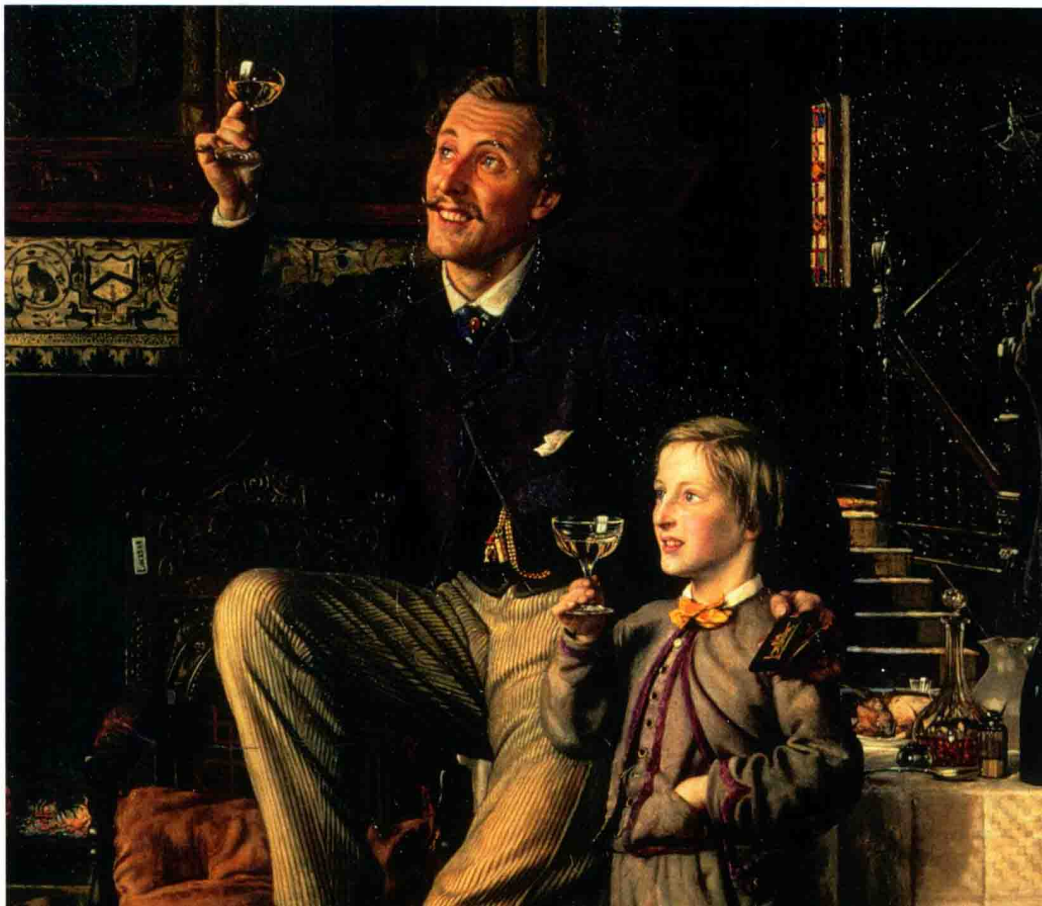
belonging to women, particularly jewellery, 'bears the mark of slavery imposed by a conqueror'.⁹¹ This visual metaphor appears in Augustus Egg's 1858 morality painting *Past and Present*, a subject so laden with meaning that it reads like a three-decker novel (Fig. 136). The scene shows the moment when a wife's infidelity is discovered by her husband. Almost every detail in the picture contributes to the narrative; the husband grinds an image of his wife's paramour under his foot and flourishes the evidence – a letter – in his right hand. On the left two young daughters are playing with a house of cards that has collapsed. An apple with a rotten core lies discarded on the carpet. The only jewels visibly worn by the wife, gold bracelets, presumably once treasured offerings of marital love, have now turned to fetters or handcuffs, instruments of imprisonment. The conclusion of the story, pictured in two separate scenes, shows the destruction of the family: the father has died and the guilty wife is huddled underneath a bridge contemplating suicide by drowning. In *David Copperfield* (1849–50), Dickens employs the same imagery, but for the opposite effect: Miss Murdstone, Dora Copperfield's sinister companion-gaoler, wears 'little fetters on her wrists and round her neck'; earlier these are described as 'little steel fetters and rivets'.⁹² Miss Murdstone's 'steel fetters' are a manifestation of her role as a kind of prison wardress, first to David then to Dora.

Almost contemporary with Egg's moral tale, R.B. Martineau's *Last Day in the Old Home* of 1862 is about money (Fig. 137). Here retribution comes in the form of bankruptcy. The husband has brought his family to destitution and the loss of the ancestral home through racing and gambling. Again, every detail of the scene contributes to the poignant narrative, particularly in the division of the protagonists: on one side the father with the son he has already corrupted and on the other his sorrowing womenfolk, mother, wife and daughter. The opulence of the husband's personal ornaments, watch-chain, pin with a large cabochon gemstone and rings on each hand, contrasts with the simple earrings worn by his wife. The trinkets



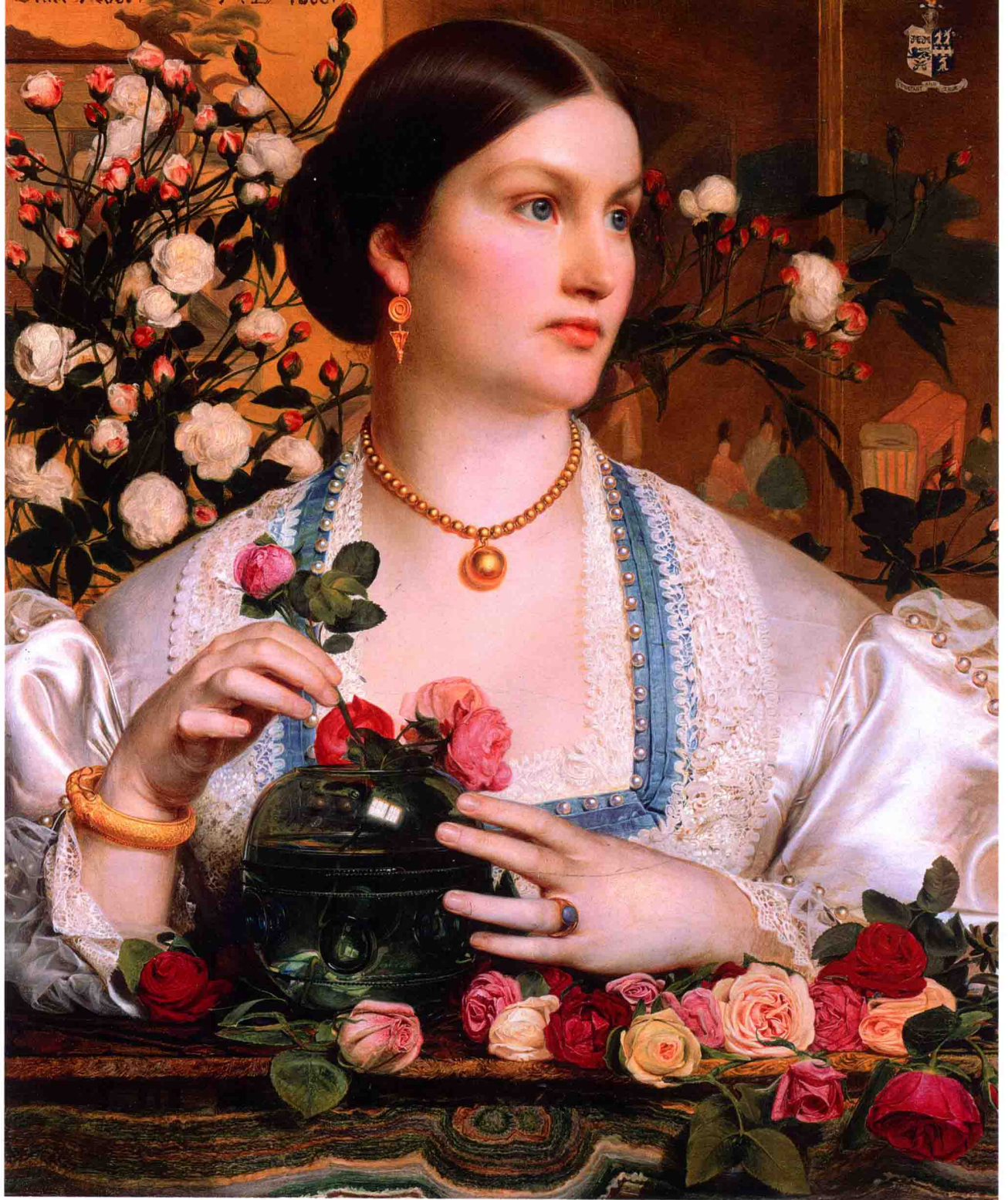
136
Past and Present (detail), by Augustus Egg (1816–63). Oil on canvas, 1858. London, Tate

This detail, with a woman's bracelets represented as manacles or fetters – the symbolic chains of marriage – comes from the first episode in a trilogy of paintings showing the discovery of a wife's adultery and the subsequent destruction of the family. Sordid modern-life subjects shocked a public schooled to expect art to be elevating and spiritual.



137 A & B
The Last Day in the Old Home (details), by Robert Martineau (1826–69). Oil on canvas, 1862. London, Tate

These two details show the father drinking with his son, and his waistcoat chain with a carved coral hand (a 'higa' or amulet) and other gold 'good luck' charms, including an articulated fish.



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Portrait of Grace Rose, by Frederick Sandys (1829–1904). Oil on panel, 1866. New Haven (CT), Yale Center for British Art

Grace Rose, embowered in her namesake roses in pink, yellow and white, is seated in front of a fashionable Japanese painted gold-ground screen. Commentators, Mrs Haweis among them, deplored such revealing low-cut necklines.

on the watch-chain are indicative of his fecklessness and extravagance. They comprise a gold vesta-case for matches, a gold pencil case, an articulated gold fish and a coral charm in the form of a 'higa' (worn in Mediterranean countries as a charm to ward off the evil eye) for 'good luck'. In his hand he flourishes a betting book with a race-horse on the cover. The evidence, picked out in tiny details, points to a man beyond redemption

Portraits, too, can be full of metaphor, as Frederick Sandys's treatment of his sitters clearly demonstrates. His 1866 portrait of Grace, Lady Rose adds elements of autobiography (Fig. 138). The 'keeper' ring above her wedding ring on the fourth finger of her left hand is set with an unusually fine and large turquoise for true love, a stone possessed of great



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Portrait of a Lady (possibly Florence Emily, Lady Hesketh), by F. Sandys. Coloured chalk drawing on blue paper, late 1870s. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

As is often the case with Sandys's portraits, the sitter is laden with jewels. The repetition of the snake motif is interesting and may refer to the Medusa-like, abundant curling hair. Snake jewels were admired by the Victorians for the sophistication of the techniques used to make the bodies fully flexible. They do not always bear the meanings of danger, duplicity and disloyalty attributed to them by historians.

talismanic powers as a protection against the forces of evil. The bracelet is Indian; her father, an army man, was stationed in Madras. The fashion for cultivated eclecticism is further illustrated by the necklace, which is loosely 'antique' in inspiration; the earrings are also in the archaeological style, but not from a recognizable antique type. So-called 'Etruscan' jewels were sold by firms like Hancock and Edwin Streeter. Her square-cut *décolleté* neckline is rimmed with pearls. The portrait is also about flowers and their language. Grace Rose is surrounded by her namesake flowers, signifying 'love' and 'beauty', with the combined white and red roses meaning 'unity'. As roses can also mean 'today we bloom, tomorrow we die' or 'the sufferings of love', the language of flowers must be approached with caution, but in this case the motto 'Constant and True' on the coat of arms suggests that the first meaning is intended here. The inclusion of the coat of arms strays into the realms of family and lineage. Marriage has brought these advantages as well as love.

In a half-length 'fancy' portrait from the late 1870s, Sandys shows a young woman wearing fashionable jewels including a large locket on an ornamental chain, fixing an azalea into her abundant loose hair and posed against a background of azalea blossoms (Fig. 139). Her dress in the revived style of the 1770s has a low square neck edged with ruffles. 'Azalea' stands

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The Children's Holiday: Portrait of Mrs Thomas Fairbairn and her children, by William Holman Hunt (1827–1910). Oil on canvas, 1864–5. Torquay, Devon, Torre Abbey

This portrait, commissioned by Hunt's patron Thomas Fairbairn, shows Fairbairn's wife wearing the brooch and earrings from a set of coral and gold jewellery made to his order by Robert Phillips. Phillips, a leading importer of coral, was awarded the Order of the Crown of Italy by the King of Naples for his services to the coral trade in 1870.



for 'temperance' but the unloosed hair and fashionable snake bracelet may indicate an alternative reading of 'danger'. Sandys frequently frames his sitters in highly charged floral decoration, but it is the snake, attribute of Medusa and also of Eve in the Garden of Eden, that is prominent here. Another serpent emerges from behind a slim bracelet with a little purse charm locket, probably enclosing a secret compartment. Yet another coils round the arrow bar brooch at her breast. The snake was a favourite choice for betrothal rings as a traditional symbol of eternity. Like Violet in *Heartsease*, the Victorians admired the technical skill required to make a snake jewel flexible throughout its length and to imitate the markings in gems or enamel.

William Holman Hunt's *The Children's Holiday* operates on several levels of jewel imagery (Fig. 140). It was commissioned in the summer of 1864 by Hunt's friend Thomas Fairbairn, a wealthy iron-founder, collector and patron and chairman of the 1857 Manchester Art

Treasures Exhibition.⁹³ For *The Children's Holiday* Allison Fairbairn and five of her children posed in the grounds of their country house, Burton Park in Sussex. Mrs Fairbairn is wearing a coral and gold 'Etruscan'-style brooch and earrings from a set that also included a bracelet from Phillips, shown subsequently at the London 1862 International Exhibition.⁹⁴

Coral was much more highly prized by the Victorians than it is now, and it was regarded as suitable for daywear, an extraordinarily tricky area of jewel etiquette. Mrs Fairbairn dominates the group, but the vignette in the lower left corner hints at complex moral issues involved in owning and wearing jewellery. The two little girls are making necklaces from fruits and hips. The brilliantly red rose hips being clasped round the neck of the younger child deliberately echo the prized dark red colour of the coral. Hunt's admiration for John Ruskin, and his inherent attraction to moralizing narratives, would explain his insistence on the value of nature's own ornaments.

Even early in the nineteenth century there was a certain self-conscious archaism in the language of sentiment, particularly in the use of flower language, which by the 1880s had largely disappeared from sentimental exchange. In his monumental two-volume study of *Flowers and Flower Lore* (1883), the Rev. Hilderic Friend dismisses the language of flowers and the large number of popular publications on the subject. For him, it had no place in the scholarly investigation of ancient superstitions and practices. Painted the following year, G.D. Leslie's *The Language of Flowers* (1884), features girls dressed in Regency revival costume (Fig. 141). They are consulting a venerable volume to decode the flowers' meanings. Leslie's painting coincided with the publication of Kate Greenaway's *Illuminated Language of Flowers* (1884), which invested a subject no longer of vital relevance to modern life with a quaint old-fashioned appeal.



141
The Language of Flowers,
 by George Dunlop Leslie
 (1835–1921). Oil on
 canvas, 1885.
 Manchester Art Gallery

Two girls in a fashionable version of Regency costume consult an old volume for flower meanings, the implication being that a once universal familiarity with flower language has been lost.



THE CULT OF NOVELTY



Maison de la Reine

5 THE CULT OF NOVELTY

NOVELTY' jewellery was a term used at the time in both jewellers' trade catalogues and in fashion and ladies' periodicals. The novelties, most of them relatively inexpensive, have tended to be dismissed as mere curiosities, and in one sense they are, but underlying many are the concerns and preoccupations that dominated social and cultural discourse. A simple 'date' jewel might mark a birthday, engagement or wedding (Fig. 142), but there was in many instances a message for both wearer and beholder. Some were obvious puns; others were so personal that their meanings are unintelligible today. But above all they represent an element of individual choice as opposed to the conventional gifts for bridesmaids or the prescribed etiquette of mourning wear. For both men and women they were the perfect dinner party joke – a battery-powered electric jewel that could be switched on and off at the touch of a button – or conversation piece, whether a bracelet made of the new Parian porcelain in imitation of marble, a stud or brooch in the form of a £10 banknote or the new 'penny lilac' stamp brought out in 1881, or the front page from the *Daily News*, perhaps the equivalent of today's 'birthday' newspaper.¹ Topical events, successes of the stage, popular lyrics: all are mirrored in ornaments intended to delight, amuse or startle. Many may have been created with a youthful audience in mind. 'Old China' jewellery in enamelled silver or gold had been popular since the late 1870s, reflecting the taste for old English ceramics as much as the craze for oriental blue and white porcelain; usually the brooches or earrings were round or oval (Fig. 144).² In 1885 Vaughton & Sons of Birmingham brought out a new line: 'To make the plate more realistic', wrote the *Jeweller and Metalworker*, 'at various portions of it there are imitation chips'.³ The young Isabella Harlock in her portrait by Joseph Southall seems to be wearing one of these: the tightly buttoned brown velvet collar of her jacket is set off by a brooch in the form of a willow-pattern plate with uneven edges. The painting is dated 1888 (Fig. 143).

GOODS.—REGENT HOUSE, 228, 230, and 232, REGENT-STREET; 30 and 37, ARGYLL-STREET, W. FINE, 96. Send three (not less) with cash. Returned ready for use, carriage paid.—B. FORD and CO., 41, FORTY, LONDON.

NOVELTIES IN JEWELLERY.

1889
Gold Wire 1889 Bracelet, 21s.
Best quality, 35s. Silver, 10s. 6d.

1889
Best Gold and fine Oriental Pearls or Pearls & Corals, 22 2s.

1889
Best Gold and fine Oriental Pearls, 42s.
Diamonds, 26 15s.

THE "1889" JEWELLERY.
The "Date" Jewellery has rapidly risen into a front place in public favour on account of its extreme suitability in marking social events, such as Birthdays, Engagements, Weddings, &c.

1889
Best Gold and fine Oriental Pearls, 50s.

"Half West-End Prices."—Vide Court Circular.
Prices very different from those charged west of Temple Bar.—Whitehall Review.

1889
Gold Wire 1889 Brooch.
Best quality, 21s.
Second quality, 12s. 6d., Silver, 5s.

1889
Best Gold and fine Oriental Pearls, 45s.

1889
Best Gold and fine Oriental Pearls, 42s.

Illustrated Catalogue of Novelties POST-FREE.

OLD GOLD AND SILVER TAKEN IN EXCHANGE.

1889
Best Gold and fine Oriental Pearls, 28s. Diamonds, 25 5s.

1889
Gold 1889 Pencil Bracelet, £2 2s.

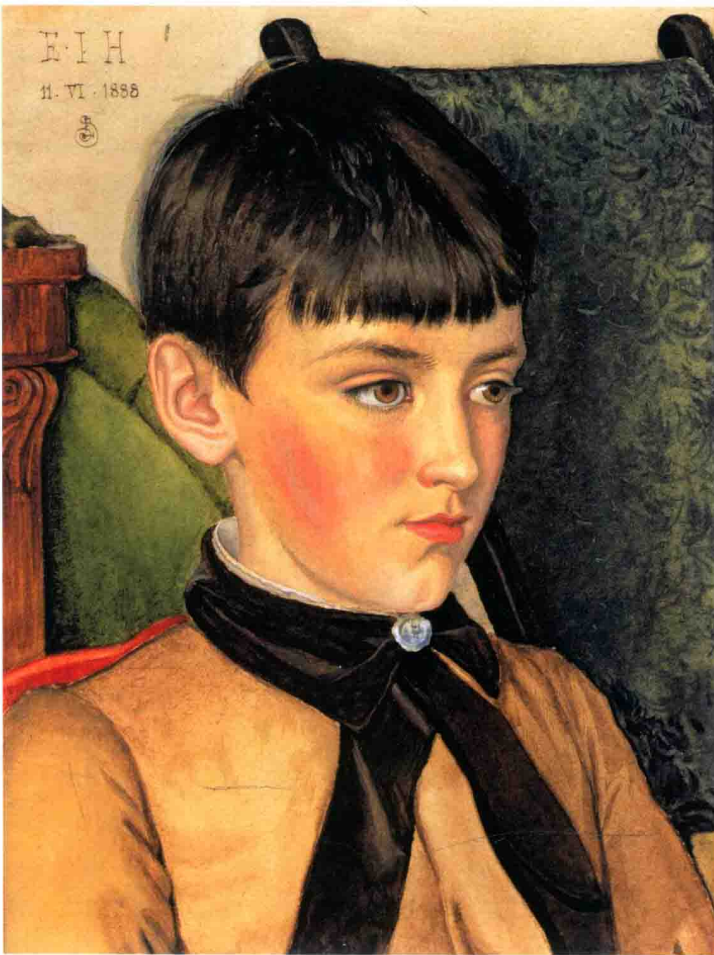
1889
Best Gold and fine Oriental Pearls, 42s.

GODWIN & SON, 304, HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON.
(Immediately opposite FIRST AVENUE HOTEL) ESTD. 1801.

142
'1889' novelty jewels. Advertisement for 'date' jewels offered by Godwin & Sons of High Holborn. From *Illustrated London News*, 6 July 1889, p. 32

The simplest are made out of gold or silver wire, others are set with diamonds or pearls. The prices ranged from £6 15s for a gold and diamond bracelet to 5s for a silver brooch, which could also be had in best-quality gold (presumably 18 ct) for 21s and in second-quality (probably 12 or 9 ct) for 12s 6d. The idea for 'date' jewels may derive from jewelled and enamelled 'date' souvenirs of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee two years earlier.

Previous pages: left, detail of bee brooch (see Fig. 176a); right, fanciful fashion plate (see Fig. 147)



The Southall portrait provides evidence that inexpensive enamelled novelties of this kind were worn by the educated middle classes who could afford to commission portraits. It has often been assumed that novelty jewellery, because it was frequently inexpensive, was a purely middle-class taste. Nothing could be further from the truth. The fashion started at court: as a thank-you present to the Queen on his birthday in 1842 Prince Albert chose a gold bracelet with a spider pursuing a fly on the band, inspired by the popular poem-cum-nursery rhyme 'The Spider and the Fly', written by Mary Howitt in 1828. On their birthdays the members of the royal family always gave trifles or modest souvenirs as an acknowledgement of the gifts they received.⁴ The Prince of Wales too favoured spider and fly jewels.⁵ The theme was subsequently adapted around 1880 as a popular matching suite entitled 'YE SPIDER AND YE FLIE' by the Birmingham firm of J.J. Wainwright. With eccentrically placed roundels containing the title and raised gold parts on oxidized silver backgrounds, these are typical examples of Birmingham jewellery imitating Japanese mixed-metal work for an English market.⁶ (Figs 145, 146)

Many of these popular novelties were ordered by the royal family through the crown jeweller some time before they became commonplace in the trade. In 1865 the Princess of Wales ordered an artist's palette brooch with gemstones for the paint colours for £13 10s. A popular novelty item, its message is 'harmony'. This is an early date for this sort of jewel, more usually found in the 1880s (see Fig. 110). The Prince of Wales's ledger at Garrard's is peppered with purchases of insect jewels and pins with popular catchphrases of the day.

143 Above left
Portrait of Isabella Harlock, by Joseph Southall (1861–1944). Watercolour, 1888. London Fine Art Society

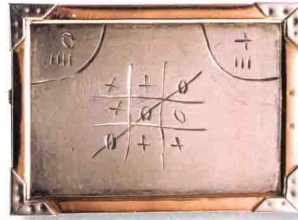
The young sitter wears an 'Old China' willow-pattern brooch, probably one of the novelties introduced by Vaughton & Sons of Birmingham, with 'chipped' edges to make the plate more realistic.

144 Above
Banknotes, stamps and china plates: enamelled silver and metal novelty jewels. English, 1875–85. H. of stamp brooch 2.7 cm. Glasgow Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Hull Grundy Gift
The design for the £10 banknote brooch was registered in 1877. The stamp brooch commemorates the issue of the new Penny Lilac in 1881. The earrings imitate willow-pattern plates, reflecting the craze among 'chinamaniacs' for old English china as much as oriental blue and white.

145 Right

Birmingham novelty jewels. English, about 1880. L. of spider and fly brooch 4.2 cm. Norwich Castle Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Top: brooch engraved with a game of noughts and crosses set in a gold frame. *Centre:* a silver spider and fly brooch, with raised gold frame and the remains of oxidization on the silver, the top left corner folded over like the page of a book (see Fig. 270). *Below:* enamelled silver brooch with a page from *Punch* advertising the *Almanack* for 1879 (actually the cover page design for 1878).

**146 Far right**

'YE SPIDER AND YE FLIE' jewellery. Page from the trade catalogue of Wainwright & Co., Birmingham, about 1880. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

The 'spider and fly set' is made of oxidized silver with raised gold parts. It appears in the Representations of Registered Designs for November 1880. Above are a silver snake coil bangle and an engraved bangle in the Japanese taste.



NOVELTIES

STERLING SILVER BRACELETS
DRAWS THREE-QUARTER SIZE. QUALITY GUARANTEED

No. 7728 ... £1 0 0
Two Coil ... 0 15 0
One Coil ... 0 9 0
Snake Coil Bangle

No. 7750 ... £1 6 0
Large size ... 1 15 0
Small ... 0 15 0
Beautifully Engraved

THE LATEST NOVELTY
"YE SPIDER AND YE FLIE" JEWELLERY

No. 9149

Brooch ... £0 11 6

Earrings ... £0 13 6

Locket ... £1 4 6

Bracelet ... £2 8 6

Leather Case, to hold ... complete suite, 3/8 extra

The above are made in Silver, with raised Gold parts, the background Oxidized, with raised Silver Spider and Gold "Flie," which have a very natural and charming effect.

J. J. WAINWRIGHT & Co., Cambridge Street Buildings, Birmingham

He ordered affectionate gifts for his wife with messages of love contained in the choice of stones (see p. 159) alongside motto jewels hinting at the *doubles-entendres* much-loved by the Victorian public – and a staple of music-hall humour (see pp. 214–15). Some – ‘wait a bit’ or ‘out for the night’ – are not easy to interpret and may have been personal messages that had meaning only for the intended recipient. The Prince of Wales’s taste for jewels with messages and mottoes was certainly inspired by the French; he loved Paris and the Parisian culture of modish decadence and it is significant that these orders tail off very abruptly with the fall of Napoléon’s Empire. But throughout the 1860s and early 1870s, when he was a young man in his twenties, the items in his ledger at Garrard’s cover all the themes in this section, whether novel materials such as aluminium and platinum, sporting jewels or propelling pencils and other new inventions.⁷

The royal family also promoted the use of photography in jewellery. This is treated elsewhere (see p. 45), in the context of miniature photographs for use in sentimental jewellery. The idea spawned a whole series of photographic novelties. In June 1865 *The Times* advertised ‘The Crystal Cube Binocular Locket’, available from two guineas from the Casket Portrait Company, 40 Charing-Cross. This was probably a type of Stanhope, a miniature binocular or monocular through which prints or photographs could be seen, named after Charles Stanhope who created the convex lens that made it possible to see tiny images. The lens consisted of a glass rod, one-tenth of an inch in diameter, with one convex end acting as a magnifying lens for the photographs on its inner surface. The tiny image might depict souvenir views such as the White House or the Chicago World’s Fair, or the Lord’s Prayer.⁸

Photography quickly took hold of the public imagination. A fashion plate from *Les Modes parisiennes* of 1864–5, itself probably a parody of a fancy-dress costume, depicts ‘photography’ wearing a hat in the form of a camera with reflective cloth as a veil, her dress decorated with large oval portrait photographs and a row of smaller ones round the hem. She holds a fan, each leaf of which bears a photograph (Fig. 147).⁹ Two such fans survive in the Royal Collection. One was probably commissioned by Queen Victoria as a wedding gift for Princess Alice in 1861; it has ten hand-coloured photographic portraits of members of the royal family on the guards. The second was given to the Princess of Wales on her birthday in 1871 and is decorated with photographs of her children (Fig. 148).¹⁰

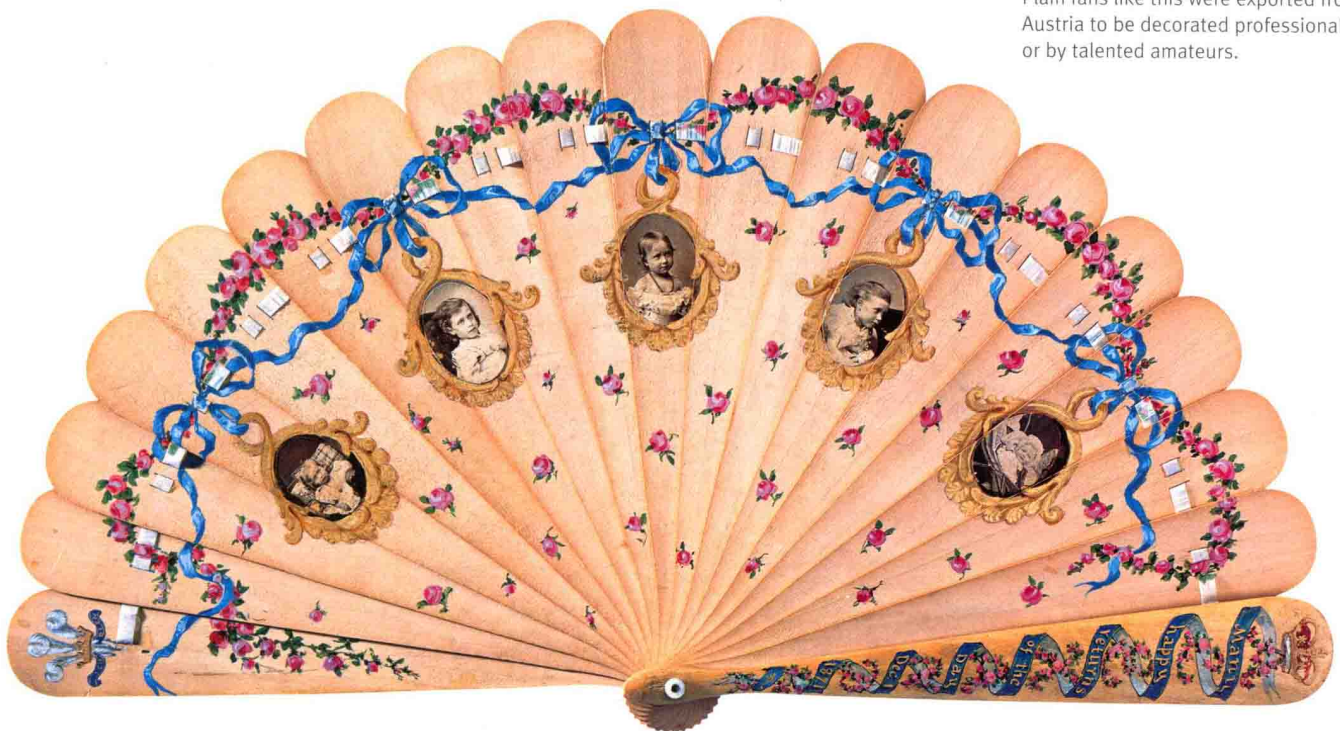
The development of novelty jewellery aimed at a wide market depended on the mechanization of the trade, which had been developing since the late eighteenth century. In 1872 Streeter advertised his ‘18-carat gold and gem jewellery, by machinery, secures accuracy of finish of every part, greater durability, and a saving to the purchaser of one-third of the price charged for hand-made articles’.¹¹ Streeter used die-stamped parts to save the labour of cutting out the parts by hand. Cutting a new die was expensive and was only worthwhile if significant quantities were to be made. For a one-off commission to make a necklace for Lady Layard that required new dies, Robert Phillips charged his client (see Fig. 416). Overall the trade was much less mechanized than is generally assumed.¹² Contrary to general perception no piece of jewellery was entirely made by machine. Chain-making machines introduced in the 1850s increased the speed of production for chains of uniform links, but they still had to be finished by hand. At the 1872 Exhibition in London, T. & J. Bragg of Birmingham displayed the various processes of manufacture; two of their demonstration sets were acquired by the South Kensington Museum in 1875, one for a handmade locket, the other for a machine-made brooch. Both items have almost the same number of parts, about twelve, and in each case the parts were assembled by hand. The only difference was that the brooch parts were die-stamped.¹³ The same methods were applied to imitation jewellery in gold and silver substitutes.



147 Above
Fanciful fashion plate with photographic and military motifs. French, by Lacouture (?), from *Les Modes parisiennes*, 1864–5 (see also p. 189)

The costume on the left, in red, white and blue, is inspired by French army uniform. The ‘photograph dress’ with a camera is a joke, but fans with miniature photographs like the one shown here were much in vogue.

148 Below
Princess Alexandra’s photographic fan. Albumen print photographs on wood sticks. Austrian, decorated in England, 1871. L. of guard 23.2 cm. Royal Collection
Plain fans like this were exported from Austria to be decorated professionally, or by talented amateurs.



Imitation jewellery, far from being spurned by those who could afford the real thing, was lapped up precisely because it was cheap enough to allow a change of ornament at will. This is spelt out in no uncertain terms in the *Ladies' Gazette of Fashion* for 1879, informing its readers of the latest gold substitute, Oroide, which combined low prices with high-quality workmanship, and most important, artistic design:

One of the severest tests of refined taste is the accordance of the ornaments with the dress; and jewellery, being sure to attract so much attention, takes first rank among these. It would be manifestly impossible to purchase a 30 or 40 guinea *parure* of certain design simply because it would correspond so exactly with 'this costume' or 'that dinner-dress'. Therefore it is that our *richest* and *grandest* ladies do not disdain to wear these *bijoux de fantaisie* of less expensive metal.¹⁴

The *Art-Journal* too found both the quality and the difference in price of imitations remarkable, going so far as to describe the display of John Jeffreys at the Workmen's International Exhibition in London in 1870 as 'by far the most attractive contribution' in the 'Ornamental Metalwork' section:

They are positively marvellous: it is impossible, without minute inspection, to distinguish the mock from the real – with reference either to the imitated jewels or the imitated gold in which they are set. It seems only in idea that the one is more valuable than the other; yet the one is charged for in pennies while the prices of the other are in pounds – the real being 240 times the worth of the imitations. . . . We defy any casual observer to take up one of the emeralds or opals and believe that he may be its possessor for a few shillings: he might wear one of the rings or the shirt-studs with confidence, in the assurance that detection is impossible without submitting the article to the usual tests.¹⁵

The prices at the lower end were astonishingly low. In December 1877 the Steinau Jewelry Company of Cincinnati advertised their 'Imperial casket', a ten-piece ensemble in imitation gold, for one dollar (Fig. 149). The advertisement was aimed at the trade, mentioning their new catalogue and instructions on how to become agents, and so the retail price would have been more.¹⁶ Wholesale costs must have been so minimal that magazines could offer a jewel casket as a free gift as part of the subscription. In January 1884, *Godey's Lady's Book* offered a six-piece jewel box for a year's subscription to two papers: *The Fireside at Home* and *The Rural Home Journal*. 'The Victoria Jewel Casket Sent Free to all' ran the advertisement; the detailed descriptions reveal something approaching the lowest level that might pass as 'real'. Throughout the advertisement, repeated emphasis is placed on the durability and long-lasting qualities of these trinkets:

1. The Golden Floral necklace, something entirely new; just imported from Paris, consisting of a beautiful necklace of Florentine beads, in three colours, to which is attached a pendant or charm of artificial flowers. 2. Gentleman's Filigree Vest Chain. This handsome gent's watch-chain is composed of an infinite number of

fine gold-plated threads, artistically woven together to form the beautiful pattern. Two dainty slides add to its beauty, and a handsome tassel is attached in lieu of a pocket or charm. 3. Pair of ruby bracelets, very handsome and stylish, made of the popular material called Ruby, with dainty bangle attached; will last a lifetime. 4. Pair of Onyx Sleeve Buttons, fine onyx stones in good gold plate settings, warranted to wear and suitable for a lady or gentleman. 5. Handsome Jet and Gold-Plated Breast-Pin, of a very beautiful oblong or bar pattern, composed of jet with fine gold-plated mountings and ornamented with pearls; warranted durable. 6. Ladies' or Girls' Finger-Ring, of imitation carnelian, with gold-plated top or name-plate; will last a lifetime. Remember we send all the above securely packed in a handsome casket, by mail, post paid.

Imitation jewellery was a novelty that women could buy for themselves, and it satisfied the need for daytime ornaments to be worn when visiting friends, in the company of other women, or for other informal occasions. In 1869, the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* declared well-made imitation gold jewellery to 'leave nothing to be desired for every-day wear. These bracelets are suitable for wearing at theatres, or paying calls, and for home evening use'.¹⁷ Describing something as an 'ornament' indicated that it was for daytime wear. 'Jewellery'

THE STEINAU JEWELRY CO.'S FOR ONE DOLLAR! IMPERIAL CASKET.
And New Illustrated Catalogue, with instructions how to become Agents.



Our Imperial Casket contains one pair of Lady's Bracelets, one Roman Neck Chain and Locket, one set of Studs, one pair of Sleeve Buttons, one Lady's Set (Ear-rings and Pin), one Seal Ring, one engraved "Friendship" Ring, one Plain Ring, one embossed Collar Button; all of which are the finest gold-plate, warranted to stand the test of solid gold, and exactly as represented by the engravings in this announcement. On receipt of One Dollar we will send this grand array of elegant Jewelry, securely packed in a beautiful morocco casket, postpaid, to any address. Our illustrated catalogue accompanies every casket free.

"Having one of the Imperial Caskets in our possession, we must say, that, while the articles are not sold gold, they are beautiful imitations and very pretty, each particular piece being equally as good as are sold in the city jewelry stores."—EDITORS' HOME AND FARM.

"An honorable house, entitled to the confidence of their patrons."—EDITOR CHRISTIAN WORLD.

"We endorse the high order of respectability attached to the Steinau Jewelry Co."—ED. BOSTON GLOBE.

"To assure our patrons of our responsibility, we refer to any reliable business house in Cincinnati, and by permission to the commercial agency of Tappan, McKillop and Co." Mail all orders to

STEINAU JEWELRY COMPANY, No. 5 Arcade, CINCINNATI, O.

Ladies Floral Cabinet / Dec 1877

149

The 'one dollar' jewel casket. Advertisement by the Steinau Jewelry Company, Cincinnati, from the *Ladies' Floral Cabinet*, December 1877. New York Public Library

The ten items in imitation gold comprised a pair of ladies' bracelets, a "Roman" neck chain and locket, a set of studs, a pair of sleeve buttons, a brooch, earrings to match, a seal ring, a ring engraved 'Friendship', a plain ring, and an embossed collar button.

usually indicated evening wear.¹⁸ *The Queen* made a distinction between 'ornaments' and 'jewellery'; in its exchange columns there were separate headings for each. The division was not strictly adhered to, but in general 'jewellery' meant real gold and real stones or pearls, while 'ornaments' included imitation gold and paste, as well as cut-steel, carved ivory, coral, silver filigree, pebble jewellery, jet, bog oak and Berlin ironwork.

The following account brings together information from many sources across Europe and America: surviving jewels, registered designs housed in the National Archives (Public Record Office) in London, notices in the various trade journals, jewellers' archives, newspapers and the many art and fashion magazines. Correlating information from more than one of these sources simultaneously demonstrates the immediate impact of current events, scientific inventions or popular songs on the wearing of topical jewellery. In Britain alone there is a wealth of magazines describing what was worn at different levels of society throughout the nineteenth century, not to mention several manuals on the art of dress. The *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* ran from 1852 to 1881, *The Queen* from 1861. Periodicals such as the *Art-Journal* and the *Journal of the Society of Arts* began in 1849 and 1852 respectively and tended to promote individual designers or the London firms catering for fashionable society or the artistic avant-garde. It was not until the 1870s, however, that the two main trade journals were launched, revealing what was being made for the mass market in the Birmingham manufactories, both in gold and silver, and their imitations: the *Jeweller and Metalworker* ran from 1873, while the *Watchmaker, Jeweller and Silversmith's Trade Journal* started in 1875. On yet another level, the secondary market in swapping jewellery is chronicled by magazines such as *Exchange and Mart* from 1868, renamed *Bazaar, Exchange and Mart* in 1871, and also by *The Queen*. Often the items offered in exchange were not jewellery at all. In America, the Philadelphia-based *Godey's Lady's Book*, an exception in starting much earlier, ran from 1830 to 1898, while the New York magazine *Harper's Bazaar* ran from 1867, and the standard American trade journal, *Jewelers' Circular*, began in 1869. For this reason, the examples below are taken for the most part from the last four decades of the nineteenth century. The dissemination of fashions through such magazines, combined with the development of manufacturing methods and materials that made jewellery commercially accessible, helped to make novelty jewellery one of the most widespread categories for sale in the nineteenth century.

The extraordinary range of novelty jewellery encompasses so many aspects of life that to treat all of them would be beyond the scope of this book. Many such pieces could be viewed from different angles; we have tried to choose groupings that best elucidate what prompted their creation. In explaining how they came about, much is revealed not only about the workings of the trade, and the protecting of new designs or technical inventions, but also about social attitudes in different echelons of society.

WHAT THE PAPERS SAY: JEWELLERY AND TOPICAL EVENTS

Studs are still made in quaint devices, and there is surely something out of the common among these. Who would imagine that the visit of the Prince to Egypt would make it *la mode* to wear the Sphinx on wrist and collar? Yet it is so, and the Sphinx' head is to be seen on earrings as well as studs. We shall have the pyramids for brooches soon, no doubt. (Fig. 150)

So wrote the 'Silkworm', the fashion correspondent for the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, in April 1869.¹ The Prince and Princess of Wales had just completed a two-month tour of Egypt in February and March, which was reported at length in *The Times*.² Most novelty jewellery sparked by topical events can be correlated almost to the month with newspaper reports. Events of international import, such as the laying of the first Atlantic cable, had a profound effect on people's lives; others, relating to Britain's exploits abroad, provided scope for jewels indicating that their wearers were up-to-date, well-informed and patriotic.

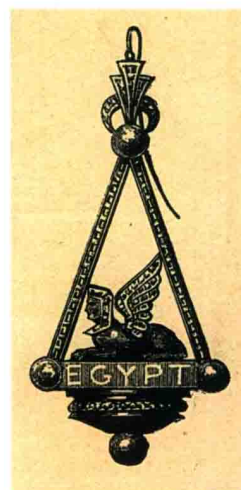
The first cable across the Atlantic, laid by Cyrus Field in 1858, enabled the first transatlantic message to be sent by Queen Victoria to the American President on 28 August. The whole process took some five months and was reported in detail in the illustrated press, so that when Tiffany & Co. began selling samples immediately after the landing of the cable in America in the first week of August, everyone would have known what it looked like. Other companies were soon offering charms and souvenirs: the New York jewellers Ball, Black & Co. placed an advertisement in *Harper's Weekly* for 24 August 1858, which read:

GENUINE ATLANTIC CABLE

Ball, Black & Co. 247 Broadway, take pleasure in informing their friends and the public that they have secured a sufficient quantity of the Atlantic Cable to supply all demands, and in order that every one may receive a souvenir of this – the most remarkable event of the age – and so that it shall not be cumbersome, we have mounted it up to be worn as charms or watch keys.³

The samples, thin slices of cable, were mounted in brass for 15 cents each, silver for 50 cents and in gold from \$1.50 to \$5, or set into a dark material such as gutta-percha to form pendants, earrings, and so on (Figs 151, 152). In 1858 Emma Dent of Sudeley Castle in Gloucestershire was given a piece of cable set as a locket, 'the wires looking like inlaid gold and steel'.⁴ The 1858 cable failed completely within a month, and it was not till 1866, after another failed attempt in 1865, that Europe and America were permanently connected.

Atlantic cable souvenirs have survived, but other novelties are so ephemeral that we know of them only through contemporary documentation. In 1868 Messrs Pyke of Clerkenwell introduced their 'Abyssinian Gold', advertised in *The Jeweller and Fancy Trades Advertiser* for June 1868 as 'a new homogeneous metal combination of one colour throughout, with the appearance of 12 carat gold'. This was no exotic import from Ethiopia, but a romantic name for one of the many alloys imitating gold that enabled a vast range of cheap jewellery (see pp. 205–6). It is surely no coincidence that the great gold crown, taken from the fortress



150
Sphinx earring, exhibited by Bright & Sons of Scarborough in 1872. Detail from the *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue of the 1872 International Exhibition in London*, p. 35

The shape of the earrings is completely Victorian but the designer has added an Egyptian flavour with the stylized lotus at the top.

151

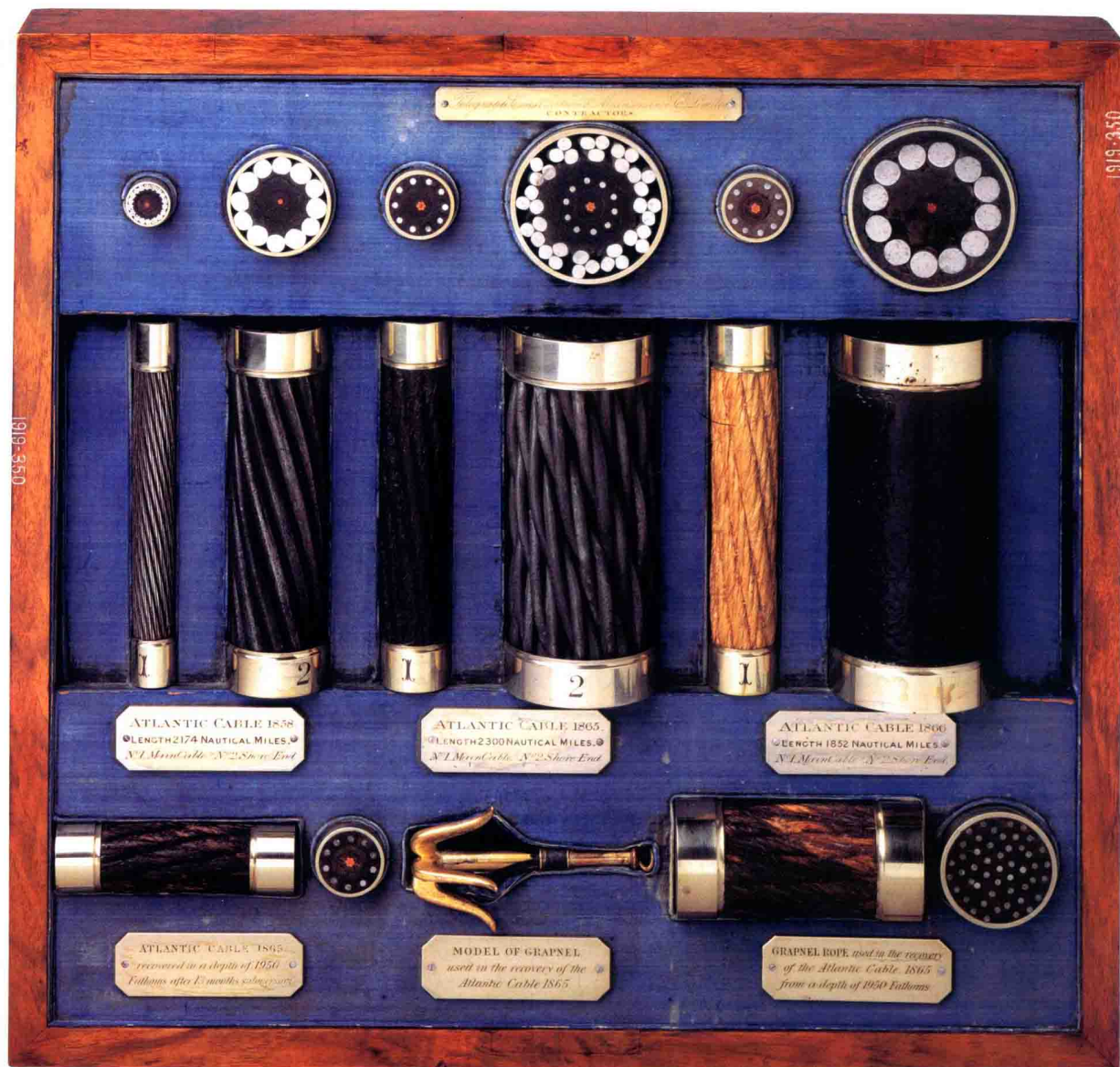
Sample case of transatlantic cables laid in 1858, 1865 and 1866. American, about 1866. London, Science Museum

The three sets of cables, large and small, were used in three separate attempts to lay a submarine telegraph cable across the Atlantic. The outside is made of rust-resistant twisted steel (shown as the small border of circles in the section). Inside is a seven-stranded copper wire to conduct the electricity. The specimens of grapnel rope were used to recover the 1865 cable.

152 Below

Gutta-percha pendant set with a slice of transatlantic cable. English or American, about 1858. H. 4.4 cm. Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The cable section is taken from the smaller cable used in the first attempt of 1858 (see Fig. 151).



at Magdala during the British Abyssinian expedition of 1868, should have appeared in the *Illustrated London News* for 20 June.⁵ The 'trophies' had been reported in *The Times* on 27 April, on 18 June they were described in detail, and on 25 June notice was given that 'the spoils recently sent home from Magdala by Sir Robert Napier will almost immediately be exhibited to the public, by Her Majesty's command, at the South Kensington Museum'.⁶ There is no evidence that this actually happened, but with the gold treasures kept constantly before the public eye by continual press reports, 'Abyssinian Gold' jewellery would have had great resonance.⁷

Exotic gold from afar was to produce marketing opportunities on more than one occasion. The Ashanti expedition of 1873–4 received comprehensive coverage in the press. By the time Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent out with reinforcement troops in November 1873, *The Times* was already speaking of the abundance of gold in the land of the Ashanti.⁸ So there was every reason for the Birmingham firm of B.H. Joseph & Co. to cash in on the expected success of the campaign by registering designs for 'The Ashantee earring', on 25 November and 3 December 1873.⁹ In April 1874, the 'Golden spoil from Ashantee' went on display at



Garrard's Haymarket premises. This was the gold brought back as settlement of the indemnity claim by the British government, following the British capture and destruction of Kumasi, the Ashanti capital. The *Times* report, following the dominant perception of much non-European jewellery at the time, insisted that the Ashanti craftsmen must have copied every European or other influence that crossed their path. The reporter saw no other way of explaining the 'variety and beauty' of the gold ornaments.¹⁰ What had originally been votive or ceremonial objects tended to be transformed into something more familiar; the haft of an Ashanti hunting knife was mounted as a paper knife, while a gold staff or sceptre mount with bells was turned into an ornament for a baby's coral. Queen Victoria acquired several items of 'Coomassie Prize Gold'.¹¹

There was also considerable nationalistic pride in jewels inspired by British colonial exploits. In January 1879 Britain invaded the Zulu kingdom in South Africa; Zulu weapons were brought back and the elliptical leather shields were displayed with western-style military trophies of Zulu spears and clubs attached to them. The London jeweller John Brogden could well have seen such displays at the British Museum; he recreated the shield and weapon trophies as a silver brooch, a miniature symbol of British victory (Fig. 153).

The speed with which novelty jewellery was designed following newspaper reports is remarkable. In the summer of 1877 the problem of transporting from Egypt the famous granite obelisk known as Cleopatra's Needle was solved and the necessary funding made available. A gift from the Khedive to George IV in 1820, it had lain toppled over in the sand ever since. Its departure from Egypt was announced in *The Times* on 29 August 1877 with daily reports on its progress to the Bay of Biscay, the crossing of which was scheduled for October. The jewellers of Birmingham, expecting it to arrive in November, busily created a flurry of 'Cleopatra' ornaments – lockets, charms, chain pendants decorated with a miniature needle, as well as a pepper box or castor shaped as the needle – and made sure their designs were registered.¹² They all appear in the Design Registration volumes within the space of three weeks; after that it was presumably too late to market them in time for the needle's expected arrival. As it happened, the ship carrying the Needle capsized in the Bay of Biscay in the middle of October 1877; the obelisk was miraculously recovered and eventually arrived in London on 20 January 1878. After much discussion, it was finally erected on the Victoria Embankment in September 1878. During its installation, a feat of engineering using hydraulic jacks, fragments of granite were mounted as jewellery.¹³

Of all the feats of engineering in Victorian Britain, none produced a more telling instance of the role of jewellery in encapsulating feelings of pride and achievement than the opening of the Mersey Tunnel from Birkenhead to Liverpool in 1886. Directed by Major Samuel Isaac, a former London army contractor who raised the funds to develop the scheme, the tunnel was formally opened by the Prince of Wales in January 1886. In May that year the Queen opened the Liverpool International Exhibition of Navigation, Commerce and Industry. From reports in *The Times* it is not clear whether she actually visited the tunnel on that occasion, but it may have been then, or perhaps when the boring of the tunnel itself was completed in 1885, that Major Isaac, the 'Lesseps of the Mersey Tunnel', gave her a commemorative jewel, described in Isaac's obituary in November 1886 as 'an ingenious jewelled representation of the tunnel, in which the speck of light that shines at the end of such excavations was replaced by a brilliant'.¹⁴



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'Zulu shield' brooch made by John Brogden, London, about 1880. Oxidized silver and gold with steel spearheads. H. 7.2 cm. British Museum

An almost identical design was registered in 1883 by M.J. Goldsmid of Birmingham (National Archives, BT 43/55, no. 403248). Possibly the design was sold on to jewellers such as Brogden.

JEWELLERY AND SCIENTIFIC OR TECHNICAL INVENTIONS

Developments in science underlie so many aspects of jewellery history in the nineteenth century that it would be impossible to treat them all. The precision of a jewel made with machine-stamped parts and the beautifully shaped and domed steam-pressed cases could not have existed without the gigantic leaps in mechanization of the period. This section concentrates on those developments that directly affected the entire conception of a particular category of jewellery. Many of these are not normally associated with jewellery at all. The jewels discussed below depended on such developments in a way that was utterly different from the topical souvenirs set with a slice of transatlantic cable. First, there were new materials: aluminium revolutionized the production of gold substitutes by providing a non-tarnishing colour component, while rubber when vulcanized was moulded into black jewellery as a substitute for hand-carved jet. Secondly, there were scientific inventions such as the voltaic battery and the incandescent light bulb, which made possible Gustave Trouvé's electric jewels, objects that would be hard to believe existed were it not for the contemporary documentation.

New materials: gold and silver substitutes

Gold and silver substitutes were not new to the nineteenth century. Most gold substitutes were variations on the copper-zinc alloy, in other words brass, which the early eighteenth century London watchmaker Christopher Pinchbeck claimed to have invented. The term 'pinchbeck' was subsequently used to denote gold-coloured metal of any kind, whatever the actual composition. 'Mosaic gold', for instance, had a much higher proportion of zinc and may therefore have kept its yellow colour for longer.¹ By the 1830s such imitations had become a vehicle for satire; R.S. Surtees, in *Jorrocks's Jaunts and Jollities* of 1838, employs it to describe Mrs Jorrocks's vulgarity and lack of taste:

her neck, arms, waist . . . were hung round and studded with mosaic gold chains, brooches, rings, buttons, bracelets, etc., looking for all the world like a portable pawnbroker's shop. . . . In the right side of a gold band round her middle was an immense gold watch, with a bunch of mosaic seals, appended to a massive chain of the same material.²

Many other fanciful names for gold substitutes, often derived from far-off places to make them sound more romantic – 'Canadian' gold or 'Afghanistan' gold – appeared in the fashion and trade press. By 1885, some of these names were so far-fetched that even the *Jeweller and Metalworker* could not resist some gentle ridicule: 'The spirit of imitation is always rife, and often leads to strange consequences. Someone across the pond has invented crazy gold; and are we now to expect to hear of insane silver, delirious rolled plate, distracted fire-gilt,

deranged electro-plate, and slightly gone German silver?'³ Charles Courtney Rowe's 'Oroide' gold, on the other hand, is one of the few trade names that has entered the Oxford English Dictionary as 'an alloy of copper and zinc having the colour of gold'. It was launched in 1873, and the *Jeweller and Metalworker* applauded it roundly: a five-shilling pair of Oroide earrings were as handsome as any that could be obtained for three guineas from Hunt & Roskell or Garrard's, and the artistic quality was such that Oroide could deceive those superior beings who 'profess never to be deluded by shams . . . and who are able to tell by look, touch and almost smell, that the artistic piece of jewellery that dangles upon their friend's waistcoat was made by Harry Emanuel or some others whom their judgements have erected into precious metal saints'. The trade was fighting back against the dismissive attitude of the art press towards 'Brummagem', the popular name for cheap Birmingham jewellery that was despised as 'tinselled rubbish and gaudy effrontery'.⁴ The trade's line was that provided the design was artistic, the workmanship exquisite and the jewels worn with good taste, imitations were not only perfectly acceptable, but were putting works of art within the reach of all.⁵ Rowe traded from the Brompton Road and was well placed to catch the artistically inclined visitors to the South Kensington Museum:

Mr Rowe not only keeps *au courant* of every new and fashionable pattern introduced in real gold, but has in many cases originated designs that have been eagerly copied by our leading jewellers. Not only does Mr Rowe undertake to produce any design that may be afforded him in the 'Oroide gold', but he will give a coating of this to any tarnished ornament, and by so doing not only restore it to use, but make it look far better than it could have done originally, not having been made of 'Oroide'.⁶

All of these gold substitutes were variations of the copper-zinc alloy; whatever the claims of their manufacturers, they would have tarnished to an ugly dull bronze colour very quickly. Even if they were gilded, and many must have been, the quantity of copper in the alloy would have turned the base metal red so that even the thickest gilding would eventually have failed to mask it. Analysis of surviving jewels in imitation gold has shown that those of lower zinc content tend to be gilded, while those of higher zinc content were not, because the composition was brighter and yellower. The purity of the gilding could also be varied, allowing a sophisticated balance between the body metal and the plating, both the quality of the plating and the thickness of its application. For example, a higher zinc content with a lower carat gilding could achieve the effect of 9-carat or 12-carat gold, with considerable saving in cost. Conversely, a lower zinc content with a high carat gilding could look like 18-carat gold.

The permutations of the alloys for both gold and silver substitutes might have remained a trade secret were it not for the survival of an untouched historic sample collection of late nineteenth-century jewellery kept by N.C. Reading & Co. of Birmingham until 1987.⁷ This collection includes the full range of both gold and silver substitutes, many still on their original boards or show cards with their original tags, some actually stamped with the trade name, so that the fancy names can, exceptionally, be linked with actual pieces of jewellery (Figs 154, 155). The silver substitutes were based on nickel-silver, also known as German silver because

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'Albo silver' jewellery made by N.C. Reading & Co., Birmingham. Advertisement from the *Jeweller and Metalworker* for September 1901. British Museum

The same advertisement first appeared in 1892, though the trade name 'Albo' was registered in 1886. 'Albo silver' was an alloy of nickel, copper and zinc with thick silver plating. The plating helped the alloy to stay white longer before tarnishing.

SEPT. 1, 1901

THE JEWELLER AND METALWORKER.

1135

N. C. READING & CO.,

STANDARD SILVER AND GOLD PLATED CHAIN MAKERS.

Sole Manufacturers of the Celebrated Registered

ALBO SILVER (The Whitest Alloy Invented).

GENTS' AND LADIES' ALBERTS.

Midget and Queen Chains, Compasses, Seals and Lockets, Vesta Boxes, &c.

In PLATINAGELD CANADION GOLD, and GELDINE (Regd.).
Reg. ROLLED GOLD LINED.—FILLED GOLD.

Also in Regd.  22-ct. Gold Cased.

THE CRITICS ON ALBO SILVER.

THE Jeweller and Metalworker says—"Without wishing to disparage the manufactures of several well-known houses, which are excellent in their way, we must admit that 'ALBO SILVER' is a metal which, by reason of its pure whiteness and freedom from any leaden or brassy tints, holds the foremost position among white metals. It is made up into various articles of jewellery, such as ladies' and gents' chains, seals, lockets, vesta boxes, &c. Every article bears a registered parchment label, and all swivels are marked N.C.R.Co. We can safely recommend our country and colonial friends to order through their factor goods bearing these marks and labels."

"THE alloy registered under the name of 'ALBO SILVER' is peculiarly suitable for the manufacture of Chains and Jewellery; it has the whiteness of grain silver, without a tinge of the yellow or the leady colour generally characteristic of alloys of this kind. Indeed, so highly was it reported on at the British Association Exhibition by the authorities at Mason College, that at their request samples in ingot and in a manufactured state were permanently deposited in the museum of that institution."—*The Watchmakers, Jeweller and Silversmith.*

HIGH-CLASS PATTERNS IN
STANDARD SILVER
LADIES' ALBERTS,
A SPECIALITY.
Warstone Chain Works:
HALL STREET,
Birmingham.

Telegrams:
"Albo," Birmingham,
Telephone 4016.

N.C.R.'s Goods Through all
Respectable Wholesales
Houses.



it was first manufactured commercially in Germany in the 1820s. An alloy of copper, nickel and zinc, it contains no silver at all. 'Mixitine', 'Aftcan', 'Silverine' – all these were alloys of nickel in varying proportions advertised by different Birmingham firms in the 1880s. N.C. Reading had long been making nickel-silver jewellery when they brought out their new alloys with new trade names in 1885 and 1886: 'Albo Regd' (registered) was a standard



10% nickel alloy, while 'Albo silver' had a higher 15–19% nickel content with the addition of a thick silver plating. To imitate the popular combination of gold and platinum, N.C. Reading brought out a further high-quality alloy in 1893: this had a 19–23% nickel content and was left in its raw state with no plating. It was used in conjunction with the firm's high-quality gold substitute with 22-carat gilding to produce 'Platinageld'.⁸

Aluminium, like platinum, was expensive, but its lightweight properties made it ideal for commercial uses. Isolated in the early 1850s by the French chemist M.H. St-Claire Deville, it was contaminated with iron, which meant it could not be soldered.⁹ Nevertheless, some extraordinary experiments in jewellery were made with it by distinguished Paris jewellers. At the Paris exhibition of 1855 the works in aluminium, which included a rattle for the Prince Imperial, caused a sensation. Napoléon III took great interest in the new material and is said to have 'supplied funds from his own privy purse to have experiments made

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Imitation gold and silver jewellery by N.C. Reading & Co., Birmingham. English, late 19th century. H. of 'Albo' board 32.7 cm. British Museum, given by N.C. Reading & Co.

Left: 'Dorian', registered in 1888, was an alloy of brass (copper and zinc) with a 20–22-ct gold plating. The colour is very red, giving the appearance of 12-ct gold. *Centre:* 'Albo silver' watch-chains on the original velvet-covered display board (see Fig. 154). *Right:* Two-colour chains in the firm's highest quality substitutes, imitating platinum and the yellow colour of 18-ct gold, marketed from 1893 as 'Platinageld'.

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Aluminium bracelet set with painted miniature of Queen Victoria. French, modelled by Honoré Bourdoncle (1823–93), about 1855. His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.T.

The bracelet was given to Queen Victoria in 1857. When the Queen gave it to Princess Beatrice in 1872 the reverse was engraved 'From Mama/VR/Xmas 1872'. It is one of a handful of jewels in which aluminium is treated sculpturally like silver or gold. To enhance the idea of aluminium as a precious metal, the miniature is bordered with coloured gold flowers and rubies. Princess Beatrice gave it to the Duchess of Buccleuch after she lost her bracelet of this pattern at the 1902 coronation.



with this new metal which he hoped would be of great benefit to the poorer classes'.¹⁰ In the mid-1850s the chaser Honoré Bourdoncle made a series of aluminium bracelets, formed of three cast hinged elements inlaid with coloured gold flowers and riveted to a gold frame to avoid the need for soldering. The impact of these scientific novelties beyond the usual audience for ornamental designs cannot be underestimated. In October 1857 the eminent geologist Sir Roderick Murchison was so impressed by them that he wrote to Sir Charles Phipps, Keeper of the Privy Purse, enclosing an aluminium bracelet with mother-of-pearl and a miniature, 'by Mr Honoré of Paris . . . the work is in the style of Benvenuto Cellini and is really well worthy of Her Majesty's attention'.¹¹ The Queen must have accepted it, for in 1872 she gave it to Princess Beatrice; the Princess gave it after 1902 to the Duchess of Buccleuch, Mistress of the Robes to Queen Victoria (Fig. 156).¹²



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Aluminium and gilt-metal bracelet. French, about 1860. H. of roundels 2.1 cm. British Museum

The simple flat rosettes and snakes could be cast in large numbers, enabling aluminium jewellery to become commercially viable.

Honoré's three-dimensional sculptural aluminium jewels are exceptional. The price soon dropped, allowing a much greater range of jewellery with simple flatter cast elements set into gold or gilt-metal frames, the elements having matt textured surfaces, presumably because aluminium did not take a shine like polished silver (Fig. 157).¹³ As souvenirs for visitors to Haussmann's new shopping streets, they featured in the *American Traveller's Guide to Paris, 1869*, which recommended novel gifts for the 'folks back home', from 'the establishment of M. Paul Morin, Boulevard Poissonière, whose jewellery is forged in that wonderful new metal, aluminium, which so impressed the Emperor at the recent International Exhibition that he commanded a dinner service made of the same'.¹⁴ By 1874, machine-made aluminium watches were being advertised in London by the firm of Millikin & Lawley, 'the same as supplied by us to the Prince of Wales'.¹⁵ The Prince was evidently taken with the new material; in 1870 Garrard's had supplied him with an 'aluminium bracelet with motto in gold and remaking ditto in larger size' at a cost of £25. By 1889 the price had dropped dramatically following a new electrolytic process for the production of aluminium introduced in the early 1880s; this was directly responsible for the bicycle craze (see pp. 146–7), since it enabled the new lightweight bicycle. The problem of soldering was not resolved until the end of the century.¹⁶

Aluminium was a novelty in itself, as a new white metal, but it also played a crucial role in the creation of precious metal substitutes. 'Abyssinian Gold' (see pp. 197–8) used aluminium instead of zinc to create an alloy known as aluminium bronze. Aluminium is a hard metal, and only a small percentage was necessary to give the required colour while retaining malleability, an important factor in cheap die-stamped jewellery. The anti-corrosive properties of aluminium must also have fuelled its success. Introduced in 1868 by Messrs Pyke of Clerkenwell, Abyssinian gold was 'a new homogeneous metal combination of one colour throughout'; what made it so popular was that it did not require gilding and so there was no surface layer to rub off.¹⁷ It enabled those of moderate means to equip themselves with the most up-to-date designs at minimal cost, as explained in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* for February 1869:

... a new substitute for gold has been invented by a firm in London (Messrs. L. and T. Pyke of Thavies-inn, Holborn) who deserve the best thanks of us all for coming to the rescue of the unhappy ladies who 'are left, for whole days, unsupplied by fresh jewellery, fans, or bouquets.'

This substitute is called 'Abyssinian gold', is of nearly the same weight as the real 'Simon Pure', and is in appearance pure brilliant *gold*. It is composed of a combination of metals, and is of the same quality and colour throughout; that is, unlike any other imitation gold, the surface is not *coloured*, and cannot wear off. ... This is a material point, for all the durability of chains, lockets, &c., depends upon their being 'the same all through'.

... I saw very pretty ... lockets of plain and chased gold (*Abyssinie cela va sans dire*) [Abyssinia, of course], ornamented with bands of pearls, turquoises, and coloured and plain monograms ... they hold two portraits each, and are 'double lockets.' The monograms were rendered in blue, red and white enamel; and I shall not name the prices, for they are so absurdly cheap, and look so handsome and

LIONEL & ALFRED PYKE'S.
'ABYSSINIAN GOLD JEWELLERY'
 REGISTERED.
 THE ONLY AS GOOD AS IMITATION
 EQUAL IN APPEARANCE
 TO 18 CARAT GOLD
 JEWELLERY. PRIZE
 MEDAL 1870.
 TRADE-MARK.

'ABYSSINIAN GOLD JEWELLERY'
 IS THE ONLY IMITATION which
 cannot be detected from "Real Gold
 Jewellery," possessing qualities so long
 needed and desired in Imitation Gold
 Jewellery, viz.:—superiority of finish,
 elegance of design, solidity, and durability.
 Sole Manufacturers, L. & A. PYKE, 32, Ely-place,
 Holborn. City Depôts:—153, Cheapside, 153A,
 Cheapside, and 68, Fleet-street.

'ABYSSINIAN GOLD JEWELLERY'
 Is now worn by Ladies to avoid the
 risk of losing their "Real Gold Jewellery."
 The Imitation being so perfect, detection
 need not be feared.
 Sole Manufacturers, L. & A. PYKE, 32, Ely-place,
 Holborn. City Depôts:—153, Cheapside, 153A,
 Cheapside, and 68, Fleet-street, E.C.

'ABYSSINIAN GOLD JEWELLERY'
 Received a Prize Medal for its superiority
 over all other Imitation Jewellery. Cata-
 logues, with Press Opinions, forwarded
 post-free on application.
 Sole Manufacturers, L. & A. PYKE, 32, Ely-place,
 Holborn. City Depôts:—153, Cheapside, 153A,
 Cheapside, and 68, Fleet-street, E.C.

real, that I will only let my readers into the secret that all this Abyssinian gold is less than one-tenth of the price of real gold. . . . Studs, wrist-links and pins . . . with short Albert chains, make nice presents for papa, brothers and sons; and for lads at school these chains are exactly suited, as they are strong enough to stand wear and tear, . . . and if lost or exchanged (schoolboys will 'exchange' as well as Englishwomen), the intrinsic value is not so grand as to be such a loss as a gold chain would be if sent 'the same gate' (Fig. 158).¹⁸

Between 1869 and 1871 the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* commended to its readers a constant stream of novelties in Abyssinian gold, giving us a snapshot of the most desirable trinkets in that short period: in October 1869 there was the 'triple locket brooch', with two lockets concealed in a raised centre and a third at the back. The 'Grecian' suite boasted an elastic collar, presumably a flat spiral of wire which expanded as desired (Fig. 159).¹⁹ In January 1870, Pyke's were selling 'bird in a cage' earrings and crystal locket watches and chains at 25s as a 'capital present for a boy', and in May there were more new designs: veil-pins sold singly or in pairs for attaching coiffures, and lockets with 'a e i' in raised letters, or 'Dieu vous garde'.²⁰ The prices were indeed absurdly cheap: according to the advertisement in Fig. 158, suites of brooch and earrings cost from 15s to 25s, against Streeter's 10 guinea suites in 18-carat gold (see p. 430).²¹ To identify such pieces now is almost impossible. As imitations they were not subject to hallmarking laws and although Pyke had a trademark – 'As Good as Gold' – there was no obligation or custom to apply a trademark to a piece of jewellery.

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'Abyssinian Gold Jewellery'.

Advertisement placed by Messrs Pyke of Clerkenwell in *The Queen*, 3 October 1874 (unpaginated)

Messrs Pyke proudly recorded their prize medal won at the Workmen's International Exhibition in London in 1870.

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Imitation gold jewellery. English, 1865–75. H. of bracelet roundel 3.8 cm. Private collection

The bracelet with its expanding band and ceramic plaque of a classical figure may be a rare example of Pyke's 'Grecian' suite. The metal is unglilded brass with a high zinc content, producing a yellowish colour. The two brooches are of brass with a lower zinc content, both gilded. The round brooch with tubular coils is almost identical to an 18-ct gold brooch advertised by Streeter in his trade catalogues.



New materials: other imitations

The range of imitation materials is vast: the precious metal substitutes were frequently combined with imitation gemstones made of coloured glass, a standard practice since at least the early eighteenth century. Recipes for the composition of imitation gemstones abound in the trade journals, and while the various compounds were refined and improved, neither the material nor the idea was new to the nineteenth century, and so does not form part of this discussion. Imitation jet, ivory, coral, tortoiseshell and wood, on the other hand, were almost all dependent on rubber or plastic. Before these new materials were available, however, attempts had been made to imitate jet. One of the earliest was made of ground and compressed peat moss in the early nineteenth century and was the invention of the Scottish engineer William Murdock, who worked for Boulton and Watt.²² This must have been similar to Irish bog oak (see pp. 452–3). Another material used in the eighteenth century, papier mâché, was employed as a substitute for tortoiseshell to imitate piqué work inlaid with silver or gold.²³

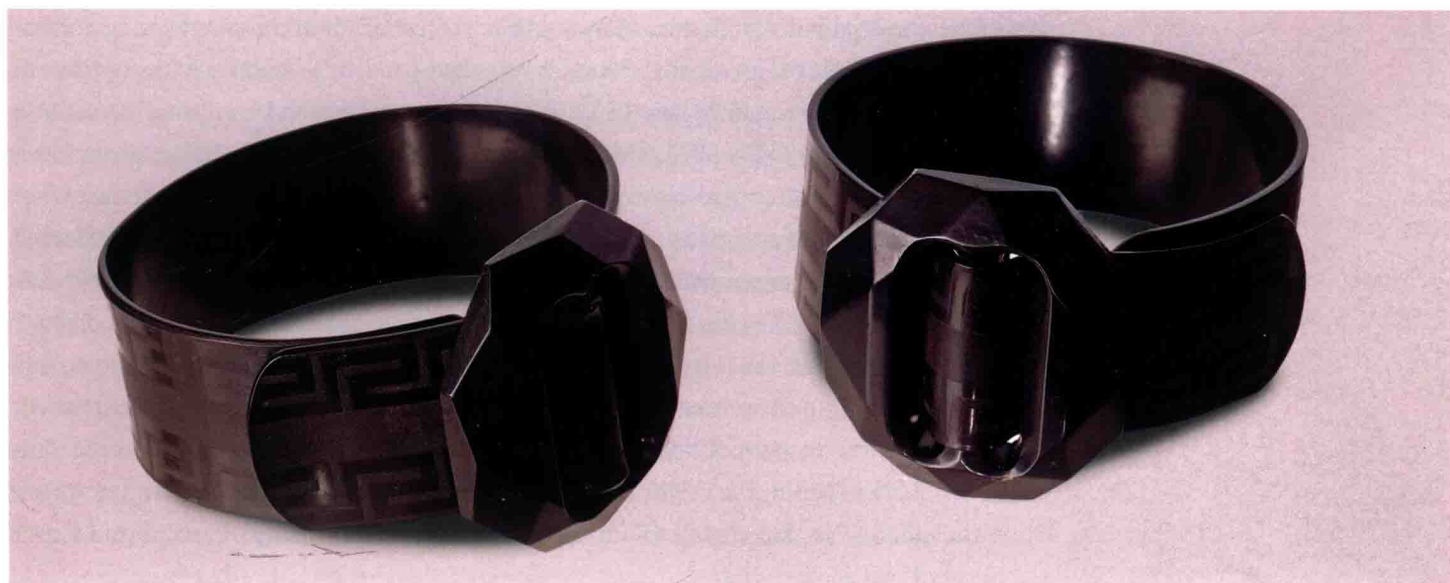
Uncured rubber in its natural state breaks down very quickly; the invention of the vulcanization process, involving high heat and sulphur, made it harder and more durable. Although the American Charles Goodyear claimed to have discovered the process in 1839, he did not patent it until 1844, by which time a patent had been taken out in England by Thomas Hancock. Both men showed vulcanite mouldings at the Great Exhibition.²⁴ Its principal use in jewellery was for imitation jet; moulded vulcanite has less definition and tends to go a dull muddy-brown with exposure to light and the chain links are typically thin flat rings, unlike jet links which are usually round in section. When moulded in thin bands for bracelets it can have a slightly springy feel quite unlike jet (Fig. 160).²⁵

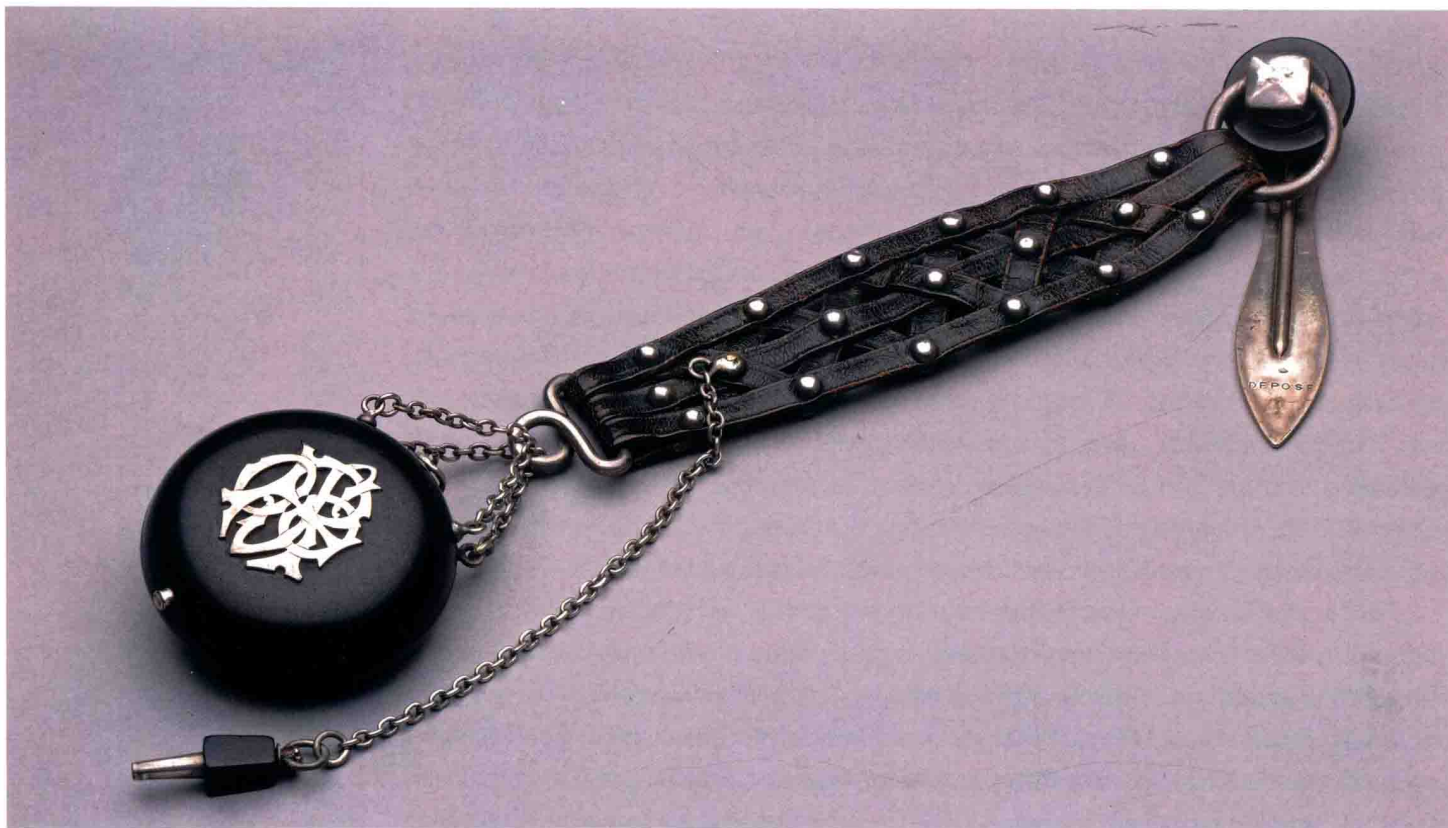
One of the main purveyors of vulcanite jewellery was the Britannia Rubber and Kämpulicon Company, set up in 1854 at Cannon Street in the City, with works in the East End of London at Bow Common, 'for the purpose of manufacturing in England articles invented by Mr Goodyear'. From 1866, they placed advertisements in *The Times* for 'Indiarubber chaines Benoiton, wholesale and export only', offering a full range of industrial, household and ornamental goods, including 'Imitation Jet (India Rubber): Albert chains, Victoria chains, long

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Pair of vulcanite bracelets. English, about 1860–70. H. 4.2 cm. Museum of London

Both bracelets are in the form of a buckle and strap, with a subtle engraved Greek key pattern, but there is no fastening. The band overlaps at each end and simply springs back into shape after being expanded to fit over the hand as it is put on.





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Ebonite watch case with silver monogram, on a leather chatelaine with silver belt-hook. French, the watch signed by Charles Oudin, Paris, about 1867. L. 25.5 cm. Diam. of watch case 4.1 cm. British Museum

chains, Latin, Greek, Maltese and Dagmar crosses, brooches, bracelets, earrings, waist-clasps, charms and trinkets, gauntlets and armllets, fancy back combs, and dressing combs', assuring their customers that these items had 'the beauty of polish and deepness of colour of jet, without its dangerous quality of brittleness. . . . You may dash a bracelet or chain of this material to the ground without injuring it'.²⁶ This list is fascinating, not only for its variety but also in the way it latches on to the latest fashions of the day, whether the chains inspired by Sardou's play *La Famille Benoîton* (see p. 214), or the Dagmar cross, based on the Byzantine enamelled cross given to Princess Alexandra by her father at her wedding in 1863 (see pp. 440–41).

A related later development of this material, obtained by vulcanizing for longer periods so that it contained significantly more sulphur, was called ebonite; an insulating material and effective substitute for ebony wood, it was also used in jewellery. As noted by the *Jeweller and Metalworker* in February 1874 (p. 364), the proportion of sulphur in vulcanite did not normally exceed 20–30%, while in ebonite it could reach up to 60% and the black colour lasted better. The compound was then moulded in a steam-press for two hours; when cold, it was finished off and polished like ivory. An advertisement in *Godey's Lady's Book* in January 1867 (p. 108) announced that 'A new style of watch very suitable for mourning has just been introduced. The case is of black wood ornamented with a monogram, of silver. It is suspended from the waist by a chatelaine of Russian leather studded with silver, and caught to the belt by a silver hook.' A watch in the British Museum that corresponds exactly to this description has an ebonite case with silver initials probably forming a name. It is signed by Charles Oudin, the celebrated Paris watchmaking firm, whose display at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 included gold watch-chatelaines for the Empresses of France and Russia and Queen Victoria (Fig. 161).²⁷

A related compound also made from natural latex was gutta-percha, which could imitate more or less any material from wood or bronze to artificial gums. It was used for popular novelty jewels such as the Atlantic cable pendant (Fig. 152), while the ability to mould and colour it naturalistically led to some unexpected fashion-related functions, as reported by the *Ladies' Treasury*, in 1867 (p. 427):

As is well known not all of the assinine tribe wear asses' ears; nevertheless, some of the votaries of dress find their ears too long, or too large, or ill-placed, or, what comes to the same thing, inconveniently placed, but a prettier or better shaped pair are easily purchased in gutta percha. . . . They are delicately coloured, fitted up with earrings and a spring apparatus, and they are then adjusted onto the head, the despised natural ears being, of course, carefully hidden from view.

The mind boggles at the idea of fake ears with earrings attached; presumably the earrings could be changed via the spring apparatus, without requiring the purchase of a pair of fake ears for each new earring.

The early plastic materials were based on a natural substance, cellulose nitrate, which occurs in plant cells. The earliest of these was Parkesine, patented in 1855 by Alexander Parkes, the chief chemist and metallurgist at Elkington's of Birmingham. It could be coloured in the body to imitate ivory, tortoiseshell, coral or amber, and, when combined with fish scales in its liquid state, even imitation pearl.²⁸ It was ideal for combs, which became an essential accessory as the taste for false hairpieces developed (see pp. 115–6). It could be moulded or lathe-turned, engraved, carved, inlaid and polished. Parkes showed a variety of ornaments at the 1862 London exhibition including combs, and again in Paris in 1867, but his company lasted only from 1866 to 1868. The material was further developed in the early 1870s by the Hyatt brothers in America, who called it 'Celluloid'; the name became so famous that it was soon adopted as the generic name for the material.²⁹

Electricity

Parkes had been involved in formulating the first specification for electroplating in the 1840s. Electricity was also adapted to jewellery to produce what Vever regarded as jewels of almost gruesome originality exhibited at the Paris Exhibition of 1867.³⁰ Henry Vizetelly remembered them as a grotesque scarf-pin formed of a lifesize artificial eye or a cigar with a ruby at the tip to indicate the light, 'but the most absurd of all', he writes, 'was a small death's head connected by a wire with a lilliputian battery carried in the pocket, enabling the death's head to distend its jaws and close and open them at the wearer's pleasure, greatly to the bewilderment of anyone not in the secret' (Fig. 162).³¹ Charles Blanc, in his much read *L'Art dans la Parure et dans le Vêtement*, thought them 'jokes best forgotten', 'no doubt made for export', 'de nature à réjouir des sauvages'.³² However snooty the critics, the public flocked to see them, a point made in the *Times* report of the 'Great French Exhibition':

in the French department may be seen some of the most wonderful enamels ever produced – the enamels of M. Charles Lepec. . . . For one who looks at them, and



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Trouv e's battery-operated skull stick-pin, enamelled gold with diamond eyes. French, signed PICARD for A.-G. Cadet-Picard, about 1867. H. 9.2 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

The jaw is hinged so that when the wearer set the battery in motion, the skull gnashed its teeth. The battery no longer survives but the connection for the wire is visible beneath the crossbones.

can appreciate the extraordinary excellence, hundreds will turn to the neighbouring Court to see the last new invention in the way of a cravat pin. The toy is amusing enough. Everybody has seen how bells are rung in all the new hotels in Paris, London, and New York. Instead of pulling the bell making it ring by an exertion of mechanical force, we press a small button in the wall; this is connected by an electric wire with a little alarm, the clapper of which keeps on jingling so long as the button is pressed. . . . This principle a Frenchman has adapted to cravat pins. . . .³³

The *Times* report continues with a full description of the pins. They were published in detail in the scientific journal *La Nature* (Fig. 163).³⁴ Two were stick-pins, but the third, the star piece, was a ladies' hairpin in the form of a hummingbird with beating wings, real hummingbird feathers being the height of fashion at the time (see pp. 226–9). According to *La Nature*, it was owned by 'Madame Metternich' – Princesse Pauline Metternich, member and intimate friend of the Second Empire court, who launched the fashion designer Charles Worth by introducing him to the Empress.³⁵

The creator of these gimmicks was the distinguished engineer, physician, chemist and scientific instrument maker Gustave Trouv e, noted for his application of portable electricity to military, civil and domestic purposes. Trained as a watchmaker, he set up his own workshop in 1863, inventing, among other things, a miniature hermetically sealed battery (patented 1865).³⁶ It was this that enabled him to create his electric jewels, introduced in 1865 and including a soldier beating a drum, a monkey paying the violin, two skulls, one gnashing its teeth, the other rolling its eyes, a decapitated head that did both, a rabbit playing on a bell with drumsticks, a revolving sphere, a Turk's head with eyes rolling from side to side and jaw moving up and down, and a monkey blinking; there was also a pendant with Harlequin and Columbine dancing and the bird hairpin mentioned above. The trick that set the movement going was no switch or button, but simply turning the battery on its side or upside down.³⁷ These pieces were described by Georges Barral in 1891; he must have been speaking from personal experience and records that the skull and rabbit stick-pins worked for nine hours every day over six months and were still going even then. Few survive: Trouv e was unable to find craftsmen who could make such small objects with the precision required; according to Vever they were made by Cadet-Picard, whose mark appears on the skull pin shown in Fig. 162, but presumably in tiny numbers.³⁸ By 1891 they were already collectors' items: according to Barral pieces that sold at the time for 50 francs were now fetching 700–1,000 francs on the rare occasions that they came up for sale.³⁹

Trouv e's next foray into personal ornament was to combine the battery with the new incandescent lamp with carbon filament, patented in the UK by Joseph Swan in 1878 and in America by Thomas Edison in 1879. Trouv e's illuminated jewels burst on the scene in 1883, when they were reported in *La Nature* and picked up by the *Jeweller and Metalworker* and by *The Times* in 1884.⁴⁰ They consisted of coloured glass stones set round a globe which contained a small incandescent light bulb; at the touch of a switch the beam shone through the coloured glass. Like the earlier jewels they were wired to a small battery, encased in gutta-percha to prevent leakages, weighing some 300 g and measuring about 5 × 3.5 cm (2 × 1½ in). According to a publicity leaflet issued by Trouv e in 1884, the 'rubies' and diamonds' were specially cut and set to reflect the light source inside, which was a tiny 4-volt bulb. The jewel

BIJOUX ÉLECTRIQUES ANIMÉS

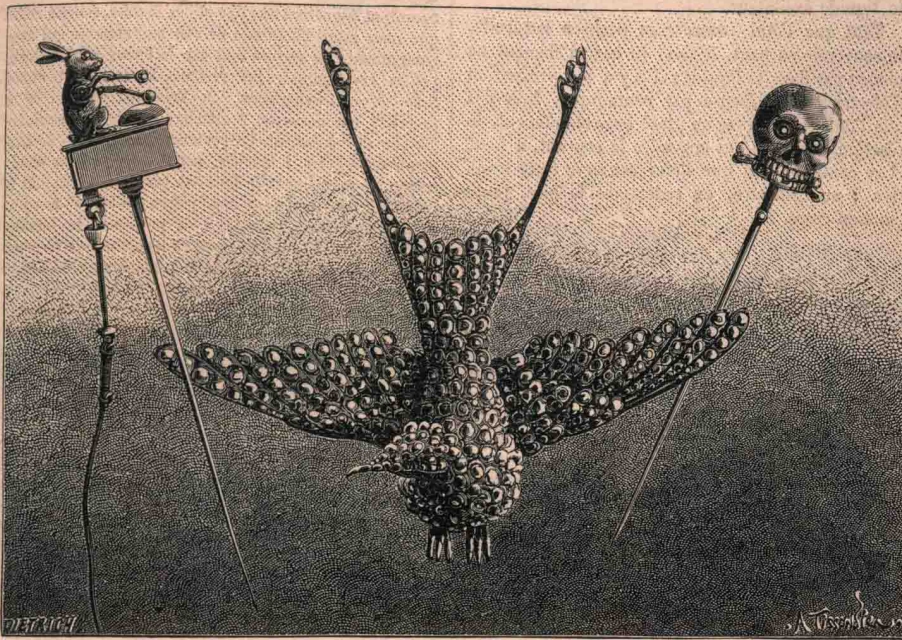


Fig. 1. — Bijoux électriques de M. Trouvé.

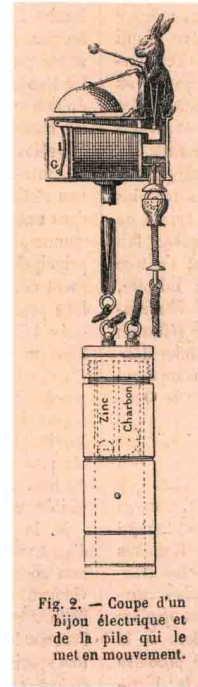


Fig. 2. — Coupe d'un bijou électrique et de la pile qui le met en mouvement.

was designed to open so that the bulb could be easily replaced. There were hairpins in the form of crescents and stars, mounted on double prongs – the popular *fourches* of the late nineteenth century (Fig. 164). For ladies there was also an electric ostrich-feather fan with central illuminated rosette, as well as earrings, rings, bracelets, sleeve buttons and brooches, including an owl's head to rival the diamond owl's head brooch shown by Massin at the 1878 Paris Exhibition.⁴¹ For men there were stick-pins, one of which had a large 'diamond' on the front, the projected beams of which enabled the wearer to read his paper or to find his way home in the dark! A cane handle had the same idea, with a large stone facing in each direction.⁴²

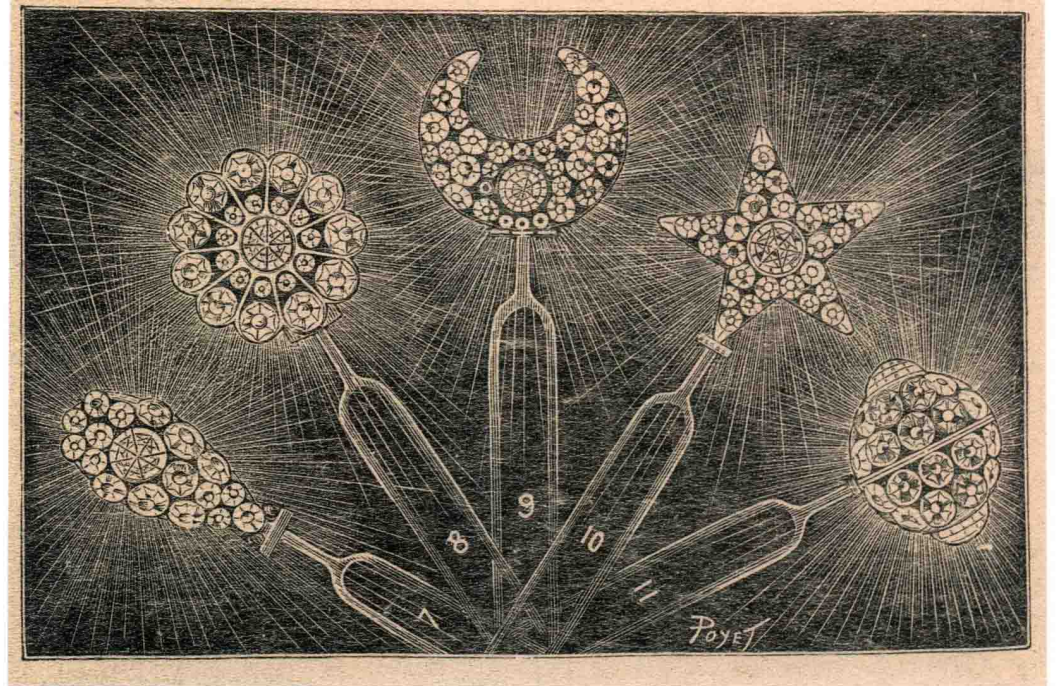
Trouvé's publicity leaflet claimed that ladies could make their entrance at a *soirée* 'covered in tiny sources of electric light beside which the Sancy or the Regent would pale into insignificance' (Fig. 165).⁴³ Their great success, inevitably, was on the stage. There was one problem, however: the small battery lasted for barely half an hour, so either a double-size battery had to be concealed in the clothing, or the user would have to recharge it, for which Trouvé built a portable accumulator cased in ebonite and hidden behind the back or worn on a belt round the waist.⁴⁴ The ballet *La Farandole* at the Paris Opéra in December 1883 owed its success in large part to Trouvé's electric *mise-en-scène*, and in London the opening production of the Empire Theatre in April 1884, Florimond Hervé's musical drama *Chilpéric* with its ballet of fifty illuminated amazons, was roundly held to be the *ne plus ultra* of magnificence in staging.⁴⁵ The most astonishing use of these electric light-bulb jewels was for a 'living chandelier' composed of acrobatic dancers at the Théâtre du Chatelet.⁴⁶ Trouvé had followers: a patent for similar jewellery was taken out in America in 1885.⁴⁷

Trouvé's final hour of glory in the jewellery arena was in February 1887, when he provided the electric lighting for the examination of the French crown jewels in the Finance

163 A & B

Battery-operated electric jewels designed by Gustave Trouvé (1839–1902). From *La Nature*, 1879

The hummingbird was able to beat its wings, the skull gnashed its teeth or rolled its eyes and the rabbit hammered the bell with drumsticks. The section drawing of the rabbit (*above right*) shows how this worked with the aid of a hollow pin.



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Trouvé's electric light-bulb jewels, about 1883. From G. Barral, *Histoire d'un inventeur*, 1891, p. 168

Each two-pronged hair comb has a tiny hidden 4-volt light bulb which shone through the coloured glass stones.

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'Une mondaine' wearing Trouvé's light-bulb jewels. From G. Barral, *Histoire d'un inventeur*, 1891, p. 179

The battery for the rosette on the diadem would have been concealed in the hair. A second battery operated the central star in the rose on her shoulder. To make a grand entrance would therefore have required some well-rehearsed co-ordination.



FIG. 106. — Mondaine parée d'un phare et d'un bouquet de corsage électrique lumineux de M. Gustave Trouvé.

Ministry's vault in the Palais du Louvre, when the fateful decision was taken to divide them into three categories: those to be sold at auction (see pp. 91–3), those to be passed to the mineralogical collections, and those to be destroyed and the gold melted down for coinage. The extraordinary scene was photographed for posterity, with Trouvé himself holding a portable lamp for the Finance Minister, Monsieur Dauphin, while another lamp lit up an easel with a screen on which the jewels were mounted for photography.⁴⁸

Electricity was closely allied to magnetism, the therapeutic properties of which were soon adapted to jewellery. Electro-galvanic belts as a remedy for rheumatism were being advertised in *The Times* from 1852; by the 1870s a range of chain bands, belts and necklaces for throat disease, all with portable pocket batteries, had been developed.⁴⁹ They were probably

fairly cumbersome and far from ornamental. In 1877, however, Elizabeth Baker of the Royal Polytechnic and Institution in Regent Street registered designs for 'Magnetic and Galvanic' lockets and belts.⁵⁰ The locket depicted a classical female figure holding a magnet; the belt was formed of interlinked horseshoe-shaped magnets. The idea was quickly taken up in the United States, where galvanic finger-rings were patented in 1878.⁵¹ American patents also encompassed pneumatic jewellery which had figures animated by means of a pneumatic tube and bulb hidden in a pocket.

Clockwork and other moving jewels

We have not come across any surviving examples of moving jewels; the following contemporary descriptions are given in the hope that they will enable such jewels to be brought to light. Vever refers to simple articulated jewels with elements that moved: jumping-jacks, the famous French clown Auriol (?1808–81) jumping through a hoop, tortoises with moving heads and feet, and so on.⁵² Their construction may have been similar to the 'mouche mécanique' reported in *La Nature* as exhibited by Teissier and Delmas at the Exposition des Arts Décoratifs in Paris in 1884: tiny flies alighting on a flower mounted as stick-pins, their legs in continuous motion, giving them the appearance of live insects. The legs were cut out of black card and hung from tiny links attached to the body of the insect; a fragment of lead glued to the leg just below the attachment acted as a weight. As no one could keep perfectly still, the legs moved perpetually in varying directions, whether held in the hand or attached to the cravat.⁵³

Clockwork jewels on the other hand were based on a mechanical spring that would have to be frequently wound like a watch. Vever describes brooches and bracelets representing what were known as *jeux pyrrhiques*, in which two pierced and superimposed discs of different colours were activated by a watch movement set off with the touch of a finger, causing the discs to turn in opposite directions and produce an optical effect similar to the rotating rosettes of magic lanterns.⁵⁴ A similar device may have been used to simulate moving water in a piece by Giuliano included in the Loan Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Jewellery in South Kensington in 1872: 'Brooch, gold, enamel, jewelled with diamonds, in the form of a fountain beneath a canopy, beside which are seated two Cupids, as if dipping water; the centre can be wound up, and revolves (see Fig. 299a).'⁵⁵ These clockwork jewels found a ready market in India; the Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, writing of her Viceregal life in India in the 1880s, remembered a visit to a jeweller's in Calcutta:

I took the Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin to a great jewellers shop by way of entertainment . . . The jewels set in Europe for the eastern market are a curious mixture of splendour and childishness: watches encrusted with diamonds, and such complicated interiors that, besides telling you all you can possibly want to know about the time of day or of the year, they play you a tune, and give you a representation of a conductor waving his baton as he sits somewhere on the face, mixed up with the seconds and the hours. Then there are ornaments for turbans, on which the diamond flowers, being wound up, whirl round and round till you can no longer see their shape. It would be difficult to keep up an argument with a man whose jewels were behaving in such an eccentric manner!⁵⁶



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'NOT FOR JOSEPH' stick-pin with mouse and mousetrap, enamelled gold. English, about 1867. H. 7.5 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The mouse is trying to eat a piece of cheese without getting trapped. Inspired by Arthur Lloyd's popular music-hall hit song 'Not for Joseph' of 1867.

THE IMPACT OF THE STAGE

Stage jewellery worn by actors and actresses is a subject in its own right; what is covered here is the adaptation of themes from theatrical entertainment to popular jewellery designs. These might be taken from famous operas that are still popular today or from long-abandoned genres such as the Victorian music hall. Some are obvious, such as the circus imagery in the series of acrobat and clown stick-pins designed by the French sculptor Louis Rault in the 1890s.¹ Others are known from contemporary descriptions only, and for all the works no longer performed, there are probably hundreds of jewels awaiting recognition.

The curious 'Benoiton chain', for instance, named after the *nouveau riche* family in Victorien Sardou's comedy *La Famille Benoiton* of 1865, was worn, according to contemporary accounts, below the chin and underneath the bonnet straps, like a curb chain on a horse's harness.² Sardou's play does not describe any such chain in detail, and one can only assume that they must have been worn in this way by the Benoiton daughters in the first Paris production, to symbolize the way in which the daughters were for sale, like horses.³ Like all Paris fashions it travelled abroad, and in January 1867 *Godey's Lady's Book* reported that 'Filigree is all the rage, and strings of large beads of silver or gold filigree are wound round the neck and head à la Benoiton'.⁴ But such chains now would look like any other and would be impossible to identify.

Like the Benoiton chains that cannot now be identified, the many catchphrases that appear on novelty jewels, especially stick-pins, the ideal vehicle for such messages, remain elusive' (see p. 192). Once in a while, however, the knot can be unravelled. A gold stick-pin with a mouse evading a mousetrap, the side of the trap enamelled 'NOT FOR JOSEPH', given to the British Museum in 1978, was a puzzle (Fig. 166). According to E. Partridge, *Dictionary of*



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'NOT FOR JOSEPH' song-sheet cover. Chromolithograph, English, 1867. H. 34 cm. British Museum

The cover depicts Arthur Lloyd (1839–1904) himself, with the song's refrain below. The entertainer wears a wide-collared jacket with a large cravat and stick-pin.

Catch-Phrases, (1977), the phrase means 'Not if I know it' and was in common use, particularly in the West Country, from about 1820. Partridge speculates that the phrase is associated with St Joseph, who is traditionally supposed to have been a maker of mousetraps. Enquiries in the West of England drew a complete blank until the arrival of the worldwide web: a search produced, in seconds, a London music-hall hit song entitled 'Not for Joseph', first performed in 1867, a perfect date for the pin. It was written and sung by Arthur Lloyd, a comic vocalist, song-writer and theatre manager, who performed regularly in London from 1862. A great dandy, he was noted for his stage costume, and it is tempting to speculate that the pin was made for Lloyd himself.⁵ 'Not for Joseph' was one of his greatest successes (Fig. 167). The idea for the song came from a London bus conductor who habitually referred to himself in the third person, 'Not for Joe', a manner of speech based on familiar observation that was in complete harmony with the music-hall style.⁶ The song's hero, Joseph Baxter, tells of being cheated in his youth, but now he knows how to avoid the traps; this explains both the design of the pin and the popular refrain:

'Not for Joe', 'Not for Joe',
 If he knows it 'Not for Joseph',
 No, no, no, 'Not for Joe',
 'Not for Joseph', oh, dear no.

The first advertisements for 'Not for Joseph' as Arthur Lloyd's new song 'free for 18 stamps' appear in *The Times* on 26 November 1867, placed by the publisher, H. D'Alcorn. The text already warns of spurious copies that do not bear Lloyd's signature. Below are listed all the myriad arrangements of the song by other composers, as a waltz, gallop, polka, quadrille, etc. Two days later, on 28 November, the publishers could barely cope with demand, announcing that they had erected 'steam presses capable of printing and folding 10,000 copies a day'. They had soon printed 20,000, with arrangements for military band, as the 'Not for Joseph' Lancers, 'Not for Joseph' Schottische, 'Not for Joseph' March, and 'Not for Joseph' Redowa (a popular Victorian ballroom dance from Bohemia). The speed with which this song was popularized and the enormous number of copies sold provide a conspicuous example of the impact of the revolution in printing on the dissemination of novelties of all kinds. Jewels that were so closely tied to the hits of the day were shortlived; in May 1870 a reader of *The Queen*, wanting a new piece of jewellery, offered in exchange 'A handsome gold pin, value 50s, subject a gold mouse on a silver trap, with the inscription "Not for Joe"'.⁷

There must have been other jewels inspired by popular music that lie unrecognized today.⁸ A brooch with a bust of a Japanese woman would easily pass as a typical piece in the Japanese taste of the 1880s; one might never guess that it was part of a whole series of novelty jewels marketed as the 'Mikado' pin by Bloomingdale's, one of New York's major department stores, after Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera, then running in both New York and London. Gilbert was a matchless versifier, using his librettos to satirize British institutions. *The Mikado*, his famous spoof on the vogue for all things Japanese, opened in London at the Savoy Theatre in March 1885.⁹ The idea of setting the opera in a fanciful location on the other side of the world was prompted by the existence in London in 1885 of a major Japanese cultural exhibition in Knightsbridge with a recreated Japanese village housing Japanese inhabitants. The opening

chorus sung by the men of Titipu declares: 'We are gentlemen of Japan/On many a vase and jar/On many a screen and fan'. The way in which Japanese art objects had taken Europe and America by storm is discussed elsewhere (Chapter 6). When Richard D'Oyly Carte brought the opera to New York that same year it dominated the 1885–6 season.¹⁰ *Bloomingdale's Illustrated 1886 Catalogue* has some seven variants on the Mikado theme, many described as 'oxidized', including a brooch with three half-length Japanese women holding fans, a fan-shaped brooch, a scent-bottle and chain and a silver-plated hairpin in the form of a sword with a single female figure (Fig. 168). The group of three was no doubt Yum-Yum and her two friends, whose song 'Three little maids from school are we' was one of the hits of the show. Contemporary illustrations of the London production show the three women in a line, holding fans, just as in the brooch (never mind that in many depictions the fans were the Western folding type, not the Japanese flat shapes fixed on a stem). All these ornaments ranged from 29 cents for the three-figure brooch to 85 cents for the scent bottle and chain. There was also a sterling silver enamelled lace-pin, in the form of a closed fan and matching sleeve buttons. The two latter pieces cost \$1.98 and \$2.19 respectively, indicating the higher cost for enamelled sterling silver. The 'oxidized' pieces were probably silver-plated, their patinated surfaces imitating Japanese mixed-metal work with its dark backgrounds.¹¹

Like *The Mikado*, Gounod's opera *Faust* has been popular in the international repertoire since its first performance (in Paris in 1859). Premiered in America in Philadelphia, it became so popular that in New York the opera season began with a performance of it every year for several decades in the late nineteenth century. Thus the fashion editor for *Godey's Lady's Book* in 1880 was quick to pick up the latest Faust novelty jewel from Paris, writing in the March issue of *Godey's*:



3681. Very neat oxydized broche Mikado pattern, 29c



3678. Ladies' genuine sterling silver sleeve buttons, Mikado pattern, hard enameled, per pair \$3.19



3649. Entirely new oxydized Mikado Pin, 35c



3658. Very pretty oxydized Mikado Pin, 45c



3654



3674. Pretty silver plated hair pin, new design . . . 38c



3685. Genuine sterling silver lace pin, Mikado pattern, hard enameled, a hand engraved centre \$1.98

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Designs for 'Mikado pattern' jewels advertised by Bloomingdale's. American, 1886

These designs appeared in the 1886 illustrated catalogue issued by the popular New York department store. They ranged from 29c. for a silver-plated brooch to \$2.19 for a pair of enamelled silver sleeve-buttons.



BRACELET « FAUST ».
(Maison G. Le Turcq, 1895.)

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Bracelet with characters from Gounod's *Faust*, designed by G. Le Turcq. French, 1894. From H. Vever, *La bijouterie française au XIXe siècle*, III, p. 563

Created to celebrate the 1,000th performance of *Faust* at the Paris Opéra, this bracelet was made in gold or silver and sold through retailers such as Cartier.

Fancy combs are as popular as ever, and for those who like anything odd and novel, the 'Mephistopheles' is a singular comb. . . . Every one will remember the curious horn-decorated cap of Faust's companion, a pointed piece of scarlet cloth, upon which two little black horns curling forward are set. The inaugurator of the Mephistopheles comb fancied having these little projections in gold, with flashing ruby stars depending from the tips. . . . To suit the hair it must be much puffed and high, and with clusters of curls among the puffs, so that the comb's points rise like an eccentric and be-jewelled puff from among the wilderness of those myriad hair puffs, to which many ladies still show their unalterable preference.¹²

To celebrate the thousandth performance of *Faust* at the Paris Opéra on 14 December 1894 the Paris jeweller Georges Le Turcq designed a 'Faust' bracelet in collaboration with the medallist Emile Vernier. The bracelet comprised a series of five medallions representing Faust as an old man, Faust rejuvenated after selling his soul to the Devil, Marguerite, her brother Valentin and Mephistopheles; these medallions alternated with images of Faust's magic books, a jewel box and mirror referring to Marguerite's famous jewel song, a pair of love-birds, and so on (Fig. 169). Vernier had been among the first medallists to apply the process of medal-engraving to jewellery, creating what became known as the *bijou-médaille*. The medals were struck in gold or silver, enabling large quantities to be produced.¹³ The *Faust* bracelet was sold through Cartier, who at that time acted as retailer for several Paris manufacturers; it appears in the firm's ledgers for December 1894.¹⁴

At the same time the Munich goldsmith Theodor Heiden was concocting a series of souvenirs for Wagner's four-part music drama, *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. Wagner's operas, under the patronage of Ludwig II of Bavaria, had already spawned a number of decorative objects on Wagnerian themes made for Ludwig's palaces. Some of these had been executed by Heiden, an almost obsessive Wagner fan. From 1893 he made 'Nibelungenringe und Nothungsschwerter' (Nibelung rings and Nothung swords – Siegfried's magic sword) in varying sizes as a paper knife or in miniature as a tiny charm. By 1904 the full range encompassed nineteen items in gold, silver or mother-of-pearl: the Nibelung ring itself, Wotan's spear as a pen-holder, the Tarnhelm (a magic helmet) in silver mesh with sapphires as a pendant charm, Wotan's shield as brooches, portraits of Wagner, and so on. No doubt done initially as amusing souvenirs for visitors to Bayreuth, they were also sold to patrons of the new Prinzregenten Theatre in Munich, which opened in 1901 with a performance of *Meistersinger*.¹⁵ Scenes from Wagner's operas were taken up by Arts & Crafts jewellers in Britain such as Alexander Fisher, who produced a massive Wagner girdle in 1893–6. Made of pierced steel with 'Nordic' interlace patterns, it is enamelled with scenes from *Tristan and Isolde*, *Lohengrin*, and the *Ring* cycle.¹⁶

SURPRISE, DECEPTION AND NOT-SO-HIDDEN MESSAGES

The unexpected subject-matter of much nineteenth-century jewellery is impossible to appreciate from surviving examples. Frequently humorous, these jewels do not easily fall into any category and many would not be credible were it not for descriptions made at the time. Fortunately numerous accounts survive of the strange forms they took, the different kinds of deception they embraced and the messages they conveyed.

The raconteur Ernest Vizetelly, writing about Second Empire Paris, brilliantly sums up the spontaneity and delight combined with the total incongruity of certain jewellery designs:

In the last years of the Empire there came a passion for eccentric jewellery. After the victories of *Fille de l'Air* and *Gladiateur* [racehorses] jewellery emblematic of the turf became very popular. Birds, too, of many kinds – swallows, swans, eagles, and robins, dangled from the ears of Parisiennes. There were also tambourine, zither, and padlock earrings. We remember, too, a lady of nautical tastes from whose ears depended a couple of miniature yachts, while at one moment there was as great a rage for dragonflies, butterflies, and beetles as there ever was for miniature guillotines in the days of the great Revolution . . . but when a lady had no entomological inclinations she could wear in her ears a pair of tiny gold baskets containing little flowers formed of pearls, rubies, brilliants, and turquoises, or, if that was too elaborate, she might content herself with a couple of gold pea-pods containing emerald peas, or else with cherries of coral.¹

Henri Vever notes that these novelty earrings were 'principally for day wear'; this was in itself a novelty, since the hair had been worn over the ears during the 1840s and 1850s and it was only in the late 1860s that it began to be worn up all day, not just for the evening. Once the ears were revealed a whole new class of daytime earrings emerged; moreover, earrings were not mandatory and hence much more subject to the whim of fashion, along with stick-pins. This may explain why earrings always seem to attract the most capricious designs at this date: 'very bizarre indeed', wrote Vever, describing 'brooding hens, stable lanterns, oil lamps, scales and watering cans' (Fig. 170).² Despite his misgivings about the suitability of such designs Vever kept examples in his historical collection of French jewellery, which he gave to the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, and the brooding hens survive along with earrings in the form of hods full of coal.³ Augustin Challamel, writing in 1881 on the history of fashion in France, recalled in the 1860s 'earrings consisting of small globes in rock crystal, suspended to little branches of water-grasses in enamel; the globes contained fishes'; they were known as 'aquarium' earrings (Fig. 171).⁴

'Some earrings exceeded 10 centimetres in length, fully demonstrating the excesses of fashion', wrote Vever. Perhaps he was thinking of a pair by Fontenay in the form of buckets for a well, hanging from a long chain with a pulley at the top (Fig. 172). Although Vever does not say so, the pulley may well have been constructed to be functional so that the buckets could be pulled up and down on their chains during wear. This design is a particularly fascinating one because it has a direct model in the form of a Japanese silver and gold hairpin



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Novelty earrings in coloured gold with nesting birds and frogs. French and English, 1860s and 1870s. L. of nesting birds (top) 5.5 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Top: Silver birds set with turquoises and pearls; the eggs are made of pearlized glass. Unmarked but close to designs by August Blender, Paris, in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs. *Centre:* Enamelled silver waterbirds in gold wire nests amongst bulrushes; Paris assay mark and maker's mark CT. *Below:* Enamelled gold frogs and bulrushes within a Japanese-style frame of twigs, the gold screws clearly visible. Unmarked, perhaps English.

of the late Edo period, with the identical motif of a well with buckets, the only difference being the tiled roof over the pulley (Fig. 173). The idea is so unexpected in a Western context that it seems likely Fontenay had seen a Japanese hairpin of this kind, producing his own idiosyncratic version of the Japanese sense of humour (see p. 309).

Reporting on Paris fashions in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* in May 1871, in the midst of the Paris Commune, the 'Silkworm' describes more eccentricities in earrings: 'a *batterie de cuisine* [set of kitchen utensils], a coffee-pot, harlequins fighting, a little cannon, and *l'obus* [a bombshell]'.⁵ The Silkworm goes on to describe the current children's game, *faire l'obus*, in which at the cry 'l'obus' tiny toddlers fall prone upon the floor, rolling over with laughter, in mimicry of the fatal bombshell. Such jewels of the moment could have

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Earrings with reversed crystal intaglios forming goldfish bowls. English, retailed by W.J. Thomas, London, 1866–71. W. of box 7 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Two hemispheres of rock-crystal are carved in opposing directions and set back to back, the join hidden by the gold collet setting. As the wearer moved the globes swung free. The case lid gives Thomas's address, 136 Oxford Street, which he occupied from 1866 to 1871 before moving to Bond Street.

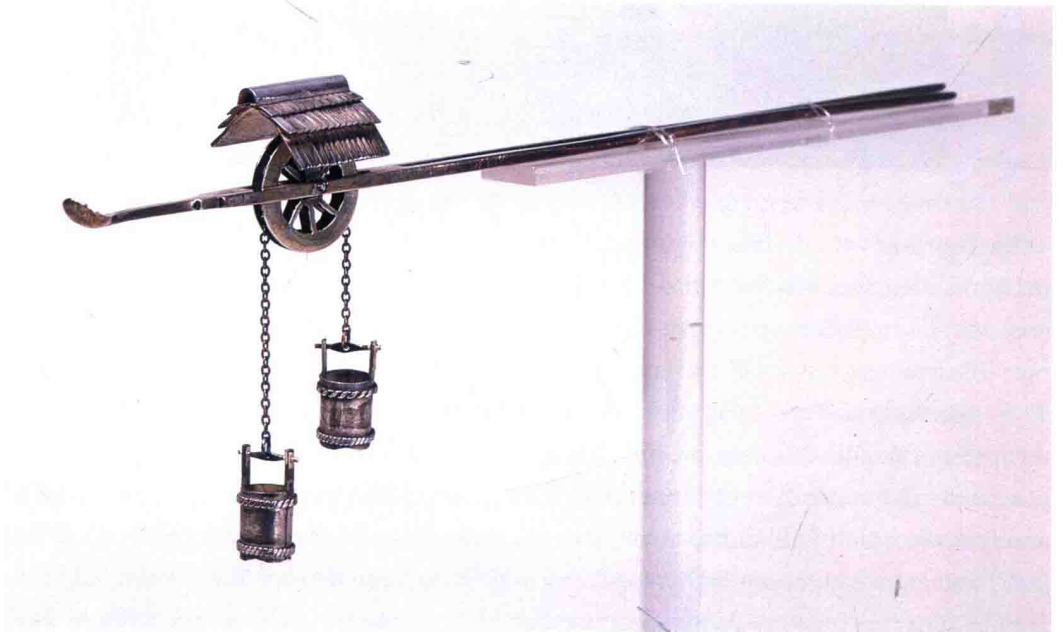
172 *Below*

Earring in the form of buckets for a well. French, 1860s, designed by Eugène Fontenay (1823–87). From Vever 1906–8, II, p. 168

The pulley at the top may have been functional so that the wearer could alter the length of the buckets as desired. Fontenay may have seen a Japanese hairpin with the same motif (see Fig. 173).

173 *Below right*

Japanese hairpin with buckets and well, silver and gold. Japan, late Edo period. L. approx 15 cm. Ome, Japan, Sawanoi Museum of Combs and Ornamental Hairpins



enjoyed only short-lived popularity among supporters of the brutal crushing of the Commune and the massacres of late May. The only surviving image of bombshell jewellery is Vever's illustration of a medallion of 1871 with a shell capped by a helmet and the slogan 'La force prime le droit', an old French proverb meaning 'Might is right', confirming the political message.⁶

Paris fashions were immediately picked up across the Atlantic. *Godey's Lady's Book* for January 1867 (p. 108) noted that: 'Eccentricity now prevails in jewellery. For ear-rings we see ladders, saddles, horseshoes, bridles, stirrups, birds, cages, flies, fish, beetles, croquet mallets, bunches of grapes and currants composed of dead gold, jasper and agate.' Veering from the grotesque to the whimsical, these jewels could be both witty and beguiling: the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876 included jewels in which 'a diamond simulates a drop of dew upon a leaf' (Fig. 174).⁷

An American invention was the idea of putting an outer cover on a jewel to hide the expensive diamonds beneath. In September 1879, *Godey's Lady's Book* reported: 'A handsome diamond cross, set in a gold case, which, when closed, looks like a gold cross and nothing more, is a novel mode of always wearing a valuable ornament; earrings are also so arranged'.⁸ The idea was partly practical, to protect the diamonds from loss or theft while travelling, but also a way of being able to upgrade one's outfit as the occasion demanded. Spherical covers for diamond earrings were patented in New York in 1878; they could be snapped over the stone, transforming diamond drops for evening wear into everyday gold balls, or black enamel if in mourning (Fig. 175).⁹ Wearers must have delighted in surprising their companions by removing the covers when no one was looking.

Huge scope for deception was provided by insect jewellery. Flies especially could trick the onlooker into thinking they were real; *Godey's Lady's Book* for September 1879 (p. 286) noted: 'A fly is the fancy ornament of the day; a pretty little fly, so skilfully and perfectly imitated that it looks like life. When it is mounted on a pin and fastened in the corner of a necktie, it deceives everyone. Flies are also worn as earrings and as just alighting on a *porte-bonheur* bracelet.' *Godey's* may have been referring to flies with veined wings carved in transparent slivers of agate; when mounted on a gold stick-pin which would be hidden during wear, the deception was complete (Fig. 176).¹⁰ Waistcoat studs with gem-set insects were another popular conceit, while reversed crystal intaglios (see pp. 144–5) could be deceptively lifelike if executed actual size; the intention must have been to make people wonder whether it was actually a real insect trapped under glass like a butterfly in a glass dome (Fig. 176).¹¹ Flies and bees had other connotations, appearing frequently in jewels with messages of love. The fly attracted to fruit or sweet smells is a constant theme, expressed in one instance as a brooch in the form of a gold almond shell with a gem-set fly, contained in a green velvet almond-shaped case (Fig. 177). The bee in the sense of a busy worker or a honeybee, maker of sweet things, must have been the idea behind a jewelled bee brooch contained in a delightful hive-shaped case.¹² The bee was a frequent emblem for honey; combined with a crescent moon, it signified 'honeymoon'. It was also a frequent component of puns: a popular design had an enamelled gold bee poised on a cross, the four arms of which each bear a single letter – D, O, N, T – forming the message 'Don't be cross' (Fig. 176).¹³

In 1875 Garrard's supplied the Princess of Wales with a 'shell pattern brooch with mouse in centre', and a 'gold brooch with mouse and plate' for £4 15s. The vast majority of such unlikely subjects for jewellery were offered as lucky charms or *portes-bonheur* (see p. 224),



174

Gold ivy-leaf brooch sprinkled with diamond dewdrops. Probably American, 1870–80. W. 4.2 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

One of the dewdrops, in the form of a tiny briolette, swings from a pendant loop. Similar jewels formed part of the American display at the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876.

175

Diamond earrings with snap-on gold covers. American, sold by Heller & Bardel, New York. Advertisement from *Jewelers' Circular*, 1880, p. xv

The covers could be removed at will, transforming a plain daytime ornament into a glittering evening jewel.

HELLER & BARDEL,

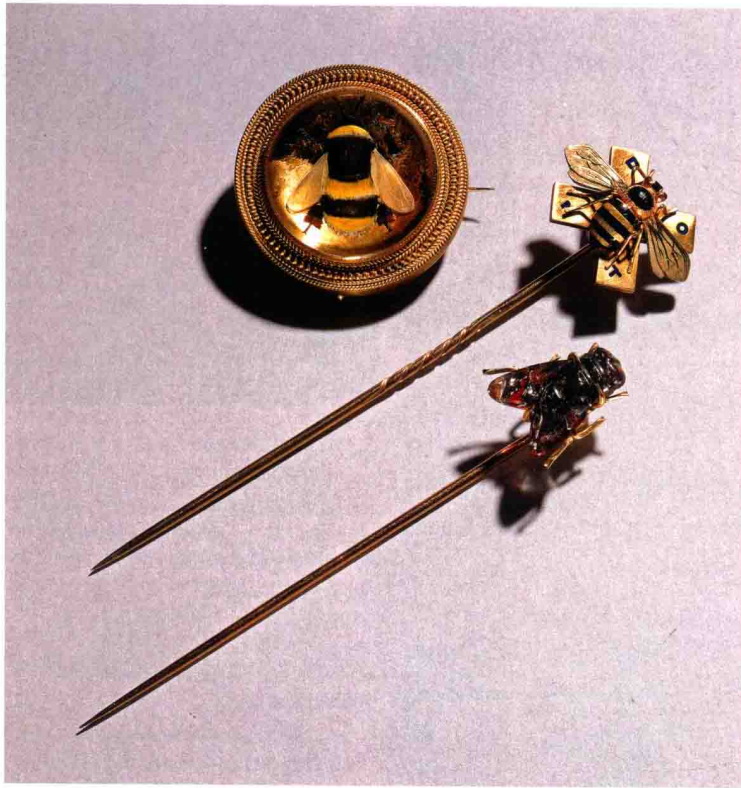
Manufacturers of

DIAMOND AND PEARL

JEWELRY.

13 John St., New York.



**176 A & B** Above

Bees and flies. *Top*: Brooch with reversed crystal intaglio bee; stick-pin with bee forming the message 'DON'T BE CROSS' (detail of bee *above*), and stick-pin with carved agate fly. Gold, enamel and hardstones. English and French, 1860–70. Diam. of bee brooch 3 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift (bees); given by Charlotte Gere (fly pin)

The fly pin retains the original retailer's box labelled BEAUMONT & CIE, JOAILLIERS, 71 R. DE LA REPUBLIQUE, LYON and bears French marks. It was given to Jules Balay by his fiancée Jeanne Riboud, through whose family it descended to Myril Pouncey, wife of Philip Pouncey, former Italian drawings specialist in the British Museum. The design of the motto jewel DON'T BE CROSS was so popular that it was issued in about 1878 as a silver brooch for 3s 6d. (M. Flower, *Victorian Jewellery*, 1967, p. 135).

177 Below

Gold 'almond shell' brooch with gem-set fly. French, 1860–70. L. of box 5 cm, L. of brooch 3.3 cm. Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The almond is realistically textured; the moss-green velvet case simulates the almond's outer skin. The word DÉPOSÉ in the lid indicates that the design for the case was registered in France.



featuring animal mascots of all kinds. A parure constituting bracelet, brooch, earrings and scarf-pin with mice curling their tails round a ring described and illustrated in *Godey's Lady's Book* in October 1880 seems to have more to do with women's traditional fear of mice than with any real belief in them as bringers of good fortune:

Mouse ornaments in gold and silver, with sapphire and ruby eyes, are much used on bangles, pins [brooches], rings and ear-rings. The tiny tail of the mouse curls around the ear-ring or pin; three or four move around the bangle; and a single one slips around upon a ring. *Porte-bonheur* is the name of the mice rings, as indeed of all bangle rings upon which a jewelled ornament is slipped.¹⁴

The illustrations of the parure in *Godey's* were taken directly from those in *The Queen* of 31 July 1880, p. 111, some three months earlier, an indication of the time lag in the dissemination of new fashions across the Atlantic (Fig. 178). *The Queen* found them 'skilfully modelled and arranged', but wondered 'whether the substitution of little pigs in the place of mice, which Messrs Thornhill likewise intend to introduce, and which are now the fashion in Paris, will turn out equally satisfactory from an artistic point of view'.¹⁵ True to their word, Thornhill's had the pig versions ready for Christmas and advertised them in early December, along with the mouse jewels, adding earrings in the form of a mouse on a chamberstick nibbling a candle (Figs 179, 180).¹⁶ Mice are known to be fond of candle wax, so this piece embodies the same idea as the fly attracted to the sweet-smelling almond. A design for a more elaborate bracelet in red gold with six mice in yellow gold each clasping a pearl was registered by E. Emanuel of 27 Old Bond Street in 1875.¹⁷

MESSRS THORNHILL'S MOUSE JEWELLERY.
 ECCENTRIC jewellery, to serve the caprice of the day, has run through many phases and shapes of late. Chinese and Japanese designs, beetles, butterflies, and spiders have all had their turn, and snake bangles must have been sold by tens of thousands. But the newest thing in this line is the mouse jewellery, brought out in registered designs by Messrs Thornhill and Co., of New Bond-street. However disagreeable a live mouse may be running about one's room, in itself it is a gracefully shaped little animal, which may well form part of an eccentric ornament, especially if skilfully modelled and arranged. Whether the substitution of little pigs in the place of mice, which Messrs Thornhill likewise intend to introduce, and which are now the fashion in Paris, will turn out equally satisfactory from an artistic point of view, remains to be seen.

178
 Thornhill's mouse jewellery. English, Thornhill & Co., London. Announcement in *The Queen*, 31 July 1880, p. 111
 The theme of a mouse with its tail coiled round a ring is adapted to a set of brooch, earrings, bracelet, ring and stick-pin. They were available in gold or silver.



180
 Thornhill's mouse jewellery, gold and enamel. English, retailed by Thornhill & Co., London, about 1880. Diam. of brooch, 3.2 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift (brooch); Franks Bequest (rings); given by Robert C. Kwok (bracelet)

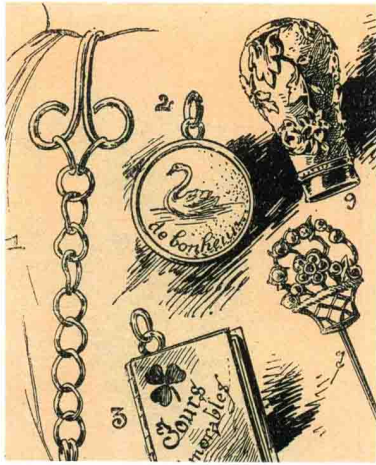
DEC. 4, 1880. THE QUEEN, THE LADY'S NEWSPAPER.

<p>THORNHILL'S REGISTERED JEWELLERY CLOCK & ANEROID. OAK AND NICKEL.</p> <p>5 Gs. 10 Gs. and 11 Gs.</p>	<p>THORNHILL'S REGISTERED SCISSORS, in Sets. FINEST QUALITY, GUARANTEED.</p> <p>No. 144. 5 pairs, 18s. 5 pairs, 22s. 5 pairs, 25s. 5 pairs, 26s.</p>	<p>THORNHILL'S NEW REGISTERED TWIN CLOCK AND ANEROID. In OAK and NICKEL. 4s and 5s Guineas.</p>
<p>THORNHILL'S MINIATURE CLOCKS.</p> <p>5s. 6s. 7s. 8s. 9s. 10s. 11s. 12s. 13s. 14s. 15s. 16s. 17s. 18s. 19s. 20s. 21s. 22s. 23s. 24s. 25s. 26s. 27s. 28s. 29s. 30s. 31s. 32s. 33s. 34s. 35s. 36s. 37s. 38s. 39s. 40s. 41s. 42s. 43s. 44s. 45s. 46s. 47s. 48s. 49s. 50s. 51s. 52s. 53s. 54s. 55s. 56s. 57s. 58s. 59s. 60s.</p>	<p>THORNHILL'S PATENT SPRING CIGARETTE CASES.</p> <p>5s. 6s. 7s. 8s. 9s. 10s. 11s. 12s. 13s. 14s. 15s. 16s. 17s. 18s. 19s. 20s. 21s. 22s. 23s. 24s. 25s. 26s. 27s. 28s. 29s. 30s. 31s. 32s. 33s. 34s. 35s. 36s. 37s. 38s. 39s. 40s. 41s. 42s. 43s. 44s. 45s. 46s. 47s. 48s. 49s. 50s. 51s. 52s. 53s. 54s. 55s. 56s. 57s. 58s. 59s. 60s.</p>	<p>THORNHILL'S PATENT SPRING PIG PENICIL.</p> <p>5s. 6s. 7s. 8s. 9s. 10s. 11s. 12s. 13s. 14s. 15s. 16s. 17s. 18s. 19s. 20s. 21s. 22s. 23s. 24s. 25s. 26s. 27s. 28s. 29s. 30s. 31s. 32s. 33s. 34s. 35s. 36s. 37s. 38s. 39s. 40s. 41s. 42s. 43s. 44s. 45s. 46s. 47s. 48s. 49s. 50s. 51s. 52s. 53s. 54s. 55s. 56s. 57s. 58s. 59s. 60s.</p>

W. THORNHILL AND CO.
 HAVE JUST OPENED
 THREE NEW LARGE SHOW ROOMS
 FOR THE EXHIBITION OF THEIR
NUMEROUS CHRISTMAS NOVELTIES.
 Price Lists, with hundreds of Illustrations, Post Free, on Application.
144 and 145, NEW BOND STREET, LONDON.
 Messrs THORNHILL and Co. have Telephonic communication with seven of their London Workshops. They are also Subscribers to the United Telephone Company. Orders sent by Telephone will receive immediate attention.

THORNHILL'S NEW JAPANESE SERVICE. THORNHILL'S MOUSE JEWELLERY. GOLD & SILVER JEWELLERY.

179
 Thornhill's mouse and pig jewellery. English, Thornhill & Co., London. Advertisement from *The Queen*, 4 December 1880, Christmas Supplement, p. 3
 In the five months since the initial announcement (Fig. 178) new designs have been added: a brooch with two mice fighting over a piece of cheese and earrings with a mouse on a chamberstick, nibbling at the candle wax. The pig jewellery follows the same idea, with charms for bracelets and watch-chains.



181
 'Cygne de bonheur': advertisement for New Year novelty gifts from *Le Moniteur de la Mode*. French, 1895. New York Public Library

France has a long tradition of New Year's Day gifts or *étrennes*. Also shown are a cane handle, a stick-pin and a travel souvenir booklet inscribed *tours mémorables*, probably to hold miniature photographs and worn as a bracelet or watch-chain charm. In his account of French 19th-century jewellery Vever pays great attention to charms of this type, demonstrating the endless variety and invention in the trade. *Portes-bonheur* included wishbones, four-leaf clover or shamrock, mistletoe and horseshoes.

Thornhill's pig parure was also picked up by *The Artist*, a magazine aimed at the interior decoration market: 'the favoured porker appears also as a charm, a brooch, a pencil, a pin, an earring, or is running round a plain gold bracelet'.¹⁸ According to *Jewelers' Circular* for September 1880 lucky pigs were very much in fashion in Paris:

The height of *ton* is to wear a small enamelled pig on a chain or armlet. It is not called *porte-bonheur* but *porte-veine*, the word *veine* (*avoir de la veine*) being the slang of *bonheur*. This pig is . . . manufactured by threes, fives and sevens, all of a row, for shawl-pins etc, and in silver or gold. Before the adoption of this animal in polite society there was no term so awful to the French as the word *cochon*.

One month later *Godey's* followed suit, repeating the text almost word for word and continuing: 'Small pigs are the next, it is said, to become fashionable. The Empress of Austria wears a little gold pig as a charm, to avert the evil eye; and now all the Parisians are thinking of sporting the pig; we in time will follow.'¹⁹ These lucky charm jewels were not beyond the occasional pun, as the *Jeweller and Metalworker* reported in December 1892, on the French words *cygne* (swan) and *signe* (Fig. 181):

. . . the Parisian jewellers seem to have alighted upon the swan as their newest fancy in 'lucky' jewellery. How Apollo's bird comes to be credited with fortune bringing qualities is not fully explained, unless the title under which one punning goldsmith has registered his design as the 'Cygne' *de bonheur* suffices for that purpose; but there is no question as to the popularity of the device . . . it will doubtless arrive in London in time to offer a novelty in Christmas presents.²⁰

An advert for New Year's gifts in *Le Moniteur de la Mode* for 1895 illustrates the jewel: a simple medallion with a swan and below, the words *de bonheur*.²¹

Lastly, one should not forget the straightforward comic element of many novelty jewels. In September 1889, the *Woman's World* commented on bodices studded with small gem-set brooches: a witch on a broomstick, a Dog Toby from Punch and Judy in moonstone with diamond ruff and enamel bow, and, with a touch of irony, a 'Happy Family' brooch with a moonstone cat flanked by a diamond mouse on one side and diamond bird on the other.²² They were all available from Benson at 25 Old Bond Street.

NATURE IMITATING NATURE: JEWELLERY AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS

Wearing ornaments using parts of animals, birds, insects, shells or fish was not new in the nineteenth century. Many such materials – coral, teeth, claws, shells – have a long history of amuletic or prophylactic use. What was new in the age of Victoria was the way in which animal parts became accepted fashion accessories. There are a number of factors at play here; pure novelty and decorative quality are perhaps the overriding ones, but underlying this must have been, for some at any rate, the desire to demonstrate awareness of the revolutionary developments in the study of nature. Increased interest in and knowledge of the natural world was spurred by the availability of public collections and illustrated publications, and above all by the writings of Darwin, whose *Origin of Species* (1859) transformed the way people thought about the natural world, while his *Voyage of the Beagle* (1839) had already provided an introduction to the flora and fauna of South America. Coupled with this was the arrival in Europe of South American species that were previously unknown or unavailable such as hummingbirds and exotic beetles. The Entomological Society had been founded in 1833, and popular texts combined with the use of experiments as parlour entertainment made insects part of contemporary discourse.

The wealth of materials from the natural world adapted to jewellery in the nineteenth century is astonishing. Some are obvious and familiar; others are used in such unobvious ways that they are almost unrecognizable without contemporary documentation. The whole idea of harnessing animals for art manufactures as well as industrial uses was so admired that an entire 'Animal Products' collection was made by the South Kensington Museum from 1851 onwards. The collection originally comprised some 4,900 objects; not all of it was retained, some pieces were loans subsequently reclaimed, and only a small part was jewellery, but enough remains to demonstrate the seriousness with which this project was undertaken.¹ In 1877 a handbook to the collection was published in which its genesis was explained: 'At the close of the Great Exhibition in 1851, many of the articles there displayed were presented to Her Majesty's Commissioners by various foreign governments and individual exhibitors, to form the nucleus of a permanent "trade collection". It contained many valuable specimens in the three great kingdoms of Animal, Vegetable and Mineral products.'

The vegetable and mineral products found existing homes in the Museum of Economic Botany at Kew and the Museum of Practical Geology in Jermyn Street. But there was no Animal Products collection, so the commissioners collaborated with the Society of Arts, who arranged for Edward Solly, chemist, agronomist, antiquary, and recently appointed Secretary of the Society of Arts, to supervise the formation of a collection from 1853 to 1855. Solly had been a juror at the 1851 Exhibition and had lobbied for the creation of a 'Trade Museum', or reference collection of contemporary materials and products to assist exporters and manufacturers. Lyon Playfair, Secretary of Science at the new Department of Science and Art (alongside Henry Cole as Secretary of Art), assisted in the development and arrangement of the articles, as did P.L. Simmonds, the author of the handbook.² After an initial exhibition at the Society of Arts in 1855, the animal products were transferred to South Kensington, where they were exhibited from 1857 for some ten years, until they were taken over by the new Bethnal Green Museum (now the V&A Museum of Childhood), opened in 1872.³



182

Honeycreeper heads set as earrings. Gilt metal and feathers with glass eyes. English, about 1870. L. 9 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

The birds are shown catching flies; the feathers are probably mounted on a metal core like the hummingbirds in Figs 183 and 184. The fringing is typical for the period. The species is the male red-legged honeycreeper, prized for its violet-blue body, black wings and turquoise feathers on the crown of its head. Its striking colours made it popular for glass-dome displays of stuffed birds.

Peter Lund Simmonds was in charge of arranging and cataloguing the collection, which grew significantly in the 1870s and 1880s.⁴ Like Solly, he was also engaged through the Society of Arts; a journalist with a worldwide communications network, Simmonds wrote a guide to the Bethnal Green animal products display in 1880 and supplied shell, horn, tortoise-shell and feather ornaments.⁵ The collection is a phenomenal documentary resource: the majority of objects are worked specimens, but there are a number of unworked specimens, and for both worked and unworked items the species name was often recorded, along with its country of origin. The materials include bone, ivory, shell, pearl, fish-scales and skin, feathers, leather objects and hide specimens, wax flowers and beeswax sheets as well as tools used in wax modelling, paper and pigments. Among all this there is jewellery made of fish-scales, winkle, mussel and cowrie shells, and a pair of earrings in the form of the heads of the stunning blue honeycreeper, a native of Central and Southern America. The birds are shown catching flies, their principal food, and their heads are covered with electric blue and turquoise feathers glued to metal mounts (Fig. 182).⁶

The V&A's honeycreepers are exceptional; by far the most popular bird for jewellery was the hummingbird with its colourful iridescent plumage. Known for their ability to hover in mid-air by rapidly flapping their wings – up to 80 times a second – thus creating the hum that gives the birds their name, they can fly backwards and vertically, and the species includes the world's smallest bird at a mere two inches. Small wonder they aroused great excitement when stuffed specimens first reached Europe in the 1820s. The thrill of seeing them worn whole was recorded by the young Mary Elizabeth Lucy in 1821: 'At the Mayor's reception with everyone in full Court dress with plumes of ostrich feathers, the Countess of Derby appeared with a *Bird of Paradise* and Diamonds on her head and lovely Humming Birds on the body and sleeves of her dress.' The Countess of Derby was the actress Miss Farren, and the implication is that she was flouting convention by substituting exotic novelties for the traditional ostrich plumes.⁷ The writer notes that these had been given her by

'Mr Warburton, the great traveller'. This was probably Charles Waterton, the eccentric landowner, naturalist and collector of exotic birds, who explored the tropical rainforests of South America and turned his Yorkshire estate into a bird sanctuary; it opened to the public in the 1830s. By 1821, Waterton had perfected methods of taxidermy which preserved his finds in a far more lifelike condition than had previously been possible.⁸

Waterton's collection was probably known to John Gould, the celebrated illustrator, publisher and Victorian 'bird man'. It was Gould who put hummingbirds firmly in the public domain with his great work *The Family of Humming Birds*, which appeared in five volumes between 1849 and 1861 and contained 360 lithographed and hand-coloured plates.⁹ Examples of these illustrations were shown in the Fine Art Court at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851.¹⁰ At the same time Gould's collection of 1,500 stuffed specimens was shown in a temporary pavilion at the Zoological Gardens. The birds were placed in revolving octagonal cases so that the light caught the brilliant metallic iridescence of the feathers. More than 75,000 visitors paid the sixpence entrance fee to see them. Queen Victoria, who inspected the collection on 10 June 1851, was hugely impressed. These displays, together with his magnificent publication, stimulated great interest in the species. After his death some 5,000 specimens were bought by the British Museum of Natural History.

Jewellery using hummingbird feathers was first made in England by Harry Emanuel, who took out a patent for his method of using the feathers in July 1865:

The object of my Invention is a new manufacture of or improvement in ornaments for personal wear. . . . For this purpose I form a setting frame, back, or mounting in gold, silver or other metallic substance or rigid material, by casting, cutting or otherwise, and in any desired shape; to this I affix feathers or plumage of birds, preferring those which are celebrated for their varied effects of colour and light; I attach them by means of shell lac, or other adhesive substance. . . . The whole may be finished off by gems or other desired ornamentation.¹¹

In September that year an account of Emanuel's shop in *The Queen* describes a demiparure of hummingbird brooch and earrings.¹² His formula was simple: the jewels were all set with hummingbird heads constructed as described above, with pointed gold beaks, truncated for practical reasons, and tiny glass eyes. He was probably using whole skins with feathers attached, as that was how they were imported. In one instance, a necklace of seven emerald green and scarlet heads was cleverly arranged in its case to produce maximum effect: two of the scarlet birds were placed upside down so that, as the lid was opened, the viewer would be dazzled by the tops of their heads, where they are strongest in colour; when worn they would hang downwards and be seen the right way up (Figs 183, 184).¹³ The way in which the necklace is arranged for display in its case suggests almost a specimen box or collector's item.¹⁴ Hummingbird ornaments were so desirable because they were in effect jewels themselves, their colours compared to gemstones: as one reporter put it, their glancing heads were 'like nothing so much as a scrap of flaming foil set by a jeweller beneath a bit of red cut glass, and with breasts of chrysoprase and wings of sardonyx, rosy brown. . . . They perch saucily on hats, with outspread wings . . . as plump and tempting to epicurean palate as any ever served up broiled on toast.'¹⁵

183 Right

Necklace set with hummingbird heads, in the original case; made and retailed by Harry Emanuel, London, 1865–70. L. of case 23.3 cm. British Museum, given by Robert C. Kwok

The original case dates the necklace to within five years. The lid records Emanuel's corner premises at 18 New Bond Street and 12 Clifford Street, which he occupied from 1865 until his retirement in 1873. At the back, below the hinge, is the case-maker's impressed stamp, LA for Louis Autra, who was at 80 Wardour Street, Soho, from 1851 to 1870.

184 Below

Detail of centre section of hummingbird necklace. H. of emerald-green head excluding setting 3.2 cm

The scarlet hummingbird heads are placed within the case in opposing directions so that the viewer was struck by the colour from all angles. The feathers are attached to a gold base, and the gold beaks are short and curved instead of long and straight (see Fig. 183).





185 Left
Princess Alexandra's hummingbird fan. Brazilian, about 1870. H. 33 cm. Royal Collection

A ruby hummingbird (*Clytolaema rubicauda*) is mounted on a circular handscreen of white turkey or chicken feathers sewn on to a gauze base, with a handle of turned bone. The bird's long beak for sucking nectar from flowers was usually shortened or replaced for jewellery that was to be worn.

186 Above
Princess Alexandra holding a hummingbird fan. Woodburytype *carte de visite*, by an unknown photographer, published by Figaro Office, 21 July 1874. H. 8.9 cm. London, National Portrait Gallery

The Princess is dressed as Mary Queen of Scots for the Waverley Ball held in 1871 to celebrate the centenary of the birth of Sir Walter Scott. She wears as a stomacher the Dagmar necklace given her in 1863 (see Fig. 437). The Woodburytype was a form of photomechanical reproduction of a photograph patented in 1864 by Walter Bentley Woodbury. It was a painstaking process, but remained popular until about 1900 because of the very high quality of the final image. The photograph was issued in 1874 at the time of the Prince and Princess of Wales's costume ball at Marlborough House, when the Princess wore the same dress, altered to fit a new character.

The court played a significant role in encouraging the fashion. In 1867 Empress Eugénie wore stuffed birds on a visit to the elegant Basque seaside resort of Biarritz, where the Emperor had built the Villa Eugénie. Her dinner dress was of 'thick white satin . . . embroidered with flies made of the hummingbird's wings, with heads of gold and tiny jewelled eyes. A collette of emerald and gold bees; and a tiny hummingbird of green and gold nestled among the short curls at the side of the head, which was also enriched by a bandeau of diamonds and emeralds'.¹⁶ Not merely was there a whole hummingbird, but the feathers simulated an insect – nature imitating nature, and worn side by side with lavish gem-set jewellery incorporating the imperial bee emblem.¹⁷ The Princess of Wales too owned hummingbird feather accessories. At the Waverley Ball, held in London in 1871 to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Walter Scott, she was photographed holding prominently a Brazilian white feather circular fan with a whole ruby hummingbird in the centre. The guests went dressed as different characters from Scott's novels and several of them held similar fans. This must have seemed incongruous even in the context of fancy dress – the Princess was dressed as Mary Queen of Scots – but may have been in honour of Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil, who was in London at the time and was fond of Scott's works; he may well have attended the ball and presented fans to some of the guests (Figs 185, 186).¹⁸



187

Corsage spray made of mottled brown and white feathers. Brazilian, purchased for the South Kensington Museum in 1877. L. 23 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

This perfectly preserved feather ornament was designed to be worn as a corsage or hat ornament. The survival, in spite of their great fragility, of this corsage spray and the following ornaments of feathers, beetle-wings, shells and fish-scales is almost miraculous and results from their conservation either in museums or by owners who treasured them as remarkable curiosities.

There is ample evidence that Brazilian feather work was imported into London. At the 1872 London International Exhibition, Ward's the taxidermists and the French ornithologist Adolphe Boucard showed jewellery made of bird feathers and beetles from South America. Boucard had travelled extensively in South America; he eventually settled in London, editing a journal, *The Humming Bird*, from 1891 to 1895.¹⁹ Valentines incorporating flowers of undyed Brazilian feathers made by nuns were on sale at Eugene Rimmel's emporium in 1874; Edwin Lankester remarked on the fine feather flowers made by the nuns of Brazil and Madeira in his lectures on 'The uses of animals in relation to industry of man' given at the South Kensington Museum in 1876.²⁰ In 1877 the South Kensington Museum purchased for the Animal Products collection a large feather corsage ornament from Rio de Janeiro (Fig. 187).²¹ The brown feathers spotted with white could almost pass for gemstones from a distance, but these feather ornaments were an alternative for flowers; they were not substitutes for gem-set jewellery. Featherwork jewels were popular souvenirs from South America at least until the First World War.²²

The mid-1870s saw the start of a campaign to halt the wholesale destruction. The ornithologist Alfred Newton wrote to *The Times* in 1876 quoting staggering figures for the number of birds killed, of many different species. Wearing exotic birds from afar was somehow acceptable; domestic garden birds on the other hand drew howls of disgust: in 1885 a correspondent wrote that 'a few days ago in Bond Street, amidst the holocaust of birds of every kind, one ghastly arrangement lay on the velvet-covered window-shelf in all its horror. It was a spray of five goldfinches, wired so as to be worn across the bodice of a dress.'²³ The Society for the Protection of Birds was founded in 1889, but it was not until after the First World War that the Plumage Bill was finally passed and the importing of feathers controlled.²⁴

A particular characteristic of the South American work was the combination of hummingbird feathers and beetles. This is vividly demonstrated by the *Art-Journal's* report of the Brazil section at the 1873 International Exhibition in Vienna:

... one branch of bijouterie on view is certainly unique, combining the natural colour-wealth of the tropics with the unequalled taste of the French artist. In a large case, the adornment of the section, the work of Mdllles. M. & E. Natté, from Rio de Janeiro, dazzle the eyes with the gorgeous enamel of nature in innumerable specimens of beetles set in gold, as collars, earrings, and pendants. ... A tiara, composed of the breast of humming-birds, and dazzling with beetles, though almost too gorgeous for wear, should find a place in one of our museums. ...²⁵

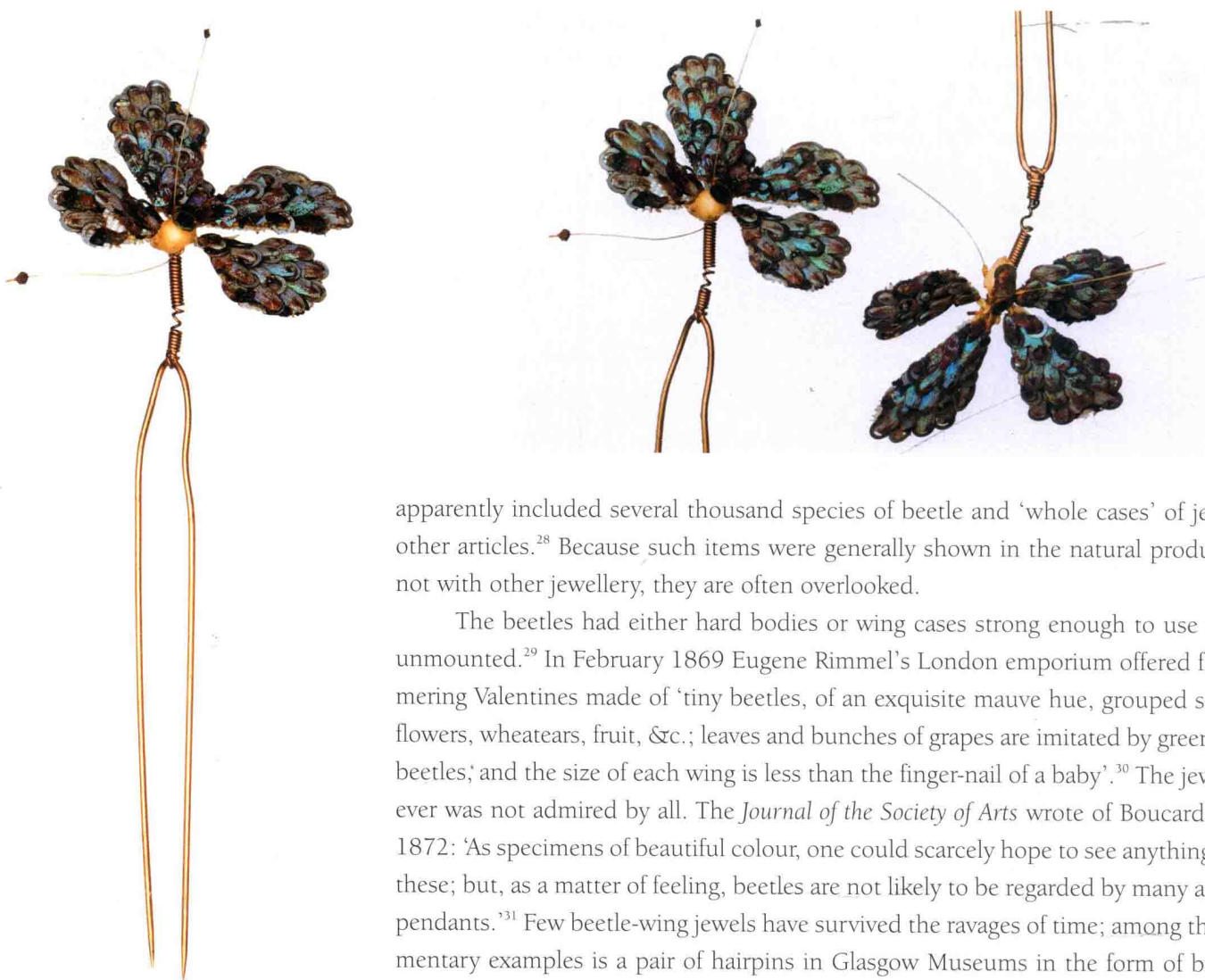
A pair of hair sprays acquired for the South Kensington Museum Animal Product collection corresponds closely to these descriptions; they are formed of flowers made of hummingbird breasts, each with beetle-wing centres in a deep iridescent blue-black (Fig. 188).²⁶ For the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876 the *Art-Journal* pronounced that the Mademoiselles Natté had surpassed their efforts in Vienna (for which they had received the Ehren-Diplom), with 'beetle jewellery of marvellous iridescence, both remarkable for the beauty of the material and for the exquisite taste displayed in the designs'.²⁷ Brazil's display at Philadelphia



188

Feather and beetle-wing spray to decorate a hat. Probably made in the Americas, 1870s. L. approx. 91 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

One of a pair, made of feathers from coppery-headed emerald-green hummingbirds (*Elvira cupreiceps*) native to Costa Rica, attached to silk-covered wire. Individual feathers are used as leaves while whole skins from the birds' heads form a flower, with a cluster of tiny blue-black beetle-wing cases in its centre. Ornaments combining feathers and beetle-wing cases were a star attraction on the Brazilian stand at the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876.



189 A & B
Pair of butterfly hairpins made of beetle-wing cases set on steel rings. British, 1870s. L. 13.4 cm (A). Glasgow Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, given by Miss Pritchard of Langside

The long spiral 'trembler' setting enabled the butterflies to hover above the head when worn. Each wing case is edged with a steel ring, built up in layers to create a feathered effect and glued to a stiffened gauze base.

190 A & B
Gold bracelet and brooch set with scarab beetle cases and pearls. English, the bracelet signed T. ELLIS PLYMOUTH, about 1870. H. of bracelet 4 cm; W. of brooch 3.5 cm. Norwich Castle Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The bracelet, with its applied gold wirework, is in the fashionable archaeological style. Ellis of Plymouth was probably the retailer rather than the maker.

apparently included several thousand species of beetle and 'whole cases' of jewellery and other articles.²⁸ Because such items were generally shown in the natural products section, not with other jewellery, they are often overlooked.

The beetles had either hard bodies or wing cases strong enough to use mounted or unmounted.²⁹ In February 1869 Eugene Rimmel's London emporium offered for sale glimmering Valentines made of 'tiny beetles, of an exquisite mauve hue, grouped so as to form flowers, wheatears, fruit, &c.; leaves and bunches of grapes are imitated by green and purple beetles; and the size of each wing is less than the finger-nail of a baby'.³⁰ The jewellery however was not admired by all. The *Journal of the Society of Arts* wrote of Boucard's display in 1872: 'As specimens of beautiful colour, one could scarcely hope to see anything better than these; but, as a matter of feeling, beetles are not likely to be regarded by many as lovable ear pendants.'³¹ Few beetle-wing jewels have survived the ravages of time; among the rare documentary examples is a pair of hairpins in Glasgow Museums in the form of butterflies on tremblers, made of metallic beetle-wing cases set on steel rings as a substitute for gemstones; they were worn by the donor's grandmother at her wedding in the 1870s (Fig. 189).³²

Most of the jewellery discussed above was set with metallic green or blue chafers. Simmonds notes that jewel beetles and weevils were also used for decorative purposes.³³ The



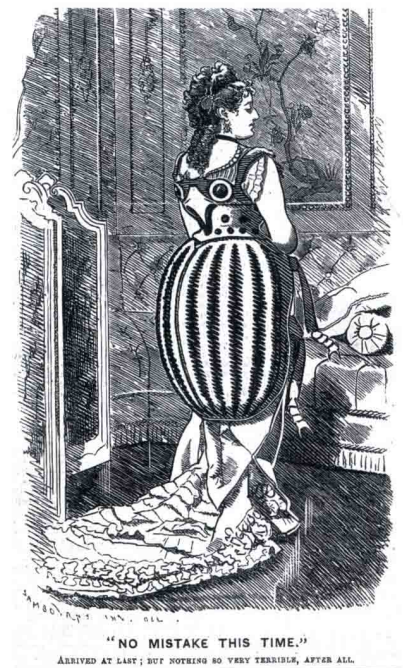
jewel beetle (*Buprestidae* family) had long shield-shaped iridescent green or bronze *elytra* or wing cases which protected the actual wings folded beneath them; these had long been used in India as well as South America, principally for sewing on to clothing.³⁴ The weevil has a distinctive snout and is only rarely found in jewellery.³⁵

For some, knowledge of these exotic creatures was derived purely from their use in jewellery and accessories. When the young Elizabeth Linklater visited Rio de Janeiro for the first time in 1886 she was delighted to find that it was 'very rich in insect life, with the most brilliantly coloured butterflies and coloured beetles, large and small, including the green variety that I had only seen before set in brooches, earrings, rings or tie-pins'.³⁶ This probably refers to the popular green scarab beetles. Their import from South America coincided with the opening of the Suez Canal in the late 1860s and consequently the designs for scarab beetle jewellery, in which the entire oval body case forms the main element of the jewel, often imitated classical or Egyptian jewellery set with ancient carved stone scarabs (Fig. 190).³⁷ Numerous references to beetle-wing ornaments both wanted and offered in the exchange columns of *The Queen* in the 1870s confirm the widespread taste for them.³⁸ In 1877 several designs for scarab beetle jewellery were entered in the Design Registration volumes at the Public Record Office, mostly described as 'Cleopatra ornaments'. The naming of these jewels as 'Cleopatra' ornaments bears little relation to their design, which in many cases has no Egyptian features at all. Like 'Abyssinian gold', the name was purely topical: they were registered just as Cleopatra's Needle was arriving in London from Egypt (see p. 199).³⁹

The way in which jewellery designs echo current events is at times surprising. In February 1874 *The Times* first reported a 'new enemy to the potato'; at that stage the destructive potato bug (as it was called in America), a tiny beetle the size of a ladybird with distinctive black and yellow stripes, had not yet reached the Atlantic Coast, but when it did, in swarms, in May 1877, panic took hold in Britain. A *Times* leader of 3 July warned:

The Privy Council Office finds itself charged with defensive operations of such magnitude and delicacy, and so likely to fail, that the War Office and the Admiralty will hardly wish to change places with it. The Colorado Beetle is preparing to invade us, and has already established a footing in the ports of the Baltic, and as far up the Rhine as Cologne, where it has effected a lodgment in the potato gardens.⁴⁰

By 12 July it had reached Dublin. The Irish potato famine of the 1840s was still in living memory and explains much of the anxiety. Attempts in parliament to get the government to take the threat seriously finally resulted in an order in mid-August prohibiting both the import of potatoes from the US and Canada and the sale or keeping of specimens. By then, life-size models of the beetle in all its various stages of growth contained in a small-glass box were on sale at the Crystal Palace and elsewhere, illustrations had appeared in both the scientific and popular press, and live beetles had been on view at Alexandra Palace.⁴¹ Fear was such that the insect was cast as the villain in a pantomime plot at the Aquarium Theatre, in which 'King Envy and his familiars, Malice and Spite, make common cause with the Colorado beetle to injure the poor man by destroying his food'.⁴² By September repeated false sightings were being ridiculed in *Punch* (Fig. 191).⁴³ Never missing a market opportunity, however unlikely the subject, jewellers' agents raced against each other in August and September to register their designs



191

'No mistake this time': cartoon by Edward Linley Sambourne (1844–1910). From *Punch*, 29 September 1877, p. 134

This satire on the false sightings of the Colorado beetle in Britain shows a young woman dressed as a Colorado beetle, its striped wing-cases forming her exaggerated bustle. The text reads: 'Arrived at last; but nothing so very terrible, after all.'

192

Design for Colorado beetle ornament. Registered by Charles Burnham, Birmingham, 8 September 1877. London, National Archives

The design shows a flowering potato plant with the insect's stages of development, from eggs at the top via small and larger larvae at the left, to the hatched beetle on the right.



for 'Colorado beetle' cravat-pins or whole suites: earrings, locket, scarf-pin and studs. The materials are not stated but fear of the insects themselves combined with the banning of specimens suggests that the beetles were imitated in gold and enamel. Alternatively the jewellers had simply bought up a job lot of the glass-cased models. This is the most likely explanation for one enterprising design with a spray of leaves depicting the stages in the life of the creature, from eggs to larvae to beetle (Fig. 192).⁴⁴ No examples of these jewels have come to light. The subsequent adoption of pesticides was to give entomology a wider political significance.

The obsession with the insect world was to be a favourite butt of satire in *Punch*. The rise of entomology in Britain was in part linked to the growth of the professional classes, who encouraged the acquisition of esoteric knowledge for its own sake.⁴⁵ Interest was fuelled by popular books such as W. Kirby and W. Spence's *Introduction to Entomology* (1856), followed by J.G. Wood's copiously illustrated *Insects at Home* of 1872 and *Insects Abroad* of 1874. In March 1875 *Punch* printed a skit on a popular nursery rhyme, under the heading 'Nursery Rhymes set new for the times':

Little MISS MUFFET	'Don't think to alarm me,
Sat on a tuffet	Indeed, no! – you charm me,
Reading the news of the day;	There's nothing to which I bring more
There came a big spider	Unrestricted attention,
And sat down beside her,	And keen comprehension,
Inducing MISS MUFFET to say:	Than entomological lore. ⁴⁶

As more and more people moved from the countryside to the towns, insect collecting became a way of capturing lost nature. Bugs and butterflies placed under glass must have influenced the fashion world. The Paris correspondent for the *Ladies' Gazette of Fashion* in August 1879 noted disparagingly that 'the mania for insect jewellery has now reached such a pitch that in a late ball many of the fair guests seemed to have emptied on their dresses the specimen case of a naturalist'. Back at home later that month, the writer indulges in some gentle ridicule: 'The fashion of wearing butterflies, lizards, beetles, scarabaei, and other insects as ornaments for ladies' toilets and coiffure, is to culminate in the adoption of live glow-worms. It will be necessary to have a subdued light in the reception, ball and supper rooms, to give the proper effect to these ornaments.'⁴⁷ For the actress Lillie Langtry, the fashion provided an inexpensive solution when short of money in her early career:

Of my many attempts at originality, I remember a yellow tulle gown, draped with wide-meshed gold fish-net, in which preserved butterflies of every hue and size were held in glittering captivity. This eccentric costume I wore at a Marlborough House Ball, but it could scarcely be considered as a very serviceable garment, for the Prince of Wales told me that, the morning after, he picked up many of the insects, which were lying about the ballroom floor.⁴⁸

She does not record the date, but this was probably in the 1870s or 1880s. In 1884, butterfly-wing jewellery was advertised in the *Jeweller and Metalworker*.⁴⁹



Wearing actual specimens is one aspect of the taste for natural ornament. So often in nineteenth-century jewellery, one material is made to look like another. And it is precisely such uses of natural materials that the Animal Products collection represents. Among the most astonishing survivals are the ornaments in which fish-scales and shells are transformed into lifelike flowers and leaves for hair and corsage ornaments.⁵⁰ In 1862 the South Kensington Museum acquired a group of jewels described as ‘shell ornaments, Bahamas’. Some are entirely in white shells of various shades and include an elaborate wreath for the head or corsage of orange blossom, roses and other flowers together with tiny shells for buds and mother-of-pearl for leaves, as well as a beautiful curved spray with wheat-ears and tremblers.⁵¹ Others use coloured or mottled shells such as the comb bittersweet clam (Fig. 193). All consist of pierced elements threaded on wire with silk-covered wire stems that could be bent to shape across the corsage or head. They were purchased from London importers and the museum records give no information about who made them. They appear, however, to be remarkably close to shell-work shown at the Great Exhibition by women workers – Miss Caroline Nicolls and the Misses Greig – from Nassau, New Providence (see p. 254), and described by the *Illustrated London News*. Miss Nicolls’ work was all done in white shells. According to the *Illustrated London News*, she used only four sorts, among them:

A very small rounded shell, of an oblong form, not so big as a pea, is copiously employed in all the Bahama work – strung upon fine threads, to form the slenderer

193
Floral corsage or hair ornaments made of white and coloured shells, with mother-of-pearl leaves. Bahamas, perhaps Nassau, New Providence, about 1850–62. L. of coloured spray, bottom left, 18.2 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Acquired from a London firm of importers, S. & H. Harris, 27 Mansell Street, Aldgate, these sprays may have been made by Miss Caroline Nicolls and the Misses Greig who showed similar work at the Great Exhibition. Each shell is threaded on wire and attached to flexible silk-covered wire stems which could be bent to shape as desired.

lines of the devices; but the fanlike valve, arranged in different combinations, is the principal means employed to produce the appearance of luxurious bunches of flowers. . . .

The journal was particularly impressed by

A set of very beautiful and tastefully got-up shell adornments for the head . . . arranged in sprigs and sprays . . . that tremble and quiver as you pass them. . . . The shells possess to a great extent that peculiar pearly gloss and purity of hue which seems exclusive to productions of the sea. We could conceive these ornaments being very successfully used by ladies with perfectly black hair. . . .

The Misses Greig, by contrast,

employ almost exclusively coloured shells, so as to produce imitations as exact as possible of the actual flower. Their bunches are very ingeniously put together, and the imitations of roses, fuchsias, and passion-flowers, particularly good.⁵²

These threaded shell ornaments were utterly different in conception from the grand gold-mounted shell flowers sold in their specially made retailers' cases (see Fig. 16), which nevertheless used similar methods of creating flower petals by splitting bivalves and using each half to represent a petal, as well as carved shell flowerheads.⁵³ Nonetheless making the shell ornaments required great skill: added to the large blossoms, often exploiting the natural colours of the shells for subtle effects, were further shell or mother-of-pearl leaves, or trembling stamens.

In 1860 the V&A acquired from British Honduras specimen scales of three different fish used for decoration: the *callipera* (*Mugil liza*, or mullet) and the bony fish (*Albula vulpes*), both of which had small scales with scalloped edges, and the tarpon (*Megalops thissoides*) from British Honduras, a large Atlantic fish known for its enormous silvery scales of up to three to four inches.⁵⁴ In his lectures on the uses of animals in 1876 Edwin Lankester recorded a stall at Crystal Palace, 'where all kinds of articles for personal adornment are sold which are made out of prepared fish scales. They have a pearly appearance, and are put together in various forms, being considered exceedingly valuable'.⁵⁵ Additions to the Animal Products collection in 1874 and 1881 include floral ornaments with petals made of scalloped fish-scales pierced and threaded on stems of silk-covered wire, among them a small, tight wreath, perhaps for a chignon (Fig. 194).⁵⁶ Like the shell work, they came from London suppliers, but they are so close in technique to the shell work from the Bahamas as to suggest they were made there, either by British expatriate women or by local women for whom the British residents wished to supply employment. There is no complicated goldwork and no need for a workshop with soldering equipment. It would be possible for work of this kind to have been done at home from imported scales: the practice of creating imitation or second-level jewels from unusual materials of no intrinsic value was a frequent source of employment.⁵⁷

The Animal Products collection was significantly increased during the 1870s and 1880s by P.L. Simmonds. The descriptions of the pieces he sold to the South Kensington Museum are sparse and do not always give the names of the shells, let alone their country of origin. But the pieces speak for themselves in their rarity and originality. In 1875 he sold a hairpin

194

Wreath, perhaps for a chignon, fish-scales threaded on wire. Probably made in the Bahamas, 1870–80. W. 16 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Acquired in 1881 from J.W. Mitton Watson, Lancaster House, Savoy, probably an importer like the supplier of the shell ornaments in Fig. 193. The *callipera* (*Mugil liza*, or mullet) and the bony fish (*Albula vulpes*), both from British Honduras, had small scales with scalloped edges. As well as forming three-dimensional jewels, fish-scales were sewn on to costumes and on to a variety of accessories such as fans and small bags.



of pearl shell, cut in astoundingly thin slivers to represent transparent butterfly wings, as well as a startlingly realistic leaf carved in green haliotis shell on which two flies in tortoiseshell and coral have alighted. He also added the simplest brooches and earrings, made of the unaltered natural shells themselves.⁵⁸ Each category produces surprises that have not survived in other collections, either because they were too fragile, or because they had no intrinsic value, or because their simplicity belies their age and they have simply not been recognized as nineteenth-century. Without the contemporary documentation, a group of shell necklets purchased in 1888 could easily be taken for late twentieth-century (Fig. 195).⁵⁹

Evidence from portraits indicates that natural shells were deemed appropriate for girls or young women: Emma Sandys's painting entitled *Young Beauty* portrays a dark-haired young woman with tambourine and exotic striped silk scarf bedecked with a fillet of shells threaded on red cord and a matching trellis-like necklace. One might think this pure fancy but for the survival of jewels of this kind. Glasgow Museums hold a group of jewels with similar shells threaded in trellis patterns on strings of tiny glass beads with documented mid-nineteenth-century provenance (Figs 196, 197). These tiny shells were favoured because of their pearly iridescence.⁶⁰ The fashion was not restricted to women alone; John Jeffrey of Tottenham Court Road made men's dress-studs and sleeve fasteners using button-shaped slices cut from haliotis, cowrie, conus, oliva or murex shells.⁶¹

The necklets of shells in the Animal Products collection were purchased at the Italian



Shell jewellery. English, using local and imported shells, 1870s and 1880s. L. of shell feather 9.5 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Earrings: mussels, cowries (probably carved in Italy) and spiky Venus comb murex. Leaf brooch: green haliotis shell. Butterfly wings: pearl-shell slivers. All were purchased from P.L. Simmonds in 1875 except the winkle necklet, acquired in 1888 from the Italian Exhibition at Earls Court.

Exhibition in London from Francati & Santamaria, a Roman firm which had a London outlet in Hatton Garden and played a major role as importer of Italian jewellery, from cameos, shells and coral to gold Etruscan revival jewels. The 1888 purchase comprised some thirty pieces, including whole shells cut with cameos to show the use of the different layers of shell and which part of the shell was used for cameos.⁶² Alongside these were carved shell brooches – a vine leaf carved in pink shell, fish and feathers in mottled browns and purples.⁶³

In contrast to these simple pieces were highly prized shells set in gold for more formal wear, such as the Australian clam or neotrigonia shell with its polished pearly lustre. A necklace set with a row of graduated shells alternating with gold beads was sold by John Brogden,



196

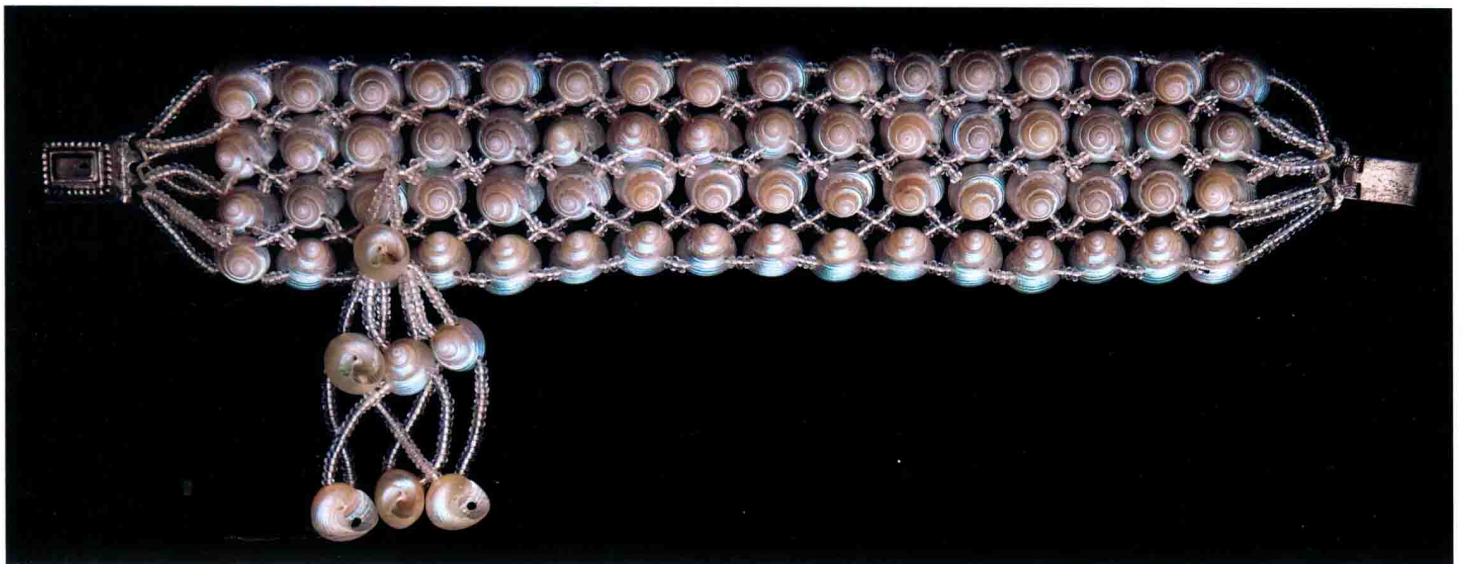
Young Beauty, by Emma Sandys (1843–77). Oil on panel, English, signed and dated 1864. Whereabouts unknown

The young woman wears a hair ornament and necklace of small shells threaded on red cord.

197 Below

Bracelet of a trelliswork of shells threaded on strings of tiny glass beads. European, mid-19th century. L. 18.5 cm. Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum

One of a pair of bracelets, part of a large group of similar shell jewellery given to Glasgow by various donors, one of whom stated that the pieces were brought back from Russia in the mid-19th century by her grandfather. The shells are the same as those in the painted jewellery in Fig. 196.





198

Brooch formed of two open halves of a neotrigonia shell or Australian clam. American, Tiffany & Co., about 1878. W. 4.3 cm. Tiffany & Co. Archives

The gold mount set with pearls suggests strands of seaweed. Two further pearls are set into the shells themselves.

while Tiffany of New York was using neotrigonia shells, mounting them in gold with pearls, from around 1878 (Fig. 198).⁶⁴

Lastly among marine products, coral featured prominently in the Animal Products collection from the very beginning.⁶⁵ The fishing of coral, which took place principally off the coasts of Italy and North Africa, was a highly organized large-scale industry. The raw coral was carried to manufactories at Naples, Genoa, Livorno and Marseilles, where it was worked and exported across Europe and beyond, to America, India, Africa and the Far East.⁶⁶ The traditional amuletic power of coral to ward off the evil eye continued in Western culture in the nineteenth century in the form of children's coral bead necklaces or coral branches attached to baby's rattles; Simmonds, in his 1880 guide, notes that these were 'not yet obsolete'. The simple polished bead necklace remained tremendously fashionable as an accessory that could be worn at any time, appearing in countless portraits, on its own or accompanied by matching comb, earrings, bracelets, etc. In general the deep red colour was most highly prized in the first half of the century (Figs 199, 200), but by the 1850s white coral was also used. At the Great Exhibition of 1851 the Bond Street firm of Robert Phillips exhibited 'A collection illustrating the application of coral to ornamental purposes', much of which was placed on loan to the South Kensington Museum and became part of the fledgling Animal



199

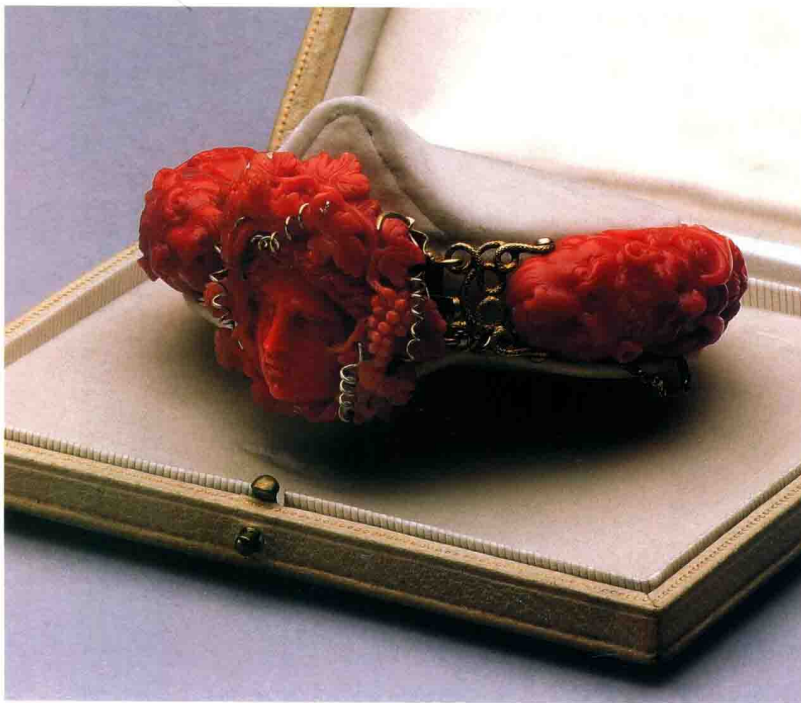
Brooches in carved coral. Italian, probably Naples, 1850–70. H. of brooch on right 7 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

In each case the carver has exploited the natural shape of the coral branch, which varies in colour from a rich dark red to a deep salmon pink. *Left*: Bacchus on a lion trampling bunches of grapes, with Naples assay mark for 1832–63. *Right*: Venus and Neptune with sea-nymph and cupids. *Below*: Mermaid with pendant dolphin, similar to Italian coral jewels displayed by Robert Phillips at the 1862 exhibition in London.

200

Carved coral bracelet with vine-wreathed mask. Italian, second half of the 19th century. H. of mask 3.6 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

In a later retailer's case labelled 'Kirby & Bunn, from Streeter's, 17 Cork St'. After Streeter retired in 1904, his premises and goodwill were transferred to the Parisian firm of Lacroche Frères in 1905, but the stock eventually passed to Kirby & Bunn in about 1914. This bracelet may therefore be unsold stock of Streeter's.



Products collection.⁶⁷ Listed in full in the Animal Products accession registers, it makes fascinating reading, not only for types lost to us today like the red and white coral negligés, but also for the appearance of the south Italian amuletic pendants in the form of arms and legs, transformed into bracelet charms:

12 bracelets; 12 brooches; Parasol garniture, viz. stick, ring, ferrule and rib top; 3 pairs earrings; Crucifix; 4 cameo corals; 4 carved pieces; Pen holder, gold mounts; 3 branches rough; 2 branches polished; 24 pieces polished; 2 negligé white; Ditto red and white; 7 ditto red; 1 ditto red and white, six strings; 24 rows of beads; 3 doz small charms, including 2 legs, 2 arms [typical votive objects]; 2 pairs links – fox's heads; 12 watch-keys; 4 seals; 6 pin tops; 3 sets of buttons of 6 each; 3 sets of buttons of 5 each; 5 sets of studs of 3 each [also fox's heads]; 2 eye-glass frames; 12 unmounted hands [more votive objects]; 3 unmounted shells.⁶⁸

There were also seals and miscellaneous small articles, making a total of over 230 objects. Several pieces were removed by Phillips between July and November 1860, when the remainder was reclaimed.⁶⁹ By around 1860, the treasured pale pink coral had become fashionable. It was much in evidence in the Naples contribution to the Florence Industrial Exhibition of 1861, Italy's first national exhibition following unification:

Nothing can exceed the elegance of the bracelets, brooches and other ornaments of mixed red and white, or of pale rose-coloured coral, worked with infinite taste into knots, posies, and cameos of rare delicacy and finish. The Florentine and Roman mosaics, handsome as they are, look heavy and graceless beside this exquisite manufacture; and one feels quite provoked at the stores of good material wasted in cutting those massive strings of rich flesh-coloured beads, which look

201

Parure of pale pink and white conch shell carved with marine motifs, in original retailer's case. Italian, 1860–70. W. of case 26 cm. British Museum, given by Robert C. Kwok and the British Museum Friends

The parure was acquired by the de Beaumont family in the 19th century, possibly as a wedding gift from a tour to Italy. Each element is constructed of several pieces of shell riveted to a gold frame. The whole parure would have needed pieces from a number of different shells. This differs from the red coral jewels, which exploit the natural shapes so that one piece of coral forms each element, whether a brooch or a bracelet link (see Fig. 199).

too heavy to adorn any throat but that of a Juggernaut idol, when they could be turned into such elegant and becoming trinkets as these.⁷⁰

This passage is revealing for the range of objects and the evident dislike of the large plain beads; a decade or two later, such strings would be treasured by the devotees of the Aesthetic Movement. But in 1860 it was the complexity of workmanship that was admired. At the 1862 London Exhibition, Robert Phillips showed similar carved coral jewellery, either imported ready-made, or as the coral elements alone, which were then mounted in England.⁷¹ The Italians also displayed raw uncut coral; the rough dark red type was priced at a maximum of £4 12s 6d per kilogram for large pieces, while pink coral cost £20 15s 5d per oz. At the Paris Exhibition of 1867, G. A. Sala despised the earlier taste for branch coral as 'twisted sticks of seeming red sealing-wax', or 'the debris of a lobster strung together', giving the impression 'that the spectator was looking at a bunch of carrots through the small end of an opera glass', contrasting it with Phillips's artistic treatment of coral as a precious substance to be carved, polished and combined with goldsmiths' work.⁷²

The pale pinkish-orange variety, known as 'angel's skin' coral because of its translucent appearance, was much rarer and more highly prized than the dark red.⁷³ It does not usually occur in large pieces and so jewels were often made up of several small pieces (Fig. 201A). This means that it is often confused with the giant, or Queen, conch shell (*Strombus gigas*). Imported from the West Indies, conch shell occurs as distinct pink and white layers. Because the layers are relatively thin, and the strong colour occurs mainly on the lip of the shell, multiple pieces were often built up to create a high relief cameo effect (Fig. 201). The colour of angel's skin coral is generally more homogenous, but it is above all the structure that distinguishes the two materials. Under magnification coral has tiny round holes while conch shell has a flame like pattern.

By 1871 the tide was turning in favour of greater simplicity. The *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* urged its readers to adorn their white summer muslins not with gold and jewelled ornaments, but with a coral

necklet, locket, cross or medallion, and earrings to match. Nor need the cost of good coral prevent our wearing this bright and graceful decoration. Those who cannot afford the smoothly cut beads, which are to my taste irresistible, can look equally charming in rock coral ornaments, which they can obtain from LAVINIA, Brompton, at very moderate prices indeed. . . . The rock coral is of a very beautiful colour, alike becoming to dark and fair complexions.⁷⁴

Like coral, animal teeth and claws have a long tradition as amulets and as prophylactics. Stag's teeth retained their protective powers into the nineteenth century; examples of stags' teeth amulets entered the British Museum in the late nineteenth century, along with bunches of charms incorporating teeth, claws and boars' tusks. They are unlikely to have been of any great age when acquired, but they are all designed to be hung from a cord or chain round the neck or wrist and were often concealed beneath clothing. This is what differentiates them from the Victorian habit of wearing animal parts openly.⁷⁵ Prince Albert brought with him the German tradition of mounting stags' teeth, set as if they were acorns

201A

Brooch of pale or angel's skin coral. Italian, 1850–60. W. 4.9cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift





**202**

Queen Victoria's necklace of 44 stag's teeth mounted on a gold mesh chain set with black enamel beads. British, about 1860–65. L. 45.8 cm. Royal Collection

The clasp is enamelled with Prince Albert's motto 'Treu und fest' (True and firm), and on the back 'All shot by Albert' with the dates of each shoot on the transverse bands.

with enamelled gold oak or holly leaves, as souvenirs of his deer-stalking trips in Scotland (see p. 40).⁷⁶ Occasionally the stags' teeth souvenirs were successfully turned into a fashionable jewel. An elegant necklace made for Queen Victoria is set with a fringe of stags' teeth on a gold mesh chain, the dates of each shoot inscribed on transverse bands. The clasp is inscribed 'All shot by Albert'. Although the dates are all in the 1850s the classical style fringe design suggests that it may have been made after his death, perhaps as a memorial (Fig. 202).⁷⁷ In other hunting souvenirs from Scotland, the animal parts were worn for their own sake in the simplest of settings, whether the feet of game birds, especially ptarmigan and grouse (Fig. 204), or pairs of boars' tusks.⁷⁸ The Scottish associations of many such jewels were enhanced by the use of Scottish stones; in one instance a large cairngorm was suspended between two boars' tusks (Fig. 203). This was no hunting souvenir from Scotland, where wild boar had been extinct since the seventeenth century. Perhaps the tusks had been brought back from a hunting trip abroad and mounted in Scotland to fool the recipient. But

there is another explanation. In Naples in 1881, Lady Layard bought boars' teeth set in silver as a talisman against the evil eye.⁷⁹ These ancient beliefs may lie behind the wearing of teeth as a simple lucky charm, on a neck chain, bracelet or watch-chain, the latter by both men and women. In the 1880s there was a craze for alligator teeth set as brooches, earrings, scarf-pins and bangles. Bloomingdale's of New York advertised alligator-teeth jewellery in rolled and solid gold.⁸⁰ What provoked this sudden novelty is unclear.

The Scottish animal jewellery was swamped by the enormous quantities of imported tiger claws from India, both mounted and unmounted. The tiger claw is traditionally a potent amulet in India, believed not only to deflect any evil spirit but also to impart to the wearer the ferocious qualities of the animal. Fanny Parks, the wife of a clerk of the East India Company who lived in India from 1822 to 1845, noted the wearing of claws as charms by women and children and had one made for herself in Fatehgarh bazaar which copied that worn by the wife of one of her Muslim servants.⁸¹ A tiger has twenty claws which are normally retracted, to be bared only when attacking; possessing them was obvious proof of a man's stamina. The usual form of Indian tiger-claw amulet incorporates two addorsed claws of matching size, mounted with the wide ends together horizontally at the base of an amulet box, their ends pointing downwards and outwards. A brooch and pendant with tiger claws mounted in this way was given by the Maharajah of Travancore to the Prince of Wales on his Indian tour of 1875–6. Set in repoussé gold worked in relief, it is markedly different from the characteristic engraved gold settings of examples made for export, though occasionally such examples



203

Brooch with boars' tusks set in engraved silver, with a huge cairngorm drop. Scottish, about 1860–80. W. 7 cm. Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum

Wild boar were long extinct in Scotland by this date. The tusks may have been brought back from abroad. In Italy they were worn as amulets into the late 19th century.



204

White ptarmigan foot mounted in silver as a brooch. Scottish, about 1860–80. L. 7.2 cm. Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum

A Scottish cairngorm is set between the antlers of a stag's head. The ptarmigan's rust-brown plumage turns white in winter to conceal the bird in the snow. A strange shape like this was probably worn as a lapel brooch on an outdoor tailored sporting costume, or in a hat, to clasp a tuft of ptarmigan feathers.

**205 A & B**

Tiger-claw brooch-pendant with reversed crystal intaglio portrait of a tiger surrounded by claws. English, about 1870. W. 7.2 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

This jewel, with a portrait perhaps of the tiger whose claws are incorporated, may have been made as a genuine souvenir of big-game hunting. But the survival of so many tiger-claw jewels suggests that they had become fashionable curiosities, with perhaps a vestige of their amuletic significance in Indian myth.



replicate the Indian orientation of the claws. Tiger hunting took place in the cold season, and for a Westerner to be invited to a hunt was a symbol of social status which demanded its trophy in the form of the animal's claws.⁸² The skins were often brought back as rugs, complete with stuffed heads. Perhaps it was from one such stuffed head that a rare reversed crystal intaglio portrait of the tiger itself was cut and mounted as a brooch in the centre of four claws (Fig. 205).⁸³

Many tiger-claw jewels made in India for export had nothing to do with any hunt in which a Westerner had participated. When the surplus collection from the Indian court at the London International Exhibition of 1862 was sold in January 1863 it included 'a bracelet, consisting of eight tiger-claws, elegantly mounted in gold, from Calcutta'.⁸⁴ Tiger-claw jewellery appeared again in Paris in 1867, where the South Kensington Museum purchased a 'modern' necklace.⁸⁵ 'The claws of many a "man-eater" are doomed to rest harmlessly on the bosom of some Western beauties' quipped the *Art-Journal* on the display of a Bombay firm, Messrs J. and W. Watson & Co., at the Vienna Exhibition of 1873.⁸⁶ In September 1875 the

**206**

Tiger-claw brooch, mounted in coloured gold. American, Tiffany & Co., about 1877. L. 7.5 cm. Tiffany & Co. Archives

A yellow-gold tiger leaps through green-gold foliage, the leaves engraved with veins.

New York Times spurned the wearing of tiger-claws as a 'horrid custom', but by late 1877 they had become a desirable fashion accessory, perhaps helped by the display of the Prince of Wales's Indian gifts in London, which was reported widely across the Atlantic.⁸⁷ A December 1877 fashion column piece on Christmas gifts at Tiffany's lists 'the tiger-claw pin and brooch among Tiffany's most select wares', while an unidentified cutting in the firm's archives for the same month describes 'a shawl pin at Tiffany's . . . formed of a large tiger claw, elegantly mounted with Etruscan gold and adorned with an exquisitely wrought miniature tiger of gold' (Fig. 206).⁸⁸ In London in 1880, the latest 'knicknacks' advertised in *The Queen* included a panther-claw vinaigrette and a real lion's paw with gold claws as a hat ornament.⁸⁹

With lions' claws from Africa, what had originally been votive or ceremonial objects, deprived of their context, became colonialist trophies. Queen Victoria chose two lions' claws among the items of 'Coomassie Prize Gold' which she purchased from Garrard's display of the Ashanti treasure in 1874 (see p. 199).⁹⁰ And when the Zulu King Cetshwayo was captured on 28 August 1879 during the Zulu War, Lord Wolseley wrote to his wife the next day from the torched city of Ulundi:

Well, after more than one miss, Cetewayo is a prisoner at last. . . . I have managed to secure one of Cetewayo's necklaces of lions' claws – only the highest in the land are allowed to wear such a distinction. I shall send home a few of the claws by Gifford to be mounted. And round the edge will be engraved 'CETEWAYO, 28th August 1879'. I shall tell Dobson to mount them and await instructions from you as to their disposal. You must write a note with each, saying I send a little 'charm', which had formed part of Cetewayo's necklace. Baroness Coutts; Lady Constance Stanley; Lady Sherborne; Lady Cardwell; Miss Goschen; Miss Smith (the Admiralty man's daughter); one to each of the Miss Hennikers and the Miss Lawrences occur to me.

The list adds up to ten claws in all and that was apparently just a few of them. Once distributed, however, the purpose of the claws, even their identity, was completely misunderstood. Lady Wolseley replied from Fleming's Hotel, London, on 11 March 1880: 'I had a nice visit from Lady Burdett-Coutts, who thanked me profusely for *Cetewayo's tooth*. I did not undeceive her, for a Lion's claw would have seemed nothing by comparison.'⁹¹



BRITAIN AND THE WORLD



6 BRITAIN AND THE WORLD

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS

Were I a judge, or a juror, or a connoisseur – and I am not one of the three – I should give my award thus. For monumental goldsmiths' work, colossal services of plate, trophies, cups, and so forth, Christofle of Paris, and Hunt & Roskell of London, should have the prize. If I were a king, these gentlemen should make my crown – the mere circlet and bows, and orb and star. Hancock should set the crown with gems; he has the most splendid stock of jewels in the world. My regalia should be enshrined in a casket made by Froment-Meurice. Elkington should emboss the plateau of silver on which my sword and sceptre were laid. But Phillips of London, and Castellani of Rome, should cover my Queen from head to foot with bracelets and rings, necklaces and tiaras, earrings and brooches, chains, girdles and stomacher's of the real goldsmith-jeweller's work – the exquisite combination of the noble material with the nobler artistic handicraft. (George Augustus Sala on the Paris Exposition of 1867)¹

National and international exhibitions played an enormous role in making and breaking reputations, in disseminating information to a huge audience about the products of their own and other countries, and in making those products immediately available through purchases at the exhibitions themselves or through subsequent trade contacts. What were the different kinds of exhibition? How did jewellery feature in them? And what does it tell us about national identity, the rise and fall of different countries, the types and styles of jewellery – either those that we know or those that have not survived at all – and the perceptions of hierarchy with regard to the different jewellers? Sala's eulogy quoted above reveals not only the titanic reputations of the top jewellers, but also the reasons why they held that position; his comment can only be understood against the background of the debate over what constituted artistic design, which was played out through the world's fairs from 1851 onwards. Much has been written on international exhibitions in general, while jewellery historians have tended to use them to document the detailed development of known examples or firms.² The present account aims to take a broad chronological view of the questions outlined above, using selected exhibitions as examples, and to examine the main changes between the most influential exhibitions.³ This is not a comprehensive survey, but one intended to give a general picture of the kinds of items exhibited. Much use has been made of *The Times* in providing an informed commentary independent of the specialist art press and the trade press; it contains a surprising amount of detailed comment specifically on jewellery, as well as on enamelling and goldsmiths' work. *The Times* articles are all anonymous, but occasionally it is possible to speculate who might have been involved in such publicity, or who was responsible for the representation of particular countries.

Previous pages: left, peacock brooch by Baugrand (see Fig. 245); right, Baugrand's stand at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 (see Fig. 224)

The different kinds of exhibition

The largest in terms of scope were the big universal exhibitions; these were all-inclusive in both a geographical and a typological sense, containing fine art, industrial art, machinery and raw products from all parts of the world. The first of these international exhibitions was the Great Exhibition in London in 1851. As it was the first large-scale fair of its kind, no one knew what to expect or what should be there; as a result the jewellery selection was utterly random and by no means representative. The exhibition received huge public acclaim and staggering visitor numbers, but its greatest success – its financial profit – was never repeated by any subsequent world's fair. Nor were the mistakes of 1851, such as using an all-glass building.⁴ On a different level, comparisons between the wares of all the nations prompted urgent debate on issues of art education and the improvement of all kinds of British manufactures, particularly luxury items, which were widely perceived as comparing very poorly with those of foreign competitors, being sub-standard in both design and craftsmanship. The Great Exhibition confirmed the national position of industrial superiority, but in the realm of luxury goods the majority of the coveted prizes were won by the French, acknowledged world leaders in taste and style.

The most significant change that took place in subsequent world's fairs was the greater emphasis on art manufactures. The 1851 exhibition was followed by the Paris exhibition of 1855, the second London exhibition of 1862, Paris again in 1867, Vienna in 1873, Philadelphia in 1876, Paris in 1878 and 1889, Chicago in 1893, and the Paris Centennial Exhibition of 1900. There were of course others in between – New York and Dublin in 1853 for example – but they did not have such far-reaching impact outside their own country. France had five in all; no other country had as many. This had much to do with the constant political upheavals throughout the nineteenth century and the need for each régime to demonstrate France's perceived pre-eminence in fine and industrial art. The 1855 exhibition proved that Second Empire France had recovered from the turbulence of 1848 and claimed the leadership of European fashion; the 1867 exhibition showed off the rebuilding schemes of Haussmann's Paris; 1878 demonstrated that France had once again recovered, this time from the devastation of the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune. Many exhibition structures were temporary, but both 1878 and 1889 left a legacy of splendid permanent buildings: the Palais du Trocadéro (demolished 1937) and the engineering showpiece, the Eiffel Tower, in 1889.

Next largest in scope were the specialist international exhibitions, the specialism being either the subject or the type of exhibitor. Among these was the Workmen's International Exhibition in London in 1870, the distinctive feature of which was that each article bore the name of the actual maker, not just the tradesman who had it for sale. This was partly to counter complaints that inferior foreign goods were being sold as British, but principally 'to show what English workmen can do, and who the men are that do it'.⁵ The Nuremberg international exhibition of 1885, by contrast, focused on one type of object – metalwork. An International Exhibition of Electricity held in Paris in 1881 was followed by the International Fisheries Exhibition of 1883; this was a huge enterprise, with a geographical spread of contributions from Italy to the Bahamas. It preceded a series in London, all in South Kensington and conceived by the Prince of Wales, to promote the health, wealth and prosperity of the empire; these exhibitions were devoted to bodily well-being (the Health Exhibition of 1884), labour-saving devices and comfort (the Inventions Exhibition of 1885), and the colonies (the Colonial and

Indian Exhibition of 1886). They all included jewellery, but because of their titles this has often been overlooked. The Fisheries exhibition, for instance, had an enormous amount of jewellery made from marine products (see Chapter 5), while at the Inventions Exhibition, gold medals were awarded to Giuliano and Hancock's of London and Khlebnikoff of Moscow for artistic merit in jewellery. The Colonial and Indian Exhibition contained court goldsmiths' work and jewellery from all the regions of India, as well as from other British possessions such as Malta, the Gold Coast, Ceylon and Burma.⁶

Then came the national exhibitions, devoted to native products and held in the relevant country. Here the French were pioneers, instituting a series of eleven *expositions des produits de l'industrie française* from 1798 to 1849.⁷ The last three, which fell within the reign of Victoria, were held in the Champs Elysées in 1839, 1844 and 1849; the number of exhibitors and duration gradually increased, until by 1849 there were over 4,500 exhibitors and the exhibition remained open for six months. Comparable exhibitions did not occur elsewhere until the second half of the nineteenth century, for example the Dutch Industry Exposition of 1864, the Irish Exhibition of 1865, the First National Industrial Exhibition in Tokyo in 1877, or the *Exposição Industrial Portuguesa* of 1888. Some of these received copious press coverage. The Russian Industrial Exhibition in St Petersburg in 1870 was reported at length in the *Art-Journal*, which found the jewellery mostly heavy and in bad taste, because of its 'barbaric love of glitter', with the exception of Mellin of Helsingfors and the Danish archaeological revival pieces.⁸ Italy and Germany both held their first big national exhibitions after their respective unifications: the *Esposizione Italiana, agraria, industriale e artistica* in Florence in 1861 (Rome was still held by the popes) and the *Deutsches Kunst und Kunstindustrie Ausstellung* in Munich in 1876 (see p. 367).

A different sort of national exhibition – national because they were devoted to the products of a single country, but held outside that country – included two held at Earl's Court in London: the Italian Exhibition of 1888 and the American Exhibition of 1887. Examples held outside the UK include the *Exposition française* in Moscow in 1891 and the Irish Fair in Chicago in 1897. But they are rare examples.

Lastly, there were the exhibitions devoted to the products of a single manufacturing city or region, such as the 'Exposition of Arts and Manufactures of Birmingham and the Midland Counties', held in Birmingham in 1849. This had a particular importance as the first exhibition of British manufactures and as a small-scale prototype for the Great Exhibition.

The Great Exhibition of 1851

Gentlemen – the exhibition of 1851 is to give us a true test and a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived in this great task, and a new starting point from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions. (Prince Albert's speech at the Guildhall, London, 1849; printed in the *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition*, London, 1851)

The Great Exhibition aimed to present the whole field of industrial production under one roof, as indicated by its full title 'The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations'. It set a model that was repeated with modifications in a number of later exhibitions and so

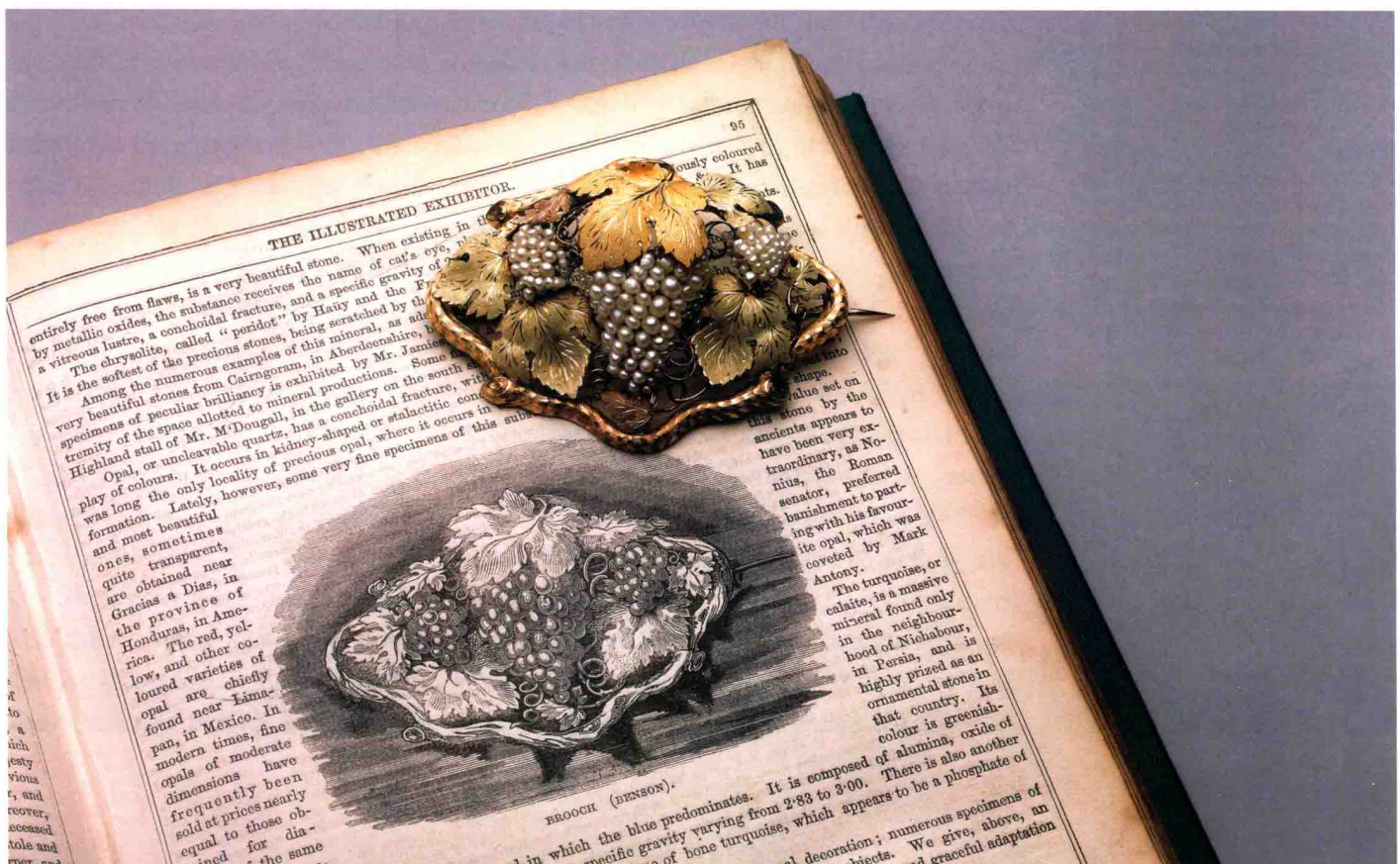
is dealt with here in more detail than subsequent exhibitions.⁹ The placing and impact of jewellery, which was scattered in several different places, can only be understood with some knowledge of the exhibition structure. The layout had two main divisions: Britain and her Empire, and the rest of the world. Within the British half, each colony had a separate section, while the other exhibits were divided into classes under four headings: raw materials, machinery, manufactures and fine arts.¹⁰ Jewellery was included in the manufactures section, which had nineteen of the thirty classes and was the first classification system ever attempted of the industrial world. Jewellery was shown with works in precious metals, on the upper floor or gallery. The foreign exhibitors had no class division, and were also split between the ground floor and the gallery; French jewellery was on the ground floor, while Italy was on the upper floor. But the Central Nave contained trophy pieces such as the Koh-i-Noor diamond, in disregard of whether they fitted into other sections or not.

The bewildering physical layout was compounded by the inconsistent arrangement of the *Official Catalogue*, which was evidently assembled very quickly.¹¹ The catalogue is woefully incomplete – India's contribution came too late to be included – so that it has to be supplemented with the various reports, and with the separate *Index* volume, which has an alphabetical list of contributors and categories. The *Index* includes contributors whose exhibits were added after the catalogue went to press, but it is still inadequate: Froment-Meurice, a prize-winning medallist, does not appear in either the *Official Catalogue* or the *Index*. Aside from the exhibition reports and the *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*, another crucial and often neglected publication is the *Illustrated Exhibitor*. Among the many illustrations and descriptions of jewellery that it contains is an important piece of evidence concerning the ubiquitous vine brooches (Fig. 207). These turn out to have been retailed by J.W. Benson of Cornhill, known principally as watchmakers, but, like Froment-Meurice, not in the *Official Catalogue*.¹² The 'new and ingenious' vine brooches were executed in both gold and silver.¹³

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London 1851: vine brooch by J.W. Benson from *The Illustrated Exhibitor*, with an actual example in coloured gold and pearls. The brooch English, about 1850. W. 7.3 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The three-dimensionality of the piece would not be obvious from the contemporary illustration. This is the largest size in which these brooches occur; the Hull Grundy Gift contains versions in decreasing sizes, possibly for wear as a set, down the front of a corsage.



Some fifteen countries exhibited jewellery (by no means all of the countries in the exhibition). In volume Britain dominated, with thirty-eight jewellery exhibitors. Among the foreign exhibitors France came next with twenty, followed by the Zollverein (a customs union of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse and the smaller German states), Russia, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Tunisia (silver and amber jewellery) and China (gold and silver filigree). Among the 'Colonial Possessions', displays with jewellery were those from India, the 'East Indies' (the jewellery was mostly from Java), Malta and the Ionian islands, Canada, the West Indies and West Africa. With Africa, Australia and New Zealand, the emphasis was on raw materials with some ethnographic artefacts as curiosities collected by the colonizers, such as shell necklaces from Tasmania.¹⁴ America's contribution encompassed a huge range of agricultural and industrial products, including Native American artefacts, but jewellery was almost entirely absent, apart from the collection of American gems and minerals exhibited by Dr L. Feuchtwanger of New York.¹⁵ Besides Britain, only France displayed items from a colonial possession – Algiers – and these included silver jewellery.

Quite apart from the difficulty of working out what was there, the selection methods varied wildly, especially for the foreign exhibits. The Chinese exhibits came via the Board of Trade and from London sources such as Hewett & Co.; H. Hamilton Lindsay of Berkeley Square exhibited the filigree jewellery.¹⁶ For some of the colonies the selection was made entirely by a local committee of colonial officials, as in the East Indies, or was sent directly by British occupants: the astonishing shell ornaments from the Bahamas were exhibited by Miss Caroline Nicolls and the Misses Greig, suggesting that this was a pastime, albeit a highly skilled one, for the wives and daughters of local officials and had little to do with any indigenous tradition (see p. 235). They were the main feature of a whole-page article in the *Illustrated London News* on shells and shell-work in the exhibition.¹⁷ The contribution of the Ionian Islands, a British Protectorate, came from Englishmen who had served there and who lent jewellery and embroidery. The embroidery was described as 'everyday wear of the peasant-girls of Corfu', but the jewellery was highly patriotic, depicting 'the Lion and Crown of England, the Protecting Nation, on a large medallion, with the seven medallions of the seven islands depending upon it' (Fig. 208).¹⁸ The Ionian Islands were pressing for union with Greece and an insurgency had only recently been suppressed. These politically charged pieces were made for the British community there and were hardly traditional products.¹⁹

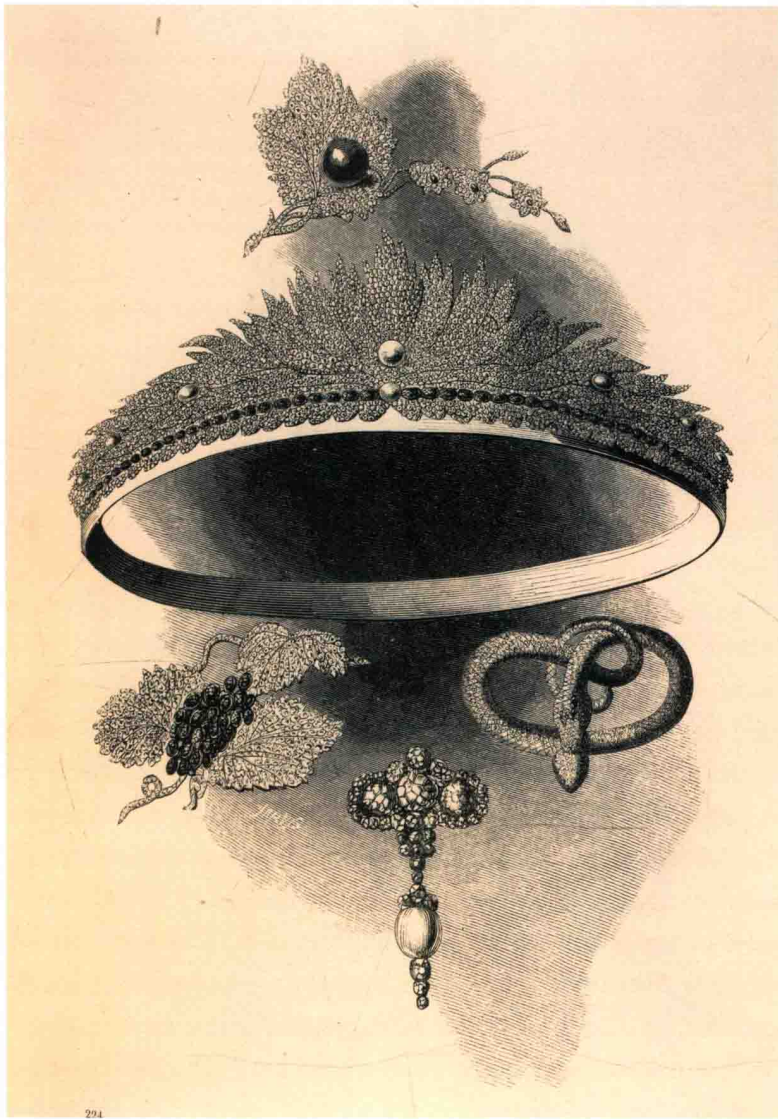
From Britain and Continental Europe alone the range was astonishing, both in the type of jewellery, from expensive to very cheap, including fittings and new inventions such as safety-chains, and in the type of exhibitor, from the grandest court jewellers to individuals working from home.²⁰ In the field of diamond and gem-set jewellery Britain held her own against France as well as Russia, whose contribution, although less extensive, was seen as strong competition. Council Medals (the highest honour) were awarded to Garrard, the Crown Jewellers, and to Morel, a French émigré (see pp. 105 and 360), in both cases for their whole display. Hunt & Roskell received the same award for a magnificent convertible diamond bouquet containing some 6,000 diamonds (see Fig. 126) which received more comments from contemporary critics than any other jewelled object apart from the Koh-i-Noor diamond. The display of the St Petersburg firms impressed the critics as much for the high prices as for the way in which they cut and set the stones. The court jewellers Kämmerer & Zeffigen exhibited two huge convolvulus sprays, of diamonds and turquoises, each

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London 1851: Ionian Islands brooch. *Illustrated London News*, 3 May 1851, p. 363

The seven islands and their symbols as listed by the *Illustrated London News* are, from left to right: Ithaca with a head of Ulysses; Santa Maura (present-day Lefkada) with a harp, as the death-place of Sappho; Cephalonia with Cephalus, a dart and ΚΕΦ; in the centre Corfu with arms and emblems; Zante (Zakynthos) with a tripod; Cerigo (Kythera) with Venus emerging from a shell (the island was her supposed birthplace); and Paxos with a trident, as sacred to Neptune. The islands were ceded to Greece in 1862.





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London 1851: diadem
by Jahn & Bolin,
St Petersburg. *Official
Illustrated Catalogue*, III,
pl. 224

The diadem cost £4,800.
The other pieces are listed
in the *Official Catalogue*
(Russian Section, no. 322)
as a diamond brooch in
the form of a branch
(£340, *top*), a bracelet with
vine-leaves in diamonds
and ruby grapes (£370,
left), a *séviigné* brooch in
diamonds and pearls
(£475), and a bracelet in
diamonds and turquoises,
presumably the snake.

costing about £750, while Jahn & Bolin's diadem, with its solid mass of diamonds echoing in its form the Russian *kokoshnik* headdress, cost £4,800 (Fig. 209). Both firms received medals. Gem-set jewellery was also brought by Holland, the centre of the diamond-cutting industry, and by the Zollverein's various contributors, who often combined precious stones with gold and enamel. F.G. Haulick of Hanau showed a gold flower vase with removable gem-set jewel that could be worn as a brooch or hairpin.²¹

Among the French jewellers, the Council Medal went to the Parisian Gabriel Lemonnier, who stood out for his extensive diamond and emerald floral parure made for the Queen of Spain. With his central ground-floor position, looking out on to the nave, he drew crowds of admirers. The parure comprised a bouquet brooch, headdress and shoulder-knot, stomacher, necklace and bracelet (see Fig. 64).²² Lemonnier was one of four Council Medallists from France; the other three medals were awarded not for gem-set jewellery but for 'gold and silversmiths' work, artistically treated', and went to Rudolphi, Gueyton and Froment-Meurice. The latter in particular employed distinguished sculptors and designers. The significance of this is examined in Chapter 7 in the context of the Romantic revival. The 'artistic treatment' that so impressed the jury and indeed all the English critics was the oxidizing or darkening



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London 1851: bracelet in oxidized silver exhibited by Frédéric-Jules Rudolphi (1808–72), Paris. Vever 1906–8, I, p. 191

The bracelet depicts three putti fighting over birds. It was designed by the 18-year-old Leroy, a promising pupil of Rudolphi who later worked for Crouzet and Rouvenat. Vever tells us Leroy was notoriously unreliable and came to work only when he felt like it, but he must have been a good craftsman: he won a collaborator's medal for the diamond lilac spray shown by Rouvenat in 1867 (see p. 172).

of the silver to enhance the three-dimensionality of the sculptural ornament and lend an antique effect appropriate to its medieval and Renaissance subject matter (Fig. 210).²³ This went against the English taste for shiny silver that looked like precious metal, yet it was this surface treatment that forced English critics to admit the superior artistic quality of the French contribution and led to a subsequent emphasis on design over intrinsic value. That was the main point of discussion in the reports of the juries and in a crucial prize-winning essay written for the *Art-Journal* by R.N. Wornum, then lecturer at the government schools of design, called 'The exhibition as a lesson in taste'.²⁴

One point that should be made here is the startling contrast in the character of the reports of the jewellery written for different audiences, for example by the *Art-Journal*, a mouthpiece for the art and design community with a mission to improve British manufactures, and the *Illustrated London News*, a serious and informative paper for the general public. The *Illustrated London News* gives immensely detailed country-by-country descriptions of the gemstones in the exhibition and the ingenuity employed in their setting and arrangement, but the display of Froment-Meurice is noted entirely for its diamond jewellery, which is not mentioned by the *Art-Journal* at all. At the very end of the whole-page article is a brief allusion to the 'many beautiful ornaments for the person in oxidised silver scattered over various parts of the Exhibition'.²⁵ *The Times* put it differently: having noted in June that the Queen and Prince Albert had 'paid marked attention to the specimens of oxidised silver' in the French section, a report of a later visit by the Queen in October noted that she 'paid special attention to the stall of Froment-Meurice, which is well worthy even of Royal inspection'.²⁶ The condescending 'even' should perhaps be read rather as surprise that she gave such attention to a French jeweller, let alone one whose display contained things that were inconceivable in Britain. The Queen and Prince Albert made several purchases from Froment-Meurice.²⁷

Froment-Meurice acknowledged his artist-collaborators, but in Britain this was not the case. Designers for jewellery, as opposed to large-scale silver pieces, were barely mentioned. Pugin's Gothic-Revival jewellery was displayed in the Medieval Court, but was completely ignored by all the writers on Class 23, the precious metals section; it was in the wrong place, and was shown by Hardman, a manufacturer of church plate. For jewellery there is just one artist-designed piece listed in the *Official Catalogue*, a silver and niello Gothic-style bracelet

designed by Daniel Maclise (see Fig. 291). It was shown by the firm of S.H. & D. Gass of Regent Street, retailing silversmiths who specialized in civic jewellery, with many commissions for mayoral chains and badges.²⁸ But it was an anonymous brooch on Gass's stand with the figure of Britannia in a gothic niche that drew most comments – for its outstanding workmanship. With nearly 1,000 stones in all, the figure of Britannia alone contained over 400 diamonds, the helmet and rudder of rubies, the flanking columns cut from a single piece of carbuncle (see Figs 292, 293).

Other European countries tended to send predictable specialities. Italy was not yet unified and so the contributions came from three states: from Tuscany, Florentine *pietre dure* or hardstone mosaics, from Rome glass micromosaics (see Chapter 10) and a large selection of cameos by Tommaso Saulini, the most famous Roman cameo-cutter at the time (see Chapter 9), and Sardinia.²⁹ A contemporary audience would have known immediately that this was the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, and the contributions came entirely from Piedmont, specifically Turin and Genoa. It is under Sardinia in the catalogue that we find the silver filigree jewellery from Genoa, 'for the most part worked with bunches of flowers and other ornaments, principally designed for female dress. They sell them by the weight at a price of about 15 per cent above the value of the metal, exclusive of such addition to the price as they think, from the apparent wealth, ignorance or carelessness of the purchaser, they are likely to obtain.'³⁰ Genoese filigree jewellery had been imported into London since at least 1843 and enjoyed huge popularity until well into the 1870s (see pp. 316–18).³¹ There was more from Italy, but not displayed in the Italian section. There was no contribution from Naples, so the London agents of the Neapolitan firm Paravagua & Casella displayed Neapolitan coral jewellery in the British section, as did Robert Phillips (see pp. 240–41). Worse still, the manufacturers of Venice and Milan had to suffer the indignity of exhibiting under Austria, which had regained control of Venice after the short-lived 'Republic of St Mark' of 1848–9.³²

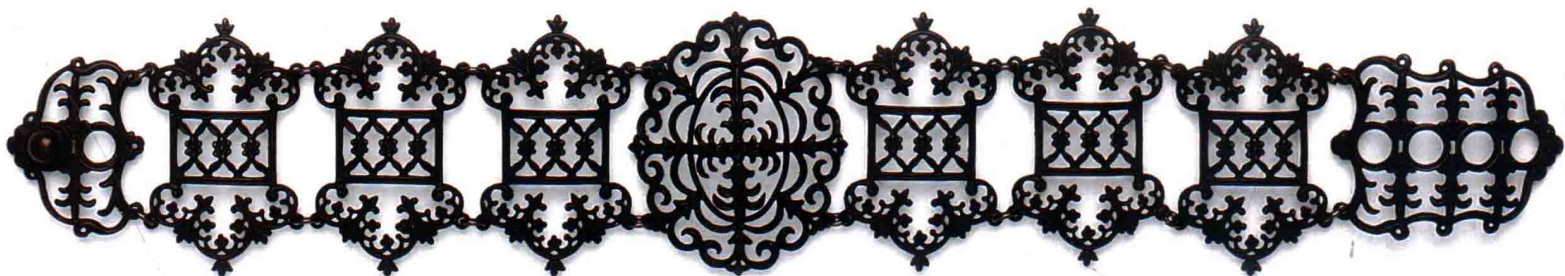
The Zollverein sent amber from the Baltic city of Stolp (now in Poland) and carved ivory jewellery exhibited by two Darmstadt firms: the centre of ivory carving was at Erbach-im-Odenwald, south-east of Darmstadt. This was virtuoso lathe-cut and pierced work, fashioned into brooches of astonishing delicacy, with floral motifs or hunting scenes with stags and horses (see pp. 496–7).³³ Prussia sent gilt jewellery using copper from Britain, Russia and Sweden and glass stones from Bohemia, and the celebrated cast-iron work from Berlin, carefully varnished to prevent rust.³⁴ The South Kensington Museum purchased pieces by one of the principal exhibitors, Devaranne & Son (Fig. 211).³⁵ It would be wrong to suggest that Germany sent only speciality work in unusual materials; there was also enamelled gold and gem-set jewellery. Several exhibitors came from Hanau, an important centre of the jewellery trade which had developed long-standing contacts in London. J.F. Backes & Co., for example, first opened a London office in 1814.³⁶ Although their listing is brief, they inserted two whole pages of illustrations in the *Official Catalogue* (Figs 212, 213).³⁷ Their pieces could easily be taken for French and some of them, such as a brooch with charms in the form of a watering can, wheelbarrow, and other gardening implements, precede Vever's reference to French examples by a good decade (see p. 218).³⁸ There was no contribution from Pforzheim, an equally important jewellery-making city, but one which had not yet developed the outside contacts that were to make it an international centre by the end of the century.

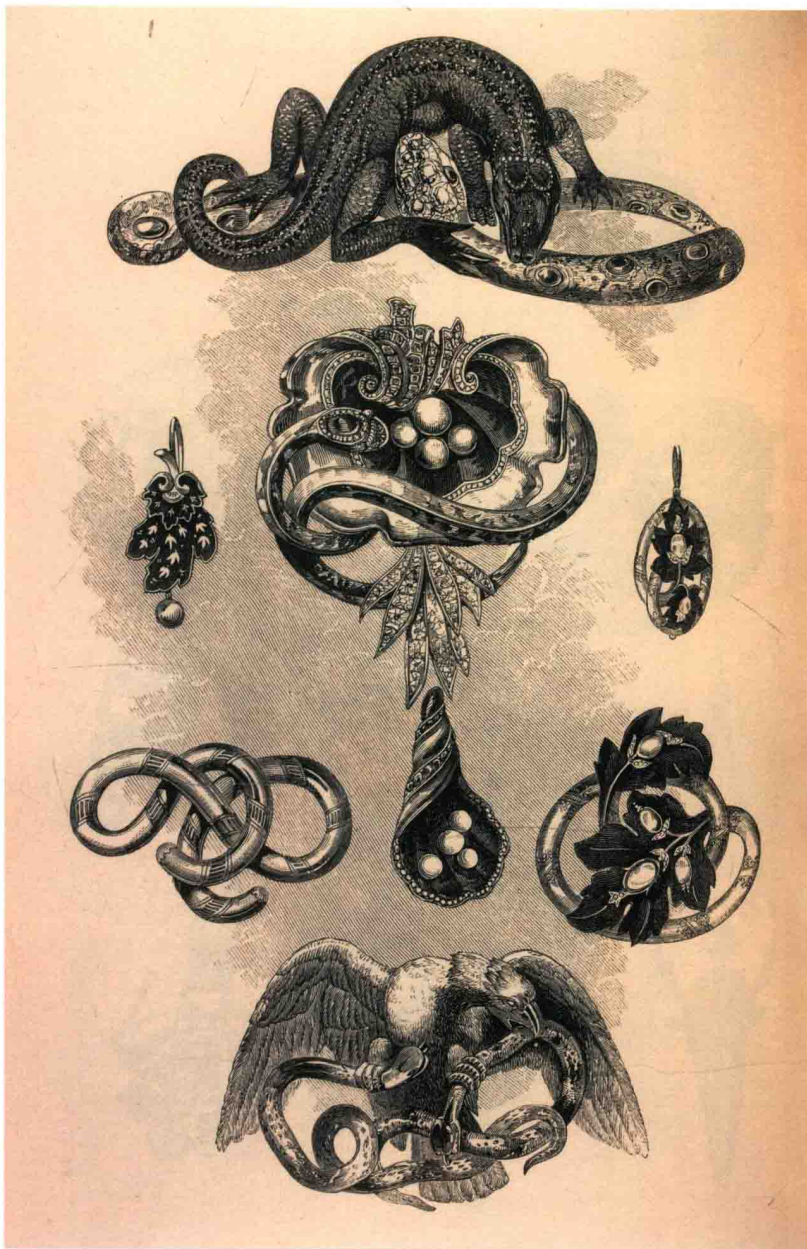
**211 A & B**

London 1851: Berlin iron work bought at the Exhibition by the South Kensington Museum. *Above:* Earrings and two brooches. *Below:* Two bracelets. German, before 1851. L. of earrings 7.8 cm, L. of larger bracelet 21.3 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

The brooch top left matches the centre of the larger bracelet; both pieces are by the firm of S.P. Devaranne. The brooch may once have been a scarf-pin, the pin shortened for wear as a brooch. The characteristic clasp on the larger bracelet is cast as a decorative element forming part of the jewel (as distinct from the standard snap clasp of the smaller bracelet).

Britain also had its regional specialities: jet jewellery from Whitby, Scottish granites from Aberdeen and the copies of ancient Celtic brooches from Dublin, many of which were composed of native materials such as Wicklow gold and Irish pearls and sapphires. The Dublin display was dominated not by the copies but by the original 'Tara' brooch, a remarkable recent discovery then owned by Waterhouse, the jewellers. The centre of the jewellery trade in Britain was Birmingham, yet the jewellers from Birmingham were conspicuously absent, although much fine gold jewellery was made there. The trade in cut steel had also long been centred there, yet the cut steel work at the exhibition was shown by two London firms, Thornhill & Co. and J.B. Durham. Both firms exhibited chatelaines and Durham's was awarded a prize medal. What so impressed the jury, and presumably the selection committee, was that 'twelve months were required to complete this chatelaine. It was made entirely in London, and not a single piece of it was stamped' (Fig. 214).³⁹ That was the point: the London work was superior because it was handmade. The perceived domination in Birmingham of large-scale manufacture made possible by the use of machines combined





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London 1851: jewellery by Backes & Co. of Hanau. *Official Illustrated Catalogue*, p. 153

The reptilian motifs, including the snake stealing bird's eggs (*centre*) and the snake fighting an eagle (*bottom*), are similar to the French repertoire of this date. They were executed in enamelled gold and gemstones.

213
London 1851: brooch with fighting eagle and snake. Gold with *pavé*-set turquoises. Unmarked, French or German (?), about 1850. W. 6.9 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The design of the brooch is similar to one shown by Backes & Co.



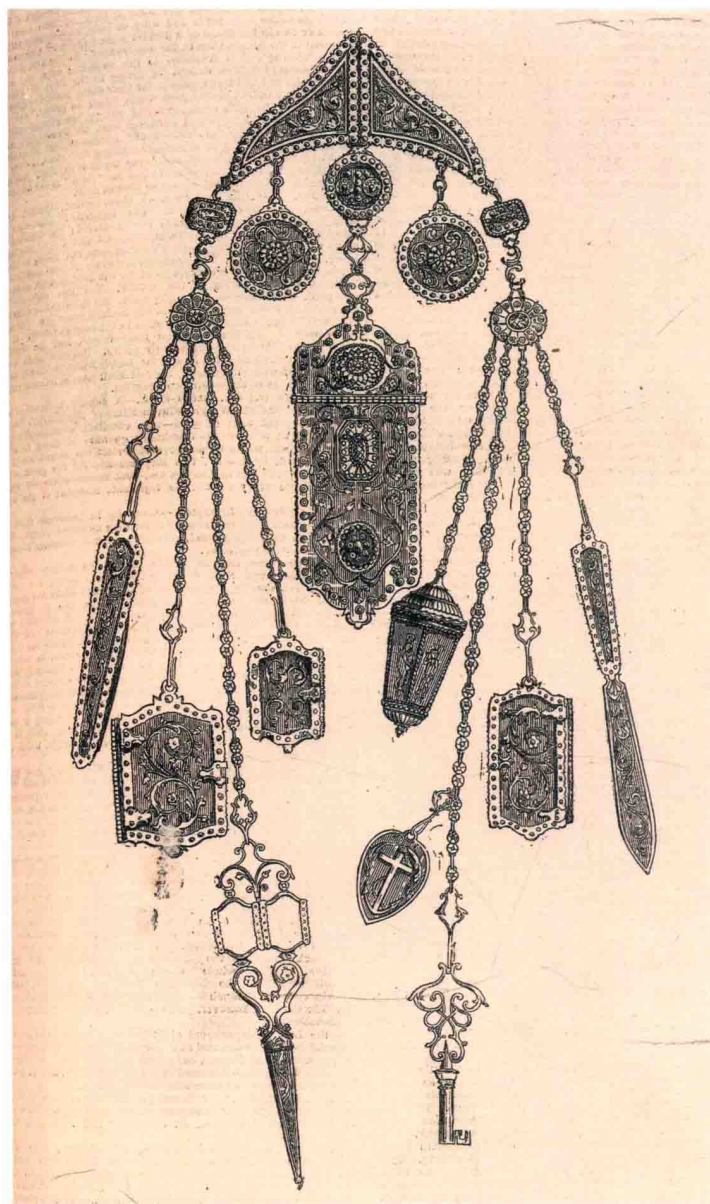
with the use of imitation materials had given rise to prejudices that took decades to overcome; the same comments occur time and again in 1862 and 1867 (see p. 270).

Specimen gemstones, on the other hand, were shown in the Main Avenue or central nave to attract as much attention as possible. Hunt & Roskell had secured the collection of gemstones owned by the late H.P. Hope, including the celebrated 177-carat blue Hope diamond.⁴⁰ There too, surpassing all other stones, was the legendary 186-carat Koh-i-Noor diamond, the largest diamond then known, a gift to the Queen in 1850 from Ranjit Singh following the Treaty of the Punjab in 1849. It was given pride of place in its own case, along with the statues, fountains, fine arts and trophies of manufacturing skill. Significantly, its position there was also the centrepiece of the Indian section, which straddled the central nave and was more than twice as large as all the other colonies put together. The Koh-i-Noor was the undisputed centre of attention, partly because of its royal owner and its romantic history, but primarily because of the enormous value placed on it of £2 million. This meant

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London 1851: steel chatelaine by Joseph Banks Durham. *Illustrated London News*, 9 August 1851, p. 197

The chatelaine has been laid out to show the various elements, each with faceted steel nail-heads, individually riveted. It is heavy and not easy to wear, a problem only too well appreciated by the *Illustrated London News* reviewer: 'Here is a specimen, in its utmost completeness, of those *petits* [sic] *affaires de rien* without which young ladies of the present day fancy they are not properly equipped for the domestic circle. Future generations of readers will stare and rub their eyes when they contemplate this childish decoration of their grandmothers.' The appendages hanging vertically would have clanged together announcing the wearer's every move.



that public expectations were high. It was displayed in a large gold cage made by the locksmiths Chubb with an ingenious mechanism that lowered the diamond into the pedestal at night for greater security. The original Indian setting, a bracelet for the upper arm, comprising the Koh-i-Noor flanked by two pear-shaped diamonds in enamelled gold and tied with silk cords, was shown below, empty of its stones. The three diamonds were then propped up on struts to let the light pass through them (Fig. 215).⁴¹ But for many it was a disappointment: as the eminent mineralogist James Tennant explained, 'Those who were fortunate enough to see it when the sun's rays fell on it, from 2–3 o'clock, were gratified with its brilliancy; but at other parts of the day it was so devoid of lustre as to excite the suspicion in many minds that it was no diamond at all – in fact, nothing but a piece of glass.'⁴² The Indian style of cutting, with minimal loss to the stone achieved by omitting complex faceting on the underside, meant that the light was not reflected in the way that people expected.⁴³ According to *The Times* of 13 June 1851, it was 'shockingly ill-used in the cutting'. All this publicity only added to its mystery. For Jane Carlyle, it merely confirmed her overall dissatisfaction with the Exhibition:

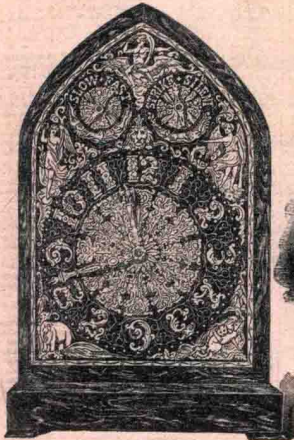
May 31, 1851.]

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS.

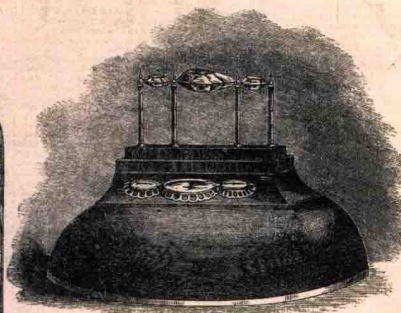
491



10.—TIARA.—BY M. M. BOUILLETTS AND COMPANY



11.—CLOCK.—BY MESSRS R. AND J. MOORE.

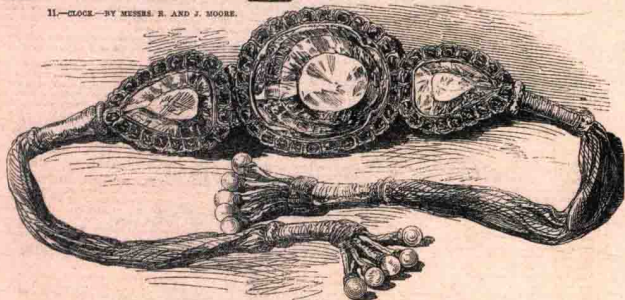


12.—KOH-I-NOOR, AS ARRANGED IN THE GREAT EXHIBITION.—EXHIBITED BY THE QUEEN.

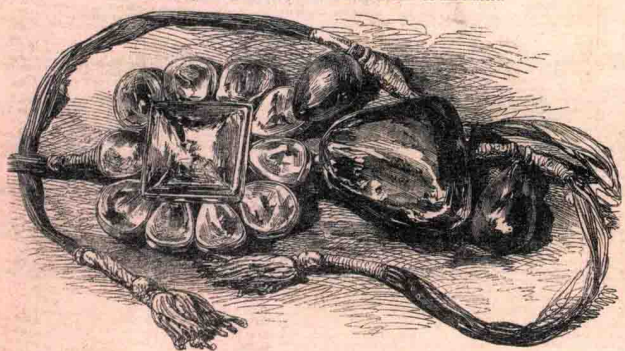
size, amply deserving its name, is not likely to be passed unnoticed. Belgium sends us some rather heavy metal from the Royal Foundry, Liège, as well as a copious collection of small arms. In the United States department we noticed some rifles and pistols on the "revolver" principle. They have but one barrel, which is stationary, the breech alone, which contains the load, revolves, each portion of it coming in its turn to the barrel. The Turks contribute some of their peculiarly picturesque weapons.



13.—SILVER CLARET JUG.



14.—KOH-I-NOOR (MOUNTAIN OF LIGHT) IN ITS ORIGINAL SETTING.—BY HER MAJESTY.



15.—DUMILA-I-FOOR) OR, SEA OF LIGHT.—BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY



16.—HEART-SHAPED DISH OF JASPER, JEWELLED.—BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Guns and pistols, heavy and massive, with inlaid gold and silver, and with stocks of all strange shapes; sabres, knives, and daggers. Canada, in addition to the articles appertaining to the native Indians, sends some very beautiful rifles, &c.

A very interesting collection of weapons is exhibited by the East India Company. Bows and arrows, beautifully made and elaborately ornamented; matchlocks, inlaid with the greatest skill, from Lahore, Jagdispore, Rajpootana, and other parts of their vast territories. A fine specimen of chain armor, and a head cover from Rajpootana. A very curious gun, to fire from the back of a camel, from Lahore; battle-axes, clubs, &c., and cannon of different sizes, from small models up to some very murderous-looking field-pieces. In addition to these are one or two objects which call for special mention. A sword with a fine Damascus blade is quite a curiosity, of nice exactness in fitting. It is a perfect sword to all appearance, and can be used and tested as such in all the usual ways, but by touching a spring in the handle, it splits, and forms two perfect swords with two perfect edges, so closely joining that when together the single edge seems of almost razor sharpness. A shield, manufactured in the arsenal of his Highness the Rajah of Kola, in the state of Rajpootana, is also very ingenious. It has four gold bosses, in each of which is concealed a pistol. A sword with a pistol in the handle, which can be fired while the sword is held in the usual manner, is also to be found in this compartment.

A good illustration of savage warfare may be seen in the model of a New Zealand war pah, contributed by Lieutenant Baines, H.M. 86th Regiment, which shows the method of fortification, by means of palisading, &c., adopted by the natives. The watch-towers at all the salient angles, made in the form of hideous figures, and painted with "the ochre of wrath," are characteristic. Of our native contributions, as might be expected, Birmingham takes

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London 1851: the display of the Koh-i-Noor diamond, shown propped up on struts. *Illustrated London News*, 31 May 1851, p. 491

The stand for the Koh-i-Noor is depicted here without its gold cage. Below, drawn much larger, is the Koh-i-Noor and its two flanking pear-shaped stones in the original Indian setting, a bracelet for the upper arm, which is just visible, empty, on the stand. At the bottom of the page is the Durria-i-Noor, exhibited by the East India Company. It was a much smaller stone but looked more brilliant.

Not that it was not a very beautiful sight . . . but when you come to look at the wares in detail there was nothing really worth looking at – at least that one could not have seen *samples* of in the shops. The big diamond indeed – worth a million! *that* one could not have seen at any jeweller's; but oh Babbie what a disappointment! for the big diamond – unset – looked precisely like a bit of crystal the size and shape of the first joint of your thumb'.⁴⁴

The Indian display, organized by the East India Company, was packed with fabulous jewels, several of them placed in stalls facing the nave, and, according to *The Times* of 14 May: 'so great is their value esteemed, that they have been surrounded with a railing, as if they were State prisoners. We hardly think that this precaution was necessary and it certainly is not ornamental. . . .' The collection contained the jewels taken from the Lahore Treasury by the East India Company Directors when the Punjab was annexed in 1849, among them the emerald belt of Maharajah Sher Singh and the 'Timur ruby' necklace; the Lahore jewels were among those from the Indian section given to the Queen by the company at the close of the exhibition in recognition of her patronage.⁴⁵ *The Times* description goes on to list another immense diamond set as an armlet, the Durria-i-Noor or 'Sea of Light' (the Koh-i-Noor was the 'Mountain of Light'), along with pearl necklaces, emerald armlets, a carved emerald and diamond turban ornament.⁴⁶ The build-up must have been tremendous. If India was the jewel of the colonies, the Koh-i-Noor was the ultimate symbol of India's wealth and the advantages of colonial possessions. Although not set into the State crown until after its re-cutting in the Western taste in 1852, the Koh-i-Noor was the 'jewel in the crown'.⁴⁷

The overwhelming impression of jewellery at the Great Exhibition was for most visitors one of awesome colonial riches and grand diamond ornaments. The French superiority in artistic manufactures was probably something that few would have noticed or cared about. The Irish copies of recently discovered Early Christian Celtic brooches would have been seen by many as local specialities along with the carved bog-oak jewels. They were in fact the first examples of 'archaeological revival' jewellery. No one then could have guessed that the taste for archaeological jewellery would come to dominate subsequent exhibitions.

Dublin 1853

This was the first international exhibition in Ireland and the first anywhere with the same range as 1851, which meant that it prompted many comparisons. As *The Times* put it, 'One showed a nation strongly relying upon its own industry in the face of world-wide rivalry, the other shows a nation struggling to develop its latent resources'.⁴⁸ Overall far fewer countries took part, but like 1851 there was no government funding, the costs being defrayed by the public-spirited engineer and railway contractor William Dargan (1799–1867). What made the exhibition distinct was the way in which Irish national antiquities dominated the entire display: the visitor was greeted by ancient carved stone Celtic crosses at the entrance, leading into a display of Irish antiquities, including the harp of Brian Boróimhe, in the central hall. The opportunity to use the remarkable Early Christian brooches and manuscript illumination to demonstrate Ireland's great tradition in art manufactures was one not to be missed (see pp. 444–53). *The Times* reviewer claimed that the 'very curious and highly interesting, but extremely useless collection of Irish antiquities' masked the insufficiencies in modern Irish industry. Yet he recognized that the exhibition was 'no mere display of present progress, unsanctified by reference to the past', and that the ancient art, along with loans of distinguished paintings, had done much to shape the artistic character of the exhibition.⁴⁹

Among the jewellers a number of exhibitors were the same as in 1851, with Rudolphi and Froment-Meurice from Paris, Phillips from London, Rettie from Aberdeen, and from Dublin itself Waterhouse and West, with their copies of Celtic brooches. Two further Dublin

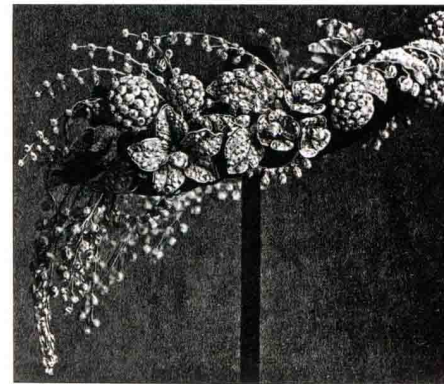
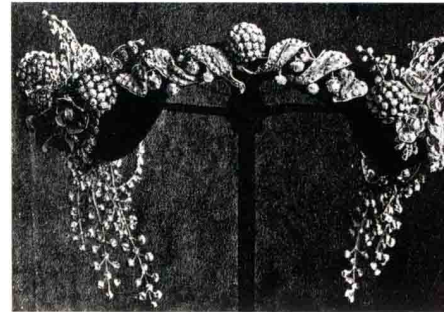
firms who had not taken part in 1851 were Acheson, who also showed Celtic revival jewels, and Goggin, who showed carved bog oak set with Irish ‘diamonds’. As an illustration of Irish industry it was recognized that there was still much to be done, and if carved bog-oak ornaments or garlands made of fish-scales appeared cheek by jowl with the fine linens and lace for which Ireland was renowned, this was because such ornaments, employing natural materials of no intrinsic value, provided much-needed employment (see pp. 236–7 and 452–3).

There was a second distinguishing feature: this was the Eastern collection, which contained a large group of Japanese objects, lent by the Dutch government and preceding by a decade the Japanese collection shown in London in 1862. Additional loans of Indian and Chinese objects came from the museums of the East India Company, from the Queen, and from the London importers Hewett & Co., who had lent in 1851. This came about because the Society of Arts had wished to hold an Indian Exhibition in London in 1853, following the success of the Indian collection in 1851, but had encountered difficulties, and so Prince Albert had encouraged them to assemble an Eastern collection for Dublin.⁵⁰

Paris 1855

No other city in the world could have produced such specimens of exquisite handicrafts, of fanciful design, of artistic invention (*Art-Journal*, 1855)

The events of 1848 had prevented the French from holding the first international exhibition; 1855 was France’s first, even if not the world’s first. While 1851 was funded by private individuals, 1855 was financed by the French government, and it made a staggering loss. Added to this, there were some four buildings instead of a single space, which meant that an overall plan was lacking. Three buildings contained manufactures, fine arts, and machinery and raw materials, while a fourth was given over to the French crown jewels (France’s answer to the Koh-i-Noor) and to French national manufactures, which benefited from a tradition of state support that never existed in Britain. The Koh-i-Noor was absent because Queen Victoria was wearing it in Paris, so, not to be outdone, the London jewellers sent the Hope diamond again, along with ‘Miss Burdett Coutts’ magnificent set of sapphires’, as well as an emerald collar of the young Maharajah Duleep Singh, valued at £250,000.⁵¹ The Paris jewellers presented some outstanding pieces of naturalistic diamond jewellery, among them Fontenay’s head ornament formed of a wreath of wild brambles in a characteristic 1850s form – low on the forehead with clusters over the ears ending in dangling fronds of maidenhair fern. Vever thought so highly of it that he illustrated two contemporary photographs showing it from the front and the side to obtain the full effect (Fig. 216).⁵² But little had changed on the English side; and the French taste for oxidized silver had not been adopted, despite the comments made in 1851. The *Official Catalogue* lists under Phillips ‘bracelets after the antique’ and the *Art-Journal* acknowledged that Phillips’s display was the most tasteful, but urged the jewellers of London and Birmingham to examine the French display.⁵³ They gave three pages of illustrations to Jules Wièse (see p. 357), and one page each to Froment-Meurice with his historicist jewels (see Fig. 320) and Rudolphi, who showed enamelled jewels in the ‘Moorish’ taste.



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Paris 1855: diamond head ornament by Eugène Fontenay (1823–87). Front and side view from Vever 1906–8, II, pp. 163–4

Vever notes that parts of the settings were in platinum, an unusual use of the metal at this date.

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London 1862: jewellery by Phillips Brothers & Son, London & Ryder and Richard Attenborough. Colour lithograph from J.B. Waring, *Masterpieces of Industrial Arts and Sculpture at the International Exhibition of 1862*, II, pl. 167

This selection from three London firms demonstrates the new move towards classical and archaeological styles. The coral parure on the left 'in the Etruscan style' was by London & Ryder, as was the large cat's eye set as a scarab. The micromosaic necklace at the right was by Attenborough. The rest were by Phillips, including a gold tripod vase with an onyx lid shown raised and a bracelet 'in the Renaissance style', a necklace of onyx beads and a plaque with a cameo by Girometti of Hector and Andromache.

London 1862

Almost all the French jewellery is beautifully executed . . . and the fact can scarcely be doubted but that they are rather ahead of us in this matter. (William Burges, July 1862)⁵⁴

The 1862 Exhibition, which opened as in 1851 on 1 May, was the first public event of Queen Victoria's widowhood from which she was conspicuously absent. The death of Prince Albert at the end of 1861 had been a great blow, and without the Queen's visible support the exhibition was less successful commercially. This was despite a significant change in that exhibits were for sale; a huge amount of jewellery had sold by mid-May, and orders were being taken and new items constantly added.⁵⁵ Burges felt that the British were still no match for the French but they had nonetheless learnt many lessons from 1851; artistically 1862 was more important.

The prize gemstones were just as popular as in 1851. The Koh-i-Noor reappeared, shown this time on the stand of Garrard's, the royal jewellers, together with the Queen's 'three spinel

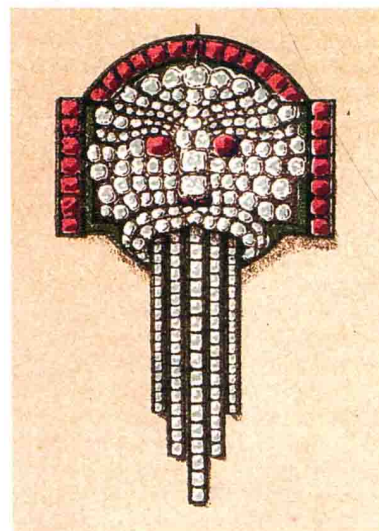


rubies from the treasury of Lahore, the new Indian Order and some cinque cento jewelry'.⁵⁶ The constant queues were such that Garrard's had placed a barrier, 'with a policeman, to filter the crowd through in regular order, two abreast'. In the French court, Mellerio had a wonderful sapphire alongside his diamond jewels, and his stand was so besieged that he too was assigned a special policeman.⁵⁷ And in the Dutch display, Coster, the diamond-cutting merchants of Amsterdam who had re-cut the Koh-i-Noor in 1852, brought a rival stone in the form of a 125-carat diamond known as the 'Star of the South'. It was accompanied by a display of diamonds in every stage of progress, from the rough stone to the finished brilliant. The Austrian and German courts attracted crowds, and presumably sales, with stars of a different kind: according to *The Times* of 16 May, the great piano manufacturers had engaged Liszt, the arch showman, to perform on stated days.

In describing the British section, *The Times* of 5 May found 'the show of jewelry in this exhibition by private firms quite astonishing, both for its beauty and its value . . . the united values of all the foreign collections would not amount to half that shown by the London jewellers alone'. The 'great blaze of gems', according to *The Times* of 3 May, came from Hancock's case, where 'a perfect crown of pearls, opals, rubies, brilliants, and topazes' was topped by the Devonshire parure (see pp. 346–7) and the Devonshire emerald, a 1,383-carat stone reputedly given to the 6th Duke by the Emperor of Brazil in 1831. These trophy pieces almost overshadowed a masterpiece of diamond-setting shown by London & Ryder: this was 'a most accurate miniature portrait of the Queen, composed of distinct brilliants almost as fine as diamond dust, and of which more than 2,000 are required to complete the likeness small as it is'.⁵⁸ The same firm also brought the 'King of Kandy's' 103-carat cat's eye, previously shown in the 1851 Exhibition, which they had acquired from the Hope collection and set 'as a scarabeus in brilliants, the eyes of rubies' (see Fig. 217).⁵⁹

Hunt & Roskell too had their trophies: the Arcot diamonds, seven fabulous Indian stones lent by the Marquess of Westminster, who had acquired them from the collection of Queen Charlotte.⁶⁰ While the great diamond bouquet from 1851 reappeared, still unsold, or perhaps retained as a prize-winning demonstration piece, their display as a whole was dominated by classical-style fringed and festooned necklaces. Despite the show-stopping gems and the obsession with the *cinquecento* style, a sea change was under way towards classical or archaeological styles, visible in all materials, from London & Ryder's gold and coral Etruscan-style parure to Richard Attenborough's gold necklace with mosaic medallions of early Christian subjects (Fig. 217).⁶¹ Even Garrard's was caught up in the new taste, producing one of the most startling jewels in the exhibition – a 'brooch in the form of an antique mask, composed of rubies and brilliants set in gold' (Fig. 218).⁶² The French diamond jewels by Mellerio and by Marret & Baugrand also comprised bandeaux of Greek palmettes and Greek key pattern.⁶³ The jury reports noted that Marret & Baugrand's collection was 'in harmony with the rules so clearly indicated by the Greek and Roman jewels handed down to us' (Fig. 219).⁶⁴

The significance of this change in style is evident in the comments relating to two firms that exhibited gold and enamel as opposed to diamond jewellery. The retailers Howell & James had 'studiously kept in mind the important object its promoters had in view – giving a true test and picture of the point of development to which we have now arrived'. *Cassell's Illustrated Exhibitor* devotes two whole pages to their 'Art Jewellery', quoting the firm's own publicity:



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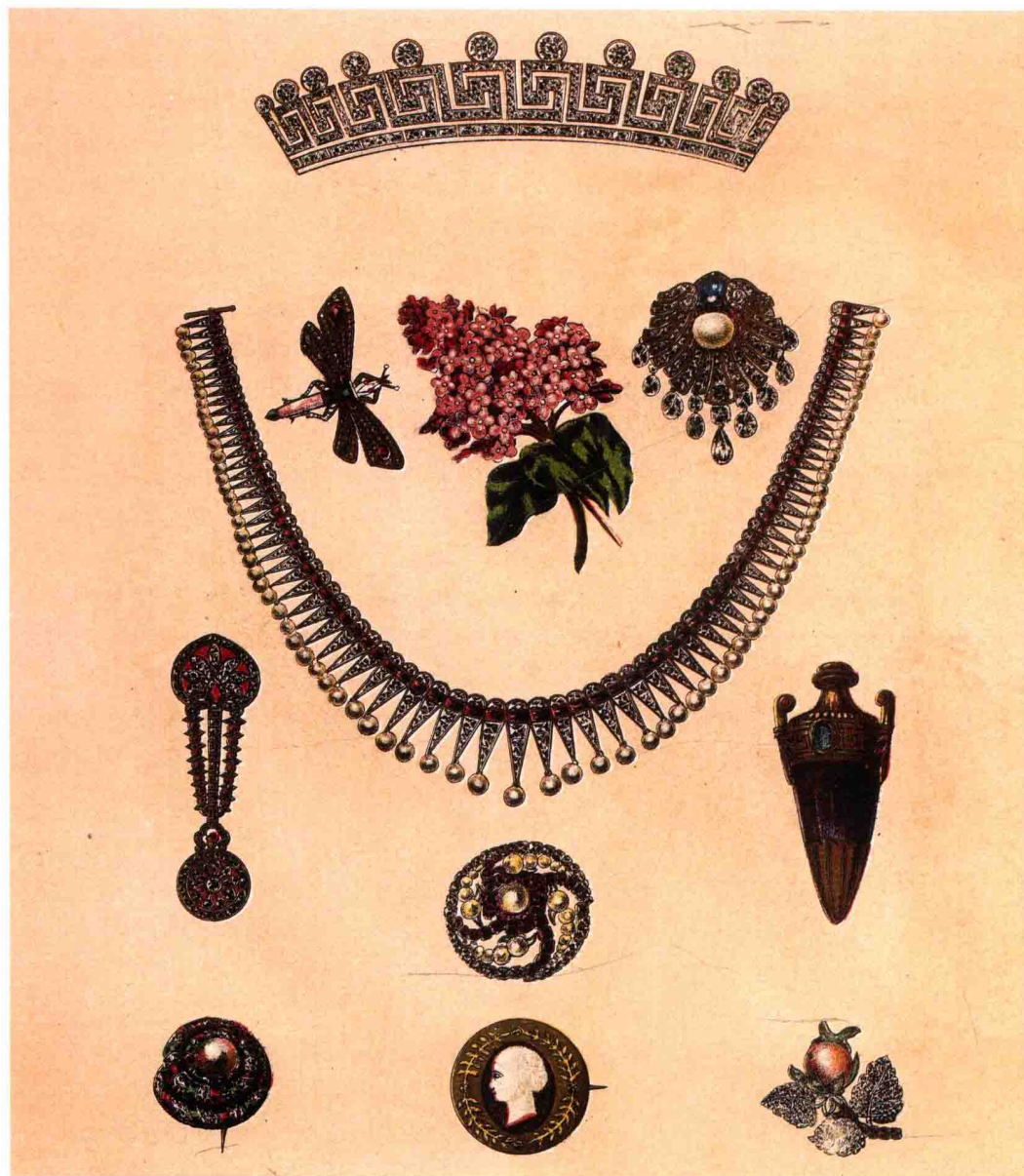
London 1862: classical-style mask set with diamonds and rubies exhibited by Garrard. Colour lithograph from Waring 1862, II, pl. 130

Garrard's source for this jewel was probably a lion's-head spout from the roof of a Greek temple, with water falling from the mouth, and the goggle eyes found in classical sculpture of the 4th century BC. A lion's-head spout had entered the British Museum by 1857/9.

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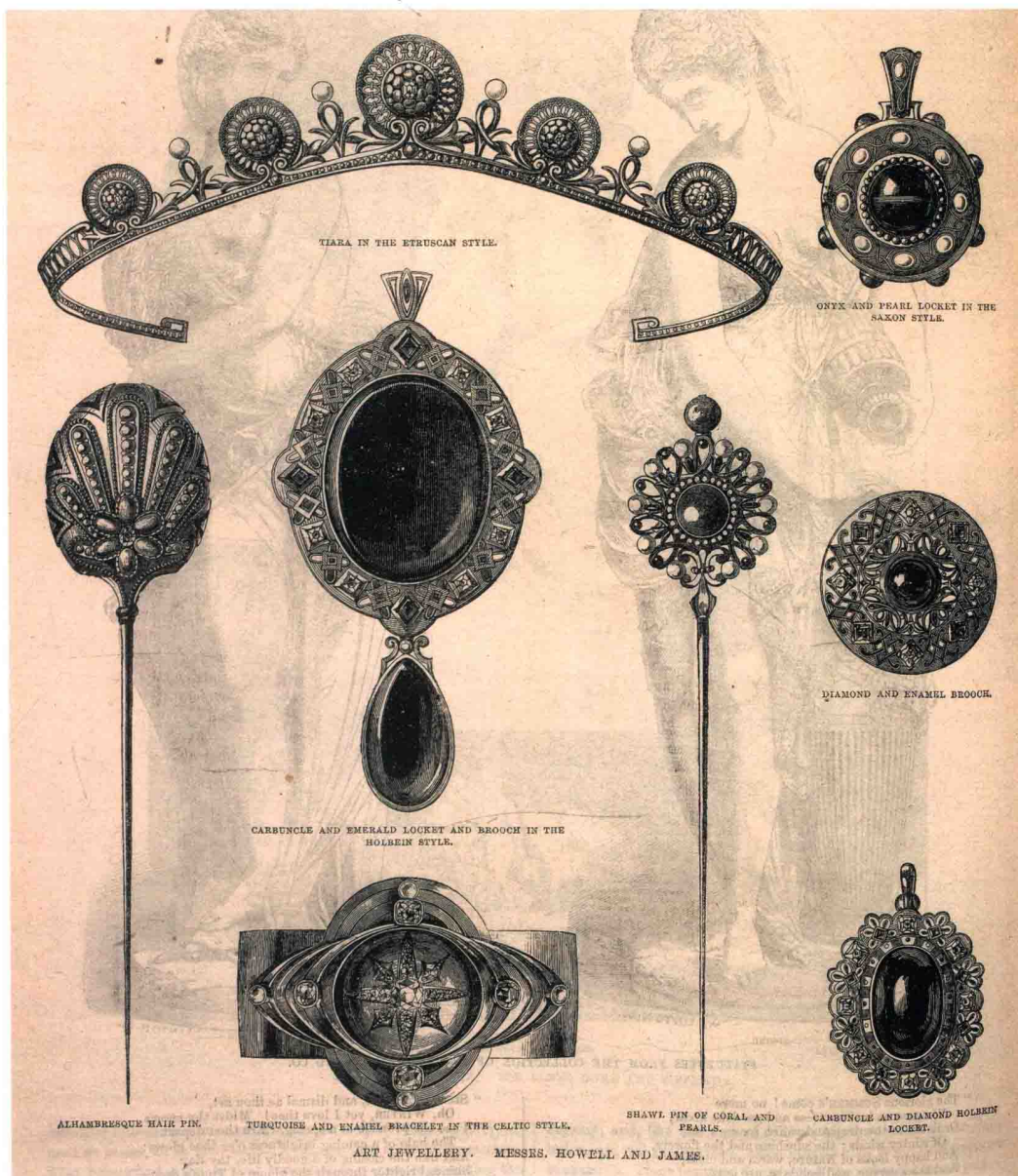
London 1862: jewellery shown by Mellerio, Paris. Colour lithograph from Waring 1862, III, pl. 222

Mellerio showed botanical pieces such as the enamelled gold lilac spray alongside his classical-style jewels. In his report on the display Fossin singled out the 'charming Etruscan necklace, set with rubies, pearls and diamonds', in the centre of this group. The elements expand towards the front, a typical 19th-century feature not normally found in classical jewellery.



Our experience during the last ten years has taught us . . . that the true principles of art and fitting forms of beauty are much more generally appreciated than they formerly were. It has been our object to encourage and . . . to lead this improved taste. We have endeavoured to show rich and costly metals as the vehicle for the display of the tasteful fancies of artists of acknowledged eminence in their profession.

The names of the artists are not given, but the implication is clear: in 1851 precious metal was treated in England as a commodity, now it was a medium of art. To prove the point Cassell's illustrations depict jewels in the 'Holbein style', 'Cellini style' and 'Saxon style', along with an 'Alhambresque' hairpin and a supremely elegant 'tiara in the Etruscan style'. The tiara survives and is signed 'CG', revealing that it was made for Howell & James by Carlo Giuliano, who had recently settled in London from Italy (see pp. 426–7).⁶⁵ Without the contemporary description one would never have realized that it was thought to be Etruscan (Figs 220, 221).⁶⁶ Robert Phillips went further still: his gold 'reproductions of the Etruscan, Greek, Roman and



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London 1862: jewellery shown by Howell & James, London. *Cassell's Illustrated Exhibitor*, 6 December 1862, p. 230

The 'Etruscan' tiara dominates the page. Almost every piece has been given a 'style', either in the caption or in the accompanying text: an onyx and pearl locket 'in the Saxon style' (*top right*), two 'Holbein style' lockets (*centre and bottom right*, see pp. 350–51), an 'Alhambresque' hairpin (*left*), a bracelet in the 'Celtic' style (*bottom*) and an enamel brooch in the 'Cellini style' (*centre right*), with a linear pattern perhaps based on arabesque motifs in black enamel of the early 16th century. The 'Saxon style' locket was a version of the popular 'Saxon shield' motif, a disc with central boss and a border of smaller bosses (see Figs 72, 421).



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London 1862: gold and turquoise 'Etruscan' tiara identical to that shown by Howell & James. English, made by Carlo Giuliano about 1862. Private collection

Egyptian jewellery' were said to rival 'the famous specimens of Castellani'.⁶⁷ Contemporary illustrations suggest that Phillips jewels are much more in the nature of pastiches, but no less radical in design.⁶⁸ Thus in the decade since 1851 a revolution in taste had taken place, summarized in 1863 by William Burges: 'Nothing could be worse than the design of our jewellery, some six years ago, for it is only since our workmen have taken to imitating the beautiful articles found in the tombs of Etruria and Magna Grecia that an artist can pass a jeweller's shop without shutting his eyes.'⁶⁹ The developments that drew the attention of English jewellers to the classical world are discussed in Chapter 8.

Castellani of Rome received universal accolades. This was the firm's first exhibition in London and the springboard for their astonishing international career, in which they dominated critical commentary for three major world fairs – 1862, 1867 and 1878 – and a host of smaller ones. Yet in Britain at any rate they were already famous in 1862; as *The Times* put it on 17 May, in an article on the Italian court, 'Every traveller who has been at Rome has seen, and every one who has not been at Rome has heard of, Castellani's extensive and magnificent establishment (Fig. 222).' But what is so unexpected is that *The Times* returns to Castellani repeatedly: in describing the displays of other countries Castellani's jewels are used time and again as a benchmark of what is best in the art of jewellery. The Danish display was described as follows:

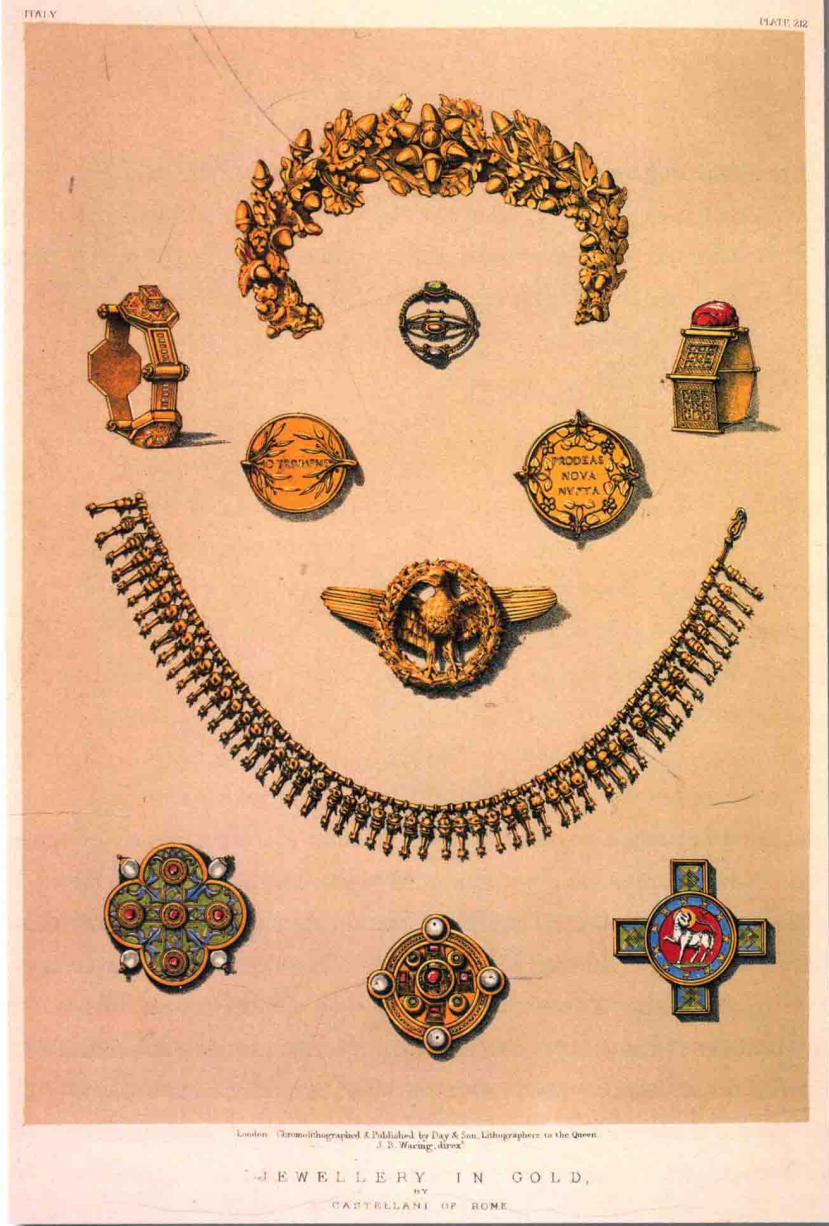
A case of brooches, bracelets and other ornaments in gold after Etruscan and Roman patterns, will, perhaps, not bear comparison with the exquisite beauty of Signor Castellani's gems in the Italian Court, but the quickness with which this revival of ancient art has been caught up, and the finish of the workmanship, speak highly for the taste and skill of the Copenhagen goldsmiths. (22 May, p. 14)

The writer is probably confused here and has assumed that the elaborate gold work with filigree and granulation was in the classical style, but they are much more likely to have been the copies of ancient Scandinavian gold ornaments shown by Dahl of Copenhagen (see Fig. 430).⁷⁰ And on the displays in the Egyptian court *The Times* wrote:

From Soudan are exhibited some marvellous specimens of gold filigree work, executed by the negroes, which in beauty of finish equal anything from Genoa and Malta, without making any allowance for the rough tools they use. The gold is from the province of Fazagolo, and the types, which are of the most ancient character, are worth the study of Signor Castellani himself, whose restorations of art – which is modern in comparison – have excited so much admiration. (17 June, p. 11)

'Soudan' was at this time used to refer to sub-Saharan Africa rather than what is now Sudan, and so this filigree work may have been made further west in what is now Mali. While the Danish pieces were thought inferior to Castellani's, the 'Soudanese' filigree was thought to have something to teach him – high praise indeed. What had happened to explain the Castellani fever reaching such a pitch so quickly?

The story of the Castellani family, Fortunato Pio and his two sons, Alessandro and Augusto, is told in Chapter 8. Suffice it to say here that it is inextricably linked with the struggle for Italian unification, and without the support of a crucial figure in London, Henry



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London 1862: jewels by Castellani of Rome. Colour lithograph from Waring 1862, III, pl. 212

Castellani's relentlessly archaizing jewels, most of them in unrelieved gold, provided a dramatic contrast to the far more conventional classicism of the English and French jewels. This selection captures the firm's history of Italy through jewellery with direct copies of ancient models (the Greek oak-leaf diadem and fringe necklace), the wreathed eagle emblem of the ancient Roman state as a brooch (see Fig. 402), enamelled and gem-set jewels inspired by medieval motifs, a micromosaic Lamb of God based on church mosaics (see Figs 390, 395), and contemporary designs such as the brooches with Latin inscriptions.

Layard, the firm would not have participated in 1862 at all. Alessandro had been exiled from Rome for anti-papal activity in 1860 and found himself in an impossible position: Rome was excluded from the newly unified Italy and his father had told the papal government that his firm was to be represented by the Paris branch in order not to be associated with the popes, but Alessandro was unable to turn to the French commission for help as he wished to exhibit in the Italian section.⁷¹ The space that Layard obtained was small, but it attracted admirers:

Jewellery takes up little room and the Italian Court is not so crowded but that large show might have been secured for the Roman goldsmith, and a rich harvest of English guineas might have been the result. Well, Castellani limits his show to five dozen specimens; the result is that crowds of intelligent visitors gaze from morning to evening at those little trinkets in pale lack-lustre gold, and quit the small glass cases with reluctance, avowing that the whole Brompton show can hardly boast anything the value of which more essentially rests on the achievement of the beautiful, apart from the costliness of the material. (*The Times*, 17 May, p. 14)

There follows a detailed description of the display, and there are many other accounts.⁷²

The Times articles are not signed at this date but whoever wrote this one was extremely well informed, and one has to assume that Layard did much to ensure the repeated mentions of Castellani in the national press. The death of Prince Albert had left a huge vacuum; the great exhibitions had lost their figurehead, and a man of Layard's initiative, who had bold ideas and strong opinions, would have had greater influence than ever before.

Although France had acquired the celebrated Campana collection of classical jewellery in 1861, it was not put on display until 1 May 1862, in the Palais de l'Industrie. Some must have seen it before then, but probably only a privileged few. Alfred Darcel, in his *Gazette des Beaux Arts* article of November 1862, notes that it was not yet visible when the French jewellery was sent to London, but that French jewellers were now able to make exact copies. Darcel recognized that this was one area where England was ahead of France, and praised Phillips's 'imitations de l'antique les plus heureuses'. In describing the other gold jewellery (*bijouterie*) from both France and England Darcel acknowledged the superiority of English workmen in the surface treatment of matt gold, but he found the designs heavy and misguided. He criticized the French jewels with industrial motifs – gas pipes, screws and nails – but added, 'we should remember that this taste was introduced from England' (see Fig. 32).⁷³

There are two further new developments in 1862 that are revealed by contemporary reports. One was the prominence given to imitation jewellery using base metals and coloured glass stones, in the French display. Some of this was clearly stage jewellery, which had a strong cross-over with high fashion in that both real and imitation jewels were worn on stage (see pp. 90–91).⁷⁴ That this should be commented on in such detail by *The Times* is indicative of the different attitudes in France and in England. Similar imitations were made in Birmingham to an extremely high standard but were dismissed because of their materials. This goes a long way to explain why the French promotion of imitation jewellery so startled an English audience. The attitude to Birmingham was complicated by the different levels on which the industry operated. There were the complete imitations in which the primary metal was brass, whether gilded or not; then came 'cheap' jewellery made of low-carat gold, and then fine jewellery made of high-carat gold. The 'cheap' jewellery was often conflated with the imitation wares: 9-carat gold, which became a legal standard in 1854, was less than half pure 24-carat gold, and many thought it did not qualify as gold. It was this, as much as the amount of imitation jewellery made, that led to the perception of Birmingham's entire production as 'Brummagem' ware. The authorities at the South Kensington Museum saw that a distinction was to be made between imitation and inexpensive jewellery; they astutely acquired pieces by T. & J. Bragg of Birmingham as examples of modest jewellery (at least by comparison with other purchases from the exhibition), ranging in price from £20 for an enamelled gold bracelet with turquoises and pearls to £5 for a simple gold brooch (Fig. 223).⁷⁵ The discussion over the gold standard was to come to a head at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, when the Birmingham trade was almost entirely excluded because the French authorities refused to allow anything below their own standard to be admitted.⁷⁶ In France, no metal could be called gold which was less than 18-carat fineness and items for sale had to be stamped. In Britain the hallmarking laws were not obligatory for jewellery, and so much jewellery was unmarked and the public had no guarantee that what they were getting was gold. These two differences were held to be the reason why French jewellers had the command of world markets.⁷⁷

The other development was the much wider range of peasant jewellery from the UK



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London 1862: enamelled gold bracelets and brooch by T. & J. Bragg of Birmingham. English, 1862. Diam. of brooch 3.9 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Acquired by the South Kensington Museum from the exhibition as examples of modest jewellery: the bracelet with turquoises and pearls cost £20, the bracelet with carbuncle and pearls £13, and the brooch £5. The more expensive bracelet and the brooch were paid for in 1863 so as not to exceed financial restrictions. The pieces were probably intended to rival French taste, though the linear enamelling echoes the 'Cellini' jewels shown by Howell & James (Fig. 220).

and the rest of Europe. This was to culminate in a whole section devoted to peasant jewellery in 1872 and is discussed in detail in the final section of this chapter. In 1862 such work was shown by many different countries, with filigree work from Italy and Malta, gold ornaments from Holland, and a figure of a bride from Norway loaded with jewels. Sometimes it appeared in unlikely places: in the British fur section there was 'a case of horsehair ornaments, in various colours, made by the peasant girls of Sligo, the articles in which are not only wonderfully cheap, but exceedingly pretty also'. Such work could not be shown by the Dublin jewellers, and there was nowhere else for it to go (see p. 453).⁷⁸

Paris 1867

In jewellers' and goldsmiths' work we run a very even race with the French; but in an Exhibition which contains the work of Castellani it would be impossible to boast of our pre-eminence. (*The Times*, 13 May 1867, p. 10)

Italy alone presents products that are totally unrivalled; her recreations of Greek, Tuscan, Roman, Byzantine art are remarkable. Such models are unbeatable; one can but bow in reverence before these masterpieces of the past, so wonderfully executed. (1867 International Jury Report by Fossin and Baugrand)⁷⁹

Sixteen years on from 1851 reputations had been made and expectations were high. Castellani's renown was such that the commentators from the two principal rival nations, whose words are quoted above, simply took it for granted that his works were the best. With all such comments one has to be wary of taking them at face value. The long-standing rivalry between France and England made it impossible for the English to admit that the French were superior as opposed to equal, but Italy was in no sense a rival. Fossin and Baugrand were themselves distinguished Parisian jewellers, so it is perhaps less surprising to find them acknowledging

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Paris 1867: Gustave Baugrand's stand at the exhibition. Jules Mesnard, *Les Merveilles de l'Exposition Universelle de 1867*, II, p. 183 (see also p. 249)

The stand is dominated by Egyptian-style pieces – a huge figure and a pylon-shaped casket – in homage to the French building of the Suez Canal. At the front left is Baugrand's Egyptian head brooch (Fig. 353) and behind it an Egyptian-style lotus diadem that could be unscrewed from its frame for wear as a necklace. In the centre is his gem-set Indian-style peacock brooch (Fig. 245) and to the right a gem-set lyre-bird brooch. Between them stands his Renaissance-style clock, a *tour de force* of craftsmanship involving the best gold chasers, enamellers and rock-crystal engravers that Paris could muster.



excellence in their own field. Of the eight gold medals for jewellery, six were awarded to France; the two non-French jewellers were Castellani and Phillips. While placing France in the first rank, Fossin and Baugrand recognized that her superiority was not absolute; their discussion of French jewellery was followed by a comparison of other competitors, who were placed in order of merit: Italy, England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Switzerland, Belgium, Portugal, South Germany, Norway, Denmark, the Papal States, and lastly Spain. Prussia had sent few exhibitors in the aftermath of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, but had their contributions been up to strength the order might have been different.⁸⁰

A change in the arrangement of the exhibition made it easier for such comparisons to be made: here, for the first time, the exhibits were displayed in classes, not by nationalities. This was thought such an improvement that the Commissioners for some six countries rec-

commended its adoption for all future exhibitions.⁸¹ Display by classes led to a new category of report – by artisans, commissioned by the Society of Arts. These reports are fascinating for their frank approach without the political overtones of national press or the Official Reports.⁸² A further difference was that jewellery was separated from goldsmiths' work and other metalwork, being placed with dress, while large-scale plate was classed with furniture. The jury reports make it clear that this was not upheld to the letter by all exhibitors, especially in non-French countries, and many jewellers who were also goldsmiths exhibited large items together with jewellery.

The intrinsic and theatrical value of gemstones or gem-set jewels was still a crowd-puller, whether from Britain, France or the Dutch diamond merchants, but the other aspects which received most notice were the enamels shown by the French and the jewels of Castellani, not just his archaeological jewels, but also his collection of Italian peasant jewellery. The French Crown jewels were displayed again, but the Koh-i-Noor was absent; the British trophy jewels came instead from aristocratic owners.⁸³ Hancock's secured the Devonshire gems for the second time, Hunt & Roskell brought the Countess of Dudley's diamonds, and Brogden brought the pearl-encrusted costume worn by Prince Esterhazy at the coronation of Queen Victoria. Much was made of their noble provenance, inducing the critic G.A. Sala to pen a spoof description of 'the Duchess of Sennacherib's wedding jewels, Sir Isaac Ingot's sapphire as big as a plover's egg, or the late Prince Evercrazy's diamond breeches'!⁸⁴

Sala noted the long-standing distinction in France between *joaillerie*, which refers exclusively to pieces in which the entire surface is covered with gemstones, and *bijouterie*, which encompasses jewels of gold and silver decorated with enamel or stones, in other words the art of the goldsmith rather than the gem-setter. *Joaillerie* also encompassed jewellery with imitation gems (an important industry in France), while *bijouterie* also had a second category aimed at a local or export market, as well as jewellery made of gilt metal.⁸⁵ Export jewellery was important enough to merit its own representative on the jury, Georg Ehni of Stuttgart, whose firm made jewellery for Havana and Mexico.⁸⁶ Dubois and Demachy of Paris exhibited the crowns for the Queen of Madagascar, though their main market was America.⁸⁷ The French *joailliers* par excellence in 1867 included the firms of Mellerio, Massin, Bapst, Rouvenat and Baugrand (Fig. 224).⁸⁸ The French *bijoutiers* were in many cases the same as the *joailliers* – Baugrand for example straddled both categories – except for Duron (see pp. 360–61) and Fontenay.

Fontenay too had a reputation for his gem-set jewellery as seen from his display in 1855, and had just completed a massive jewelled table service for the Viceroy of Egypt. Yet at the 1867 Exhibition he chose to show almost entirely gold jewellery in the archaeological taste, a field in which he was to become the great French exponent. This seemingly surprising decision is explained by a report that he submitted to the 1867 jury: his production was divided into *bijouterie*, which he made for sale on his own account, and *joaillerie*, which was made exclusively to order. For this reason he was able to display *bijouterie* only and was unable to show the full range and importance of his ateliers because the *joaillerie* was no longer in his possession. He took the liberty of attaching engravings of some of the Egyptian commissions made between 1861 and 1867, so that the jury could see what else he could do. He singled out his use of carved jade, claiming that it was the first in France, even in Europe, and gave full acknowledgement to his collaboration with Richet, who executed the delicate matt enamels on his archaeological jewels.⁸⁹ Many of these enamels were in the style *pompéienne*, with

delicate wirework, and linework granulation forming classical inscriptions (see Fig. 426).⁹⁰ These jewels were noted for their grace and elegance but were in no sense historically accurate, and he used classical goldwork techniques on designs in the Chinese taste (see Fig. 261).⁹¹ They were also very different from the rest of French production. Boucheron, exhibiting for the first time, displayed his new open-backed or *plique-à-jour* enamels; *The Times* review of 16 September claimed that 'the most remarkable work in the French department' was Boucheron's 'hand-mirror framed with translucent enamels' (this is a translation of the French term *émail translucide* for open-backed enamel). The mirror was purchased by Lord Dudley; it was subsequently bought from Garrard's by the Aga Khan, who presented it jointly to the future George V and Queen Mary when Duke and Duchess of York. It is still in the Royal Collection.⁹²

Enamelling in France has been discussed elsewhere in the context of the Renaissance revival (pp. 358–63). The position which the enameller had assumed in France did not go unnoticed: an entire *Times* review of the exhibition was devoted to enamel, noting that as there was no category for enamelling, it was covered under gold and silver (23 August, p. 8). In one of the clearest accounts to date of the different enamelling methods, the reviewer divides the works shown into two types, 'those which are and those which are not partitioned', that is, cloisonné and champlevé for the partitioned, painted for the non-partitioned. In the partitioned category he makes much of the Chinese and Japanese style enamels by Christofle and Barbédienne, their first international showing. He notes correctly that although 'you will go to stand after stand of the enamellers and they will tell you that everything they have got is cloisonné', the only cloisonné in the exhibition was that of Christofle, Barbédienne's being an imitation. The cloisonné enamel jewellery in the Japanese taste shown for the first time by Alexis Falize is not mentioned in this article at all, possibly because it was added later in the exhibition run (see p. 311).⁹³

In the non-partitioned or painted enamel category, the outstanding exponent was Charles Lepec; the process is described in such minute detail by *The Times* that the writer must have spoken directly to Lepec.⁹⁴ Lepec exhibited in the gold and silver plate section, as he was not a jeweller, though he did also make jewellery. His stand included 'two miniatures of an English lady'; the lady in question was Mrs Morrison and her husband Alfred Morrison was Lepec's biggest patron. As the writer goes on to say of Lepec, 'The best pieces in his case belong to Mr. Alfred Morrison, and nearly all were ordered by Mr. Robert Phillips, of Cockspur Street, for Englishmen.' Among the few pieces of jewellery by Lepec to survive is the diamond ring with painted enamel of Psyche bequeathed to the South Kensington Museum in 1890 by Harriet Bolckow, wife of the Middlesbrough ironmaster Henry Bolckow (see Fig. 63).⁹⁵ The defect of English art in jewellery, according to the reviewer, was that 'it does not yet trust itself enough to enamel'. There were exceptions: Harry Emanuel showed enamel jewellery 'chiefly of the Cellini type, in which little figures, modelled in gold, are encrusted with enamel' (see pp. 344–5), while Hancock's were praised for their Holbein-style enamelling on the Devonshire parure.⁹⁶ Phillips exhibited 'a fine necklace in the Persian style', enamelled in red and green with white flowers and pearls (see Fig. 247).

Phillips was the key figure behind the long-lasting popularity in Britain of Italian coral, and incorporated large quantities in his displays in 1851, 1862 and 1867. For this reason, Phillips was so esteemed in Italy that King Vittorio Emanuele awarded him the Order of the Crown of Italy in 1870.⁹⁷ *The Times* described Phillips's 1867 coral display as the most



remarkable collection that had ever been made, even more so since it was crammed into one glass case in a bad situation, together with the other half of his show – the archaeological jewels. Here there was scarcely a piece ‘about which there is not a separate history to be written’, and the writer goes on to do precisely that.⁹⁸ Phillips also showed a ‘series of rare cameos by Pistrucchi’, evidently a name with which the audience was expected to be familiar (see p. 466). As *The Times* put it, Phillips ‘thinks for himself; and, not content to follow, he aspires to lead the public taste. He is not one of those jewellers who will do anything they are told to do. He claims to be an artist even more than a tradesman; and what is not right in art he will not do for trade.’⁹⁹ It was no coincidence that Layard went to Phillips to commission the archaeological parure for his wife in 1869 (see pp. 428–9). Sala ranked him with Castellani.¹⁰⁰

Castellani was not merely praised but idolized. For one critic he was ‘well-nigh unapproachable’, for another, ‘no man living has done so much to direct the public taste in jewelry as he has’.¹⁰¹ The French jury report quoted on page 271 went on to criticize the jewellers of Rome exhibiting with the Papal States for not exploiting the treasures on their doorstep.¹⁰² Rome would not be part of the newly unified Kingdom of Italy until October 1870; by exhibiting with Italy Castellani’s political point was made once again with a vengeance. In the five years since 1862, the Castellani’s ‘archaeological’ jewels had become the accepted canon of good taste. As proof, the *Art-Journal* cited the purchase by the Earl of Dudley (see p. 405) of an intricate gold diadem strewn with enamelled rosettes, among several other Castellani pieces. Sala too made much of it as an example of the premium justified by fine craftsmanship: he doubted whether its intrinsic value exceeded £100 but thought it worth the thousand guineas paid by Dudley.¹⁰³ Other critics found Castellani’s prices too high, almost ‘a luxury for royals’, wrote one French report, and that may have been why the South Kensington Museum was slow to purchase the firm’s work, waiting for the 1884 sale of Alessandro’s effects after his death, when they bought an identical diadem (Fig. 225).¹⁰⁴ Phillips and John Brogden, the jewellers who were also concerned with historical accuracy and who were seen as equally learned, came out especially well (see p. 100 for a cameo necklace by Brogden from the 1867 exhibition). Brogden had even attached to each item ‘small tickets explaining the history of the things imitated’.¹⁰⁵ Neither risked everything on archaeological jewellery; both presented

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Paris 1867: enamelled gold diadem by Castellani. Italian, about 1862–7. H. 3.2 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

The diadem copies an ancient example from the Etruscan site of Cumae, near Naples, which was part of the Campana collection until 1861, when the collection was sold to the Louvre. The Castellani had shown their copy at the 1862 exhibition in London. At that time Alessandro tried to get Layard to arrange a sale to the South Kensington Museum but the sale never took place and it was probably the very same diadem that the Castellani took to Paris in 1867, where it was purchased by Lord Dudley. This version was bought by the museum in 1884 from the sale of Alessandro’s effects after his death.



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Paris 1867: the Castellani collection of Italian peasant jewellery. From *Italian Jewellery as worn by the peasants of Italy, collected by Signor Castellani and purchased from the Paris Universal Exhibition for the South Kensington Museum, London, Arundel Society, 1868*

The collection was grouped by geographical area to show the wealth of living tradition. This is plate 3, titled 'Central Etruria, The Marches, Umbria and Venice'. G.A. Sala wrote that 'the ornaments were direct descendants of the classical jewellery that had been dug up in Italy'. As such, they had a direct application to modern manufactures. It was this realization that persuaded the South Kensington Museum authorities to purchase the entire collection (see p. 319). The enormous earrings in the centre with three large pear-shaped drops were ornamented with delicate applied wirework, leading Alessandro Castellani to compare them to Etruscan jewels.

two-part displays; Phillips's second part as we have seen was coral, Brogden's was his naturalistic diamond jewellery and his gold watch-chains.¹⁰⁶ Castellani's display also had a second part, his collection of Italian peasant jewellery. This was to a certain extent commercial, since it was for sale as a collection, but it was just as political as his archaeological jewels. Both symbolized the greatness of a unified Italy; one recreated jewels of the great ages of its past, the other represented in all its variety the jewellery still worn in the regions of Italy, which was seen as continuing the traditions of the past (Fig. 226). It was all in gold or silver, and in this it contradicted the prevailing assumption that all peasant jewellery was imitation. The entire collection was eventually purchased for the South Kensington Museum, but not without some heated discussion in high places, even in Parliament (see pp. 319–22).

The Working Men's International Exhibition, London 1870

This was completely different from what had gone before. It was held not in South Kensington but in the Agricultural Hall, a huge space built in 1862 for annual cattle shows, in the London suburb of Islington. Its distinctive feature was that 'it will in every case put before the public the name of the actual producer or producers of the article shown, in place of, or together with, that of the tradesman who has it for sale'.¹⁰⁷ The foreign contribution, however, was lamentable. The one exception was Italy, well represented apart of course from the exclusion of Rome. France and Prussia were knocked out by the Franco-Prussian War and few other countries took part. For this reason the exhibition was not regarded as a success, but there is much to be learnt about the types of jewellery singled out for praise which would have been overshadowed in a bigger exhibition.

In the British section were shown Irish bog-oak jewellery from Jacques of Dublin and Gibson of Belfast, jet from Scarborough, imitation jewellery shown by Pyke and by Jeffreys of London, and, completely unexpectedly, brooches, sleeve-links, earrings, etc, by Stevens of Coventry. Stevens was famous for his jacquard loom weaving of pictures in silk, making his name with his silk book-markers (see Fig. 23). The jewels are described by the *Art-Journal* as decorated with flowers, and must presumably have consisted of mounted pieces of woven silk fabric.¹⁰⁸ In the same article the *Art-Journal* bemoaned the absence of the 'art jewellers'.¹⁰⁹ This may explain why it gave such prominence to a much-admired case of archaeological-style goldsmiths' work by Christesen of Copenhagen, exhibited by the London agents for Danish productions, Messrs Borgen (see p. 437). The display was mentioned in two separate articles by the *Art-Journal*, neither of which makes any reference to the same firm's gem-set and cameo jewellery, which was also listed in the *Official Catalogue*. It was the gold jewellery in 'Old Norse' patterns that chimed with current preoccupations: 'It would seem as if the ancient Danish workers had not only a special traditional Art-training of their own, but a kind of instinctive perception of the laws of harmony and design.'¹¹⁰

From Italy, there was hardstone mosaic jewellery from Accarisi and Torrini of Florence: 'admirable examples of art, not sufficient perhaps to make us content with the absence of Castellani, yet only next in merit to the production of that great master'.¹¹¹ The only Roman firms who exhibited were those with London agents such as Francati & Santamaria, who showed cameos and mosaics. The Naples contribution was organized by Alessandro Castellani, who was living there following his exile from Rome. He may well have been enlisted at the suggestion of Layard, who was one of the guarantors of the exhibition.¹¹² Alessandro wrote to Layard in late May that he had sent 'beautiful things of coral and tortoiseshell which will please the fine English ladies'. As the *Art-Journal* noted, 'By some lucky chance, or, possibly, by the enterprise of some energetic "helper" of that country, Italy comes out in great strength.'¹¹³ The 'helper' was very probably Layard. From his own Naples workshop, run by Giacinto Melillo, Alessandro sent just two pairs of Etruscan-style earrings, if the catalogue is to be believed.¹¹⁴ His main contribution was the Renaissance-style maiolica made by his son Torquato and this may in part explain why he showed so little jewellery.¹¹⁵ But another reason was that Naples was planning its own International Maritime Exhibition in September 1870.¹¹⁶

London 1871-4

These annual international exhibitions were on a much smaller scale than the big shows of 1851, 1855, 1862 and 1867. They were intended as part of a ten-year series in which the different classes of object were to be rotated every year, so that as the series was repeated each class would have its turn every ten years. In the event, only four were held, from 1871 to 1874; jewellery was one of the highlighted classes in 1872 and the following account concentrates on that year, but there was a Fine Art section every year to which 'Art-Workmen' could contribute, and so some jewellery was included in the other three years. In 1871, for instance, Christesen exhibited on their own account, while Hunt & Roskell, Brogden and Hancock's all showed superb gold archaeological-style jewels, along with Celtic (see p. 452) and Russian crosses.¹¹⁷ This was the first international exhibition since the Papal States had been incorporated into a unified Italy; the point was not lost on the press: 'There is striking

coincidence between our International Exhibitions and the various stages of political change which after so many centuries have restored Italy to her rank among European States,' wrote *The Times*. The article gives a potted history of Italy through its appearance at exhibitions: in 1851 it had been represented by several small states, and in 1862 it appeared as one country with the exception of Rome and Venice, whose exhibitors 'contrived by some arrangements into which it was no business of the English Commissioners to inquire, to draw up their wares in conjunction with those of their emancipated fellow countrymen'. The two exhibitors mentioned by name are Salviati and Castellani, both of whom had Layard's help. But in 1871 'at last, there is nothing Italian but what belongs to Italy'.¹¹⁸ The display of marble sculpture stole the show; the jewellery was disappointing: Genoese filigree, mosaics, cameos, intaglios, but 'no specimens of his classical jewellery' from Signor Castellani, who brought instead reproductions of bronzes from Pompeii.

Because there was overall much less to write about, the contemporary descriptions are extremely detailed, and the reporter's task was made easier because the items in each category were shown together and not by country. In 1872 the Exhibition Commissioners had decided not to publish reports on the different departments, and so the Society of Arts council members took it upon themselves to do so. The result is by far the most complete account of the jewellery.¹¹⁹ Some elements – the lavish gem-set royal and aristocratic loans for instance – continued as before. These were all pieces made ten if not twenty years ago; no doubt the organizers felt that no exhibition was complete without them, but the practice of borrowing jewels was criticized by manufacturers.¹²⁰ The Princess of Wales lent some of her wedding gifts of 1863 such as her Indian jewels and her Danish necklace with the Dagmar Cross, the Devonshire parure of 1856 appeared for the third time on Hancock's stand, while the Countess of Dudley's jewels appeared for the second time, but not until 1 August 'under a new regulation, permitting owners of fine jewellery to send them to the International Exhibition when no longer required for the exigencies of the London season'.¹²¹ A number of jewellers had samples of the newly discovered 'Cape' diamonds from South Africa. Mrs Alfred Morrison lent a Spanish parure by Zuloaga, who specialized in damascened metal, as well as a necklace by Lepec, rare evidence that the great French enameller made small enamels for jewellery (see also Fig. 63).¹²²

There were two new developments, however: one was the acknowledgement of the designers of 'art jewellery' in the British section. This was evidently seen as good publicity by Howell & James who took care to mention Eastlake, Digby Wyatt and L.F. Day (Fig. 227).¹²³ Together with Phillips & Sons and White & Campbell who showed high-quality revivalist jewels, they provided serious competition to Castellani. In the absence of Hunt & Roskell and Brogden, who had participated in 1871 and may not have thought it worth doing so two years running, and of Garrard's, it was all the more important that those present upheld the national reputation. Howell & James were founded as silk mercers and retail jewellers; they also sold silver and ceramics, and by the late 1870s had become such a fashionable store for aesthetes that they were cited in Gilbert and Sullivan's *Patience* of 1881. There is a sad coda to Howell & James's attempts to elevate artistic taste in jewellery: years later in 1889, in discussing Giuliano's argument that jewellery was fine art in a paper read to a distinguished audience at the Society of Arts, a partner in Howell & James recalled that 'the scheme was an absolute failure . . . they had no encouragement to proceed, and had to fall back on the old lines as regulated by the law of supply and demand'.¹²⁴

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.

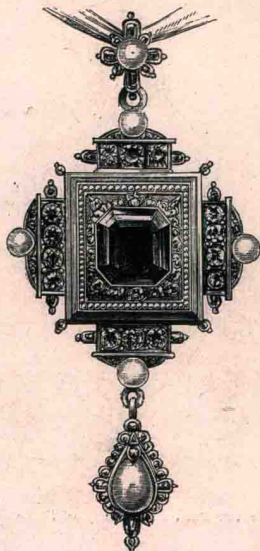
This page contains engravings of eight of the JEWELS contributed by Messrs. HOWELL AND JAMES. They are examples of

firm two Bracelets and two Pendants, the others being Betrothal and Bridal Locketts. Great praise is due to Messrs. Howell and James for

collection are Sir M. DIGBY WYATT and Messrs. EASTLAKE, LEIGHTON, and DAY. It is fortunate that Messrs. Howell and James have



refined taste, without affectation or pretence. Some of them contain gems of rare value; and all are composed and arranged with judgment



the successful efforts they have made (by securing the assistance of artists of acknowledged eminence and repute) to introduce into the production of their jewellery a higher style of Art-



responded to the demand made on their large resources; for the contributions of British Jewellers to the Exhibition are lamentably few: as



and skill. Moreover, they are admirable as specimens of workmanship; sharp and brilliant in execution, and designed by accom-



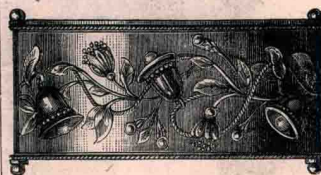
design than has often been attempted in this country. It will be a sufficient proof of this to mention that the principal designers of this



unhappily our report will show. They have aimed at originality, and have attained it: giving prominence to the productions of British



plished artists. We convey but a faint idea of their grace and elegance. In such cases, the want of colour is severely felt. We have selected from the "exhibits" of the eminent



Art-manufacturers, and enabling them to compete with the best producers of the Continent: few of whom, however, as will be seen, compete.

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London 1872: 'art jewellery' shown by Howell & James, London. *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*, p. 5

Designed by C.L. Eastlake (1836-1906), Matthew Digby Wyatt (1820-77), John Leighton ('Luke Limner', 1822-1912) and Lewis F. Day (1845-1910). As the *Art-Journal* put it, 'Great praise is due to Messrs Howell & James for the successful efforts they have made (by securing the assistance of artists of acknowledged eminence and repute) to introduce . . . a higher style of Art design than has often been attempted in this country.' Eastlake illustrates further jewels by Digby Wyatt and himself for Howell & James in his *Hints on Household Taste* (1878 edition). According to the V&A registers, the bridesmaid's locket shown top left was designed by Lewis F. Day.

There was a greater emphasis on non-London exhibitors (Bright & Sons of Scarborough and the Scottish and Irish jewellers) and non-gemstone jewellery. For Birmingham, which had sent a collective exhibit that included workers to demonstrate the making of jewellery, the tide was finally turning; T. & J. Bragg were ranked with London by the *Art-Journal*, and at least one reviewer thought their contribution 'should forever stamp out the notion that Birmingham produces only cheap and bad jewellery'.¹²⁵ Lying between Birmingham and the Bond Street jewellers in price, there was some highly regarded Clerkenwell-made wholesale jewellery in gold exhibited by E. Culver.¹²⁶ Whitby jet had a new rival in the black glass jewellery exhibited by Whiteley's, the Bayswater department store, although their prices were thought exorbitant: 'Few would care to pay £45 for W. Whiteley's set of black cut-glass jewellery, compacted though it be of 5,000 pieces of glass, each piece cut like a precious stone, and soldered on to a metal framework' (see Fig. 78).¹²⁷

The other significant development was the Commissioners' decision to assemble a huge collection of European peasant jewellery. Just over a quarter of the exhibits coming from foreign and colonial exhibitors were of peasant jewellery. The countries represented included France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Spain, Greece and Albania, as well as modern Danish silver filigree exhibited by Borgen & Co. of London.¹²⁸ *The Times* of 21 May (p. 8) noted with dismay that it was not appreciated by the sightseers on Whit Monday, who 'appeared to pass over the remarkable collection of peasant jewellery with a careless eye that turned from Indian bangles and Norwegian chains of silver to feast on the glittering diamonds in Messrs Hancock's cases'. But the display had tremendous impact: it sparked the fashion for wearing European peasant jewellery for informal occasions (see pp. 322–4), and it enabled the South Kensington Museum to create the breadth of the present V&A's outstanding collection. The museum had already acquired the Castellani collection of Italian peasant jewellery; now it added examples from other European countries. It also added examples from the large collection of jewellery made in the different parts of India. This was local or village, not courtly jewellery, using a range of materials including grass, seeds and berries, collected by Dr Birdwood (see p. 300).¹²⁹

Vienna 1873

This was the first international exhibition in Austria and covered a vast area. Like Paris in 1867 it had separate buildings for industry, machinery and agriculture, but the arrangement by classes was not taken up and the geographical divisions were retained. The key elements of the jewellery displays from Europe were the emphasis on Continental Europe, for Britain made only a tiny contribution, and the continued dominance of Castellani. From other parts of the world it was the jewellery displays from Brazil and the emerging Australian market that added something new.

For Britain, it did not have the impact of 1855, 1862 or 1867. Vienna did not rate as a serious competitor like Paris, and the government needed some persuasion to support it at all.¹³⁰ Although other British industries were well represented, most of the jewellers stayed away; only five exhibited, among them only two West End firms, Hancock's and W.J. Thomas. One of Thomas's specialities was reversed crystal intaglios (Fig. 228). The others were William Whiteley of London, Goggin of Dublin and Aitchison of Edinburgh.¹³¹ Compared with over sixty jewellers from France, some fifty from Austria and large numbers from Germany and Italy, this was a poor showing. Yet the British contingent garnered praise, not just in the English press, especially for Hancock's splendid array of gemstones. These included the Star of South Africa, owned by Lady Dudley, and the Dudley jewels, which Hancock's looked after for their owners when not in use: the jewels were worn for the opening ceremonies and only returned to the display about a month later. For Vienna Lord Dudley had made a new addition of a diamond and emerald tiara (see pp. 98–9).¹³² They had stiff competition, especially from the Viennese court jewellers Köchert & Sohn.

France sent a phenomenal range, from the big names of the Palais Royal and the rue de la Paix (Boucheron and Mellerio) to imitation jewels for the theatre. In between were Eugène Fontenay and Emile Philippe, both outstanding jewellers in the archaeological style. Most of the exhibits from Germany were sent by jewellers' associations from the three jewellery-

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Vienna 1873: reversed crystal intaglio pendant exhibited by W.J. Thomas, London. English, inscribed on the reverse 'VIENNA 1873'. H. 5.9 cm, including loop. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

Thomas was one of only five British jewellers who took the trouble to exhibit in Vienna. The firm specialized in reversed crystal intaglios. The pearl and blue enamel border echoes the finely painted hummingbird with blue feathers on a fern branch.



RUSSIAN AND OTHER JEWELLERY.

No. 1. GOLD NECKLET IN ANTIQUE STYLE. THIS NECKLET was shown at the Vienna Exhibition, and is the work of Messrs Ollierbourg and Co., of Paris. The beads and open work are coral set in green enamel of the finest workmanship, which is embellished with small brilliants. The design is after the antique.

No. 2 AND 3. BROOCHES. The plaque ornaments, Nos. 2 and 3 are executed in bright

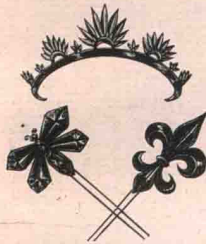


No. 2. BROOCH (RUSSIAN).

metal on fronted or enamelled ground. The design is in the corrupt Byzantine style preserved by the Russian national church, and has not undergone any improvement for centuries.

No. 4. BRACELET IN NIELLO WORK, BY KRUMBÜGEL, OF MOSCOW.

Illustration 4 represents a massive bracelet in niello. For this kind of work the Russian jewellers are famous, and produce it on gold and silver, in black, variously-coloured



No. 5. JET CORONET AND HAIR PINS (FRENCH).

The ornamentation is generally in the Eastern style, and very probably imported originally from Persia. Niello jewellery in silver has been manufactured at Tiflis from time immemorial; and ornaments of this kind particularly suit the taste of the Russian peasantry, but seldom find their way to the west.

No. 6. JET CORONET AND HAIR PINS.

This coronet is worn in front of the plait that crosses the forehead. The hair pins ornament the obignon. They are all made of the composition known as French jet.



No. 7. CORONET IN THE PERSIAN STYLE.

The hair pins ornament the obignon. They are all made of the composition known as French jet.

No. 8. JET NECKLET AND BRACELET (FRENCH). The necklet consists of graduated plaques of cut jet; a cascade set with pearls is suspended from the centre plaque; some jet marguerites form a gar-



No. 9. CORAL AND DIAMOND BRACELET (FRENCH).

land below the cascade. The bracelet to match is composed of plaques.

No. 7. CORONET IN THE PERSIAN STYLE.

This coronet was shown at the Vienna Exhibition, but is the work of a French jeweller. The design is carried out in gold of different colors, all glittering with small diamonds. The workmanship is extremely delicate.

No. 8. DIADEM (TCHITSHELEFF OF MOSCOW).

This diadem (No. 8) was exhibited at Vienna by



No. 1. GOLD NECKLET IN ANTIQUE STYLE (FRENCH).

Tchitsheleff of Moscow! It is a further example of Northern goldsmith's work, and may be considered as the most gorgeous arrangement of pearls which has been produced in modern times. Whatever may be thought of the somewhat barbarous design of this diadem, the profusion of pearls in different shapes and sizes set in enamelled gold, and suspended from tiny wires, captivates the eye by its royal splendour. It has been purchased by the King of Italy.

No. 3. BRACELET WITH FIGURES.

This bracelet is designed by Messrs Ollierbourg and Co., of Paris, and is of exquisite workmanship. The ground-work is of



No. 4. BRACELET IN NIELLO WORK, BY KRUMBÜGEL, OF MOSCOW (RUSSIAN).

dead gold, the arabesques are of bright coloured gold, and the Cupids flesh-coloured enamel, their wings and hair being gold.

No. 10. CORAL AND DIAMOND BRACELET (FRENCH).

This bracelet consists of large pink coral beads set in gold, encircled with diamonds. It is designed by M. Boucheron, Galerie de Valois, Palais Royal, Paris.

No. 11. GOLD AND SILVER BRACELET (FRENCH).

The bracelet is silver, and the ornamentation is bright gold. It fastens round the arm with a snap.



No. 8. DIADEM (TCHITSHELEFF OF MOSCOW).

GAZETTE DES DAMES.

WE HAVE OFTEN BLAMED LADIES for being so easily imposed upon, but if we consult not the following from the system of imposition has lately been practised upon London tradesmen-dressers shops and is shown a number of different articles of dress which the require. Some of them are ready made, and these also has sent to her private address in a fashionable West-end square; others some two or three items are wanted by the dressmaker immediately—a couple of yards of velvet, or silk, or poplin, some lace the same as a



No. 2. BROOCH (RUSSIAN).

pattern produced, and other valuable, as the case may be. These things match the rest of the order; and as the address given proves correct, and the dressmaker a very well known, and fashionable one, the tradesman is most willing to allow his customer to take them herself, as he cannot conveniently send a special messenger. The lady drives off, and the other goods are sent to the dressmaker's and the private address in the course of the day. The debt is duly looked, and a good customer secured. But a few days afterwards a letter comes from the house in the West-end square saying that the goods were never ordered, and begging that they should be taken back. The unfortunate draper sends to the dressmaker's, and finds that his customer called there shortly after the parcels were delivered, and took them away with her—the quantity at



No. 6. JET NECKLET AND BRACELET (FRENCH).

the silk not being the exact amount which she had ordered. This trick has been practised over and over again, and tradesmen are forewarned against the deception.

We complain in England that marriage is a very expensive luxury, and that the cost of marrying cripples multitudes for a long time after. It appears that they are not over occasional in India, and we may illustrate the fact by the following from the *Hindustan Mail*: "The custom which compels natives to spend enormous



No. 3. BRACELET WITH FIGURES.

sums upon their marriage is doubly to be regretted, when it influences native chiefs or princes, who, it is to be suspected, make their subjects pay through the nose for the luxury." The *Oriss Review* mentions the following facts which illustrate this evil habit of the custom: "Dada Shishah, the young Rajah of Dharam-pore, was lately married to the daughter of the Thakore of Chajpur, in the Mahoe Kanis. The Rajah of Dharam-



No. 11. GOLD AND SILVER BRACELET (FRENCH).

pore expended about 70,000 rs., and the Thakore about 25,000 rs., on the occasion." The paper then proceeds to say: "In a general way, such sums, for rajahs, might be called moderate, but these rajahs are poor, and the people will no doubt have to suffer for the expenditure in the case of aristocracy. There may be considerable difficulty in persuading private individuals to cut down their marriage expenses, but in the case of petty rajahs the measure ought to be enforced by the British Government." In connection with this, the following from our contemporary may be duly inserted: "An editor of a native paper in the Madras Presidency, in acknowledging

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Vienna 1873: Russian jewels by Krumbügel and Tchitsheleff of Moscow. *The Queen*, 7 February 1874, p. 117

These were very different from anything made in Western Europe. The asymmetrical diadem by Tchitsheleff (*below*) was described as 'barbarous', while the jewels by Krumbügel incorporated motifs from Russian enamels and folk ornament (*top left and right*) or traditional Russian niello work (the bracelet, *centre*).

making centres – Hanau, Württemberg (Schwäbisch-Gmünd) and Pforzheim. Vienna too had a group display from the city's goldsmiths and jewellers, accompanied by a number of firms from Prague, many of whom specialized in Bohemian garnet jewellery. Denmark was represented by Christesen of Copenhagen, whose works were by now familiar. The Moscow jewellers Krumbügel and Tchitsheleff, on the other hand, must have been new for many. Krumbügel adapted traditional Russian niello work and motifs from Russian enamels and folk ornament to modern jewellery, while Tchitsheleff displayed a diadem described by *The Queen* as 'the most gorgeous arrangement of pearls' despite its 'barbarous design', with a pearl-strewn feather aigrette and strings of pearl drops clustered asymmetrically to one side (Fig. 229).¹³³

Italian contributions were spread across the country from Venice to Sicily. For the first time the two Castellani brothers exhibited separately, Alessandro's contribution being described in the *Official Catalogue* as 'Goldsmiths' works using granulation as ornament' while Augusto's consisted of 'Copies of ancient goldsmiths' works of art from Italy'.¹³⁴ This distinction had great

significance, for it was Augusto who built up the firm's collection of reproductions by historical period, while the Naples workshop under Alessandro's direction had just succeeded in perfecting the technique of granulation.¹³⁵ For Lützow the brothers were 'not merely the best in Italy, but perhaps in the world', while the *Art-Journal* hoped that 'some more of our jewellers, following the example of Messrs Hancock, may do for British Art in gold what Signor Castellani has done so well for Italy'.¹³⁶ They were still the standard by which others were measured.

The exhibition also housed what was widely regarded as the most comprehensive showing to date of jewellery from Central and South Asia and the Far East. India, in particular, had a large display. In addition, for the first time, we find descriptions of jewellery from Australia depicting native plants – fern-leaf earrings – and using local materials – carved quandong seeds (a wild bush plant or native peach), phasianella shell (pheasant shell, noted for its striking markings) and Maori jade from New Zealand – in European-style settings.¹³⁷

Official reports of these exhibitions give no hint of the problems perceived by visitors. Emily Birchall, who visited the Vienna Exhibition on her wedding tour, was bitterly disappointed to find it

in a deplorably unfinished state; some parts look perfectly hopeless, and can certainly not be ready for months. One can hardly yet form a fair idea of the merits of the various sections, but one can compare their stages of completeness. Austria, the Orientals, Switzerland, and Germany are the most advanced; France, Italy and America the furthest *en retard*. Great Britain comes about midway. . . . and then the arrangement of the goods is wretched; utterly devoid of uniformity, totally regardless of general effect, and no pretence at harmony of colour or form. England stands *absolutely* alone in the glorious distinction of *bad taste*.

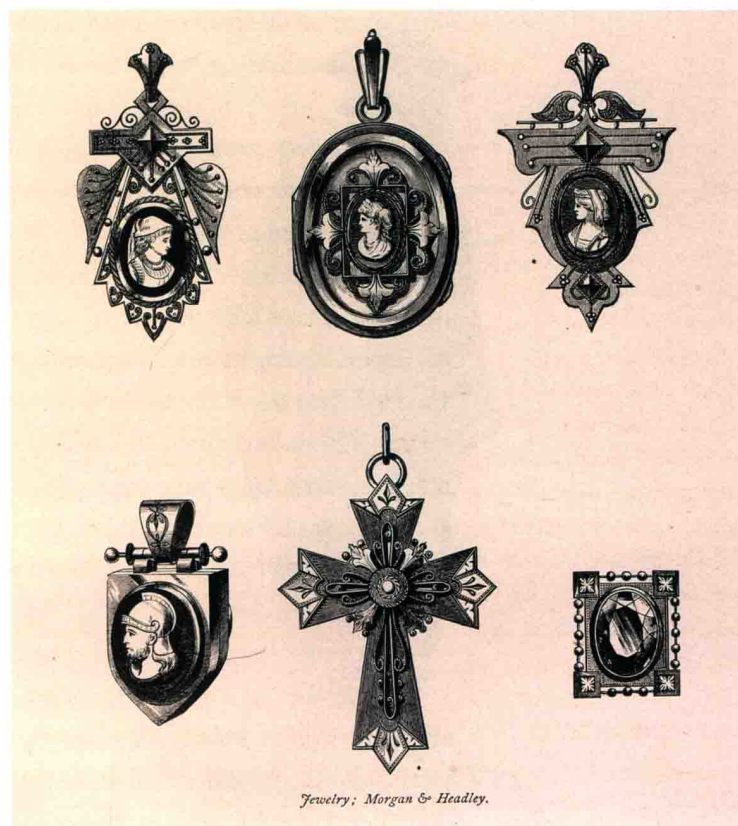
Going from the British section to the tastefully arranged, harmonious Austrian department, or to the rich brilliance of the Orientals, one is filled with shame and confusion of face. It is lamentable that our great country, the originator of the Exhibitions, should be behind Tunis and Portugal, Russia and Switzerland, in taste and perception of beauty.¹³⁸

Philadelphia 1876

The Frenchman will see with surprise the artistic forms of our jewelry, the fineness of our silks, the superior quality of our gloves, and the perfectly adjusted mechanism of our watches.

The products of the jeweler's art should be, and can be, made to minister to finer and nobler instincts in human nature than vanity or idle love of display . . . The present World's Fair demonstrates beyond all doubt that the Americans have reached the first rank in this branch of industry. (*New York Times*, 10 May and 15 June 1876)

This was the first international exhibition in America to include a serious display of jewellery (in the New York Exhibition of 1853 the industrial arts were almost entirely absent), and Tiffany's overriding triumph stunned Europe.¹³⁹ The company had exhibited in 1867, but now, for the first time, in the British and American press at least, they received more commentary



Jewelry; Morgan & Headley.

than any of the established names in the field except Castellani.¹⁴⁰ As the *Art-Journal* put it, 'A rose, full-blown, set with hundreds of diamonds, designed and made by an American workman in the employment of Messrs Tiffany, will bear comparison with the daintiest works of Boucheron, whilst a *collier* of antique gems is grouped with a success that would content even Castellani.'¹⁴¹ The American jewellery section had a prime position in the central avenue of the Main Building. Tiffany gave their place of honour to their display of gemstones. In the absence of Hancock's, Garrard's and Hunt & Roskell, who had not thought it worthwhile to come, Tiffany swept the floor, providing sensational diamonds and pearls with values to match, and in one instance a royal provenance: this was the famous yellow diamond purchased from the sale of the Duke of Brunswick in 1874 and set into a *tremblant* peacock-feather hair ornament (Fig. 230).¹⁴² According to the *New York Times*'s detailed description of Tiffany's display the feather jewel was shown for the natural beauty of the stones, while the rose was shown as an example of the goldsmith's skill. Alongside these was an 'Indian' enamel necklace and a collection of conch-shell jewellery, including a gold chatelaine set with pieces of highly polished conch shell that looked deceptively like enamel.¹⁴³

In his volume on the industrial arts at the exhibition, the art educator Professor Walter Smith gives due credit to other American manufacturers, in particular Starr & Marcus of New York for their diamond jewellery and their cameos: 'In cut cameos the New York exhibit was decidedly the finest in the Exhibition, though the French Court contained several choice specimens.' This view was echoed by the *Art-Journal* and no wonder, for Starr & Marcus had acquired cameos by no lesser masters than Rega and Pistrucci.¹⁴⁴ Morgan & Headley of Philadelphia received special mention for their classical-style jewellery, and J.S. Adams & Co., Providence, Rhode Island, for their tortoiseshell (Fig. 231).¹⁴⁵

230 Above left Philadelphia 1876: peacock-feather hair ornament exhibited by Tiffany & Co., New York. J.S. Ingram, *The Centennial Exposition, Described and Illustrated*, 1876, p. 314

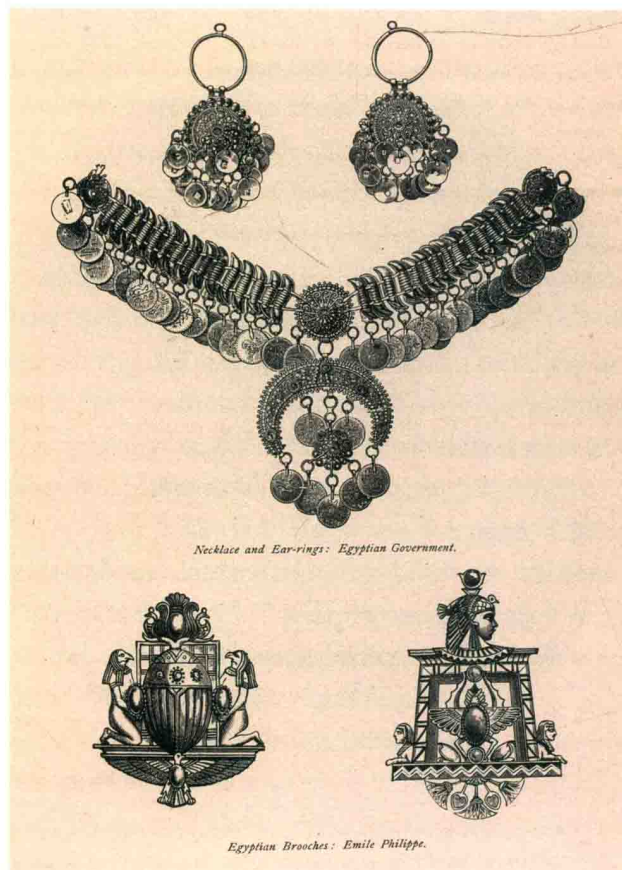
This *tremblant* spray contained the famous yellow diamond purchased by Tiffany from the sale of the Duke of Brunswick in 1874.

231 Above right Philadelphia 1876: cameo jewels exhibited by Morgan & Headley of Philadelphia. W. Smith, *The Masterpieces of the Centennial Exhibition*, II, p. 17

Although the settings for the cameos might be loosely defined as 'archaeological', they make no attempt to follow any antique precedent, unlike Italian and English examples. This may have been to distinguish them from the jewellery bought by American tourists in Europe, and to establish an American style.

Among the displays from Continental Europe, Russia exhibited for the first time in America with grand gem-set jewellery from Moscow.¹⁴⁶ The French display was dominated by Boucheron with his gem-set jewels and enamel work, especially his open-backed enamel in the form of 'a little box, enamelled in miniature imitation of a cathedral window . . . the finest piece of enamel work shown in the Exhibition'. He had little competition from his compatriots; they were absent 'en masse . . . Bissinger, Rouvenat and Mellerio, absent one and absent all'.¹⁴⁷ Germany's decision to send samples from all classes of manufacture from the cheapest to the best elicited some harsh judgements (see pp. 335–6). One American commentator thought that by sending cheap wares Germany, 'with the thoroughly Teutonic idea that the Americans do not know any better', was refusing to acknowledge that America had any artistic taste. The contribution included agate jewellery, noted as a speciality of the country, except that the material was now imported from Brazil to meet demand (see p. 461).¹⁴⁸ Britain too brought speciality jewels – Scotch cairngorms and Irish bog oak. Norway's silver filigree jewellery was much admired, but the American critics noted its propensity to tarnish in a very short time, perhaps due in part to the use of lower-quality silver.¹⁴⁹

Beyond Europe, there was filigree from the Dutch colonies, insect and feather jewels from Brazil (see p. 230) and rock-crystal necklaces from Japan.¹⁵⁰ There was also ethnic jewellery from Egypt and Turkey. To explain his point, Smith does something which no other reports do: he illustrates traditional Egyptian jewellery with 'small gold coins suspended from fine filigree' on the same page as Egyptian-revival jewellery by Emile Philippe, praising the former for its technical excellence and the latter as 'quaint and artistic adaptations of the forms used by early workers' (Fig. 232).¹⁵¹



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Philadelphia 1876: traditional jewellery from Egypt (above) together with Egyptian-style jewels by Emile Philippe, Paris (below). W. Smith, *The Masterpieces of the Centennial Exhibition*, II, p. 123

There is no relationship between the contemporary traditional jewels and Philippe's pastiches of ancient Egyptian jewellery. Philippe does not figure in the reports of the French display and may have exhibited his Egyptian-style jewels in the Egyptian section (see also Fig. 356). This would explain why Smith illustrated this unusual combination.

For Italy it was a chance to acquire new markets: Giovanni Ascione, manufacturer of coral and other jewellery in Torre del Greco, opened a store on Broadway, while a representative from Giuseppe Accarisi of Florence was reported as taking samples across the United States to the West Coast.¹⁵² The Italian contribution, like Tiffany's, was divided into two categories: 'Bigiotteria, gioielleria', which included the Genoese filigree, Naples coral from Ascione and Melillo (who also brought goldsmiths' work), and gem-set jewellery from Rome and Florence by Bellezza and others; and 'Oreficeria artistica' which had Alessandro Castellani, Accarisi, and Francati & Santamaria. Walter Smith praised Castellani's archaeological reproductions, including a long extract from Castellani's own account.¹⁵³ Smith also drew attention to the collection of ancient jewellery displayed by him elsewhere in the exhibition. This was subsequently offered for sale, unsuccessfully, to the Metropolitan Museum. Alessandro's profile was further raised by an additional official duty: he had brought a photograph of Garibaldi, an honorary American citizen, to the city of Philadelphia. Once again politics and art were inseparable: Garibaldi had wished to give Castellani proof of his friendship and admiration, and had chosen the celebration of the anniversary of American Independence to pay tribute to the country that had awarded him honorary citizenship.¹⁵⁴

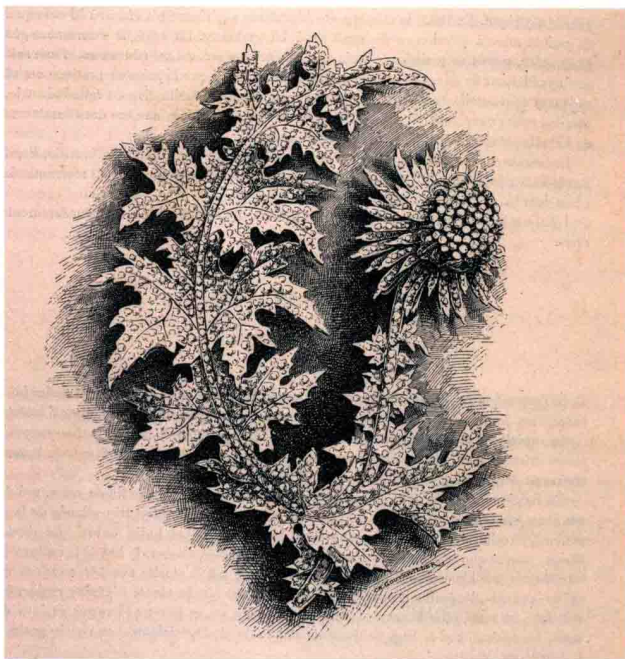
The exhibition's success in America did not have the repercussions in Europe that might have been expected, precisely because so few Europeans went. The *New York Times* reviewer wrote that 'most of the foreign jewelers admit the superiority of the American display. They say that they would have exerted themselves more, had they known with what they had to compete'.¹⁵⁵ In Britain there was concern that so few manufacturers had bothered to see for themselves that the 'Americans are on the point of becoming our most dangerous rivals'. Few had visited Vienna, and the 'mistake was being repeated in Philadelphia'.¹⁵⁶ The absence of the big London firms was bitterly regretted:

In the highest class of manufactured Art we make but a poor figure. There is not a single jeweller on the list, and but for the effective aid of one firm [Elkington], there would have been no producer of works in the precious metals. Yet, if we consider what might have been done to gratify and instruct millions, while extending the renown of the country, we cannot but deplore the absence of Hunt & Roskell, of Phillips Brothers, of Brogden, of Hancock, and at least a score of others to whom America might have been largely indebted for aid, and to whom Great Britain might have been grateful.¹⁵⁷

What better evidence for perceptions of the top art jewellers and for the perception of jewellery as the 'highest class of manufactured Art'?

Paris 1878

The Paris of 1878 was very different from that of 1867 on many counts. The victory of the republicans over the monarchists in the French political crisis of 1877 turned the exhibition into a symbol of Republican triumph.¹⁵⁸ Feeling was still so bitter after the Franco-Prussian War that there was no official German contribution. This exhibition was more than ever dominated by large manufacturers rather than the individual, often eccentric, exhibits to be found

**233 A & B**

Paris 1878: (A) diamond thistle-spray head ornament exhibited by Boucheron. H. Havard, *L'Art et l'industrie de tous les peuples à l'exposition universelle de 1878*, p. 356; (B) the surviving leaf from it. Private collection

The spray was created in two parts by Octave Loeuillard. The thistle no longer survives but the leaf has miraculously come to light and was exhibited by Wartski in 2001.



in 1851.¹⁵⁹ The jewellery as a whole was dominated by France and by Tiffany: the Paris Exposition of 1878 brought Tiffany to a European audience. The Castellani firm was still renowned for the debt that jewellers of all other countries owed them (*Art-Journal*), and accepted for their excellence in a field that they created (*Kunst und Gewerbe*), but others were thought to have caught up and they were no longer the benchmark.¹⁶⁰ The drop in publicity for Castellani in the British press may have been due in part to Layard's absence in Constantinople where he was British Minister and embroiled in the turmoil of the Russo-Turkish War. However, Layard now had a new cause – the revival of glassmaking in Venice. Having done so much to establish the Castellani firm's reputation in earlier decades, he had decided that the glass industry needed the same impetus from ancient models and had appointed Alessandro artistic adviser to the Venice & Murano Glass Company.¹⁶¹

Britain sent Jaipur enamels given to the Prince of Wales in India in 1875–6, but the British section did not include Hancock's, Hunt & Roskell, Garrard's, or Phillips.¹⁶² They had found it a mistake to neglect their London business for the months spent abroad. Hancock's had been in Paris through most of the summer of 1862 and again in Vienna in 1873. As the *Art-Journal* had noted in 1867, 'the great English firms have become tired of the expense, without any adequate return . . . and have remained quietly satisfied with their indisputable position at home'.¹⁶³ Their absence left the field clear for Brogden to sweep up the accolades. The critics were struck by his archaeological jewels and by a novelty conceived in England, the copying of jewels in paintings (see p. 347).¹⁶⁴

Without any dramatic gemstones from Britain, it was easy for France to hold sway with the crown jewels and an astonishing array of diamond jewellery: Bapst displayed spectacular gem-set pieces lent by the French nobility, while Rouvenat brought 'some splendid varieties "got up" for the Shah of Persia'.¹⁶⁵ Among other diamond jewels, three pieces are mentioned time and again: Boucheron's two-part diamond head-ornament formed of a thistle spray with overblown flower created by Octave Loeuillard (Fig. 233). Fouquet's dazzling sunburst diadem and Téterger's watch-chatelaine (Fig. 234). The chatelaine combined diamonds and

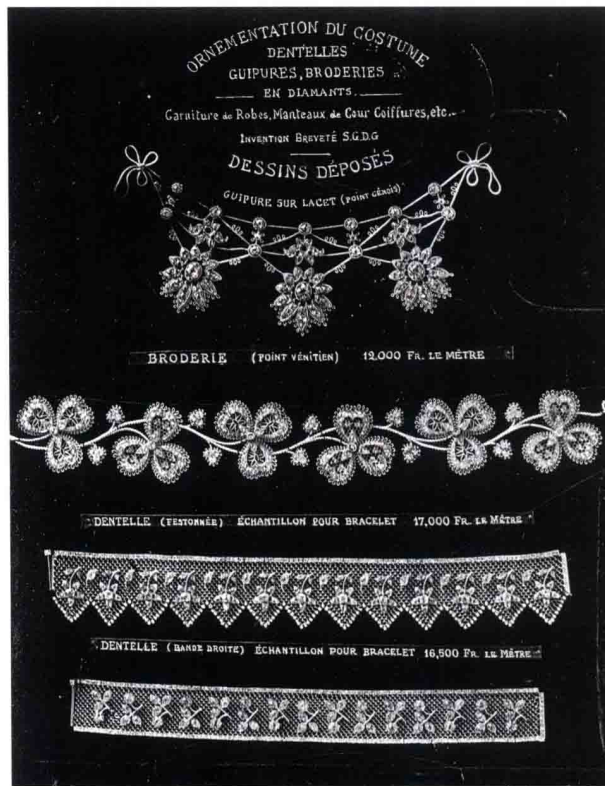


234 A & B Above and opposite
Paris 1878: gold, platinum and
diamond chatelaine exhibited by
Hippolyte Téterger, Paris. French,
L. 16.5 cm. New York, Metropolitan
Museum of Art, Gift of Cele
H. and William B. Rubin 1959
The watch case with its delicate
enamelling was designed by
Henri Téterger fils.

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Paris 1878: samples of imitation lace in diamonds exhibited by Oscar Massin (b. 1829, retired 1892). Veveer 1906-8, III, p. 481

The upper two samples imitate Genoese and Venetian needle lace, the lower two are samples for bracelets with diamond motifs on a band of flexible gold netting imitating either embroidery on tulle or bobbin lace.



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Paris 1878: diamond bow brooch imitating lace by Massin, Paris. French, made after 1878. Private collection

Massin's lacework jewels barely survive. This rare example has openwork motifs resembling the needle lace rather than the tulle network.



translucent enamel with the gold chasing of Jules Brateau, rivalling Boucheron's supremacy in this field.¹⁶⁶ But the palm went to Massin, for his imitation lace with diamonds sprinkled on a network as delicate and supple as a textile, and for the novelty of his almost transparent flowers created by mixing filigree work with diamonds (Figs 235, 236).¹⁶⁷ This, combined with the pure fantasy of his designs, such as an owl pendant mounted on a black velvet choker studded with crescents to echo the 'night' theme, captivated fellow jeweller Lucien Falize and other critics in France and Germany.¹⁶⁸ These new developments in gem-set jewellery meant that the *bijouterie* as opposed to *joaillerie* got short shrift, despite the inclusion of Fouquet's Bianca Capello chatelaine (see p. 363), along with archaeological and historicist jewels by Fontenay, Emile Philippe and Emile Froment-Meurice.¹⁶⁹ Falize warned that while France should not be complacent, she could claim the lead because the productions of other countries were, with two exceptions, mediocre. Those exceptions were Castellani and Tiffany.¹⁷⁰

Tiffany was universally mentioned even if not everything he showed was universally praised. For Sala the award of Grand Prix to the firm marked 'the commencement of a wholly new era in American industry': instead of being famed for its inventions alone, America was henceforth to be taken seriously for its art manufactures. The Grand Prix was for the whole display, but as the *New York Times* for 15 September justifiably boasted, there was also 'a gold medal for jewellery, a gold medal for the chief workman, a silver medal for the chief draughtsman, two bronze medals and honourable mention for other collaborators. A victory equal to this has never before been recorded'. Tiffany did not show gem-set jewellery, but instead presented two novelties that achieved widespread critical acclaim. One was a series of Japanese-style jewels in coloured gold and platinum, presented in cases covered with Japanese silk (see p. 313), and apparently patronized by the Princess of Wales.¹⁷¹ The other was the copies of the jewels from the celebrated Curium Treasure, discovered in Cyprus by General di Cesnola in 1875 (see pp. 435–6). Sala thought the jewels from the Curium Treasure 'surpassed anything that Castellani has rescued from the bed of the Tiber' and equalled 'the rarest of Dr Schliemann's discoveries' or the 'marvels of Kertch in the Hermitage at St Petersburg'. They were 'triumphs of imitative goldsmith's art. . . . There can be little doubt that our South Kensington Museum should possess these admirable reproductions; but whether authority will empower South Kensington to disburse sufficient money to acquire a marvellously faithful replica of the Cypriote treasure is quite another matter.' One French critic even suggested that should the idea of a 'Musée des Copies' be taken up, Tiffany should be given the task of reproducing all the ancient jewellery in the Louvre.¹⁷² The triumph was a double one: the Curium Treasure was a major acquisition for America, and became a matter of immense national pride. Tiffany's copies were a success in their own right, but they also announced to the world that America now rivalled Europe in the collecting of antiquities.

Paris 1889 and the *fin de siècle*

The *Exposition Universelle* in Paris in 1889 did not, for jewellery, have the overall impact of the earlier exhibitions. This was largely because there were so few exhibitors from previous prize-winning nations like Britain and Italy that the variety of displays from other countries took centre stage. The international ambience went beyond actual exhibits to reconstructed streets (the rue du Caire for example), bazaars and cafés, with musicians and dancers gathered from

237 Right

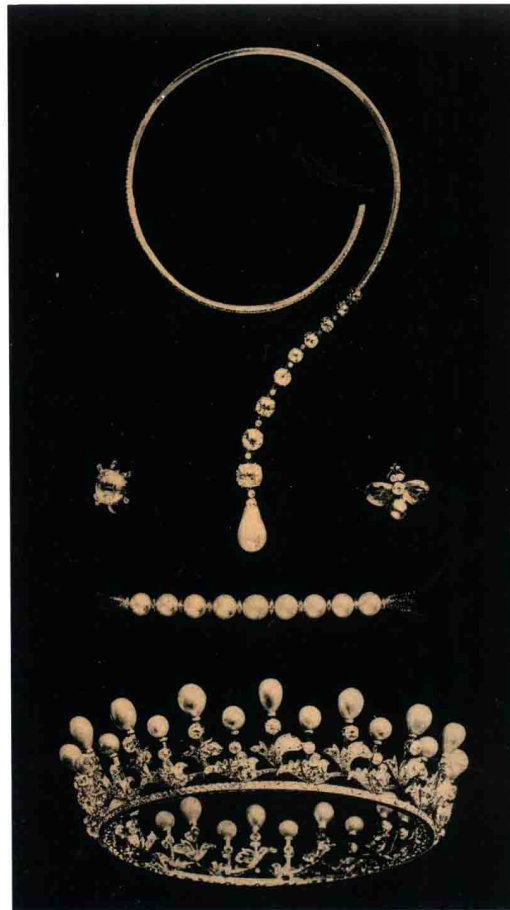
Paris 1889: open spiral necklace exhibited by Boucheron, Paris. From V. Champier, *Les Industries d'Art à l'Exposition Universelle de 1889–91*, Fasc. XIII, unpaginated

The plate also shows a diadem and necklace in diamonds and pearls, and brooches in the form of a tortoise engraved in a single diamond, and a fly with black pearl body and diamond wings

238 Far right

Paris 1889: 'Louis XIII' necklace exhibited by Alphonse Fouquet (1828–1911), Paris. From V. Champier, *Les Industries d'Art à l'Exposition Universelle de 1889–91*, Fasc. v, unpaginated

The diamond necklace imitates a 17th-century lace collar. Fouquet's design for this necklace is in the Archives Fouquet (Inv. CD 2569, 52) in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs; the necklace itself has not been located. The jewel below is described as an empire-style belt clasp that could be converted into a bracelet, brooch, comb, etc.



Romania to Java. Added to this were craft demonstrations from across the world, with the craftsmen and women in national dress. Thus much of the jewellery to be seen was actually being worn. Swedish jewellers demonstrated jewellery-making in a workshop hung with embroideries, copper and faience. There was jewellery and dress from Kabyle in Algeria, displayed to show the functional use of the large fibula-like brooches to secure the cloths worn by women. Filigree from the new kingdom of Serbia vied with a large display from Greece. The Indian Palace was entered through an arch designed by Purdon Clarke with motifs from the Indian Museum in London, and contained a bazaar with thirty boutiques selling jewellery from all parts of the Indian sub-continent.¹⁷³

The Castellani firm was absent for the first time since 1862; Alessandro had died in 1883 and without him the firm took no further part in international exhibitions, although Augusto lived until 1914. Melillo took their place. The English court was 'very deficient' in jewellery, which meant that Tiffany and Melillo were the principal non-French contributors.¹⁷⁴ The French jewellery court dominated, both in its physical arrangement and its contents. *The Times* was ecstatic:

... whereas in the British section each exhibitor has a wigwam all to himself, which may have been designed without any relation to its neighbours, in the French courts the stalls have all been designed in accordance with a uniform plan. . . . In the outlying portions of the jewelry court are to be found a number of those extremely clever imitations for which Paris is famous. In the middle a group of the leading jewellers occupy what may be called the four corner shops of the little place . . .

[with] MM. Bapst and Falize at one corner, and Vever, Fouquet and Boucheron at the other angles.

The reviewer goes on to praise the originality of the Paris jewellers, and a glance at contemporary illustrations explains why he was so impressed. Boucheron showed a revolutionary necklace formed of a single coil with no fastening and ending in a graduated string of diamonds and a pear-drop pearl (Fig. 237). Designed by Paul Legrand who ran the firm's workshop from 1879 to 1889, these clasplless necklaces were secured by a patent spring mechanism. From Gustave Sandoz there was a 'traîne renaissance', an asymmetrical corsage ornament which one might easily date ten years later. But it would be a mistake to see this as the beginning of Art Nouveau, for what comes over most strongly in 1889 is the adaptation to gem-set jewellery of motifs often taken from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century textiles, such as a lace collar with knotted tassels by Fouquet (Fig. 238), or a corsage ornament in the form of an eighteenth-century stomacher, by Massin, inspired according to Vever by antique passementerie (braiding). Its 'Persian' motifs of lotus, saz leaves and palms, were all in diamonds. Massin did not exhibit under his own name, but allowed other jewellers to display his works; thus this corsage ornament appeared on the stand of Sandoz.¹⁷⁵ There were also bow-knots inspired by the recent sale of the French crown jewels, but arranged as an asymmetrical corsage ornament.¹⁷⁶

These astonishing objects were matched if not outdone by Tiffany, whose supremacy in craftsmanship and novelty of design was reinforced with their subtly enamelled orchids created by Paulding Farnham specially for the exhibition (Fig. 239).¹⁷⁷ But they also displayed enormous diamond jewels on a scale larger than life. The *Art-Journal's* critic was knocked sideways by their 'great Garniture de Corsage': 'It is a piece of diamond work about three feet long and from three to six inches wide, and is intended to be affixed to the shoulder, side, and breast by three rosettes of diamonds. In this specimen are no less than two thousand two hundred diamonds; and it is probably the best piece of diamond work of the size that has ever been executed.' It took the form of a lace bertha or trimming, beating Massin at his own game, and it prefigures by a decade Cartier's *écharpes* of around 1900 (Fig. 240).¹⁷⁸ A third significant group on Tiffany's stand was the gold- and silversmiths' work inspired by Native American designs, given elaborate, though often inaccurate, sources by Tiffany themselves. While the large-scale bowls and vases are well-known, few of the jewels and accessories survive. However, the design drawings for vesta cases, rings and brooches, many by Farnham, display bold geometric motifs that must have appeared very different from anything else at the time. Knowledge of Navaho rugs and South-West basketry and ceramics is evident, but it is impossible to make any specific comparisons.¹⁷⁹

The World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago of 1893 put Chicago on the world map culturally, and achieved what Philadelphia had not quite managed to do: it put America into the top league. It also had greater support from Europe, due in large part to the efforts of Mrs Potter Palmer, who chaired the Women's Committee.¹⁸⁰ It covered an enormous space and although the representation of foreign nations was just as comprehensive as in 1889, it is hard to say whether it had the same bustle and throng of different countries cheek by jowl. One addition was an 'International Beauty Show' giving 'the costumes of all nations attractively displayed by girls of the different races', but as in 1889, this part of the exposition was separated from the huge building for Manufactures and the Liberal Arts. Here, as *The Times* reports, 'in



239 Paris 1889: enamelled gold and diamond orchid brooch designed by Paulding Farnham (1859–1927) for Tiffany & Co. American, H. 6.7 cm. Tiffany & Co. Archives

Farnham's designs recreated specific varieties accurately; the watercolour sketch for this brooch in the Tiffany Archive identifies it as *Chrysis limminghei*, but it was later shown to be a species of *Scuticaria*, also from the American tropics. The petals are enamelled on both sides.

the centre, was a large circular open space, and around it the four quarters are occupied by the four leading nations at the Fair'. These were the United States, France, Great Britain and Germany. What each nation presented in this central area is equally significant: Britain chose Royal Worcester porcelain, Germany exhibits in gold, silver, bronze and leather, France lace and textiles, and America 'the diamonds, silver and golden wares of Tiffany and the Gorham Company'.¹⁸¹

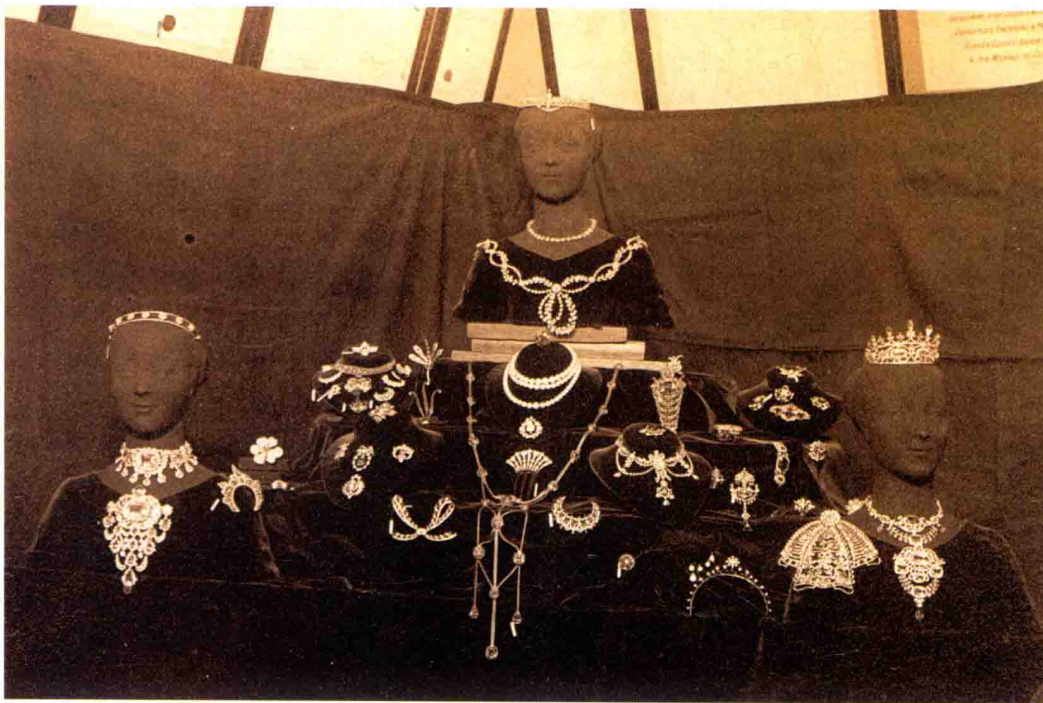
As far as jewellery was concerned it was once again Tiffany's show. They mounted a huge display, exhibiting collections of American minerals and gemstones alongside Paulding Farnham's highly original gem-set jewels, from grand Oriental-style corsage ornaments (see p. 304) to delightful bonnet brooches.¹⁸² Tiffany's display had significant economic implications as well as being a matter of national pride. The detailed French report, written by Henri Vever, noted two features that were surprising if not shocking to European eyes. One was the mixing of diamonds with less valuable and less refractive native American stones, which risked



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Paris 1889: photograph of Tiffany & Co.'s diamond lace bertha or *garniture de corsage* as displayed at the exhibition. Tiffany & Co. Archives

Some three feet long, this astonishing piece contained no less than 2,200 diamonds; it demonstrated beyond a doubt that America was a serious rival to France. The Tiffany firm, starting with Charles Lewis Tiffany's Fancy Goods Store in New York in the first year of Queen Victoria's reign, bears witness to the extraordinarily rapid development of the American luxury market in the 19th century. From the tentative first steps at international exhibitions in the mid-19th century to the era of the American world's fairs at the turn of the last century it is a remarkable trajectory.



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Chicago 1893: photograph of Tiffany's display with jewels shown on three black felt busts. Tiffany & Co. Archives

The left-hand bust displays an aquamarine and diamond suite. Also visible are Tiffany's 'Burmese' pendant (*centre right*), a cravat-like shoulder ornament imitating Spanish lace (*front right*), recalling the 'lace' collar shown by Fouquet in 1889 (Fig. 238), and next to it a revolutionary 'halo' diadem, worn vertically, with an asymmetrical spray of pearls to one side.

being overshadowed by the brilliance of the diamonds; the other was the brazen use of three display mannequins of matt black felt – *ces fausses négresses de la Renaissance Italienne* – drenched in jewels, which looked for all the world 'like compressed charcoal' and produced 'un effet déplorable.' (Fig. 241).¹⁸³ Nor could Vever resist gently remarking that Tiffany's major source of inspiration was in fact France. To prove his point, he illustrated a Tiffany shoulder ornament imitating Spanish lace, recalling the lace collar shown by Fouquet in 1889. But he gave them due credit, describing and illustrating a rich variety of jewels, from a Viking-style ring to a 'Burmese' pendant brooch and an astonishing diamond 'halo' diadem, worn vertically like an alic band, with an asymmetrical spray of pearls to one side, prefiguring a style normally associated with the 1930s.¹⁸⁴ English critics were less generous:

The characteristic fault of Americans, the fault which will prevent their doing any considerable artistic work till time and culture have rectified the matter – the delusion, to wit, that bigness and expensiveness are the chief things to be desired – is fully shown in their taste in personal ornament. So long as size and flash is considered in preference to aught else, so long will the display of jewellers who find it necessary to cater for such a taste be little worthy of notice from the Art point of view.

Needless to say, that was the *Art-Journal's* view.¹⁸⁵ The same critic deplored the French decision to send nearly all 'imitation' jewellery, and singled out coloured pearl and opal jewellery by the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company, the only British firm to compete, as some of the best in the exhibition.

Chicago was the last of the great nineteenth-century world's fairs to have any serious impact on the development of jewellery and the perception of its importance. The Paris Centennial Exposition of 1900 was enormously influential in the field of jewellery, introducing the new style of Art Nouveau, but falls beyond the scope of this book.

LINKS WITH THE EAST: INDIA, THE ISLAMIC WORLD, CHINA AND JAPAN

Colonial expansion and the consequent increase in trade brought jewellery and artefacts from many distant cultures to Europe. Displays at international exhibitions gave them world-wide exposure and led to commercial imports on a large scale. Added to the availability of such objects was the romantic curiosity aroused by the intrepid and hazardous exploration of unknown lands and by the accounts of those who had lived or travelled in far-off parts. At the same time exports of jewellery to the colonies led to changes in indigenous traditions and in some instances the production of new types created deliberately for export to the West. The following account looks principally at reactions in Britain and France, and covers those geographical areas that had a marked effect on jewellery. In Britain India had the most influence over the longest period because of Britain's possessions there. The existence of a large and long-standing British community fostered its own traditions of cross-fertilization and a quite different level of understanding of native culture. Western jewellers interpreted actual Indian jewels (Fig. 242) as opposed to simply applying Indian motifs to Western forms, while Indian jewellers created new categories for the British expatriates sold both locally and abroad. Emerging from both Islamic and Hindu traditions, they added an extra dimension to the way in which Indian culture was disseminated in the West.

The different waves of Orientalism throughout the century encouraged interest in Persia and in the Arab world of Islamic Spain and North Africa. But the jewels themselves were rarely copied; instead the complex surface patterns, so different from Western classical or naturalistic canons, were applied to Western forms of jewellery. China had been a traditional influence on the applied arts, while Japan was to a great extent something new. Yet Japan had no tradition of jewellery in the sense of non-functional ornament; there were no jewellery forms to copy (except hairpins, see p. 220), although Japanese subject matter and the Japanese arts of metalwork and lacquer provided a wealth of inspiration. We have not traced any influence from South-East Asia on Victorian jewellery design, although objects and jewellery from these areas were shown at international exhibitions from 1851 onwards.

Two further aspects of the increased availability of jewellery from different parts of the world also are discussed. One was the wearing of imported pieces from India and the Far East in artistic circles (see pp. 128–33). The other was the increasing role of 'peasant' or traditional jewellery from Continental Europe, usually considered outside the mainstream of nineteenth-century jewellery history, which concludes this chapter.

India

Britain's association with India long predates the age of Victoria. The East India Company had been trading there since the early seventeenth century and British territories were established in the 1750s. These were governed by the company until 1858 when authority was transferred to the Crown following the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Queen Victoria became Empress of India in 1876, and this was added to her royal title. Interest in India had been further strengthened by the Prince of Wales's visit in 1875–6.

The collecting of Indian artefacts in Britain owes its origins to the eighteenth-century

pursuit of learning rather than to the nineteenth century's encouragement of the industrial arts. The East India Company had made serious studies of Indian culture in order to administer the new territories, and had already assembled a sizeable collection by the latter part of the eighteenth century. These collections opened in East India House in Leadenhall Street in 1801, and remained visible in various locations until they were finally amalgamated with the South Kensington Museum's collections in 1879 and a new display was installed in 1880.¹

It was the Great Exhibition of 1851, however, that first put Indian jewellery before an international public. The display was organized by the East India Company, and consisted, as we have seen, of trophies of the empire – fabulous gemstones and lavish enamelled gold and gem-set Mughal court jewels (see p. 262), as well as Queen Victoria's own Indian jewels, not least the Koh-i-Noor. In addition to these courtly pieces there were jewels from various parts of India. Owen Jones, who had been on the selection committee, gave them fulsome praise in the introduction to the Indian section of the *Grammar of Ornament* as models of harmony in form and colour.² The East India Company display went to join the company's museum at East India House. It was the company that once again sent the Indian display to the Paris Exhibition of 1855. By the time of the 1862 Exhibition, the Indian display was divided into the various regions of India, and covered a much wider range. The royal jewels were given continued public presence, both here and the following year when Princess Alexandra's wedding presents, which included an entire suite of Indian jewellery from the Queen, were displayed at the South Kensington Museum and published in a magnificent commemorative volume.³

Subsequent London exhibitions were to see a complete change of attitude. European governance had led to a drastic fall in the patronage of the maharajahs and the production of high-quality jewellery. For the London Exhibition of 1871 the government of Bombay sent a collection of jewellery worn by 'the Natives of western India', all of which was in imitation silver and gold.⁴ The following year, at the 1872 exhibition, when jewellery was one of the featured categories, the display was far more comprehensive, spanning virtually the whole of British India 'from the finest gold work to the cheapest pewter ornaments of the peasantry'.⁵ The Society of Arts stressed the harmony of colour irrespective of intrinsic value common to Indian jewellery: 'So these semi-barbarous people prove to us that there can be no monopoly of art on the side of wealth.'⁶ It was collected in large part not by the Indian government but by two distinguished collectors, Mrs John Henry Rivett-Carnac, wife of an Indian civil servant and agent for the opium trade, and by the scholar and champion of Indian decorative arts George Birdwood; they took a far more analytical approach. The catalogue of the Indian display is remarkable for the detail of the descriptions of each piece, the region from which they came, the people who wore them, and their function and meaning.⁷ Thus a phenomenal range of jewellery was now becoming available, both indigenous traditions and newly created hybrid Indo-European wares for export, costly gold and silver as well as cheap natural materials, from the Punjab to Madras, and from Pakistan to Lower Burma, all within what was then British India. British officials in India may have assisted this cross-fertilization; for example, John Lockwood Kipling, father of Rudyard, took Western design traditions to India as art professor first in Bombay from 1865 and then Lahore from 1875.⁸

This change of attitude towards a more scholarly, ethnographical approach was reflected in the South Kensington Museum's exhibition purchases. The handful of 1851 purchases



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Detail of the Indian-style necklace shown in Fig. 247. English, made by Phillips Brothers & Son, London, 1867. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

The enamelled gold floral motif is copied from a Mughal thumb ring. The plaques are red on one side and green on the other, the typical colours of Jaipur enamel.

had all been bought as examples of good designs and were all gold and silver; none was rural jewellery. In 1867 the purchases were of cheaper materials, and in 1870 a group of Hindu 'peasant jewellery' pieces was purchased for the museum by Henry Cole's son, who was serving in India. But the largest group was supplied by the 1872 Exhibition at which the museum acquired over 1,100 pieces, many from the Rivett-Carnac collection.⁹ The year 1872 was a bumper one for jewellery in London, the International Exhibition coinciding with the Loan Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Jewellery at the museum. This was an extraordinary exhibition, with loans from the Queen, the royal family and innumerable private collectors.¹⁰ Further acquisitions for the museum were made from this exhibition too, on the recommendation of Matthew Digby Wyatt, then architect to the Council of India (which replaced the East India Company after 1858); these included two gold marriage necklaces, one with green glass drops and rubies, with fringes of stylized cobra heads worn by Nayar women from Kerala. To make his case, Wyatt had examined both of them with Alessandro Castellani, using the great Italian authority on jewellery to get them accepted.¹¹

Interest was further fuelled by the Prince of Wales's visit to India in late 1875 and early 1876 – a diplomatic visit just prior to Queen Victoria being crowned Empress of India. The press gave almost daily reports of the luxurious jewels worn by the Indian maharajahs, displayed for the Prince to admire or presented as gifts.¹² On his return, huge political capital was made from the display of the gifts at the South Kensington Museum, as proof of the loyalty of the Indian rulers. In addition to jewelled arms and armour and Jaipur enamels, there was jewellery with chased gold fretwork over glass from Partabgarh, tiger claws mounted in gold (see p. 246), gem-set pieces and the embossed gold 'Swami' work discussed below.¹³ The gifts were then shown as part of the extensive British Indian section at the Paris Exhibition of 1878, and it was this showing that prompted the Prince of Wales (who was Executive President of the British section) to hold the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London in 1886. Court and local jewellery from across India made this the most comprehensive display to date.¹⁴

Jewellery made for export was a huge part of the jewellery trade between Britain and India. From Punjab came *kuftkari* work, a traditional method of inlaying steel with gold used for arms and armour. Pieces from the India Museum display in Paris in 1867 were subsequently acquired by the South Kensington Museum. The forms are copies of current Western fashions, including one of the popular reproductions of Celtic brooches by Waterhouse of Dublin. The Celtic shape is accurately copied with its quatrefoil terminals, but the brooch pin is fixed on the back across the ring instead of passing through the open ends.¹⁵ The cross has Indian scrollwork on one side and Gothic-style foliate ornament with the sacred monogram on the other. In a similar way the distinctive Indian gold *babul* work from Delhi, named after the flower of the *Acacia arabica*, with spheres or hemispheres covered in tiny spikes, was made in European forms, with portrait miniatures in the Western tradition (Fig. 243). Birdwood, writing in 1880, took pains to record that 'soldering in grains, discovered by Castellani in Italy, was never lost in India'.¹⁶ Once again, Castellani is the benchmark for technical superiority. Partabgarh glass on the other hand was generally supplied as plaques for mounting. Partabgarh glass, also known as Theva or Thewa work, probably originated in the town of Pratapgarh in southern Rajasthan and then spread to nearby Indore and Rutlam in Madhya Pradesh. It took the form of plaques of green glass inlaid with pierced gold work; the molten glass was poured into gold or silver frames and the openwork design pressed into the



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Indian work made for export: gold *babul* work (pendant and earrings, *left*) and *kufkari* work in steel inlaid with gold. Indian, 1850–70, the *babul* work from Delhi, the *kufkari* work from Sialkot, Punjab, Pakistan. H. of cross lower right 8 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

All these pieces have adapted Indian techniques – the *babul-work* spheres or hemispheres covered in tiny gold spikes, or the *kufkari* inlay – to European forms. Most are from the former India Museum, and were shown at the Paris exhibitions of 1855 (the *babul* pendant) and 1867 (the *kufkari* work).

The earrings contain painted miniatures on ivory of Maharajah Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) and the Afghan Prince Muhammad Akbar Khan (d. 1848), who was involved in the first Anglo-Afghan war of 1839–42. In her memoir of her time in India in 1836–42, accompanying her brother, Baron Auckland, Governor-General of India, Emily Eden describes arranging in February 1839 for Delhi miniature painters to translate her sketches into ivory, recalling ‘I never saw anything so perfect as their copy of Ranjit Singh’ (*Up the Country*, London 1983, p. 264).

glass before it hardened. Many of the plaques imported into Europe were those used in India, but others were made in European shapes specifically to be mounted up as jewellery in the West.¹⁷ Significantly, Robert Phillips, ever the entrepreneur, had sent to the Indian section of the 1872 International Exhibition in London to tempt prospective clients a collection of ‘Plaques, slabs for bracelets; gold, inlaid in glass. Indore work.’¹⁸ Phillips also displayed ‘Hair pins; filigree work; in ruby gold. Burmah.’ These were no doubt also made for export, and must have been similar to the reddened gold Burmese filigree work acquired by the South Kensington museum in 1851.¹⁹ The British had had a foothold in parts of the country since the 1820s and this was extended in 1853. For this reason Burma was included with India at international exhibitions. It became part of British India in 1885.

Numerous British firms were established in all the major cities, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and many others, all stocking jewellery imported from Europe as well as Indian regional specialities which in turn went back to Europe via exhibitions, agents, or mail order, as well as being circulated within India. Cooke & Kelvey, established in Calcutta in 1858, sold fashionable Western jewellery.²⁰ George Hodson, recorded in Madras from 1857 to 1865,

advertised 'English, Cuttack and Trichinopoly jewellery', while Lowe & Co., another Madras retailer, recorded from 1843 to 1870, advertised 'Cuttack jewellery: silver brooches, bracelets, shawl and hair pins, bouquet holders'.²¹ The Trichinopoly jewellery was local, but the Cuttack silver filigree came from Orissa, and it was probably this that Digby Wyatt showed at the 1872 loan exhibition (Fig. 244). The pieces advertised by the Madras jewellers were probably export wares but it was also worn locally, in Indian forms.²² When *The Times* reporter who reviewed the International Exhibition of 1872 lamented the absence of 'the peculiar manufactures of Trichinopoly', he knew his readers would know what this was: the so-called Swami work made in the Trichinopoly area of Madras. Executed in 22-carat gold or silver, it depicted Swamies or Hindu deities embossed by hand in high relief and applied to typical Western lockets, necklaces, etc.²³ A trade catalogue of 'Swami or Trichinopoly jewellery' issued by its principal dealers, P. Orr & Sons of Madras, in the late 1870s indicates a sizeable mail order business in Britain, Australia and America.²⁴ Orr & Sons had their marketing completely organized, advertising not only suites for gentlemen but also their 'Indian jewel casket', comprising some sixteen items in both Swami and filigree work: bracelets, necklaces, earrings, solitaires and a slide for a velvet ribbon in Swami work, and a bouquet holder, hairpins, bracelets, brooch and comb ornament in filigree. The Swami work, although popular, seems not to have influenced European jewellery design.

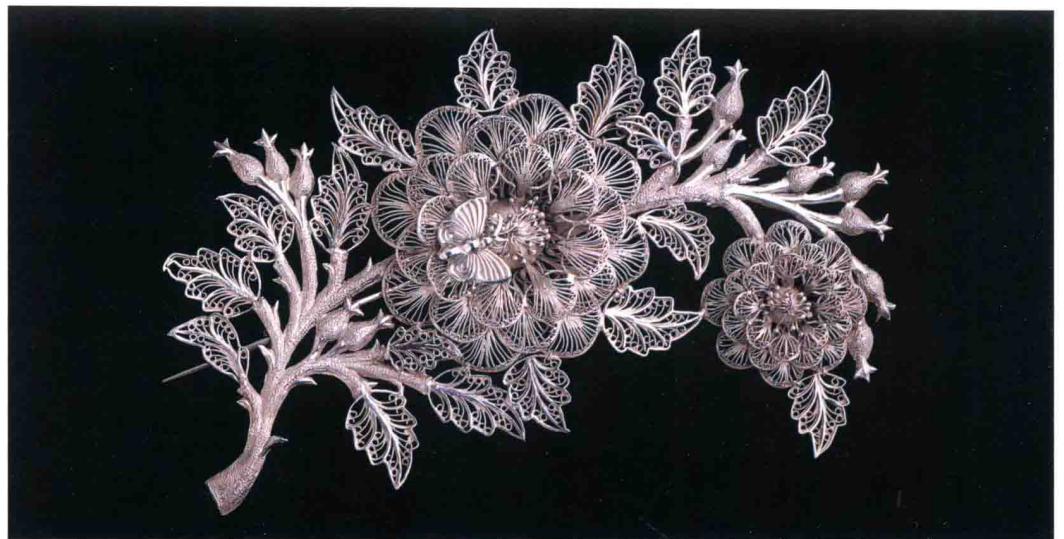
Apart from export wares, Indian influence was more generally assimilated into grand gem-set pieces, such as Queen Victoria's 'Oriental' tiara of 1853 (see p. 43), with its cusped elements. The series of peacock brooches made by Baugrand for the Paris 1867 Exposition was probably inspired by the freestanding Jaipur animal figures in gem-set enamelled gold (Figs 245, 246).²⁵ In other instances the forms of Indian jewellery appear in materials not normally associated with foreign influence, such as the jet bead necklaces of multiple strands hung from a trapezoid clasp.²⁶ In all such instances the necklaces go right round the neck with a hook at the back; they never adopt the Indian woven silk ties.

As for direct copying from Indian jewellery, Phillips's Indian-style enamel necklace for the Paris Exposition of 1867 (see p. 274) is exceptional at this date in reproducing line for line a motif from a Mughal thumb ring then in the Guthrie collection. Colonel Charles Seton Guthrie had collected Mughal hardstones and Indian jewellery during his service in India.

244

Indian work made for export: silver filigree brooch. Indian, Travancore (southern Kerala and Tamil Nadu), about 1850–55. H. 10.2 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Unlike some export wares such as the *kufkari* work, filigree was also made for local use in Indian forms in various centres, especially Cuttack. This Western-style corsage spray is decorated with roses and a butterfly. It was probably shown in Paris in 1855 as part of the India Museum display and was transferred to the South Kensington Museum in 1879.





His collection was displayed in London in 1862 and in Paris in 1867, so Phillips had every opportunity to see it. The necklace is enamelled on both sides: one side in green, like the Mughal ring, the other in red (Fig. 247).²⁷ By the 1870s he had developed a whole range of Indian-style enamelled jewels, prompting Mrs Haweis to write in her widely read manual, *The Art of Beauty*, of a visit to Phillips's shop: 'I there observed . . . bonbon boxes of Louis Seize shapes, grafted on an Indian pattern, in which much of the Indian feeling for colour is retained.'²⁸ By the time of the 1878 Exhibition, Falize too had turned to Indian sources, exhibiting a necklace with a fringe of coin-like pendants round the front part depicting Hindu deities; while the overall conception is Indian, perhaps inspired by fringe necklaces from Lucknow, it has been adapted to Western taste. Other examples of the Indian style tend to copy motifs from other media such as textiles, taken from standard compendia of ornament (see p. 311).

It is from the 1880s that Indian influence is much more evident in Britain. How far this is due to the impact of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London or simply to the vogue for exotic jewels as part of the taste for Aesthetic dress and the nascent Arts and Crafts movement is hard to say. Proctor & Co.'s Indian Art Gallery at 185 Oxford Street advertised Indian art objects from at least 1880, including 'inlaid jade stone necklaces, gold necklaces, gem necklaces, silver necklaces, gem bracelets, Lucknow silver bangles'.²⁹ Hewett & Co.'s Chinese warehouse of Baker Street advertised their Indian manufactures from at least 1883, while Liberty's imported Oriental jewellery from the late 1870s, issuing an Eastern Art catalogue for Christmas 1880. Along with Indonesian shell necklaces and Japanese aventurine beads there were Indian rosaries made of berries or of sandalwood.³⁰ Perhaps it was there that Mrs Luke Ionides, of the distinguished British family of art patrons, acquired the Indian bead rosary, with its three pendant tassels marking the subdivisions for counting prayers, that she holds prominently in her portrait of 1882 by William Blake Richmond (Figs 248, 249).³¹ Her waist-clasp, although not Indian, was suitably different: it was probably converted from antique Dutch book clasps; the central element would have gone round the binding. Imported into

245 Above left
Peacock brooch, gold set with sapphires, diamonds, rubies, emeralds and a pearl, by Gustave Baugrand (d. 1871). French, about 1867. Antwerp, Diamantmuseum

A similar peacock brooch exhibited by Baugrand at the Paris exhibition of 1867 is visible in the illustration of his stand (see Fig. 224 and p. 249). It was purchased by Lord Dudley. Baugrand exhibited several peacock jewels, probably inspired by Jaipur enamel ornaments such as that in Fig. 246. This one is entirely gem-set, but enamelled peacock jewels which were even closer to the Indian originals were made by other French jewellers.

246 Above right
Enamelled gold peacock on stand. Indian, Jaipur, mid-19th century. H. 8.5 cm. British Museum, given anonymously

**247 A & B**

Indian-style enamel necklace with detail of reverse; in the centre, the Mughal Indian thumb ring on which the enamel pattern is based. The necklace English, by Phillips Brothers & Son, London, 1867. Diam. 15.6 cm. The ring made in Northern India, 18th century. W. 3 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

The necklace is reversible: on the other side the enamel is green (see detail), as on the thumb ring. The floral motif has been just slightly condensed to fit the shape of the necklace plaque. The necklace was purchased by the South Kensington Museum from the 1867 exhibition. The ring was then in the Guthrie collection and was also exhibited in Paris in 1867 before entering the India Museum in 1868.



London and sold by Thornhill's along with other Dutch silver dress accessories from at least 1875, these clasps were soon copied for the London trade.³² Mrs Ionides's clasp is in fact almost identical to one illustrated in Liberty's catalogue for 1886; the same clasp, but without the central element, appears again in 1887 on a page titled 'Reproductions of Old Flemish Jewellery' (Figs 250, 251).³³ This kind of jewellery was so far removed from the mainstream that it fitted just as well into the exotic ensemble created by her flowing coral red dress, the Kimono silk screen behind and the Indian inlaid table in the foreground. Accessories of this kind could all be purchased from Liberty's.

Indian jewellery was now a subject of serious study. Following George Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India* (1880), a crucial role was played by Colonel T.H. Hendley, a surgeon-major in the Indian Civil Service in Rajasthan: the Jaipur Museum, which opened in 1881, was his creation and in 1883 he organized the Jaipur Exhibition, producing lavish memorial volumes.³⁴ His *Jaipur Enamels* of 1886 included contemporary work and he was deeply involved in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. His book was followed by an important series of articles on Indian jewellery published in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* from 1891.³⁵

If Phillips was among the first to make a close study of Indian motifs, Giuliano took up the mantle in the 1880s and 1890s, taking exoticism a step further by incorporating not only Mughal court motifs but also adapting local jewellery, stripping it of its symbolism or of any tribal associations. The Mughal-influenced pieces are inspired directly by familiar Indian types available in the India Museum, such as multiple strands of pearls secured by plaques at each end with a central pendant, or fringe necklaces with pearl tassels.³⁶



248

Mrs Luke Ionides, by William Blake Richmond (1842–1921). Oil on canvas, 1882. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Seated in an Aesthetic interior with a kimono silk screen behind and an Indian or North African inlaid table in the foreground, Mrs Ionides holds an Indian bead rosary with three tassels, indicating the three divisions for Muslim use. The rosary beads may be either hardstone, like those shown below, or carved *rudraksha* beads, or another kind of seed or fruit stone. Her waist-clasp was probably converted from antique Dutch book clasps (see Fig. 251) and survives in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The sofa is illustrated by Mrs Haweis in her *Art of Decoration*, 1881, p. 285 as 'Old French sofa, in the possession of Luke Ionides Esq.'



249

Indian hardstone bead ornaments: two Muslim rosaries above and below in onyx and carnelian, with two necklaces and a bracelet. Indian, about 1850–70. L. of lower rosary doubled approx. 62 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

The two rosaries are similar to that held by Mrs Ionides. The tassels are of silk or gold thread with threaded glass beads. They were both acquired in 1874 from the collection of William Taylor, a government official in India from 1829 to 1867. The other pieces, in chalcedony (*left*), agate (*centre*) and rock crystal, were probably shown at the Paris 1855 Exhibition and acquired from the India Museum in 1879.

250

Detail of the portrait of Mrs Ionides (Fig. 248), showing her silver-gilt waist-clasp. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

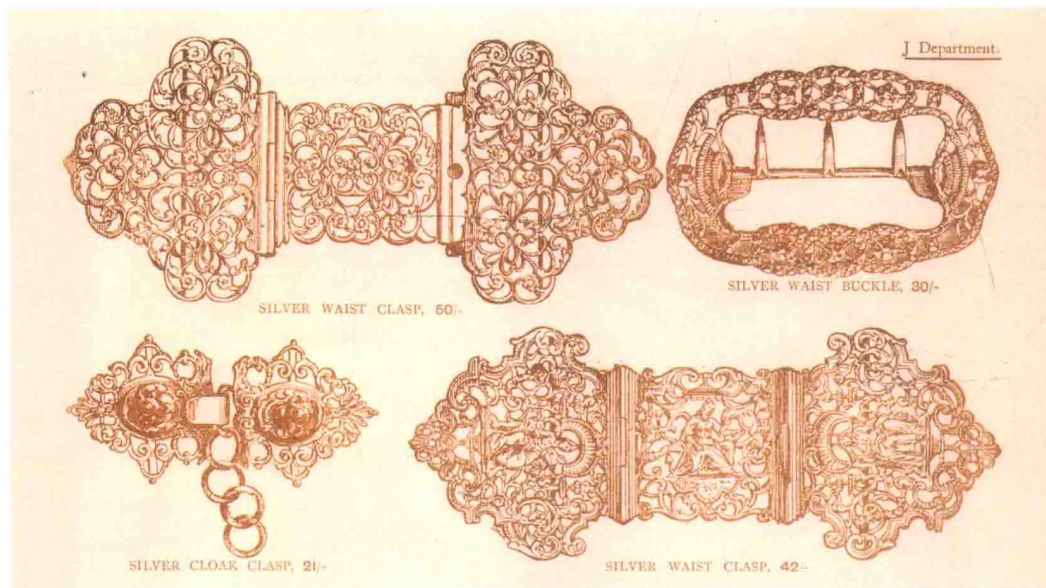
Probably converted from a Dutch book clasp, the hinges flanking the central section are clearly visible.



251

'Old Flemish' waist-clasp: detail of a page from a Liberty & Co. catalogue of 1886. London, City of Westminster Archive Centre

The waist-clasp (*lower right*) is identical to that worn by Mrs Ionides. Converted from antique book clasps, each element has a seated figure in an arch. These clasps continued to be popular into the early 1900s; they were often cast rather than converted from actual clasps.

255 *Opposite*

Necklace made for Poynter's model to wear for the portrait of Helen of Troy. Silver-gilt with bowenite beads. English, made by Carlo Giuliano (1831–95), 1887. Width of central plaque at base 7.9 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Lent by the American Friends of the V&A through the generosity of Judith H. Siegel

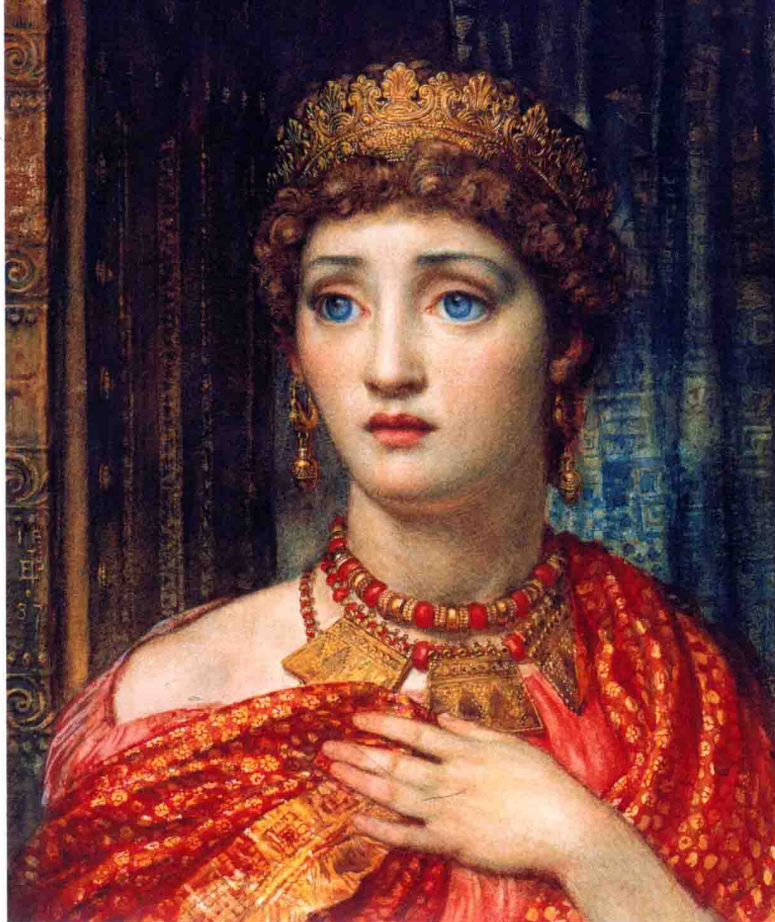
Both Giuliano and Poynter have included coloured beads to separate the plaques as on the Indian necklaces – coral for the portrait and agate for the jewel.

Less obvious is the source of inspiration for Sir E.W. Poynter's celebrated watercolour of Helen of Troy of 1887 (Fig. 254); the gold jewellery discovered in 1873 by Schliemann at Troy and then thought to have been that worn by Helen of Troy had been widely publicized, but Poynter did not think it heroic enough for his purposes and asked Giuliano to make something suitable for his model to wear. Instead of turning to ancient Greece, Giuliano, in one of the most extraordinary transformations of nineteenth-century jewellery, chose the trapezoidal amuletic plaques from a typical Gujarati necklace worn by women and children, in the form of three silver plaques strung on cord with beads as spacers (Figs 252, 253).³⁷ Giuliano has removed the pendant loops from each plaque, slightly altered the shape and gilded it, but otherwise the plaques are identical (Fig. 255).



252 *Top*
 Photograph of a Muslim Mutwa woman
 and child from Kutch, Gujarat

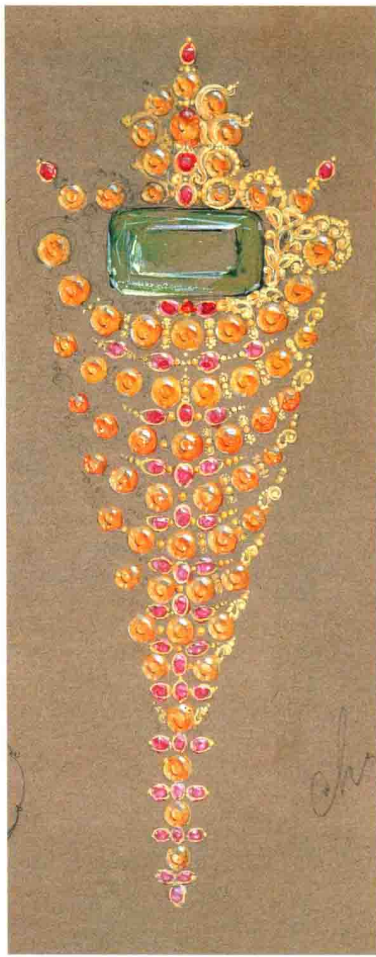
253 *Above*
 Silver necklace plaque (W. 6.4 cm).
 London, Victoria and Albert Museum



254
Helen of Troy, by
 Sir Edward Poynter
 (1839–1919).
 Watercolour, 1887.
 Royal Collection

The tiara echoes Italianate classical forms but for the necklace Poynter has ignored the jewellery discovered at Troy by Schliemann in 1877, creating instead a dramatic adaptation of a Gujarati necklace with triple amuletic plaques (Figs 252–3). The earrings may be based on Indian men's crescent-shaped earrings, or on Italian boat-shaped earrings from the Castellani collection of Italian peasant jewellery (see Fig. 226), substituting an amphora for the three pear-shaped drops.





256
Design by G. Paulding Farnham (1859–1927) for Tiffany & Co.'s 'Burmese' brooch-pendant. Watercolour, American, 1893. Tiffany & Co. Archives
Set with Brazilian topazes and the Burmese rubies that gave the jewel its name. The design itself was intended to be exotic but was not inspired by anything Burmese.

In the same period, around 1890, Paulding Farnham created a series of Indian-inspired jewels for Tiffany & Co. Many of these, such as a ring with a feather-shaped turban ornament or sarpech, are known only from contemporary descriptions or from design drawings in the Tiffany archive. A report on the 1889 Paris Exhibition described a 'necklace of Indian design, composed of a chain of fine gold wirework set with a diamond in the centre of each link. A beautiful pendant is suspended from it . . . set with seven cat's eyes of remarkable size'.³⁸ Among the few Indian-style pieces by Tiffany that survive are a brooch with coloured pearls inspired by the central cluster ornament from a turban, and a handpiece based on the traditional Indian *hathphul*, a wedding jewel formed of a bracelet and four rings attached by means of an ornament that covers the back of the hand.³⁹ Another Farnham design was described by Henri Vever as 'Burmese'. This was a long pendant brooch shown at the Chicago Exhibition of 1893, known from its design drawing only (Fig. 256). According to Vever, the 'oriental rubies and Brazilian topazes' gave it 'a beautiful and unusual warmth of colour'.⁴⁰ The Burmese appellation probably derives simply from the use of Burmese rubies. Other jewels shown by Tiffany in 1893 were listed as 'East Indian', Oriental, or 'Turkish', suggesting a hotchpotch of Eastern influences. Many owed their origins to the wide-ranging collection of Tiffany's chief designer, Edward C. Moore, which provided a rich source of Middle Eastern and Asian inspiration over decades.⁴¹

The Islamic world

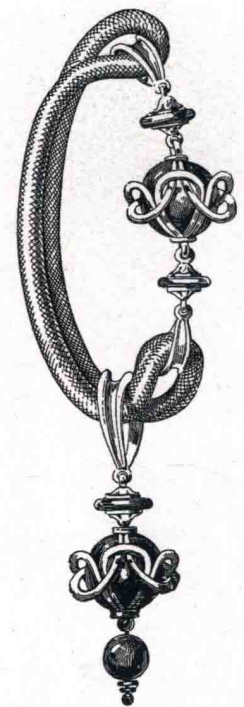
The different waves of Orientalism throughout the century overlapped with each other and produced in many cases hybrid jewels that derive elements from Moorish Spain and North Africa, Arabia or Persia, and cannot easily be categorized. Western designers had been fascinated by the complex ornamental schemes of Islamic art since the sixteenth century. Owen Jones was struck by the unity of design of all the 'Mohammedan' contributing countries at the 1851 Exhibition, contrasting their skill and judgement in the application of art to manufactures with the general disorder in his own country.⁴² Jones's ideas were developed by Christopher Dresser, who classified ornament according to its embodiment of mental power: Arabian and Moresque ornament was for him 'ideal' ornament, the highest branch of decorative art, to be contrasted with natural ornament, which he saw as purely imitative. By such a canon he placed the Alhambra much higher than the Vatican as a decorative scheme.⁴³ The flat linear patterns of Islamic design in which geometrical interlace was mixed with foliate stems forming separate frames with other patterns inside them provided a complete contrast to Western ornamental schemes founded on classical Greek and Roman principles. Islamic influence appears in many branches of the applied arts across Europe and America, but in jewellery it is surprisingly limited.

The immediate impetus for Islamic exoticism in jewellery was the conquest of Algiers by the French in 1830. This should be set against a background of the romanticization of the Islamic world by both writers and painters. Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rooke*, a series of Oriental tales, was published in 1817, while the *Thousand and One Nights*, a collection of Arabic stories, was translated into French in 1704 by Antoine Galland and into English by Edward William Lane in 1838–41. The Orientalist painters depicted scenes often inspired as much by exotic tales as by real life; they were overwhelmingly French, and while many spent years

in the East in flourishing European communities in Constantinople, Cairo and Alexandria, some had never set foot there. Thus Islamic influence in jewellery started with the French and seems to have remained almost exclusively French.

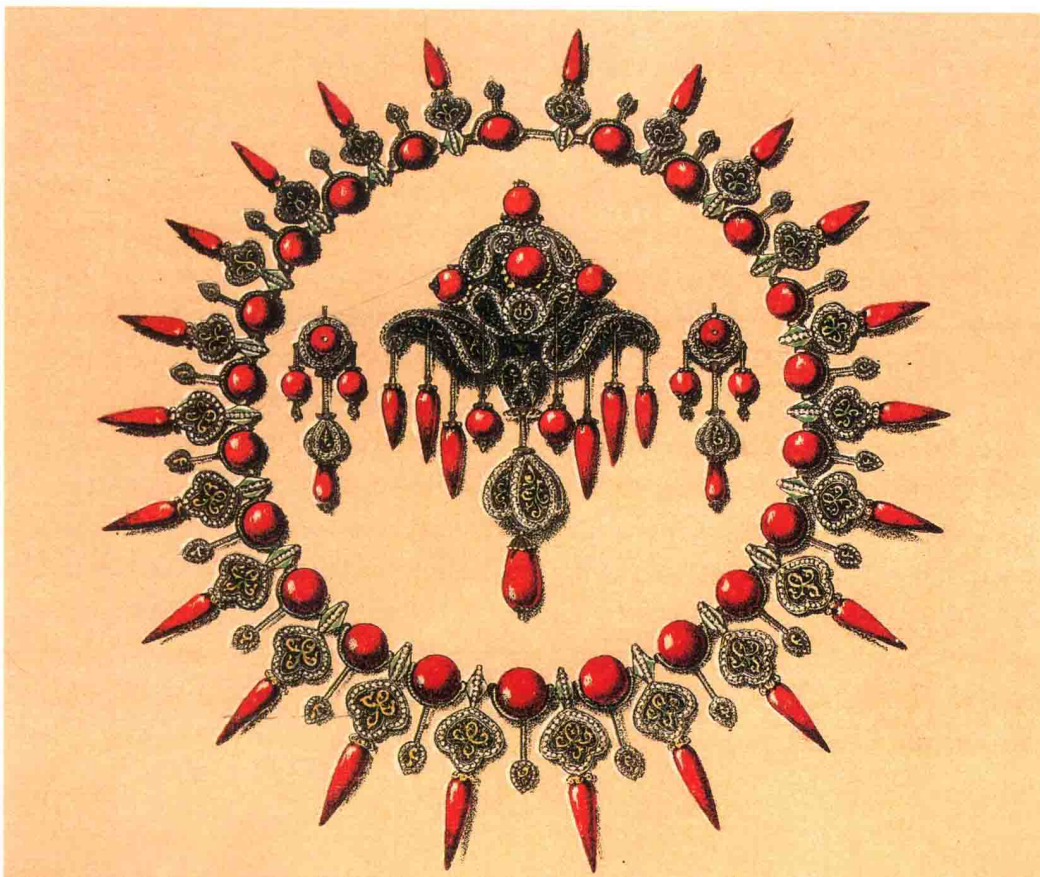
Joan Evans notes that there were two waves of Algerian influence, the first at the time of the Algerian campaigns under Louis-Philippe, in which the elaborate gold braid knots and tassels of Algerian dress were reproduced as gold pendants, brooches, bracelets and hairpins chased or engraved to imitate the braiding; the second during the final Algerian campaigns around 1860.⁴⁴ Henri Vever illustrates examples from both periods, the first a gold Louis-Philippe bracelet with a pair of knots enclosing lapis beads in the centre, the fastening in the form of a loop and bobble, evidently inspired by dress fastenings, the second by Crouzet around 1860, incorporating knots with lapis beads again, on a bracelet formed of a looped braid of gold (Fig. 257).⁴⁵

At the same time, a group of jewels described as 'Moorish' appears in Vever and other contemporary sources. These tend to be either dense patterns of foliate scrollwork inspired by sixteenth-century 'moresque' designs for jewellery, or geometrical interlace designs copied from Moorish architectural ornament. It was the ornament that made them Moorish to contemporary eyes; the forms are not North African at all. The Alhambra, made famous by Owen Jones's publication of his drawings of the palace in 1836–45, was time and again a source for the applied arts of the nineteenth century, but only in France were the motifs adapted to jewellery. The style is amply demonstrated by Petiteau's Moorish jewellery with its black enamel linear patterns and curved Islamic 'boteh' leaves combined with coral beads; Vever dates it to c. 1850, and it was shown in London in 1862 (Fig. 258).⁴⁶ But perhaps the grandest of all the designs described at the time as 'style mauresque' is the elaborate chatelaine designed by Alexis Falize; it is among the few nineteenth-century pieces illustrated by Fontenay in his history of jewellery (*Les Bijoux anciens et modernes*, 1887), where it is dated c. 1852 (Fig. 259).⁴⁷ It has a prominent inscription on the lower element, derived from the



BRACELET
AVEC NŒUD ALGÉRIEN
ET BOULES LAPIS

257
Bracelet with 'Algerian' knots by
Crouzet. French, about 1860.
Vever 1906–8, II, p. 184



258
Parure in the 'Moorish' style by Petiteau.
French, about 1850. Colour lithograph
from J.B. Waring, *Masterpieces of
Industrial Arts and Sculpture at the
International Exhibition of 1862*, I, p. 44



259 Above
Chatelaine in the style *mauresque* or 'Moorish' style by A. Falize (1811–98). French, about 1852. E. Fontenay, *Les Bijoux anciens et modernes*, 1887, p. 469

Chatelaines were a perfect vehicle for inventive designs in exotic, historical or novelty jewellery. This example relates closely to current fashion but they were often produced purely to display technical skill (see Fig. 214).

260 Above right
Gold chatelaine and hair comb in the 'Persian' style. The chatelaine unmarked, probably French, the comb by the firm of Wièse, Paris, about 1880–90. L. of comb 11.3 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift



Arabic 'to God be praise', and belongs to a group of French jewels with Arabic inscriptions illustrated by Vever. These are a bracelet by Crouzet with multiple hanging chains, a widespread contemporary fashion, and a penannular brooch by Gueyton, in which the letters are used purely decoratively.⁴⁸ Bracelets with multiple hanging chains were popular at the time and appear in portraits by Ingres, for example, but the chains are not as long as these, and there are no obvious sources for them in Moroccan jewellery. Why Vever thought this was Moroccan in style is mystifying unless he was referring simply to the inscriptions.⁴⁹

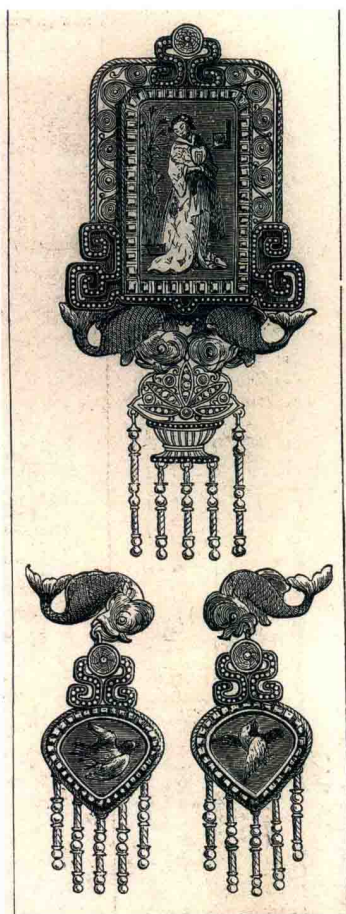
While this taste was almost exclusively French, there are occasional instances of jewels with Arabic inscriptions elsewhere. When the London jeweller E.W. Streeter sold his stock in 1884, having announced his retirement (he did not retire and it seems he was simply raising capital), included in the sale were 'Two large turquoises inlaid with Persian hieroglyphs in gold – £2-18s'. The practice of carving turquoise in intaglio and inlaying it in gold with good luck inscriptions was widespread in the Islamic world and was copied by Giuliano in turquoise blue enamel with gold letters, in small brooches shaped as a piece of turquoise with a simple collet setting to give the impression of a real stone.⁵⁰

The French jewels described at the time as 'Persian' are closely related to those described as 'Moorish' in overall feel, but their distinctive feature is the use of stylized lotus blossoms and the designs are generally more open, whether in plain gold or with enamel decoration. Similar motifs are described in the mid nineteenth century as Arab or Persian, and, like the Moorish pieces, the style defies precise categorization. The key sources were the French design compendia such as Collinot and de Beaumont's *Recueil de dessins pour l'art et l'industrie* (1859) and Racinet's *L'Ornement polychrome* (1869). Wièse, later in the century, copied them almost line for line in finely modelled and subtly textured gold (Fig. 260). Falize adapted the same motifs in cloisonné enamel as a fringe necklace in 1880, the elements of which are in the form of Islamic lappets, found as a border on pottery, or in manuscripts and carpets.⁵¹ The jewels described so far have been of gold or enamelled gold. Gem-set jewellery was also susceptible to Islamic influence though it is often less obvious: Massin's corsage ornament for the 1889 Paris Exhibition, with the curved palm leaf or 'boteh' and stylized lotus, is one example (see p. 291). Such motifs continued in gem-set jewellery long after the gold and enamel pieces by Wièse and Falize had gone out of fashion, and were revived in a highly original way by Cartier in the following century.

China and Japan

Chinese art objects had a long tradition of export to the West. Up to the end of the eighteenth century these had been channelled through Canton. The change in the nineteenth century was the vast increase in access to Chinese markets as a result of the opium wars between Britain and China, fought to legalize the sale of Indian opium which provided funds for the purchase of tea, Britain's main trade commodity from China. The first opium war of 1839–42 gained Britain huge commercial privileges: Shanghai was among the additional ports opened and Hong Kong was ceded to Britain. Suddenly, London was awash with public displays of Chinese objects: the collection of the Philadelphia China trade merchant Nathan Dunn opened from 1842 to 1851; a Chinese junk had sailed into London in 1848, the grand saloon 'fitted up as a sort of museum, with all sorts of curiosities'; and the 1851 Exhibition contained large groups of Chinese exhibits, many from the London importers Hewett & Co., then in Fenchurch Street.⁵² The second opium war of 1856–60 involved the French as well and ended in the looting of the Summer Palace in Peking; the treasures taken were displayed at the London International Exhibition of 1862.

Chinese ivory carving, minutely worked with flowers and figures, or filigree with its distinctive phoenix and butterfly motifs (see Fig. 87), was turned into jewellery for the West.⁵³ The Chinese style in Western jewellery design, however, is often mixed up with Japanese ornament, which was later to be much more dominant, but one of the few adaptations of distinctly Chinese motifs is to be found in Fontenay's enamelled gold jewels for the 1867 Paris Exhibition (Fig. 261). The kimono-clad figure is Japanese but she stands within a frame ornamented with geometric scroll motifs and a pair of fish; the scrolls are taken from archaic Chinese bronzes, much collected in Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century, while the paired fish are Chinese symbols of harmony and abundance. In his account of the jewellery at the 1867 Exhibition, Vever describes a series of innovative Chinese-style jewels designed for the firm of Fontana incorporating painted enamel figures in sumptuous costumes surrounded by



261

Enamelled gold 'Chinese-style' jewels shown by Fontenay in the 1867 Paris Exhibition. French, 1867. Detail of the page devoted to Fontenay from the *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue of the Paris Exhibition of 1867*, p. 253

Like much 19th-century eclectic jewellery the design typically mixes motifs from different sources. The scrolls derive from archaic Chinese bronzes, the confronted fish are a popular Chinese auspicious symbol, while the central enamel depicts a kimono-clad Japanese woman holding a Japanese fan.

tiny platinum bells; they were not a success, and none has so far been traced.⁵⁴ Two unusual pieces by the London jeweller Edwin Streeter are set with painted enamel miniatures of Chinese figures in a border of multicoloured gems (Fig. 262).⁵⁵ Could these perhaps be some of Fontana's unset enamels, dispersed when the jewels failed to sell in 1867 and acquired by Streeter at the 1867 Exhibition itself or subsequently?⁵⁶ Further evidence for the existence of such enamels in France is provided by a volume of designs for jewellery with French inscriptions in the Metropolitan Museum of Art which contains a series of oval medallions with identical figures in Chinese dress (Fig. 263).⁵⁷ But these are exceptional and the principal evidence for Chinese influence is in the cloisonné enamels by Falize and others discussed below. Indeed, Vever thought the Fontana jewels might have been more successful had they been executed in cloisonné instead of painted enamel.

Japanese art objects, by contrast, took the West by storm, as they flooded into Europe and America following the opening of Japanese ports for trade. The American Commodore Perry conducted negotiations in 1853 and 1854; ports, including Yokohama, began to open in 1859. Since the 1630s trade had been strictly controlled by the shogunate, with only the Dutch and the Chinese being allowed access to a single port, Nagasaki; despite these restrictions, huge quantities of porcelain made for export were shipped to Europe, as well as lacquer and silk. Thus a great deal had long been known about some Japanese art forms. But no one was prepared for the completely new imports of Japanese bronzes, of miniature sculpture in the form of netsuke, of the highly sophisticated inlaid metalwork, of Japanese as opposed to Chinese cloisonné enamel, the vastly increased range of ceramics and, last but not least, the woodblock prints and illustrated books. The combined effect of these was to have a marked influence on the decorative arts in general and specifically on jewellery. From 1858 Britain had a Consul-General in Japan, Sir J. Rutherford Alcock, who had previously been Consul in Shanghai. Alcock played a key role in first bringing the new Japanese art forms to Britain and selecting the collection to be shown at the 1862 Exhibition in London.⁵⁸ Alcock's 1862 display is often cited as Britain's first exposure to Japanese decorative arts, but it was not their first showing in Britain or in London. The Dublin International Exhibition of 1853 had contained a large Japanese collection (see p. 263) and in London in 1854 a Dutch merchant had exhibited a collection of lacquer, basketry, bronzes and metalwork, many made specifically for export in non-Japanese forms.⁵⁹ The South Kensington Museum too had begun to acquire Japanese objects in the 1850s.⁶⁰ The *Times* publicity for the Japanese collection in advance of the 1862 Exhibition epitomized the idealized Western view of Japan as an untouched and undeveloped country, and expressed surprise at Japanese knowledge of science and technology.⁶¹ The assumption that the lack of steam power and railways meant that Japan had not developed in these fields was endemic in much contemporary writing.

The Japanese display received even more attention than it might otherwise have done through the presence of the Japanese envoys who were part of the first Japanese Embassy to Europe, and the shock of seeing them walk round the exhibition wearing the two swords obligatory for their rank (in Britain swords were worn only at court). The two categories that were most admired were the lacquerware and the metalwork, and these were the two art forms that most influenced jewellery. Both were praised for their elegance of design and unrivalled workmanship, criticism being reserved for the pottery and the bronzes, where the 'genius of the Japanese designer . . . is apt to run into the quaint and the grotesque rather



than the beautiful'. Much has been written on the stereotyped Western perceptions of Japan and its art, in which the words 'quaint' and 'grotesque' occur repeatedly.⁶² There is no doubt that the Victorian attitude to non-European races affected the way in which they saw these objects, but there were some genuine attempts to understand them, particularly among the reporters for *The Times* who had no axe to grind like the writers for the *Art-Journal*. There is often an immediacy about the *Times* reports that is not found elsewhere, and does much to explain what it was that captivated a British audience. A report on the Japanese display written in late June noted that the collection was not forwarded by the Japanese themselves, and was not, therefore, a representative exhibition 'such as they might possibly wish to show'.⁶³ What struck the reviewer most forcibly was the Japanese sense of humour, which the most famous cartoonist for *Punch* could not begin to match:

There is only one Leech in England, but in Japan there must be hundreds if not thousands. To be satisfied of this, one has only to examine the wonderful collection of little metal buckles for fastening the dress, shown by Mr. Alcock. The designs in some of these are irresistibly grotesque, and at once recall to mind the little black woodcuts with which Mr. Leech began his connexion with *Punch*. Probably every object in this collection is by a different artist; yet, though in some the designs are so minute as to require a magnifying glass to see them well, all are treated with the same broad humour, so that it is impossible to avoid downright laughter as you examine them.⁶⁴

262 Above left
Brooch and pendant with painted enamel figures in Chinese dress. English, retailed by E.W. Streeter, London, about 1878–80. H. of pendant 4.6 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The borders are set with emeralds, sapphires, rubies, opals and pearls. The original cases record Streeter's address at 18 New Bond Street which he occupied from 1878 to 1904. In July 1878 Streeter installed a Japanese room there (see p. 310) and these jewels may well have graced it. The distinction between China and Japan was often blurred in Western applied arts.

263 Above
Designs for tiny figure groups in Chinese dress. Gouache, French or possibly Belgian (one design signed Penck), about 1860–70. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection and Fund

The designs are very close to the enamels in the Streeter jewels. They may perhaps be connected with the series of Chinese-style jewels shown by the firm of Fontana at the Paris 1867 Exhibition, with painted enamel figures. Fontana's jewels did not sell, and the enamels may have been acquired later by Streeter.

In 1868 a revolution in Japan overthrew the military shōgun and restored the Meiji emperor. The new government began a major transformation of the country and its rapid development into an industrial power left the West gasping: 'But we shall have no more cloisonné, jade-work, wonderful lacquer-ware, and eggshell porcelain, if the Asiatics do not get over their rabid eagerness for sewing-machines, pianos, and self-raking reapers.'⁶⁵ Japan's participation in all the major international exhibitions of the 1870s – London and Vienna in 1873, Philadelphia in 1876 and Paris in 1878 – gave unprecedented exposure to the art objects which they were by now making in order to earn foreign currency with European and American taste in mind.⁶⁶ Indeed *The Times* report on the Japanese at the Paris Exhibition of 1878 made the point that 'of late years European merchants have been demanding cheap articles' but 'there has, however, been a kind of national protest against this'.⁶⁷

By this time Japanese goods were widely available. In Paris there had been specialist shops since the late 1850s, such as Madame de Soye's La Porte Chinoise in the rue de Rivoli, and in 1878, to coincide with the Paris Exhibition, a Japanese trading company, Kiryu Kosho Kaisha, had opened a retail outlet. The same company had already opened a shop in New York in 1877 to exploit the market created by the Philadelphia Exhibition.⁶⁸ In London Arthur Lasenby Liberty opened Liberty's West End warehouse for objects and fabrics from Japan and the East in 1875; even after the store's expansion to encompass contemporary design, the 'Eastern Bazaar' was retained in the basement. Liberty's was a huge commercial success and tends to eclipse the wholesale rather than retail activity carried out by the designer and entrepreneur Christopher Dresser from 1873.⁶⁹ On his visit to Japan in 1876–7, Dresser collected huge numbers of objects, both for his own company Londos & Co. and for Tiffany & Co. in New York, who used them with great effect.⁷⁰ It was Dresser who persuaded the jeweller Edwin Streeter to install a Japanese room in his Bond Street shop in July 1878; the room had been made for Dresser in Japan, and Streeter filled it with 'plates in inlaid silver of marvellous perfection, cloisonné enamels, jewellery, ancient vessels'.⁷¹ The display was given a detailed write-up in *The Times*, especially the metalwork 'made by workmen engaged by Mr Streeter in Japan to ornament anything which he may place in their hands', first-hand evidence that Streeter was commissioning work for export.⁷² Last but not least was the Japanese village set up in Knightsbridge in January 1885 by a London Japan merchant, prompting W.S. Gilbert's comic opera *The Mikado* of March 1885 (see pp. 215–16).⁷³

It is from the 1870s onwards that Japanese influence in jewellery is most obvious, but at the 1867 Exhibition in Paris there were already signs of what was to come, for this was where Christoffe first presented their cloisonné enamel objects, which inspired Alexis Falize to produce cloisonné enamels for jewellery. Ancient cloisonné enamel from China, where it originated, had long been valued in Japan and had been used in a small way in Japan from the late sixteenth century. But from the 1830s onwards it saw a dramatic resurgence which, although inspired by Chinese work, developed into a distinctive style with far more intricate patterns and a much wider colour range than Chinese cloisonné. It became one of Japan's most profitable export wares, but because it was a new art form there was much confusion about the dating and many collectors thought they were buying antiques when they were in fact buying contemporary pieces. Thus what was perceived in the West as the survival of a long-standing tradition was in fact a newly created export line.⁷⁴

The case of cloisonné enamel is symptomatic of the way in which Chinese and Japanese

ornament is so often inextricably meshed together in Western jewellery, partly because of Japan's own historical borrowing and adapting of Chinese patterns and partly through Western misunderstanding of the motifs involved. Falize studied both Chinese and Japanese enamel, combining the fineness and delicacy of Japanese cloisons with the bold and much more limited colour palette of Chinese enamel. In common with both Japanese and Chinese work, Falize's cloisonné colours are always opaque.⁷⁵ The exact date at which Falize introduced his cloisonné enamels has been the subject of much discussion, the main problem being that he did not exhibit on his own account in 1867 but as a collaborator of Boucheron among others, and so the records are scanty.⁷⁶ He may have added them to the exhibition before the end of its run, but he was certainly producing them by the time that Philippe Burty's monograph *Les Emaux cloisonnés anciens et modernes* was published in 1868 as a puff for Martz, the jewellery retailer and entrepreneur in the rue de la Paix (Fig. 264). According to Burty, Martz was behind it all, acting as backer for Falize and the enameller Antoine Tard, as well as securing a complete series of albums of prints by Hokusai to provide sources for the designs.⁷⁷ Burty may be referring here to one of Hokusai's illustrated books in multiple volumes, such as the *Hokusai Manga* (Hokusai's sketches), or *One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji*. In one instance the panels of a bracelet depict sections of a wave which seem to be straight out of Hokusai's well-known print (Figs 265, 266).⁷⁸ Falize's motifs were also pillaged from cloisonné enamel as well as from Japanese, Chinese and Indian painting and textiles (Fig. 267).



264

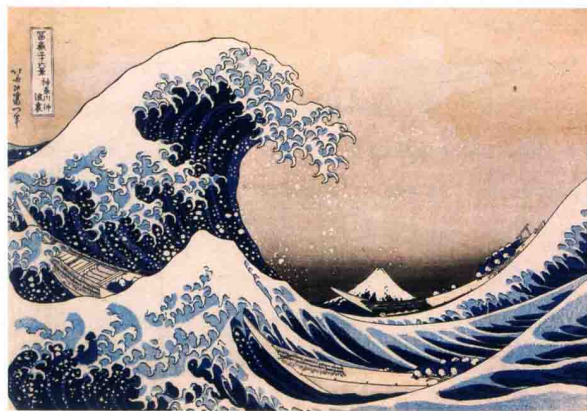
Advertisement for cloisonné enamel available from Martz in Paris. From P. Burty, *Les Emaux cloisonnés anciens et modernes*, 1868

The Chinese craftsman is at work on a Chinese tripod vessel. The screen and containers are also Chinese in inspiration. But both Chinese and Japanese cloisonné enamels were imported to the West and Martz probably sold both.

266 Below

Back and front of a cloisonné enamel and gold bracelet by Lucien Falize (1839–97). French, Paris, about 1867–80. L. 16.8 cm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum

The cloisonné panels on the front depict birds and flowers, those on the back show a boat and two fish in a stormy sea with huge waves. Lucien Falize's designs for this bracelet survive in the Falize archive, together with studies of rolling waves, leaving no doubt that he knew Hokusai's famous print. The bracelet was given to the Ashmolean together with other Falize cloisonné jewels purchased at the 1867 Exhibition by H.F. Makins, son-in-law of John Hunt of Hunt & Roskell.



265 Left

'The Great Wave'. Colour woodcut, Japanese, by Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), 1830–33. British Museum, acquired with a contribution from the Art Fund

Fishermen are cowering in three skiffs, with a towering wave about to crash down on them. One of the best-known prints from Hokusai's series of views of Mount Fuji (shown in the hollow of the wave).





267
Gold locket with cloisonné enamel by Alexis Falize. French, about 1867–75, with maker's mark AF. H. incl. loop 5.4 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The colourful cock on a branch, with reeds and trailing ivy, is probably inspired by Japanese prints. The lid is enamelled inside with a Japanese-style vase of flowers. Alexis Falize retired in 1875 and his son Lucien took over the business. The Falize workshop's cloisonné enamels were executed by Antoine Tard. The cell work is all in gold (unlike the sample stages, Fig. 268, done in brass). Most of them were done on flat panels; the curved sides of the locket must have made the firing and finishing very much more difficult.

In 1869, Alexis Falize gave the South Kensington Museum a demonstration set showing the stages in the making of cloisonné enamel. It comprised four pieces: a design, plus three brass plaques, one with empty cloisons, one partially filled with enamel which is still below the level of the the cloisons, and one with the surface polished smooth (Fig. 268). This was labour-intensive work and when done on a rounded surface must have required highly skilled craftsmen.⁷⁹ To complete the effect the jewels were supplied in cases covered with Japanese silk.⁸⁰

Falize's cloisonné jewels were snapped up for sale by Tiffany who also made their own versions of cloisonné enamel, borrowing the idea of silk-covered cases but using beaded wire cloisons that stand proud of the enamel surface, unlike Falize's jewels where the enamel fills the cells. To enhance the Japanese effect, the tiny jewels rest on raised inserts covered with cream silk, like the display of a Japanese sword (Fig. 269). At the Paris Exhibition of 1878 Tiffany introduced their latest 'adaptations from the Japanese'. These were not decorated with enamel, but with different coloured precious metals. The artisans sent by the Society of Arts were greatly impressed, singling out the use of the silk-covered cases:

. . . the articles being made up in half-suites, in the form of fans, spiders' webs, and other well-known Japanese patterns. They are in silver and gold of different colours, instead of in the metal which is used by the Japanese. The whole seem to have had great attention paid to the details, even to the cases in which they are put, which were after the Japanese fashion.⁸¹

There is much that needs to be unravelled in these 'adaptations from the Japanese'. What exactly was being adapted? The artisans sent to Paris by the Society of Arts came from the different branches of the applied arts; in this case the goldsmiths and metalworkers would have looked at everything in their branch in the exhibition. Were they right to assume that the Tiffany Japanese jewels were adapted from Japanese metalwork?

The Japanese use of mixed coloured metals inlaid into a dark patinated ground was foreign to Western customs. The richly varied dark backgrounds are alloys of copper, with a small amount of either gold (*shakudo*) or silver (*shibuichi*). The inlays are generally of gold, silver and copper, and were used for small objects such as sword-fittings, either sword guards (*tsuba*) or the collar and pommel of a hilt, or *ojime* (a sliding bead to secure the Japanese *inro*, a small container hung from the belt); there were also knife handles and other small ornaments that fit under the binding of sword hilts. With the new supplies after the banning of the wearing of the samurai sword in 1876, local forms were supplemented by small pieces of metalwork for export, to be mounted as brooches and other jewellery.⁸² Tastes had changed since 1851 when the French oxidized silver was such a novelty; darkened backgrounds had become not merely accepted but expected. The Japanese work was hugely admired; jewellers in Britain used inlaid or applied coloured gold or gilding on oxidized silver. But the dark surfaces do not survive, while the shapes often owe more to Japanese prints – the open books for example – and to lacquer, such as a brooch with overlapping rectangles derived perhaps from lacquer boxes (Fig. 270). Most surviving examples were, like these, made in Birmingham. One of the principal London retailers was Thornhill's, whose 'Japanese jewellery' featured on the front page of *The Queen's* Christmas supplement for 1880:



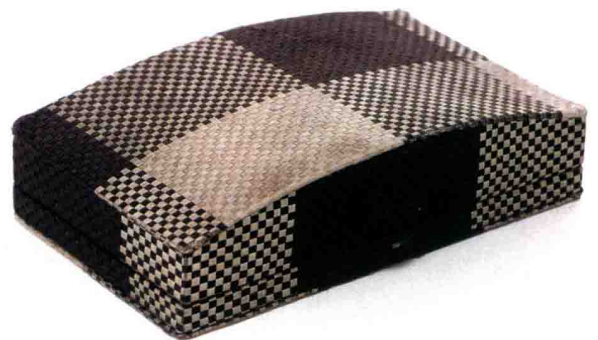
'A most attractive effect is produced, not only by the highly artistic designs, but also by a clever combination, of oxidising, matting, and gilding' (Fig. 271).⁸³

Tiffany too made silver accessories in the Japanese taste, chatelaines with similar overlapping forms, and a range of jewellery bought in from the New York firm of Shiebler & Co., specialists in flatware and silver jewellery.⁸⁴ Shiebler's pieces of the 1880s and 1890s use the heavy-gauge metal characteristic of American cutlery, with relief ornament of Japanese motifs. The background in most cases has traces of oxidization that suggest they were originally blackened, like the larger silverwares (Fig. 273). Where Tiffany imitated black-ground Japanese metalwork superbly, from the mid-1870s, was not in jewellery (or at least not in surviving jewellery) but in their *objets d'art* and table wares, using silver inlaid with coloured metals – copper and gold – and darkened by oxidizing the surface, using a chemical treatment with sulphur.⁸⁵

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Four stages in the production of cloisonné enamel, from watercolour design to finished plaque. French, given to the South Kensington Museum by Alexis Falize in 1869. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Lent by the American Friends of the V&A through the generosity of Judith H. Siegel

First the design is drawn to scale (1), then copied on to a metal plaque, the dividing lines for each colour indicated by thin strips of metal set edgewise (2). The powdered enamel colours are placed in the cells (or cloisons) and then fired. On fusing the enamel shrinks in volume below the level of the cloisons (3) so the cells are refilled and the piece refired until the cells are full. Lastly the whole is polished to leave a smooth surface (4).



269 A & B

Gold and cloisonné enamel demi-parure in the form of Japanese fans. American, retailed by Tiffany & Co., New York, about 1878–80. Tiffany & Co. Archives

The original case is covered with Japanese silk and the jewels are mounted on raised padded silk insets, echoing the traditional way of displaying Japanese swords. The enamel surface is slightly below the raised gold cloisons, giving a different effect from the smooth enamels by Falize.



270

Silver and gold novelty jewels in the Japanese taste, together with Japanese export work in mixed metals. The silver and gold brooches English, probably Birmingham, the dark-coloured inlay work Japanese, about 1880. W. of bottom brooch 5 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The Japanese export work can be seen in the two round brooches (probably mounted in the West), and the double fan brooch in the centre, all in a dark-coloured silver alloy known as *shibuichi*. The English pieces are typically in engraved silver or gold, with or without coloured gold or gilt appliquéés. The backgrounds of the silver jewels were often originally oxidized to echo the dark Japanese work.

Tiffany's Japanesque jewellery in coloured gold presents an entirely different effect, one that must owe its inspiration not to black-ground metalwork but to lacquer in gold combined with white metals such as silver, lead and pewter (Fig. 272). Even before Japanese objects were shown to such acclaim at the Philadelphia Exhibition in 1876, the newly founded Metropolitan Museum of Art had displayed the Japanese collection of the lawyer S. Whitney Phoenix in 1873. The lacquer work was the centre of attention and the report in the *New York Times* explains why: 'The effect produced is so perfectly metallic that one can hardly accept the statement that it is lacquer indeed.' The article goes on to describe:

**THORNHILL'S
JAPANESE
JEWELLERY.**

Send for
**THORNHILL'S
CHRISTMAS
LIST.**
Fully Illustrated, Post Free.

**THORNHILL'S
CHRISTMAS LIST.**
POST FREE.

and CO., To the Queen and Royal Family. 144 & 145, NEW

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Thornhill's Japanese jewellery. Advertisement from *The Queen*, 4 December 1880, Christmas Supplement, p. 2



. . . an album-shaped box, on the top of which three figures in varied attitudes are seen admiring a waterfall that descends with remarkable regularity from high and hideous rocks. . . . Here we have the same wonderful variation of gold tones, and these are reinforced by silver effects. The waterfall is in silver, and a tree in the foreground gives several varieties of silver also. The rocks are lit up here and there with silver round dots, which have the effect of nails. But the lustre of the whole thing is wonderful and the silver is even more wonderfully metallic than the gold.⁸⁶

This is precisely the effect achieved by Tiffany, and it was even more sophisticated than the Society of Arts artisans perhaps realized, for in order to achieve the cold rippling gleam of water in a way that would retain its glistening surface without tarnishing, the white metal in the Tiffany jewels is not silver but platinum.⁸⁷ Such effects would not have been possible in Britain because the hallmarking laws did not permit mixed metals to qualify for assay. One or two French jewellers had experimented with platinum for the setting of diamonds in the nineteenth century but this did not become widespread until the early twentieth century. Others had combined platinum with coloured gold to create bold colour contrasts.⁸⁸ These nineteenth-century uses of platinum as a non-tarnishing substitute for silver are barely appreciated today.⁸⁹ Yet they had a strong influence on Tiffany, which had been importing jewellery from Paris since the 1840s.

The influence of Japanese metalwork and lacquer on Western jewellery is only one strand of Japanese influence, and epitomizes the nineteenth century love of imitating admired effects in totally different materials. But they are not imitations in the sense of false or cheap materials; rather they are adaptations, technically often as skilful in their own way as the effects they were imitating.

272
Japanese-style jewellery in coloured gold and platinum. American, made for Tiffany & Co., about 1878–80. W. of brooch lower left 6.5 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

This white and gold work may have been intended to imitate Japanese lacquer rather than metalwork. The two studs at the right are set with reversed crystal intaglios of Japanese figures.



273
Silver *aide-mémoire* and brooch for Tiffany & Co. American, made by Shiebler & Co., New York, about 1880–90. Tiffany & Co. Archives

The backgrounds retain traces of the original oxidation. Shiebler's range of silver jewels, cast to imitate hand-hammered work in many different styles, were sold by Tiffany & Co., and by Liberty's in London.



THE ROLE OF 'PEASANT' AND REGIONAL JEWELLERY FROM CONTINENTAL EUROPE

European traditional or 'peasant' jewellery, as it was called in the nineteenth century, is generally considered to be outside the mainstream of nineteenth-century jewellery history, and is rarely included in books on the subject. Peter Hinks, in his *Nineteenth Century Jewellery* (London 1975), is one of the very few exceptions and his succinct account remains a standard introduction today. The subject is treated here as an essential part of the story of Victorian jewellery, first because it was seen as embodying unbroken ancient traditions and was therefore a model for contemporary manufactures, secondly because it was enthusiastically adopted for fashionable informal wear, and lastly because it became a model for the jewellery of the Arts and Crafts movement, pointing the way forward for developments in the twentieth century. This section looks at the reasons why the South Kensington Museum acquired peasant and regional jewellery and tries to understand why it became so highly valued in the second half of the century. In so doing, it examines what was available, where it could be seen or obtained, and the familiarity with peasant jewellery that could be expected of an educated audience.¹

In the nineteenth century the term 'peasant jewellery' was applied not only to items from Europe but also from India, the Ottoman Empire, and in effect the whole world. It seems to have become restricted to Europe in the twentieth century, when the term 'ethnic' began to be used for non-European and European cultures alike. It was still current in 1912, when MacIver Percival in his *Chats on old jewellery and trinkets* deliberately chose to use 'provincial' rather than 'peasant' jewellery, because, he explains, 'in many cases the ornaments belonged to people, who were certainly above what we generally mean by peasant'. His definition of a category of ornament that was 'peculiar to a place and not to a time' is exactly what was meant by 'peasant' jewellery in the nineteenth century, in other words, native jewellery worn with national costume that remained impervious to fashion and changed little over a long period. Its association with rural communities with distinct customs, often isolated from each other by mountains or water, enabled it to be interpreted as an expression of local pride and identity.² In England national costume and ornaments had vanished and so peasant jewellery was seen as something uncontaminated by the modern world.

A category often associated with peasant jewellery was regional or local jewellery worn in small towns, or communities with urban contact. Although this did not remain static in the same way as in some village communities, it nonetheless developed recognizable forms and styles that gave it the same association with place rather than time. For this reason Genoese and Maltese filigree is discussed here, although it was produced for export as well as for the local market.

Filigree is common to almost all parts of Europe, from Scandinavia, Germany and Russia to the Mediterranean countries and the Balkans. In Italy it was made in a number of centres and worn across northern Italy, but only the Genoese jewellers made it for an international market.³ Advertisements for 'Silver filigree Italian jewellery' appear in *The Times* from January 1843, placed by Samuel Jones of 78 Cheapside who had clearly been importing it for some time, since he offers 'Another assortment of the above elegant and fashionable ornaments . . . from Genoa. . . . It comprises every variety of flowers for the hair, head ornament, wreaths, ear-rings, brooches, &c.' He claimed they were 'peculiarly adapted for the ball and nuptial costumes'. . . . A variety

will be sent to any distance for inspection if desired' (Fig. 274).⁴ The filigree was worked as flattened twisted wire infill, or as coil rings on a base of netting. It was all in the fashionable forms of the day. By March 1843 Jones was trying to reach new markets, advertising the filigree as 'peculiarly adapted for mourning'. And in May he was able to boast a report in *Blackwood's Lady's Magazine* that 'the Italian filigree Jewellery is now become universal among the elite'.⁵ At the London Exhibition of 1862 the filigree worker Forte of Genoa was the only Italian jeweller apart from Castellani to win a prize medal, an indication of the high regard for filigree.⁶ He must have done good business, for in 1865 the London retailers T. & J. Perry of 226 Regent Street obtained a large assortment of 'this elegant nouveauté', describing themselves as 'sole agents for Signor Emilio Forte of Genoa'. T. & J. Perry continued to advertise Genoese filigree in *The Times* until July 1870, alongside a large stock of fine gold English jewellery.

Filigree from Malta was just as fashionable as the Genoese work. Malta was a British possession throughout the nineteenth century, which meant that at the 1851 Exhibition it was placed in the Colonial Possessions section. The 1851 *Official Catalogue* gives a long list of gold and silver filigree shown by two jewellers from Valletta – knot brooches, pins and arrows for the hair, flower ornaments, butterflies, etc. – while *The Times's* opening report on the 1851 Exhibition wrote: 'Malta shines in the lightness and beauty of its filigree work'.⁷ Evidence suggests that the production of filigree was actively encouraged by the British colonial government:

This branch of native industry gives employment to a considerable number of male and female artificers. Most of the silver filigree work is exported, or purchased by passengers, the gold is preferred by the native population. The work is not as fine as that produced in India or Genoa, but is more durable and better adapted for wear. Schools of design have lately been established by the Government, and they will doubtless lead to improvement in the design of this manufacture.⁸

One passenger passing through Malta was George Buchanan, a distinguished surgeon in Glasgow who served in the Crimea in 1856. On his way home he purchased for his sister a silver filigree knot brooch (Fig. 275).⁹ Another was the Scottish-born doctor James Douglas of Quebec, who spent several summers in Italy and Egypt for health reasons in the 1850s, shipping back via Southampton in 1853 an entire box of filigree ornaments in gold and silver. On collecting them in Southampton he found the boxes opened and the contents damaged, which prompted an irate letter to *The Times*.¹⁰ Filigree ornaments were not merely the standard souvenir item; as prestige gifts they were presented to the wife of the acting Governor of Malta, General Robert Ellice, on his departure in 1852, and to Prince Alfred on his visit to Malta in 1859.¹¹ Throughout the 1870s Italian and Maltese filigree appear regularly in the 'exchange' columns of *The Queen*, either as wanted items or offered for exchange. By the time of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886 filigree jewellery from Malta was so popular that new supplies had to be ordered by the end of the first month. It was sold much more cheaply than the same work imported by London jewellers, who complained vociferously because their profit margins were revealed.¹²

Peasant jewellery from different parts of Europe was displayed at international exhibitions from 1851 onwards. The organization of the 1851 Exhibition by category meant that

**274 A & B**

Genoese filigree jewellery in silver and silver-gilt. Italian, about 1850–80. H. of central cross 7.4 cm. Private collection

Each piece is stamped with the lion's-head assay mark for Genoa. The flower hairpin at the right is set on a coiled 'trembler' spring. The two hairpins at the top and the three studs lower left are formed of rings of coiled wire on a base of netting (visible on the stud shown from the back). The crosses, bracelet, necklace and buttons are all formed of traditional twisted wire patterns filling the outlines. The necklace adapts standard patterns to a modern shape that was not created for filigree work.



such objects were taken out of context and shown with other metalwork as examples of local industry. This division was the model for the 1862 London Exhibition and it led to the display of Dutch headdresses being totally misunderstood by at least one reporter: 'The curious structures of brass and wire with which Dutch peasant women bind their brows are amply illustrated, and the case containing them will, no doubt, afford considerable amusement to those who see them here for the first time.'¹³ The headdresses, formed of a broad curved band, usually of gold rather than brass, that covered the back of the head and the ears, were displayed on their own and not as part of the whole costume, in which the gold band is hidden beneath a lace cap and serves the dual purpose of holding the cap and lace fillets as well as providing a frame to hang further decorations.¹⁴

There was, exceptionally, one contextual display in 1862: this was the Norwegian court with its costumed mannequins, illustrating, as *The Times* put it, 'the various modes of life in a country which is every year becoming a more favourite resort of English visitors'.¹⁵ *The Times*'s description of the *mise-en-scène*, in particular the bride from Bergen, reveals a common nineteenth-century expectation that peasant jewellery would be imitation: 'and as all the gold and silver ornaments and the jewelry are genuine, even if she had no other dowry, she would be a very desirable *partie*'.¹⁶

Peasant jewellery from Europe was not thought worthy of the national collections at this time, unlike local jewellery from India, which had been acquired by the South Kensington Museum in the 1850s. By 1867 this was to change, with the realization that peasant jewellery could provide models for contemporary manufactures. At the Paris Exhibition of that year Castellani pulled off a stroke of genius in the arrangement of his display. Alongside his firm's recreations from the ancient world was a remarkable collection of Italian peasant jewellery. The ancient items were arranged in chronological divisions to show Italy's great historical tradition, while the peasant material was grouped by geographical area to show the wealth of living tradition (Fig. 276, and see Fig. 226). Alessandro Castellani had claimed in his previous writings that the survival of Etruscan techniques in remote villages enabled his firm to succeed in their reproductions.¹⁷ Here was an unassailable demonstration that peasant jewellery had a direct application to modern manufactures. The Castellani collection of Italian peasant jewellery thus became a classic case: not only did it have the moral purity attributed to jewellery from villages that had remained in supposed isolation, but it was also part of an historical continuum. These arguments came to dominate Victorian thinking; the interest in peasant jewellery was not for its ethnological relation to clothing, its function or its symbolism, but as something that survived from the ancient world.

The *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue* of the 1867 Exhibition gave the peasant jewellery a whole page, noting that 'Every example has been worn, and almost every example has been transmitted as a precious inheritance from generation to generation'.¹⁸ Elsewhere, the *Art-Journal* had stressed the 'nobleness of true Art present throughout the whole. The forms are always beautiful; the details always work out the general design with happy effect. . . . A more suggestive, more valuable addition to our national Art-treasures could not have been made'.¹⁹ The forms were very different from current high fashion. G.A. Sala lampooned them in his own inimitable way: 'Among the queer, coarse trinkets brought together by M. Castellani, are great knobbed silver pins not much smaller than life preservers, and others, in the form of daggers, arrows, anchors, and javelins, to transfix the "back hair" of the Contadini.' He nonetheless conceded that Castellani was 'much to be commended for having brought together this interesting collection', because the ornaments were direct descendants of the classical jewellery that had been dug up in Italy.²⁰ This was to become the standard view among art critics and museum professionals. In 1872 Jacob von Falke, then acting director of the Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Vienna (now the Museum für angewandte Kunst), made precisely the same point.²¹

This view was one promoted by the Castellani themselves. No doubt Sala and Falke had both read the printed list in French that accompanied the Castellani display in Paris. This list describes each piece, its locality and how it was worn, and at the end of each geographical area was a paragraph of *observations* or comments which makes it clear that the continuation of forms and techniques applied to specific regions of Italy, namely those where the great finds



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Silver filigree bow brooch. Maltese, mid-19th century. W. 5.4 cm. Glasgow, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery

Brought back by the surgeon George Buchanan who served in the Crimea in 1856. On his way home he stopped at Malta and purchased this gift for his sister, Jessie. Malta was a popular stopping place for travellers in the Mediterranean and beyond. Silverwork was a major industry in a country dependant on foreign trade. This brooch may indeed have been made in Malta but with the growth in tourism as the century progressed, jewellery was imported into Malta from elsewhere. Local products could often be found far from their place of manufacture (see Fig. 493).



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 The Castellani collection of Italian peasant jewellery, 18th–19th century. From *Italian Jewellery as worn by the peasants of Italy*, collected by Signor Castellani and purchased from the Paris Universal Exhibition for the South Kensington Museum, London, Arundel Society, 1868

This is plate 10, titled 'Naples and Magna Graecia'. The bottom row shows two boat-shaped earrings or *navicelle* (see opposite). In the centre are two long hairpins, perhaps some of those described by G.A. Sala as 'great knobbed silver pins . . . in the form of daggers, arrows, anchors, and javelins, to transfix the "back hair" of the Contadini'.

of classical jewellery had occurred: Naples, Etruria and the joint kingdoms of Sicily and Sardinia.²² The 1867 printed list was not illustrated, but the Arundel Society produced a lavishly illustrated volume in 1868 which enables the list to be correlated with the illustrations.²³ Alessandro had made much in his earlier writing of finding ancient techniques still in use in the remote Etrurian village of S. Angelo in Vado; the Etrurian section of his peasant jewellery collection contained earrings with applied wirework ornamentation, 'like ancient Etruscan jewels'. There is nothing like them in ancient Etruscan jewellery, however.²⁴ Nor is there any complex granulation in the Italian peasant jewels, but the pair of large boat-shaped earrings or *navicelle* from the island of Ischia decorated with the flowerheads so prevalent in classical jewellery could have been seen as continuing the classical tradition with their delicate beadwork and their coiled and twisted wire (Fig. 277). In his comment Castellani thought them 'perhaps the most beautiful to have been handed down by tradition, both in style and in manufacture. One would have said they had come out of a Greek tomb'.²⁵ The flowerheads were frequently incorporated into Castellani's reproductions.

The entire Castellani collection of Italian peasant jewellery was acquired by the South Kensington Museum; *The Times* reported that 'the collection had cost £1,100'.²⁶ This was evidently held to be a considerable sum, but in the context of the museum's purchases of similar material, for example a group of forty-two pieces of Normandy jewellery for £144 in 1868, the 450 pieces of Italian jewellery were good value. The *Art-Journal* thought the museum had made 'some unusually good bargains'.²⁷ Henry Cole visited the Paris Exhibition several times in its first few months from April to June to 'look after objects for the Museum'; he recognized the importance of the collection straight away but had to work hard to get it, making sure he was there at the same time as possible patrons and lining up funds in advance of obtaining authority to purchase. At the end of May he got the Bond Street antique dealer John Webb to agree to purchase the collection and offer it to Birmingham if the Department of Science and Art refused to accept it. In early June he went round the exhibition with

Robert Phillips, the Bond Street jeweller, who later 'offered to buy Russian Jewelry about £100 in value & lend it to the Museum till bought'. One week later Cole met Henry Layard at the Exhibition and 'suggested to him to move for a Select Committee . . . which he said he would do'.²⁸ The Commons Select Committee was the body that had financed purchases at international exhibitions since 1851. Layard did some powerful lobbying behind the scenes. When Cole came to speak before the committee he told them that if the government refused to purchase the Castellani collection, 'he would go down on his knees and beg Birmingham to buy it'.²⁹ Unfortunately his recommendation described the collection as typical specimens of 'Democratic Art', which caused derision when the matter came up for discussion in Parliament a few days later. *The Times* reported the discussion in full; no doubt they saw the funny side of it. The House was being asked to vote on a grant of £15,000 for purchases from the Paris Exhibition, if it could be saved out of the total of £116,000 that had been voted for the exhibition expenses:

Sir P. O'Brien asked in what way the money was to be spent, and whether any 'democratic jewelry' (laughter) was to be purchased. Was it intended to buy inferior pictures to keep company with the democratic jewelry?

Mr. H. Seymour said Mr. Cole had recommended that some cheap French pictures should be purchased, but the Committee decided against this proposal. They were, however, of the opinion . . . that some good would result from the purchase of a portion of Mr. Castellani's jewelry, which was in excellent taste and of great intrinsic value. In other countries women, whether of high or low degree, wore ornaments of artistic form; and the Committee thought that, considering the enormous trade in such articles, it would be well, by a small outlay, to try to cultivate good taste in the manufacture of ornaments.

Mr. Neville-Grenville, after what he had just heard, hoped that the Commission would not be able to save £15,000.

Mr. Alderman Lusk did not object to science and art, because he thought that persons might derive a good deal of benefit from both; but he hoped these purchases would be put in places where they could be seen. . . .

Lord R. Montagu said it was proposed to intrust the choosing of these articles to the Chairman of the late Committee [Mr Layard] and other gentlemen, and no objects would be purchased that were not worthy of being placed in the Exhibition at South Kensington.

The vote was then agreed to.³⁰

The supposed social position of the indigenous people who wore it meant that it must be cheap, and that meant it must be inferior (in fact many of the rural communities were quite well-to-do, and the jewellery was a calculated display of wealth).

Support for the acquisition of the Castellani peasant jewellery had come from other quarters: the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1867 wrote that 'the value of this collection can hardly be esteemed too highly; in a few years the formation of this series would, in all probability, have become impossible' due to the disappearance of the old forms with the advent of the railroads and the destruction of local communities.³¹ The *Art-Journal* for 1867



277
Gold boat-shaped earrings or *navicelle* from the Castellani collection of peasant jewellery. Italian, 19th century. L. 10.5 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

The delicate workmanship was thought to have been handed down from classical times. The flowerheads on stalks occur repeatedly in Castellani's recreations of classical jewellery (see Fig. 377).

wrote with dismay how Italian traditional forms had already begun to be replaced by imitations of 'the most worthless types of English Birmingham jewellery', expressing the hope that the Italian goldsmiths would return to their own 'illustrious traditions, which had won for them a recognition of their worthiness to inherit the reputation of their predecessors, who worked on the very same classic ground, and in the very same spirit many centuries ago'.³² This refusal to accept that traditions have always evolved and reacted to changing circumstances occurs repeatedly in discussions of peasant and local jewellery, from India as well as Europe. The idea that the people concerned might have their own view about what they wanted to make or wear does not figure at all.

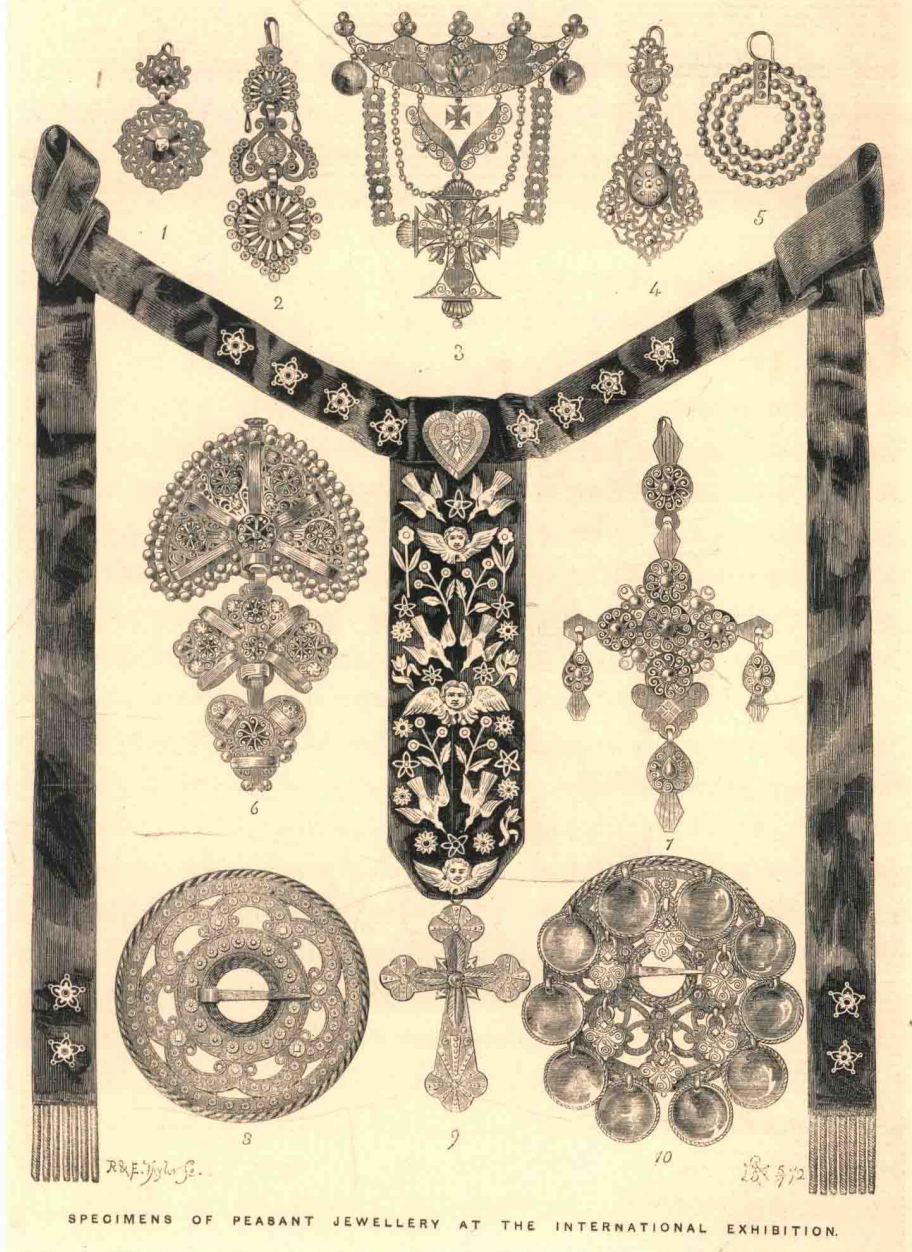
No other subsequent acquisition of peasant jewellery from a European country was to be as comprehensive as the Castellani Italian collection. It prompted the acquisition of peasant jewellery from other countries – France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium and Denmark – over the next few years, and in 1870 the *Art-Journal* wrote 'Perhaps no division of the Museum has, of late, exercised so great an influence as this on Art-designs.'³³ It was for this reason that a comprehensive collection of peasant jewellery from all parts of the world was assembled for the London International Exhibition of 1872. This was a joint arrangement between the Exhibition Commissioners and the South Kensington Museum. The idea was that the assembled collection should become public property and be displayed in the museum after the close of the exhibition. Accordingly the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs sent a circular to British representatives abroad, requesting jewellery 'characteristic to the country in which it is produced, and especially that used by the peasantry. Such jewellery should have a direct connexion with the native instinctive art, which has been handed down by long tradition. Thus Italy, Spain, Hungary, &c., may be instanced as each having a native jewellery worn more or less by all classes, which to this time remains uncontaminated by the introduction of foreign forms based on the fashion of the day.' The Commissioners undertook to consider the purchase of specimens from countries that were not likely to undertake their own representation officially, with the proviso that 'the characteristic design should be of much greater consideration than intrinsic value, and that the price be very moderate'.³⁴ In the event, the collections from Sweden, Greece, Armenia, Albania and Wallachia (part of the new state of Romania since 1858) were purchased via the British representative; those from France from the French Commissioners, Spain and Portugal from Layard, Germany from the Crown Princess of Prussia, and Malta from a Professor Archer.

Those who saw peasant jewellery displayed at the South Kensington Museum from 1867 and at the 1872 Exhibition subsequently collected it at source on their travels abroad. It was viewed as the perfect gift for young girls. If she could find it at reasonable prices the collector Lady Charlotte Schreiber was happy to buy pieces for her daughters and granddaughters. In Florence in 1869 she wrote, 'the national jewellery, of which Marchesini, on the Ponte Vecchio, had much, is of an unsubstantial and flimsy character, and they ask large prices for it'. But in Bologna she found an old silver cross for her daughter Blanche for £5, and in Trento 'a pair of very good peasant's earrings, 16/- . . . to give to one of the girls'.³⁵ She also owned a French St Esprit jewel, one of the most widespread forms, with a heart and pendant dove, and encouraged another daughter, Lady Layard, to collect local jewellery during her time in Madrid and elsewhere. Lady Layard describes searching in vain in Blois for 'any jewellery of the country – all we found were silver clasps for a cloak which are made in

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'Specimens of Peasant Jewellery' at the 1872 Exhibition in London. French, Spanish and Scandinavian, 19th century. *The Queen*, 20 July 1872, p. 43

The Queen identified the pieces as follows: in the centre a Breton necklet (9) with stamped silver-gilt appliquéés on black velvet, flanked by two large Spanish breast ornaments (6 and 7, from Santiago and Salamanca respectively). The ornament top centre was North German, from Hanover (3), the earrings worn in Normandy (1 and 4), Provence (5) and Santiago (2), and the two ring brooches at the bottom were from Lapland (left) and Norway (right). They are almost all described as silver-gilt.



SPECIMENS OF PEASANT JEWELLERY AT THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.

the Vendée. I bought one'.³⁶ Lady Layard never records wearing her peasant pieces. Either it was not worthy of mention in her diaries, or it was simply the collecting that she enjoyed, to display at home as souvenirs of her travels.³⁷

Peasant jewellery was an affordable novelty, and an ideal category of 'ornament' for day-time wear (see p. 193), as opposed to formal gem-set 'jewellery' for the evening. This is borne out by the exchange columns of *The Queen*, which are divided into these two categories; the peasant jewellery invariably appears in the 'ornaments' section. On 20 July 1872 *The Queen* published a full-page illustration of jewellery from France, Spain and Norway at the 1872 Exhibition, dominated by a Breton necklace, with its central black velvet lappet studded with gold appliquéés and its long black ribbons framing the page (Fig. 278). Exactly one month later, on 24 August 1872, the magazine illustrated a simplified Breton necklace: 'From the centre in front depends a pointed end of wider velvet, which is ornamented with appliquéés of either gold or silver. The appliquéés represent hearts, birds, flowers &c.' The hanging piece ends in a heart and is several inches shorter than the exhibition example.³⁸ One week later



279
Silver filigree brooch by Jacob Tostrup (1806–90) of Oslo, Norwegian, 1867. Diam. 6.5 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

This was not made for wear with traditional costume like the brooch shown in Fig. 278, but rather as a souvenir of Norwegian craftsmanship, adapting the same designs and techniques to create a much more delicate fashionable ornament. The 'ring' is filled in and instead of the concave discs there are fragile filigree spirals. It was purchased by the South Kensington Museum from the 1867 Paris exhibition for £1 8s 6d.

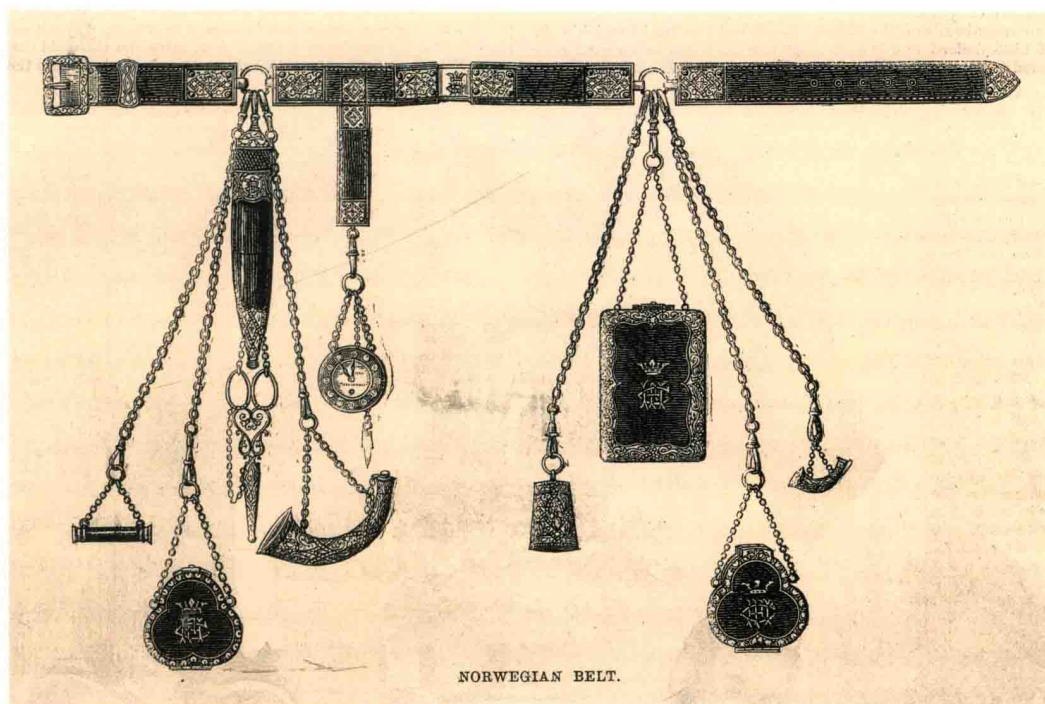
readers were writing in asking where they could get them; they were told that the designs for the necklaces came from Maison Henri, Faubourg St Honoré, Paris, and that the necklets could be got at Brandon's, 138 Oxford Street. By November Mr Catt's novelty stores in Sloane Street and Bayswater were offering both Normandy jewellery and Breton necklets, craftily offering the appliqués separately for those who wished to make up their own variants. In March 1873 one reader wrote: 'I have had a box of the lovely real Breton paillettes for necklets sent me from Brittany. I wish to exchange them in quantities sufficient for a necklet'; another asked, 'How can I keep Breton ornaments, which are sewn on velvet, from tarnishing? I have only worn mine a few times, and they are already turning yellow.' She was told: 'Prevention is impossible. The inferior metal rapidly changes colour. – Ed.' They must have been of low quality silver. Whatever the drawbacks, Breton necklets had become a wildly successful fashion accessory.³⁹ The choker came as a long ribbon and was simply tied at the back in a bow with the ends hanging down, which made it comfortable and easy to wear at home or for informal occasions. Matching bracelets, included for the export market, added versatility, and they were relatively inexpensive – a reader in July 1873 (p. 20) offering them in the exchange column valued them at 10s, compared with a silver and paste Normandy cross at 50s. They were only displaced by the next craze, for beetle wings (see pp. 231–2).⁴⁰ Fashions in Europe, especially Paris and London, were closely followed in America, and in December 1874 *Godey's Lady's Book* told its readers that black velvet necklaces were back in fashion, and that 'imported necklaces have a velvet pendant in front, ornamented with a silver cross. . . . Fanciful ornaments dot the neckband, such as silver coins, crescents, doves, stars, sickles, hearts etc'.⁴¹

Being shown at the South Kensington Museum or at exhibitions was one way in which the pieces impinged on public consciousness. There were, however, other conduits for peasant jewellery in London. Norway, as we have seen, was already becoming a popular tourist venue by 1862. Interest in Scandinavia was heightened by the marriage of the Prince of Wales to Alexandra of Denmark in 1863, and in 1869 Messrs A. Borgen & Co. opened their Danish Galleries at 142 New Bond Street, next door to Thornhill & Co. at no. 144. Borgen & Co. offered Danish ceramics, furniture, silver and jewellery, in particular the archaeological revival pieces based on ancient Norse goldwork found in Denmark (see Chapter 8). But they also sold Norwegian filigree jewellery, especially buttons, for fashionable dress: 'a few real Norwegian buttons, rather larger than a sixpence, and of raised filigree work, may be had at Borgen's', wrote *The Queen* in December 1869.⁴² With Norwegian filigree the line between traditional country wear and city fashion is very fine. This is partly to do with the Norwegian tradition of goldsmiths working in the cities, so that much peasant jewellery was not made locally. The court jewellers Jacob and Olaf Tostrup of Christiania (now Oslo) made their reputation abroad with adaptations of the traditional *sølje*, a ring brooch of any size, usually hung with tinkling pendant discs and crosses.⁴³ Tostrup's brooches are often discs rather than rings, densely packed with delicate filigree, and they were among the first to be commercially produced for an urban international market. The example in Fig. 279 was acquired by the South Kensington Museum from the Paris 1867 Exhibition and was included in the one plate of non-Italian jewellery at the back of the Arundel volume on the Castellani Italian peasant jewellery.⁴⁴ Among other silversmiths who specialized in filigree, Marius Hammer of Bergen exported to America more than he sold in Norway.

Meanwhile Borgen's neighbours, Thornhill & Co. of 144 New Bond Street, well known for their chatelaines in steel, silver and gilt-metal since 1851 (see p. 258), brought out a 'Norwegian belt'. This was in effect a double chatelaine, consisting of a leather belt with silver-gilt appliqué in three sections joined by rings at each side of the waist from which could be hung two sets of silver-gilt accessories, some of which were hardly conventional – a knife in a sheath and an outsized scent bottle shaped as a hunting horn (Fig. 280). *The Queen* for May 1870 gave Thornhill's explanation of its genesis:

A few years ago a member of the Guest family brought some silver mounts from Norway, where, as is now well known, it is a fashion among men and women of many classes to wear metal belts with useful appendages attached. These mounts were entrusted to the care of Mr. Thornhill of Bond Street, who adapted them to English ideas, and in fact, converted them into the article now recognized as the 'Norwegian Belt'. . . . The Princess of Wales wears one, and so we are told does the Prince; this fact alone stamps these belts as ultra fashionable.⁴⁵

Here then was a complete concoction, promoted through its association with society figures: the Guest family member may have been one of Lady Charlotte Schreiber's children, while the example illustrated was made for the Marchioness of Hastings, one of the great beauties of her day and notorious for her runaway marriage to the gambler Marquis. These cumbersome belts were derived not from Norwegian women's belts, in which the leather was covered with red felt and silver plaques with hanging discs were studded densely along the entire length, but from men's belts from the north of Norway with small knives attached.⁴⁶ *The Queen* had asked 'is not the masculine element very conspicuous?' Thornhill was soon making different versions for men and women, fitted either with knives or scissors, at prices varying from 3 to 50 guineas.⁴⁷ The price range depended on whether the mounts were solid



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Thornhill's 'Norwegian' belt, made for the Marchioness of Hastings. English, 1870. *The Queen*, 14 May 1870, p. 304

The belts were sold on their own and the appendages bought separately, making them a perfect birthday or Christmas gift. The silver appendages shown here include scissors in a case, a thimble, a scent bottle in the shape of a hunting horn, a watch, and a notebook and purses with the monogram FCH. Lady Florence Cecilia Paget (1842–1907) married the Marquis of Hastings in 1864. Very shortly after this item appeared in the magazine, the Hastings marriage ended in scandal and less than a month later, on 9 June 1870, the Marchioness married Sir George Chetwynd.

281

Advertisement for Thornhill's 'Albanian' belt in *The Queen*, 12 December 1874 (unpaginated)



282

Thornhill's 'Albanian' belt in silver and leather. The clasp Balkan, the rest English, with maker's mark of Thomas Johnson, London, 1875. L. 82 cm. Private collection

Like many big retailers Thornhill's never credited their makers, but this belt has the maker's stamp as well as Thornhill's signature. Johnson made a wide range of novelty silverware, retailed through a number of different outlets.

Thornhill's appear to have imported a genuine Balkan clasp (Albania then encompassed much of Macedonia and northern Greece). The clasp has inlaid decoration of niello (a black silver compound) characteristic of Greek work from Epirus, where it was probably made. This belt was thus much more 'Albanian' than the Norwegian belt was 'Norwegian'. Balkan clasps were usually attached to a textile or leather belt and fastened in the centre. This belt can be fastened at both front, using the clasp, and back, with the buckle.

silver or plated metal, and on the number of accessories, which could be altered at will. The full list of appendages numbered some twenty-seven, including a real revolver, an umbrella, a pedometer and an *étui* in the form of a policeman's bull's-eye lantern.⁴⁸ In this it had much in common with sporting accessories such as archery belts with all the necessary equipment (see pp. 145–6). Yet the Norwegian belt became a sought-after accessory: by September 1870 an item in *The Queen*'s exchange column read 'Wanted, a lady's Norwegian belt (Thornhill's make)'. A month before that another reader had requested 'any kind of new or old fashioned silver ornaments that would do for a Norwegian belt'.⁴⁹ And they remained popular for at least a decade. In May 1874 readers of *The Queen* were requesting Norwegian belts in exchange for Breton necklets.⁵⁰ In December 1881 Lady Layard recalls her brother Arthur begging her to meet him at Thornhill's, where, to her evident delight, he bought her 'a Norwegian belt for a Christmas box'.⁵¹ Perhaps he was the Guest family member who had suggested the idea to Thornhill's in the first place.

By the end of 1874 Thornhill's had introduced a second, even more exotic belt; this was their 'Registered Albanian Belt, Silver Mounts 15 Guineas, Plated Mounts 5 Guineas' (Figs 281, 282).⁵² The mounts for the leather were made by Thornhill, but the large silver clasp in the centre was a genuine Albanian clasp, imported and attached to a leather belt. Albania as a separate country did not exist until after the Balkan wars of 1913; in the nineteenth century it encompassed a large region including much of Macedonia and northern Greece and so these clasps, characteristic of much of the Balkans, could have come from any of those areas.⁵³ These belts should be seen in the context of the overall popularity of the chatelaine, especially in the 1870s when the tight-fitting costume left no room for pockets. The Albanian belts had rings at each side like the Norwegian belts to hold the desired accessories, and were promoted as 'a necessary part of a fashionable women's costume'.⁵⁴ They were daytime wear, above all for the morning, indoors and outdoors, and the perfect adjunct to aesthetic dress, which demanded something exotic but not too showy. When Mary Theodosia (May) Sartoris, who married Henry Evans Gordon in 1871, sat for her portrait to Leighton in 1875 she wore a scarlet silk dress with white lace ruff at neck and cuffs, ruffled sleeves in the *cinquecento* manner, and a single piece of jewellery – an Albanian silver belt clasp (Fig. 283). It may be attached to a simple cloth belt and not Thornhill's, but there is no mistaking the Albanian clasp, for it is identical to the one in Thornhill's advertisement. Thornhill's was the most obvious source for such clasps in London. Greek and Albanian jewellery was also available from the early 1880s in Rome through the Greek jeweller, Sotirio Boulgaris, whose shop was then in the via Sistina.⁵⁵



283

Mrs Henry Evans Gordon, by Sir Frederic Leighton (1830–96). Oil on canvas, 1875. London, Leighton House Museum

Mrs Gordon is wearing an 'Albanian' silver belt-clasp identical to that in Thornhill's advertisement. She appears to have attached it to a fabric belt to match her dress.

Pieces such as this found a ready market in aesthetic circles, alongside the exotic Indian jewellery discussed in the previous section. The 'old Flemish' waist clasp worn by Mrs Ionides (see Fig. 250) was one of many accessories made up out of or cast from imported antique or contemporary ornaments from Holland, Scandinavia and Italy.⁵⁶

The 1872 peasant jewellery collection in South Kensington also contained a large group from Greece; these were in the main body-chains with hooks to secure various parts of the costume, or head ornaments that required the appropriate headdress. Unlike the pieces from France or Scandinavia, they were so far removed from Western forms of ornament that adaptations did not occur. Much later, in 1888, the South Kensington Museum made a large acquisition of peasant jewellery from Cyprus.⁵⁷ By this date it was realized that places like Cyprus were becoming tourist resorts and that these traditions would not survive much longer.⁵⁸

For the scholarly world, peasant ornaments from Greece and the Balkans had tremendous resonance: they were the nearest thing to the classical world, and in particular to the Homeric age, a subject of intense scholarly interest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On his first trip to the Balkans in 1871 the twenty-year-old Arthur Evans, later archaeologist of Knossos and Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, bought classical intaglios in Dalmatia and Bosnia, and in Transylvania in 1872 he bought from the Wallachian peasants of Romania 'belts like those the Bronze Age people wore'.⁵⁹ Arthur Evans, like many British travellers in Greece and the Balkans, also collected costumes and textiles. On purchasing a complete Turkish outfit in Croatia he 'donned it in triumph, and spent all his remaining money in a bazaar where the shops held hardly anything he had ever seen before'.⁶⁰ These travellers often wished to blend with their surroundings; there is scant evidence that they wore their costumes back home.

Peasant costume did however become popular, but for different reasons and in different circles. In the 1850s, writers on dress such as Mrs Merrifield had suggested copying peasant costume depicted in paintings (see p. 129), even though many such depictions must have been purely fanciful.⁶¹ This advice was echoed in fashion suggestions in papers like the *Petit Courier des dames* and the *Journal des demoiselles*. The popularity of French peasant jewellery can to some extent be explained by Napoléon III and Empress Eugénie's support of regional traditions as part of their encouragement of nationalism in France, which made such traditions better known on both sides of the Channel. On the occasion of the imperial visit to Brest in August 1858, there was a demonstration of local dress and dancing, designed to show the living peasant culture.⁶² By the 1870s complete ensembles from various countries were being imported into Britain, as an alternative to historic costume for the ever-popular fancy-dress balls. Reports in women's journals confirm this time and again. *The Queen* in 1869 advised its readers to use national costumes only if they had been bought in their country of origin; for gentlemen it was easier to be authentic as they could procure a costume during their travels.⁶³ In Rome women had no problem: Murray's Handbooks directed them to La Farinara's near the church of the Madonna dei Monti for 'the picturesque costumes of the Roman peasantry'.⁶⁴

This surge in popularity for national costume must have been a direct result of the displays of European peasant dress at international exhibitions. Beginning with the Norwegian displays in 1862, there was an increasing trend towards the display of peasant costume and jewellery as part of village life, worn by mannequins in recreated interiors, with explanation of marriage rituals, weaving and embroidery, wood carving, pottery and so on. By the time of the 1889 Paris Exhibition, there were craftsmen from across the world giving demonstrations in their national costume (see pp. 289–90).⁶⁵ Auguste Racinet had included illustrations of peasant costumes in his six-volume *Costumes Historiques*, published in 1888. There was thus a wealth of models for society ladies to imitate.⁶⁶ In the final decades of the century there were a number of philanthropic attempts to keep peasant traditions alive; most of these centred on textiles, especially embroidery, rather than jewellery.⁶⁷

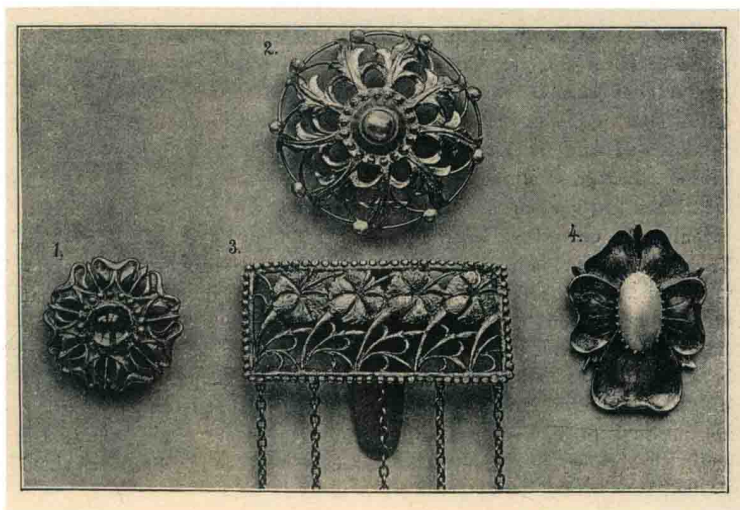
It was this aura of uncontaminated authenticity around peasant jewellery that caused it to be taken up by some of the key figures of the Arts and Crafts movement. Detailed articles on peasant jewellery had appeared in art magazines in the 1880s.⁶⁸ In 1893 Aymer Vallance, biographer of Morris and Burne-Jones, collector and benefactor of the Victoria and Albert Museum and regular contributor to *The Studio*, wrote an article in the *Art-Journal* called 'Hints for buyers of gifts'. Vallance set out to describe and illustrate 'jewellery of different countries and different ages' as models for jewellery of the present day. Much of what he selected is either Indian or peasant jewellery from Continental Europe, and all of it came from the collections of the South Kensington Museum.⁶⁹ As he puts it:

It is only in such peasant jewellery as has been unaffected by ever-changing and ever-deteriorating fashions, that we may look for any sound traditions of design among so-called civilized nations. The misplaced ingenuity with which diamonds and other precious stones are tortured by us into the inane similitude of a garland of flowers or a spray of maidenhair fern, is in striking contrast to the system which governs the best traditional ornament.



284
Head ornament or 'Wallachian chain' in silver-gilt with blue glass stones. Bulgarian, Preslav region, before 1872. L. 34.6 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

This ornament was purchased by the South Kensington Museum from the London International Exhibition of 1872 for 15s. It was described then as a 'Wallachian chain', and illustrated by Aymer Vallance as an example of simple design: 'two units alternating without any variation'. It was worn across the forehead, tied at the back of the head with ribbons passed through the loops at each end. Wallachia had been part of Romania since the mid-19th century. Its southern border was with Bulgaria.



285 Left
Silver jewellery designed by C.R. Ashbee (1863–1942) and made by the Guild of Handicraft. English, about 1890. Fig. G from Aymer Vallance's article in the *Art-Journal*, 1893

Vallance saw these pieces as continuing what he saw as the simplicity of the best traditional ornament. He describes items 1–3 as 'cast after the original wax models', and item 4 as hand-wrought.

He first draws attention to the simplicity of the ground plan common to all artistic jewellery, citing an Indian pendant of leaf-shaped outline, with smaller leaves of the same shape inside, or Scandinavian ornaments of circular plan adorned with rings or discs, echoing the basic form. Pendant drops of any shape, which stir with every movement, creating a play of light, 'might with advantage be adopted by ourselves'. A 'Wallachian chain' of separate elements linked or hinged together 'is composed only of two units alternating without any variation'. The chain is illustrated as a necklace, but is in fact a headdress, worn the other way up, from the Preslav region of Bulgaria (Fig. 284).⁷⁰ He specifically mentions 'ear ornaments – bosses connected by chains under the chin – or frontlets adorned with peacocks and a series of pendants all along the forehead . . . just such as . . . might have been worn by the Empress Theodora herself'. The restrained use of turquoise and ruby paste and common stones such as agate and cornelian is also much to his taste. As part of his obsession with surviving tradition, he cites the gold filigree work still being made at Spalato (Split), contrasting it with Castellani's work, which he sees as a conscious revival, not a survival. He praises the design of Normandy crosses but accuses modern Algerian jewellery of being 'mechanical, tame, and finikin to a degree, and as corrupt and as unlike the original picturesque, spirited type as it could possibly be'. His last illustration, of 'English jewellery', a hand-wrought silver pansy brooch, a chatelaine with repeating flower motifs and two circular brooches with pearls and pale amethysts, 'proves that it is possible at the present day, by following on the old lines, without any approach to servile imitation, to produce work full of character and beauty' (Fig. 285). It is all by Ashbee, perhaps the greatest English jeweller of the Arts and Crafts movement.



NATIONALISM AND
HISTORICAL STYLES IN JEWELLERY



7 NATIONALISM AND HISTORICAL STYLES IN JEWELLERY

THE copying and adaptation of motifs from antiquity or from earlier historical periods accounts for a large proportion of nineteenth-century jewellery. Such jewels are frequently lumped together under the broad rubric of historicism. The reasons why a particular style is adopted may be very different from country to country. More often than not the question of style was either part and parcel of nineteenth-century discourse on what constituted good taste, or was bound up with politics and national identity.

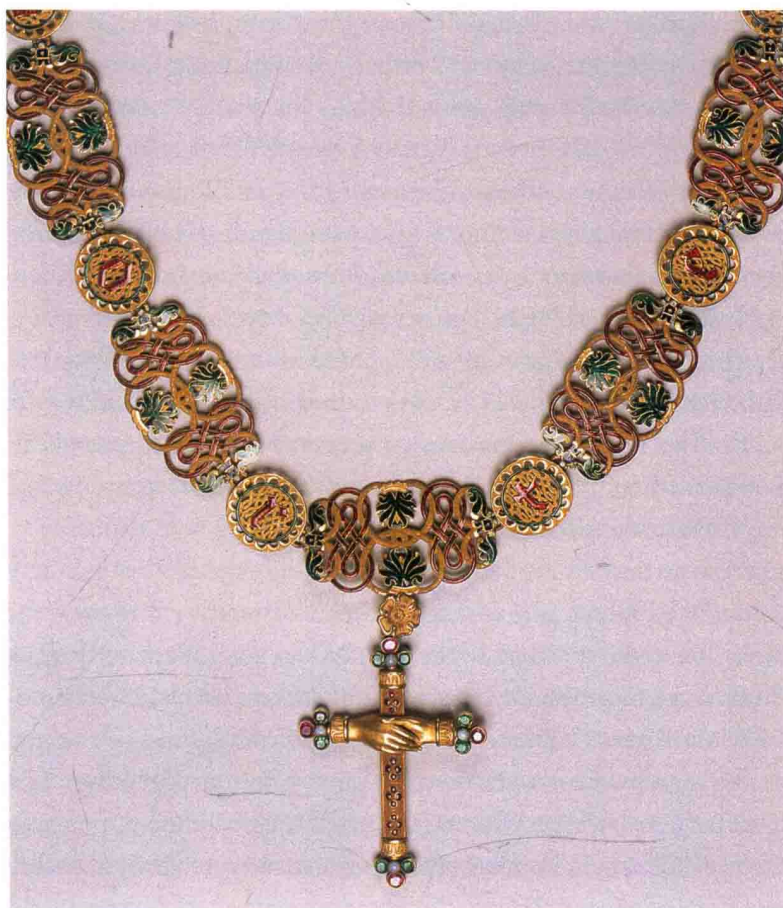
Historicism in design for the applied arts was not new to the Victorians. The second half of the nineteenth century, however, was the great age of nationalism and what was new in jewellery design was the linking of past styles with a nationalistic approach, so that the chosen style became the national style. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century the historic revival was seen by influential commentators as remedying the want of any ideas, which had led to the ransacking of the past for new styles. But from the middle of the century onwards the question of style was perceived in a different way. Far from indicating a loss of inspiration or a need for constant novelty, many of these historical revivals were, in origin, a deliberate return to those past ages that were seen as periods of great national achievement. This must be viewed against the background of the immense political changes in nineteenth-century Europe. Each country responded in its own way to these changes.

The Gothic-revival style in architecture and design had its roots in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and was taken up across Europe as part of the Romantic Movement with its taste for the historical novel as well as medieval and early Renaissance romance and legend. These trends were subsequently manifested in jewellery in different ways in different countries.

In Germany in the Napoleonic period the Gothic style was enlisted to forge a common German culture in the face of a common enemy. The architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841) chose the style for his cast-iron Liberation monument of 1818 on the Kreuzberg in Berlin. Schinkel was not the first to use the Gothic in Germany, but his use of it for such a politically important monument meant that it became associated with the new sense of German identity following the defeat of France. Schinkel's monument was made by Johann Conrad Geiss, one of the many Berlin iron foundries which had turned to the production of cast- and wrought-iron patriotic jewellery during the wars against Napoleon. The monument must have been a major reason why iron jewellery, handed out in exchange for gold given to fund the wars, remained in some sense a patriotic symbol long after the war and developed into a popular fashion accessory.¹ And it explains why the Gothic style was so prevalent in later Berlin iron jewellery in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (see Fig. 211).

In France the Gothic was associated with a sense of national pride: distinguished collections of medieval objects had entered the Louvre by 1830.² The fashion for Gothic jewellery was set in court circles. In 1829 Hortense de Beauharnais, mother of Napoléon III, gave her daughter, Amélie de Leuchtenberg, a '*chaîne gothique*', imitating a late medieval or

Previous pages: left, Tudor-style cruciform pendant (see Fig. 305); right, Princess Louise, Marchioness of Lorne (see Fig. 303)



early Renaissance knightly collar, with the inscription *Ton Hortense* in black-letter script'. From it hung not a badge of a chivalric order but a cross with a pair of clasped hands. A charming portrait of about 1830 in which Amélie wears the chain indicates that there was an additional matching element to decorate her large feathered hat. She is dressed in an elegant *Restauration* version of sixteenth-century costume with slit and puffed sleeves, a full high ruff which is clearly flexible and shaped for comfort, and a contemporary high waistline with narrow belt (Figs 286, 287).³ From the 1830s a vast programme of cathedral and church restoration was carried out by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, and followed by the opening in 1844 of the Musée de Cluny in Paris, the greatest monument to the Middle Ages.⁴ Gothic architectural settings provided the framework for narrative jewels with scenes from literature, described by Vever as the 'triumph of the "style cathédrale"'.⁵ These figural jewels became known as the *style romantique*, irrespective of whether they were copying medieval or Renaissance models (see pp. 354–7). Far from being seen as incompatible, this mixing of styles was inherent in nineteenth-century Romanticism, seeping into costume design and generating totally new forms of jewellery.

In Britain the taste for Gothic-style jewellery can be traced back to the jewellery designs of 1820–24, with their shapes taken directly from Gothic tracery, from an album owned by J.G. Bridge of the then royal goldsmiths Rundell, Bridge & Rundell.⁶ But the Gothic never came to be seen as a national style in jewellery, unlike in architecture.

Developments in literature, especially the popularity of Sir Walter Scott, spawned costume balls across Europe from the 1820s onwards. The costume was often far from historically

286 Above left
Necklace known as the *Chaîne gothique*, given by Hortense de Beauharnais (1783–1837) to her niece Amélie de Leuchtenberg in 1829. Made by Jean-Louis Pitaux, Paris. L. 76 cm. Paris, Musée national de Malmaison

On each circular medallion, enamelled letters in Gothic black-letter script form the words *Ton Hortense*. The gift was probably made to mark Amélie's marriage to Emperor Pedro I of Brazil in 1829. The long chain echoes a knightly order, but the interlace motifs are more Renaissance than Gothic in inspiration, and the cross with its *fede* symbol of clasped hands is a contemporary early 19th-century design.

287 Above
Amélie de Leuchtenberg wearing her *Chaîne gothique*, attributed to the German portraitist Joseph Karl Stieler (1781–1858). Oil on canvas, about 1830. Paris, Musée national de Malmaison

Granddaughter of Empress Josephine, Amélie de Leuchtenberg (1812–73) was the daughter of Prince Eugène de Beauharnais, Hortense's brother. The matching element decorating her large feathered hat may be a length of chain taken from the collar, perhaps if it was too long.

accurate but nevertheless encouraged the creation of appropriate accessories. In 1826 the English envoy to Vienna put on a costume ball to which the Austrian nobility came dressed as characters from *Ivanhoe*. And at the Bavarian court in Munich a masked celebration in honour of Scott was held in 1827.⁷ In 1829 in Paris the Duchesse de Berri's costume ball at the Tuileries was a Franco-British affair with formal set-pieces: the *Quadrille de Marie Stuart*, inspired by the Walter Scott novel, imagined a visit by Marie of Lorraine, Queen Mother of Scotland (danced by Lady Stuart de Rothesay, wife of the British Ambassador), to her daughter Marie Stuart, Queen of France (danced by the Duchesse).⁸ The costumes were based on early drawings in the Bibliothèque Royale. The event was recorded in a souvenir volume and in a suite of jewellery with enamelled miniatures of the costumes.⁹ Images of the fanciful costumes worn at the various balls and tournaments in ephemeral publications, periodicals or souvenir albums, are confirmed by medievalizing paintings, providing evidence for the kind of dress and jewellery considered suitable for a period look.¹⁰

New forms of jewellery were derived not from actual surviving examples, which were very few, but from jewels depicted in painting and sculpture. Chief among these was the *ferronnière*, a thin band worn across the forehead to keep the hair in place. Such ornaments are known only from portraits, yet they became a fashion that crossed all national boundaries. The name itself was derived from Leonardo da Vinci's late fifteenth-century painting *La Belle Ferronnière* (*ferronnière* = ironworker's wife) in the Louvre, a portrait of the supposed mistress of François I.¹¹ That the *ferronnière* soon became not merely a period costume accessory but part of mainstream fashion is symptomatic of the desire to recreate ideals of beauty from the past. Hairstyles of the period, with their flat loops of hair parted in the centre and hugging the face, owe much to Italian *quattrocento* painting. Harriet Granville, sister of the 6th Duke of Devonshire and wife of the 1st Earl Granville, Ambassador in Paris, wrote to her sister Georgiana Morpeth (later Lady Carlisle) in January 1830: 'The new mode of all is a tiny mat of hair or a tiny black velvet, not thicker than a Venetian gold chain or two round the head, in front sewed on it a small coloured stone or an enamel or a turquoise set round with little diamonds or gold, all one's old little odds and ends of jewels come into play, nothing is too small.'¹² At a ball on the day of the letter, Lady Granville's daughters wore 'little emeralds set round with diamonds (presents of Lady Duncannon to me on my marriage) on their black velvet cordon'. Later Lady Granville's pearl necklace and bracelets were pressed into service for the girls to wear 'across their foreheads'. Responding from Paris on 29 April 1836 to a description from her sister, Lady Carlisle, of the dress worn by her daughters at court, she wrote: 'How I agree about Blanche, who must look uncommonly picturesque, and like the Lady of a Tournament, in the present ancient style of dress.'¹³

The fashion for *ferronnières* persisted, turning up in portraits for some twenty years. Queen Victoria owned several, and evidently thought it a sufficiently noble ornament to appear in her 1840 portrait by John Partridge (see Fig. 17). Prints after the portrait were widely circulated. Vever illustrates several French fashion plates with *ferronnières* from around 1825 to 1840. One of them, a rare 'Gothic' dress of 1830 with a frieze round the hem of delicate architectural foliate ornament and tracery, was immediately reproduced in German fashion journals (Fig. 288).¹⁴ This is simply the application of Gothic motifs to a contemporary dress and has little to do with medieval costume except for the hanging sleeves. The fashion for *ferronnières* was enshrined in the Schönheitengalerie of Ludwig I of Bavaria installed originally

in the Munich Residenz; this 'gallery of beauties' contained a series of thirty-six paintings made between 1826 and 1850 by the court artist Joseph Stieler of women admired by Ludwig, whether ladies of the court or commoners. They are an extraordinary record of changing fashions in those years; *ferronnières* appear in at least six portraits (Fig. 289).

The Second Empire in France saw the flowering of the Renaissance revival, which had a number of different manifestations and continued into the Third Republic. For both regimes the Renaissance was a symbol of France's past greatness. The revival of the painted enamelling of the period took jewellery in a new direction. Equally important was the revival of opaque enamelling in the round. These techniques echoed two great ages in the history and art of France, the early sixteenth-century Fontainebleau style under Henri II and the exuberant Mannerism of the early seventeenth century under Louis XIII. The two styles could be imbued with nationalistic sentiment when required, but it would be hard to see either of them as a national style of France. The style *Louis XVI* flourished at the same time, in response to a romanticized view of the life and death of Marie-Antoinette (see pp. 94–7).

In Britain there was no one dominating thread; medieval and Renaissance revivals underlay the progress towards a national historical style in jewellery. The terms medieval, Renaissance, Tudor and Elizabethan were all coined in the early nineteenth century and it seems that being given a vocabulary to describe the new models may have stimulated the designers. Authenticity was a major preoccupation with artists in the 1840s and 1850s. This was to culminate in something unique to Britain: the 'Holbeinesque style', recreated from jewels depicted in portraits thought to be by Holbein. Holbein's own jewellery designs, in the British Museum since its founding in 1753 (they formed part of the collection of Sir Hans Sloane), had been published as early as 1842 and were later issued by the Arundel Society as photographic reproductions in 1869.¹⁵ They had an extraordinary afterlife and were reproduced, usually in black and white, in countless art and trade journals, which meant that they were re-created across Europe and America until the turn of the century.¹⁶

In Germany the use of the specifically German Renaissance style was entirely a political decision. The different states had been dominated for much of the nineteenth century by Prussia under King Frederick William IV; they were finally unified by Otto von Bismarck with the creation of the German Empire in 1871. That the choice of a new national style was the *alt-deutsch* (old German) style of sixteenth-century Germany was no whim of fashion, but a conscious return to an august age that appeared independent of any Italian influence and, more importantly, owed nothing to France, the defeated nation. But the bitterness following the Franco-Prussian War remained entrenched and it took a long time before Germany was able to regain her artistic standing and credibility abroad. At the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876, feelings still ran high; the report from the *Art-Journal* shows all too clearly the damaging effects of the war, and the realization within Germany of the impression this had created:

We shall now endeavour to show how the physical-force doctrine of *Blut und Eisen* has tended to barbarise a nation; how Art has retrograded where the sword is law . . . and it may be well for the German industry if the words of the German Commissioner are taken seriously to heart. 'A feeling of horror creeps over us as we walk through the exhibition, and consider in our department German art



FERRONNIÈRE EN PERLES SUR LE FRONT,
COLLIER, AGRAPES DE MANCHES,
BRACELET EN OR AVEC PÉRIDOTS.
La robe est de style gothique. — Cothurnes grecs (1830).

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Gothic-style dress. French, 1830. Fashion plate from Vever 1906–8, I, p. 141

Vever's caption notes the pearl *ferronnière*, necklace, clasps securing the wide outer sleeves and a gold bracelet set with peridots, worn over the glove. The boots are described as Greek, perhaps because of the criss-cross lacing. The puffed velvet hat with its cascading feathers in the 'Troubadour' style is rather like Amélie's (Fig. 287) and is based on 16th-century models.



289
Amalia von Schintling (1812–31),
 by Joseph Karl Stieler. Oil on canvas, 1831.
 Munich, Schloss Nymphenburg

A bright Kashmir shawl overshadows the pearl jewels. Engaged to her cousin, Amalia died before the wedding.

represented by Kaisers, Crown Princes, Red Princes, Bismarcks, Moltkes, and Roons, marching in whole battalions, done in porcelain, in bisque, in bronze, in zinc, in iron, in clay, painted, polished, embroidered, printed, and lithographed, which meet us at every turn. In the Art Gallery are two Sedans, and in the Machinery Hall, seven-eighths of the space is devoted to Krupp's killing machines.¹⁷

HISTORICAL REVIVAL JEWELLERY IN ENGLAND

A careful examination of the elaborate paintings of our ancestors, by Sir Antonio More, Zucchino, Holbein, and even Vandyck, will afford many illustrations of the beauty of design of much ancient jewellery of this country.

(Matthew Digby Wyatt, 1851)¹

There were two principal elements of the historical revival in Britain. One was the creation by A.W.N. Pugin, the foremost architect of the Gothic Revival, of a medieval style for jewellery based largely on ecclesiastical metalwork. The other was the invention of the 'Holbeinesque', a Renaissance or rather Tudor-revival style that was unique to Britain. One might expect 'Holbeinesque' jewels in England to copy Holbein's designs for jewellery. But they did not, unlike the jewels made in Germany as part of the taste for the *alt-deutsch* (see p. 370). Nor did 'Holbeinesque' jewels copy surviving Tudor or Elizabethan jewels directly. Either they were recreations or adaptations of jewels in paintings then thought to be by Holbein, or modern pastiches in the 'Holbein style'. The origin of these nineteenth-century pastiches is complex: they incorporate elements with historic jewellery sources but were given the label 'Holbein' quite arbitrarily, perhaps to create an English product as a foil to the 'Cellini' style so admired by critics at the time – his was the name that then dominated any discussion of Renaissance goldsmiths' work.

Cellini's Victorian reputation offers a parallel with that of Holbein. As with Holbein, there were no documented jewels by Cellini, but much surviving Renaissance jewellery thought to be Italian was attributed to him. This was partly due to the influence of his autobiography, source of much of what was known about the Italian Renaissance. In it he describes making jewels with enamelled figures and so the 'Cellini' label was applied especially to jewels of that type.² The medieval style had limited success and never spread to commercial production on a large scale. 'Holbeinesque' jewels on the other hand were sold by all the big West End jewellers. Orders from the royal family for a succession of royal weddings endowed the 'Holbeinesque' with the aura of a national style, and kept it in the public eye over some three decades.

English revivalism in jewellery was hampered by a lack of historical models; London had no National Museum of Antiquities, the British Museum being until the 1850s mainly a repository of excavated material from the ancient world, a resource of great significance to the archaeological revival but not to the formation of an English historical style.³ Peasant culture was non-existent. There was no royal treasury or *Schatzkammer* of the type common on the Continent, with jewels or jewelled *objets d'art* to inspire designs. Before the expansion of the museums and exhibition programmes, both gathering momentum at much the same time in the mid-century, material evidence of the past was reserved for private owners of antiquities, precious treasures, portraits and early manuscripts. Evidence had to be recovered from pictorial and documentary sources, in portraits, effigies and designs or inventories, which meant that the jewellers faced a challenge in creating a national style.

One important factor in the search for appropriate historical styles was the publication of colour-illustrated studies of historic costume by antiquaries like James Robinson Planché, author of *the History of British Costume* (1834) and *The Encyclopaedia of Costume* (1847), and Frederick William Fairholt, author of *Costume in England* (1846). Their sources

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Queen Victoria and Prince Albert,
by Edwin Landseer (1803–73). Oil on
canvas, 1842. Royal Collection

The Queen and Prince are shown full-length in costume for the Plantagenet Ball, 12 May 1842, in the Throne Room at Buckingham Palace. The Prince hands the Queen down from the platform where two chairs of state are set under a canopy. Two pages in period costume guide her train.



ranged from representations of costume in early wall-paintings and memorial sculpture to portraits.⁴ Planché also promoted accuracy in staging historical plays, notably Shakespeare, which had originated with Charles Kemble's productions in the 1820s and was later carried to spectacular lengths by Charles Kean in the 1850s. Planché devised the Plantagenet *bal costumé* for Victoria and Albert in 1842, taking great care with both dress and jewellery for the royal couple as Philippa of Hainault and Edward III. The Queen's costume was copied from effigies in Westminster Abbey of Philippa and her daughter Blanche de la Tour. Her hair was dressed in a jewelled fillet in the medieval manner beneath a jewelled crown; a jewelled band with clasps at each end secured her mantle and a long narrow 'stomacher' ran the length of her bodice (Fig. 290). In his 1843 souvenir volume, Planché claimed that the crown

was set with a 'jewel valued at £20,000' and the jewelled stomacher was composed of 'gems said to be worth £60,000'.⁵ Added to these exaggerated claims, the costume received huge publicity: before the ball the Queen's robe was viewed at her dressmaker's, Vouillon & Laure of Prince's Street off Hanover Square, by '250 carriages of the *élite* of the aristocracy and the *beau monde*'.⁶

Interest in costume, combined with the medievalist paintings of the period, generated a small number of experiments in jewellery. This came about through Henry Cole and his scheme to improve public taste by himself designing and commissioning painters and sculptors to design objects for his firm, Summerly's Art Manufactures. In 1848 Daniel Maclise the most prominent history painter in Britain in the mid-Victorian period, designed for Cole a silver bracelet with decoration inlaid in niello. It was made by the firm of S.H. & D. Gass, who went on to show other Gothic-style jewels at the Great Exhibition (see Fig. 292), but is known only from Maclise's design: a series of vignettes of a young couple in medieval dress framed in Gothic foliate interlace show the stages in ordering and making a bracelet (Fig. 291). Cole's idea was that the design should be engraved mechanically like banknotes, and then filled in with niello, thus marrying industrial and medieval techniques.⁷ It was intended to be the first of a series, but Maclise was disappointed with the mechanical engraving and it seems that no others were made. This rare venture into narrative jewellery in England was subsequently shown at the 1851 Exhibition, where it was the only piece credited to an artist in the jewellery section of the *Official Catalogue*.⁸ As a flat painterly design it must have made a very different effect when compared with the three-dimensional sculptural jewels shown by the French exhibitors (see p. 355) and by Gass himself.

Gass's pendant 'in the style of the cinque cento period' of Britannia in a Gothic niche was entirely gem-set, with the columns cut from single cabochons. Contemporary engravings cannot convey the effect of these gem-set pieces but in this case a design drawing has come to light from the estate of Ernest Leviny. Leviny was a Hungarian who had worked first in Paris, then in London where he was in partnership with the antiquarian F.R.P. Bööcke from about 1846 to 1852; he then emigrated in 1853 to Australia where he became a successful jeweller and silversmith in Castlemaine, Victoria (Figs 292, 293).⁹ The design proved too complicated and changes were made in the final version to the dragon, while the laurel wreath on the columns was dropped. The importance of this design is that it enables us to envisage what



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Engraving of a medieval-style bracelet, designed by Daniel Maclise (1806–70). English, 1849. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

The design cost £30, and was to be carried out using the ancient niello technique. On the back of Maclise's drawing Cole wrote 'produced as a bracelet'. Cole intended the engraving of the design on metal to be done by the method used for banknotes. Maclise went on to design the 'Britannia' banknote image (a 'Saxon' princess very like the young Queen Victoria, but in fact his daughter was the model) in 1855 and the 1862 International Exhibition prize medal.

292 *Right*

'Britannia' pendant exhibited by S.H. & D. Gass at the Great Exhibition, London 1851. Engraving from *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*, 1851

The Jury awarded Gass the Prize Medal for this piece, recording that the face and hands of Britannia were in silver, the drapery in rubies and diamonds (*Reports of the Juries*, p. 516). The *Illustrated London News* remarked: 'The figure of Britannia is composed of upwards of 400 brilliants . . .; the comb of the helmet and rudder are set with small rubies, the two pieces on either side of the figure are cut from a single piece of carbuncle. The remainder of the brooch, with the dragon, is partly enamelled and partly set with brilliants. The whole contains nearly 1,000 stones, and the workmanship is of the most admirable character' (*ILN*, 6 September 1851, p. 304).

293 *Far right*

Watercolour design for the 'Britannia' pendant, by Ernest Leviny (1818–1905), about 1850. Castlemaine, Australia, Buda Historic Home and Garden

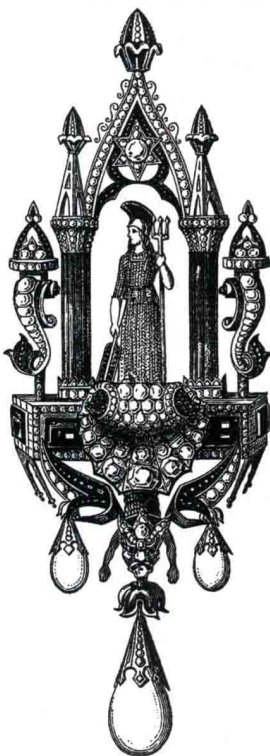
This grand and expensive pendant, in precious stones and enamel, has not come to light. In 1851 Leviny & Bööcke of Newman Street supplied designs for enamelled, gem-set jewels to Watherston & Brogden.

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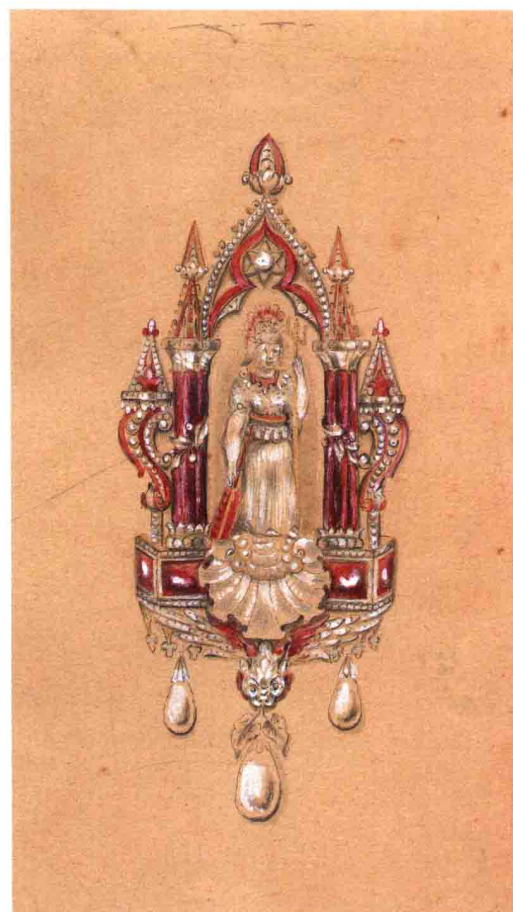
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was then regarded as antiquarian by West End jewellers – not the enamelled gold jewellery of the later 1850s and 1860s that became known as Holbeinesque, but jewellery set almost entirely with gems.¹⁰ Seen in this context the gem-set 'Holbein' design by C. Rowlands & Son (see p. 344) falls into place.

Cole's attempts at creating a new style stalled for lack of interest and it was Pugin who succeeded in marrying industrial production with medieval techniques. The impossibility of Continental travel during the Napoleonic Wars had diverted interest from Classical culture to the antiquities of the British Isles, and the re-discovery of Gothic architecture had a profound effect on art and design from the 1830s. Having converted to Catholicism in 1834, Pugin believed Gothic was 'not a style, but a principle'; his view of the past was idealistic, not nostalgic or nationalist. For his churches he created appropriate ecclesiastical metalwork, and earthenware tiles for the floors and walls. As with most early experiments with medievalism in jewellery, he relied, in the absence of actual jewels themselves, on adapting architectural motifs and elements from ecclesiastical metalwork, often Continental in origin. Pugin had travelled widely in France, Flanders and Italy, sketching Gothic metalwork in church treasuries. This influence can be seen in the limited palette of his enamel colours, his use of cabochon gems and pearl borders, and quatrefoil elements that could come straight from a Gothic chalice or morse. Pugin's use of *champlevé* enamel in the medieval manner, a striking feature of his jewels, came to be associated with mid-Victorian medievalism.

In 1847–8, Pugin designed a suite of medieval-style jewellery for his proposed third wife, Helen Lumsdaine. He gave the commission to the Birmingham firm of John Hardman,

makers of his ecclesiastical metalwork, but they were unaccustomed to the special demands of jewel-work, and Pugin struggled to get the jewels made correctly and to look suitably like 'old work'.¹¹ Based on enamelled and gem-set quatrefoil motifs, the suite comprised a chain formed of open quatrefoil links, two pendant crosses, two brooches, a headband, a bracelet, earrings and two finger-rings. The final cost was £255 9s 6d. and Pugin wrote to his betrothed, 'no woman, not excepting the Queen will have better ornaments as regards taste, as you will'.¹² In the event the engagement was broken off and Pugin transferred the jewellery to his new bride, the Roman Catholic Jane Knill – 'a first rate Gothic woman' as he described her – for their wedding in 1848. The brooch in the form of a Gothic 'M' loosely follows one of the few surviving pieces of English medieval jewellery, the mid-fourteenth-century 'M' brooch preserved at New College, Oxford, later copied more accurately by Castellani (see p. 407). The jewels were unveiled in the Mediaeval Court at the 1851 Great Exhibition in London (Fig. 294).¹³ Pugin's biographer, Benjamin Ferry, noted: 'They were deservedly admired, and on Her Majesty's visit to the Exhibition, she specially requested to see them, before inspecting other objects in the collection.'¹⁴ In a portrait of 1859 the widowed Jane Pugin is wearing some of the jewellery, though whether she wore it on any other occasions is unknown.¹⁵

The Mediaeval Court was greatly admired, a reporter for the *Illustrated London News* judging it to be the best thing in the Exhibition: 'To Mr Pugin, then, who furnished the design for this gorgeous combination, is the highest honour due; and he has marvellously fulfilled his own intention of demonstrating the applicability of Mediaeval art in all its richness and variety to the uses of the present day.'¹⁶ It was in that sense an example of modernism – the term 'medieval' was relatively new, having been coined in 1827 – and it occupied a unique position in the Crystal Palace. Pugin had negotiated with Cole to have a stand devoted to the whole range of his manufactures. All other exhibits were materials-based; only the Mediaeval Court allowed the public to assess the effect of a range of architectural, ecclesiastical and domestic objects all in the same style. Pugin's jewellery was certainly a talking point with design reformers. Digby Wyatt awarded it a full-page colour plate in his survey of 1851 masterpieces, *The Industrial Arts of the XIX Century* (1851–3, vol. II, pl. 82), allowing his readers to make direct comparisons with Froment-Meurice, who received the same tribute (vol. II, pl. 137). But in spite of the claim by the *Illustrated London News* that Pugin had found a way of reforming medievalism to modern requirements, the jewels remained little imitated. The Mediaeval Court and the attendant publicity should have been the start of something important for this style of jewellery, but it failed to enter the High Victorian commercial mainstream. The fact that it was shown in this context rather than with other goldsmiths' and jewellers' work may have lessened its impact on the fashion-conscious public.

Another possible reason that Pugin's ideas for jewellery were unsuccessful was his Catholic faith. In spite of the Act of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, anti-Catholic feeling still ran high in Britain. Pugin was 'a marked man', as he himself remarked.¹⁷ Further experiments with strict medievalism in jewellery suffered a similar fate, to judge from the lack of follow-up in other than Catholic circles for Hardman's later medieval-style pieces. The link between medievalist jewels and Catholic buyers is also apparent in Castellani's patrons (see p. 410). Pugin died in 1852, but the Catholic Hardmans went on to make jewels in the same manner, designed by Pugin's son-in-law, John Hardman Powell.¹⁸

In the 1860s and 1870s, Pugin's medievalist vocabulary was adapted and extended by

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Jewels shown at the Great Exhibition in 1851 by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–52). Chromolithograph from Matthew Digby Wyatt, *The Industrial Arts of the XIX Century*, 1851–3, pl. 320

The jewellery was made in Birmingham by John Hardman & Co. and caused Pugin much anguish in achieving the correct historical appearance.

296 A & B *Right*

Two rosettes from an enamelled silver bracelet designed by William Burges, 1870s. Diam 2.6 cm. Bedford, Cecil Higgins Art Gallery

The enamelled roundels of grotesque animals appear in other examples of Burges's metalwork.

the architect William Burges. Burges's designs, often highly intellectual and academic, include pieces for his own use, for his family and for a small number of Catholic patrons. Some, like Pugin's, were overtly Christian, although Burges himself was not a Catholic, rather a medievalist seduced by the romance of the medieval church (Fig. 295). Burges also had a wonderfully playful streak which made his designs quite different from Pugin's. He had a particular interest in French Gothic art; a bracelet probably made for his niece Nora in the 1870s incorporates a set of enamelled medallions featuring grotesque animals in quatrefoils taken from French thirteenth-century manuscript illumination (Fig. 296).¹⁹ In 1872 he designed a marriage brooch in the form of a Gothic letter 'G' for Gwendolen Howard, future wife of his millionaire patron the Marquess of Bute, a Catholic convert.²⁰ In creating the Gothic letter-form Burges may have had Holbein's jewellery designs in mind, especially those using Gothic letters.²¹ Burges was aware of jewellery by the Castellani firm, where letter-forms are an important element of revivalist design (see the setting of the Dante cameo, Fig. 468). The crowned 'G' is very close to a similar crowned letter jewel in a Tudor portrait lent to the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857 and to the Tudor and Stuart portraits exhibition in London in 1866. Called 'Queen Katherine Parr', it was attributed to Holbein.²² By this date, the Holbeinesque style with jewels based on portraits was at its height, as will become clear. Although Burges was following a national trend, neither his whimsical creations nor Pugin's sombre look ever formed part of mainstream English historicism.²³ As architect-designers rather than commercial jewellers their understanding of jewellery and its consumers was too limited and they never intended to create a popular marketable style. Revivalism, in order to succeed, changed direction to prettiness and minuteness in enamelling and chasing, the province of the professional, which was admired over bold designs and forms. The source of inspiration was Renaissance, not Gothic.

The success of the Renaissance-style jewels exhibited in 1851 by Froment-Meurice had forced the British art establishment to face the challenge of French art jewellery. Digby Wyatt saw that there was an urgent need to improve design and workmanship in the British trade:

The study of such works as time has spared, and of such drawings or designs as are still in existence, has unquestionably stimulated the French jewellers of the present day in the production of many beautiful modifications of the mediaeval and Cinque-cento styles. MM. Froment-Meurice, Rudolphi, and Morel, have in this way produced many works which deserve the highest commendation. ...²⁴

It is surely no coincidence that he singled out the French jewellers whose work was selected by the committee buying for Cole's proposed Museum of Manufactures (later the Museum of Ornamental Art, and then the South Kensington Museum).²⁵ French revivalist jewellery, with its three-dimensional sculptured figures, embodied the Victorian idea of the Renaissance and, more particularly, of Cellini.

An influential exhibition held at the Society of Arts in 1850, 'Antient and Mediaeval Art', was assembled entirely from privately owned pieces and contained a number of jewels catalogued as sixteenth-century such as a girdle prayer book thought to have been owned by Queen Elizabeth I, a pendant 'attributed to Cellini' and a heart-shaped locket said to descend from Mary Queen of Scots.²⁶ Reports appeared almost weekly in the *Illustrated*



295
Pectoral cross and chain, designed by William Burges (1827–81). English, about 1870. W. of cross arms 6.5 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The design for this Gothic-style cross-pendant, with pierced inscription in Lombardic script *PER CRUCEM AD LUCEM*, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.



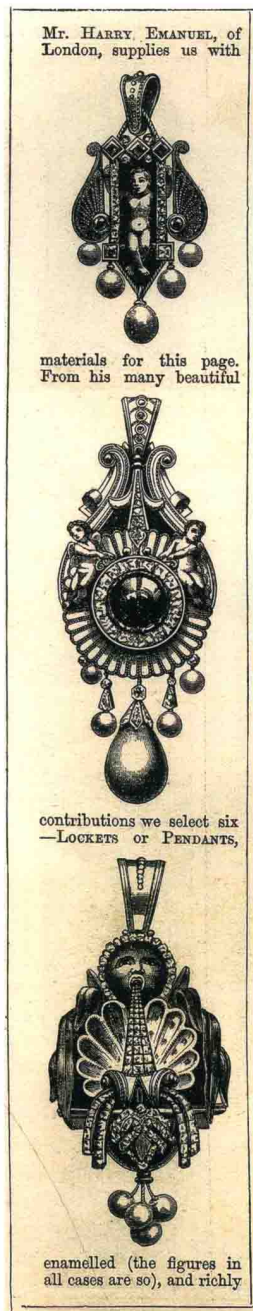


London News between March and May, giving many jewellers and designers their first sight of jewels then believed to be of the period.

One approach was to adapt Renaissance strapwork (ornament in the form of scrolling leather 'straps') to jewellery as the French had done. At the 1851 Exhibition the firm of C. Rowlands & Son showed a brooch in the French style with misinterpreted strapwork and pair of angels flanking a central carbuncle garnet.²⁷ In 1862 Robert Phillips tried to turn this into an Elizabethan style by setting a portrait of Shakespeare in an elaborate strapwork frame (Fig. 297).²⁸ It was described in the 1862 *Illustrated Catalogue of the Industrial Division*, vol. 2, Class xxxiii, no. 6658 (p. 55), as 'An enamel portrait of Shakespeare, by Essex, from the Chandos picture, mounted as brooch, of Elizabethan design, enriched with jewels, enamels and arabesques.' The 'Chandos' portrait of Shakespeare was given to the National Portrait Gallery on its foundation in 1856 and copied by William Essex soon after. A simpler version of this kind of setting was used for the series of simple 'Elizabethan' pendants containing medallions of the Queen and her daughters and son-in-law Louis of Hesse; the portraits were modelled by the sculptress Susan Durant between 1864 and 1867 (Fig. 299). But the truncated strapwork motifs never caught on in Britain.

Another approach was to emulate the French figurative jewels. Carlo Giuliano was one of the few English-based jewellers to create figurative Renaissance-revival jewels, modelled and enamelled in the round. At the Paris Exhibition of 1867, before he had opened his own premises, he exhibited examples on the stand of Harry Emanuel, which attracted comment in *The Times*: 'The enamelled jewellery which Mr Harry Emanuel cultivates is chiefly of the Cellini type, in which little figures, modelled in gold, are encrusted with enamel, and are presented in groups, that call into play all the fancy of the artist. Some of his designs are exceedingly pretty, and give one great hopes of what English enamellers may yet accomplish.'²⁹ The pieces were not credited to Giuliano, and so the *Times* reporter would not have known that they were made by an Italian émigré. Of the six designs illustrated in the *Art-Journal*, at least four betray their broad derivation from Renaissance types in the use of figures in the round and pendant pearls (Fig. 298).³⁰ Surviving examples bear Giuliano's applied trade label, so his authorship is now clear and was certainly recognized at the time by at least some of the owners of his pieces.³¹

The first mention of Holbein that we have found in a description of nineteenth-century jewellery appears at the 1851 Exhibition: one of the items shown by the London jeweller Rowlands was a ruby bracelet in which the stones formed a latticework design. It was described by the *Illustrated London News* as 'Holbein', but the connection with Holbein is not at all clear.³² It has none of the delicate enamelwork that later came to characterize the style. Nonetheless it shows the connotations already attached to the name. Prior to this date



297 Top
Renaissance-style pendant in the French taste with an enamelled portrait of Shakespeare, exhibited by Robert Phillips (1810–81) in London, 1862. From the *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*, 1862.

298 A & B Left and opposite
Six Renaissance figurative jewels shown at the 1862 International Exhibition in London. Made by Carlo Giuliano (1831–95) for Harry Emanuel. *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*, 1867, p. 10

At this date Giuliano was working for a number of London firms as a wholesale manufacturing jeweller. He acquired retail premises at 115 Piccadilly in 1874. At the lower left is one of his pendants with diamond 'water'.

there is evidence for the existence of Tudor-style jewels, but they were called 'Elizabethan'. While Hancock may have established the 'Holbein' label, this model was already circulating in royal circles in the early 1840s. Surviving evidence suggests that they were very close to what came to be known as 'Holbein' jewels.³³

The Holbeinesque went on to have a long life and a wide dissemination in the trade. One of the problems in tracing its development in Britain is that while some sources have been identified, others remain obscure. The first major piece of Holbeinesque jewellery is a case in point. This was the Devonshire parure, a dazzling commission given to Hancock's in 1856 by the 6th Duke of Devonshire for his nephew's wife, Marie, Countess Granville, to wear in Moscow at the coronation of Alexander II of Russia (Fig. 300).³⁴ Granville George Leveson Gower, 2nd Earl Granville, was appointed as Queen Victoria's representative or 'British Ambassador Extraordinary' to attend the ceremony and all the festivities. Marie Granville was of the opinion that she would need twenty gowns and to have her diamonds reset.³⁵ In fact the Duke was fully aware of the importance of appropriate jewellery, having himself fulfilled a similar role at the coronation of Nicholas I in 1825, and he recognized the formidable nature of the challenge.³⁶ To compete with the almost barbaric magnificence of the diamonds and precious stones owned by the Russian nobility was not a practical possibility, even for the wealthiest English duke, and the solution presented itself in the form of the Devonshire collection of antique and Renaissance engraved gems. Given the Russian preference for large, fine gemstones, the choice of cameos and intaglios as the chief element in the parure was extraordinarily daring.

After the debut of the Devonshire Parure in Moscow, it was exhibited in England on a number of occasions, the last one being the International Exhibition of 1872.³⁷ It was shown in Manchester at the Mechanics Institution from February to March 1857, and then in London in April and May, probably at Hancock's showroom. Hancock seized the opportunity to stake his claims to the conception and execution of the whole project in a souvenir illustrated catalogue, 'Celebrated Devonshire Gems from the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire KG. Arranged and Mounted for His Grace as a Parure of Jewels'.³⁸ The *Morning Chronicle* described it in detail, remarking that 'the lightness and chaste design of the Florentine school of ornamentation has been happily blended with that of Holbein'.³⁹ The report in the *Illustrated London News* was particularly glowing.⁴⁰

The matching set of seven ornaments was designed to show off eighty-eight gems from the collection formed by the 3rd Duke of Devonshire. They were mounted as a comb, necklace, bracelet, bandeau, diadem, coronet and an enormous stomacher. No other parure has four different head ornaments which could never be worn together, and this eccentric combination must have come about as a way of using all the cameos. The larger cameos are set in enamelled gold



of the eminent artist, PAIR-POINT. The idea is to represent



Night and Morning. It is difficult to convey, by engraving, a



sufficiently correct idea of jewels such as these: the artist can give

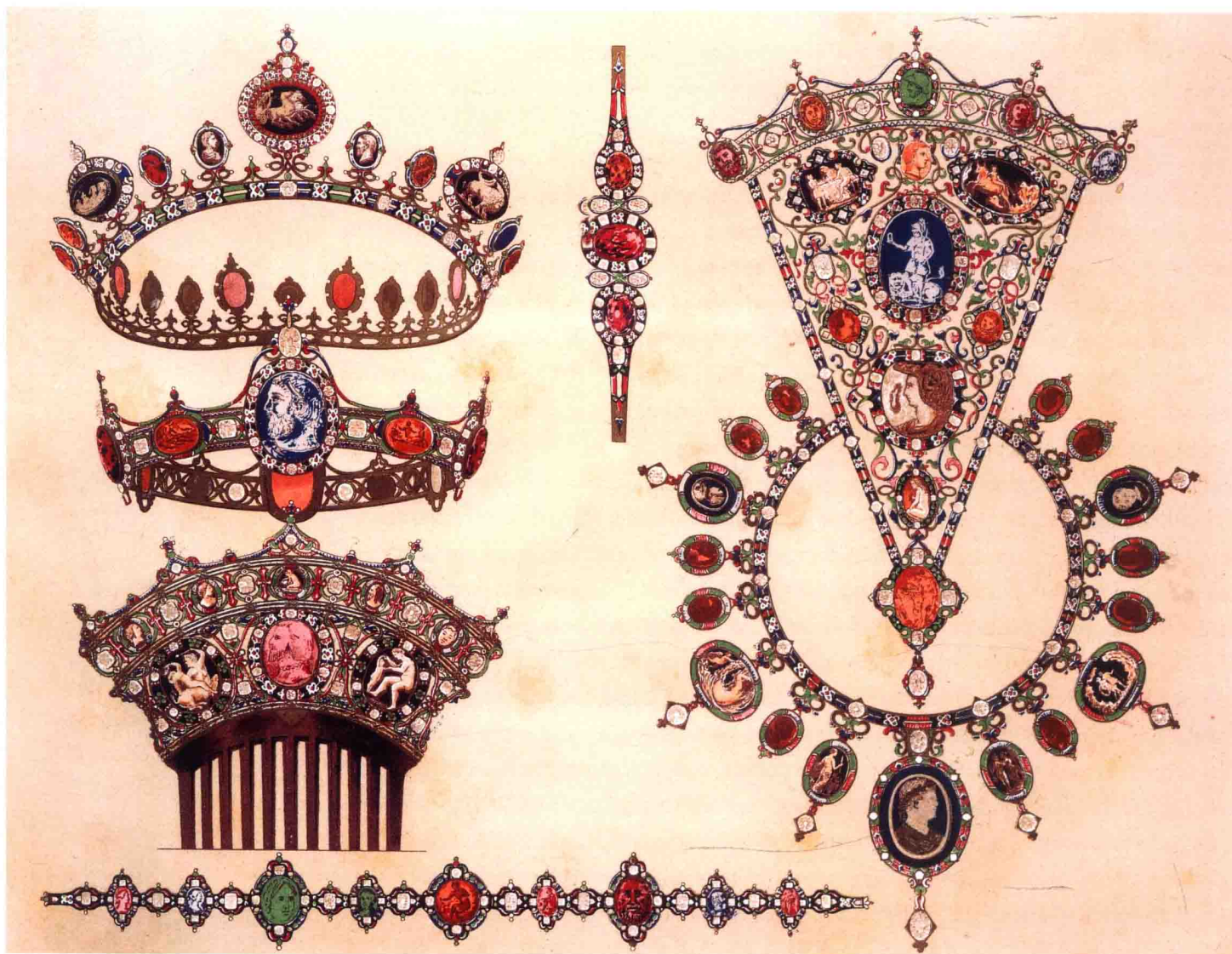


little more than the forms, copying but faintly the beautiful originals.

299 Top

Medallic portraits of Princess Alice (Grand Duchess of Hesse, 1843–78) and Prince Louis of Hesse (1837–92), Susan D. Durant (1827–73). Silvered metal, 1864–7; H. of each 5.6 cm. London, National Portrait Gallery

Alice wears a jewelled tiara and her husband is in Renaissance armour. The Renaissance-style strapwork echoes the setting of the memorial pendant for Prince Albert, Fig. 37 and p. 12.



300

The Devonshire parure, enamelled gold and diamonds, set with antique cameos, supplied by Charles Frederick Hancock (d. 1891). English, 1856. Chromolithographic plate from J.B. Waring, *Masterpieces of Industrial Arts and Sculpture at the International Exhibition of 1862*, pl. 203

The identity of the actual maker of the parure has not yet been established. Hancock had family links through his wife with the Edington & Straudinger manufacturing workshop, but they were not known as experienced enamellers. The scrolling design in translucent enamelling (see detail, Fig. 302) is similar to the settings of two of John Brogden's exhibition pieces, the cameo necklace and earrings (1867, Fig. 62) and the 'Sale of Cupids' jewel (about 1872, Fig. 419).

borders with either a flowerhead in an oval or a four-petal motif interspersed with square-cut gems at intervals (Fig. 302). In the detailed descriptions of engraved gems in his 'Illustrated and Descriptive Catalogue', Hancock claimed that two of the cameos in the diadem were in their original sixteenth-century settings. Of the cameo of Queen Elizabeth (no. 57) he wrote: 'This ornament is in an old locket, and has been left in the original setting of enamel', while the double cameo in the centre (no. 63) 'has been left in its original setting, of the cinque cento period'. The cameo-set locket of Queen Elizabeth I enclosed miniature portraits by Nicholas Hilliard, adding great lustre to the reputation of the parure. Hancock remarked in the introduction to his souvenir leaflet, 'The setting which is very original is in the Holbein style, and is composed of beautiful trellis work in variegated enamel, and studded all over with fine brilliants, producing a very refined effect.'⁴¹ There are no borders like these in Holbein's designs for jewellery, but the type with precisely the same enamelled motifs occurs frequently in cameo and portrait jewels of the second half of the sixteenth century across Europe. Examples in Continental collections – the Cabinet de Médailles in Paris and in the Habsburg collections in Vienna – make the same use of thin white outlines as the frames of the Devonshire parure.⁴² Hancock had ample opportunity to see these collections during the

six months he spent in Paris for the 1855 Exhibition. The precise source remains unclear, and it may be that he had come up with something he thought suitably historical and wished to endow it with the appropriate authority. He claimed in a letter to Paxton that it was he who realized that the 320 diamonds in the settings were ‘necessary . . . in order to light it up otherwise the whole parure would have been heavy and utterly spoilt’. He ended by saying, ‘I have tried to create an original and beautiful work of art and I believe I have succeeded.’⁴³ But he did much more than that: building on the idea current since 1851 of a ‘Holbein’ style in jewellery, and deliberately obscuring his source of inspiration, he created what was to become a characteristically English style, by virtue of the ‘Holbein’ connotation.

By the 1862 Exhibition, the ‘Holbein’ label was being applied to anything in which gemstones were combined with ‘graceful settings’, in ‘original designs’ that ‘exercised the skill of the designer and artizan’.⁴⁴ This could cover pieces of very different inspiration. A bracelet with carbuncles, emeralds and diamonds set into roundels enamelled with sixteenth-century moresque patterns by Howell & James was labelled ‘Holbein style’, but so too was an oval pendant with a large central stone framed by an enamel border set with square-cut gems at intervals, and a pendant drop at the base, shown in *Cassell’s Illustrated Exhibitor* (see Fig. 220). The frame has the same quatrefoil enamel motif as the Devonshire parure settings. Similar pendants with the same type of setting were shown by London and Ryder.⁴⁵ Thus the Devonshire settings had become the standard element of a generic type of ‘Holbein’ jewel – an upright oval pendant with a central cabochon or gem-set motif rather than a cameo (Fig. 301). From 1862 Howell & James, a big household emporium on Lower Regent Street, made a pitch for their ‘artistic’ jewellery (see pp. 265 and 279); the 1862 ‘Holbein’ pendants demonstrated that they had heeded Digby Wyatt’s advice to pay attention to the settings and to look at jewels depicted in paintings.⁴⁶

A number of portraits attributed to Holbein had been included in the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857.⁴⁷ Many of them are now classed as anonymous, but for the Victorians the ‘Holbein’ label signified the romance of the whole Tudor dynasty and the cult of Elizabeth I. Among the ‘Holbein’ portraits was one of Catherine Walsingham (Stanley), wife of Sir George Gresley, wearing the ‘Gresley’ marriage pendant, a rare survival of a jewel associated with Elizabeth I, then in the possession of the Gresley family; it was also displayed at the Exhibition.⁴⁸ The show of portraits at Manchester was followed by an important series of loan exhibitions of ‘National Portraits’ in London, starting in 1866 with the Tudor period up to the reign of James II. The National Portrait Gallery, opened in 1859 three years after its foundation, would make these models permanently available to the public.⁴⁹ George Scharf, first Keeper and Secretary of the Portrait Gallery, took scrupulous notes of the costume and jewellery of portrait sitters, considering these details as well as their historical significance to be important for the study of the past. His collection of books for the Portrait Gallery library included many on costume history.

Portraits provided direct models for jewellery that are easier to pin down than the inspiration for the Devonshire parure. Some sources were correctly identified at the time. In 1872 the *Art-Journal* singled out for praise Phillips’s designs in the ‘Holbein’ style, including ‘a facsimile of a brooch designed by Holbein as it appears in a portrait of Queen Elizabeth at the age of sixteen [*sic*]. It is of diamond pattern filled with gold tracery, and completed by three pearl pendants below’.⁵⁰ The portrait, then believed to be by Holbein, was in the Royal



301 Top
‘Holbeinesque’ pendant in enameled gold set with rubies, diamonds and pearls, in its original display case, retailed by Howell & James. English, about 1862. L. 7.8 cm. Private collection

Historical revival jewels retailed by Howell & James were probably supplied by a maker such as Brogden or Giuliano.

302
Detail of the lapis-lazuli cameo and its setting from the Devonshire parure stomacher (see Fig. 300)

The four-lobed flower motif in the border is copied in the Howell & James pendant above.

Collection at Hampton Court, which had been open to the public since 1838; it was shown in Manchester in 1857 and later in London. In the painting, now dated to about 1546, the thirteen-year-old princess wears a lozenge-shaped jewel set with diamonds surrounded by gold interlace, and three pendant pearls, the jewel recreated by Phillips (Figs 304, 305).⁵¹ Phillips misunderstood the use in the painting of black for the central diamond cross motif and substituted black enamel instead. Phillips's copies of the Princess Elizabeth jewels were popular with the royal family. Princess Louise wore hers for a portrait photograph taken in the early 1870s; her velvet dress is in the fashionable Italian Renaissance style (Fig. 303). Alexander II of Russia ordered similar jewels from the Crown Jeweller in the 1870s. Entries in the royal ledger to his account include a 'Holbein cross with black pearls' in 1873 (this had been shown by Garrard in the 1872 Loan Exhibition, no. 744, see below) and a 'black and white enamel cross, black pearls and diamonds' in 1874 for the Empress. Among the wedding gifts to Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, in 1874 is a necklace with three pendant versions of the cross:

An original necklace in the Tudor style, composed expressly for his RH, and the pendants of which are designed from a picture in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court. From two doubly fine-woven gold chains, separated by round black and white pearls at intervals throughout their length, depend the three Tudor pendants, composed of fine gold enamelled and wrought. The centres of the three pendants 'are composed of a remarkably large ruby, a rare yellow sapphire, and a violet sapphire, or Oriental amethyst of the deepest colour; each also contains four round pearls and one drop pearl, all selected and perfectly matching, four intermediate pendants of white and black pearls completing the ornament.'⁵²

Holbeinesque jewels as royal wedding gifts suggest more than mere predilection. Queen Victoria was identified with Elizabeth I – her most illustrious predecessor as Queen Regnant – and the Victorians saw themselves as Elizabethans, conquering new territory and forging a Protestant nation.⁵³ These jewels embodied something uniquely British, lending them added resonance for the royal family. The term 'Holbein' appears a number of times in the Garrard ledgers to describe jewels in diverse materials but always of the upright oval shape. The Wales's wedding presents in 1863 included an oval diamond brooch inset with a bunch of leeks in emeralds, from the people of Wales, described as a 'Holbein locket brooch'.⁵⁴ On her marriage to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein in 1866, Princess Helena's eight bridesmaids gave her 'A richly-coloured enamel Holbein locket with pink, green, and straw-coloured brilliants, a large black pearl centre, and a large white pearl drop.'⁵⁵ For Princess Alice there are entries for 'remounting diamonds from a bracelet as Holbein pattern pendant' in 1866, and 'mounting carved emerald and diamond as Cinque cento enamelled pendant' in 1871. The bridesmaids at Princess Louise's wedding in 1871 wore lockets 'from a Holbein model' in the form of an oval pendant but set with a reversed crystal intaglio with a floral wreath designed by the Princess (see Fig. 42).⁵⁶ Prince Alfred's wedding gifts in 1874 included a Holbein pendant with pierced double ciphers, as well as the necklace already mentioned.⁵⁷

Royal patronage of the Holbeinesque for these public occasions made such pieces highly desirable. As a result, the classic oval 'Holbeinesque' pendant was a popular line for

304 A & B *Opposite left and centre Princess Elizabeth*, by William Scrots (attrib.). Oil on panel, about 1546. Royal Collection

The jewel (see detail) worn by the Princess, later Queen Elizabeth I, 1533–1603, was a popular model for a pendant in the Tudor revival style. The painting had been on public view at Hampton Court since 1838, but Phillips's recreation of the jewel appears to date from about 1870.

305 *Opposite right* Tudor-style cruciform pendant copying the jewel worn by Princess Elizabeth, retailed by Robert Phillips. English, about 1870. H. with pendant loop 7.3 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

This example in enamelled gold, set with sapphires and with three pearl pendants, stays close to the model in the portrait.

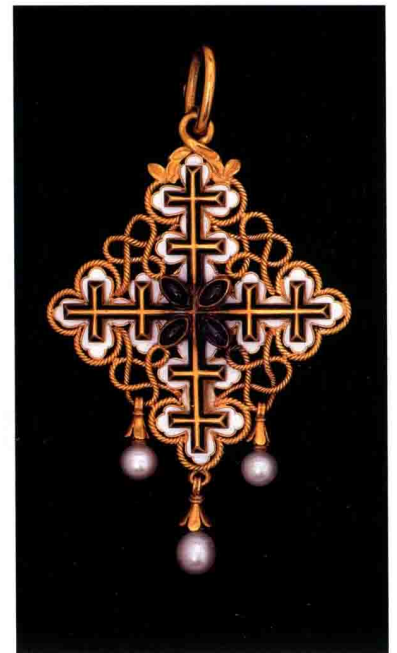
almost all the big Bond Street firms and similar jewels appear in their original cases from a number of different retailers: Howell & James and London & Ryder and, as we have seen, Garrard and Hancock (Fig. 307). Often the pendant drop was in the form of a lozenge set with four diamonds. There are many more, lacking their original cases, but all remarkably similar.⁵⁸ This raises the question of who made them, and there are two names that suggest themselves: John Brogden, a manufacturing jeweller, for whom we have the evidence not only of Holbeinesque pendants in Brogden cases (Fig. 306), but also, exceptionally, his surviving design books, which feature a number of Holbeinesque designs.⁵⁹ Another possibility is Carlo Giuliano, who started his London career as a manufacturing jeweller supplying various firms, among them Howell & James, Harry Emanuel, Phillips and Hancock.⁶⁰ His designer Camillo Bertuzzi was making 'Holbein' designs as early as 1860–64; one of his designs is labelled 'Stile Holbine pittore'.⁶¹

The inclusion of gemstones meant that they were never cheap, and evidence for their ownership in memoirs, portraits and through the few provenanced pieces suggests that they were worn in aristocratic circles and by the artistic intelligentsia. Because of the generic nature of the classic Holbeinesque jewel, they are not easy to particularize in portraits. In her portrait of about 1870 Lady Mary Craven, daughter of the 4th Earl of Hardwicke and wife of William George Craven, wears a jewelled Holbeinesque pendant, together with other jewels that do not match the pendant, a bracelet, rings, and cuff-links (Fig. 308).

The character of the Holbein style was defined in a second loan exhibition, this time devoted entirely to jewellery, the 'Loan Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Jewellery and Personal Ornaments' at South Kensington in 1872. Planned to coincide with the International Exhibition at South Kensington, which featured jewellery as one of the principal categories (see p. 278), the Loan Exhibition was organized by a committee of society ladies under Princess Louise and mustered an encyclopaedic range of historic and modern exhibits. Among treasures from the Queen and other prominent lenders were four modern pieces in the Renaissance style by Garrard, accompanied by descriptions carefully differentiating



303
Princess Louise, Marchioness of Lorne
(later Duchess of Argyll, 1848–1939).
Photograph by Alexander Bassano, about
1870–80. London, National Portrait Gallery
The Phillips Tudor-style pendant is worn
with a velvet Renaissance-style dress.



306 Right

Holbeinesque pendant in enamelled gold set with diamonds, made by John Brogden (d. 1884). English, after 1867. H. of pendant 7.9 cm. London, Private collection

The original blue and grey velvet display case records Brogden's prize medals up to the Paris Exhibition in 1867. Brogden made many of the 'Holbein' jewels retailed by London firms like Howell & James (Fig. 301) and London & Ryder.

307 Far right

Holbeinesque pendant in its original display case, retailed by C.F. Hancock. English, before 1855. H. 6.2 cm. London, Hancock Ltd

An early example of a Holbeinesque pendant, in enamelled gold set with rubies and diamonds. In its display case recording Hancock's 1851 prize medal, it dates from before the Paris 1855 Exhibition, when he again won a medal.



between 'the Cinque-cento style after Benvenuto Cellini' and the 'Holbein style of the sixteenth century'.⁶²

The key position of Holbeinesque jewellery in Britain in the early 1870s is demonstrated by Henry Cole's commission to T. & J. Bragg of Birmingham for a pendant bordered with his and his wife's initials for their fortieth wedding anniversary in 1873. Made of chased and enamelled gold, with grey and white details on a dark blue ground, it was shown at the 1874 South Kensington International Exhibition, and a detailed description and illustration appeared in the *Jeweller and Metalworker* (Fig. 309). Most contemporary accounts refer to these as 'Holbein' jewels; this is one of the few occasions where the term 'Holbeinesque' is used. The reporter remarked: 'It is chiefly interesting as an able reproduction of the elements of a former style, under conditions suited to the wants of today.'⁶³ Cole had previously bought pieces by Bragg for the South Kensington Museum as examples of inexpensive jewellery (Fig. 223); that he went back to them for this commission suggests a commitment to his principles – or that he did not wish to pay Bond Street prices.

308 Opposite

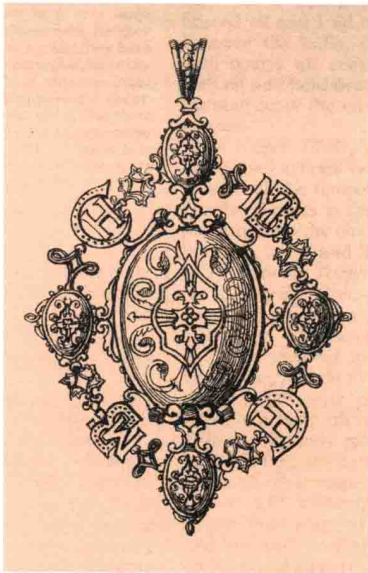
Lady Mary Craven, by Sir Francis Grant PRA (1803–78). Oil on canvas, about 1870. Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle

Lady Mary Craven (1837–90) daughter of the 4th Earl of Hardwicke and wife of William George Craven, wears a Holbeinesque pendant, a rare example in portraiture. She also has a bracelet with a hanging locket, rings, earrings and gem-set cuff-links.



Mrs. C. C. C.

Wm. F. C.



309

'Holbeinesque' pendant made for Henry Cole (1808–82) in 1873 by T. & J. Bragg, Birmingham. *Jeweller & Metalworker*, 15 September 1874, p. 235

Although described as 'Holbeinesque', the conjoined initials in the border are closer to French Renaissance-style jewels of the 1870s by Lucien Falize. Bragg was unusual, especially among provincial firms, in showing this strong French bias.

310

Enamelled gold presentation pendant, made by Carlo Giuliano. English, 1877. H. 8.6 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Lent by the American Friends of the V&A through the generosity of Judith H. Siegel



Among the Bond Street firms Phillips is an exception. First, he appears not to have stocked the classic Holbeinesque pendant.⁶⁴ Secondly, he was far and away the most eclectic in his range. The *Art-Journal* article on Phillips of 1872 quoted above (p. 348) also describes a series of Tudor rose jewels:

A rose has also been reproduced in gold, copied from the seal of an ancient document. The leaves are raised, and being burnished on both sides, the direct and reflected lights are singularly effective. Another rose in enamel has been copied from a document, to which is attached the sign-manual of Henry VIII. The design is by Holbein, who, in commemoration of the union of the houses of York and Lancaster, has formed the flower of white and red leaves. This may be used as a brooch or pendant.⁶⁵

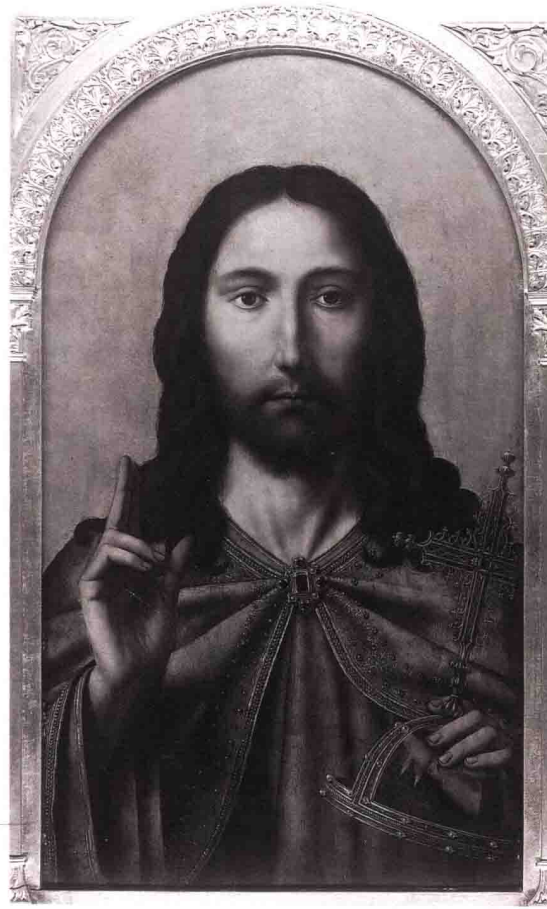
In 1879 the American Mrs Henry Adams had seen the same two jewels. She wrote to her father in Boston from her home in Washington:

I think of writing to my friend Phillips in London and asking him if he has anything more ultimate than the Tudor rose in enamel – I yearned for it in 1879 but took watercolours instead. Henry thinks he will have something ahead of that. The gold Tudor rose Mrs Jack Gardner [Isabella Stewart Gardner, the Boston collector] will show you; the white and red enamel one was copied from an enchanting portrait by Holbein exhibited in loan exhibition in 1879 in Piccadilly.⁶⁶

The sources are sometimes confused in the reports, but they all agree on the association with Holbein.

Holbein was not the only source for English historicist jewellery; a few others conclude this section. In 1878 Mrs Haweis, arbiter of taste in dress and the home, visited Phillips's shop in Cockspur Street: 'Under the direction of Messrs Phillips', she wrote, 'the most perfect models are sought for the ornaments they furnish. Museums and picture galleries are ransacked for the devices of necklaces, earrings and pendants. I there observed an elegant cross copied from a picture by Quentin Matsys in the National Gallery.'⁶⁷ The painting, now described as Flemish early sixteenth-century, entered the collection in 1857. It depicts Christ and the Virgin, and the cross surmounts the globe held by the blessing Christ (Figs 311, 312). Versions of the 'Matsys' cross were made by other jewellers; Brogden exhibited one at the Paris 1878 Exposition. G.A. Sala, writing on Gold Medallists at the exhibition, praised Brogden for his 'great catholicity': he was pleased to 'find an exquisitely tasteful cross of sapphires and pearls, taken from Quintin Massys' "Salvator Mundi" in the National Gallery. This beautiful object has been purchased by HRH Prince Leopold.'⁶⁸ When Mandell Creighton, future Bishop of London, became Bishop of Peterborough in 1891 his wife gave him a 'Matsys' cross. 'I had given him a beautiful Episcopal cross with sapphires [sic] & pearls', she wrote.⁶⁹ Creighton tutored Prince Leopold at Oxford in the 1870s.

A different type of Renaissance jewel was made by Giuliano for Queen Victoria in 1877, as a marriage gift to Victoria Grey, her god-daughter and daughter of her private secretary General Grey, who had died in 1870. The pendant, inscribed on the reverse, 'VAED 6 JUNE



311 Far left
The 'Matsys' cross, made by John Brogden or Robert Phillips. English, about 1878. H. of cross with pendant loop 10.6 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The design of the cross in openwork gold set with a ruby, sapphires and pearls is taken from the diptych, *Christ and the Virgin*, that entered the National Gallery in 1857, attributed to Quentin Matsys. Although examples of the cross cased by Phillips appear to be by him, it is possible that all were made by Brogden.

312 Left
Christ blessing, left half of the 'Matsys' diptych, Flemish, 15th century. Oak panel with arched top. London, National Gallery

1877', is set with a gold relief medallion portrait of the Queen; it is the equivalent of the German 'Gnadenpfennig', a token of honour (see p. 372) presented by princely rulers (Fig. 310).⁷⁰ The portrait was modelled by Susan Durant in the 1860s, like those of her daughters and son-in-law (see Fig. 299). The layered enamelling in white, blue and black follows the French Renaissance style created by Froment-Meurice, whose jewels acquired by the South Kensington Museum from the 1855 Paris Exhibition were visible to professionals and public alike (see Fig. 320).

Tudor and Holbeinesque jewels continued to be made in the last decade of the century, principally by Giuliano. With Camillo Bertuzzi, Giuliano went on producing fantasy Renaissance-style pieces at least into the 1890s, many of them sculptural. But surviving examples highlight Giuliano's limitations in modelling the figure.⁷¹ The small number from his workshop suggests that they had limited success with a British audience.

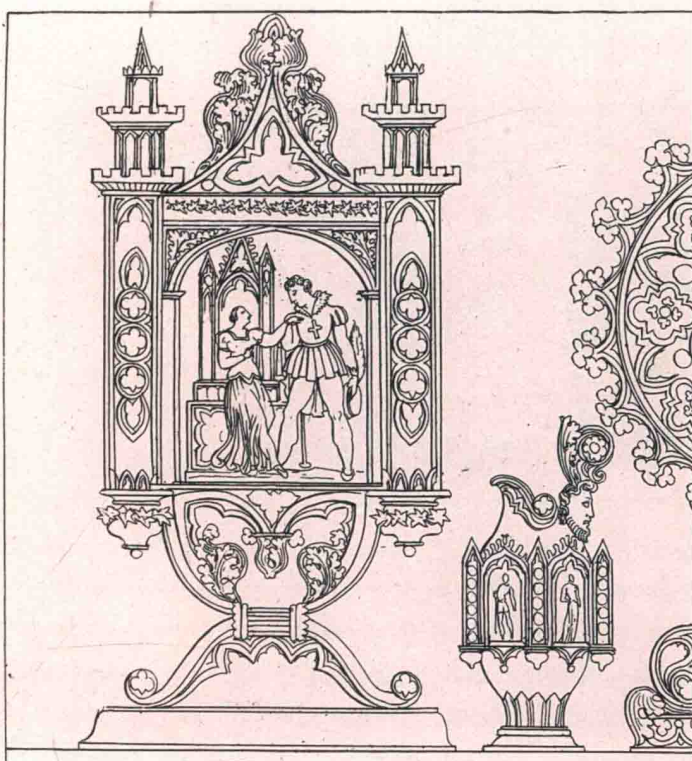
HISTORICISM IN FRANCE: *STYLE ROMANTIQUE* AND RENAISSANCE REVIVAL

The style romantique

The sculptural jewels of the 1830s and 1840s were created by a small group of goldsmiths in Paris: Wagner, Rudolphi, Morel & Duponchel and above all, François-Désiré Froment-Meurice. By combining forces with outstanding figures in the field of sculpture who provided the models, Froment-Meurice and his contemporaries were able to raise jewellery to an art form on a par with large-scale metalwork and sculpture, an astounding achievement. This was possibly due to the French tradition of distinguished painters and sculptors supplying models for the applied arts – *les beaux arts appliqués à l'industrie*. Sculptors played a critical role in French jewellery design throughout the nineteenth century, more so than anywhere else in Europe. In Britain jewellery, unlike other branches of the applied arts, was rarely considered worthy of such collaboration.

Like that of many French goldsmiths of his day, Froment-Meurice's training incorporated studies in sculpture and design, alongside his apprenticeship to an engraver. In 1839, when he exhibited at the first *Exposition des produits de l'Industrie Nationale* in Paris, his workshop numbered twenty-five craftsmen. By 1847 it had gone up to 120.¹ The sculptors who worked for him included Pradier, Klagmann, Michel Liénard and A. Fannière; in addition there were the modellers who created the wax models from which the gold or silver elements were cast, chasers such as the renowned Antoine Vechte, enamellers, goldsmiths, engravers and so on.² Vever makes a distinction between sculptors (Klagmann) and sculptor-designers (Liénard); the latter were trained draughtsmen who interpreted the ideas of the jewellers.³ Froment-Meurice was taught by Charles Wagner, who came to Paris from Prussia around 1830. According to Vever, it was Wagner who encouraged Froment-Meurice to make 'artistic' as opposed to 'commercial' jewellery.⁴

Froment-Meurice's *style romantique* jewels, which he made from 1835, reflected the hybrid character of the early sixteenth century in France in which figures in the new Renaissance style from Italy were grafted on to Gothic architecture. Although new for jewellery, the style had already appeared in contemporary pattern books. In 1831 the designer and later ceramic manufacturer Jacob Petit published his *Recueil de décorations intérieurs comprenant tout ce qui a rapport à l'ameublement*, an eclectic collection with designs for large-scale metalwork with Romantic figure scenes in canopied niches (Fig. 313).⁵ The central element from Froment-Meurice's *grande chatelaine à sujets romantiques* of 1839, known only from Vever's line drawing, is extremely close to the Petit design (Fig. 314). It depicts a pair of young lovers reading a book against an architectural framework, as if seated before a carved and painted Gothic altar screen, decorated below with fleshy foliate ornament.⁶ The young couple have all the accoutrements of romantic dress – the feathered hat for the man and the wide sleeves and *ferronnière* for the woman. The iconography was not explained by Vever but one likely interpretation is the moment in Dante's *Paolo and Francesca* when the fated couple fall in love after reading the story of Lancelot and Guinevere.⁷ Froment-Meurice's *broche harmonie* of around 1847 with its music-making angel derived from Italian *quattrocento* painting has the same mixture of figures in architectural settings (Fig. 315).⁸



FRAGMENT D'UNE GRANDE CHATELAINE
A SUJETS ROMANTIQUES,

Froment-Meurice's participation in the 1851 Exhibition was a huge success, earning the artist a Council Medal, the highest possible honour. His most admired works were the romantic subjects in oxidized silver. The artificial patination of the surface was achieved with a chemical dip with which the silver reacts. Although the activating chemical is sulphur, the method was traditionally known as oxidization, which was merely hastening the natural process of tarnishing. The patination revealed the exquisite details of modelling and enhanced the three-dimensional effect. It could be applied selectively and in different tones to achieve subtle contrasts of light and shade. This was noted by the London critic R.N. Wornum, who saw that the English practice of boiling out to produce the whitest possible appearance of silver, sometimes called frosting, and combining this dead white finish with burnishing or polishing to produce a uniformly bright surface, only disguised poor-quality design:

Flashiness may be a natural refuge for vague undefined forms, to the deformities of which it is an effective cloak; and so long as our silversmiths adhere to their Rococo scrolls, and other inanities of the Louis Quinze, its aid will be indispensable. . . . If we turn from the English to the foreign silver-work, the contrast in this respect is surprising; frosting and burnishing seem to be unanimously banished from all high class design, whether French or German, and oxidising substituted in their places, and the consequence is, that in many foreign examples we have specimens of the most elaborate modelling, most effectively displayed as works of art. . . . The process of oxidation not only protects the silver from further tarnishing, but can convey every variety of tint from white to black, so that it is particularly well calculated to display fine modelling or chasing, which would be utterly thrown away in a dazzling white material.⁹

313 Above left
Design for a screen in the Gothic style. Jacob Petit, *Recueil de décorations intérieures comprenant tout ce qui a rapport à l'ameublement*, Paris 1831, pl. 35

314 Above
Hook-plate of chatelaine designed by F.-D. Froment-Meurice (1802–55) in 1839. *Veuer* 1906–8, I, p. 179

Petit's designs are for much larger objects, but Froment-Meurice must have known them.

315
Broche harmonie, designed by F.-D. Froment-Meurice in about 1847. W. 4.2 cm. Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum
One of many versions of this theme, with silver figures, gold frame, rubies and pearls.





CHATELAINE JEANNE D'ARC
par F.-D. Froment-Meurice.

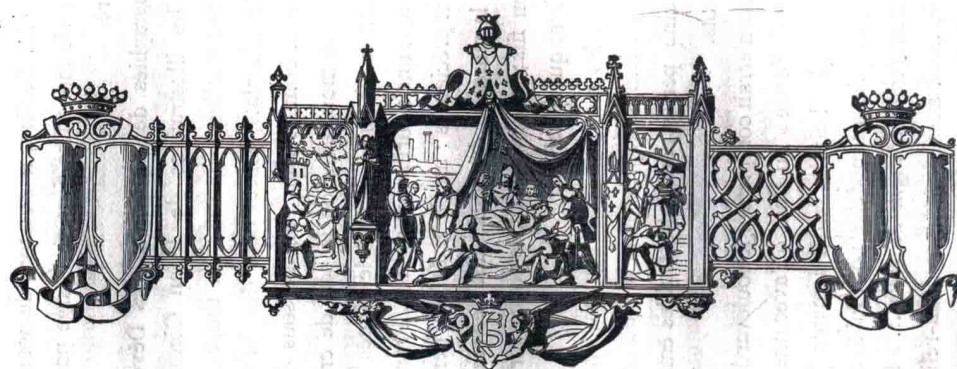
316 Above

Joan of Arc chatelaine, designed by F.-D. Froment-Meurice in about 1844. Vever 1906–8, I, p. 178

The figure of Joan of Arc at the top copies the statue of 1837 by Princess Marie d'Orléans (1813–39). Froment-Meurice was at the peak of his career when he died of a cerebral haemorrhage in 1855. The poet Théophile Gautier thought his studio as magical as the Green Vaults in Dresden. Victor Hugo's 1841 ode to him likens the art of poetry to that of gold-chasing. His name occurs repeatedly in Balzac's writing: Cousine Bette's phantom lover, a goldsmith, is based on him.

317 Above right

Bracelet with the life of St Louis, designed by F.-D. Froment-Meurice in 1842. Philippe Burty, *F.-D. Froment-Meurice, argentier de la ville: 1802–1855*, Paris 1883, p. 31



BRACELET DE STYLE ROMANTIQUE.

LA VIE ET LA MORT DE SAINT LOUIS.

The French use of oxidized silver may have been intended to imitate bronze sculpture, which had a long tradition in France and was held in high esteem. But more simply it made the pieces look old, in keeping with their historicist design. By the time of the 1862 London exhibition English metalworkers had caught up, but in 1851 Froment-Meurice, Gueyton and Rudolphi (see Fig. 210) all of whom exhibited works in oxidized silver, were seen as far ahead, and this must have contributed to Froment-Meurice's Council Medal.¹⁰

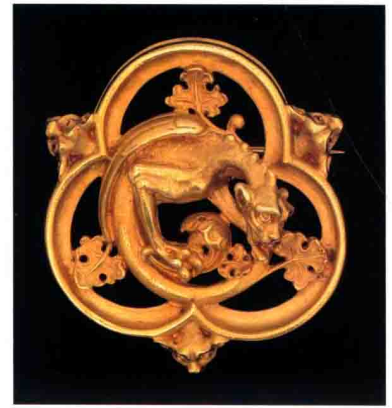
Froment-Meurice's Romantic jewels paid tribute to heroic French figures of the past. An 1842 bracelet depicts events in the life of St Louis; the central scene shows the saint's death in Tunis on the crusade of 1270 (Fig. 317).¹¹ As King Louis IX of France (he was canonized after his death in 1297) he built the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, and Froment-Meurice's bracelet comes just two years after its restoration in 1840 by J.B.A. Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc. Around 1844 Froment-Meurice created a Joan of Arc chatelaine; the pious heroine stands in a canopied niche surrounded by white crosses and fleurs-de-lys (Fig. 316). The figure of the saint is a miniature version of a life-size statue of 1837 commissioned by King Louis-Philippe from his youngest daughter, Princess Marie d'Orléans (1813–39), a distinguished sculptor.¹² The statue won accolades at the Salon of 1837 and was installed at Versailles, while copies of different sizes were placed elsewhere in Paris. Wearing full armour with head bowed, clutching her sword to her heart as if it were a crucifix, the statue was one of the first depictions of Joan of Arc in sculpture and became an iconic image, immediately recognizable to a French audience of the day because of the number of casts.¹³ Some of the casts were quite small and Froment-Meurice could easily have had one in his workshop. Vever illustrated the chatelaine in 1906–8, but did not record the derivation of the figure of St Joan, presumably because it was so obvious that he did not need to.¹⁴

Froment-Meurice also made some highly charged royalist pieces, such as the elaborate toilet table and accessories commissioned by the Legitimist ladies of France for Louise de Bourbon, Duchess of Parma, in 1845. Completed only in 1851 and shown at the Great Exhibition, it contains the coats of arms of the old French provinces along with male and female heroes, all of whom served France and its monarchs, including Joan of Arc, through whose divine intervention Charles VII was restored. In a country marked by crises and revolution, the Legitimists were waiting for a similar divine intervention to help restore 'Henri V'.¹⁵

Celebrated goldsmiths and jewellers like Froment-Meurice were held in extraordinary

esteem. The Comte de Rambuteau, Préfet de la Seine, awarded him the title of 'Orfèvre-Joaillier de la Ville de Paris', an honour not used since the French Revolution. Victor Hugo dedicated a Ronsardian ode to him in 1841, praising him as the Cellini of his day: both Vever and Froment-Meurice's biographer, Philippe Burty, quoted the poem in full.¹⁶ The writers Balzac and Eugène Sue were long-standing friends and clients. Sue's many letters to Froment-Meurice requested not only the selective use of *argent noir*, oxidised silver, but also 'a small bottle of liquid to blacken the bright silver'; Sue addressed him as 'Benvenuto'. For Balzac Froment-Meurice created a cane pommel.¹⁷ He died shortly before the opening of the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1855 and his widow participated in his name. The praise from the *Art-Journal* critic demonstrates his international reputation: 'Some of the brooches, bracelets, etc, in oxidized silver, would defy Cellini himself to surpass them.'¹⁸ After his death a furore exploded about his failure to credit his collaborators; many came to his defence, among them the sculptor David d'Angers. Few other goldsmiths or jewellers were paid such handsome tribute.

Froment-Meurice's collaborator Jules Wièse continued the *style romantique* into the early years of the Second Empire. Wièse, a master chaser, trained in Berlin under the court goldsmith J.G. Hossauer before settling in Paris, where he worked initially for J.-V. Morel. From 1839 he worked for Froment-Meurice, where he became workshop manager. In the same year he set up his own independent atelier, working initially for Froment-Meurice alone. His first exhibition in his own name was in Paris in 1855.¹⁹ In London in 1862, Wièse was still showing figural jewels in oxidized silver and gold in a mixture of Gothic and Renaissance styles. The three-dimensional figures were cast and thus easy to reproduce in different settings. This was standard practice and such repetitions can be found in the work of Froment-Meurice too. The *Art-Journal* catalogue devoted a whole page to Wièse as 'a worthy disciple of a great master'. With an eye to the local market, Wièse created a miniature frame with portraits of Victoria and Albert. He also brought a bracelet in the Gothic style with a central figure group of the Adoration of the Magi within a Gothic tracery frame, the band of scrolling fleshy foliage.²⁰ Wièse was a consummate modeller, whether of dragons and gargoyles in the round (Fig. 319) or of low-relief architectural ornament (Fig. 318).²¹ In the Paris exhibition of 1867, Wièse's stand included jewels with classical motifs alongside the ever-popular Renaissance-style angels and cherubs.²²



319

Gold brooch with dragon in trefoil. Designed by Jules Wièse about 1850–60 and made in the workshop of Jules and Louis Wièse, Paris. W. 3.6 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The superbly modelled dragon and the gargoyle heads in the angles of the trefoil may be inspired by the sculptures of Notre-Dame.



318

Bracelets in oxidized silver and gold with acanthus scroll. Designed by Jules Wièse (1818–90), Paris, about 1850–60 and made in the workshop of Jules and Louis Wièse (1852–1923), Paris. H. of each 3 cm. London, Hancock Ltd

According to Vever the bracelet was chased by Jules Wièse. Chasing – the modelling of metal from the front with hammer and punches – was Wièse's speciality. His son Louis took over the workshop in 1880. Both these bracelets and the brooch above bear the mark registered in 1890 by Louis, a lozenge with WIESE, rather than Jules Wièse's mark, a lozenge with the initials JW. Many Wièse jewels bear the later mark and it is hard to believe they all date from after 1890. Probably the mark was in use earlier, before being registered.

The revival of Renaissance enamel

The *style romantique* was merely one of several waves of interest in the Renaissance throughout the nineteenth century. The period of François I and Henri II in the first half of the sixteenth century was seen as embodying France's greatness; the château of Fontainebleau outside Paris, built under François I and enlarged under Henri II, had given its name to a new style – the Fontainebleau school – created by Italian artists working for François I and combining Mannerist painting with stucco decoration in high relief. The French Renaissance kings were great patrons of the art of painted enamel, practised in Limoges but long abandoned. Its revival in the early 1860s enabled the recreation of the Fontainebleau style in miniature, with tiny painted enamel plaques framed by three-dimensional gold figures, strapwork and grotesques. Politically, there was great capital to be made out of the enamel revival. Painted enamels were the perfect vehicle for honouring imperial or royalist patrons, as they had been in the sixteenth century. And they were French, rather than Italian or German.

In 1861 the rediscovery of the French royal collection of hardstone vessels in the Louvre drew attention to late Renaissance goldsmiths' work. This outstanding collection, assembled over centuries, consists of vessels carved out of different hardstones, some of them Classical, Byzantine or medieval, and others sixteenth- or seventeenth-century, carved in the court workshops of Rudolf II in Prague or in the celebrated Miseroni workshop of Milan. The vessels were then mounted in Paris in the early to mid-seventeenth century, turning a simple cup into a grotesque dragon or a helmeted head with extraordinary sculptural ornament. These mounts were invariably enamelled on a base of gold. They would today be called Mannerist. But the term Mannerism was coined in the twentieth century; in the 1850s and 1860s, these works were described as Renaissance.

The revival of such 'Renaissance' decorative forms was greatly helped by the republication in the 1870s and 1880s of sixteenth-century ornament prints with designs for jewellery, which stimulated an explosion of jewels based on these designs but re-interpreted in a uniquely French manner.

The revival of the taste for enamelling affected all aspects of nineteenth-century historicism, including the recreation of Chinese and Japanese cloisonné enamel (see pp. 310–13), and was part of the nineteenth-century rediscovery of polychromy. Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* had its French counterpart in Racinet's *L'Ornement Polychrome* of 1869, a compendium not only of the history of ornament but also of ornament as applied to the decorative arts, which was not part of Jones's volume.²³ Paris led the field in the perfection of the various enamel techniques: *champlevé*, enamel laid into depressions engraved in the ground, could be either opaque, or translucent with metal foils beneath to add a shimmering lustre, while *ronde bosse*, or enamelling in the round for three-dimensional figures, was generally opaque. Painted enamel, done on a flat surface, required yet another set of skills, and the artists who did it were not the same as those who did *champlevé* or *ronde bosse*.

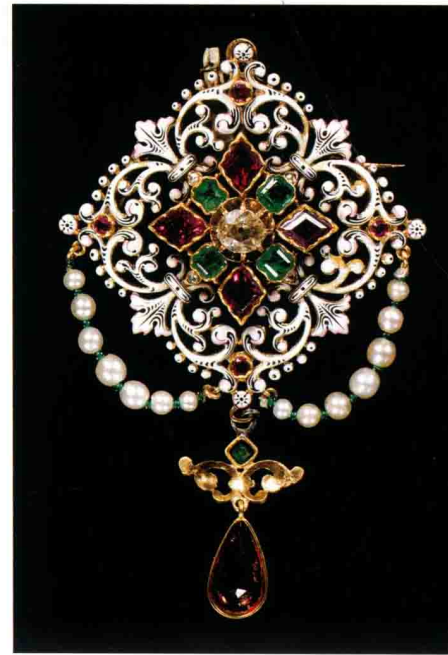
In 1871 the *Art-Journal* declaimed: 'Paris is the great modern school of enamel.'²⁴ Enamelling was held in high esteem in France. From the early 1860s, with the revival of the technique of painted enamel, those artists who painted in enamel were admitted to the Salons alongside painters and sculptors.²⁵ Painted enamel became known as *l'émail des peintres* (painters' enamel), and the collaboration of its practitioners, *peintres émailleurs* (painters in enamel),

gave jewellery a further boost. This applied only to painted enamel; goldsmiths, jewellers, cabinetmakers and other branches of the applied arts remained excluded from the Salons until the 1880s. The renown that accrued to successful Salon exhibitors enabled some of the painters in enamel to achieve almost iconic status, none a more colourful figure than one of the leaders of the revival, Claudius Popelin: poet, painter and enameller, he was the subject of odes by two famous poets, and became the companion of Princesse Mathilde, cousin of Napoléon III.

Before the rise of pictorial scenes in painted enamel, historicist jewellery had already begun to look very different. In the last years of his life Froment-Meurice had started to move in a new direction, creating a different type of Renaissance-style jewel with brightly coloured enamelling. Among the South Kensington Museum's purchases from Froment-Meurice's widow at the Paris 1855 Exhibition was a lozenge-shaped pendant with delicate enamel motifs painted in black on white (Fig. 320).²⁶ This use of layered enamels, each requiring a separate firing, is typical of the enamelled mounts on the vessels in the French royal collection. In 1855, the Froment-Meurice stand also displayed figurative jewels; the figures are still in the *style romantique* but were covered with opaque *ronde bosse* enamel in pale naturalistic flesh tones instead of blackened silver.²⁷ Vever illustrates two of this type of jewel, the 'Toilet of Venus' pendant of 1854 and the 'Arethusa' brooch of 1855, but his illustrations are all in black and white, and from them alone one would have no idea what these pieces really looked like.²⁸ Fortunately Burty published a colour lithograph of the 'Toilet of Venus' pendant in his monograph on Froment-Meurice of 1883 (Fig. 322).²⁹ Vever's account of the design and making of this jewel, supplied to him by Froment-Meurice's son Emile, reveals something of the way in which such jewels were created:

It was during the year 1854, one evening . . . with his family gathered round the lamp, that he took the small panels of wood on which the delicate figures that made up the little group of the *Toilette de Vénus* were sketched out in wax. While the goldsmith's fingers modelled these thin elongated figures . . . his mind determined every detail of the tiny scene; with the point of his brush he established the tones of the figures, the clumps of reeds from which they emerged, and the fruit and flower clusters which decorated the lower part of the pendant. Another evening we chose the pear-shaped pearls to hang from the jewel; we decided that the two Audouard brothers with their skilful fingers should construct the framework for the jewel; that Lefournier, still a formidable master despite his advanced age, should encase this beautiful pendant in the most vivid of enamel colours: that was the fashion then, in contrast to the deathly pale colours of enamels today.³⁰

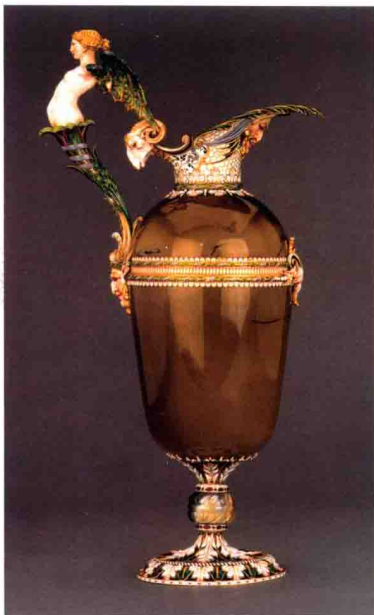
The use of wax models was standard practice; from them, a mould was taken to allow repeated castings. They were then painted with the colours of the materials to be used – stones, enamels, gold – so that the final effect could be judged before the piece was actually made.³¹ This piece required three different specialists: modeller, chaser and enameller, as well as the casting shop, the gem-setter (Vever's photograph shows clearly that there are a number of stones) and the goldsmith responsible for the final assembly of the figures to the frame. This may have been done by the Audouard brothers, the chasers, but often pieces were sent out to yet another workshop for assembly. The enameller of the Toilet of Venus,



320

Enamelled gold pendant designed by F.-D. Froment-Meurice in 1855. H. 7.6 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

This delicately enamelled and gem-set brooch-pendant, purchased by the South Kensington Museum from the Paris 1855 Exhibition where it was shown by his widow, demonstrates the change of direction the artist's work was taking in the period before his death. The layered enamel reproduces French 16th- and early 17th-century work.



321 A & B Above

Hardstone ewer with enameled gold mounts by Charles Duron (1814–72). Paris, 1864. H. 28.2 cm. British Museum, acquired with a contribution from the Art Fund

This ewer is a faithful copy of a mid-17th-century vessel in the French Royal Collection. Both ewers are formed of two agate cups, the join hidden by the central band. The detail (B) shows the mask at the base of the handle. Duron's enamellers included Lefournier, who worked on the 'Toilet of Venus' pendant (right).



322 Right

The 'Toilet of Venus' pendant, designed by F.-D. Froment-Meurice in 1854. Colour lithograph by Antoine Pralon (d. 1897) from Philippe Burty, *F.-D. Froment-Meurice, argentier de la ville: 1802–1855*, Paris 1883, p. 71

The pendant is set with a cameo of Mars and Venus in Vulcan's forge, after an intaglio by Giovanni or Luigi Pichler, Roman gem-engravers of the late 18th to the mid-19th century. The jewel was sold by Emile Froment-Meurice to King Alfonso XII of Spain in 1877; in 1885 it passed to his second wife Maria-Christina of Austria (1858–1929). It was still in Madrid when Vever was writing in 1906–8, but its subsequent fate is unknown.



Louis-Auguste-Hippolyte Lefournier (1802–59), had perfected his technique as a restorer of antique enamel and is generally credited with the rediscovery of *ronde bosse*.³² Enamellers, like other specialists, might work for a number of different goldsmiths. Lefournier also supplied the goldsmith J.-V. Morel.

Morel (1794–1860) played a major role in introducing the taste for Mannerist goldsmiths' work of the late Renaissance and early seventeenth century. If Froment-Meurice's 'Toilet of Venus' was a step in this direction, Morel took things a stage further by recreating the hardstone vessels with fantastical mounts incorporating dragons, grotesques, female harpies and so on in superb opaque *ronde bosse* and translucent *champlevé* enamel.³³ The use of opaque and translucent enamel was not new, but employing it for work in an early seventeenth-century French style was in total contrast to the romantic *quattrocento* figures of the early Renaissance. Morel already had a considerable reputation when the events of 1848 forced him to flee to London, where he remained until 1852.³⁴ His display at the Great Exhibition in 1851 included both jewellery and *objets d'art*, but the cross-over between these is so entangled that it is impossible to treat one without the other. Many jewels, Froment-Meurice's Toilet of Venus for one, were seen as objects rather than wearable ornaments. Morel's display included elaborately mounted vessels based on those in the French royal collection.³⁵ One of them, an

agate cup, was given high praise by the committee appointed to select items from the exhibition for a future museum of manufactures: 'Very elegant in design, and beautiful in execution; the enamelling especially, most perfect; it is further remarkable as a specimen of repoussé work in rond bosse [sic]; an art of which Mr Morel claims to be the reviver.'³⁶ Morel's success in 1851 inspired the chairman of the jurors for precious metals, Henry Thomas Hope, son of the architect Thomas Hope, to commission from Morel his own fantastic vessel, the so-called Hope cup; he was perhaps spurred by the fact that his brother, A.J.B. Hope, owned one of the original early seventeenth-century vessels that had been stolen from the Louvre in 1830, and was returned only in 1971.³⁷ The Hope cup was shown at the Paris Exhibition of 1855 and is conceived on a colossal scale; at over two feet high, it is much larger than any of the vessels in the French royal collection that served as inspiration.³⁸

The French royal collection was not put on display until 1822, when the vessels were shown in high wall-cases mixed with other objects in the Salle des Bijoux (which later held the Campana collection). From 1852 to 1860 they were displayed separately but inadequately, in dark ebony cases, next to the Salon Carré. Thus when the Hope vase was shown at the Paris Exhibition of 1855, the vessels were still poorly displayed; it was only with their new arrangement in the Galerie d'Apollon in 1861 that they were to have a more widespread impact.³⁹ This spectacular new display was the brainchild of the Comte de Nieuwekerke, superintendent of works of art. For the first time a large part of the collection of some 260 hardstone and rock-crystal vessels was arranged in daylight and the astonishing enamelwork could be properly appreciated.⁴⁰ The hardstone vessels were displayed on carved and gilded wood tables with glass tops placed down the centre of the gallery (the tables are still *in situ*). The keeper of the royal collection, Henri Barbet de Jouy, commissioned a series of large prints of each piece which were assembled in a lavish volume, *Les Gemmes et Joyaux de la Couronne*, published in 1865, followed in 1867 by a catalogue with full descriptions.⁴¹

The new display enabled one of the major figures of the Renaissance revival in France, Charles Duron (1814–72), to create accurate copies of the Louvre vessels.⁴² Trained as an engraver, Duron worked initially as a designer for other manufacturers, notably the goldsmith Jules Chaise, before producing objects on his own account. According to Vever, Duron executed works designed by Eugène Julienne (who ran a distinguished drawing academy and made designs for many big concerns, such as Morel and Baugrand), while Duron's enamellers included Lefournier and Charles Lepec, the latter a celebrated artist and exhibitor in his own right.⁴³ At the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867, Duron won a gold medal for his hardstone vessels imitating those in the Louvre. Duron's cups and ewers bear witness to his astounding ability to recreate the seventeenth-century *champlevé* and *rond bosse* enamelling on the Louvre vessels (Fig. 321).⁴⁴ Documented jewellery by Duron has not yet come to light. Vever illustrates one piece only, a small brooch with an intaglio in an enamelled foliate setting.⁴⁵ From Vever's illustration it is clear that the enamel is layered; it resembles closely the setting for a double portrait cameo attributed to Georges Bissinger of Henri IV and Marie de Médicis in the British Museum (Fig. 323).⁴⁶ A number of other jewellers executed work in the same vein, such as Emile Froment-Meurice, Falize and Boucheron (Fig. 324).⁴⁷ These jewels were deliberately created as *objets d'art*, and were probably always displayed as cabinet pieces.

Limoges painted enamel was first imitated at Sèvres, where a workshop for enamel on metal was established in 1845. It produced mostly large-scale enamels and subsequently



323

Enamelled gold brooch with double portrait cameo, the setting perhaps by Duron or Emile Froment-Meurice (1837–1913). Paris, about 1870–80. H. of cameo 2.5 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The cameo in jasper-agate of Henri IV and Marie de Médicis is attributed to G. Bissinger, who showed 112 historical portraits at the Paris exhibition of 1878, many copied from originals in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, among them the 1607 model for this cameo.

324

Enamelled gold pendant with Fortuna seated on a diamond globe, by F. Boucheron, Paris, about 1870–80. Private collection

Based on Renaissance jewels with figures in canopied niches. The columns are carved amethyst.





325 Gold pendant set with painted enamel helmeted head by Bernard-Alfred Meyer (1832–1904), in the original retailer's case for the Paris branch of Tiffany & Co., New York. French, about 1875–8. H. 7.3 cm. Tiffany & Co. Archives

The signature AM painted in gold is visible in the lower left corner, and the name in full, 'Alf. Meyer', appears on the reverse. The setting with its delicate pink and white enamel highlighted in black recalls the work of Emile Froment-Meurice, Falize, Boucheron and Duron. Tiffany's agent in Paris, Gideon Reed, is known to have bought items from all of them except Duron.

concentrated on enamel on porcelain, but it served also to train enamellers who went on to supply the jewellery trade.⁴⁸ The enamels done at Sèvres were initially limited to the grisaille technique, with a blue or black ground on which a shaded white image was built up in successive layers by repeated firing until the desired highlights were achieved, the shading consisting of the dark ground showing through the thinner layers. This new method was employed by Froment-Meurice on the toilet service for the Duchess of Parma of 1845–57 (see p. 356).⁴⁹ The revival of painted enamel of the 1860s, however, used not only the grisaille technique, but also the full range of colours found in the Renaissance, including the use of metal foils beneath translucent colours to enhance the shine. The enamellers had several *champlevé* and Renaissance painted enamels at their disposal, in the Durand and Revoil collections acquired by the Louvre in 1825 and 1828 respectively, in the Sauvageot collection, which entered the Louvre in 1856 but was known before that, and in the Sommerard collection in the Musée de Cluny. In 1865 the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs held a retrospective exhibition of historic applied art which assembled some 7,600 items lent by the Emperor, the Rothschilds and others, of which some 270 were antique enamels. According to Lucien Falize it was after this exhibition that the public began to understand the art of enamelling.⁵⁰ There were three key protagonists: Alfred Meyer (1832–1904), his contemporary Claudius Popelin (1825–92), and Paul Grandhomme (1851–1944). Meyer and Grandhomme, in particular, painted small-scale enamels for jewellery.

Meyer worked as a porcelain painter at Sèvres from 1858, acquiring his proficiency in painted enamels while making imitations of sixteenth-century Limoges enamels for dealers.⁵¹ He exhibited painted enamel panels at the Salon from 1864 onwards. At the same time he was supplying small medallions and plaques for jewellery to Baugrand (who displayed them at the 1867 exhibition in the same vitrine as his diamond jewellery), Boucheron, and, from the 1870s, Falize and Vever.⁵² Meyer's enamels for Falize include a bracelet and a parure for the Prince de Béarn-Viana, all decorated with ancestral portraits.⁵³ According to Lucien Falize, Meyer's small-scale plaques for jewellery were painted on gold, not copper, and covered with a pale brown transparent ground, allowing the gold to shine through; the figures were then built up freehand with great speed, not painstakingly copied from an artist's design, and this gave them a sketchy, spontaneous feel.⁵⁴ Meyer's enamelled jewels were also bought by Tiffany who sold them in their own cases labelled 57 rue du Châteaudun, the firm's Paris premises from 1869 until 1878 when they moved to the more prestigious Avenue de l'Opéra (Fig. 325).⁵⁵

Meyer's pupil Popelin concentrated on grand portrait plaques in a completely nineteenth-century manner, and is not known to have made small-scale enamels for jewellery. But he brought painted enamels before the public eye with his flamboyant personality and he created a new tradition of portraits in painted enamel, such as a large-scale panel extolling the virtues of Napoléon III.⁵⁶ His publications, *L'Email des Peintres* of 1866 and *L'Art de l'Email*, a transcript of his lecture to the Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts in March 1868 at which he executed an enamel plaque before his rapt audience, made him more influential than his contemporaries.⁵⁷ Henry Cunyngame, an enameller who had received lessons from Meyer, was in no doubt that Meyer was the originator of the methods; he had tried Popelin's recipes for making enamels and found them impossible to use.⁵⁸

Nonetheless, Popelin's writings were the inspiration for the next generation of enamellers, in particular Paul Grandhomme, who had become by the early 1870s the other supplier

of painted enamels to the jewellery trade alongside Meyer, supplying both Fouquet and Falize.⁵⁹ Fouquet mounted Grandhomme's enamels in gold and gem-set mounts modelled by great sculptors such as Carrier-Belleuse and chased by the outstanding exponents of the day such as Honoré Bourdoncle. The painted miniatures appeared framed by high-relief figures, like the decoration of the Galerie François I at Fontainebleau.⁶⁰ Two of these jewels were shown at the Paris Exhibition of 1878, a brooch with portrait of Elisabeth of Austria (1554–92), wife of Charles IX of France, and a chatelaine with portrait of Bianca Capello, mistress of Francesco de Medici, based on a marble bust by the sculptor Marcello (Adèle d'Affry, Duchess Castiglione-Colonna) of 1863 (Fig. 327). The third, the *Bracelet Diane* of 1883 with portrait of the goddess Diana and scenes from her life, was no doubt intended to evoke Diane de Poitiers, mistress of Henri II.⁶¹

There were a number of other firms working in their own interpretations of the French Renaissance style – Fannièrre Frères, Téterger, Boucheron, Falize and Wièse. The Fannièrre brothers designed and modelled their pieces themselves, unlike Boucheron and Falize, whose craftsmen-collaborators enabled them to produce outstanding examples of sculptural gold jewellery in the years around 1878.⁶² Téterger and Boucheron both made chatelaines with caryatid figures, Téterger's in enamel and diamonds (see Fig. 234) and Boucheron's in unadorned gold to show off the chasing of Jules Debut's design.⁶³ Debut (1838–1900) joined Boucheron in 1858 and was awarded a medal as collaborator at the 1867 exhibition.⁶⁴ Wièse, like Fouquet, incorporated painted enamels, in one instance emulating the Renaissance



CHATELAINE EN OR ET ÉMAUX.



326
Gold brooches and pendant by Jules or Louis Wièse. French, about 1880. Diam. of enamel brooch 3.2 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The painted enamel figure of Fortuna is close to the work of Grandhomme.



327, 328
Two versions of the 'Bianca Capello' chatelaine by Alphonse Fouquet (1828–1911)

Top: shown at the Paris exhibition of 1878. H. 18 cm. *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 1878, p. 251. The portrait copies the marble bust by Marcello (Adèle d'Affry, 1836–79). This version has not yet come to light.

Above: detail of portrait head from the chatelaine as illustrated by Vever 1906–8, III, p. 379. Vever's version is identical except for the portrait. The only known surviving version, given by Georges Fouquet to the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in 1908, has this portrait, signed by E. Béranger. The portrait is painted on mother-of-pearl, not gold, with white flesh tones and a pale mauve dress that stand out against a deep crimson ground.

329 Right

Gold pendant with openwork foliage by Jules or Louis Wièse. W. 3.2 cm. Cologne, Kunstgewerbemuseum

The foliage recalls that found on late 15th-century architectural sculpture. Wièse's immediate source was probably the engravings of Schongauer, or the various 19th-century publications on Gothic architecture.

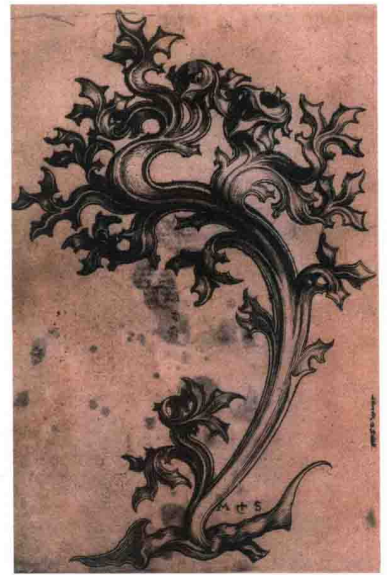
330 Far right

Engraving of leaf ornament by Martin Schongauer (c. 1440/53–91). German, about 1470–74. British Museum

331

Pendant with female dragons by Lucien Falize (1839–97). Enamelled gold set with pearls and diamonds. French, 1889. W. 4.2 cm. Private collection

Shown at the Paris 1889 Exhibition and illustrated by Veveř (1906–8, III, p. 501) together with Falize jewels after Holbein's designs. The standard repertoire of Renaissance C-scrolls and strapwork is enlivened with opaque enamels for the flesh and translucent enamels for the mermaid tails of the dragons and the framework, both executed in shaded or *ombré* tones. Early Renaissance flesh tones are generally white (see Fig. 341); the use of mottled colours was a typically Mannerist feature, adopted by many French 19th-century goldsmiths.



enseigne or hat-badge with its religious or allegorical subject matter; his pieces tended to be on a smaller scale but were superbly modelled (Fig. 326). Many of these pieces, with their winged figures, masks, and so on, were probably inspired by Renaissance prints as much as by any surviving objects or architectural schemes.

Ornament prints of the late fifteenth century onwards provided models for jewels throughout these years, just as they had done when they were first made. The collecting of ornament prints had been fashionable in Paris since the late 1830s, especially among practitioners in the field – the Neo-Renaissance architect Destailleur for one – and there would have been a number of private collections available to jewellers.⁶⁵ In 1844 the British Museum was offered a large collection of early German prints as being of the highest importance ‘for the studies of painters on glass, goldsmiths, carvers in ivory and wood, designers of ornamental metalwork, and the large class of artists employed in architectural decoration generally’; there was a demand for such works by ‘foreign artists and dealers, and particularly by those of Paris, where a publication of very mediocre copies from such of those prints as were attainable for that purpose has met with a most extensive sale’.⁶⁶ The Gothic foliate designs created by the firm of Jules and Louis Wièse, for instance, and shown at the 1862 exhibition, derive ultimately from architectural sculpture but were most likely to have been taken from ornament prints such as those of the late fifteenth-century German master, Martin Schongauer (Figs 329, 330).⁶⁷

In such jewels, Wièse adapted ornament that was not intended for any specific function. The appearance from the late 1870s of jewels that copy directly prints of designs for jewels was most likely prompted by the flurry of publication on a much more comprehensive scale of Renaissance ornament, encompassing both ornament prints and illustrations of surviving jewels themselves. Many of these publications were German (see p. 369), but they would have been purchased by the jewellers themselves and by the library of the *Chambre Syndicale de la Bijouterie* (the jewellers’ trade association), which still exists, and which provided an inexhaustible reservoir of source material. At the Paris Exhibition of 1878, Falize showed a pendant with two female nudes flanking three large stones: René Ménard in his *Histoire artistique du Métal* (1880) illustrated it as ‘after a print attributed to Étienne Delaune’.⁶⁸

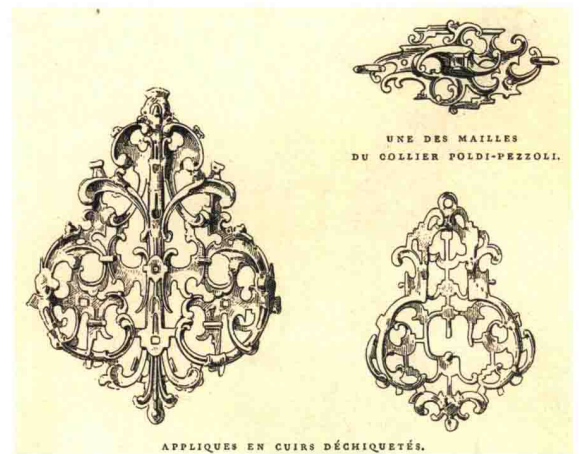


This is a direct transposition of a print into a jewel. The use made of prints was not always so straightforward. In 1877 *Der Formenschatz* reproduced engravings by Virgil Solis that inspired a Falize bracelet, also shown in 1878, with painted enamel medallions of male and female heads in strapwork frames interspersed with tiny figures and foliage. The models for the figures may derive from Solis's designs for pendants, but the rest of the bracelet comes from Solis's friezes of heads in strapwork frames, which have nothing to do with jewels.⁶⁹

In addition to publishing prints these publications reproduced the jewels themselves. In 1881 *Der Formenschatz* illustrated a famous jewel in the Grünes Gewölbe (Green Vaults) in Dresden in the form of a letter A. This too was recreated by Falize, the letter in diamonds flanked by two enamelled figures, and illustrated by Vever as dating from 1886.⁷⁰ Another influential German publication was Ferdinand Luthmer's *Goldschmuck der Renaissance* of 1881, illustrated with a series of colour lithographs, reproducing famous jewels from the princely collections of Germany (see Fig. 337). A French edition was published in 1882 which may have prompted the series of boldly enamelled Renaissance-style pendants shown by Falize at the 1889 exhibition (Fig. 331). These recreations were all decorated with exquisite *ronde bosse* enamel, often in the shaded tones beloved of Mannerist goldsmiths. Falize was quite aware of the different use of enamel in the early sixteenth century: his recreation for the 1878 exhibition of a Renaissance hat-badge or *enseigne* with St George after a drawing by Dürer is done in an appropriate mixture of opaque *ronde bosse* and translucent *champlevé* enamels. The

332 Below left
Oxidized silver waist clasp by Wièse, in the original box. French, about 1890. L. 13.4 cm. British Museum, given by Robert C. Kwok

333 Below
Renaissance pierced leather appliqué, as illustrated by E. Fontenay, in *Les Bijoux anciens et modernes*, 1887, p. 218
According to Fontenay, the leatherwork was in the Bavarian National Museum in Munich. It may have been based on the work of the French ornament print engraver Daniel Mignot, but Wièse's clasp (left) seems to have been inspired directly by Fontenay's illustration.





334

Diamond pendant by René Lalique (1860–1945). French, 1895. *Vever* 1906–8, III, p. 704

Here Lalique, too, has looked at ornament prints by Mignot; the dense scrollwork of the kind shown in Fig. 333 is simply thinned out and divided into two parts. This turns it into the beginnings of the curvilinear Art Nouveau designs for which Lalique is famous.

enamelling on this piece and many others was done by Alfred Garnier, Falize's specialist in *ronde bosse*.⁷¹ Recreations such as these by Falize and others were made as pastiches. There was no attempt to pass them off as originals. Other recreations certainly were made to deceive, but the faking of Renaissance jewels is a topic of its own.⁷²

The republication of ornament prints and compilations like Luthmer's (see pp. 368–9) were hugely influential. So were the writings of contemporary authors, none more so than Eugène Fontenay, whose history of jewellery, *Les Bijoux anciens et modernes*, was published posthumously in 1887. Fontenay makes an analogy between cut-leather scrollwork ornament and its adaptation in Germany as the basis for jewels, to form the flat pierced designs at the back of Renaissance figural pendants. To make his point, he illustrates a Renaissance pierced leather appliqué in the Bavarian National Museum in Munich (Fig. 333), copied line for line by Wièse as a waist clasp (Fig. 332). This kind of pierced scrollwork is generally associated with the prints of Daniel Mignot, and the leatherwork may have been based on Mignot's prints, but there is no doubt as to Wièse's source.⁷³ This is not to diminish Wièse's use of these designs in any way. His transformation of a two-dimensional linear design into a sculptural waist clasp with a subtle curve to fit the body, the silver finely textured in parts and oxidized to enhance the relief effect, is masterly.⁷⁴ Although not direct copies, the Maison Menu's Renaissance-style brooches in chased gold are also without doubt inspired by engraved designs rather than actual jewels.⁷⁵ They were made in the late 1880s, and their bold linear structure is already beginning to look proto-Art Nouveau. In 1895 Lalique, probably using the same pierced leather appliqué design as Wièse, created a gem-set diamond pendant that splits the design in two and thins it out so that it is but a short step away from the curvilinear designs that he exhibited at the Salon of 1897 (Fig. 334).⁷⁶ Thus from its beginnings as a return to a great age in France's past, the Renaissance revival became a crucial stage in the development of Art Nouveau, providing ample evidence that Art Nouveau jewellers were not the first to turn jewels into objects of *vertu*.

GERMANY AND THE PASSION FOR 'ALT-DEUTSCH'

Political independence should be followed by independence in artistic matters.
(Julius Lessing, 1889)

Lessing, the director of the Berlin Museum of Applied Art, wrote these words in 1889 in his tribute to German art, *Unserer Väter Werke* (Our Fathers' Works).¹ The title of Lessing's book was first used in 1876 at the Deutsche Kunst und Kunstindustrie Ausstellung (the German Art and Art Industry Exhibition) in Munich. This was the first large-scale exhibition of applied art in the newly unified Germany. Coming after the great Vienna World Exhibition of 1873, at which Germany's contribution was criticized as lacking in quality, originality and a sense of identity, it played a crucial role in creating the idea of a national German style, and above all one that was independent of any influence from France.² Immediately after the main entrance with its symbolic female figure of Germania, visitors were confronted with a richly gilded wrought-iron gate in Renaissance style on which was inscribed the slogan *Unserer Väter Werke*. This central gate led to a display of 'the most precious treasures of Germany from centuries past', which provided 'a picture of the enormous artistic talent of the German people, whose works in earlier days dominated the world just as those of France do today'. All that was needed was 'the right impetus to bring about the progress that took our national art once before to such lofty heights'.³ The symbolic central location of the historical section was deliberately intended as an inspiration to contemporary design. One of its organizers, the brass-founder Ferdinand von Miller, summarized it succinctly: 'We wish above all to confirm the merit of Germany through an historical applied arts exhibition and rescue the honour of our fathers and our fatherland.'⁴ A crucial aspect of the display and one that made it different from previous national and international exhibitions was its arrangement by room settings, not by material or function. This break with tradition was to be highly significant for future exhibitions of the applied arts, and its immediate impact was to suggest not so much a style as a way of life.⁵

The Munich display of historic German art included other periods such as Gothic and Rococo, but it was the Renaissance that predominated, in the belief that it most aptly reflected the contemporary German spirit. It had a powerful advocate in the architect Gottfried Semper, one of the most influential theorists of the nineteenth century.⁶ For Semper the Renaissance had a functional logic in which decoration was an integral element of the overall form rather than an independent feature, and since it was seen as a bourgeois rather than a courtly, aristocratic style, Semper argued it was the most appropriate for adaptation by contemporary society.⁷ His views were widely shared: for Lessing the spiritual and practical model was 'the great age of the Reformation, of developing Humanism . . . the time of Luther, of Albrecht Dürer and of Hans Holbein'.⁸ Thus it was that the German Renaissance or *alt-deutsch* style became the official style of the Gründerzeit, or founding period, the name given to the years of rapid industrial expansion after 1871. In jewellery, *alt-deutsch* meant both the magnificent creations of the goldsmiths of Nuremberg and Augsburg or the court jewellers in Dresden in the sixteenth century, and the ornament prints by German masters such as Hans Mielich of Munich or Virgil Solis of Nuremberg. Original jewels and designs for jewels became fused in a 'bourgeois' style characterized by the use of affordable enamelled silver as much as gem-set gold (Fig. 335).⁹

There had been an earlier sense of 'German-ness' that arose after the defeat of Napoleon;

335
Enamelled gold and gem-set pendant by Theodor Frank, Pforzheim. German, 1888. H. 6.2 cm. Pforzheim, Schmuckmuseum
The centre is set with a silver bust of a cherub, possibly once oxidized.



336 Below

Jewellery in the *alt-deutsch* style designed and made by Hermann Bauer, Schwäbisch-Gmünd. German, 1883

These designs were illustrated in the magazine *Gewerbehalle*, 1883, p. 11, pl. 73; the page was reproduced in a pattern book for jewellers published by Fischer in London (n.d.), from which this illustration is taken.

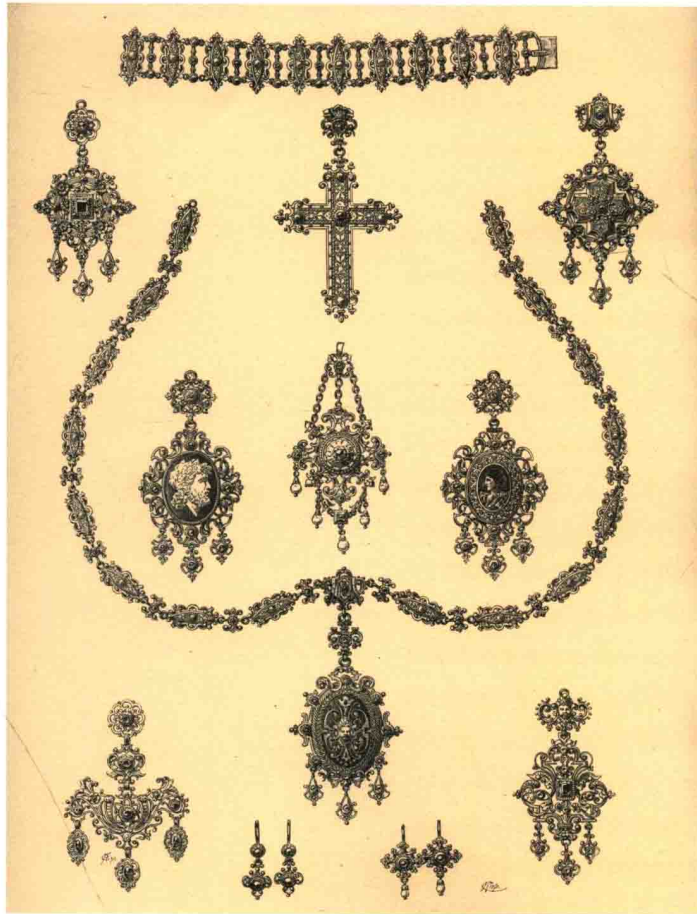
337 Below right

Plate 10 from F. Luthmer, *Goldschmuck der Renaissance nach Originalen und von Gemälden des XV.-XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1881

The plate shows jewels depicted in portraits together with actual Renaissance jewels and is captioned: 1. From a portrait of a woman by an unknown master in the Stadtmuseum, Cologne. 2. Original in Siegmaringen. 3. From an ancestral portrait dated 1604 in Wörlitz.

but the patriotic nationalism of the Napoleonic wars lost its momentum when the country returned to a conglomeration of independent princely states. The Gothic remained the dominant style until well into the middle decades of the century. But it was not regarded as a national style, and did not preclude the appearance of the Renaissance style in the applied arts before the creation of the German Reich. In jewellery design, for example, the Hanau goldsmith Georg Carl Backes produced designs for jewels incorporating Renaissance strapwork in the Fontainebleau style around 1850.¹⁰ And indeed the term *alt-deutsch* had been used much earlier, but in the sense of anything broadly medieval or Renaissance, and not specifically applied to sixteenth-century Germany. Only when the different regional centres were politically united was it possible to adopt a unified style. *Alt-deutsch* now became synonymous with what was perceived as the most recent period of German greatness. Houses and castles were refurbished in the *alt-deutsch* style with appropriate furniture, glass, metalwares and ceramics, all based on a range of luxury goods characteristic of the patrician homes of Renaissance Germany. Illustrated publications on and practical guides to the recreation of historic German interiors encouraged and made possible this revival.¹¹ Even the fashion magazines underlined the point; articles entitled 'Die Kunst im Hause' ('art in the home') spoke specifically about jewellery:

In addition to her gown, the pattern, cut and trimmings of which are borrowed from that period, the lady of fastidious taste can now don necklaces and bracelets like those worn by every young patrician lady and worthy matron, who witnessed her daughter's hand sought after by princes and gentlemen.¹²





338

Silver-gilt bracelet by Louis Beschor, Hanau (slightly enlarged). German, 1892. H. at centre 2.7 cm. Pforzheim, Schmuckmuseum

Set with pearls and a glass stone, this piece is typical of the less expensive 'bourgeois' taste for the *alt-deutsch* that lasted until the end of the century.

Against this background the wholesale change in jewellery production can more easily be understood: one firm in Schwäbisch-Gmünd, Hermann Bauer, devoted practically its whole output for the years 1876–95 to the Neo-Renaissance style.

The dissemination of the *alt-deutsch* style worked on several different levels, from Semper and other theorists down through the art, fashion and interior design literature, and especially via the art schools. Following the Munich exhibition plans were laid for new art schools with specific emphasis on practical instruction to be established in industrial centres, while each major city was to have an applied art association (*Kunstgewerbeverein*) to promote the applied arts.¹³ The role of the art school teachers was enormous; throughout the 1870s and 1880s the specialist applied art journals such as *Gewerbehalle*, published in Stuttgart, or the *Zeitschrift des Münchener Kunstgewerbevereins* carried jewellery designs by the great Semper himself, as well as Anton Seder, Franz Broschier, August Ortwein, Fritz von Miller and many others (Fig. 336).¹⁴ The Munich painter Anton Seder taught at the school of applied art in Munich and his Renaissance-style designs for jewellery appear regularly from 1871.¹⁵ He went on to become the first director of the newly founded school of applied arts in Strasbourg in 1890 and is best known for his Art Nouveau designs. The Munich architect Franz Broschier went on to become director of the *Kunstgewerbeschule* in Nuremberg in 1897.¹⁶ The sculptor Fritz von Miller (son of the brass-founder Ferdinand who organized the Munich 1876 exhibition) taught metalwork in Munich, while the architect August Ortwein was director of the *Staatsgewerbeschule* in Graz.¹⁷

The adoption of the *alt-deutsch* style also prompted a number of publications that acted as vital source books. Two of these publications were particularly important for jewellers and both had highly influential figures behind them. One was the Munich design theorist Georg Hirth. In 1878 he began a periodical publication that reproduced original jewels of the Renaissance as well as designs by Holbein, Virgil Solis, Aldegrever, Hornick, Collaert and others; it was issued in regular instalments until 1895 under the title *Der Formenschatz der Renaissance. Eine Quelle der Belehrung und Anregung für Künstler und Gewerbetreibende* (A Design Treasury of the Renaissance. A Source for the Instruction and Stimulation of Artists and Craftsmen).¹⁸ Another important figure was the Frankfurt architect Ferdinand Luthmer, whose *Goldschmuck der Renaissance nach Originalen und von Gemälden des XV.–XVII. Jahrhunderts*, published in Berlin in 1881, took things a stage further by including jewels depicted in portraits as well as actual Renaissance jewels, and all in beautiful colour lithographs (Fig. 337).¹⁹ These inspired copies and pastiches, in which Renaissance-style motifs were often adapted to nineteenth-century forms (Fig. 338).

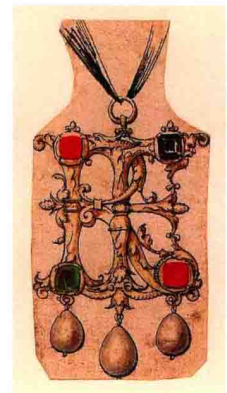
With the financial backing of the Frankfurt Rothschild family, in particular Freifrau Mathilde von Rothschild, he was able to promote the teaching and exhibiting of 'unserer Väter Werke'.²⁰

With all this propaganda for *alt-deutsch* it is no surprise to find that jewellery designs of this period follow these teachings almost to the letter, falling into two principal categories: jewels based on ornamental prints or on drawings, whether copied directly from Renaissance prints or designed 'in the manner of', and jewels based on surviving sixteenth-century pieces, whether direct copies or adaptations.

Jewels based on German sixteenth-century designs were inspired both by prints, such as those reproduced by Hirth, and by drawings, such as the celebrated series by Hans Holbein the Younger (see p. 335).²¹ Holbein worked both in Basle and in London and so is claimed equally by German-speaking countries and by Britain. Some of his original drawings have coloured washes indicating the stones and pearls, but the nineteenth-century interpretations of them differ wildly, probably because many jewellers knew them from second- or third-hand reproductions in black and white in the magazines of the trade and the applied arts, for example in *Formenschatz der Renaissance* or the *Wiener Kunstgewerbeblätter*.²² In 1878 the jeweller Carl Heymann of Munich was advertising 'Holbein Schmucksachen' (Holbein jewellery) after the drawings of Hirth, in the *Zeitschrift des Kunstgewerbevereins, München*.²³ Clearly the name was already being used to describe anything in the Renaissance style. But a number of jewels were directly inspired by the Holbein drawings. Those by Hermann Bauer in Schwäbisch-Gmünd tended to copy Holbein's designs in simplified form, in silver, and almost always as openwork pendants with no backing, unlike Holbein's designs, which must for the most part have been intended to be constructed in two layers with the backplate found on many Renaissance jewels.²⁴

The Holbein designs were taken up with equal vigour in Vienna. At least two Vienna firms made versions of them. One was the firm of A. Kleeberg, whose versions may have been shown at the Munich exhibition of 1876, since they were acquired as a group directly from Kleeberg by the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst in 1877.²⁵ Whether displayed in Munich or not, they would certainly have been sold throughout the German-speaking lands. Kleeberg's Holbein pendants are all in silver-gilt with glass stones or enamel, according to the colours of the original designs (Figs 339, 340). The Viennese court jeweller H. Köchert also produced jewels based on Holbein's designs.²⁶

The second category of *alt-deutsch* jewellery consists of jewels inspired by surviving sixteenth-century pieces. Given the number of princely collections in the new union of German states, the choice was huge: the collections of the house of Saxony in the Grünes Gewölbe in Dresden, the Bavarian royal collection in the Residenz in Munich, the Württemberg collection in Stuttgart, to name but a few. The Dresden jewels were illustrated in black and white engravings in *Formenschatz* in 1881, prompting a number of copies by jewellers in Germany and Austria, often in oxidized silver with gilded and enamelled decoration rather than the enamelled gold and gemstones of the originals. Two favoured pieces were the Dresden jewel with a letter A in diamonds and the mermaid pendant with double tail, copied by firms such as G.A. Scheid in Vienna (Figs 341, 342).²⁷ Jewels of this type were bought as models by the Kunstgewerbeschule in Dresden and by the Gewerbemuseum in Schwäbisch-Gmünd.²⁸ Germany had no cultural centre to match Vienna, and the Austrian capital continued to exert its influence on the applied arts in Germany.²⁹



A further aspect of *alt-deutsch* culture comes into play here. This was the apprenticeship tradition of the German craft guilds, which was maintained through the trade schools. Aspiring goldsmiths still had to produce prescribed 'masterpieces' at the end of their training. Wagner's opera *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* of 1868 was no mere historical fiction but had resonance in present-day life for a German audience.³⁰ The new Germany now had three centres for the jewellery trade: Hanau, Pforzheim and Schwäbisch-Gmünd, the equivalent of three Birminghams. These were the home of mostly large-scale manufacturers with a successful export trade, as opposed to the small-scale, high-class manufacturers who continued to flourish in the old princely centres. They each had their own *Fachschule* or specialist trade school for those who wished to enter the trade and ultimately join the *Goldschmiedezunft* or

341 Left
Enamelled gold mermaid pendant.
German, 16th century. H. 8.4 cm.
Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe

The mermaid is set with diamonds and holds a large cabochon ruby.



339 A & B Above left
Two silver-gilt pendants after Holbein by August Kleeberg, Vienna, set with pearls and glass stones. Austrian, 1876–7.
Left: With blue enamel interlace, H. 8.8 cm.
Right: With monogram RE, H. 6.4 cm.
Vienna, Museum für angewandte Kunst

340 A & B Above
The two Holbein designs copied by Kleeberg. Pen and ink with watercolour, washes and gouache. German, about 1532–43 (*top*) and 1536–7. British Museum, Sloane Collection

Kleeberg probably knew the Arundel Society publication of Holbein's designs in colour of 1869. He has retained the original colours of the stones in the monogram jewel, but not on the interlace pendant.

342 Left
Oxidized silver copy of the Dresden mermaid pendant by G.A. Scheid, Vienna. Austrian, about 1880–90. W. 4.5 cm. Vienna, Galerie bei der Albertina

Scheid's brooch is much simplified. The firm of Georg Adam Scheid, founded in 1862, was known for its Renaissance-style jewellery in oxidized silver.



343
Pendant with painted enamel portrait head by Hugo Schaper, Berlin. German, 1883. H. 6.5 cm. Pforzheim, Schmuckmuseum

Schaper (1844–1915) was court goldsmith to Prince Friedrich Karl of Prussia (1828–85). The Emperor's commissions went to Wilm but Schaper received many orders from the German nobility. As in comparable Paris houses, he collaborated with distinguished architects, sculptors and designers.

Goldsmiths' Guild. These *Fachschulen* were very different from the art and design schools like Luthmer's in Frankfurt, which provided a general training in design, producing graduates who might go into any number of different fields, like the Government Schools of Design in Britain. The Zeichenakademie in Hanau, which trained G.C. Backes among others, had existed since 1772; a new building in 1880 enabled the addition of workshops for goldsmithing, stone setting, etc., so that it became a fully-fledged *Fachschule*.³¹ It still holds in its collection not only a remarkable group of jewellery designs by former students, but also the obligatory 'master' pieces made for the final exam. Included among the latter is a whole series of rings copying a well-known Renaissance design (Fig. 344). As well as the rings themselves, the Zeichenakademie houses a drawing for a ring of exactly the same type, annotated with production costs. Many of the copies have entered museum collections as originals and it is only with recent research that the full story has come to light.³²

Other jewels in this category were based on Renaissance ideas although they were not strict copies of any surviving jewel. The pendant created by Hugo Schaper of Berlin in 1883, set with a painted enamel miniature portrait, recalls the German *Gnadenpfennig*, a presentation jewel with portrait medal (Fig. 343).³³ The portrait is probably based on a North German sixteenth-century painting, but is done in a completely nineteenth-century manner, while the openwork border is based on the classic enamelled gold scrollwork settings of cameo jewels made for the princely courts of Europe. Schaper may have known the remarkable group of such jewels in Vienna that were mounted in Prague around 1610, or he may have simply lifted the idea from Luthmer's volume of 1881.³⁴ The Renaissance *Gnadenpfennig* (literally, grace penny, i.e. token of favour), usually a gold medal in a jewelled setting, was given by royalty and aristocracy to the members of their courts or as diplomatic gifts, and served both as propaganda for its donor and as a badge of allegiance for the recipient.³⁵ It was adapted for contemporary use by the German royal family. Crown Prince Frederick and Princess Victoria, Queen Victoria's daughter, both supported and encouraged the adoption of the Renaissance style. This, together with their patronage of contemporary goldsmiths' work, was enormously influential. The court goldsmith Johann Paul Wilm recalled that the Renaissance 'was not merely enthusiastically taken up by the royal couple but actively cultivated'.³⁶ In 1879 Princess Victoria (Vicky) painted her daughter, Princess Charlotte, in Renaissance costume, wearing a portrait medal in jewelled setting of Kaiser Wilhelm I, Charlotte's grandfather, presumably in honour of his golden wedding that year (Fig. 345).³⁷

Vicky's own artistic skills were considerable. In that same year she had designed a necklace for her parents-in-law's golden wedding. It took the form of a chain with alternating



344
Renaissance ring with two 19th-century copies. German, 16th-century (left) and 19th-century (top and right). Diam. of right 2.6 cm. British Museum, Castellani Collection 1872 (top and left) and Franks Bequest 1897

The 19th-century versions may have been made as obligatory 'master' pieces at the Zeichenakademie in Hanau.



clasped hands and shields of arms, with a heart-shaped pendant inscribed WILHELM AUGUSTA 1829 1879 around a central W. Its design was almost certainly inspired by the discovery in the 1870s of a badge of the order of the 'goldenen Gesellschaft' (the Golden Society), founded in the sixteenth century by Christian I of Saxony. The badge had been illustrated in 1878 in *Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*.³⁸ It has exactly the same form, and Vicky has replaced the Latin inscription with names of the Emperor and Empress.³⁹ That she owned a number of pieces in the German Renaissance style is evident from her portraits. The best examples are to be seen in the 1882 painting by Angeli in the Wallace Collection, London, which shows her with a tight collar, based on the Renaissance carcanet, as well as a longer necklace and pendant jewel with figures in an architectural setting (Fig. 346).⁴⁰

By the late 1880s commercial considerations had forced the jewellery trade to introduce a change of style. There was no foreign market for *alt-deutsch*. Jewels in the German Renaissance style continued to be produced up to the 1890s and beyond, but alongside them appeared either the light-hearted Neo-Rococo, with its asymmetrical C-scrolls and cherubs, or a kind of Louis XVI pastiche with bows and swags framing sentimental miniatures.⁴¹ The critic Jacob von Falke had noted in 1878 that patriotic gratification would mean commercial suicide. By 1895 the goldsmith Hugo Schaper put it even more bluntly: 'We had reckoned without our host, that is without the wearers of these jewels, who realized all too soon that the heavy Renaissance-style brooches, chains and pendants were more suited to the colourful costumes of Holbein's time, than to the rather monotone dress of today. Thus the hapless jeweller found himself forced once again into a stylistic dead end.'⁴²

345 Above left
Princess Charlotte, daughter of Princess Victoria (Crown Princess Frederick of Prussia), in Renaissance costume, painted by Princess Victoria. Oil on panel, 1879. Royal Collection

Portrayed by her mother the year after her marriage in 1878 to Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, the young Princess Charlotte (1860–1919) wears a luxurious velvet and satin Renaissance-style costume with Renaissance-style chains. One of these bears a portrait medal in a jewelled setting of her grandfather Kaiser Wilhelm I, whose golden wedding was celebrated that year.

346 Above
Crown Princess Frederick wearing jewellery in the Renaissance taste, by Heinrich von Angeli (1840–1925). Oil on canvas, 1882. London, Wallace Collection

The tight collar is based on the Renaissance carcanet, while the figural pendant hanging from a second necklace may possibly be an antique piece. A thin chain, perhaps for a locket, drops into the corsage. Dominating all is a necklace of enormous pearls, pinned at the breast with a large emerald brooch. The Crown Prince became German Emperor in 1888 and reigned, as Frederick III, for only 99 days; on his accession the Princess became the Empress Frederick (1840–1901).



ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES
AND NATIONAL IDENTITY



8 ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

ARCHAEOLOGICAL discoveries revealed quantities of jewels from the ancient world that inspired a new vocabulary across Europe. These might be unearthed as a result of building works or the laying of railways, but the vast majority were dug up in excavations or simply found by farmers clearing fields; as imitations proliferated across Europe, they became known as 'archaeological' jewels. An avalanche of new material fed into nineteenth-century jewellery design, probably far more than can ever be identified securely. However, it is clear that almost all archaeological jewellery could be shown to be a direct response to a discovery or a related publication.

Some of these discoveries generated jewellery that became exceedingly popular, while others did not succeed at all. In some instances, ancient models such as the Egyptian had long been known but were refreshed by new discoveries, while others were based on discoveries of objects totally new to the nineteenth century. The Egyptian style had great resonance in France because of her long-standing association with Egypt. The unearthing of ancient Assyria revealed a whole new civilization and was to have a major impact on the applied arts and jewellery in particular. The excavated material was sent back to England and to France; but it was only in England that the Assyrian style became popular, for reasons discussed below. Obviously it celebrated an important British achievement in the major role of English archaeologists in finding Assyria. Schliemann's dramatic discoveries at Mycenae and Troy created a sensation at the time and were taken up by theorists of the evolution of races, but, surprisingly, the ancient gold had practically no after-life in jewellery.¹ There was no obvious cause which it could serve: Greece was already independent, with no English colonizer trying to pretend it was there to benefit its subjects; the gold treasure had no nationalistic meaning in Germany. Copies of the jewels from Troy are few and far between and are likely to have been special commissions.²

The purchase of the Campana collection of classical jewellery by Napoléon III from Rome in 1861 was a political move, and scored a point against Britain by beating the British Museum, which had not offered enough money. But by this date in France the jewellery trade was already too sophisticated to indulge in archaeological replication. Such derivations would have been curiosities, when Paris depended on remaining the fashion capital of the world and on maintaining its reputation for elegant, wearable design. The jewels inspired by the Campana collection used classical forms and subjects but in a completely non-classical way. Eugène Fontenay, France's greatest exponent of the style, created a series of 'Pompeian' jewels as a fantasy on an ancient theme, with no attempt at historical accuracy. The jewels were decorated with painted enamel, a technique not used in antiquity.

In divided and impoverished Italy, Rome could not aspire to being a city of fashion. The discoveries of ancient gold in Italy in the second quarter of the nineteenth century occurred at a critical time in the country's political history, the years of the *Risorgimento*, the movement for Italian unification and liberty.³ The story of how one of the most respected jewellers of Rome, the family firm of Castellani, devoted their entire production to a political cause remains one

Previous pages: left, Castellani 'sun' brooch (see Fig. 383); right, Maria Pia's jewel casket (see also Fig. 402)



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Copy of the Cuthbert Cross, enamelled gold. Made by Phillips Brothers & Son, London, about 1870. H. 6.3 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The original 7th-century Anglo-Saxon cross was buried with St Cuthbert in AD 687 and was discovered when his tomb in Durham Cathedral was opened in 1827. It is set with cloisonné garnets cut to shape. Phillips has replaced them with red enamel, a much cheaper option, retaining one central garnet, and adding amethysts in the angles of the arms.

The firm styled itself 'Phillips Brothers' until about 1865 and then 'Phillips Brothers & Son', but the key figure who dealt with clients until his death in 1881 was Robert Phillips.

of the more remarkable developments in nineteenth-century jewellery and is a unique case. As the historian of French jewellery, Henri Vever, put it: 'It was Fortunato Pio Castellani who revived Etruscan jewellery . . . which made the fortune of its creator and his descendants, and then monopolized output in Italy, replacing the French jewellery that held sway up till then, becoming almost a national product.'⁴ Against a background of papal antipathy towards the nationalists, the Castellanis developed from the late 1840s an astute and remarkably bold scheme to promote the cause of unification: by reproducing Italian jewellery from the Bronze Age to the present day, they created a vision of a unified Italy and its history through jewellery. This may not have meant much to many of the firm's clients, but to those who had visited the studio and met the Castellanis in person the message was clear, with the result that the studio became one of the more popular meeting places for both Italian and foreign supporters of unification.

The British were obsessed with Italy and jewellery that reflected Italianate archaeological classicism enjoyed a long-running vogue in Britain; the archaeology of areas north of the Alps had almost no impact in this period. As far as British antiquities were concerned there was little to be seen at the British Museum in the 1850s and 1860s. The finds from Anglo-Saxon graves, with their inlaid garnets, entered the British Museum largely in the late nineteenth century; examples were known in the 1860s but they did not fit the prevailing canons of taste and were rarely copied. An exception is Robert Phillips's copy of the Cuthbert Cross, which had been known since the opening of St Cuthbert's tomb in 1827 and so was seen as a historic rather than an archaeological piece (Fig. 347).⁵ The cult of St Cuthbert was subsequently linked with the Tractarians as evidence of the existence of Anglo-Catholicism and this may have prompted such reproductions.⁶ The one popular idea that was produced in significant numbers is so far removed from the original that examples now pass unrecognized. These were the 'Saxon shield' brooches advertised by Streeter and others (see Fig. 421). Excavations would have shown that Anglo-Saxon shields were round as opposed to the Norman type, but these brooches derive probably from romanticized depictions of Anglo-Saxon shields in contemporary sculpture and painting rather than any surviving example.⁷ The idea was so embedded by 1863 when William Theed created his statue of Victoria and Albert as Anglo-Saxons that he gave the Queen a Saxon shield brooch on her shoulder.⁸ In Germany and Austria the revival of early medieval Germanic jewellery developed in the context of the Arts and Crafts movement in the early twentieth century and is beyond the period of this book.⁹

Two further areas that have their own distinct story are the Scandinavian revival and the Celtic revival. In Scandinavia politics loomed large. Denmark had been independent since 1815, with a constitutional monarchy from 1849. But the German pressure over Schleswig-Holstein led to two wars in 1848–9 and 1864, after which Denmark was forced to cede both duchies to Prussia, losing more than half the country. There always remained the threat that Germany would encroach further into Denmark. Spectacular archaeological discoveries of ancient goldwork of different periods were enlisted to create a national ‘Old Norse’ style. Norway, by contrast, had been united to Sweden since 1814 and the second half of the nineteenth century saw an increasing desire for the union to be dissolved. A strong nationalism developed in the 1840s and 1850s but it was not until the adoption of universal suffrage in 1898 that Norwegians began to demand complete independence, which was finally gained in 1905. It was only in the late 1890s that the so-called ‘dragon style’ or Viking revival was promoted by the nationalists to show how Norwegian culture differed from the rest of Scandinavia. Coming at the end of the century, it is beyond the scope of this book.¹⁰ In Finland, archaeological finds were in general sparse, and the jewellers appropriated Scandinavian styles from Denmark rather than creating something uniquely Finnish.¹¹ In nineteenth-century Sweden, the revival of ancient styles barely figures in an international context; there was no need for it. So it was Denmark where the style had most impact, and on which this account concentrates.

In Ireland, the copying of archaeological finds, above all the intricate Celtic ring-brooches of Early Christian Ireland, was closely bound up with the search for an Irish identity in the visual arts. The men of the Young Ireland movement (named after Mazzini’s Young Italy), a revolutionary campaign of the 1840s against the Act of Union, sought to restore Ireland’s self-respect by drawing attention to the great cultural achievements of the past. The celebrated ‘Tara’ brooch, available in the Royal Irish Academy along with other recent finds, became a national symbol. Another aspect of the story in Ireland was the philanthropic support of indigenous materials and local products – Wicklow gold, Irish ‘diamonds’, carved bog oak and Youghal horsehair ornaments – for the growing number of tourists. These were not traditional in the sense of having existed for generations; they all date from the nineteenth century. Some of them remained cottage industries; others were developed and sold by the best city jewellers.

Scottish jewellers also made copies of Celtic ring-brooches found in Scotland, though on a much smaller scale, and there were indigenous materials – mottled granites, cairngorms and other hardstones – that became a great commercial success.¹² But the Scottish revival was very different from what was happening in Ireland. First, the tradition of wearing the popular ‘luckenbooth’ or heart brooches had remained unbroken since the eighteenth century if not earlier. Secondly, the nostalgic revival of the Highland clan traditions in the early nineteenth century meant that full costume and accoutrements were already in current production. Helped by George IV’s taste for Scottish dress, and by Scott’s novels, which gave Scotland a role in the Romantic Movement, the scene was set for the Scottish revival to become a fashion in dress as well as jewellery, which was never the case in Ireland.¹³

In America the emphasis was different. Without a former age to emulate, what mattered was to be at least equal with if not better than Europe in all fields of endeavour, and this comes across clearly in the survey of its success at international exhibitions (see Chapter 6). As the European museums began to fill up with the latest archaeological discoveries, America joined the race, acquiring its own ancient treasures and making copies of them to publicize such acquisitions.

THE EGYPTIAN REVIVAL

The revivals of interest in ancient Egypt in the nineteenth century were the result of significant discoveries and interpretations of Egyptian remains, from early in the century to the publicity surrounding the building of the Suez Canal, opened by Empress Eugénie in November 1869. It is this later wave of interest that principally concerns us here, but some background is necessary to understand why the Egyptian revival of the 1860s produced so much jewellery whereas the earlier revivals did not.

Napoléon's Egyptian campaigns of 1798 led to the arrival in Europe of impressive large-scale remains, while the lavish volumes of *La Description de l'Égypte* (1809–28) published the results of the French expeditions. This first wave of interest does not seem to have inspired jewellery, but in the 1820s the French scholar Jean-François Champollion deciphered hieroglyphs, using the Rosetta stone.¹ Champollion's subsequent expedition to Egypt in 1828–9 to read the inscriptions on the monuments that had previously been merely described was widely reported in the press, and hieroglyphs became the news of the day. They appeared on jewellery as pure decoration, usually silhouetted against brightly coloured enamel grounds; the forms of the jewels themselves, however, are not Egyptian, but simply those current in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Fig. 348).² A necklace fragment in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, is decorated with Egyptian figure groups instead of hieroglyphs against



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Enamelled gold cross and chain with hieroglyphs. Probably French, about 1830–40. Photo Phillips Auctioneers, London. Whereabouts unknown

Part of a parure contained in the original retailer's case for Mortimer & Hunt, London, who were in partnership 1839–43. The work is not typically English; it is more likely to be French or possibly Swiss.

black and white enamel, but set in cartouche-shaped elements characteristic of the 1830s.³ These jewels have nothing to do with ancient Egyptian jewellery; that was still to come.

Interest in ancient Egypt remained constant. The classical tradition still fostered the belief that the civilizations of Greece and Rome had their roots there.⁴ Knowledge of ancient Egypt was spread by publications such as J. Gardner Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* of 1837, with a popular edition in 1853.⁵ The collecting of Egyptian antiquities spread; on a more sensational level, there were regular public dissections of mummies. These had become a standard party piece by 1850, when Lord Londesborough sent out invitations to an 'At Home: A Mummy from Thebes to be unrolled at half-past Two'.⁶ Recreations of ancient Egyptian interiors such as Owen Jones's Egyptian Court for the Crystal Palace in London in 1854 or Eduard Gaertner's for the Neues Museum in Berlin, completed in 1855, gave added stimulus to public fascination with all things Egyptian.⁷

At the same time, new discoveries were being made in the 1850s which included, for the first time, spectacular Egyptian jewellery. These new finds generated an Egyptian style in jewellery that did not exist in the early nineteenth century.⁸ The key figure was the French archaeologist Auguste Mariette (1821–81); sent to Egypt in 1850 by the French government to obtain ancient manuscripts for the Louvre, he excavated the burials at Saqqara instead, finding inlaid gold jewellery, which he despatched to the Louvre. He went on to make his greatest jewellery find in 1859 – the coffin and mummy of Queen Aahhotep of about 1550 BC at Dra Abu Naga in Thebes. By then Mariette had settled in Egypt. As director of the Cairo Museum he ensured that this treasure passed intact to the museum, but its fame spread across Europe when the Viceroy of Egypt sent it to London for the International Exhibition of 1862, to show off the superiority of the collections in his new museum, alongside the beautiful silks and embroidery of modern Egypt. *The Times* drooled over each piece, describing the coloured stone inlays in detail, and a lavish colour facsimile volume was published in London in 1863.⁹

The *Times* report on the Thebes jewels in June 1862 coincided with the return of the Prince of Wales from a five-month tour of Egypt in which he visited Cairo and sailed up the Nile to Thebes. This inspired him to have ancient Egyptian scarab jewellery copied by Robert Phillips for Princess Alexandra of Denmark, whom he married in March 1863. The Princess of Wales's Egyptian jewellery was described in the lavish wedding gift souvenir volume as "Thebes" necklace made by Phillips, set with scarabei; copy of a necklace brought from Egypt by Sir Henry Scott'. Phillips made up a suite consisting of necklace, earrings and brooch; the suite no longer survives and the brooch is not illustrated in the wedding volume, but it was almost certainly that which the Princess wore for her marble bust sculpted later that year by Mary Thornycroft.¹⁰ The bust was immediately issued in reduced form in Parian porcelain by the Art-Union, and so the brooch, with its scarab flanked by rearing cobras, would have become a familiar image. Phillips then exploited this royal commission by marketing further versions for general sale, as both brooches and pendants, set with a large cabochon agate instead of a scarab (Figs 349, 350). The *Art-Journal* reporter who visited Phillips's shop in 1870 noted one such brooch, describing it as onyx, a variety of agate: 'Among the numerous imitative antiques is a very large onyx brooch of purely Egyptian design, made after the pattern of one in the possession of the Princess of Wales, and the only ornament the Royal Highness would permit to be indicated on her bust by Mrs Thornycroft.'¹¹

The Aahhotep treasure travelled again, this time to Paris, for display at the Exhibition



of 1867. Eugénie tried unsuccessfully to acquire the jewels afterwards but Mariette ensured their return to Egypt.¹² In Paris they meant something completely different from what they meant in London: here was one of the most spectacular early discoveries of Egyptian jewellery by a French archaeologist, and it coincided with the building of the Suez Canal by the French, a massive project then nearing completion. France had maintained her influence in Egypt under the sultanate during the first half of the nineteenth century and in 1854 obtained the concession to build a canal linking the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Work began in 1859 under the direction of the diplomat Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805–94). The French felt they had ‘discovered’ Egypt under Napoléon I, the Rosetta stone had been their find and its decipherment Champollion’s achievement, they dominated Egypt and the rest of North Africa, and so the Egyptian style had a political resonance in France that it never had in Britain.¹³ This explains why so much Egyptian revival jewellery at this time is French and little is British. After the 1870s this changed. When the Suez Canal was begun the British had initially opposed the project, leaving the French to dominate the Suez Canal Company until 1875, when Disraeli in effect bought it, purchasing the Khedive of Egypt’s share in it, and making Britain its largest single shareholder. Britain subsequently assumed power in Egypt and ran the country from 1883. Once Britain was in control, Egyptian revival jewellery probably ceased to carry the same connotations in France, although it continued to be made.

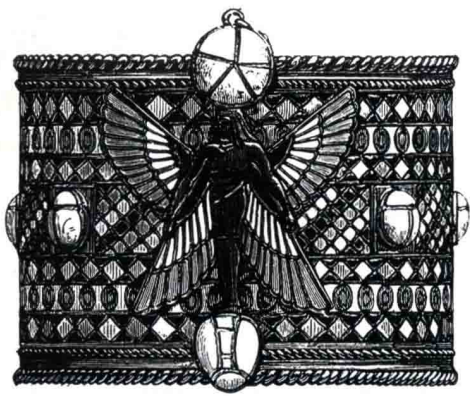
At the Paris Exhibition of 1867 the Parisian jewellers seized the opportunity to create Egyptian-style pieces for their displays. Some of these French pieces were antiquarian

349 Above left
Princess Alexandra, Parian porcelain bust made by W.T. Copeland & Sons, Staffordshire, after the marble by Mary Thornycroft (1814–95). English, dated 1874. H. 40 cm. British Museum

The bust was first issued in 1863, the year of Princess Alexandra’s wedding to the Prince of Wales. The Princess is wearing the brooch from her ‘Thebes’ suite made by Robert Phillips as a wedding gift from the Prince of Wales, with central scarab flanked by cobras. The scarab may have been an ancient one brought back by the Prince from Egypt in 1862.

350 Above
Enamelled gold ‘Thebes’ jewel by Phillips Brothers & Son. English, about 1863–70. H. 8.5 cm. British Museum, given by Robert C. Kwok

This is one of a number of jewels made by Phillips following the royal commission. Instead of an ancient scarab, the central stone is a glistening cat’s-eye agate.



351 Above
Enamelled gold bracelet by Emile Froment-Meurice. From *Vever* 1906–8, II, p. 279
Shown at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, this bracelet was inspired by one discovered at Meroe in 1834 (Fig. 352). Froment-Meurice has substituted enamel for the coloured glass inlays of the original and has made several other changes.

353
Brooch with Egyptian head by Gustave Baugrand. French, 1867. New York, Private collection

A similar brooch was shown at the Paris Exhibition of 1878. The head of an Egyptian goddess is carved in pink hardstone, encrusted with diamonds, rubies and emeralds, and set into an oval base of transparent rock crystal. The wings of the vulture headdress are outlined in *calibré*-cut rubies and the gem-set frame contains three carved emerald scarabs. Echoing the coloured glass inlays of ancient Egyptian jewellery, this is a *tour de force* of lapidary work.



352 Left
Ancient Egyptian armlet from Meroe, gold with coloured glass inlays (*reduced*). Egypt, late 1st century BC. H. 4.6 cm. Munich, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst
A catalogue of 1837 publicized the Meroe treasure immediately. The gold goddess figures round the centre, as well as the goddess Mut's crown and the lotus on which she stands, are replaced with modern gemstone scarabs in the 1867 copy.

recreations like those produced by Phillips in London; Emile Froment-Meurice, for example, exhibited an enamelled gold bracelet closely based on the bracelet with coloured glass inlays from the tomb of Queen Amanishakheto at Meroe. Excavated in 1834 by Giuseppe Ferlini, who demolished the pyramids in the process, this was one of the first finds of spectacular jewellery (Figs 351, 352).¹⁴ But others were imaginative fantasies: richly set with diamonds and gemstones, they were luxury items, such as the gem-set Egyptian heads created by Baugrand and Mellerio (Fig. 353). Baugrand's stand was dominated by a large Egyptian figure, a pylon-shaped casket, and an Egyptian lotus diadem as well as the Egyptian head brooch (see Fig. 224 and p. 249).¹⁵ Two years later the *Exposition de l'Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'Industrie* in 1869 presented the same two contrasting styles: lavish gem-set jewels by Lemonnier and Mellerio, and a more archaeological gold brooch and earrings with vultures attributed to Fontenay.¹⁶

The English antiquarian taste was summed up by the *Art-Journal* in its comment on John Brogden's display of Egyptian and Assyrian jewels at the 1867 Exhibition: not only were they 'truly beautiful' but also 'especially valuable as models of ancient production'. That was what made them interesting: they acted as substitutes for the real thing, admired as models of the craftsmanship of the ancient world. This attitude recurs time and again, and was applied to both English and French jewellery. One of the American commentators in Philadelphia in 1876 used Emile Philippe's Egyptian-style jewellery in precisely this way, to serve as models in the absence of originals (see below and p. 284). If the *Art-Journal* illustrations are anything to go by, however, Brogden's jewels were far from accurate. They were a medley of motifs from architecture, sculpture and jewellery.¹⁷ Perhaps it was the use of the right enamel colours that made them look authentic, especially as the coloured glass inlays were misunderstood at the time and thought to be enamelling on gold.¹⁸ But few survive and from contemporary black and white illustrations it is impossible to tell whether they were indeed enamelled or simply modelled in relief in gold like Brogden's Assyrian jewels (see Fig. 361), or Edwin Streeter's gold jewels after the 'antique'.¹⁹

One of Bond Street's more colourful characters, Streeter set up on his own account in 1867–8, advertising his Nineveh and Etruscan jewels in *The Times* by December 1868.²⁰ Streeter had in fact cunningly developed an all-purpose 'antique' style: an Etruscan ram's head, an Assyrian bull, or an Egyptian figure would be surrounded by the same ubiquitous applied wirework and beadwork (Fig. 354 and see p. 433). Streeter's aggressive marketing, offering any style as bridesmaids' suites and keeping the price down with his 'machine-made'

18-carat gold (the 'antique' brooches were £3), was instrumental in popularizing the archaeological style, even if it was considerably watered down.

It appears that Streeter was also behind the participation of the Frenchman Emile Philippe in the London International Exhibition of 1872. The *Art-Journal* gave Philippe a whole page illustrating two of his Egyptian-style jewels and noting that he now had an establishment in London.²¹ No further information is given and while the arrangement in 1872 is unclear, by 1874 at the latest Streeter was Philippe's London agent: in 1874 he placed a large advertisement in the *Illustrated London News's* Christmas issue announcing that he had:

secured the exclusive services of M. Emile Philippe, the eminent artist of Paris (holding Gold Medal 1867, 1872, and the Vienna Gold Medal), and has now on view specimen works of the great designer in Arabesque, Persian, and Renaissance jewellery. Special study has been given by the above artist to that period of Egyptian art embracing the exodus of the Jews.²²

This is fascinating for what it tells us about the workings of the London trade, the esteem attached to French art jewellery and the obsession with biblical history, especially strong in Britain, and also in Germany, but less evident in France. Robert Phillips had gained much publicity as the exclusive agent for Charles Lepec in 1867 (see p. 274). Here now was Streeter, aiming at a different level of the market (Philippe's silver-gilt jewellery would have been much cheaper than Lepec's labour-intensive enamels on gold), but determined to better his reputation by having his own work seen in the context of a distinguished foreigner.²³

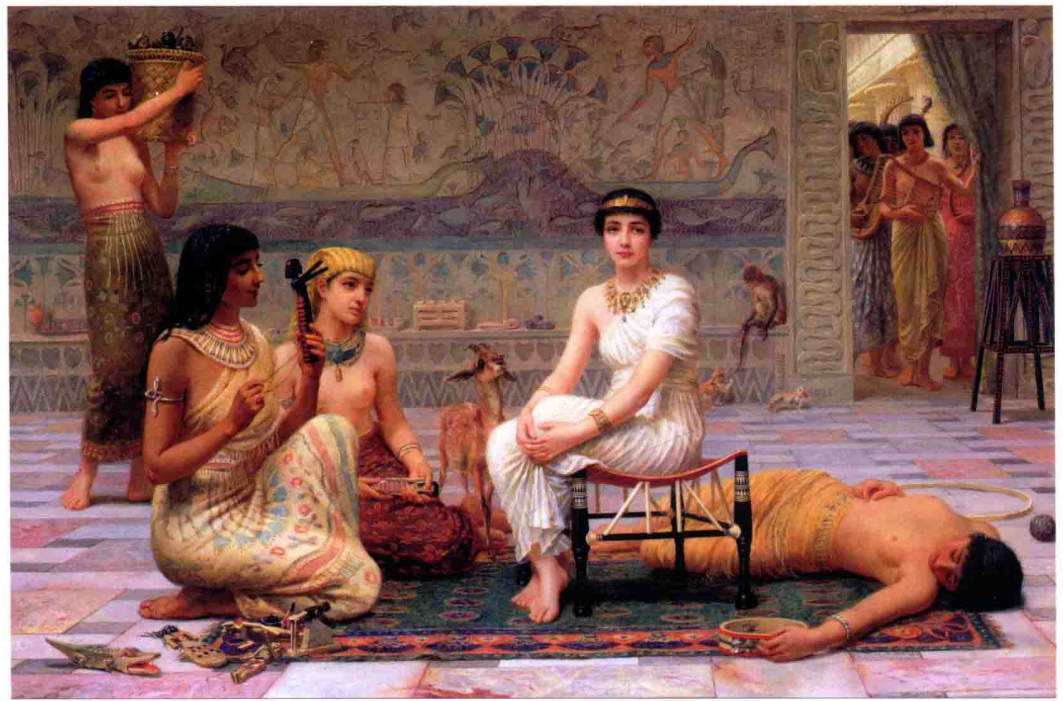
Philippe himself is an interesting phenomenon; principally a designer and modeller for silver and bronze, he had exhibited large-scale works, mostly in the Renaissance taste, in 1867. For English critics he 'belonged to a class of producer unknown in England', being both artist-manufacturer and artisan.²⁴ Philippe also took part in the Union Centrale exhibition of 1869 and he may have already exhibited Egyptian-style jewels then.²⁵ The French contribution to the London International Exhibition in 1872 was badly affected by the events of 1870–71; none of the leading jewellers came. Some London firms like Streeter acted as agents or simply included French jewels on their stands. This meant that Philippe's enamelled silver-gilt jewels in the Egyptian taste were among the few items from France.²⁶ Philippe's jewels were to be a success on many other occasions, in Vienna in 1873, Philadelphia in 1876 and Paris in 1878. Indeed, Egyptian-style jewellery was to have an almost continuous success in France into the twentieth century.²⁷

The idea that recreations such as Philippe's could serve in the absence of the originals was taken literally by Orientalist painters such as Edwin Long (1829–91), whose large canvases with scenes from the Bible and from the ancient world were noted for their supposed historical accuracy. In *Love's Labour Lost* of 1885 the central figure of an Egyptian princess is seated inside an Egyptian palace on a 'Thebes' stool copied from an original piece of furniture in the British Museum, possibly one of the popular copies retailed by Liberty & Co.; she wears an elaborate necklace of Egyptian elements set between two chains. It is identical to one by Emile Philippe, given by him as part of a whole parure to the Musée des Arts Décoratifs from the *Paris Exhibition* of 1878 (Figs 355, 356). The cartouches with the names of pharaohs in hieroglyphs are accurately copied but otherwise the necklace is a pastiche of



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Gold brooch with Egyptian dung-beetle, by Edwin Streeter (1834–1923) of Bond Street. English, about 1868–75. Diam. 4.4 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The Egyptian dung-beetle, Khepri, was the personification of Ra, the Sun God. But apart from the central motif, Streeter is not concerned with archaeological accuracy; the rod and bead motifs alternating with leaves in applied wirework derive from the classical world. Streeter's success lay in his ability to combine die-stamped, i.e. 'machine-made' work for the basic forms, in this case the inner disc with beetle and the outer disc (two separate elements) with a variety of motifs added by hand, enabling a mix-and-match process to suit all styles. The reverse bears his applied gold trade label with the letters EWS and '18ct'. He made a selling point of always using high-quality 18-carat gold.

**355 A & B**

Love's Labour Lost, by Edwin Long (1829–91). Oil on canvas, 1885. New York, Dahesh Museum of Art

In a curious twist of events, revivalist jewels could have the same evocative aura as the real thing, and for many they were the nearest they could get to the rare and unobtainable originals (see p. 284). The elaborate necklace set with scarabs and matching bracelet worn by the central figure (see detail) are faithful depictions of contemporary pieces by the Parisian jeweller Emile Philippe (*opposite*). Philippe's jewellery was shown at many international exhibitions, including London in 1872, but Long would also have known it from the displays at Streeter's Bond Street shop. He evidently had the necklace in his studio. Her diadem is decorated with hieroglyphs and a cobra head.

356 Opposite

Enamelled silver-gilt parure by Emile Philippe. French, 1878. H. of brooch 6.8 cm. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, given by the artist from the Paris 1878 Exhibition

The necklace is identical to the necklace worn by the Egyptian princess in Long's painting (*above*). The modern scarabs are carved in various hardstones including red and green jasper.

the jewels from Saqqara, which had been in the Louvre since the 1850s, and those from the tomb of Queen Aahhotep shown at the Paris Exhibition of 1867.²⁸

Lest it be thought that the story of Egyptian-style jewellery is circumscribed by Anglo-French rivalry, mention should be made of some examples produced elsewhere. New York had significant Egyptian collections by the 1860s on display in Dr Abbott's Egyptian Museum on Broadway. Designs for jewellery in the Egyptian taste were advertised from the mid-1860s; as far as one can judge from surviving illustrations they all use the current fashionable forms with the addition of Egyptian motifs; there is no attempt at historical accuracy or at the reproduction of actual ancient jewels. But the fashion must have been significant enough to provoke a wonderful cartoon in *Harper's* depicting a 'Fall Costume', with 'appliqué Egyptian figures on a plush ground': a woman in contemporary Egyptian headdress wears an outfit decorated all over with pyramids, sphinxes, obelisks, temples, ibis, camels, a collar of crocodiles, and snakes wriggling up the sleeves.²⁹

In Italy the Castellani firm adapted their brightly coloured micromosaics to imitate Egyptian inlays; this was not part of their recreation of the jewellery of Italy, but a rare instance of the firm bowing to other contemporary fashions. They also produced small winged scarab brooches, the wings set with micromosaic, examples of which were acquired by the Musée des Arts Décoratifs from the 1878 Paris Exhibition, but their most dramatic piece in this style was a necklace incorporating faience scarabs (probably sold to the client as genuine) within square and circular panels of micromosaic.³⁰ The designs of concentric circles and squares are not accurate copies of Egyptian motifs, but they are not classical either. Other jewellers in Rome set micromosaics of Egyptian heads or scarabs in Italian 'archaeological' jewellery forms such as an Etruscan bulla.³¹ Augusto Castellani would have been horrified at such disregard of stylistic propriety.

In contrast to these 'archaeological' recreations of dubious accuracy were the fantasy jewels created for the stage and for costume balls. Stage jewels are beyond the scope of this



358 *Below*

Mrs Arthur Paget (1853–1919) as Cleopatra at the Devonshire House ball. Photograph by Lafayette, 1897. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

The American heiress Minnie Stevens came to London in 1872 and married General Sir Arthur Paget in 1878. The costume, especially the headdress, makes overall a greater attempt to look Egyptian than Lillie Langtry's, but the large diamond ornament at her waist came from the French crown jewels and was lent her by her fellow American, Mrs Bradley Martin. The £6,000 Worth dress fetched only £9 on her death in 1919.



357

Lillie Langtry (1853–1929) as Cleopatra. Photogravure by W. & D. Downey, February 1891. London, National Portrait Gallery

The jewellery contains Egyptian elements – a winged scarab, cobra head, lotus – but is otherwise completely fanciful.

book, but there was one stage production that had particular resonance at this time. Verdi's *Aida* was first performed at the Cairo Opera House in 1871. Set in ancient Egypt, the plot was conceived by no less than Auguste Mariette, who suggested it to the Viceroy to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. But the synopsis did not reach Verdi until 1870, too late, and Mariette supervised the Cairo production the following year, designing the costumes himself.³² Within the next eight years the opera had been performed in Milan, New York, London and Paris, and it must have done much to feed public fascination with ancient Egypt. Adelina Patti performed the title role in London in 1876. A number of different ensembles made for her to wear in the different acts of the opera, including armlets, bracelets, necklaces, belt, and earrings, were given to the Museum of London by her husband after her death, and while some of them incorporate Egyptian motifs, the overall effect was designed to look exotic and colourful rather than to achieve historical accuracy.³³ By the time Lillie Langtry played Shakespeare's Cleopatra in 1891, however, authenticity had gone to the winds (Fig. 337). The winged scarab on her belt is upside down, her diadem has a rearing cobra head but otherwise resembles an English coronet, while her necklace was apparently a larger stage version of one made by Hancock. The Hancock necklace survives and is made up of what may be ancient scarabs, carved coral ram's heads and turquoises, imitating the colours of Egyptian inlays. But it is a complete concoction, perhaps made as a commission from a collection of disparate elements.³⁴ Langtry's fame as Cleopatra made this role a popular choice for fancy-dress balls. At the Devonshire House ball of 1897, two society ladies turned up as Cleopatra, both wearing costumes from Paris. The elegant Mrs Arthur Paget, an American beauty and member of the Marlborough House set, wore a £6,000 emerald-studded dress from Worth that completely eclipsed Lady de Grey (Fig. 358). Neither woman's jewellery bore any resemblance to the real thing, though Mrs Paget (Minnie Stevens) holds a fan modelled on an Egyptian flabellum.³⁵ Stage and fancy-dress jewellery made an eclectic finale to a style that had returned again and again throughout the nineteenth century.

THE ASSYRIAN REVIVAL

The researches of Mr Layard have not only rendered ancient Assyria an object of interest to professed antiquaries, but have actually brought it into fashion. Winged lions and bulls with human heads are not merely gaped at by a knot of dry savants, but they are all the rage even with the softer sex. Every one knows the form of an Assyrian monarch's umbrella, and the fashion of the Royal crown of Nineveh is as familiar as the pattern of the last new Parisian bonnet.

(*The Times*, 14 June 1853, p. 7, reviewing Charles Kean's *Sardanapalus*)

Unlike other archaeological-style jewels, which copy actual ancient jewels, Assyrian-style jewellery was inspired by the colossal stone sculptures and carved reliefs that survived in quantity and embodied ancient Assyria in the public mind; authentic Assyrian jewellery hardly survived. The French were the first to make spectacular discoveries in the region, but the effect on the applied arts was nothing like as widely felt in France as in Britain. There is almost no Assyrian-style jewellery in France, but a great deal in England. There are a number of reasons for this: the nature of the discoveries themselves, the kinds of publications about them and the people involved. Some understanding of these is essential background to the jewels themselves.¹

Nothing of Assyrian art was known when French and English archaeologists discovered the first ruins of ancient Mesopotamia in the mid- to late 1840s. The civilizations of ancient Greece or Egypt, by contrast, had long been known through surviving monuments. The Persian city of Persepolis too was known, with its strange undeciphered form of writing, cuneiform. But from the ancient cities of Babylon and Nineveh, described in the Bible and by classical historians, there was but a handful of antiquities. When the great winged bulls and the sculptured reliefs from the Assyrian palaces at Khorsabad, Nimrud and Nineveh were shipped back to the Louvre and the British Museum, they provided dramatic visual evidence of a lost culture. More than that, the inscriptions on the buildings, recording the events portrayed on the reliefs, together with vast quantities of cylinder seals and, most important of all, the clay tablets from the library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh, enabled the decipherment of cuneiform. This was to have the most far-reaching consequences, for it was seen to prove the truth of the Bible. The Bible played a central role in Protestant as opposed to Catholic culture, and this may in part explain why the Assyrian discoveries had more of an impact in Protestant Britain than in Catholic France.

The first Assyrian finds were made by Paul-Emile Botta, the French consul at Mosul. Botta excavated the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad from 1842 to 1844. His finds, however, were reported as 'Discoveries at Nineveh'.² It was the biblical city of Nineveh, the capital of ancient Assyria, that was foremost in people's minds and which the archaeologists hoped to uncover. This was the achievement not of Botta but of Henry Layard, who excavated from 1845 to 1851 at both Nimrud and Nineveh, while his successor, Hormuzd Rassam, continued work at Nineveh in the 1850s. The two sites between them concealed several successive royal palaces, all lavishly decorated with stone sculpture.³ At Nineveh Layard found not only the palace of Sennacherib, probably the largest of all Assyrian royal palaces, but also the library of Sennacherib's grandson, Ashurbanipal, on which much of our knowledge of

ancient Mesopotamian literature and science is based. It was Rassam who found, in 1853, the Lion-hunt of Ashurbanipal, the most celebrated of Assyrian sculptures.⁴ The new French consul, Victor Place, had resumed work at Khorsabad but the convoy carrying the sculptures by raft to Basra was plundered and most of the sculptures sank.⁵

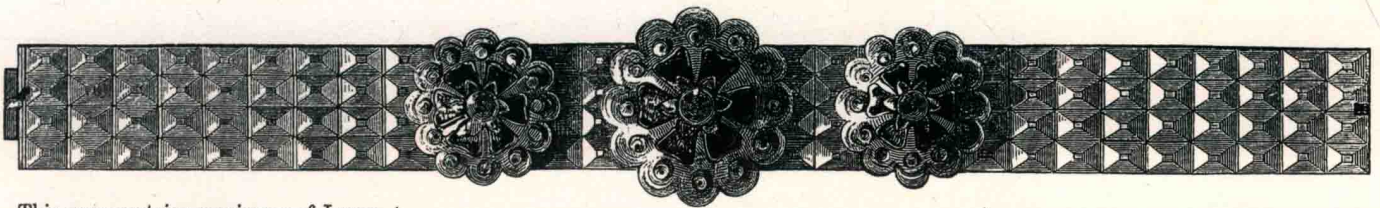
The English finds thus turned out to be more revealing. They were soon published in both popular and scholarly form. Layard wrote up his first finds in *Nineveh and its Remains* (1849), a two-volume octavo book that sold 20,000 copies in its first four years. It was followed by *Monuments of Nineveh*, a series of large-scale plates of the reliefs from Nimrud. In 1851 he wrote *A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh* which sold well at the Great Exhibition and in 1853 *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*. The French on the other hand produced only beautiful and elaborate books: Botta's *Monuments de Ninive* came out in five parts in 1849–50. This and other multiple-volume works were available only in grand libraries and were so expensive that even Layard himself could not afford them.

In addition to the publications, the sculptures themselves were impressed on public consciousness in different ways. The Louvre's two-room 'Musée Assyrien' was opened by Louis-Philippe on his birthday, 1 May 1847 – a political move to boost the monarchy – but it closed after a few days while the works were completed, reopening at the end of the year. There was further disruption during the revolution of 1848 and the rooms reopened only in March 1849. Later arrivals of sculpture in 1856 were eclipsed by the return of troops from the Crimea.⁶ The British Museum's first Assyrian sculptures arrived in 1847 and were immediately placed near the main entrance; they then moved to the basement that became known as the Nimrud Room, which was accessible to visitors from early 1849, at much the same time as the French displays opened properly. The winged bull and lion from Nimrud were set up in the front hall at the end of 1850, directly opposite the front door, and thereafter a constant stream of new discoveries arriving up until 1855 kept the sculptures before the public eye, as well as a series of newly opened galleries on the ground floor.⁷

There were other 'Nineveh' attractions in London. The most popular were the moving 'Dioramahs of Nineveh' that began to appear in 1851. London eventually boasted no fewer than three of them: one, at the Gothic Hall in Lower Grosvenor Street, was painted by F.C. Cooper, the artist sent out by the British Museum to assist Layard. There were performances at 3 pm and at 8 pm for a one-shilling entry fee (the same as the cheap days at the Great Exhibition).⁸ The actor-manager Charles Kean brought ancient Mesopotamia to the live theatre with his production of *Sardanapalus, King of Assyria* in 1853, based on Byron's poem; the sets and costumes were rigorously taken from Layard's discoveries at Nineveh.⁹ Then there was the Nineveh Court set up in the Crystal Palace when it moved to Sydenham in 1854, with casts of the sculptures from the Louvre as well as the British Museum, and a guidebook written by Layard.¹⁰ It remained in place until the restoration of the Crystal Palace in 1868 shortened the building and the Nineveh Court was lost.

Lastly, there was Layard himself. Botta and Place fell into obscurity and never became public figures. Layard, on the contrary, was lionized as 'Layard of Nineveh' by the age of thirty; he went on to become a distinguished politician and diplomat, caricatured as the 'bull of Nineveh' throughout his public life, and playing a major role in the artistic life of his country, as we have already seen. His ability to undertake an astonishing range of duties and his brilliant reputation cannot be underestimated. In reviewing *Nineveh and its Remains*, *The Times* wrote:

THE INDUSTRY OF ALL NATIONS



This page contains specimens of JEWELLERY, produced by Messrs. WATHERSTON & BROGDEN, of London; eminent manu-

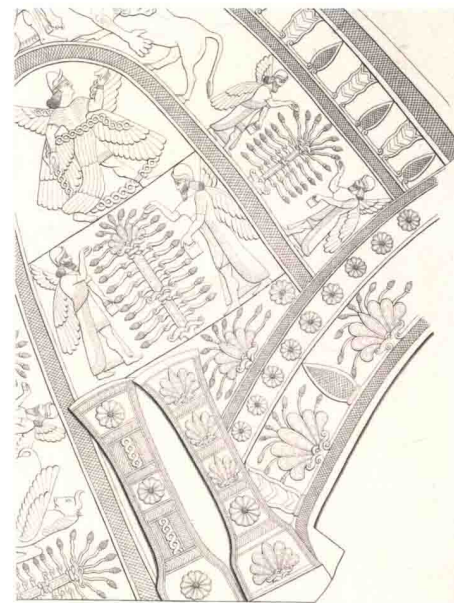
ductions which have established the fame of so many

cently, we appeared willing to yield the palm without dispute. The bracelet which heads the page was suggested by one of

This is, we think, the most extraordinary work of the present age, whether with reference to the wonderful discoveries it describes, its remarkable verification of our early biblical history, or of the talent, courage and perseverance of its author. . . . we question whether a more enlightened or a more enterprising traveller than Mr. Layard is to be met with in the annals of our modern English history. (*The Times*, 9 February 1849, p. 5)

If we now turn to the jewellery itself, the story mirrors the development of archaeological jewellery in Britain.¹¹ Three firms showed 'Nineveh' jewels at the 1851 Exhibition. They were gem-set in the current taste; if they survive, they have not been recognized. Hunt & Roskell's stand included 'Specimens of earrings in emeralds, diamonds, carbuncles &c, after the marbles from Nineveh'; as engraved for the *Illustrated London News*, their curious shape stands out among the fashionable flower sprays (see Fig. 126). They were probably inspired by the line-drawings of Assyrian earrings in Layard's first book.¹² Garrard's showed a 'Bracelet in polished gold, with ruby and brilliant circular centre – from the Nineveh sculptures'. This may have resembled the bracelet illustrated by the *Art-Journal* from the display of Watherston & Brogden, formed of a flat band of gold with brick pattern, possibly in relief, and three applied rosettes (Fig. 359).¹³ Engravings such as this are among the few visual records of what these early Assyrian-style pieces looked like. The rosettes were derived either from architectural ornament (Fig. 360), or from the diadems and bracelets worn by figures in the sculptures, while the brick pattern may have been taken either from carved stone ornament or wall paintings.¹⁴ Shortly before Victoria and Albert's state visit to Paris for the 1855 Exhibition, the Queen ordered from Garrard's a number of presentation jewels in the Assyrian style for her hosts (see p. 48).¹⁵ This was no mere promotion of British manufactures: the Anglo-French rivalry over the discovery of Assyria was being played out on the royal stage.

After these gem-set jewels of the 1850s, made in the wake of the discoveries and their display, there is a gap in the story for a decade or so until the archaeological style in jewellery had taken hold. In painting the emphasis in the 1860s was on Egypt, and this too may have deflected attention away from Assyria. The Paris Exhibition of 1867, however, gave the Bond Street jewellers their chance to demonstrate that in the five years since the 1862 Exhibition in London they had developed archaeological goldwork in the manner of Castellani. John Brogden's Egyptian and Assyrian jewels (see p. 275) were held up by the *Art-Journal* both as excellent modern ornaments and as models of ancient production:

**359 Top**

'Nineveh' bracelet shown by Watherston & Brogden at the Great Exhibition. *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*, 1851, p. 80

The accompanying text notes that 'the bracelet which heads the page was suggested by one of the Nineveh monuments'. This may refer to the architectural ornament depicted in the Assyrian sculptures, or diadems and bracelets with similar rosettes worn by the various figures.

360 Above

Architectural ornament from Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1849, pl. 9

Carved relief scenes are framed by ornamental bands with a row of rosettes at the right. Rows of rosettes occur throughout Assyrian sculptures, as decorative motifs on clothing and on the imitation carpet patterns that were carved in stone on the thresholds of major gateways.

Mr. Brogden has not been content with any superficial or imperfect style of reproduction. Far from this, he has made himself a master of the true principles of the ancient artists, and accordingly he is now able to work in their spirit and in true sympathy with them. The fidelity with which minute details are rendered in his beautiful jewellery is remarkable. In some cases figures not an inch in height are wrought out of gold with such conscientious truthfulness, that if sufficiently magnified they would appear to be golden fac-simile models of the original life-size, or even colossal sculptures in stone and alabaster.¹⁶ (Fig. 361)

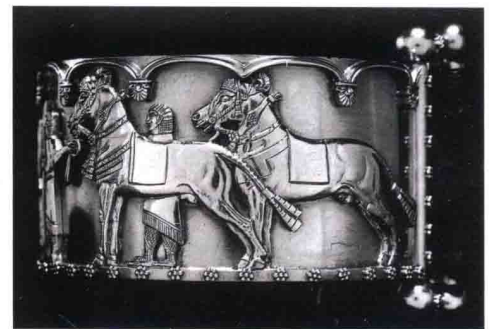
The emphasis on fidelity to ancient principles has been mentioned in connection with the Egyptian style and was a critical aspect of the success of archaeological jewellery. It epitomizes the wholesale change that had taken place since 1851 in the approach to the recreation of jewels from the ancient world. How is this change to be explained? First, archaeological discoveries had made accuracy possible in many areas for the first time – there was now no excuse for getting it wrong – and ancient Assyria had a doubly emotive resonance because of its link with the Bible. Secondly, Castellani had demonstrated how to do it – how to combine fidelity of principle with commercial success, and how to make archaeological jewels fashionable. In other words, by exploiting the passion for accuracy as part of the Victorian obsession with the ‘manners and arts’ of the ancient world, archaeological jewellery struck a chord with a well-read public; it fitted the current discourse on the progress of ancient civilization from its earliest beginnings to its climax in ancient Greece.¹⁷ Brogden’s Assyrian-style jewels were accurate in that they precisely reproduced the sculptured reliefs in miniature; that Assyrian jewels themselves did not have such reliefs did not seem to matter.

In December 1868, Edwin Streeter was advertising his gold ‘Nineveh’ brooches and earrings at £3 and £1 10s respectively in *The Times*. Streeter supplied others such as Hancock’s, and may have made the gold jewels with winged bulls shown by them at the London International Exhibition of 1871 (see Figs 421–3).¹⁸ The firm’s long-standing patron Lord Dudley appears to have purchased an Assyrian-style bracelet for which Hancock’s created a new case design. Dudley evidently allowed Hancock’s to use his name for publicity purposes: a recently discovered bracelet in its original case sits dramatically on a pop-up fitting, proudly dubbed in gold letters ‘The Dudley bracelet case’. This ingenious design was registered on 5 August 1871 and the diamond registration mark is prominently placed just below. To show the mark in this way is exceptional for a case design and suggests that this must be an exhibition piece. Whether it is the very one purchased by Dudley we cannot be sure (Fig. 362).¹⁹

361 A & B

Gold bracelet with an Assyrian steatite cylinder-seal clasp, by John Brogden (*reduced*). English, 1867. H. 4.2 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Bolckow Bequest

The bracelet was purchased by Harriet Bolckow at the Paris Exhibition of 1867. The scene is copied from a Nineveh lion-hunt relief of King Ashurbanipal pouring out a libation over a dead lion with attendant figures leading horses. The two views show the cylinder-seal clasp (A) and the horses at the right of the scene (B), which is similar to the scene on the brooch in Fig. 366. The arcade at the top is Brogden’s addition.





362

Gold bracelet with Assyrian bull, in the original retailer's case of Hancock & Co. English, about 1871. Private collection

The design of the central element with palmettes is very close to work by Streeter, who may have supplied the jewel to Hancock's (see Figs 421–3). The design for the hatbox-shaped case with its sprung display fitting that enables the bracelet to be easily removed was registered in August 1871. It is labelled THE DUDLEY BRACELET CASE, after the firm's major patron, Lord Dudley, who must have purchased a similar bracelet and allowed his name to be used in this way. The diamond registration mark is visible in the base of the case.

The designs of the big Bond Street firms were quickly imitated by others whose names have since fallen into oblivion, such as Bright & Sons of Scarborough, who exhibited bracelets with scenes from the sculptured reliefs at the London Exhibition of 1872. As a fashionable resort Scarborough was well equipped with jewellers' shops, but most of them are likely to have been retailers rather than manufacturers. Other examples appear in cases supplied by Manchester or Edinburgh retailers, but the makers are unknown (Figs 363, 365).²⁰ Some indication of who might have been behind these pieces can be gleaned from the Design Registration volumes in the National Archives. These volumes demonstrate that the taste for Assyrian-style jewels reached a peak around 1872–4. In July 1872 the London firm of Backes & Strauss entered a group of seven designs, four of which are based on scenes from the Nimrud and Nineveh reliefs, though none was accurately copied. Unlike Brogden's or Streeter's gold jewels, these designs are brightly coloured, thus indicating enamel. Fortunately a bracelet survives which bears the diamond-shaped Design Registration mark identifying it as one of the Backes & Strauss 1872 designs (see Fig. 363). The scene is in relief, with red and blue enamels for the figures, green for the trees and translucent gold for the lions, following the registered design exactly (Fig. 364). The colours are taken from Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh* where the colour scheme of Ashurnasirpal's palace was reconstructed from remains of the original colouring (it was Layard's reconstruction that provided the model for the halls of the Nineveh Court).²¹ These enamelled pieces are, however, exceptional. Most Assyrian-style jewellery was plain gold with designs in relief or engraved.

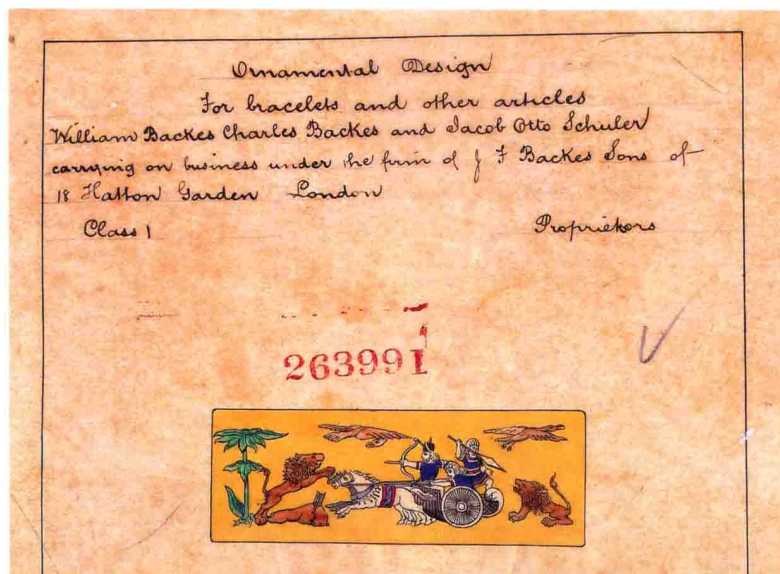
The Design Registration volumes contain several other designs entered by Birmingham and London firms. Between October 1873 and July 1874, George Godwin of Holborn registered a series of designs for jewels in the archaeological taste, all of them oblong in form and framed with wings, lion's heads and scrolls, almost identical to a surviving brooch in the British Museum (Fig. 366). In December 1874 the *Jeweller and Metalworker* announced them



363

Gold bracelets and silver-gilt demi-parure. *Left*: Made by Backes & Strauss, London, in 1872; *right*: retailed by Marshall of Edinburgh; *centre*: retailed by Pidduck & Co. of Manchester. W. of case 8.6 cm. English, 1870–75. British Museum, given by Backes and Strauss (*left*), and private collection. The two bracelets depict hunting scenes. The enamelled design (*left*) is taken from the Nineveh lion-hunt reliefs.

as ‘Mr. Godwin’s Art-Jewellery . . . copies in jewellery from ancient art, including Grecian, Greco-Roman; Assyrian, Arabesque, and Celtic, as well as Etruscan and Egyptian’; the notice concluded that it was ‘a good sign to see manufacturers thus diverging from the beaten track’. Godwin also placed an announcement in the *Art-Journal*, no doubt hoping to encourage high-street jewellers to stock his new designs.²² It cannot be coincidental that on 13 December 1874 the artist Frederick Goodall made a drawing of his wife wearing what appears to be one of Godwin’s Assyrian-style brooches with a scene from the sculptures (Fig. 367). It secures a carefully



366

Gold brooch from 'Mr. Godwin's Art Jewellery' series, made by George Godwin of Holborn. English, about 1873–4. W. 5.3 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Godwin registered a range of antiquarian designs in 1873–4 and advertised them as 'Art Jewellery'. They all have the same frames. The scene here is Ashurnasirpal pouring out a libation over a dead lion, from the palace at Nimrud.



367 Right

Mrs Goodall, wife of the artist Frederick Goodall, wearing an 'Assyrian' brooch similar to the one shown above. Drawing by Frederick Goodall (1822–1904). English, dated 13 December 1874. Private collection

Alice Goodall (1849/50–1913) was the artist's second wife: they married in 1872. Her earrings are also antiquarian, with classical rod-and-bead motifs. In her hair is a crescent-and-star brooch.



tied ribbon bow at her neck, and the winged lion's head at the top, the stylized wings at the sides and the scrolls below are almost identical to the British Museum brooch.²³ Goodall was one of a group of Orientalist painters who had visited Egypt twice, in 1858 and 1870, often bringing back appropriate draperies and robes for his paintings; he made several large canvases of biblical scenes, and it is easy to imagine that a brooch based on the Assyrian sculptures would have suited his taste.

This rash of Assyrian designs in the early 1870s was probably prompted by the publicity surrounding the discoveries made by the assyriologist George Smith (1840–76) in piecing together fragments of Ashurbanipal's library; in 1872 he had found an account of the great flood which corresponded almost exactly with that in the Bible.²⁴ Smith's discoveries created tremendous excitement. As *The Times* noted in its 'Entertainments' column for 27 December 1872, under 'The British Museum': 'The Assyrian Galleries came in for more than an ordinary amount of attention, owing no doubt to the late discovery by Mr. George Smith of a history of the Deluge among the cuneiform inscriptions.'²⁵

All the jewellery discussed so far copied scenes from the sculptures in gold relief. Some Assyrian goldwork had been found, but most of what was known about Assyrian jewellery

364 Opposite, left

Watercolour design registered by Backes & Straus in 1872 for the bracelet in Fig. 363. London, National Archives

Originally J.F. Backes & Co. of Hanau, the firm opened a Hatton Garden branch in 1814. Their trade catalogues of the 1880s list an office in Birmingham, where the bracelet was probably made.

365 Opposite, right

Gold bracelet in Fig. 363 right (above) shown from the back. Diam. of case 9.7 cm. Private collection

The back is decorated with a winged protective genie from Nimrud, flanked by palmettes which are more classical in form than Assyrian. The case has a pop-up fitting like the Dudley bracelet case in Fig. 362.

Lady Layard's suite of gold and hardstone cylinder-seal jewellery, in the original Phillips case. W. of bracelet 7.3 cm. British Museum, bequeathed by Lady Layard

This is completely different from other Assyrian-style jewellery as it is made up of genuine ancient cylinder seals instead of copies of the sculptured reliefs. The crescent-shaped case is very unusual and was specially designed for the purpose. Possibly Layard had wanted the necklace laid out like this rather than in a circle, so that the seals were easier to see. It was probably displayed when visitors came.



369
Ashurbanipal's archers wearing lion's-head bracelets. Detail from one of the Nimrud reliefs. British Museum



came from the jewels depicted in the sculptures. Few of these were copied, though they occasionally appear in Orientalist paintings.²⁶ The exception is the suite of jewellery given by Henry Layard as a wedding present to his wife, Enid Guest, in 1869. This is completely different from anything else. It is not based on the sculptured reliefs but is composed of Assyrian and Babylonian cylinder seals and stamp seals brought back by Layard from his excavations. The suite consists of a necklace, earrings and bracelet; the necklace alone contains fifteen seals carved in chalcedony, agate, haematite and marble, eleven cylinder seals round the neck with three pendant stamp seals in front and one in the clasp (Fig. 368). It is far from a beautiful object, but what makes it fascinating is the documentation in Lady Layard's diaries, which she kept from the day of her marriage, 9 March 1869, to her death in 1912.²⁷ On 23 March 1869 she wrote, 'Today Henry gave me a bracelet being Esarhaddon's signet which he had found at Nineveh and had set by Phillips.'²⁸ Esarhaddon's palace was at Nimrud, not at Nineveh; once again the name was wrongly attached. Layard may well have found the seal there and had probably associated it with the King himself to make it more romantic for his new bride. The bracelet is a characteristic Victorian type, a hollow-cast tube with invisible hinges at the sides and terminating in lion's heads that grip the cylindrical seal. It is one of the few pieces of Assyrian-style jewellery inspired by ornaments depicted in the reliefs. Ashurbanipal's archers wear similar open-ended lion-head armlets: Phillips has used the seal to close the gap (Fig. 369). The lion heads



370

Lady Layard wearing her cylinder-seal parure, by Vicente Palmaroli y Gonzalez (1834–96). Painted in Madrid in 1870. British Museum

Palmaroli was portrait painter to the Spanish court and attended the Layards' dinners at the British Embassy. The sittings for the portrait are meticulously recorded in Lady Layard's diaries. She had conceived the dress the year before, buying the dark green velvet in Turin and the antique paste buttons in Milan. For a visit to the opera in Madrid in February 1870, she was able to write, 'I wore at last my dark green velvet.' She evidently loved the dress, even if the seals were only worn at her husband's request. The elaborate belt was also a present from Layard, executed in the Renaissance taste in inlaid steel and enamelled silver by the Vicenzan metalworker Antonio Cortelazzo, whom Layard wished to support. It was probably just as uncomfortable as the seals.

and pine cones on the necklace and earrings are also derived from the sculptures – the pine cone is a symbol of magical protection – while the gold seal caps are decorated with chevron borders based on those engraved on the seals themselves. Phillips had evidently studied the Assyrian collections quite closely. He was also Layard's favoured jeweller, as we shall see later. Phillips was one of the few Bond Street firms to have produced archaeological jewellery to rival Castellani in 1862; he was a natural choice for an antiquarian composition such as this.

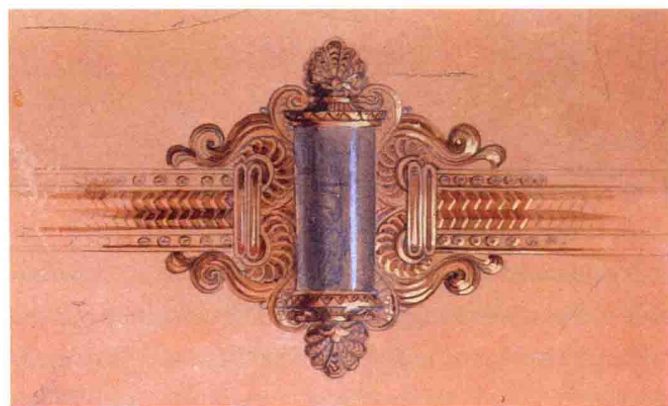
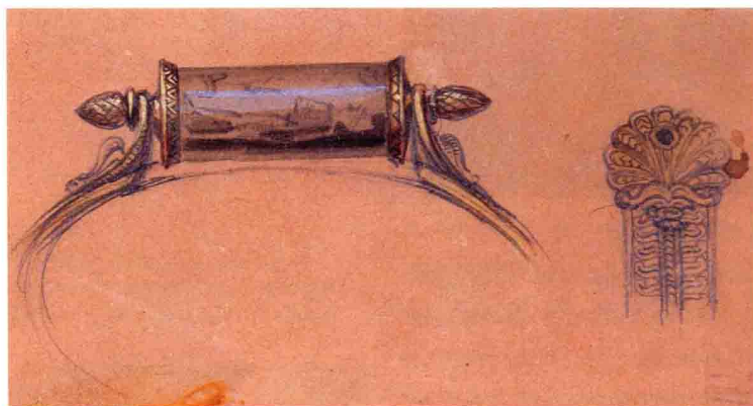
Enid wore the cylinder seal suite for her marriage portrait (see also p. 176) painted in Madrid between April and October 1870 (Fig. 370).²⁹ The newly-weds had spent the summer of 1869 in Italy and left in November that year for Madrid, where Layard had been appointed British Minister. This was thus the first opportunity for a portrait to be made. She records wearing the 'square-cut dark green velvet dress' at her first sitting but does not mention the jewellery. Two days later, however, 'a little man one of the managers of the Archl. Museum came to ask to see the Nineveh cylinders'. Word had spread. She records wearing them on one further occasion, at dinner with Queen Victoria in Osborne House on the Isle of Wight in July 1873: 'I wore my Nineveh necklace wh. was much admired and the bracelet

passed round for inspection.’ One imagines that while this was going on Layard was eloquently holding forth on Esarhaddon’s seal and the story of its finding. After this date Enid’s diaries do not mention the suite at all. Given the delight with which she describes the many other gifts and purchases of jewels, especially her favourite diamonds, one is left with the inescapable conclusion that she found the heavy cylinder seals uncomfortable and put them on only at her husband’s request. They were for him the perfect conversation piece.

Assyrian-style jewellery was almost exclusively a British phenomenon. Among the few other instances of the mounting of cylinder seals are a series of ingenious designs incorporating cylinder seals and stamp seals in the archives of Tiffany of New York, dating from the 1870s or 1880s. Little is known about them, but they must have been a special commission from a client who owned the seals (Figs 371, 372). One of the bracelets shows a cylinder seal mounted like Lady Layard’s, while the stamp seal is combined with a striking Assyrian head as a fob pendant. Despite the early French successes at Khorsabad, the Louvre sculptures did not inspire Assyrian-style jewellery. In his great history of French jewellery of the nineteenth century, Henri Vever records just one piece, a gold necklace shown by his own firm at the Paris Exhibition of 1878, which he describes as a ‘collier assyrien’ although few of the motifs seem to have an obvious Assyrian source apart from the palmettes.³⁰

In Italy Layard was a highly regarded figure for his collection of Italian paintings and his support of Italian arts abroad. He was a staunch supporter of the *Risorgimento* and a great personal friend of the Castellani brothers, Alessandro and Augusto. Alessandro would have seen the Assyrian displays in the British Museum on his first visit to London in 1861, or in 1862 at the time of the London International Exhibition. Perhaps it was then that he asked Layard

371 A & B
Design for bracelets with cylinder seals
by Tiffany & Co. Watercolour, about
1870–80. Tiffany & Co. Archives



372
Design for a fob pendant incorporating a
stamp seal by Tiffany & Co. Watercolour,
about 1870–80. Tiffany & Co. Archives





373

Gold brooch with an Assyrian deity in the form of a winged archer in a sun disc, made in the Castellani workshop. Italian, Rome or Naples, about 1861–6. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia

Alessandro Castellani would have seen the Assyrian sculptures during his visits to London in the 1860s. Layard gave him sketches from the sculptures in 1866. He probably also knew that this motif appeared on the title page of Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*. It is the among the few Assyrian-style pieces produced by the Castellani firm.

for some sketches of Assyrian motifs; for among the surviving archive material from the Castellani workshop is a series of sketches taken from the British Museum sculptures and from surviving gold ornaments, or alternatively from the plates in *Monuments of Nineveh*. The drawings are annotated 'Gift of Henry Layard 1866'.³¹ Among them is the motif of a winged archer in a sun disc from Ashurnasirpal's palace at Nimrud, representing either the god Ashur, the highest Assyrian deity, or the sun-god Shamash.³² Back in Italy, Alessandro may have suggested to his brother Augusto in Rome or to the goldsmiths in his Naples workshop, where he was then living in exile from Rome, that they should recreate the Assyrian winged deity from the palace reliefs. Layard may also have given Alessandro a copy of *Nineveh and its Remains*, which has a similar winged deity motif on the title page, while the motif copied in the Castellani brooch is illustrated later in the book (Figs 373–4).³³ The sketches from the sculptures also include the vertical border motif with winged horses and rosettes on the reconstructed gateway which frames the frontispiece to *Monuments of Nineveh*, the horses in white on a blue ground. These colours were copied by the Castellani firm in their only known Assyrian-style micromosaic design: a winged human-headed bull with cloven feet but which in other respects is much closer to the winged horses than to the colossal static guardian bulls (Fig. 375). Like the Egyptian mosaic parure, this Assyrian mosaic is a rare departure from the Castellanis' insistence on appropriate forms and techniques for the period.

The winged archer brooch was kept by Augusto as part of the Castellani historical collection of reproductions of the jewellery of Italy bequeathed to the Villa Giulia. He added it to the second of his eight great stages in the development of jewellery, the *Periodo Tirreno* (Tyrrhenian period). It is visible in the centre of the *Periodo Tirreno* display in contemporary photographs taken of the Castellani studio in Rome (see Fig. 382) and was described by Augusto as follows: 'Reproduction of a brooch found at Nineveh and now in the British Museum. It represents Jehova with a bow chased all over in relief; it is contained within a circle formed of several cords.'³⁴ Augusto had not been to London; perhaps working from the 1866 sketches he had forgotten or never realized that the motif came from a stone sculpture, not a brooch, though he was right to say it represented the highest deity. It was not part of Italian history, yet he included it because Greek art had its orientaling period and so Oriental art was equally part of the history of Greek art; the *Periodo Tirreno* also includes copies of early Greek Achelous heads with their immaculate beards and curled hair, not unlike the Assyrians. The firm's recreations of the jewellery of Italy through the ages form the subject of the following section.



374

Assyrian relief with winged deity, from *Nineveh and its Remains*, London 1849, vol. II, p. 448

375

Gold pendant with micromosaic of an Assyrian human-headed bull, made in the Castellani workshops. Italian, Rome, about 1860–70. Diam. 3.3 cm. British Museum, given by the British Museum Friends

This is the only Assyrian-style mosaic subject found in Castellani jewellery and may have been created in tribute to Layard, who had done so much to promote the Castellanis' work abroad.



THE CASTELLANI AND THE ITALIAN RISORGIMENTO

Classical jewellery was not unknown before the nineteenth century, but it had not affected contemporary jewellery design. The architecture and sculpture of the classical world had been much studied and appreciated since the Renaissance. Cameos, a classical genre, were revitalized in the Renaissance and were taken up enthusiastically in Neo-classical jewellery of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but the classical motifs here tend to derive from the standard repertoire of architectural and sculptural motifs. They are not inspired by ancient jewellery. The early decades of the nineteenth century, however, saw the discovery of vast quantities of jewellery from the classical world, in Italy initially, but later in the century spectacular finds were made elsewhere in the Mediterranean and in Russia.

Anecdotal evidence has led to the belief that the nobles on whose lands they were found wore the ancient pieces themselves. This rests largely on the report by a Scottish visitor to Rome, Elizabeth Caroline Gray, that she had heard much of the 'gold and jewelled ornaments' excavated by Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino and Napoléon I's brother, and that the Princess of Canino 'had appeared at some of the ambassadors' fêtes in Rome with a parure of Etruscan jewellery which was the envy of society and excelled the chefs d'oeuvres of Paris or Vienna'.¹ Ancient jewellery did not normally come out of the ground in a wearable state, and it seems more likely that a classical-style parure, perhaps set with ancient scarabs, was mistaken for the real thing.²

The Canino estates north of Rome covered the ancient Etruscan site of Vulci; the tombs were discovered in 1828 and plundered indiscriminately, the Prince himself unearthing more than 2,000 objects in the space of four months.³ Mrs Gray had hoped to see the Canino collection, but found that it had all been dispersed by the time she got there. She did, however, meet Secondiano Campanari, one of many who, stimulated by the Canino finds, had started to dig up the Etruscan tombs on his lands. Arriving in his village, Toscanella, with her husband they saw him returning from an excavation with an ancient strigil in his hands; they introduced themselves and persuaded him to have a *scavo* (excavation) arranged for them. The tombs were so numerous that this had become the done thing for serious visitors. Even if a *scavo* was not possible, one of the major sights for visitors to Rome was the Etruscan Museum in the Vatican. For Mrs Gray it was one of the highlights of her visit: 'In the middle of this room stands a very large round table, divided into compartments from the centre outwards, and covered with glass. It revolves upon a pivot easily, so that every one may turn to himself the object he wishes to examine without the trouble of careering round it.' She then describes each compartment, from 'wreaths of pure and thin gold . . . of ivy, bay, olive' to 'bullas . . . of the size of watches', as well as bracelets, rings, chains, 'many large gold fibulae to fasten on the toga', and earrings, all in all 'the finest collection known of ancient ornaments'.⁴

The Museo Etrusco was founded by Pope Gregory XVI in 1837 and mostly contains objects that were found from 1828 onwards in the excavations of the ancient cities of southern Etruria, then part of the Papal States. All finds were supposed to be offered first to the Papal government, which thus amassed an astonishing collection, but none more spectacular than the finds from the tomb of Regolini Galassi (the names of its two discoverers) at Cerveteri, opened in 1836. The archaeologist George Dennis noted in 1848 that the finds

were given pride of place in the revolving cabinet described by Mrs Gray.⁵ To advise on the acquisition of the gold ornaments the Papal government had called on Fortunato Pio Castellani, who was already deeply involved in the study of ancient jewellery, and had lectured as early as 1826 on the colouring of gold to produce the deep yellow of ancient finds.⁶ Fortunato examined the treasure together with his thirteen-year-old son, Alessandro, and this event was to be a crucial stimulus, recorded time and again by Alessandro in later years.⁷

Fortunato Pio Castellani and later his two sons Alessandro and Augusto became the most famous 'archaeological' jewellers of the nineteenth century. They did not stick to a single style or a single period, and extended their studies to cover jewellery from Italy of all historic periods. These astounding finds of Etruscan and other classical jewellery acted as the catalyst in their search for a new language of jewellery. And because this new language was applied to everything they did, their entire oeuvre is considered together here. The section on international exhibitions demonstrates that they were the acknowledged leaders in their field, but they had many followers in Italy and elsewhere. These firms struggled to maintain an identity in the shadow of Castellani but, with few exceptions, achieved only a pale imitation of their work.

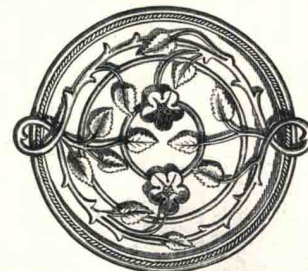
If the Vatican Museo Etrusco was the best place for ancient jewellery in Rome in the 1830s, within twenty years it had a serious rival. The studio of the Castellani family in Rome played an extraordinary role in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. In the tradition of artists' studios in Rome, the Castellanis' was a permanent showroom where the visitor could see two parallel displays: one a distinguished collection of ancient jewellery, formed from those items not commandeered by the Papal government; the other a specially selected series of modern reproductions of ancient jewellery made by themselves. Their studio was thus as spectacular as any museum and in this the Castellanis were unique among the jewellers of Rome. From 1853 the studio was in the via Poli, not far from the jewellers' quarter by the Spanish Steps, moving in 1869 to Piazza di Trevi, in a grand building to the right of the fountain. The firm was patronized by a huge and varied clientele, from all the crowned heads of Europe to unknown travellers recorded in the company ledgers as 'Signor Inglese'. Yet there were no diamond-studded jewels, the usual crowd-pullers; the work was almost entirely in gold. On one level it was antiquarian curiosity, albeit of breathtaking virtuosity. Yet the phenomenal success of their reproductions at international exhibitions over a twenty-year period probably did more than any museum display or sensational archaeological discovery to spread an appreciation of the jewellery of the ancient world.

The following account explains the Castellanis' grand scheme and their three outstanding innovations in nineteenth-century jewellery: reviving the ancient technique of granulation (creating patterns with tiny grains of gold), and making it fashionable, infusing the declining art of micromosaic with a new impetus, and adapting Greek and Latin inscriptions to suit modern taste. It examines the surviving evidence for the Castellanis' relationships with their clients to shed light on how they perceived their grand scheme and how it was perceived by others. In so doing it uncovers what made the studio so compelling that it became for many, Elizabeth Barrett Browning for one, a highlight of their visit to Rome, recorded in diaries and letters from Northumbria to New York and Boston. Much of the information comes from two key sources. One is the archive of the Castellani family in the Archivio di Stato in Rome. The other is the Castellani studio's series of visitors' books in the Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia. These contain hundreds if not thousands of signatures for every year. Maintained from

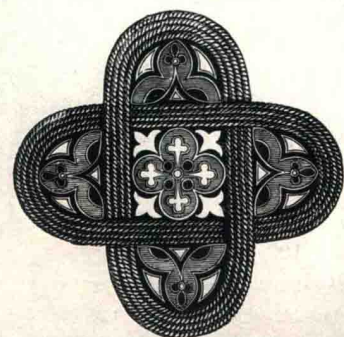
SIGNOR CASTELLANI, of Rome, whose name is



known throughout the world as a jeweller of



the highest order, enriched the Exhibition



with a small case containing gems of Art of



rare character and of great value. They are,

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Jewels shown by Castellani at the 1862 Exhibition in London. *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*, 1862, p. 229

The 'Signor Castellani' in the text was probably Alessandro Castellani (1824–83), since he came to London for the exhibition, although his father, Fortunato Pio Castellani (1794–1865), was still in charge of the firm. The top two are copies of Etruscan brooches from the Campana collection; the third is medieval in inspiration, while the last is one of the firm's original modern designs, a mosaic inscription 'Dearer than gold' combined with an Etruscan border.



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Gold stud with a ram's head amidst flowers (enlarged), made in the Castellani workshop, Rome. Italian, about 1845–60. Diam. 2.2 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

One of a set of three (see Fig. 111), this stud corresponds to references in the Castellani ledgers from the mid-1840s to jewels with ram's heads, putti and flowers, often described as *all'uso etrusco* (in the Etruscan manner). The flowerheads are set on individual stalks. The American Ellen Twisleton bought a pair of ram's-head hairpins from Castellani in 1853 (see p. 500).

1857 onwards, they record all who came to the studio and provide an astonishing insight into the foreigners visiting Rome as well as Roman society itself.

The firm was founded in 1814 by Fortunato Pio Castellani, who was subsequently joined by Alessandro and Augusto. Initially they were goldsmiths rather than jewellers, and relied for their jewellery stock on imports from Paris, in particular from Mellerio. But in the early 1850s they turned their backs on contemporary taste and boldly conceived an ambitious plan to recreate what they saw as Italy's national heritage. Their aim was to tell, through the history of jewellery, the progress of civilization in Italy, ending with modern times. These were the years of the *Risorgimento*, when the future of Italy dominated political discourse. The Castellanis' scheme was an ingenious way to demonstrate within accepted boundaries their enthusiasm for the concept of a unified Italy. No other jeweller has ever centred its entire artistic creation so resolutely on a single political idea.

Nothing survives of the interior of the Piazza di Trevi studio, but a series of photographs taken in the late nineteenth century gives us an evocative picture of its theatrical panache. Passing through the main entrance at no. 86, which still bears the name of Augusto Castellani carved into the stone above the doorway, visitors made their way up the stairwell, decorated with mosaics on each landing and half landing, past 'specimens of antique sculpture' to the *piano nobile*. The threshold to the studio bore a mosaic with the Greek word *XAIPE* (welcome).⁸ On entering the first room, the visitor was greeted by terracottas and vases from the Castellani collection of antiquities, and the vista of an enfilade of four rooms stuffed full of treasures. Room 2 held more vases and, round the walls, a series of mounted vitrines with the collection of ancient goldwork, to demonstrate to their public both the inspiration for their work and the accuracy of their recreations. Room 3 housed the ancient bronzes, and finally, in Room 4, the visitor reached the *pièce de résistance* – modern goldwork (Fig. 378). Nothing in the display was for sale (business took place in a separate room), and for the newcomer, it could be distinctly intimidating, as we learn from Emily Birchall, who visited 'Castellani's most charming studio' with her husband, Dearman, on her wedding tour in February 1873:

We were greatly admiring, and my soul was greatly coveting some most lovely gold and mosaic imitations of early Etruscan jewellery, and when Mr Castellani came up, we ventured to ask the price of some of these treasures, and were deeply grieved to find that they were none of them for sale, being merely a sort of museum for chefs d'oeuvre specially dear to their maker's heart. He took us into another room, where were the things that were to be bought, and Dearman selected a lovely little set, brooch and earrings, to give me. The value of the things seemed to my uninitiated mind, extraordinary. I wanted some pretty, simple, gold bracelets for presents, and seeing a most lovely one, chaste, refined, and most delicately and exquisitely worked, but not large or massive, and with no stone or mosaic work, I asked the value of it. 'Sixteen months' workmanship' replied Mr Castellani, and on being requested to express himself in terms more suited to our comprehension, he calmly said '120 guineas'.⁹

This requires some explanation. The price she quotes of 120 guineas is among the most expensive for any bracelet. In 1914, Augusto recorded a valuation of £240 for two bracelets made up of square plaques each with a different pattern in granulation or filigree (see Fig. 382).



Since prices remained remarkably constant, and since few other bracelets would have taken sixteen months to make, we may reasonably suppose that Emily is referring to one of them.¹⁰

The modern goldwork was divided into eight great periods of artistic development, described and listed by Augusto in 1875–81 as a ‘Chronological collection of goldsmith’s work executed in Italy during the various periods of its history, reproduced and displayed in eight cases’. The sections were in this order: earliest origins, the *Periodo Primigeno (sic)* Tyrrhene, Etruscan, Sicilian, Roman, Medieval, Renaissance and Modern.¹¹ The reproductions took several years to complete.¹² The earliest indication in the archive of jewels copying Etruscan forms occurs in the mid-1840s, and there are increasingly frequent references from 1847 onwards to jewels with ram’s heads, putti and flowers (Fig. 377). For example, in December 1848 a Signor Pritchard (*sic*) paid unusually promptly for a large purchase, comprising thirty round gold buttons *all’uso etrusco*, an Etruscan brooch with ram’s head and matching hairpin, and a brooch with double ram’s heads.¹³ At this point the grand scheme was interrupted by the political events taking place in Rome.

During the brief Roman Republic and the Siege of Rome in 1849 Augusto fought with Garibaldi in the defence of the city against the French troops supporting the Pope, and Alessandro was to become a prominent republican. The disruption and consequent loss of trade meant that Fortunato withdrew from the business. At the same time, Alessandro lost his wife and child of two years, ‘so all the burden of the shop lay on me’, as Augusto later recalled. In the spring of 1851, he continues, work could start up again: ‘directed by our master Michelangelo Caetani we formulated our plan of action and decided to abandon foreign manufactures completely and turn to copying the works of Italian goldsmiths of the classical era. We resolved to conduct a war on fashion [*la guerra alla moda*] and we won.’¹⁴ This chronology is confirmed by Murray’s guides to Rome of 1843 and 1850, which list Castellani merely as a moulder of

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The Castellani showroom photographed after 1870 with the firm’s ‘chronological collection’ of modern goldwork arranged in cases round the walls. Archivio privato Giuseppe Moretti

This was the final room in a suite of four rooms that displayed the Castellani’s collection of antiquities – vases, terracottas, bronzes and goldwork. The ancient goldwork was in the second room, and the modern goldwork was kept to the end, as the *pièce de résistance*. In the centre is a Roman couch or *bisellium*. Augusto Castellani (1829–1914) had restored a fragmentary *bisellium* and presented it to the Capitoline Museum in 1873. This is therefore either a copy or the photograph was taken before 1873.

Of the two brothers, Augusto was the practising goldsmith. Alessandro had lost his left arm in his youth.

cameos and mosaics.¹⁵ Augusto was in charge of administration—under his father’s supervision, and Alessandro of artistic direction, with the advice of Caetani. Even after 1851 the path was not straightforward: Alessandro was imprisoned for his Republican activities from 1853 to 1856; he suffered a nervous breakdown and was transferred to the city’s lunatic asylum. It took him until the end of 1857 to regain his health and begin to design jewellery again. It was not before 1858 that Augusto was able to describe how together with Caetani we ‘threw ourselves into the perfection of our system of reproductions of classical Italian jewels’.¹⁶

Both sons acknowledge that Michelangelo Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta, who first met Fortunato Pio Castellani in 1826, encouraged their father to copy ancient jewels.¹⁷ Politician, writer and anglophile (his second and third wives were both English), Caetani was both a distinguished scholar of Dante and a passionate student of technology. As head of the fire service in Rome he visited England to learn about the construction of fire engines; there he developed a Cockney accent which, to the dismay of his third wife, Enrichetta Howard, the daughter of Lord Howard de Walden, he never lost. Through his wife he had extraordinary access to the English aristocracy and brought the firm a well-to-do clientele from the outset, which was instrumental in its success throughout his long association with them up to his death in 1882. It was Caetani who gave Castellani jewels a visibility in Roman high society: in 1879 Augusto had lent jewels to Caetani’s sister to dress up ‘in modo antico’ for a *tableau vivant* at the German Embassy; the loan paid off, for the sister now wished, as Caetani writes, to purchase an elegant fibula ‘in our antique manner’.¹⁸ Caetani shared Alessandro’s anti-papal views; in a letter to him in 1861 about his own experiments in lathe-turning malachite to ‘italianize’ it, Caetani joked that there were ‘other stones – and particularly strong stones in St Peter’s, that don’t want to be italianized!’¹⁹

From the 1850s the showroom was a meeting place for supporters of Italian Unification – politicians, diplomats, aristocrats, clerics – among them the Piedmontese representative, Massimo d’Azeglio, who would come, as Augusto later recorded, ‘to see the jewels’ (*a veder i gioielli*) – the quotation marks are Augusto’s): the real aim was to sound out Augusto about the strength of support for Victor Emmanuel in Rome. It is no surprise that Augusto received the commission from the Piedmontese National Committee in Rome for the pair of presentation swords for Napoléon III and Victor Emmanuel after their joint victory over the Austrians in 1859. But the commission put Augusto in an embarrassing position: the Papal government tried to prevent it and the French Government representative had to intervene to place Augusto under French protection. The swords were briefly displayed in the Castellani studio in the winter of 1859–60. The Brownings were in Rome and rushed to see them. As Elizabeth recounts:

Castellani of course was the artist, and the whole business had to be huddled up at the end, because of his holiness denouncing all such givers of gifts as traitors to the See. So just as the swords had to be packed up and disappear, some one came in a shut carriage to take me for a sight of these most exquisite works of art . . . we were received at Castellani’s most flatteringly as poets and lovers of Italy; were asked for our autographs; and returned in a blaze of glory and satisfaction, to collapse (as far as I’m concerned) in a near approach to mortality.²⁰

Their autographs survive in the Castellani visitors’ books, annotated, presumably by Augusto,

'January 1860'; next to her signature, Elizabeth has drawn a laurel branch of victory.

The two brothers followed very different political paths.²¹ Alessandro remained an active Republican, supporting Mazzini and opposing Victor Emmanuel II, and in 1860 he was exiled from Rome altogether, unable to return until 1870. The danger to those who did not support the popes was not always appreciated outside Italy. Layard had to work hard in Parliament to convince his fellow MPs of the Papal government's brutality. In March 1861, incensed by a speech on how well the popes were running Rome, he gave this eloquent rejoinder, with the evident expectation that his audience would know whom he meant by 'Signor Castellani':

But he could have shown the hon. gentleman, as a reverse to this picture, one of the most ingenious artists in Rome who was now again in exile because he had designed the hilt of a sword to be presented to the Emperor Napoleon, who was confined for three years in a cell in which he could hardly turn, and who every hour of the night and day was called upon to answer to his name, until his intellect gave way and he was confined in a madhouse. He referred to Signor Castellani.²²

The consequence of Alessandro's activities for the rest of the family is revealed in the *Times* report of the death and funeral of Fortunato in 1865. The Papal police appeared *en masse*, having got wind of the large numbers likely to attend:

Signor Castellani, well known to all lovers of art for his beautiful classical production in jewelry, died yesterday. . . . Highly esteemed in Rome for his enlightened liberal opinions, though of late he has withdrawn altogether from politics. . . . Outside the gate of his house and outside the church of S. Lorenzo there was also a body of gendarmes, such is the fear which the name and reputation of the dead create in Papal Rome.²³

During Alessandro's time in exile he opened a small retail branch in Paris in the Champs Elysées. Thanks to Caetani Alessandro was introduced to the composer Rossini, for whom he executed a seal, and to Princesse Mathilde who invited him in December 1860 to show his jewels to Napoléon III.²⁴ Alessandro could hardly contain his excitement as he described the evening to his father. The Emperor examined Alessandro's display in detail, favouring the classical pieces over the Christian, 'Oh j'aime moins ça!', and then proceeded to offer a jewel to each of the ladies present. For himself the Emperor chose some ten items, among them a pair of bracelets with heads of the first twelve Roman emperors' (Fig. 379). Taking one in each hand he exclaimed, 'Voilà mes Césars! . . . Permettez moi de me retirer, sans quoi je vous achèterai tout' ('Here are my Caesars! . . . Permit me to take my leave, otherwise I shall buy your entire stock').²⁵ No wonder Augusto was able to write in his *Ricordi* that he had sent

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Gold bracelet with chalcedony cameo heads of Roman emperors, made in the Castellani workshop. Italian, about 1860. L. 22 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The heads shown here are, from left to right: Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero. The bracelet is one of a pair illustrating the first twelve Roman emperors. The other survives in private hands. The openwork plaques between each cameo are set with emeralds and rubies alternating with gold beads. The pattern of nine discs or beads echoes Etruscan rather than Roman models (see Fig. 406).



Alessandro 'small groups of work that I executed and within the first months he had done extremely well'.

The firm took part in the first Italian Industrial Exhibition in Florence in 1861, in the name of Fortunato Pio Castellani of Rome, and won first prize. Encouraged by this, the firm decided to participate in the 1862 Exhibition in London in the Italian section (as opposed to the Papal States which were not part of unified Italy, see p. 269); the display was a roaring success (*fece furore*, writes Augusto). Augusto acknowledges the aid of powerful friends.²⁶ One of those powerful friends was Layard. In June 1861, when Alessandro was in London to read his paper on 'The art of the goldsmith in ancient times' at the Archaeological Institute, Layard offered to help him exhibit at the 1862 Exhibition.²⁷ For Alessandro he became '*l'Angelo custode del nostro bello e sventurato paese*' ('the guardian angel of our beautiful and unfortunate country').²⁸ Alessandro then moved from Paris to Naples, where by 1863 he had established a second workshop under a brilliant young goldsmith, Giacinto Melillo; he also dealt successfully in antiquities. Layard continued to help him fund purchases of antiquities and did much in connection with the firm's display at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 (see p. 321). Despite the disruptions of Alessandro's illness and exile, Augusto mastered the running of the business and by the time of the 1862 Exhibition in London the grand scheme was complete.

The Castellani history of civilization in Italy through jewellery

The eight great periods of the grand scheme began with the *Periodo Primigenio*, the earliest jewellery found in Italy. Among them were early Italic bronze ornaments with spirals of the eighth century BC, which the Castellanis reproduced exactly in some examples and adapted to more wearable forms in others, but using silver. Each element of the design was made by hand, the wire manipulated with pliers (Figs 380, 381). The finished pieces must have seemed utterly strange and barbaric to a contemporary audience, and the sample reproductions in the Villa Giulia are the only ones known, but one can understand the fascination to a goldsmith of the creation of complex designs out of wire only. Fontenay for one was intrigued by them, illustrating no fewer than three of the prototypes from the collection of Augusto Castellani.²⁹ The only other jeweller to have made similar pieces was Robert Phillips (see Fig. 418).

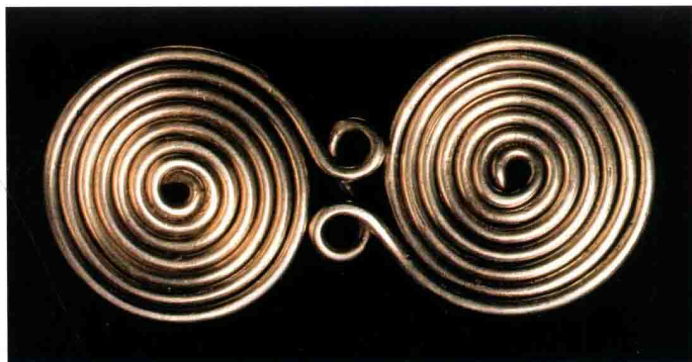
Then follow the *Periodo Tirreno*, or early Etruscan, referring to the Tyrrhenians, the Greek name for the Etruscans who settled in Central Italy in the ninth century BC, and the *Periodo Etrusco*. The Etruscans survived until they were assimilated into the Roman Republic in the third century BC and so these two sections cover a long time-scale and include copies of

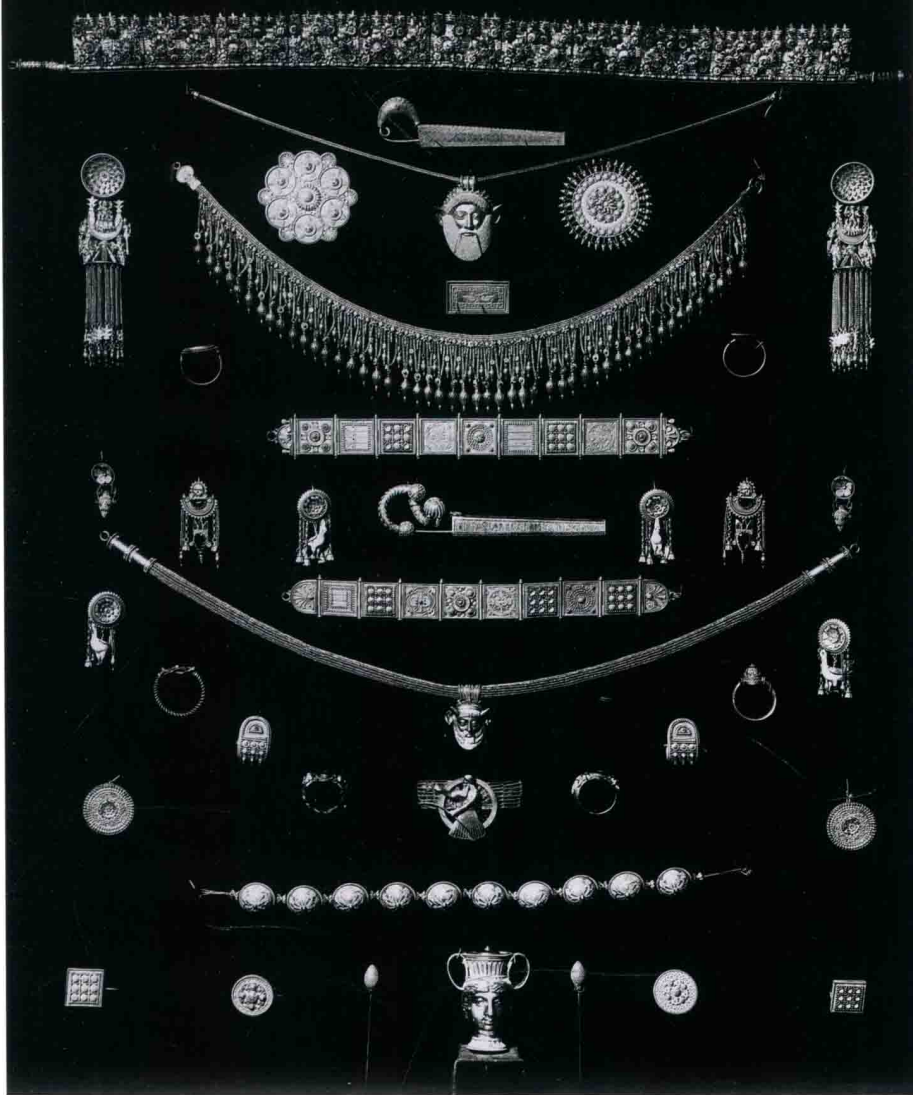
380 Below

Periodo Primigenio: silver wire double-spiral brooch by Castellani, copying an early Iron Age ornament. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia

381 Below right

Iron Age double-spiral brooch (spectacle fibula) in bronze wire. Italian, 10th–9th century BC, from Palestrina. L. 9 cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia





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Periodo Tirreno: vitrine in the modern goldwork room of the Castellani showroom. Photograph, late 19th century. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia

Each vitrine had three panels; this is the central panel (see Fig. 378). Many of these jewels copy ancient originals in the Campana collection; for example, at the top a copy of the diadem from Cumae shown in 1862 (see p. 275); below this the pair of long earrings from Bolsena and the hexafoil brooch copying an Etruscan earring; in the centre the bracelets formed of square plaques and between them the copy of the Chiusi fibula with Etruscan inscription. Towards the bottom is the winged Assyrian archer, the only piece not based on something found in Italy.

Hellenistic Greek pieces found in Etruscan tombs. The Tyrrhenian section also included Assyrian motifs that paralleled the orientalizing phase in Greek art (see p. 395). But its main emphasis was on the spectacular imitations of the collection of the Marchese di Campana. Giovanni Pietro Campana, Director of the Sacro Monte di Pietà (the bank whose traditional business was to lend small sums against the security of pawned objects), built up his collection through his own excavations as well as by purchase, but in order to support his obsession with ancient jewellery he began embezzling funds. He was imprisoned in 1859 and the collection confiscated and offered for sale. The Castellani family had it in their possession for six months 'for the purpose of repairing injuries', during which time they studied it and made casts of it; it was eventually sold to Napoléon III in 1860–61.³⁰ Among the copies from the Campana collection are the fibula found at Chiusi in 1845 with inscription executed in linear granulation, the so-called 'bracelets' formed of square plaques with exquisite pattern granulation (see p. 418), the lobed hexafoil earring combining linear and pattern granulation (turned into a brooch), and the enormous earrings with sun-chariot and winged victories from Bolsena (Fig. 382).³¹ The copies of the Bolsena earrings retain the discs that were originally attached at the top when the earrings were found in 1861. Fontenay thought them messy and ungainly, and it seems Castellani's clients did too, for copies of them are rare.³² The articulated diadem at the top with its delicate enamelled rosettes, was based on a Campana piece found at Cumae.

The *Periodo Etrusco* vitrine was dominated by a great ivy-leaf diadem based on an original owned by the Castellanis, necklaces with scarabs, glass beads and bullae, the classic Etruscan ornament, as well as 'horned snake' fibulae, now thought to date from the eighth to seventh centuries BC (Fig. 384). Many of these are almost direct copies (Fig. 376); in other instances the Castellanis have transformed a Hellenistic



burial ornament of thin sheet gold in the form of a sun-disk with the head of Helios into a solidly cast and eminently wearable brooch (Fig. 383).³³

The last two classical sections are the Sicilian (*Periodo Siculo*), referring to the Greeks in southern Italy, and the Roman (*Periodo Romano*). In the Sicilian vitrine a number of pieces are created as settings for Greek coins from Sicily or for engraved gems (Fig. 385). Among the few that do have prototypes is the necklace with rosettes from which hang masks and amphorae (the upper necklace in Fig. 385); this is based on a fourth-century BC necklace supposedly from Tarento in southern Italy in Alessandro's collection.³⁴ The earrings with variations on the theme of rods with bead terminals and amphorae hanging from a horizontal bar also have prototypes in classical jewellery.³⁵ This section also contains complete inventions such as the earrings of Juno, inspired by a passage in the *Iliad* and composed of three pierced hemispheres which Homer called 'ΕΡΜΑΤΑ ΤΡΙΓΛΗΝΑ', or pupils (shown in Fig. 385, just below the upper necklace). In his chronological survey Augusto credits the design to Caetani.³⁶ The *Periodo Romano* pieces are simpler in design, without the elaborate granulation and applied wirework of the earlier periods. Several were inspired by ancient jewels from the Castellani collection now in the British Museum. In one instance the Castellani created additional pieces to make up a set: a copy of a Roman necklace with pendant butterfly was given earrings and brooch to match.³⁷

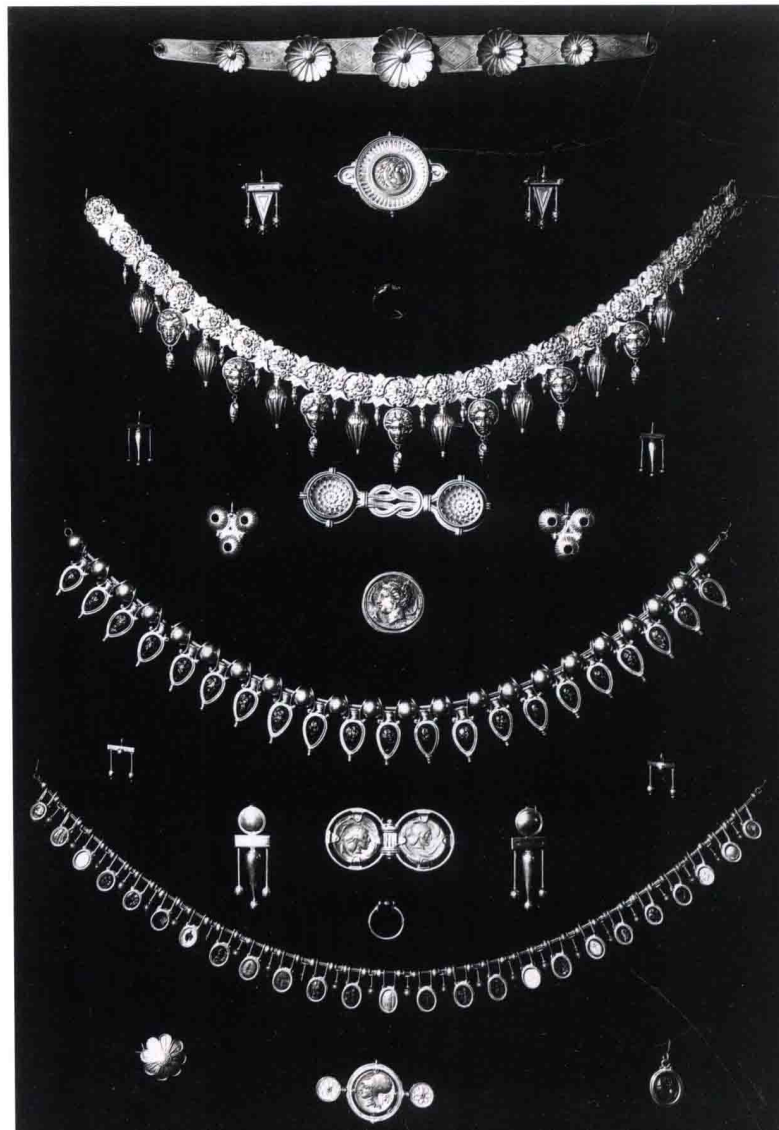
Thus five sections out of the eight are devoted to the ancient world. The next three sections – Medieval, Renaissance and Modern – display of necessity a very different approach.

383 Top
Periodo Etrusco: gold brooch with head of Helios by Castellani, copying a Hellenistic Greek burial ornament from the Campana collection. Diam. 3.25 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The 'hair' in lines of tiny gold grains is a refinement added by Castellani. The original is in simple beaten gold, the sun rays with twisted wire borders.

384 Above
Periodo Etrusco: gold brooch by Castellani copying an early Italian 'horned snake' fibula. L. 5.3cm. British Museum

The early Italian examples are in bronze and date from the 8th/7th centuries BC. The Castellani have copied them almost exactly, but in gold.



385
Periodo Siculo: detail of the vitrine in the modern goldwork room of the Castellani showroom. Photograph, late 19th century. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia

Towards the top is the necklace with rosettes, masks and amphorae based on a 4th-century BC necklace in Alessandro's collection. The triple-disc 'earrings of Juno' are immediately below this, either side of brooches set with Roman coins. Also visible are necklaces set with engraved gems, and the popular earrings with variations on the 'rod-and-bead' motif.



386 Far left
Periodo Medioevale: gold and inlaid garnet waist-clasp by Castellani, copying an Ostrogothic buckle of the late 4th to 5th century AD. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia

387 Left
Ostrogothic buckle, gold and cloisonné garnets, 5th century AD. L. 6.55 cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia

There were far fewer surviving jewels from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and without the wealth of ancient models the Castellani family had to turn to other sources of the appropriate period. The *Periodo Moderno* was different again, in being entirely new. It is in the Medieval and Modern sections that Caetani played his greatest role and where the Castellani's greatest originality lies. Being forced to think on the one hand about how to represent a period where comparatively little jewellery survived, and on the other how to create a contemporary style that echoed the past but that was yet of the present, gave these jewels an intellectual underpinning that the reproductions of the jewels from classical antiquity do not have. And because they were creating something new, the Castellani under Caetani's guidance were able to imbue some of the 'modern' pieces with a political resonance over and above the nationalistic conception of their entire scheme.

The jewels in the *Periodo Medioevale* section are the result of three distinct approaches: one was the copying of actual surviving jewels, the second was the adaptation of motifs of the period not necessarily used in jewellery, and the third was the use of micromosaics. The copies were sometimes reproduced line for line: an Ostrogothic radiate brooch is an almost exact replica of a late fourth- to fifth-century AD example from their collection.³⁸ In other cases, originals were ingeniously adapted: in 1870 Augusto acquired a fine early fifth-century garnet-inlaid Ostrogothic buckle, but instead of reproducing the impractically heavy buckle and hook, he used the kidney-shaped buckle-plate only, duplicated it in reverse and turned it into a symmetrical waist-clasp (Figs 386, 387). Augusto paid 300 *lire* for the original in 1870; in 1914 he valued his modern version at 1,000 *lire*. This probably reflects the cost of cutting the stones to shape for the inlay.³⁹ The modern versions of these Ostrogothic jewels in the Villa Giulia are the only ones known. Perhaps they were too barbaric for Victorian taste.

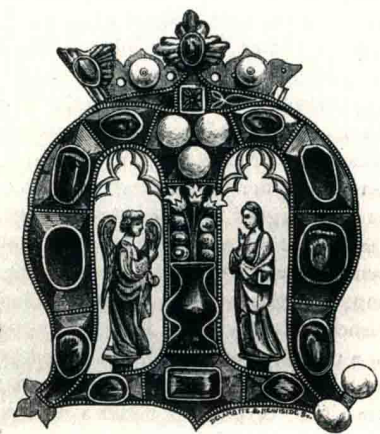
More popular were the jewels in the form of the letter 'M', the arches of the 'M' containing figures of the Virgin and the Angel of the Annunciation. This design was based on a celebrated fourteenth-century jewel in New College, Oxford (Figs 388, 389).⁴⁰ As a general rule, the Castellani had intimate knowledge of the originals they were copying, but it seems unlikely that Alessandro actually saw the original on one of his visits to England: the many discrepancies between model and recreation give every indication that the copy was made from the black and white engraving of the New College jewel published in the *Archaeological Journal* in 1845.⁴¹ This was the only published illustration available in the mid-nineteenth century and explains the Castellani's use of stones of one colour instead of the alternate rubies and emeralds of the original, and the use of enamel for the figures, which are plain gold on

388 Below
Periodo Medioevale: copy of the 14th-century New College jewel by Castellani. Gold, sapphires and pearls. H. 6 cm. Private collection

389 Bottom
Engraving of the 14th-century New College jewel published in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 2, 1846, p. 206



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Periodo Medioevale: 'Carolingian-style' parure made by Castellani. Italian, designed about 1860–70. Whereabouts unknown

'Carolingian' was Augusto's label, but the design is inspired by a mixture of medieval sources, from Lombardic earrings to jewels from *quattrocento* painting. Elements from it were used repeatedly, especially for presentation pieces (see Fig. 404). Few complete parures with their case inserts survive. This one, with its Gothic arches for the earrings, gives some idea of the dramatic effect these ensembles must have created when displayed at exhibitions. Augusto records selling a similar 'Carolingian' parure to the King of Italy, Umberto I, in June 1891 as a gift for the German empress (Princess Augusta Victoria, wife of Wilhelm II) for 50,000 lire.

391

Periodo Medioevale or Periodo Rinascenza: gold and pearl brooch with sapphire cameo of Medusa, made in the Castellani workshop. Italian. H. 3.2 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

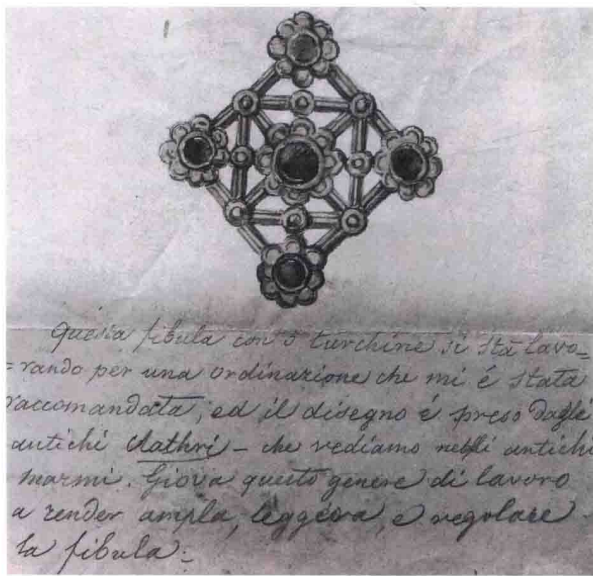
Pearls set on pins occur frequently on late medieval jewellery and appear also on the 'Carolingian' parure (Fig. 390). But Augusto lists a number of jewels with a border of evenly spaced round stones in the Renaissance section of his 'chronological collection', suggesting that he thought the idea Renaissance (see p. 411). The line between Renaissance Italy and Gothic northern Europe in the 15th century was inevitably blurred.



the original. In the copy they have lost their lively Gothic curve to become static profiles; one of few failings of the Castellani firm was their inability to model figures.⁴²

Castellani's *pièce de résistance* in the medieval style was a four-piece parure with pearls, sapphires and rubies. Conceived complete with display stand and case, it comprises a diadem, earrings, a large brooch resembling a medieval ecclesiastical morse, and a necklace with a fringe of rosettes that echo the earrings (Fig. 390). Although described by Augusto as in the 'Carolingian style', the earrings, with their rubies and their hemispherical gold wire 'baskets' at the back, are inspired by garnet-inlaid Lombardic earrings of the seventh century AD.⁴³ The rest of the parure is derived more from thirteenth- or fourteenth-century models. Indeed the most likely sources for the large brooch are the jewels depicted in *quattrocento* painting. The crosses on the diadem can be removed for wear as brooches, though how all eight of them were to be disposed about the person is unclear.⁴⁴ Variants of this parure were made as royal presentation gifts (see p. 417).

The role played by Michelangelo Caetani in suggesting some of these medieval designs is recorded in an exceptional correspondence between patron and jeweller preserved in the Palazzo Caetani in Rome, dating from around 1860–62. Several letters contain Caetani's own pen and watercolour sketches of jewels with detailed instructions for their manufacture (Fig. 392). They are not unlike Pugin's medieval-style jewellery shown at the Great Exhibition, and



392

Letter from Michelangelo Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta, to Alessandro Castellani with design for a brooch. Rome, Fondazione Caetani

One of a group of letters written by Caetani (1804–82) from Paris in 1860–62. The openwork brooch was to be set with five turquoises: 'the design is taken from the ancient *clathri* [Latin, a trellis] which we see in antique marbles. This kind of work helps to make the brooch large, light and regular.'

Caetani may well have known these pieces or at least illustrations of them. One letter to Alessandro begins: 'You will see in this letter the design for a bracelet which you should make for my wife to complete her *mundus muliebris* of pearls, with a few emeralds. These will be mounted with wire and rings and each setting will have on the outside edge a double wire and a simple ring, which is shown even better in the side view.'⁴⁵ No surviving jewel has come to light that corresponds to this design.⁴⁶

Not all of Caetani's ideas were executed, but his influence was nonetheless crucial to the firm's success, especially in the field of micromosaics, the third and largest category of jewels in the *Periodo Medioevale*.⁴⁷ Micromosaic – the art of making miniature mosaics in glass, small enough to be set in jewellery – was a recent invention of the late eighteenth century. The early examples depict classical subjects – sculptures or copies of classical mosaics – but by the early nineteenth century micromosaics echoed the romantic taste for naturalistic landscapes with the ruins of Rome or floral compositions. Augusto Castellani noted in his 1878 survey of industrial art in Italy that around 1840 micromosaics began to go out of fashion. The industry was failing, and with the Castellani family's characteristic blend of philanthropy and pride they decided to revive it. Mosaic jewellery, however, did not exist in the ancient world. There was no historical precedent. So, as Augusto wrote,

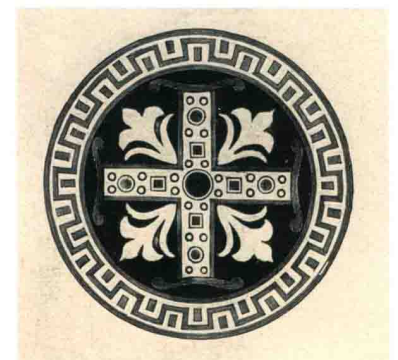
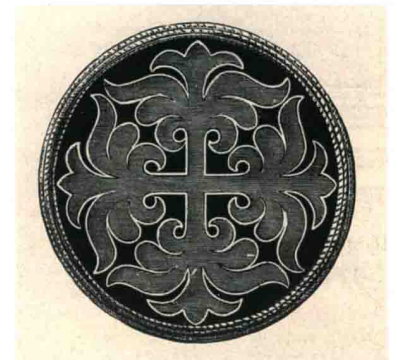
in 1852 Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta and the Castellani family had the idea of combining mosaic with goldsmith's work. Directing the mosaicist's work according to the taste for the antique, they raised it to a finesse and perfection that harmonized superbly with their jewels and that mosaic had never reached. This example was most effective: large numbers of mosaicists abandoned the old style and imitated this new one.⁴⁸

Molten glass was pulled into thin rods or threads, left to cool, and cut into tiny fragments or tesserae, which were then laid into a gold tray. The uneven surface is deliberate: unlike the naturalistic mosaics made earlier in the century which were polished smooth, the Castellanis' specialist mosaic workshop left the tesserae at different heights so they would catch the light and sparkle like the medieval mosaics in Early Christian and Byzantine churches.

393 A & B

Jewels shown by Castellani at the 1862 Exhibition in London. Details from the *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*, 1862, p. 229

These two brooches were executed in brightly coloured micromosaic, the designs taken not from an Italian church but from the decoration of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. The lower piece copies a wall mosaic motif, the colours correctly reproduced in tesserae of gold, silver and coloured glass. The upper design copies a motif from the carved wood beams, translated into mosaic (see p. 410).





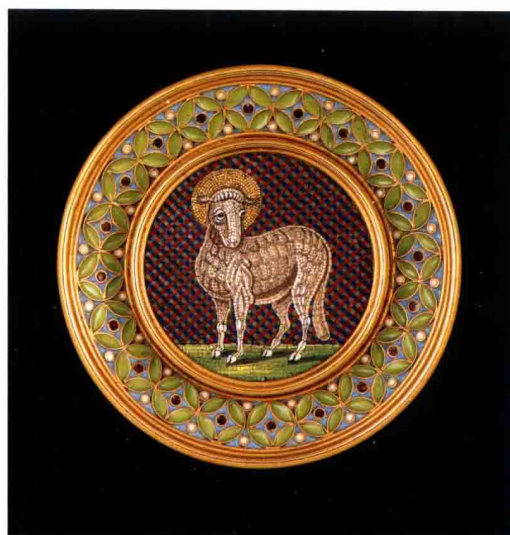
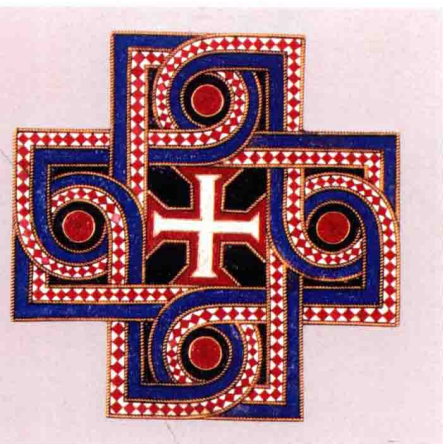
394 Top
Detail of the Lamb of God from the apse mosaic of San Clemente, Rome. From G.B. de Rossi, *Mosaici Cristiani... delle Chiese di Roma*, Rome 1872/99

395 Above
Lombardic enamelled gold brooch (reduced). Southern Italy, 7th century AD. Diam. 6.7 cm. British Museum, purchased from Alessandro Castellani in 1865

396 A & B Above centre and right
Periodo Medioevale: gold and enamel brooch with micromosaic of the Lamb of God, made in the Castellani workshops, Rome. Italian, about 1860–65. Diam. 5.3 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The tesserae in the halo are solid gold. Those of the eyes and forelock are shaped.

397
Periodo Medioevale: micromosaic brooch with interlace pattern, made in the Castellani workshops, Rome. W. 5.2 cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia



The Castellanis' interest in church mosaics coincided with the vast programme of restoration undertaken by Pope Pius IX of the churches of Rome and the discoveries that resulted. Alessandro, writing in 1861, acknowledged the assistance of the Russian Count Vassili Dimitrievitch Olsoufieff; his role remains obscure.⁴⁹ He may have obtained copies of drawings then circulating among antiquarians or suggested particular motifs, some of them so high up that without drawings it was almost impossible to see them.⁵⁰ Others were more familiar: the Virgin and the head of Christ from Jacopo Torriti's *Coronation of the Virgin* of 1295 in Santa Maria Maggiore; the symbols of the four Evangelists from San Clemente, or the Lamb of God from the same church or the apse of Saints Cosmas and Damian.⁵¹ Here a central micromosaic roundel was combined with a four-petal enamel border motif taken from an early medieval brooch from south Italy (Figs 394–6).⁵² The Castellani also looked at *cosmati* work – coloured stones and glass inlaid into marble – while Caetani designed for them a cruciform brooch based on the repeat patterns of inlaid marble floors (Fig. 397).⁵³ Further ideas were culled from the Early Christian catacombs of Rome, where Latin and Greek inscriptions engraved as epitaphs on tombs – VITA TIBI, VIVAS IN DEO, IN PACE (Long life to you, May you live in God, In peace) – were recreated in mosaic, even down to the palm branches flanking IN PACE.⁵⁴ The middle of the century was a time of great interest in these inscriptions; collecting them was a popular pursuit among scholarly clerics and the Castellani jewels were no doubt designed to appeal to such an audience.⁵⁵ Just as the Castellani were creating these revolutionary pieces, the mosaics at Hagia Sofia in Constantinople were published for the first time, and the Castellani broke with their history of jewellery in Italy to copy, from colour lithographs, the mosaic motifs (Fig. 393).⁵⁶

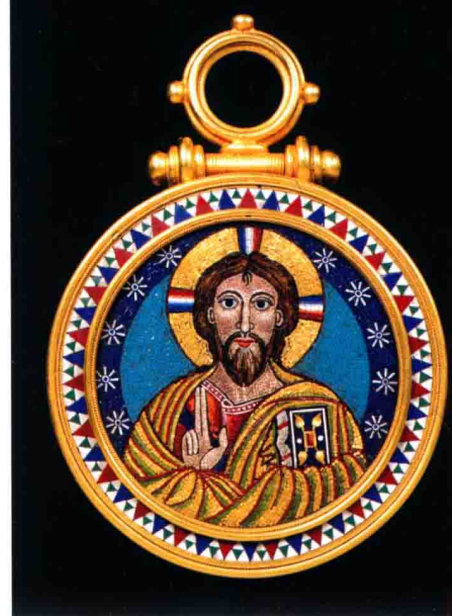
An examination of the sales of stock items reveals that the smaller mosaics were bought in equal measure by English, Italian and Russian clients, but that the elaborate church mosaics almost all went to Russians. It should perhaps come as no surprise that these icon-like images found favour with Russian clients, but the quantities in which they bought the church mosaics are startling. If the Russians loved them, it would be interesting to know how many of the British buyers were Catholic. There is some evidence in favour of such an argument. Barbara Charlton, the fervently Catholic wife of a recusant squire from Northumbria, records in her diary a visit to the Castellani studio in Rome in 1865.⁵⁷ Her husband William was about to depart to Florence for the Dante fêtes, but that morning, 'he took me to Castellani and bought

me a beautiful mosaic cross, and on it the head and monogram of Christ which has been recovered from the crypt of San Clemente church'. The discovery of the crypt in 1861 aroused interest in the church, but the head of Christ was taken from the apse mosaic (Figs 398, 399).⁵⁸

In the *Periodo Rinascenza* the emphasis is on motifs derived from Renaissance strapwork and scrollwork ornament and on Renaissance cameo jewels, often bordered with pearls or gemstones in round settings (Fig. 391).⁵⁹ The cameos themselves were modern, cut by the great gem-engravers of the day: Luigi Pichler, Antonio Odelli and Giuseppe Girometti as well as some of the Neo-classical masters: Antonio Pazzaglia, Benedetto Pistrucci and Antonio Berini.⁶⁰ The designs are inspired as much by jewels depicted in paintings as by actual surviving jewels. In Augusto's list of 1875–81, *Periodo Rinascenza*, two jewels are described as 'Scuola Ferrarese' which must indicate that they were taken from paintings, while one is described as a 'reproduction from the painting of Maddalena Doni', but nothing has yet been conclusively identified as a recreation of the jewel in Raphael's famous portrait in the Pitti Palace in Florence.⁶¹

The most extraordinary aspect of the *Periodo Moderno* is the use of inscriptions, often suggested by Caetani. Many were in Latin or Greek, often derived from classical authors, and those in Italian were taken from Petrarch or Dante, Caetani's great passion. Of the ninety-four items described by Augusto under the *Periodo Moderno* in his 1914 list, thirty-seven bear Greek or Latin inscriptions.⁶² The ledgers indicate that they made numerous other jewels with letters, almost all for stock. Some of these texts were executed in raised gold letters, almost always Roman capitals on a gold ground and often set within a Roman tabula; others were created in elegant two-colour micromosaic, the letters outlined in gold and silver wires. Like any other form of Victorian jewellery, there was a message for every occasion, but the use of Latin and Greek gave them an extra twist. Knowledge of the classical authors was taken for granted and travellers to Italy frequently undertook extra preparation, so the Castellani could assume that these texts would be understood.⁶³

Some occur time and again: from the popular Greek ΑΕΙ (for ever) or ΕΥΤΕ (Bravo) to mottoes such as ΑΔΕΣ Ο ΗΥΜΕΝΑΕ ΗΥΜΕΝ (come hither, oh marriage of marriages), from a poem by Catullus (*Carmen* 61/4), or *UBI AMOR IBI ANIMA* (where my love is there is my soul) (Fig. 400).⁶⁴ Others, however, are much more obscure and indeed their interpretation today is not always obvious: *LATET ANGUIS IN HERBA* (the snake hides in the grass) from Virgil's *Eclagues* 3, line 93, or *CUNCTANDO RESTITUIT REM* (by delaying he restored the state) from Livy, referring to Fabius Maximus Cunctator, the Roman general who followed Hannibal and wore him down, so that eventually he gave up, although he was never defeated.⁶⁵ Both of these may relate to the contemporary political situation. Most of the inscriptions with obvious political undertones could be read equally either as a simple love token or a souvenir of Italy: *NON RELINQUAM* (I will not let go), *IO TRIUMPHAE* surrounded by a laurel wreath, the palindrome *AMORROMA, ITALIA, and ROMA CAPUT MUNDI*.⁶⁶ These must have had particular resonance after 1870 when the Papal government fell and Rome was at last capital of a unified Italy.⁶⁷ Henry Wreford, Rome correspondent of the *Art-Journal* and the *Athenaeum*, who had been following events for the last twenty years, wrote ecstatically to Augusto on 27 September 1870, a week to the day after the Italian army had broken through the walls of Rome at Porta Pia, that 'up till now I have worn on my watch chain the ring you so kindly gave me with the epigraph *Italia* in Etruscan characters. Now I can transfer it to my finger', the implication being that he could now wear it openly, instead of hidden in his waistcoat pocket.⁶⁸



398 *Top*
Periodo Medioevale: gold pendant with micromosaic head of Christ. Made in the Castellani workshops, Rome. Italian. H. 8.2 cm. lent by the American Friends of the V&A through the generosity of Judith H. Siegel, Victoria and Albert Museum, London



399 *Above*
Detail from the apse mosaic of San Clemente, Rome. From G.B. de Rossi, *Musaici Cristiani . . .*, Rome 1872/99

400
Periodo Moderno: gold and micromosaic brooch with inscription, made in the Castellani workshops, Rome. W. 5.4 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift



Visitors to the Castellani studio and relations with clients

The vast majority of the Castellanis' clients visited the studio in Rome or made contact at the various international exhibitions. Many of them, like Emily Birchall, recorded their impressions. But for those who did not the visitors' books kept from 1857 provide a startling record of the Castellanis' international clientele. Certain groups figure strongly: politicians, diplomats and clerics; artists, sculptors and fellow jewellers; writers and academics; archaeologists, collectors and dealers. Rome was usually a winter destination and most visits occurred between late autumn and early spring.⁶⁹ Prolonged stays on the Continent were a means of saving money; non-industrialized countries like Italy were cheaper for visitors from northern Europe and for Americans impoverished by the Civil War. Roman nobility in the mid-nineteenth century was rich in possessions but had no money; in February 1848 Fortunato Castellani urged Mellerio to stop sending him jewels of high price as 'we sell such things very rarely'.⁷⁰ This may have influenced the Castellani family's decision to abandon fashionable diamond jewellery. The largest number of visitors came from Italy and the UK, followed by Russian and Polish aristocrats, while the number of Americans increased dramatically from the 1880s onwards – Astors, Carnegies, Roosevelts, Goulds – and the artists and writers of the mid-century were overwhelmed by the new industrialists. Few visitors dated their signatures and while each book covers a specific period the pages themselves are not dated, so the dates given below are often approximate.

The English-speaking community in Italy was a closely interlinked world who all knew each other, whether artists and sculptors working in Rome or semi-permanent residents of Florence, many of them members of the Browning circle. Among the names in the Castellani visitors' books for the late 1850s and 1860s are Ellen Heaton, art collector and patron of Rossetti who visited the Brownings in Florence, Tom Trollope, brother of the novelist Anthony and a fixture in Florentine society, the actress, author and anti-slavery activist Fanny Kemble, the art historian Anna Jameson, and Charles Dickens, all of whom Robert Browning knew from literary *soirées* in London before he moved to Florence.⁷¹ The American writer Nathaniel Hawthorne first met the Brownings in Florence, but it was an American sculptor in Rome, Benjamin Paul Akers, who took him to the Castellani studio in 1858. At this period the different groups, American and English, literary and artistic, intermingled. The most famous American sculptor in Rome, William Wetmore Story, had maintained a studio there since the late 1840s and settled there for good in 1856. His house – a large apartment in the Palazzo Barberini – became the centre of social life for educated American and English visitors and residents, and he may have played a significant role in sending visitors to Castellani. Story had dealings with Castellani from at least 1852 when Fortunato completed an order for a ring left by Story's close friend the poet James Russell Lowell. Story wrote to Lowell:

As to your ring, the fact is, that Castellani spent a week in finding a stone – it was as I thought too small. I set him again on the search – he found another, – it was too large. It required two days to cut it down, after he found it. The two succeeding days which should have been spent in this labor were grand festas & no one could work on them, & so the time has gone by. I urged hurry – & he answered Come si fa. The ring at last however goes with this & I hope you will like it.⁷²

If this was Story's first contact with the firm, he subsequently became a client himself, purchasing a mosaic dove brooch for 26 *scudi* in May 1860 and further items in 1863.⁷³

Shortly after the Brownings had signed the visitors' book in January 1860 (see p. 403), Harriet Beecher Stowe's signature appears. The visit was recounted by her friend Annie Fields, who accompanied her; both women fell prey to the Castellanis' considerable charm:

We had gone together to the rooms of the brothers Castellani, the world-famous workers in gold. The collection of antique gems and the beautiful reproductions of them were new to us. Mrs Stowe was full of enthusiasm and we lingered long over the wonderful things which the brothers brought forward to show. Among them was the head of an Egyptian slave carved in black onyx. It was an admirable work of art, and while we were enjoying it one of them said to Mrs Stowe: 'Madam, we know what you have been to the poor slaves, We ourselves are but poor slaves still in Italy; You feel for us; Will you keep this gem as a slight recognition for what you have done?'⁷⁴

Special visitors like Mrs Stowe may have been treated differently; one suspects that some of these visitors may have given advance notice, so that in this case both brothers made sure they were there. The Prince of Wales, who first visited Rome in 1859 and again in 1862, was taken round the city by the sculptor John Gibson, who would have let the Castellanis know that he was bringing an important guest. In 1862 he joined his sister, the Princess Royal, and the Crown Prince of Prussia, and bought from Castellani a Roman lamp pendant with the *Chi-Rho* symbol for Queen Victoria.⁷⁵ The Prince of Wales went again with Alix in 1872; both signed the visitors' book. They were followed in 1873 by Princess Alice and Empress Marie of Russia (Alix's sister, Dagmar) and in 1876 by Empress Eugénie; Crown Prince Frederick visited again in 1883, and Princess Louise came with the Marquess of Lorne in 1887.

Few visitors made comments when they signed their names, and only one came from a fellow craftsman, the mosaicist Michelangelo Barberi of Rome, prizewinner in 1851 and listed in Murray's *Handbooks* as 'the first artist in mosaic in Italy'. Visiting in about 1859, he wrote 'Commendatore Michelangelo Barberi, ammiratore del Benvenuto Cellini di nostri Giorni Castellani' ('Commendatore Michelangelo Barberi, admirer of the Benvenuto Cellini of today, Castellani'). The London jeweller Robert Phillips visited in 1859, before the Castellanis came to London in 1862. John Brogden, having seen the 1862 display, visited the studio in 1864 and produced his own archaeological jewels for the Paris Exhibition of 1867. Jean Mellerio had been in 1860 (and probably several times before the visitors' books were begun). The artists Frederic Leighton, Joseph Severn and John Everett Millais visited in 1859, 1861 and 1865 respectively. Laurence Alma-Tadema visited twice, in 1876 and 1885. Fellow jewellers and goldsmiths also included Peter Brückmann from Heilbronn in the mid-1860s, James E. Caldwell of the Philadelphia silversmiths' firm in 1867, Edward Bolin of St Petersburg in 1871–2, Henri Vever in 1879 and the French Gothic-Revival goldsmith Poussielgue-Rusand in the late 1880s. The architects George Gilbert Scott and Alfred Waterhouse came in December 1873, and William Burges, who had praised the Castellanis so warmly in 1862, visited in the winter of 1878–9. Gustave Eiffel came in 1892. Charlotte Newman, Brogden's successor, visited with the artist and sculptor Marie Stillman in 1893. Poynter did not come

until December 1900.⁷⁶ British and American names are so dominant that it is easy to pass over the great figures from Berlin and Vienna, such as Theodor Mommsen (1861), Gottfried Semper (1867), Theodor Gomperz and Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889), along with the scientist Ludwig Mond (1887).

A distinct group of clients were the distinguished scholars and collectors of antiquities. The most regular collector client of all was Edmund Waterton, son of the naturalist Charles Waterton (see p. 226). A devout Catholic, Waterton built up a large and distinguished collection of rings, much of which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. As well as purchasing antique rings and gems he bought modern jewellery, including for example 'a brooch with Christian mosaic' for 40 *scudi* in 1856.⁷⁷ When the visitors' books were begun in 1857 his was one of the first signatures. The 1860s and 1870s saw the collectors Charles Borradaile and the Rev. Greville Chester, Arthur Stanley, Dean of Westminster, the German historian Ferdinand Gregorovius, the Earl of Dudley in 1869 and Henry Cole, whose name appears in 1867–8 and 1871.⁷⁸ The archaeologists John and Arthur Evans came separately between 1885 and 1887.

How many of these visitors purchased items awaits further research in correlating the signatures in the visitors' books with the names in the ledgers.⁷⁹ Dudley certainly was a client: in 1888 Augusto was still trying to extract payment of £100 from him for a pair of earrings sent in 1869.⁸⁰ Occasionally it is possible to make the link; the debit and credit books tell us that on 19 March 1860 a Mr Nicholson purchased five items: a bracelet with intaglios, a bracelet inscribed ROMA, a scarab pin, a medallion with *Alpha* and *Omega*, and a brooch with a cross in mosaic, for a total of 202 *scudi*.⁸¹ Nicholson is a common name and not one that would be easy to identify. The visitors' book for 1858–9, however, bears the signature of Sir Charles Nicholson. Born in England, Charles Nicholson was a politician and classical scholar who became Chancellor of the University of Sydney; he gave the university his collection of Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek and Roman antiquities.⁸²

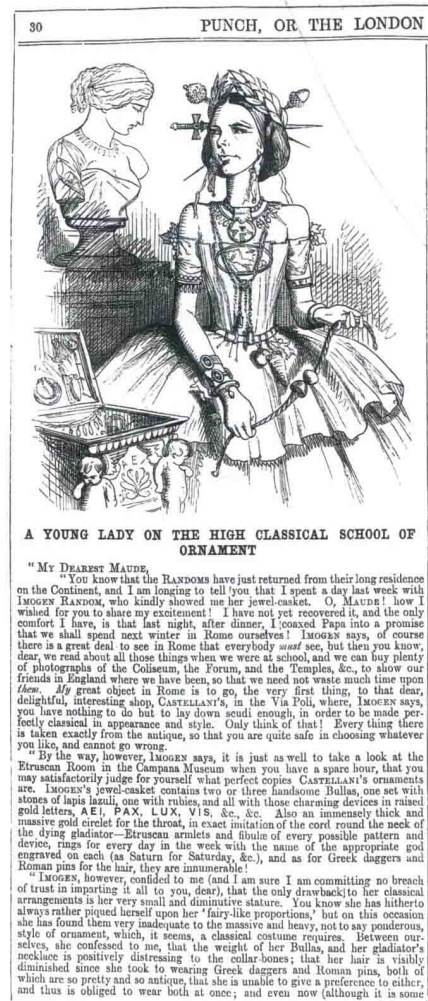
The Castellanis' personal touch and the ability to entrance their audience was what people remembered. In 1858 Nathaniel Hawthorne recalled a reproduction

of the toilette-case of an Etruscan lady . . . with her rings for summer and winter, and for every day of the week, and for thumb and fingers; her ivory comb; her bracelets; and more knick-knacks than I can half remember. Splendid things of our own time were likewise shown to us; a necklace of diamonds worth 18,000 *scudi*, together with emeralds and opals and great pearls. Finally we came away . . . my wife happened to raise her arm, and Miss Shephard espied a little Greek cross of gold which had attached itself to the lace of her sleeve. . . . Pray heaven the jeweller may not discover his loss before we have time to restore the spoil! He is apparently so free and careless in displaying his precious wares – putting inestimable gems and brooches great and small into the hand of strangers like ourselves, and leaving scores of them strewn on top of his counter – that it would seem easy enough to take a diamond or two; but I suspect there must needs be a sharp eye somewhere. Before we left the shop he requested me to honour him with my autograph in a large book that was full of the names of his visitors. This is probably a measure of precaution.⁸³

This is interesting on two counts: one is the reference to traditional diamond jewellery, which must have remained part of the Rome business even if it was not what they chose to show at exhibitions abroad; the other is the description of the jewel casket inspired by the Etruscan *cista* or bronze toilette case. When Alessandro Castellani's second collection of antiquities was displayed at the British Museum in 1876, it included no fewer than twelve from the Etruscan site of Praeneste.⁸⁴ The idea of seasonal or weekly jewels has no model in the ancient world, however, and can only be interpreted as a marketing ploy, paying lip-service to Victorian notions of etiquette. More than that, a ready-made collection absolved the client of having to make the choice and risk getting it wrong. Such caskets full of jewels must have been a stock feature of the studio at this time; their novelty value was such that they were satirized by *Punch* in July 1859, three years before Castellani exhibited in London (Fig. 401). Entitled 'A Young Lady on the High Classical School of Ornament', the text takes the form of a letter from 'Mabel' to 'Maude' describing the jewel casket brought back by her friend 'Imogen' from Castellani's in Rome.⁸⁵ As the 'letter' records: 'you have nothing to do but lay down *scudi* enough, in order to be made perfectly classical in appearance and style. Only think of that! Everything there is taken exactly from the antique, so that you are quite safe in choosing whatever you like and cannot go wrong.' The letter goes on to describe 'an immensely thick and massive gold cirlet for the throat, in exact imitation of the cord round the neck of the dying gladiator', 'rings for every day in the week with the name of the appropriate god engraved on each (as Saturn for Saturday, &c)'. The weight of these jewels was 'positively distressing to the collar-bones', yet Imogen determines to 'bear everything and wear everything that could contribute to make her fashionably classical'.⁸⁶ The text is accompanied by a sketch of 'Imogen' with a complete muddle of Etruscan, Greek and Roman ornaments which would never have been allowed by the Castellanis.

The Castellanis' classical jewel caskets were to become a standard royal wedding present. The most famous of such caskets, because it survives complete, was commissioned by the people of Rome as a wedding gift for Vittorio Emanuele's daughter, Maria Pia of Savoy, on her marriage to Luis I of Portugal in 1862 (Fig. 402). Inside a velvet-covered casket are nearly thirty pieces of gold jewellery in the Roman style. It was the perfect symbol of Italy for an Italian princess abroad. Yet the owners of these pieces saw no incongruity in mixing them with non-classical jewels; Maria Pia was photographed wearing the earrings and the *bullas* together with a standard Victorian gold locket on a black ribbon.⁸⁷ There was no such nationalism in presenting a similar casket to Princess Alexandra on her marriage to the Prince of Wales in 1863, yet that is what 'a body of British noblemen and gentlemen residing in Rome' chose to commission; they wanted to show what Italy could do and Castellani was the man to do it. The casket and its Etruscan-style contents were described in detail by the Rome correspondent for *The Times*, indicating that it was displayed in Rome before its transport to London.⁸⁸

Another casket was shown at the London Exhibition of 1862.⁸⁹ Three years later, in August 1865, Augusto received an offer for it from a London client, Frederic Harrison, who had seen it at the Exhibition. The negotiations were not straightforward. Augusto's often protracted correspondence over commissions, almost all from clients whom he had met in the studio, reveals his passionate desire to educate prospective purchasers. Harrison was a much-travelled writer on historical and literary subjects, a friend of Layard and staunch supporter of a unified Italy. He was later to write that Rome was 'the central city of this earth . . . the



401

A visitor to the Castellani showroom in Rome. Cartoon from *Punch*, 16 July 1859, p. 30

Published three years before the Castellanis took part in their first London international exhibition, this cartoon provides startling evidence of the reputation of the firm with tourists and the initial resistance to the 'archaeological' style in Britain at this early date. The diminutive young woman, unable to choose from the contents of the entire open casket at the left, has donned the whole lot – a Roman wreath and pins for the hair, earrings in the form of winged Victories, a *bullas*, a large cameo, multiple bracelets and numerous chains.

402

A 'Roman lady's jewel casket', given to Maria Pia of Portugal (1847–1911) in 1862. Made in the Castellani workshops, Rome. Italian, 1862. L. 33 cm. Lisbon, Palácio Nacional da Ajuda (see also p. 375)

A gift from the city of Rome, the lid bears a silver wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, the symbol of Rome (see p. 375). Two of the hairpins bear the symbol of the Roman senate with the letters SPQR, and an eagle in a wreath, while a mosaic pendant is inscribed ROMA AMOR. The bracelet at the right is set with Roman silver coins. Another hairpin has a caduceus, and two hairpins bear ram's heads, slotted into sleeves in the lid, in the centre of which is a Roman laurel wreath.



true microcosm, wherein the vast panorama of human civilisation is reflected as in a mirror'.⁹⁰ In reply to Harrison's offer, Augusto explained that he still had the casket but that the contents had been sold and the Roman jewels replaced with a collection of Italo-Greek ornaments. For this reason he simply could not accommodate Harrison's request that a Byzantine mosaic be included. In Augusto's historical scheme Byzantine mosaics belonged with jewels of the *Periodo Medioevale*:

I have the same box that was to the London exhibition only the gold ornaments changed on it with the sale. At present it is garnished with an olive coronet in gold, a paire of hair-pins large, and a second smaller paire; a large marriage broche; the seven gold weekly rings; a large necklace of amphores; a complete set of small brooches of all kinds and of rings for summer and winter; two large bracelets of scarabeas and gold; a lapislazuli box for scent. I don't like to sell the box because I like it, and not all people can appreciate it: but . . . I believe that you will be of the small number of [people who recognize] antiques forms: so I accept your offer and I will give you the complete box for £300. I cannot accept your desire to put on it a mosaïque broache of the bijantre period because it will be a complete failure on the style.⁹¹

Augusto's flat refusal to mix styles of different periods reveals his prevailing sense of propriety, even at the expense of a sale. Faced with these irrefutable arguments, Harrison had

no choice but to back down. The sale went ahead and the objects were sent and paid for in November 1865. The Castellanis were perceived by their clients not as tradesmen but as intellectuals, with whom they did business on an equal footing.⁹² Their studio was rarely described as a shop but rather as a place entered with the greatest respect. Augusto's sense of the exclusivity of his jewels comes across not only in his dealings with clients but also in his relations with fellow jewellers. Writing to Tiffany & Co. in 1878, Augusto explains that he is not in the habit of sending either designs or photographs, and in response to a similar request from the London jeweller J.W. Benson in 1887, he replies: 'I find it difficult to execute pieces to order. Since I consider my creations as works of art I wish to be free in their conception, which would not be possible if I were executing the requests of others.'⁹³

Augusto executed his most prestigious and financially rewarding commissions for the royal family. In 1872 he made another 'Carolingian' parure, as a gift from Prince Umberto and Margherita of Savoy to the Crown Princess of Prussia (Vicky) on the birth of her daughter, Princess Margarete of Prussia. The coronet and brooch were the same as those shown in Fig. 390, but the necklace had a fringe of grey pearls and the parure came in a mosaic casket (Figs 403, 404).⁹⁴ After Vittorio Emanuele II's death in 1878, Umberto I and Margherita of Savoy continued to be loyal patrons until Umberto's assassination in 1900.⁹⁵ Many of their most lavish orders were given in the late 1880s and 1890s, by which time the archaeological style had gone out of fashion elsewhere in Europe. In 1888, the former King and Queen of Naples, Francis II and Maria Sophia, gave a similar parure to Wilhelm II for his wife, Princess Augusta Victoria, on the occasion of the new German Emperor's visit to Rome.⁹⁶ By 1892, Augusto recorded in his diary that his end of year accounts showed a loss of 4,000 *lire*. He was no longer getting the regular flow of small purchases and the royal commissions were all but keeping him going.



403 A & B

Mosaic and gilt-bronze jewel casket, made in the Castellani workshops, Rome. Italian, about 1870. *L'Arte in Italia*, 1870, p. 61

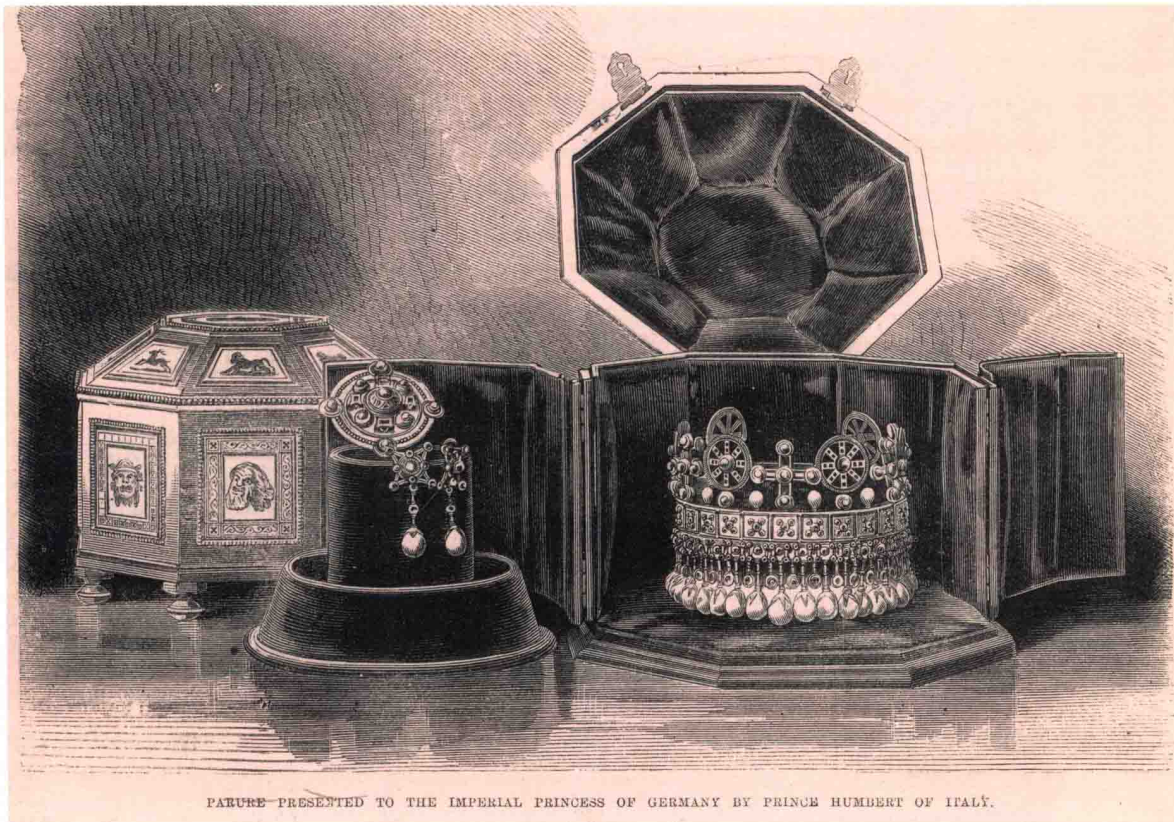
This casket, inspired by Roman mosaic pavements, is identical to that given to Margarete of Prussia in 1872 (Fig. 404), described in *The Queen* as designed by Michelangelo Caetani.

The Castellanis' head mosaicist was Luigi Podio, who worked exclusively for them from 1851 until his death in 1888.

404

Parure and casket given to the Crown Princess of Prussia (Vicky, 1840–1901) on the birth of Princess Margarete of Prussia (1872–1954). *The Queen*, 26 September 1872, p. 227

The gift was made by Prince Umberto and Princess Margherita of Savoy. With its medieval inspiration Augusto surely did not intend this parure to have a Roman mosaic casket. Royal commissions often came at short notice and Augusto may have had to use what was in the studio.



PARURE PRESENTED TO THE IMPERIAL PRINCESS OF GERMANY BY PRINCE HUMBERT OF ITALY.

Archaeology and adaptation

The eight great periods of the Castellani historical collection each had their distinguishing features. From these it is clear that the Castellanis took inspiration from sources other than jewellery, especially in the medieval period where there was less jewellery to copy. Given the amount of classical jewellery that survived one might expect this to be the area where the copies were purest, but it is not.

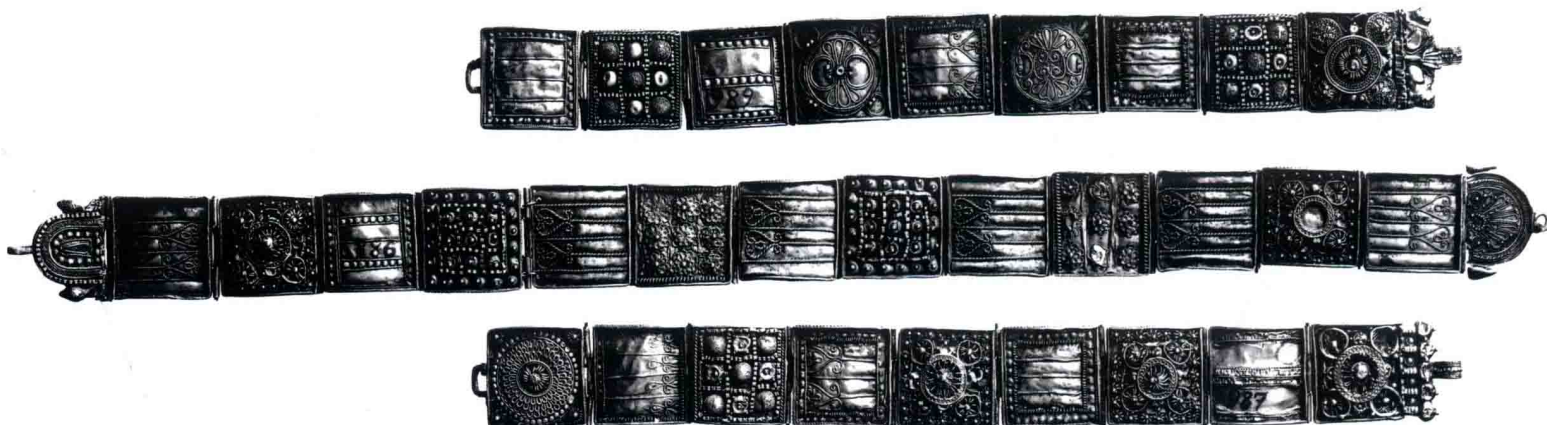
Castellani archaeological revival pieces are not exact replicas; however close to the original, they are easily distinguishable by the way in which they improve the forms, ironing out any kinks or imperfections and filling in missing elements. Examples can be seen in the Etruscan earrings from Bolsena (Fig. 382), or the Hellenistic fringe necklace from Melos, purchased by the British Museum from Alessandro in 1872 and copied equally by Castellani, Melillo and Giuliano (Fig. 414). Ancient burial ornaments hammered out of thin sheet gold were recreated in solidly cast gold, such as the Helios head in Fig. 383. Some of these recreations were unwearable in a contemporary context – the Bolsena earrings or the long Chiusi fibula with grainwork inscription – and were made to demonstrate the Castellani workshop's rediscovery of the technique of granulation or to complete the historical sequence rather than in any real expectation of commercial success. In many cases the examples in the Villa Giulia sample collection are the only ones known. Other copies were transformed into wearable types but the accuracy maintained: the hexafoil lobed earrings in the Campana collection, at 4.8 cm across, were simply too big for Victorian earrings and were reproduced as a brooch (see Fig. 382).

Collectors liked their antiquities restored, and this led to many ancient jewels being either wrongly restored or newly created out of genuine ancient elements. In copying such pieces the Castellanis perpetuated, knowingly or not, these invented forms. The two bracelets shown in the contemporary photograph of the *Periodo Tirreno* vitrine (Fig. 382), formed of a series of square hinged plaques with semi-circular terminals, are a case in point; the complex wirework and granulated motifs on the more elaborate plaques are entirely authentic. But there are no genuine Etruscan bracelets of this form. The inspiration is a group of three so-called 'bracelets' in the Campana collection (Fig. 405). The longest, at 26.5 cm, is completely impractical as a bracelet, and all three are in fact made up of Etruscan earrings of a type known as a *baule*, in the form of a cylindrical box (Fig. 406). Fontenay described the 'bracelets' at length in 1887 and illustrated two of them, almost actual size though, confusingly, each split

405

Three gold 'bracelets' from the Campana collection made up out of Etruscan earrings. Paris, Musée du Louvre

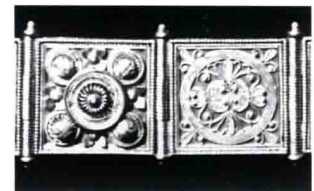
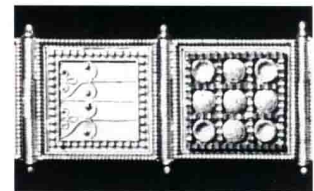
Each bracelet is formed of Etruscan cylindrical earrings, flattened so that back and front appear alternately. The clasps of each bracelet are formed from the plaques, sometimes semicircular, that covered the ear (see Fig. 406). The backs of Etruscan earrings were usually plain. Whoever constructed these assemblages has added twisted wire scrollwork to the plainer squares. It is drawn wire – a technique not known to the Etruscans.





into two halves. He stressed the subtle contrast obtained by alternating simple and complex plaques; for him they epitomized the ultimate in filigree work. In his chapter on earrings he illustrated an Etruscan box-shaped earring with a motif almost identical to those of the 'bracelets'.⁹⁷ He did not make a connection between them. Neither did A. de Ridder, who catalogued the jewellery in the Louvre in 1924.

Fontenay may not have seen the backs of the box-shaped earrings, but they correspond exactly to the simple plaques on the 'bracelets'. The way in which the earrings have been partially flattened, cut into two squares, hinges added and the gaps filled in with extra filigree work is discussed elsewhere, and there is evidence to suggest that the 'bracelets' had already been assembled when acquired by the Marchese di Campana.⁹⁸ The Castellanis were surely not duped by these concoctions; surely they of all people had made the connection? They owned examples of *a baule* earrings (as Fontenay notes) and in their sample collection in the Museo di Villa Giulia are copies of *a baule* earrings as well as brooches formed of individual square plaques, which could evidently be made up as the customer desired. Yet neither of the two Castellani bracelets in the Villa Giulia has copied the alternation of complex and simple plaques, front and back of an Etruscan earring, as found on the Campana bracelets. One has entirely complex plaques in which motifs from the fronts of earrings alternate with circular motifs from the closed ends; the other has an effect of alternating dense and simple plaques, but some of the simple plaques contain circular motifs from the closed ends of earrings while others are from the backs, and on the latter, the nineteenth-century additions of filigree scrolls have been reproduced although they are never found in Etruscan *a baule* earrings (Fig. 407).⁹⁹ One cannot help feeling that the Castellanis would have kept the alternation of complex and simple plaques had they realized the true nature of the Campana bracelets.



406 Top
Gold bracelet made by Giacinto Melillo (1846–1915). Italian, Naples, after about 1865. L. 19.6 cm. Two Etruscan earrings, 7th–5th century BC. British Museum, the bracelet Hull Grundy Gift

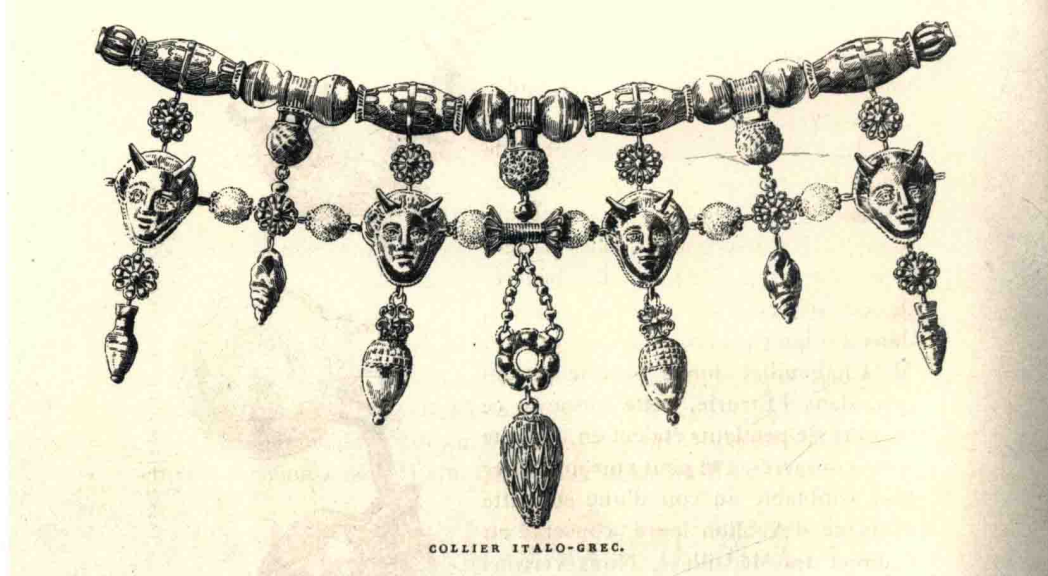
The bracelet copies motifs from Etruscan earrings: the fourth plaque from left copies the nine boxes with granulated beads on the earring in front. The third plaque from left copies the circular motif on the small earring.

407 A & B Above
Two details of the gold bracelets by Castellani shown in Fig. 382. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia
In the upper detail Castellani imitates the 'restored' bracelets in the Campana collection, by repeating the 19th-century scrollwork added to the plainer plaques.

408

Reconstructed Etruscan necklace from the Campana collection, as illustrated by E. Fontenay in *Les Bijoux anciens et modernes*, Paris 1887, p. 162

The Castellanis made a copy of this necklace. Probably they, like Fontenay, realized it had been assembled from disparate elements, but they admired it nonetheless. Their copy survives in the Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia.



It is almost impossible now to see the picture through nineteenth-century eyes and to understand how these pieces were viewed at the time. Huge advances have been made in recent decades in the analysis of ancient jewellery and its nineteenth-century restoration. We now know that the famous scarab necklace in the Campana collection contains genuine ancient scarabs alternating with ancient gold beads, but only three of the scarab mounts are ancient, so the necklace was constructed from unrelated fragments. As with the bracelets, this is thought to have been done before the Castellanis had it in their possession. A similar necklace purchased by the British Museum from Alessandro in 1872 has the same ancient components, but not one of the scarab mounts is genuine. These necklaces inspired copies by Castellani, one of which survives with the original bill dated 1925. The sales ledgers end in March 1923; Alfredo Castellani kept the studio open until June 1929, and this necklace, purchased in 1925, must have been one of the last sales he made, a poignant reminder of the firm's insistent refusal to change with the times.¹⁰⁰ Yet even without all the recent analysis of the gold done by archaeologists, there is one feature of the 'original' necklaces that should alert us immediately to their nineteenth-century origins, and that is the use of graduated elements, with the largest centre front and decreasing towards the back of the neck. Whoever made the reconstructions did this automatically, without stopping to think that graduation of this kind does not occur in Etruscan jewellery.

Fontenay, writing in the early 1880s, realized that the Campana collection contained reconstructions, but he admired them nonetheless. Illustrating an elaborate fringe necklace that he considered to have been assembled from disparate elements, he wrote: 'the arranger has shown excellent taste; it is a pity that he was unable to gather enough similar elements to complete the necklace, which lacks the back part' (Fig. 408).¹⁰¹ The Castellanis must have thought so too, for they had in fact already made a copy of the necklace, completed to full length, as part of their *Periodo Siculo*.¹⁰² It is this same attitude that underlies the acceptance of the Campana bracelets and may explain why the Castellanis copied them in their reconstructed state.¹⁰³

The perception of other 'archaeological' jewellers in Italy

Castellani are the only 'archaeological' jewellers who really are archaeological in the sense of matching design and technique to historical period. This made them different from their followers in Rome, Naples and elsewhere, who were often careless in such details. Much less

is known about these followers but there is no evidence that any of them created a chronological collection in the same formal way, nor is there any evidence that they collected ancient jewellery, though it is hard to believe that some of them did not do so. The Castellani brothers, with their dealing activities, had stolen a march on their rivals. Alessandro wrote gloatingly to Augusto from Naples in 1863 that 'scarabs were becoming very rare, and if we had the courage, we could sell them in Rome itself to the goldsmiths with no small profit. Recently Pierret and Civilotti were here looking for scarabs and paying absurd prices for them.'¹⁰⁴ Visiting Pierret may not have required so much background knowledge as a visit to the Castellani studio, and may in consequence have been less daunting. These jewellers were in many cases highly competent; their manufactures have been amply treated elsewhere and are not discussed in detail here.¹⁰⁵ They all existed in the shadow of Castellani. None could offer the experience and the showmanship of the Castellani studio; if this shaped the attitudes of visitors to Rome, Murray's *Handbooks* soon established it as a fact. As early as 1853, nearly a decade before their first display outside Italy, Murray's *Handbook to Central Italy and Rome* gave clear directions: 'Castellani, no. 174 in the Corso, is of European celebrity for his beautiful reproductions from the Etruscan models, and for the several beautiful designs of the Duke of Sermoneta. Pierret, 31, Piazza di Firenze, is now one of the first artists in Rome for Etruscan jewellery, and is more moderate in his charges than Castellani.'¹⁰⁶ This can only mean that Castellani was already the most talked-about jeweller in Rome, and not just among the English-speaking community. Equally significant is the matter of cost. Castellani was the most expensive and there was always a clientele for something cheaper. Jewellers' status has always depended on clientele and in Rome in the third quarter of the nineteenth century the foreigners had more money. Murray's guides are revealing on this point; cost related directly to clientele which related directly to status, and this dictated the order in which the jewellers were listed.

Initially Pierret was the only alternative jeweller to find his way into Murray, perhaps because he spoke French and it was easier for foreign clients to do business with him, but he may also have been less intimidating than Augusto, who required so much of his clients. Ernesto Pierret, who was born in 1824, came to Rome from Paris, opening his first shop in 1845. Following his marriage to Virginia Crespi, daughter of a papal lawyer, in 1865 he was able to purchase from the Vescovali family a Renaissance palace at no. 20 Piazza di Spagna, right in the centre of the jewellers' and artists' quarter. The building, now named Palazzo Pierret in his honour, still bears his marble plaque above the entrance.¹⁰⁷ His wife's papal connection must have brought him a distinguished clientele but one of very different political orientation from Castellani's. By 1867 Murray's text was extended to note that Pierret was 'only second to Castellani; his imitations and copies of ancient jewellery first-rate'.¹⁰⁸ His medieval-style mosaics and his classical-style jewels stand alone among the works of other Roman jewellers as the closest to Castellani, in some cases virtually indistinguishable (Fig. 409).

Murray's 1867 *Handbook* lists other archaeological jewellers, not all of whom have stood the test of time: either their works do not survive or they have not been recognized and so these names do not figure in recent literature. Murray singles out the work of Carl Ansonge, originally from Copenhagen, at 72 Piazza di Spagna, but he is now known only through contemporary illustrations.¹⁰⁹ Freschi at 27 via Condotti has disappeared from record altogether. According to Murray, he had 'a very extensive assortment of imitations of Roman and

409

Two micromosaic jewels by Ernesto Pierret (1824–70): mosaic cross pendant with the dove of the Holy Spirit and a pendant set with a Roman silver coin. W. of cross 4.65 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The dove's halo, like the lamb's in Fig. 396, is of solid gold tesserae, the wings of the bird outlined in gold wire. Gold letters in the arms of the cross read ΝΙΚΑ, an abbreviation of the Greek ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΑ (Christ is Victorious). The pendant echoes the form of the classical bulla, an amulet in the form of a hollow gold disc. Roman coins such as this, a silver *didrachm* of Naples of about 330 BC, were common. Micromosaic is used here simply as border decoration instead of enamel.



410

The Mayoral Chain of Flint, North Wales, by Paolo Neri (1813–after 1883). Gold and micromosaic. Italian, Rome, 1876–7. W. of medallion 6.5 cm. Flint Town Hall

Civic regalia normally conformed to standard conventions. This archaeological-style chain is exceptional. It was commissioned by Jane Muspratt for her husband, Richard Muspratt (1822–95), on his ninth election as mayor of Flint in 1876, 'in 22 carat gold, and some 2ft. 3in' (58.6 cm) in length. The medallion depicts the seal of Flint, with Flint Castle, and a presentation inscription. Mrs Muspratt claimed the design was based on a chain that she had seen in the Vatican Museum thirty-six years before, but it is completely 19th-century in conception. In fact Neri probably took the idea from the grand chain of office with micromosaic armorial pendant made by Castellani for the last Senator of Rome in 1869.



Etruscan jewellery, and being cheaper is much employed by the Romans, but his designs and execution are not equal to those of Castellani and Pierret, an observation that applies to all the other jewellers in Rome'. This in large part explains Emily Birchall's dilemma. She had badly wanted to return with gifts of jewellery by Castellani but could barely afford them. The jewellery houses frequented by the locals would not have had the same cachet. There must have been many visitors to the Castellani studio who took their custom elsewhere. In 1872–3 Mr and Mrs Richard Muspratt signed their names in the visitors' books. Four years later Jane Muspratt was to present her husband, a Merseyside chemical industrialist, with an archaeological-style chain of office on his election as mayor of Flint in 1876. By her own account she based the chain on something she had seen in the Vatican Museum some thirty-six years before, but she chose to commission it from Neri, with a micromosaic medallion depicting the seal of Flint (Fig. 410).¹¹⁰ Paolo Neri was a cameo-cutter (see p. 465) but had expanded his range by the 1870s, when he was in via Babuino, the main shopping street that leads north from Piazza di Spagna. From around 1870, when Rome became part of unified Italy, Murray's list increases. Antonio Civilotti had appeared in 1867, Antonio Carli in 1871.¹¹¹ Nicola Marchesini appeared in 1875 in the Corso, having started in Florence on the Ponte Vecchio (see p. 322).



How well known were these jewellers outside Italy? Some of them did participate in international exhibitions, but the reports focused so overwhelmingly on Castellani, apart from the filigree and coral work, that one has to assume they cannot have made much impact. Pierret seems barely to have exhibited outside Italy; with his grand palazzo and family connections, there was no reason for him to compete with the firm that so many foreigners already patronized. In general the Roman jewellers who showed mosaics received more attention, but the settings were often far removed from any archaeological accuracy. Cesare Roccheggiani, who won medals in London in 1851 and in Paris in 1855, was one of the most popular (Fig. 411). Florence concentrated on *pietre dure* work, the local speciality, and gem-set jewellery, but the two names that appear regularly from 1867 onwards in connection with

411
 Gold necklace with micromosaics by Cesare Roccheggiani. Italian, Rome, about 1874–90. H. of central mosaic 5.1 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift
 The subjects recall the wall paintings at Pompeii. The original case is labelled in French, so the necklace must have been sold or exhibited in Paris. Roccheggiani's shop was in the via Condotti – the street of shops that leads west from the Piazza di Spagna – from at least 1874 to 1900, by which time he occupied three adjacent buildings.

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Gold and gem-set necklace with cameo of Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–72), the case labelled S. Accarisi & Nipote of Florence, the cameo signed De Felici. H. of pendant 9 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The firm exhibited in London in 1870 and in Philadelphia in 1876 (see pp. 277 and 285). The necklace was given to the wife of the Italophile and friend of Mazzini, P.A. Taylor (1819–91). The back of the pendant contains a locket with plaited hair and inscription: 'P.A. Taylor 27th Sept 1842 Clementia Taylor 1882', the date of their fortieth wedding anniversary.

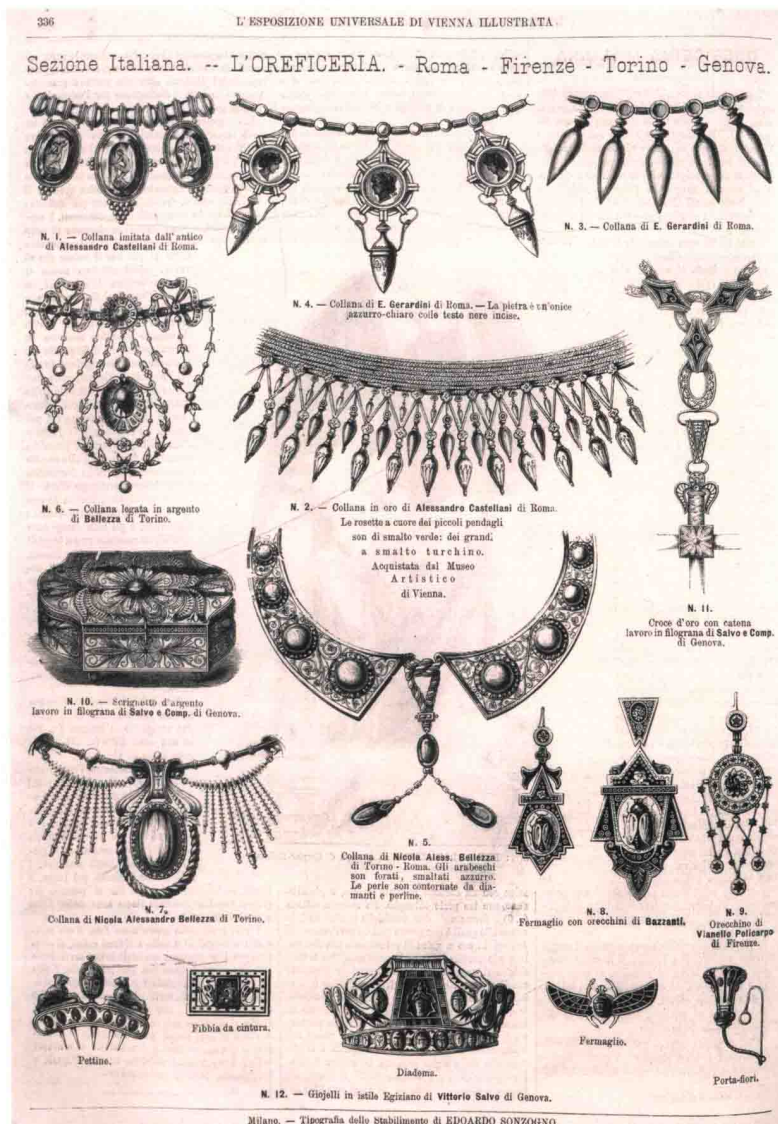


Etruscan-style jewellery are those of Accarisi and Bellezza.¹¹² It was Accarisi who executed a lavish necklace given to Clementia Taylor, wife of the Italophile P.A. Taylor, set with a cameo of Mazzini in profile, like a Roman emperor (Fig. 412). Taylor and Mazzini had met in London in 1845 during the latter's exile; Taylor helped found the Society of Friends of Italy in the late 1840s and continued to support Italy after the establishment of the monarchy. The necklace, a characteristic 1860s pastiche of Renaissance and classical motifs, is said to have been a gift from the Italian government.¹¹³ By 1875 Bellezza had opened a branch in Rome, displaying 'magnificent assortments in the French style'.¹¹⁴ Niccolò (?) Bellezza's necklaces at the Vienna Exhibition of 1873 or Philadelphia in 1876 owe much to Fontenay (Fig. 413). Bellezza In this one page the purity of Castellani's classical jewels stands out; the rest are all completely Victorian. Other jewellers took advantage of their compatriots abroad: a 'Signor Diego d'Estrada' from Rome advertised in *The Times* in 1872 that he had on exhibition 'at Signor Caldesi's photographic studio, 13, Pall Mall East, a large collection of Roman Jewellery, in the Etruscan style, all in 18-carat gold, also a large assortment of cameos in stone and shell, mounted and unmounted. Diego d'Estrada begs to inform the nobility and gentry that his agent will be at the above address for one month to receive orders for the same.'

Naples had more reason than Florence to produce archaeological-style work because of the spectacular ancient jewels in the Naples Museum, a highlight of the tourist itinerary. The two Neapolitan jewellers most associated with archaeological jewels are Luigi Casalta, who exhibited outside Italy from 1867, and Giacinto Melillo.¹¹⁵ The official British report on the jewellery at the Paris Exhibition mentioned Casalta in the same breath as Castellani.¹¹⁶

Melillo won a prize for his coral jewels at the Working Men's International Exhibition in 1870. Coral was always the principal jewellery commodity in Naples and what most visitors would have sought. Melillo's advertisement in the Naples Directory for 1880 gives greater emphasis to his coral work than to his archaeological jewels: the letters of his name are drawn as branches of coral. The text is in French, perhaps reflecting a clientele acquired at the Paris Exhibition of 1878. Melillo exhibited in fifteen international exhibitions between 1870 and 1900, receiving gold medals at five of them, including Paris in 1878 and 1889. By then Castellani had dropped out and Melillo, the closest to Castellani in both technique and quality of workmanship, came into his own (see p. 290).¹¹⁷

The use of advertising as well as the way in which the jewels were marked must have played a critical role in the perception of the other Italian archaeological jewellers. The standard form of mark was a gold label soldered to the reverse with their name in full: PIERRET, CARLI, and so on, itself a form of advertisement. The Castellani firm never used this method of identification on the jewel itself; their jewels bear simply an applied monogram of crossed Cs in gold wire, a code decipherable to those in the know.¹¹⁸ Participation in international exhibitions was their main form of marketing. They did not advertise commercially; they would have considered it out of place. When sales began to fall at the end of the century they remained resolutely an artist's studio; the Murray *Handbook* for 1894 lists 'The Studio d'Oreficeria of Signor Augusto Castellani' as well worth a visit.¹¹⁹



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Italian archaeological jewellery at the Vienna Exhibition of 1873, from *L'Esposizione universale di Vienna illustrata*, Milan 1873, p. 336

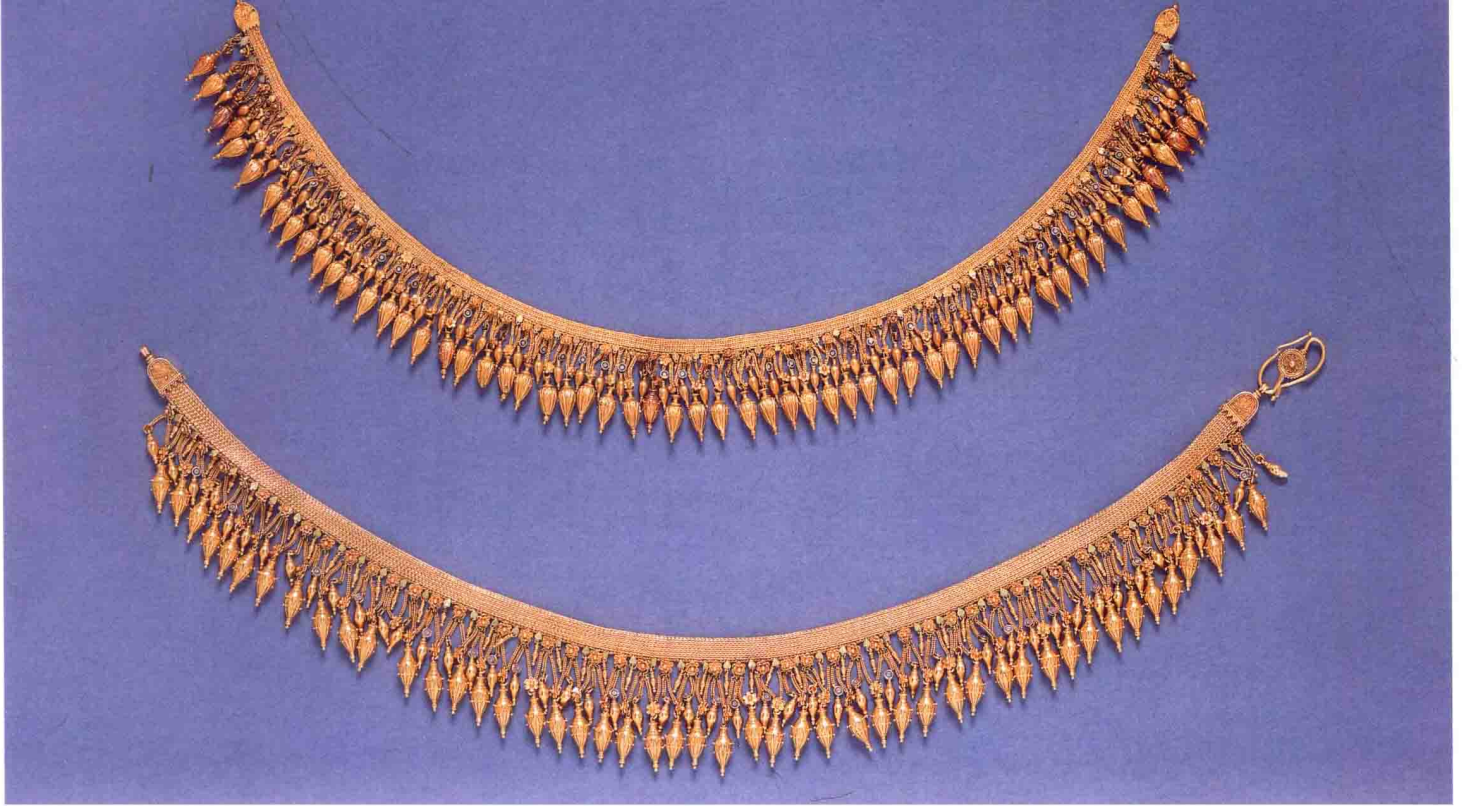
Castellani's reproductions are shown top left and second from top in the centre. Bellezza's are the collar necklace with tassel in the centre and the two necklaces in the left-hand column; the lower one, with clusters of rods, is close to a design by Fontenay. The others — Gardini, Bazzanti and Salvo — have now fallen into oblivion. The Egyptian-style pylon-shaped pendants with scarabs credited to Bazzanti in the right-hand column must have been a popular design, as several examples are known. They have mosaic centres, often incorporating fragments of iridescent scarab-wing cases.

THE INFLUENCE OF CASTELLANI OUTSIDE ITALY

By the late 1850s the name of Castellani was something to be reckoned with. The Castellanis were a talking point in educated society in Britain well before the firm's astounding success in 1862. The large British and North American community in Florence would all have seen their display at the Exhibition there of 1861. This was the *Esposizione Italiana*, the first national exhibition held in unified Italy. Alessandro himself, exiled from Rome, was fast becoming a celebrity outside his native country, lecturing on ancient jewellery in Paris in 1860 and in London in 1861.¹ That same year saw the formation of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, while a new display of engraved gems and jewellery had already opened in the Ornament Room.² This coincided with the publicity over the sale to Napoléon III of the Campana collection of ancient jewellery (see p. 405); the collection had been offered first to the British Museum, where it was examined in 1858.³ Napoléon III acquired it in 1861 and it went on display in Paris the following year, but not in time to inspire French jewellers at the 1862 Exhibition.

The exact date at which jewellers outside Italy began to produce archaeological jewels is uncertain, but once any such items existed other jewellers would have known about them, from their own travels to Italy, or from clients who had brought pieces back to northern Europe and America. Many of the key figures have already been mentioned in the context of international exhibitions: Phillips and Brogden in London, Fontenay in Paris, Bacher in Vienna and Tiffany in New York. None of them produced exact reproductions like Castellani, but the main difference is that they copied anything, with no emphasis on antiquities from Italy. They are considered here as Castellani's italianate imitators, but all had other styles in their repertoire. Phillips and Brogden both worked in the Egyptian and the Assyrian styles (see Figs 350, 361) and carried on a profitable trade in cameos. In Britain there was no political or national reason for the archaeological style; initially it may have meant something to clients who understood its resonance for Italy, but it was avidly taken up in intellectual and artistic circles (Fig. 415). As it continued and became a widespread fashionable commodity it appears to have been nothing more than commercially driven.⁴

The closest to Castellani was Carlo Giuliano, who is thought to have trained in the Castellani workshops and followed Alessandro to London with the aim of setting up a London branch.⁵ Giuliano is more accurately described as a transplant than an imitator. His archaeological-style work is indistinguishable from that of the Castellani workshop, consisting of reproductions of the same ancient models done with the same technical excellence (Fig. 414); he even imitated their crossed Cs monogram, changing the second C into G, and soldering it in the same way to the backs of his jewels. He is recorded in London from 1860, and before setting up his own retail establishment in Piccadilly in 1874 Giuliano supplied Howell & James, Hancock's, Phillips and Harry Emanuel with a diverse range including enamelled Renaissance-revival and gem-set jewels. It is on these that his English reputation rests rather than the italianate archaeological work (see Figs 221, 299).⁶ Archaeological jewels were nonetheless displayed in Giuliano's new premises.⁷ Perhaps they were eclipsed by his enamelled work. At his death in 1895 Giuliano left a fine group to the South Kensington Museum, including a necklace with amphora pendants described by *The Times* as 'enriched with no fewer than 157,580 tiny gold granules'.⁸ Examples from unsold stock were still



available from his two sons, C. & A. Giuliano, in 1899, when the National Museum of Dublin purchased five pieces, to which the brothers added three gifts.⁹ These pieces include another Melos fringe necklace, but some of them are distinct adaptations, quite far removed from the original prototypes.¹⁰

Robert Phillips, by contrast, did not slavishly copy Castellani. Among the earliest of the English archaeological jewellers, Phillips first exhibited 'bracelets after the antique' at the Paris Exhibition of 1855 (see p. 263). Phillips's display in 1862, to judge by illustrations in the *Art-Journal* and in J.B. Waring's volumes, demonstrates that he was making classical-style pieces before then. No doubt additions were made during the course of the exhibition in response to Castellani's success, but Phillips and other jewellers who showed classical-style jewels cannot have produced them all after the exhibition opened. Robert Phillips, however, had already visited the Castellani showroom in Rome; his name appears in their visitors' books several pages before Elizabeth Browning's in January 1861.¹¹ For the *Times* reviewer of the 1862 exhibition it was immediately apparent that Phillips was doing something very different from Castellani:

Castellani reproduces with the fidelity of an antiquarian. . . . Mr. Phillips reproduces and adapts. Castellani's works are fit for museums; Mr Phillips only departs so far from the antiquarian type as to suit his ornaments for the drawing-room of that season. Thus, for instance, his Greek mounted necklace, of Worcester enamels, is as classic in work and yet as fashionable in form as the most fastidious belle could desire.¹² (See Fig. 217.)

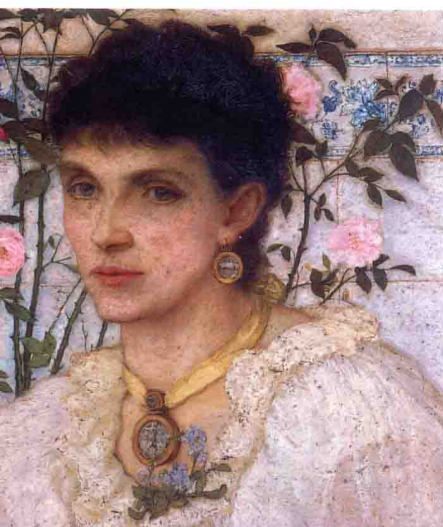
At the Paris Exhibition of 1867 Phillips was the only British jeweller to receive a gold medal. In the five-year gap between 1862 and 1867 the discourse on reproductions of ancient works had centred on the 'correct' principles of design inherent in adaptations as opposed to reproductions. In the context of the design reform movement in Britain, Castellani lacked

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Top: Greek fringe necklace said to be from Melos, from the collection of Alessandro Castellani acquired by the British Museum in 1872. About 330–300 BC. L. 33.6 cm.

Below: Copy of the same necklace by Carlo Giuliano, London, about 1875. British Museum (*top*) and private collection

The Melos necklace had been restored before it was acquired by the British Museum; missing elements were replaced and the terminals re-attached. The Castellani themselves made copies of it in its restored state. Giuliano's copy, like Castellani's, is an almost exact replica: everything has been slightly enlarged – the woven chain for instance is broader – and the terminals have been modified. The original has no fastening, and so Giuliano has added an S-shaped clasp, an invention using the long loops found on classical necklaces and earrings, placed back to back. Castellani was probably the first to create these S-shaped clasps and they became a standard feature of 19th-century archaeological jewellery.



415

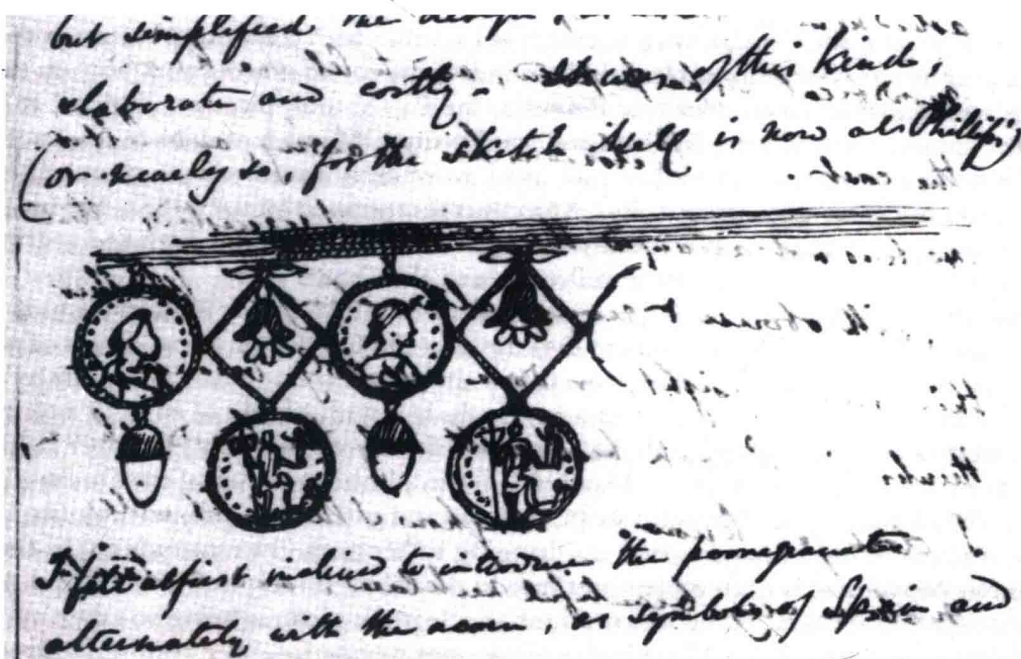
Mrs George Henry Boughton wearing coin-set jewellery (detail), by Kate Carr. Oil on canvas, 1877. Private collection

G.H. Boughton (1833–1905) spent his early years in America, settling in London in 1862. In 1865 he married Katherine Louise Cullen (1845–after 1901) and their house in Campden Hill, Kensington, designed by Norman Shaw, became a meeting place for artistic circles. The portrait, with its aesthetic background of tiled dado and rose branches, was shown at the opening exhibition of the Grosvenor Gallery in 1877. The artist was the sister of Joseph Comyns Carr, a director of the gallery. Mrs Boughton's pendant echoes the ancient *bulla*. The silver coins in both pendant and earrings are Greek: that in the pendant depicts a standing figure with trident, possibly Poseidonia, those in the earring with a bull butting to the right are a common type of the 4th century BC from Thurium, southern Italy.

originality. The *Art-Journal* contrasted Castellani and Phillips to make the point: Wedgwood and Flaxman had demonstrated 'the value and excellence of adaptations from the antique', and had shown 'the right spirit and true method in which such adaptations should be conducted'. Castellani was the first among his contemporaries to have 'formed a just estimate of the necessity of achieving that absolutely perfect reproduction of ancient works of art'; his display in 1862 led to others striking out paths for themselves. However, he 'still adheres to his former rule of exact and complete reproduction . . . and consequently without the faintest trace of any such adaptation as would imply a modification of the original types. . . . The time for this adaptation Castellani does not consider yet to have arrived'. He was waiting until familiarity with the ancient works had been made 'so thoroughly our own, that we are enabled to identify the ancient workers with ourselves'. The *Art-Journal* critic warned that the proliferation of ancient works now available threw up great perils for reproducers, since not every style of antiquity qualified to be restored to a fresh working existence. How then was the modern jeweller to make his selection? The models had to be appropriate, which meant being beautiful, not merely curious. Phillips was the ablest and most successful of Castellani's rivals, and would bulk larger if his papers survived. But he differed from Castellani on two counts: first, he favoured numerous different styles equally (i.e. he went well beyond Italy for his inspiration), and secondly, he had initiated 'successful adaptations of ancient examples *without an exact adherence* in either design or treatment to the ancient practice'. By availing himself of ancient models and improving them, he 'executes designs that are his own. This is true adaptation', and one that would 'lead the way to a highly disciplined modern independence'.¹³

One of the few documented instances of Phillips exerting his 'modern independence' is to be found in the commission he received from Henry Layard in 1871 for a necklace to take twenty late Roman coins. Like many in his social position, Layard stuck to the same jeweller for certain kinds of jewellery: on the one hand he employed a specialist diamond merchant, but for archaeological jewels he went to Phillips, who had made Lady Layard's elaborate parure with ancient Assyrian cylinder seals as a wedding gift in 1869 (see Fig. 368).¹⁴ In 1871 Layard was in Madrid and left his friend, the antiquary Edmund Oldfield, to make the arrangements with Phillips. Lady Layard had wanted the coins in two rows and so Oldfield based his design on 'a very beautiful necklace in the Museo Borbonico', the famous Etruscan fringe necklace from Ruvo copied by Castellani, Melillo, Casalta and Phillips himself (Fig. 417).¹⁵ A long description of Phillips's shop in the 1870 *Art-Journal* described Phillips's copy displayed alongside his Neapolitan coral: '. . . in the Museo Borbonico, at Naples, is a certain antique necklace of great beauty, of which we find in Mr Phillips's assortment a reproduction, with its pendent reticulation of masks, and acorn and floral drops'.¹⁶ Oldfield had no doubt seen it, but he may also have known William Burges's article on 'Antique Jewellery and its Revival' for the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1863, in which a section of the Naples original was illustrated.¹⁷ Burges had visited the Naples Museum in 1853 and made sketches there which he used to illustrate the techniques of ancient Italian jewellery.

Phillips saw immediately the practical problem of Oldfield's design and, as a pained Oldfield reported to Layard, 'pronounced that like most amateurs' designs, it had a practical defect, viz. that the weight of the lower coins would draw in the side of the lozenge above, and spoil the symmetry of the whole' (Fig. 416). Phillips also thought the coins would look better in a single row of sixteen, and suggested the remaining four should be made up into



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Pen and ink sketch for Lady Layard's coin necklace. From Edmund Oldfield's letter to Henry Layard of 13 January 1872. British Library

Oldfield (1816–1902), friend of Ruskin and librarian of Worcester College, Oxford, had served as assistant in the Department of Antiquities at the British Museum from 1848 to 1861. He had been heavily involved in the display of Layard's discoveries in Assyria and continued to work for him. His design retains the palmettes and acorns of the Etruscan original (Fig. 417), but omits the pomegranate flower (in the bottom row) as it needed a new die at a cost of £10–£12. Oldfield's letter accompanied Robert Phillips's full-size drawing and estimate, with the coins in a single row, for Layard's approval. Phillips wrote to Oldfield: 'It will give me great pleasure to execute it for Mr Layard, who shall have the benefit of my personal attention and the exceptional terms I always give him.'



417

Copy of an Etruscan gold necklace from Ruvo in the Naples Archaeological Museum. Italian, with Naples assay marks, about 1860. L. 39.3 cm. British Museum, given by Mrs Eustace Smith (1835–1919) in 1906

The ancient necklace was discovered in the early 19th century and was one of the most famous jewels in the museum, then known as the Museo Borbonico. This copy was purchased in Italy by Martha Mary (Eustacia) Eustace Smith, an adventurous character both in her collecting – she and her husband Thomas Eustace Smith owned a spectacular collection of Aesthetic Movement painting – and in her private life. She was forced to live in exile on the Continent from about 1885 to 1900 after both she and one of her daughters had an affair with the Liberal MP Charles Dilke. When she gave the necklace to the British Museum in 1906 she recalled buying it 'about forty years ago'.

a brooch and earrings. The defeated Oldfield wrote to Layard in February 1872, 'I found it best to acquiesce altogether in his design, for he adhered to his opinion that a double row of coins could not be made to hang well.'¹⁸

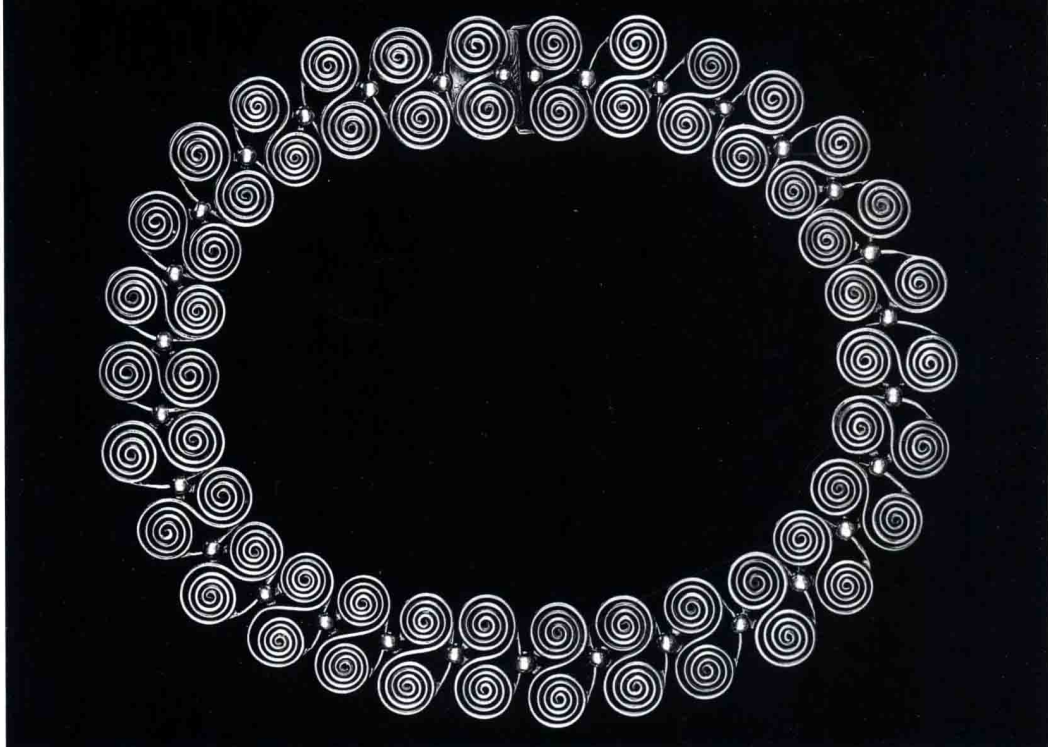
Following his success at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, Phillips started to place advertisements in *The Times*. Such advertisements reveal much about the respective status of the different London jewellers and the clientele they expected. Phillips described his firm, Phillips Brothers & Son, as 'Classic Goldsmiths, Jewellers and Coral Merchants' offering 'Art Reproductions in the Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek, Roman, Runic, Byzantine, Mediaeval and Oriental styles'. The same advertisement appeared from November 1869 until November 1875. Phillips thus offered a range of non-italianate archaeological jewellery (including Scandinavian

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Necklace with spirals of silver wire by Phillips Brothers & Son. English, about 1870. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

It is likely that Phillips had seen the Castellani's copies of Italian Iron Age spiral ornaments, either the large spiral fibulae (see Fig. 380) or the various ornaments with spiral chains.

Alternatively he may have based this on similar spiral ornaments from the Scandinavian or Central European Bronze Age (the dating of these periods varies across Europe).



419

Enamelled gold pendant with painted porcelain plaque depicting the 'Sale of the Cupids', by John Brogden. English, about 1867–72. Private collection

The subject is after the wall painting at Pompeii. The enamel border recalls the Devonshire parure (Figs 300 and 302), which Brogden may have made for Hancock's. How far the big West End firms made their own jewellery is unclear. Brogden's, unusually, was made on the premises. *The Times* (16 September 1867) noted that 'Brogden . . . alone of all the great London jewellers, has a workshop of his own. Even Mr Phillips gives out his work. The idea is his, and the design is his; but he leaves it to be executed by some unknown hand, in some out-of-the-way street.' After his move from Henrietta Street to Charing Cross in 1880, Brogden drew attention to 'the great advantage of purchasing from the bona fide manufacturer at really wholesale prices for ready money, thereby superseding co-operative stores. The 18-carat Gold Artistic Jewelry is made in the basement, where some of the most skilled goldsmiths can be seen at work. . . .' (*Illustrated London News*, 20 May 1882, p. 499).



reproductions). He is one of the few apart from Castellani to have copied ancient spiral ornaments, but one rare surviving example, a silver necklace in the Fitzwilliam Museum, suggests that he was looking at different sources, as it is much simplified (Fig. 418).

John Brogden, who had won a silver medal in 1867, also placed advertisements from 1869, offering 'Archaeological Jewellery' as a distinct category, alongside a huge range of standard items, 'sold only at the Original Gold Chain manufactory, 16, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden'.¹⁹ Advertisements of this kind make it clear that the gold chains were the firm's bread and butter, a point that would never come across through the pages of the *Art-Journal*, which focus only on the 'artistic' jewellery. The page devoted to Brogden at the 1867 Exhibition illustrates almost exclusively jewels adapted from ancient models, among them a group of classical-style jewels with cameos or painted plaques framed by acanthus scrolls.²⁰ Harriet Bolckow purchased a cameo necklace of this type (see Fig. 62). One further example has recently come to light and may even be the piece lent by Princess Louise to the 1872 Loan Exhibition at the South Kensington Museum: 'Pendant locket mounted in gold, oblong centre formed of a painting representing the sale of Cupids, by John Brogden (Fig. 419).'²¹ The painting is on porcelain and was perhaps supplied by Thomas Bott at Worcester, like the jewels with painted classical scenes shown by Phillips in 1862.

The idea of archaeological jewellery reached a peak of popularity in the late 1860s and the 1870s. Borgen & Co., the Danish company that established a London branch in Bond Street in 1869, were principally known for their jewels in the 'Old Norse' style (see pp. 442–3), which they advertised in *The Times* from May 1870. They also made classical-style goldwork, however, and, apparently uniquely, described themselves as 'Archaeological Jewellers' on the retailer's label stamped inside the lid of the jewel case (Fig. 420).

Edwin Streeter, advertising in *The Times* from 1867, listed his archaeological designs as part of his 'TEN-GUINEA SUITE, in 18 carat gold (machine made) – viz., the Ram's Head, Bee, Etruscan, Buttercup, and other patterns. . . . Photographs sent on application.' Streeter also issued a series of trade catalogues for retailers up and down the country to order their stock, which enable the identification of all the patterns listed in the *Times* advertisements.



420 A & B

Labradorite cameo parure retailed by A. Borgen & Co.'s Royal Danish Galleries, London. Made either by Christesen, Copenhagen, or bought in from a London supplier, 1869–79. W. of case 17 cm. British Museum, given by Robert C. Kwok
 Borgen's Scandinavian-revival jewellery was supplied by Christesen (see pp. 442–3). But this classical-style



parure may be English-made. One of the few artists cutting labradorite cameos at this date, Wilhelm Schmidt, was working in London. The detail (left) shows Borgen's stamp inside the lid, describing themselves as 'Archaeological Goldsmiths', a clever marketing ploy aimed at the current interest in archaeology and the desire to demonstrate that interest by wearing 'archaeological' jewellery.

M^r STREETER, (LATE OF CONDUIT ST.)

Brooches—(continued.)

	£	s.	d.
12. All gold, buttercup centre, two sizes	£3 and		4 10 0
13. Gold beads, with swinging pendants			8 18 0
14. Saxon shield, all gold, £3, or with carbuncle, £5, or coral			6 10 0
15. Beaded border with gold A. E. I., two sizes	£4 and		5 0 0
16. Grecian, with bead and cup, pippin pendants			8 0 0
17. Etruscan, with gold A. E. I.	£5 and		7 0 0
18. Pierced Greek border, gold ball and cup centre	£5 and		20 0 0
19. Etruscan, with honeysuckle and ram's head centre	£8 and		6 0 0
20. Beaded border, with gold ball and cup centre	£4 and		6 0 0

* These brooches can be had in any size, and with stones in centre.

Cheques payable at London & County Bank, Manover Sq.

(26)

18, New Bond St., LONDON, W.

Brooches—(continued.)

	£	s.	d.
21. Saxon, with onyx centre, and surrounded with beads	5		0 0
22. Turquoise blue enamel, coral, pearls, and diamond star			10 0 0
23. Coral or onyx centre, gold bead border, 2 sizes, £6 &	10		0 0
24. Carbuncle centre, surrounded with pearls, and white enamel border	10		0 0
25. Etruscan, carbuncle, set with 6 diamonds, and enamelled border			9 10 0
26. Gold cross, with five onyxes			6 16 0
27. Open centre, onyx and pearl border, and white enamel			9 0 0
28. Turquoise enamel or onyx centre, pearl star			8 10 0
29. Flat gold border, carbuncle and pearl star, or amethyst or onyx centre	5		18 0

P. O. Orders payable at Vease Street, Western District.

(27)

421

Pages of Greek and Etruscan patterns from a *Catalogue of Designs and Prices* issued by Edwin Streeter (1834–1923) of 18 New Bond Street, about 1878. Patrick Streeter

On the left nos 16 and 18 are described as 'Grecian' and 'Pierced Greek border', no. 17 as 'Etruscan with Gold A.E.I.', no. 19 as 'Etruscan, with honeysuckle and ram's head centre', and no. 25 (right) as 'Etruscan' with enamelled border and a carbuncle centre surrounded by diamonds. No. 14 (left) is listed as 'Saxon shield, all gold £3, or with carbuncle £5, or coral £6 10s.' The catalogue is undated but includes press quotations from 1874 and reference to an inkstand made for the Prince Imperial (1856–79, son of Napoléon III) on his majority, i.e. in 1877. He is not described as 'the late', suggesting that the catalogue dates from about 1878.

The patterns all used standard components but the details varied to make them 'Grecian', 'Saxon', or 'Etruscan' (Fig. 421). If Phillips cultivated the artistic elite, and Brogden made a distinction between his archaeological pieces and the rest of his output, Streeter, the most commercially minded of all, aimed at a wider audience who wanted their archaeological jewellery to conform to accepted fashionable types. At this more commercial level he developed a type that might be described as 'all-purpose' archaeological jewellery. Conventionally shaped brooches, pendants and bangles were marketed as 'Etruscan' because they had applied ram's heads, palmettes, amphorae and anthemions, with the addition of twisted wire, ropework, filigree and gold bead decoration. The substitution of other motifs, such as an Assyrian bull, effected a neat transformation to another archaeological style (Fig. 422). At the 1871 International Exhibition in London, Hancock's showed a selection of similar pieces that may well have been supplied by Streeter: they have almost identical palmette borders used interchangeably with classical or Assyrian centres (Fig. 423).²² At the very least the individual elements are most likely to have come from the same die-stamp even if they were assembled in different workshops. One of Streeter's lockets, incongruously titled 'Etruscan border, High Church', is decorated with a pelican in its piety in the centre of a Maltese cross and a crown of thorns; the border appears to be wirework (see Fig. 118). For a devout clientele



422

Gold bracelet and two brooches. English, probably by E.W. Streeter, about 1870–80. Brooches, H. 4.3 cm each, bracelet centre H. 4.6 cm. Private collections

These pieces correspond almost exactly to the all-purpose archaeological jewels in Streeter's catalogues. All have 'Etruscan' pattern borders with applied wirework and palmettes or honeysuckle as shown opposite, but in the left-hand brooch and bracelet the classical-style ram's head in the centre has been replaced by an Assyrian bull.

423 A & B Below

Two pendants exhibited by Hancock's at the London International Exhibition of 1871. *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*, 1871, p. 84

Both have the same 'Etruscan' borders as those advertised by Streeter, who may have made them. One has the inscription 'ΑΕΙ' ('for ever' in Greek), the other an Assyrian bull.

who wished nonetheless to make a passing nod to fashion, perhaps that was enough. Streeter's advertisements in *The Times* assumed an educated audience: one of them began 'Nihil Nisi Bonum' ('Nothing that is not good').

In Continental Europe and America the classical style was so fashionable that a number of jewellers adopted it: Fontenay and Wièse in France, Bacher in Vienna (Fig. 424), several firms in Pforzheim and elsewhere in Germany, and Tiffany and others in America.²³ The most distinctive work in this style was produced by Fontenay and Tiffany. Fontenay's classical style was created in the last two decades of his life between the mid-1860s and his death in 1887. It has no antecedents in classical jewellery except in the use of gold wirework and granulation, yet it achieves an effect that is instantly recognizable as 'archaeological'. It was described by Vever as *style campana* or *genre étrusque*, but it draws as much from French Renaissance classicism as it does from classical jewellery. It divides itself into two groups: those pieces relying on goldwork alone, and those with painted matt enamels (see Fig. 261). Fontenay's gold fringe necklaces all have a common construction: a plaited chain threaded with cylinders from which hang the various elements – volutes, palmettes or a variation of the classical rod and bead.²⁴ Sometimes the elements are graduated and lengthen towards the front, a typically nineteenth-century practice, but they nonetheless retain an antique feel – partly because of the matt yellow gold. One such necklace caught the eye of the *Jeweller and Metalworker's* correspondent in Paris for its ingenious design:

It consists of a fringe of flat gold bands, hanging close together, and upon which is laid a fine scroll of gold. This scroll, of course, has to be made in segments most carefully, so that each one shall match exactly those next it when the strands of the fringe fall together, and in appearance form a homogenous band.²⁵ (Fig. 425)

The enamel subjects, from classical myth and legend, appear as single brooches or whole parures but were most popular as matching sets of brooch and earrings, the brooches almost all with a title in Greek characters executed in linear granulation on a plaque with triangular ends: ΧΙΜΑΙΡΑ (the chimera), ΨΥΧΗ (Psyche), ΚΙΡΚΗ (Circe) (Fig. 426). Fontenay created



424

Gold diadem by the firm of Josef Bacher. Austrian, Vienna, about 1878–80. H. at centre 4 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Bacher's Etruscan-style jewellery was heavily influenced by Castellani's display at the Vienna Exhibition of 1873. A group of jewellery by Castellani was acquired from the exhibition by the Museum für angewandte Kunst, providing Bacher with the opportunity of studying it first-hand. The firm exhibited in Vienna from 1874 and won a gold medal in Paris in 1878. From 1883 to 1889 they were known as J. Bacher & Sohn, and their pieces are usually marked with a JB monogram in applied gold wire, as here.



special jewel-cases for these demi-parures, to allow them to stand vertically, their lids removed, to show the painted scenes to best advantage. A volume of publicity photographs housed in the Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs contains no fewer than thirty-nine of them. The long thin cases hinged at the back are a characteristically French shape; normally the wider end at the back held the earrings, with the brooch at the narrower end in front. Fontenay has reversed the arrangement so that the narrow end is at the back and the wider end at the front. Such an arrangement made a hinged lid impossible: both ends have catches so that the lid snaps on with no hinge at all (Fig. 427).²⁶ These cases could then be displayed by the client at home in a glass-fronted cabinet when not in use, but their principal advantage was that they would fit vertically into narrow shop windows: a nineteenth-century photograph of Tiffany's window in Union Square, their premises from 1870 to 1905, shows two of these cases clearly (Fig. 428). Fontenay did not as far as we know have his own retail premises; his jewels were

425 Right

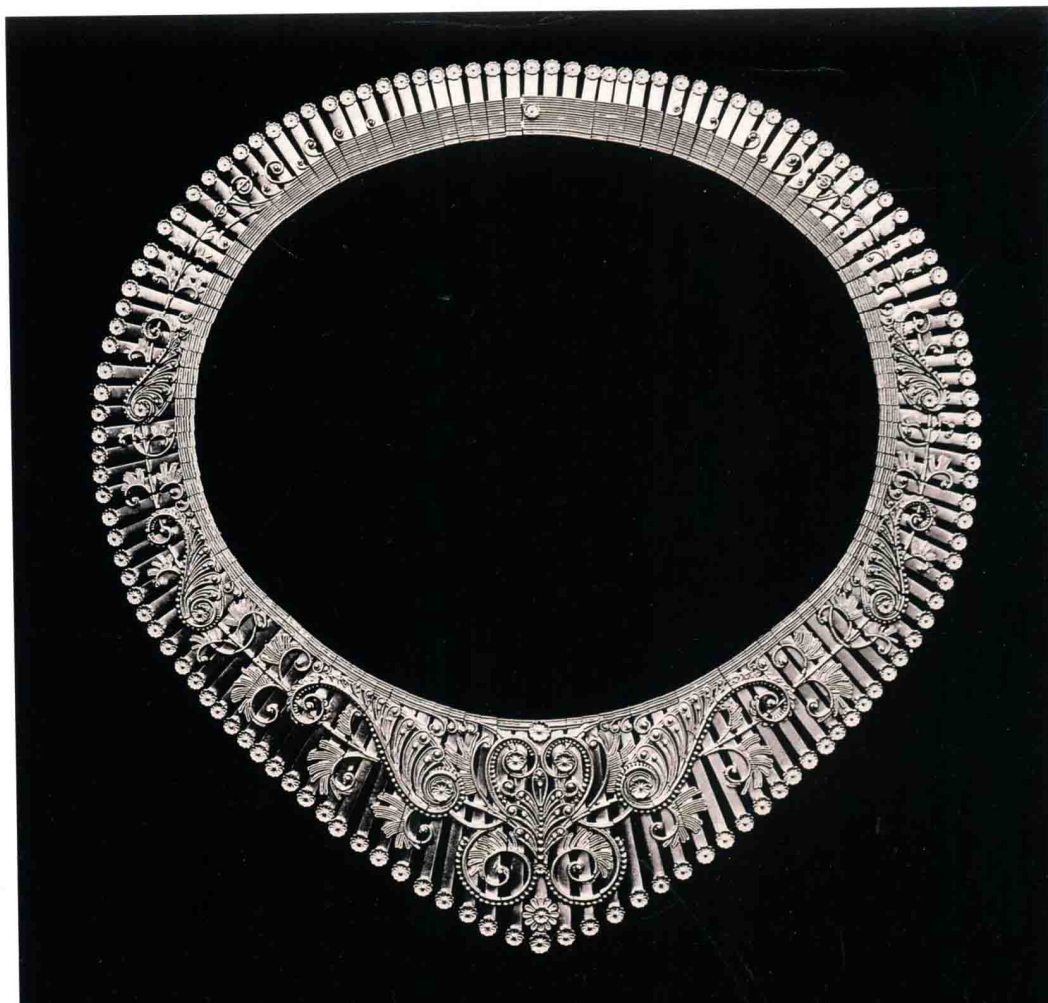
Gold necklace by E. Fontenay (1824–87). French, Paris, about 1875–80. From *Bijoux par Fontenay 1864–1882*, a photograph album of Fontenay's work. Paris, Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs

This is a masterpiece of design and construction. The applied scrollwork motifs in fine wirework and beadwork are made in segments attached to each element of the fringe. Fontenay was a passionate advocate of 22-carat gold for work of this delicacy. In his *Confession d'un Orfèvre* (1885) he wrote: 'I have executed works in 22-carat gold, which are almost sleights of hand, absolutely unfeasible with a lower alloy, such as soldering a series of microscopic granulations to a very heavy moulded piece' (*Revue des Arts Décoratifs*, 6, 1885–6, pp. 262–5). Fontenay retired in 1882. In 1906–8 Veve wrote that, like Castellani, Fontenay had created a style that would bear his name and that no one had managed to repeat since.

427 Opposite left

Demi-parure by E. Fontenay in a case made for vertical display. From *Bijoux par Fontenay 1864–1882*, a photograph album of Fontenay's work. Paris, Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs

The standard arrangement of the jewels with earrings above the brooch is reversed.



sold through other big concerns such as Cartier and Boucheron in Paris, and he was one of a number of Paris suppliers for Tiffany.²⁷

Tiffany made their own archaeological fantasies, often with a hotchpotch of elements taken from different sources. Etruscan *a baule* cylindrical earrings provided the inspiration for a pendant and chain with matching earrings.²⁸ Tiffany's most famous works in this field, however, were inspired like Fontenay's by a great national acquisition of ancient jewellery – the Curium Treasure from Cyprus, discovered in 1875 and purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. But unlike Fontenay, the Curium copies were direct replicas, not classical-style fantasies.²⁹ Luigi Palma di Cesnola was American consul in Cyprus when, as an amateur archaeologist, he made his discovery in somewhat mysterious circumstances at the ancient site of Kourion. The treasure was initially offered to the British Museum, but the newly founded Metropolitan Museum of Art, which had already acquired Cesnola's earlier collection, offered a higher price, raising the final cost of \$60,000 by public subscription in December 1877. The subscribers' names were printed in the *New York Times* as they came in, Tiffany & Co. being among the more generous subscribers at \$1,000.³⁰ The Metropolitan Museum had failed to buy the Castellani collection of antiquities after its display in Philadelphia and at the museum itself in 1876–7; as the *New York Times* put it, 'New York was twitted with having lost an admirable opportunity to secure some of the finest models of antique art in existence', and many were determined not to lose another great collection.³¹ The Curium treasure was further publicized by Cesnola's own exaggeratedly romantic account of its discovery, published the same year, and the acquisition of the treasure and other items from Cyprus was seen as a quantum leap in America's growing rivalry with Europe in collecting antiquities. It was a matter of intense national pride and reveals much about the internecine struggles between museums internationally over acquisitions. Cesnola became secretary of the Metropolitan Museum in



426 Gold and matt enamel Chimera brooch by E. Fontenay. French, Paris, about 1870. W. 4.2 cm. Private collection

The inscription identifying the subject is done in linear granulation, a technique perfected by the Castellani.

428 Below Tiffany & Co.'s shop window in Union Square, New York, about 1870–80. Tiffany & Co. Archives

Two French display cases with demi-parures are placed vertically; the left-hand one contains a matching set by Fontenay.





429

Two lion's-head bracelets (slightly enlarged), by Tiffany & Co. (*left*) and Phillips Brothers & Son (*right*). *Left*: American, about 1878. W. 7.4 cm. *Right*: English, about 1870–80. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The Tiffany bracelet copies one from the Curium treasure. The ancient original is of gold-plated bronze with embossed lion's heads. Tiffany's copy is cast and the tube is hollow; it opens by means of an ingenious invisible spring hinge in the centre, activated by moving the terminals not outwards, as in most such bangle bracelets, but in opposing directions, one forward, one back. Phillips's bracelet copies a Scythian prototype from South Russia.

1877, while Charles Lewis Tiffany was an early Trustee. Together, they lost no time in exploiting New York's success. In August 1877 an agreement was made which gave Tiffany & Co. the right to act as 'sole agents' for the reproduction of works of art in the museum, the choice to be made jointly. Work on the Curium replicas started immediately. They were intended as gifts to museums in Europe. But European museums had no need for the replicas, and it has not so far proved possible to trace any of these sets.³²

Tiffany's chose some of the more dramatic pieces to reproduce, borrowing originals from the museum in 1877–8: lion's-head bracelets, a necklace with acorn drops and two large armlets inscribed with the name of King Eteandros (Fig. 429).³³ The Tiffany replicas received their first public showing at the Paris Exhibition of 1878 (see p. 289). Cesnola wrote to Charles Tiffany, 'If it were not for your name stamped upon the ones you have made, I believe it would be almost impossible to decide which are the originals. They are so faithfully reproduced, they must prove most useful.' How useful he could not have predicted: ten years later, in 1887, the two most famous items were stolen from the Metropolitan Museum, and it was from the moulds taken to produce the replicas that Tiffany's were able to make electrotypes which they presented to the museum.³⁴ Relations between Tiffany and Cesnola were to remain close; time and again Cesnola used the replicas to promote both the museum and American industry. When the Duke of Argyll visited New York with his daughters in July 1879 Cesnola took them to Tiffany's to see the replicas before showing them the real things in his private office in the museum (he was by then Director). An eminent scientist and politician, the 8th Duke of Argyll had already got to know Cesnola in London. His son, the Marquess of Lorne, who had married Princess Louise in 1871, was also shown the Cypriote collection by Cesnola in 1883: he 'noticed a plain gold band bracelet on which were lions heads facing each other, and said he would have a copy made at Tiffany's for the Princess Louise'.³⁵

Copies of the lion's-head bracelets from the Curium Treasure were an obvious gift, echoing the prevailing fashion for bangles as suitable novelty jewellery. This may explain why the type proved so popular. Robert Phillips recreated the Scythian lion's-head bracelets found in the late 1860s at Kertch, South Russia (Fig. 429). The originals entered the Hermitage and, although they do not seem to have been published at the time, Phillips may have known them through copies made by Continental jewellers, for example by Erik Kollin, director of one of Fabergé's workshops in St Petersburg.³⁶

THE SCANDINAVIAN REVIVAL

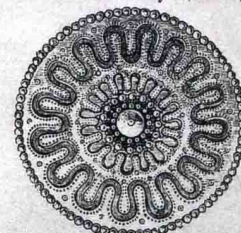
The Kings of Denmark have always patronized national antiquities, and striven to identify themselves with the past as well as the present history of their people; and they have their reward in times of trouble like that through which the nation has just passed, when the value of inculcating a national spirit has been fully proved in the heroic defence made by a small but united people against an attack supported by overwhelming force. (*The Times*, 18 March 1851, p. 6)

This comment was prompted by a recent meeting of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Copenhagen which had taken place in the Royal Palace, chaired by King Frederick VII of Denmark himself. The *Times* correspondent's motive in endorsing Danish royal patronage was actually to make a point about the magnificent displays of national antiquities in Denmark's Museum of Northern Antiquities compared to the poor showing of British antiquities in the British Museum: 'Greece and Rome, or even Nineveh is well enough; but English antiquities! away with such an idea.' Nonetheless, he could not have put more succinctly the role played by the past in the creation of national identity in Denmark. The 'trouble' to which he refers was the war between Denmark and Prussia over the united Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein in 1848–9. In Britain the public saw the situation as a large nation bullying a smaller one, though the British government refused to enter the war against Prussia, Britain's ally.¹ This wave of sympathy with Denmark created a ready market for the copies of Denmark's astounding antiquities.

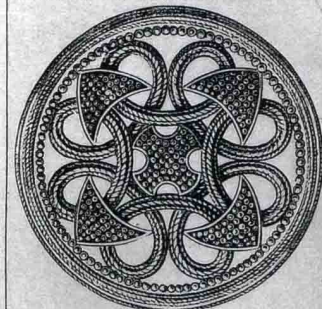
Denmark pioneered the classification of prehistory into the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages. The tripartite system was developed by Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, curator of the Museum of Northern Antiquities from its founding in 1819 to his death in 1865. Published in 1836, it brought the first semblance of order to prehistory and formed the basis for chronological schemes elsewhere.² Thomsen's assistant and successor, J.J.A. Worsaae, was the pioneer of stratigraphy in scientific excavation. His *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark* (1843) was one of the most influential archaeological works of the nineteenth century.³ Worsaae used Denmark's past to help promote a sense of nationalism. In 1854 he produced a work that was to be critical for the creation of the Scandinavian style in jewellery: *Nordiske Oldsager. Det Kongelige Museum i Kjöbenhavn* (Nordic Antiquities. The Royal Museum in Copenhagen). It contained beautifully clear engravings of gold ornaments arranged according to periods, from the Bronze Age and Iron Age to the Migration Period, the Vikings and the Middle Ages, which were easily transformed into modern wearable ornaments. A second addition with new finds appeared in 1859.⁴

Copies of these antiquities were exhibited by the firm of Dahl of Copenhagen at the Copenhagen Industrial Exhibition of 1852.⁵ By the time of the 1862 Exhibition in London, Dahl had created an entire collection of ornaments 'adapted from the ancient Runic', some of which were chosen as wedding gifts for Princess Alexandra the following year. The *Art-Journal's* engravings of E.F. Dahl's designs include an ornament reproducing the top of a square-headed brooch of the Migration Period and circular brooches copied from Viking interlace ornaments of the ninth century (Fig. 430).⁶ The Viking ornaments were copied by Phillips of London, and were soon available from A. Borgen & Co.'s Royal Danish Galleries opened on New Bond Street in 1869. Borgen & Co. were principally retailers; the pieces they sold were supplied by firms such as Dahl or Christesen (Fig. 431).⁷

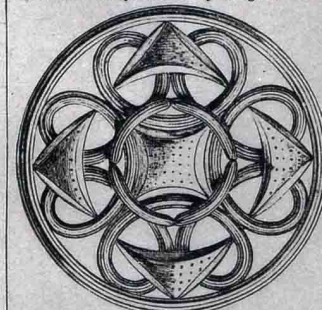
in silver exhibits his ability in one depart-



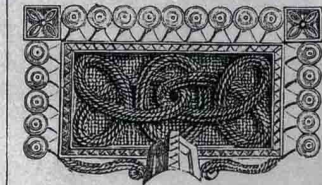
ment of the art; the brooches are evidences



in another—they are of pure gold, un-



adorned. They are adaptations from the an-



cient Runic, and are probably faithful copies.

430

Ornaments 'adapted from the ancient runic', shown by E.F. Dahl of Copenhagen at the International Exhibition of 1862. *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*, 1862, p. 152

The motifs copy Iron Age (top) and Viking designs (centre). At the bottom is the top part of a long square-headed brooch of the Migration period.

431

Gold Viking-style brooch sold by A. Borgen & Co. Danish, 1869–79. Diam. 4.3 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

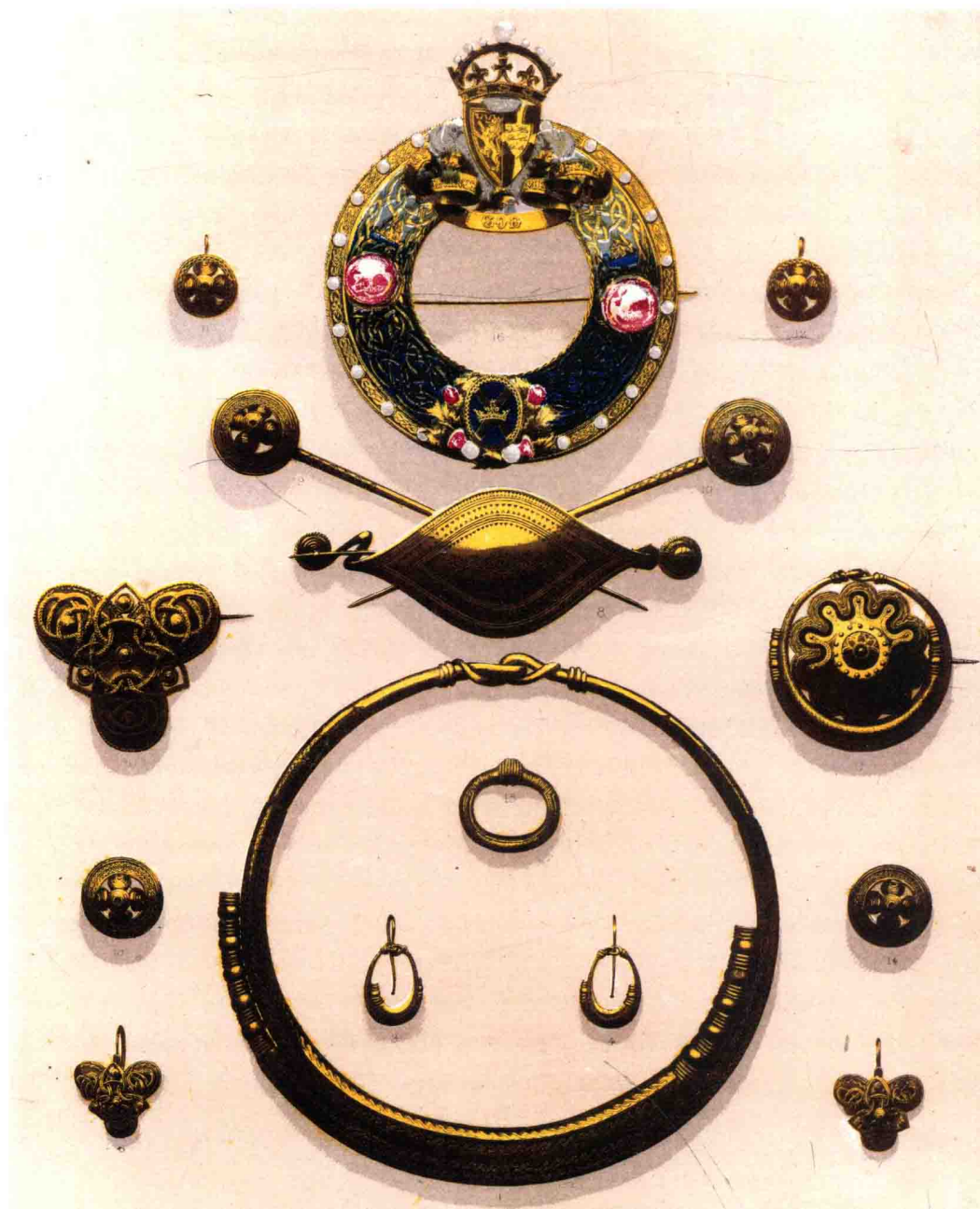


The marriage of the Danish Princess Alexandra to the Prince of Wales in 1863 provided an occasion for lavish symbolic gifts in the new national style. Her trousseau contained at least five different gifts of jewellery inspired by Danish antiquities. They were publicized in Denmark as much as in Britain, both in popular publications and in a grand presentation volume with colour lithographs of all the presents, and they encompass more or less all the types that were to remain in production for several decades. This was an extraordinary statement of national pride and a *tour de force* on the part of the Copenhagen jewellers. From King Frederick VII of Denmark she received a necklace of 2,000 diamonds and 118 Danish pearls, from which hung an enamelled gold copy of the eleventh- or twelfth-century cross of the medieval Queen Dagmar (see p. 441), made by the Danish court jeweller, Jules Didrichsen. The necklace was entirely nineteenth-century in conception, though the trefoils and quatre-foils gave a medieval veneer; the two large pearl drops had been exhibited at the 1851 Exhibition.⁸ From the royal family of Hesse-Cassel (Alix's mother was Louise of Hesse-Cassel; her father became Christian IX of Denmark after the death of Frederick VII later in 1863) she received a suite of jewellery containing a copy of a late Iron Age gold torc, a recent find

432

Wedding gifts from Denmark to Princess Alexandra in 1863. Sir W.H. Russell, *A memorial of the marriage of H.R.H. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales and H.R.H. Alexandra Princess of Denmark*, London 1864, pl. 28

The large ring-brooch at the top (no. 16) is Scottish, not Scandinavian (see p. 456). The rest of the plate shows 'Old Norse' jewellery from three different sets. Surrounding the ring-brooch are earrings, hairpins and a brooch based on Bronze Age spiral ornament by E.F. Dahl (nos 8–15), with a pair of circular sleeve-studs flanking the torc (nos 13–14) and a ring inside the torc (no. 15), all given by the islands of Laaland and Falster. The torc copies a recently found Iron Age example, with matching earrings inside it and brooch to the right (no. 2), from the royal family of Hesse-Cassel. Lastly, a Viking-style brooch and earrings with interlace, all by Michelsen (nos 5–7), from various Copenhagen dignitaries.





433

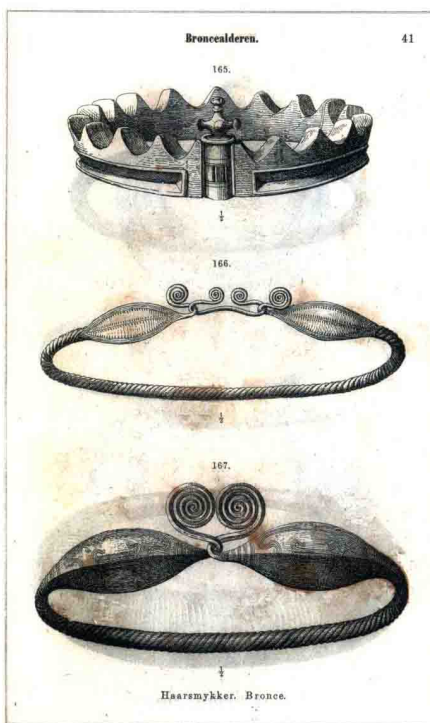
Gold copy of an Iron Age torc by E.F. Dahl of Copenhagen. Danish, 1857–68. Diam. 14.6 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The Iron Age torc was found in 1857. This copy is inscribed 'M. Halkett d 24 Debr 1868', and may possibly have been made for Margaret Kerr Halkett (1837–1919), who married Colonel James Halkett, Baron of the Kingdom of Hanover, at the Anglican Church in Copenhagen in 1858. Margaret Halkett was a lady-in-waiting to Princess Alexandra and was herself of Danish origin. The inscription may commemorate a tenth wedding anniversary and appears to be in German: 'den 24 Dezember'.

on the island of Øland of 1857, to which had been added matching brooch and earrings (Fig. 432), as well as a broad, curved diadem and spiral bangle, all supplied by Michelsen of Copenhagen (Fig. 435).⁹ Other versions of the neck ring were adapted to make them easier to wear, with a conventional bolt snap at the back and invisible hinges at the sides, instead of the spiral fastening of the original. The example in Fig. 433 was made by Dahl, who may also have supplied Michelsen with the royal gifts.¹⁰

From the inhabitants of the islands of Laaland and Falster she received a copy of a Bronze Age diadem in the National Museum with a double spiral fastening at the front and incised decoration, with matching bracelet (Fig. 435), brooch, hairpins, buttons or sleeve studs, earrings and ring, all made by Dahl (Fig. 432). From a group of Copenhagen dignitaries she received an interlace brooch and earrings based on Viking ornaments (also in Fig. 432), and a massive gold cuff bracelet copying an Iron Age gold arm ring in the National Museum, all by Michelsen (Fig. 435).¹¹ Many of the prototypes are illustrated in Worsaae's 1854 book, for example the Bronze Age diadem with spirals (Fig. 434).¹² That the Princess did indeed wear some of the archaeological reproductions is confirmed by their later appearance in the Garrard ledgers, when they were sent in for repair.

The wedding gifts were displayed in their entirety at the South Kensington Museum from 16 April to 5 May 1863. Henry Cole was closely involved in arranging the display and noted in his diary in January, 'The Princess would lend all her jewels and as she has none but these would send for them when she wanted them and return them.' On 16 April he



434

Bronze Age diadems. J.J.A. Worsaae, *Nordiske Oldsager*. Det Kongelige Museum i Kjøbenhavn, 1854, pl. 41

The diadem at the bottom was copied by Dahl for one of the suites of jewellery given to Princess Alexandra on her wedding in 1863 (*below*). The incised decoration on the two elliptical panels represents ships.

435

Wedding gifts from Denmark to Princess Alexandra in 1863. Sir W.H. Russell, *A memorial of the marriage of H.R.H. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales and H.R.H. Alexandra Princess of Denmark*, London 1864, pl. 29

These gold ornaments all belong to the three sets shown in Fig. 432. The diadem at the top and the spiral bracelet at the right are from the Bronze Age ensemble made by Dahl. The broad curved diadem and spiral bangle (*front centre*) are from the Hesse-Cassel family Iron Age parure, while the massive gold cuff bracelet copied an Iron Age gold arm ring in the National Museum, all supplied by Michelsen. They are shown on purple velvet with gold fringing.

was able to record that on the first day an astonishing '5,930-persons-paid 6d to see the presents, in the North Court of the Museum'.¹³ The diamond jewels must have been the big draw for the public, but nevertheless this was tremendous publicity for the Danish-style pieces. The Princess enjoyed enormous popularity and she was undoubtedly good-looking: when Cole took her round the museum on 22 April, he wrote in his diary, 'Isn't she pretty, better than the jewels, what a treat. I wish you joy Madam.' Her subsequent patronage of Borgen's Danish Galleries must have influenced many British buyers.

The Byzantine eleventh- or twelfth-century Dagmar Cross was found in a grave in St Bendts Church in Ringsted and became part of the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities in 1695. It was believed at the time that it had belonged to Queen Dagmar (d. 1212), wife of Valdemar the Victorious. Dagmar was buried in Ringsted and had already become a subject of popular folk ballad by the seventeenth century.¹⁴ The cross is enamelled on one side with the Crucifixion and on the other with the heads of Christ, the Virgin and saints (Fig. 439). The antiquarian King Frederick VII had wished to give the original cross itself, probably made as a reliquary though now empty, as an appropriate present to the future Queen of Great Britain, but as Denmark had become a constitutional monarchy in 1849 the King had no power to dispose of it. He therefore had a replica made and attached to an elaborate necklace (Fig. 437). The presentation of the necklace was made in Copenhagen before Alexandra's departure for London, and *The Times* reported that the facsimile of the Dagmar cross 'contains a fragment of the true cross, with a piece of silk taken from the grave of King Canute, the patron saint of Denmark'.¹⁵ The antiquary George Stephens claimed that the silk had been cut off by Frederick VII himself when Canute's shrine was opened at Odense in 1833.¹⁶ Princess Alexandra's cross was thus imbued with symbolism: it took the form of a talisman once owned by a beloved queen from Denmark's past, and it contained both a relic of Christ and a relic associated with a king who had ruled over both England and Denmark, to bring the Princess good fortune in her new country and to remind her of the one she had left.¹⁷ The necklace itself was hard to wear: shortly after the marriage, the Crown Jeweller was 'altering and rearranging the Danish necklace, making the centres to act as brooches, furnishing 14 rose diamonds partly remounting'.¹⁸ The cross, surrounded by diamonds with large pearls at the





ends, was made into a separate pendant (Fig. 436).¹⁹ The wedding took place in March 1863; by 1 June designs for copies of the Dagmar cross were being registered in London.²⁰

Frederick VII gave further copies of the Dagmar cross to other members of the Danish royal family. The Dowager Queen Caroline Amalie gave one to her lady-in-waiting Vilhelmine Colbjornsen, while another went to Princess Dagmar, Alix's sister, who married Alexander III of Russia in 1866, becoming Czarina Marie Feodorovna. The Prince and Princess of Wales repeatedly ordered copies in enamelled gold from Garrard's for the modest sum of £6. Further copies were later made by Fabergé in St Petersburg, presumably at the Czarina's request. Recorded examples bear the mark of August Hollming, workmaster at Fabergé from 1896 to 1913.²¹ Copies of the cross were subsequently made at different prices, with and without enamel, by several Copenhagen firms and were available in London in gold and in carved ivory from Borgen & Co.'s Royal Danish Galleries (Fig. 438).²² They were even made in the newly developed India rubber by the Britannia Rubber and Kamptulicon Company (see p. 208). By the late nineteenth century the copies had become a standard gift in Denmark at christenings and confirmations.²³

The only English jeweller to make archaeological-style reproductions from Danish antiquities was Robert Phillips, who exhibited them in Paris in 1867. In some cases he simply copied Dahl's 1862 models, in others he too looked at Worsaae's book for inspiration. Of the three brooches illustrated by the *Art-Journal*, at least two were taken almost line for

436 Above left Princess Alexandra wearing the Dagmar cross. About 1870–75. Hulton Archive

The cross has been removed from the necklace (right) and hung on a simple string of pearls.

437 Above Princess Alexandra's 'Dagmar' necklace, by Jules Didrichsen. Danish, 1863. Royal Collection

The gift of King Frederick VII of Denmark, the necklace contained 2,000 diamonds and 118 Danish pearls. The two enormous pendant pearls were considered remarkable at the time and had already been shown at the Great Exhibition. The Princess wore the necklace as a stomacher when she dressed as Mary Queen of Scots for the Waverley Ball in 1871 (see Fig. 186).

438 A & B *Right and far right*

Gold copy of the Dagmar cross, with its original Borgen & Co. retailer's case. H. of cross 5 cm. British Museum

The cloisonné enamel of the original is suggested with raised gold lines.

**439** *Below*

The Dagmar cross. Byzantine, 11th or 12th century. From George Stephens, *Queen Dagmar's Cross ... in the Old-Northern Museum, Denmark, London 1863*

One side shows the Crucifixion, the other has heads of Christ, the Virgin and saints.



line from Worsaae's illustrations; one copied a medieval gold mount found at Kollund around 1805, another copied an early medieval shield with iron ornaments (Fig. 440).²⁴ But Phillips's Scandinavian-style pieces are rare, and it may be that once the Danish Galleries had opened he decided not to compete with them. In their ten years in London Borgen & Co. had cornered the market in Scandinavian-revival jewellery.

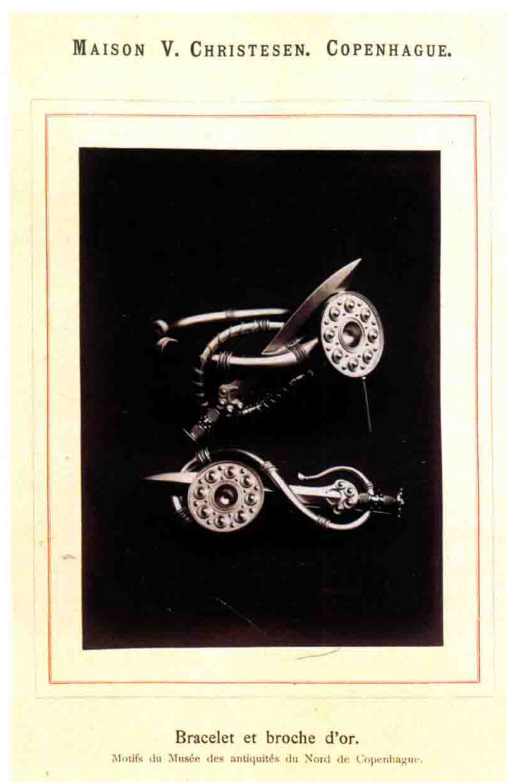
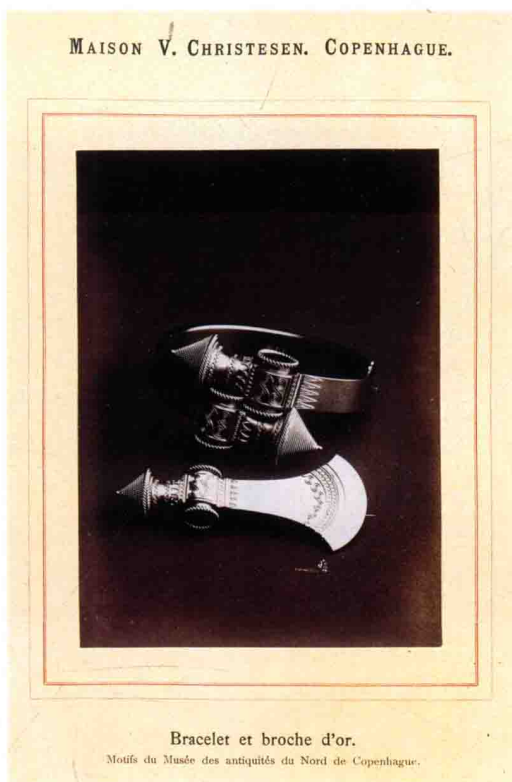
Borgen & Co. are recorded in New Bond Street from 1869 to 1879, retailing not only a wide range of jewellery but also Copenhagen porcelain, terracottas copying Greek vases,

440

Scandinavian-style brooches shown by Phillips Brothers & Son at the Paris Exhibition of 1867. *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*, 1867, p. 44

Robert Phillips based two of these designs on illustrations in Worsaae's publications: (*left*) copy of a medieval gold mount found at Kollund around 1805 (described by Worsaae as Iron Age); (*right*) based on an early medieval leather shield with iron decoration.





441 A & B

Scandinavian-revival jewels shown by Christesen of Copenhagen at the Paris Exhibition of 1889. From *Exposition Universelle de 1889, à Paris. Danemark. Classes 24 et 37. La Maison V. Christesen à Copenhague*, pp. 2 and 4. Copenhagen, Kunstindustrimuseet, Bibliotek

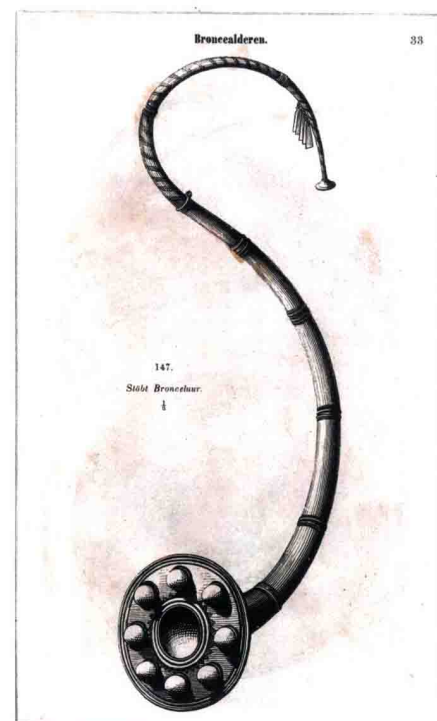
Far left: Brooch with matching bracelet inspired by Bronze Age axe-heads: the axe-head socket is repeated to form the clasp of the bracelet. *Left:* Brooch and bracelet inspired by Bronze Age lurs and swords.

electroplate and carved wood furniture. The *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine's* comment that the latter was 'rather below the price of good English furniture' suggests that Phillips was being undercut by cheaper imports. The *Magazine's* correspondent went round the Danish Galleries with a book that illustrated many ancient ornaments in the museum in Copenhagen in order 'to compare the designs there engraved with the specimens of modern Danish goldsmiths' work'. Evidently she had a copy of Worsaae to hand. Like most large-scale retailers, Borgen themselves did not credit their suppliers. Thanks to the Workmen's International Exhibition of 1870, however, we know that Borgen's jewellery was made by Christesen of Copenhagen (see p. 277). Christesen exhibited under their own name in Paris in 1867; the collector Josephine Bowes purchased an enamelled gold Dagmar cross.²⁵ The firm took part in all subsequent major exhibitions, displaying revivals of traditional peasant ornaments with filigree alongside archaeological-style jewels. Both styles were purchased by the South Kensington Museum in 1867 and by the Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna in 1873.²⁶ For the Paris Exhibition of 1889, Christesen issued a complete catalogue that reveals the firm's fertile imagination: there were bracelets to match both the Viking interlace jewels and the Bronze Age diadem with double spiral like that presented to Princess Alexandra.²⁷ The range of sources had broadened to include not only personal ornaments but Bronze Age axe-heads and swords, turned into brooches with matching bracelets (Fig. 441). Once the jewellers had moved on to large-scale objects the improbably shaped Bronze Age lurs or horns with their long S-shaped stems (Fig. 442) were twined around Bronze Age swords to form a brooch and bracelet; they must have seemed utterly bizarre to anyone who had not seen a lur. But for all their incongruity they are the most ingenious and witty jewels of all.²⁸ Historical accuracy may have been sacrificed to commercial success, and if the symbols were lost on many, for Scandinavians they were recognizably Danish.

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Engraving of a Bronze Age lur from Worsaae's *Nordiske Oldsager*, 1854, p. 33

These large wind instruments were cast in bronze in the Late Bronze Age, perhaps modelled on ox horns. Most have been found in Denmark, usually in pairs in bog deposits, though they also occur in Sweden, Norway and North Germany. The word 'lur' was adopted by archaeologists at the beginning of the 19th century from the Icelandic sagas. They had been known since 1797 when a group of six was discovered at Brudevaelt.



THE CELTIC REVIVAL AND IRISH NATIONAL IDENTITY

Surely, sir, you do not mean to tell us, that there exists the slightest evidence to prove that the Irish had any acquaintance with the arts of civilised life, anterior to the arrival in Ireland of the English?¹

This comment was made before the finding of the 'Tara' brooch, which demonstrated, along with other discoveries in Ireland, the extent of pre-conquest artistic achievements, embodied in Early Christian architectural remains and above all in the unparalleled craftsmanship of Early Christian metalwork. The objects that were to become the most resonant were the silver, silver-gilt or bronze ring-brooches of the eighth and ninth centuries, decorated with human heads and animal interlace in the most intricate filigree or relief work. They were large in size, the rings some four to five inches across with long unwieldy pins that could slide round the ring to fasten the brooch on a loose-weave fabric by the pull of the fabric against the ring alone. At first sight they do not seem an obvious model to reproduce but, reduced in scale and given standard brooch fittings, they were made both practical and commercially attractive. A number of these brooches had been discovered before the mid-nineteenth century but they were all eclipsed by the so-called 'Tara' brooch found in 1850 (Fig. 443). Not only was it the most elaborate to have come to light, being decorated on the back and the front, but it found its way into the hands of the Dublin jewellers Waterhouse & Co., which meant that it received much greater exposure than others sequestered in various Dublin institutions such as the Royal Irish Academy, Trinity College, or the Royal Dublin Society. It was not until the late nineteenth century that these collections were unified in the Dublin Museum of Science and Industry.²

George Waterhouse had arrived in Dublin from Sheffield in 1842 and quickly realized the potential of replicas of antique Irish jewellery, claiming to be the first to copy Irish antiquities. Waterhouse gave this new find the romantic but spurious name of 'Tara', after the hill in County Meath where early High Kings had their court, fully aware that this would feed the middle-class Irish fantasy of being descended from them.³ At the Great Exhibition in London it was shown alongside Waterhouse's reproductions; subsequently Waterhouse took it to the Dublin Exhibition in 1853, and other international exhibitions, including the Paris Exhibition of 1855 and Dublin again in 1865. To accompany the display in 1853 Waterhouse produced his first printed catalogue of his reproductions in which he illustrated the real 'Tara' brooch as well as the copies. When Alessandro Castellani saw the original on a visit to London in 1863, he remarked that 'it was worth a journey from Italy to see it'.⁴ Waterhouse finally parted with it, to the Royal Irish Academy, in 1868.⁵ Its image was by then so familiar that a 'Tara' brooch became a generic term for the many ring-brooches copied by Dublin jewellers.

That these discoveries were made at the same time as the great exhibitions played into the hands of the nationalists. For those within and outside Ireland who had not seen them before they were a revelation, prompting a radical change in the perception of Ireland's past. The finding of the 'Tara' brooch was the catalyst. The *Art-Journal* commented in 1853 that it was 'made at a period when the Arts in Ireland had reached perfection', and was 'of the utmost value as a proof of the state of art in former ages . . . among a people who, till within the last



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The 'Tara' brooch. Cast silver-gilt set with amber and enamel. Celtic, 8th century AD. Diam. of ring 8.7 cm, L. of pin 22.5 cm. Dublin, National Museum of Ireland

Found at Bettystown, Co. Meath, on the east coast, the 'Tara' brooch is one of the finest products of 8th-century craftsmanship. The entire surface is decorated with elaborate filigree ornament of animals contorted into complex knots and embellished with gold beadwork. A knitted silver chain is attached to one side by an animal head grasping a hinged tab set with two tiny cast-glass human heads. The pin is free-swivelling and much longer than those on the copies, which tend to have fixed pins. The reverse is densely patterned with further interlace and entwined animals (see Fig. 448). A magnificent display piece, the brooch could not have functioned as an efficient cloak fastener. The chain may have attached the brooch to a guard pin to prevent it falling.

century, were considered ignorant of almost everything appertaining to Art'.⁶ While the 'Tara' brooch appeared on Waterhouse's stand, an entire section was dedicated to a huge assembly of Irish antiquities of all kinds. The *Times* correspondent was bemused to find them included in the exhibition, noting 'the extraordinary pains taken to set off to the highest advantage a very curious and highly interesting, but extremely useless collection of Irish antiquities'.⁷

The reproductions of ancient ornaments found in Ireland were matched by a renewed interest in Irish literature, manuscripts and music.⁸ When Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visited Ireland in August 1849, the first visit by a British monarch since George IV's, they were shown with great pride the Irish manuscripts and antiquities in the library of Trinity College Dublin, among them the Book of Kells, one of the greatest Early Christian Irish manuscripts, and the so-called harp of Brian Boroimhe. Both had long been in Trinity College, the Book of Kells since the seventeenth century and the harp since 1760. The Queen was 'much interested in the evidence which these curious relics afforded to the ancient literature and ecclesiastical civilization of Ireland'.⁹ The harp was romantically associated with Brian Boroimhe, the High King of Ireland who unified regional leaders in the early eleventh century (it is now thought to have been made in Scotland in the fourteenth or fifteenth century). A model of the harp was exhibited by Mr Ball of Dublin at the Great Exhibition of 1851 as the oldest surviving ancient Celtic harp, in the hope that it might become a recognized emblem of Ireland (see Fig. 444).¹⁰ It was reproduced in miniature in jewellery, not only in gold and silver, but also in indigenous materials such as bog oak and Irish 'diamonds' (iron pyrites, see Fig. 494);

although often described as traditional, the use of these local materials was entirely new to the nineteenth century. The only truly traditional form of Irish jewellery was the Claddagh ring, a gold wedding ring in the form of hands holding a crowned heart which passed from mother to daughter in the Claddagh district of Galway city. They go back at least to the seventeenth century and were revived by Dublin jewellers in the mid-nineteenth century.¹¹

The Queen's visit to Ireland was of enormous political import, coming as it did after the catastrophic potato famine of 1845–6 with its huge loss of life and subsequent massive emigration to America in the late 1840s. She was given a rapturous reception in Dublin, appearing, along with as many of the entire royal suite as she could influence, in dresses of Irish manufacture.¹² In this she followed the practice of the wives of Lords Lieutenant of Ireland, many of whom made a point of encouraging Irish industries, recognizing their role in the survival of traditional Irish skills and with them pride in national identity.¹³ At Trinity College library she was shown not only the manuscripts and the famous harp mentioned above, but also 'some remarkable specimens of Irish antiquities', which she and Prince Albert 'examined with much attention. Among them were some ancient gold fibulae with silver and bronze brooches, the workmanship of which she particularly noticed . . . Her Majesty remarked that one of the ancient brooches exhibited to her resembled some she had seen in Scotland'.¹⁴ This comment was perhaps more significant than she realized, for the Dublin jewellers soon appropriated the Early Christian ring-brooches found in Scotland as part of a joint Celtic heritage, making copies of them alongside those found in Ireland.¹⁵

The 'ancient gold fibulae' shown to the Queen were probably late Bronze Age gold dress fasteners, which were much less copied because of the later dominance of the Early Christian brooches. Yet it was these fibulae, resembling a drawer handle with a rounded arch and trumpet-shaped terminals, that Waterhouse's chose to reproduce in 1842. They acknowledged that this was at the suggestion of the Lord Lieutenant's private secretary, Corry Connellan, noting the view then held that 'these curious gold ornaments were apparently useless, and totally inapplicable to modern purposes'.¹⁶ Waterhouse thought otherwise, converting them into brooches by adding a hinge and pin (Fig. 444).

There are tantalizing hints, however, that replicas of Irish ornaments started to appear much earlier than the 1840s. On St Patrick's Day in 1807 Georgiana, second wife of the 6th Duke of Bedford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1806–7, was observed at the theatre in Dublin by the Irish writer and patriot Lady Morgan (Sydney Owenson), who reported that the Duchess and 'all the ladies of her circle wore the Irish bodkin, and thus raised the price of Irish gold in the Dublin market of bijouterie'.¹⁷ Georgiana wore the 'bodkin' in her hair, in the form of a pin based on one worn by 'an ancient Irish Princess'. The use of the term 'bodkin' and the fact that it was worn in the hair suggest that it was based on an ancient Irish stick-pin, a form used both in the Bronze Age and in the early medieval period. Bronze Age gold ornaments had been known about and published since the late eighteenth century and examples of both types of pin would have been represented in early antiquarian collections.¹⁸ The Duchess of Bedford became patroness of the jewel and urged other women to follow her example and buy a copy from James Brush & Son, jewellers in St Andrew Street, Dublin, who advertised it in the *Freeman's Journal* for 25 March 1807: 'Her Grace the Duchess of Bedford having been pleased to honor the Glorvina Ornament with her Patronage, J. Brush & Son, The only and Original Makers; Beg leave to solicit such of the Nobility and Gentry as wish for that Ancient

FIBULA BROOCH.



Fibula Brooch, copy of an ancient Fibula, quantities of which have been found of all sizes, in various parts of the country.

BRIAN BORHOIME HARP BROOCH.



The Brian Borhoime Harp Brooch. A miniature copy of the original Harp, which is in the Dublin University Museum.

In addition to these Brooches, which are all *fac-similes*, in shape as well as pattern, of the originals, from which they are copied, we have also manufactured a quantity of Jewellery, in which the pattern and characteristics of the antique have been strictly preserved, although they have been adapted to useful and modern articles of wear, such as Bracelets, Ear-rings, &c., drawings of which we give.

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Waterhouse's copy of a Bronze Age gold dress fastener and a brooch based on the harp of Brian Borhoime. *Antique Irish Brooches manufactured by Waterhouse and Co., Dublin 1872*, p. 13

These two items appear in Waterhouse's earlier catalogue issued in 1853 to accompany their display at the Dublin Exhibition. The 1853 catalogue is described as the second edition, indicating that there must have been an earlier one, probably for the Great Exhibition in 1851, but copies of this are elusive. The harp (see p. 445) was to become a potent emblem of Ireland and was reproduced in many other materials including Irish 'diamonds' (see Fig. 494).

Irish Jewel, will favour them with their Orders. . .'. Glorvina was the heroine of Sydney Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl* of 1806, in which the following passage appears: 'the partiality of the ancient Irish to long hair is still to be traced in their descendants of both sexes, the women in particular; for I observed that the young ones only wore their "native ornament of hair", which sometimes flows over their shoulders, sometimes is fastened up in tresses, with a pin or bodkin'.¹⁹ The *Freeman's Journal* for 31 March 1807 stated clearly that Owenson's book was the source for the 'Irish Ornament', describing it as a 'National Jewel'.²⁰

By the time of the Queen's visit in 1849 both Waterhouse's and their principal rival West & Son had registered designs for reproductions of several different Early Christian ring-brooches to protect them from being copied, a sure sign of their success. To commemorate the Queen's visit to their library the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College presented her with a copy specially commissioned from West & Son of a brooch found in Co. Cavan, named the 'Queen's brooch' in her honour. The original was of gilded silver, but the copy made for the Queen was done in Irish materials: Wicklow gold with a large pearl from the River Eske, Donegal. The brooch passed to her son the Duke of Connaught, who presented it to the National Museum of Ireland after her death (Fig. 445).²¹ Like almost all copies of Celtic ring-brooches made for commercial sale, it was reduced in size and the pin was fixed, the end passing behind the ring so that a brooch fitting could be attached at the back. Large numbers of copies survive, in gold, silver-gilt and silver, some set with Irish pearls and amethysts.²²



445 Above
Queen Victoria's gold copy of the 'Queen's brooch', by West & Son, Dublin. Irish, 1849. Dublin, National Museum of Ireland, given by Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, Queen Victoria's third son (1850–1942)

The materials were entirely Irish, the gold from Wicklow and the large pearl in the pin-head from the River Eske, Donegal. The brooch was commissioned by Trinity College on the occasion of the Queen's visit to Dublin in 1849.

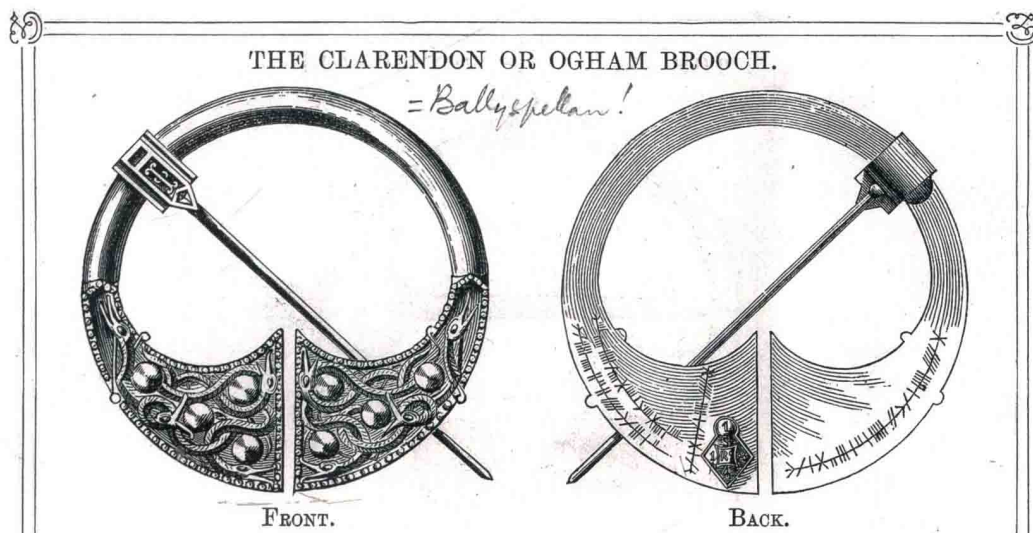
446 Above right
Yes or No, by Julia Margaret Cameron (1815–79). Albumen print, about 1865. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
One of the characters wears a copy of the Queen's brooch.

It is not easy to discover who bought Celtic-revival jewellery beyond the royal family and the Lords Lieutenant's wives. Julia Margaret Cameron, the 'art photographer', owned at least two Irish brooches, which she wears in portrait photographs of around 1858. One of her own photographs, entitled 'Yes or No', uses a copy of the 'Queen's brooch' to dress up one of the characters (Fig. 446). In her photograph of 'Sappho' the model, Mary Hillier, one of Cameron's maids at her home on the Isle of Wight, wears a 'Tara' brooch copy.²³ These are rare examples. Visual and anecdotal evidence is sparse and the examples in museums rarely have provenances from private owners.

Both West and Waterhouse displayed their reproductions at the Great Exhibition.²⁴ Because the designs were registered the two firms did not initially reproduce the same brooches. One of the first brooches to be copied by Waterhouse was found in 1806 at Ballyspellan, Co. Kilkenny, and then owned by the Royal Dublin Society.²⁵ Known today as the Ballyspellan brooch, it has also been called the Ogham brooch because of the four rows of scholastic Ogham on the reverse, which Waterhouse reproduced. But the copies became known as the Clarendon brooch because the Countess of Clarendon, wife of the 4th Earl, Lord Lieutenant from 1847 to 1852, acquired the firm's first copy (Fig. 447). This brooch is of different construction, being open at one side, allowing the pin to pass through the ring, which could thus be rotated until secure. According to the 1853 Waterhouse catalogue the Clarendon brooch was 'first registered as a shawl fastener' made in 'silver, silver gilt, inlaid with bog oak and Irish diamonds, Irish amethyst, and malachite; also in gold and Irish pearls'. The stones and pearls replaced the silver bosses on the original. Waterhouse claimed that 2,000 had been sold by 1852. The silver brooches cost 20 to 30 shillings and the gold 4 to 8 guineas.²⁶

Lady Clarendon was a valuable advocate, for it was she who arranged for Waterhouse to have an audience with the Queen and Prince Albert at Windsor on 20 December 1850.²⁷ Waterhouse's purpose was to show Her Majesty the original 'Tara' brooch. The meeting

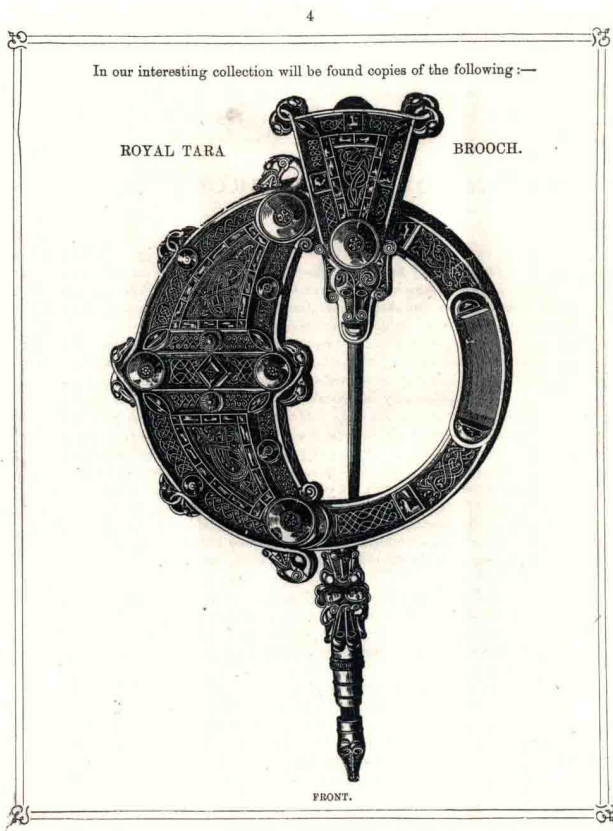
was reported in the Court Circular for the following day and in the *Dublin Conservative* for 28 December. The Queen subsequently purchased two copies from Waterhouse, who promptly renamed the original the 'Royal Tara' brooch.²⁸ Victoria wore at least one of them, since it features in Garrard's royal ledger for April 1852, when it was passed to them to have the tongue altered. At the Great Exhibition the 'Royal Tara' brooch took pride of place on Waterhouse's stand; next to it was a bank of some sixty variations of five early brooches from Dublin collections.²⁹ There were variations in materials, whether silver, silver-gilt, oxidized silver or gold, and in the nature of the copies: in the case of the 'Tara' brooch, the replicas might reproduce the decoration on both sides, as on the original, or they might be one-sided, with decoration copied either from the front of the original or from the back only (Fig. 448). These variations were reflected in the costs, which ranged from 2 to 7 guineas each. An accurate copy by Waterhouse of the 'Tara' brooch, with movable pin and the remains of the long woven cord on the original, was one of four Irish ring-brooch copies acquired for the South Kensington Museum from the Great Exhibition. The others were the Kilmainham or Knight Templar's brooch, then in the Royal Irish Academy; the Dublin University brooch, then in Trinity College, both acquired from Waterhouse; and the County Cavan or 'Queen's' brooch, purchased from West & Son.³⁰ The copies of all these brooches are either cast or hollow-stamped. An exception was the Arbutus Berry brooch, a characteristic ninth- or tenth-century type known as a thistle brooch: the plain ring has a spiky bead or 'berry' at each end and the pin-head is thistle-shaped. Waterhouse claimed that this was the only reproduction where both sides were alike because 'the points of the bulbs are too prominent to admit of die-work and they cannot be made otherwise than by hand'.³¹ In surviving examples the 'berries' are indeed solid silver, hand-carved with a criss-cross pattern of ridges to create three-dimensional points. Despite the handwork, the cost compared favourably with the other reproductions at 2 guineas in silver and 50 shillings oxidized. The extra 8 shillings was a standard addition for oxidizing, indicating the labour involved in the process. Waterhouse recorded that the original, then in the Royal Irish Academy, 'had attracted the particular attention of His Royal Highness Prince Albert, during his visit to Ireland'. Following this memorable visit, Prince Albert gave Victoria two Celtic brooch copies. One, a copy of the Arbutus Berry brooch, was given as part of the royal couple's customary exchange of gifts to mark the birthday of the



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Waterhouse's copy of the Clarendon or Ogham brooch. *Antique Irish Brooches manufactured by Waterhouse and Co., Dublin 1872*, p. 10

This copy has the free-swivelling pin of the original. The reverse bears an inscription in Ogham characters, as well as the Registered Design diamond mark, an applied metal label (see p. 7). It appears on all Waterhouse's copies and indicates the class (metal) at the very top, while each corner of the diamond has a date code in letters or numbers indicating the 'proprietor' of the design, who was either the manufacturer or an agent. The illustration is from an annotated copy of Waterhouse's catalogue in the British Museum.

**448 A & B**

Waterhouse's copy of the Tara brooch, front and back. *Antique Irish Brooches manufactured by Waterhouse and Co., Dublin 1872*, pp. 4–5

This is an elaborate double-sided copy reproducing the decoration on both sides of the original and the moveable pin. Waterhouse's copies were often single-sided, imitating the front or the back only. The copies also varied in their use of colour: the front of the original was entirely gilded, but the copies were often part-gilded (see Fig. 449), like the back of the original, where the two triangular panels on the ring are silvered, the rest gilded. There is an interesting twist to the story of the Waterhouse copies. The brooch as it is now (Fig. 443) has a number of missing panels, but these wood engravings show that when Waterhouse acquired the brooch it had only one missing panel at the right of the ring. Waterhouse 'completed' it by using an animal motif from the back of the Kilmainham brooch, which the firm had also copied from 1849.

Prince of Wales on 9 November 1849.³² The other was a silver copy of the Clarendon brooch, which he gave her for Christmas 1849.³³

Waterhouse's exploited the 'Tara' brooch for all it was worth, explaining in their 1872 catalogue that 'We have also manufactured a quantity of jewellery, in which the pattern and characteristics of the antique have been strictly preserved, although they have been adapted to useful and modern articles of wear, such as Bracelets, Ear-rings, &c' (Fig. 449). The wide part of the 'Tara' brooch was made into a two-part waist-clasp, or turned into the centrepiece of a bracelet, which was completed by hinged panels with snake motifs taken from the central panel on the back of the original (Fig. 448). The pin from the original brooch was reproduced on its own as a stick-pin, or attached to a 'Tara' brooch copy with a long chain to serve as a cloak clasp.

By 1872 Waterhouse also advertised copies of the 'Queen's brooch', although this was originally registered by West & Son. One of the 'antique' earrings advertised in the 1872 catalogue incorporated the trefoil motif from the 'Queen's brooch' (Fig. 450). And it may have been Waterhouse who made brooches based on the same trefoil motif, like the brooch worn by the actress Rosina Vokes in 1876 (Fig. 451).³⁴ This cross-over between the two firms has a possible explanation: they both employed Messrs Johnson to make some if not all of their ring-brooch copies: the Kilmainham brooch copy acquired by the South Kensington Museum from Waterhouse at the 1851 Exhibition bears a Design Registration mark for Joseph Johnson, while West & Son's presentation copy of the Queen's brooch, as well as the copies of the Clarendon and the Arbutus Berry brooch in the Royal Collection, were made by Edmond Johnson, who was to take over the family firm in 1870.³⁵ In 1869 Johnson had been asked to clean and repair the Ardagh chalice, the most influential piece of Irish Early Christian

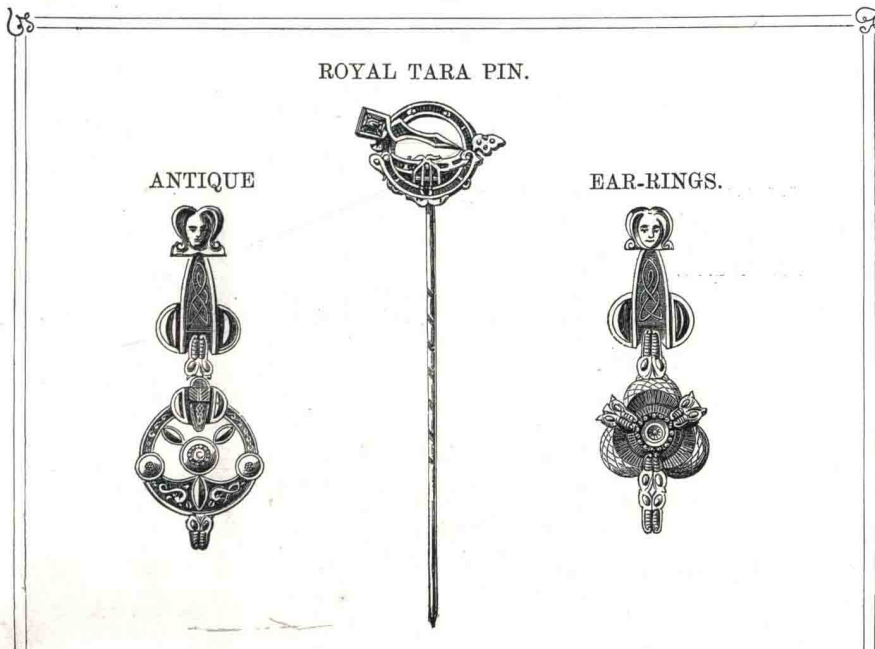


449 Above
 'Tara' bracelet, waist-clasp (centre) and brooch, by Waterhouse & Co., Dublin. Irish, about 1870. Belfast, Ulster Museum, Hull Grundy Gift
 The long brooch chain has motifs adapted from the attachment tab of the original chain

450 Below
 Waterhouse's 'Tara' stick-pin and 'Queen's brooch' earring. *Antique Irish Brooches ... by Waterhouse and Co.*, Dublin 1872, p. 15

451 Below
 The actress Rosina Vokes. Photograph of 1876 by Lock & Whitfield, London. Manchester, Platt Hall Vokes and her siblings formed a popular group of Victorian entertainers. She wears a trefoil brooch adapted from the 'Queen's brooch'.

15





452

Pendant in the form of a Celtic cross with carved onyx *Chi-Rho* monogram in the centre, by John Brogden, London. English, about 1870–75. Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Brogden showed similar crosses with Celtic interlace at the London International Exhibition of 1871. The shape was based on monumental carved stone high crosses from Ireland with a ring round the intersection. The simplified interlace patterns, which include the sacred monogram IHS, may come from stone crosses or from the Book of Kells.

metalwork after the ‘Tara’ brooch. Found at Ardagh, Co. Limerick, in 1868, it too was a source of inspiration for Dublin jewellers, who produced ‘Ardagh clasps’ based on the bossed panels below the handles.³⁶ The success of these Celtic reproductions no doubt affected non-Irish jewellers; John Brogden for example made a range of Celtic crosses based on carved stone standing crosses from about 1870 and aimed at religious as much as Irish sympathies. The basic form is always the same: the arms are decorated with interlace and the sacred monogram, while the centre is usually a *Chi-Rho* or a head of Christ in cameo (Fig. 452).³⁷

Next to copies of the ring-brooches, the most dominant branch of Irish jewellery production was inexpensive bog oak, a dead black fossil material dug from the Irish bogs. Originally used for furniture, it was adapted for ornamental purposes in the early nineteenth century: in 1821 a walking stick was given to George IV, and in 1830–31 a tankard was given to William IV. By the time of the 1851 Exhibition, carved bog oak had become fashionable for jewellery and by 1853 there were at least three retailers in London advertising bog-oak ornaments for Christmas. In late December 1850 Hyam’s Fancy Repository in Cornhill advertised post-Christmas sale bargains, including ‘bog-oak bracelets’, a pair of which could be had in 1851 for 14 penny stamps. By late 1853 there was a depot for Irish manufactures at 23 Regent Street, an Irish Warehouse at 6 Hanway Street, off Oxford Street, and by 1856 Jeremiah Goggin had an Irish bog-oak depot at 68 Regent Street.³⁸ Bog oak was to become the accepted material for presentation pieces, promoted as symbolic of Ireland’s past.³⁹ This gave an added resonance to bog-oak reproductions of the ‘Tara’ brooch or miniature versions of the harp of Brian Boróimhe. The publicity surrounding the restoration of the harp in the 1850s and its daily public display in Trinity College made it as popular a symbol of Ireland as the ‘Tara’ brooch. Celtic carved stone crosses too were reproduced in miniature, while even the Book of Kells was put to service for jewellery: initial letters from the manuscript were inset in gold into a bog-oak surface carved with interlace motifs, recreating the effect of the decorated pages (Fig. 453).

The success of bog oak was such that cheaper methods of production were introduced: the *Art-Journal* for 1853 noted that ‘the power now possessed of steam-pressing the bog oak with the same dyes [*sic*] used for jewelry will enable all classes to wear these beautiful

ornaments'.⁴⁰ Queen Victoria owned a bracelet formed of the letters of her name in pressed bog oak, the clasp in the form of a gold harp of Brian Boroimhe. It may have been given to her as a novelty on her second visit to Ireland with Prince Albert to see the 1853 Exhibition in Dublin, and it was frequently sent for mending by the Crown Jeweller, which suggests that she wore it often.⁴¹ Ornaments made of other local materials, Irish 'diamonds' or Connemara marble, were as much tourist souvenirs as nationalist symbols, and while they added to the popular creation of Irish identity they are discussed in relation to travel (p. 486). It was an indispensable condition of the trade in these categories of jewellery that they should attract commercial success in markets beyond the largely impoverished native populations.

They were greatly helped by the philanthropic enterprises sponsored by the Viceregal wives who succeeded Lady Clarendon. On her departure from Ireland in 1852 Lady Clarendon was given a bog-oak casket mounted with native gold, silver, pearls and stones, made by West of Dublin, from 'the people of Dublin' in gratitude for her efforts on behalf of Irish local crafts and industries. The casket was exhibited at the 1853 Dublin International Exhibition.⁴² She and her successors remained committed to the promotion of Irish industry but it was the cottage industries of carving bog oak, lace-making, basket-weaving and wool- and poplin-weaving that attracted their long-term support, in a country still haunted by the terrible spectre of the famine years. Lace-makers in Youghal devised an ingenious form of jewellery using their traditional skills to work dyed horsehair. Examples were exhibited in 1862 (see p. 271). Among the Viceregal wives, Lady Cadogan and Lady Aberdeen were the most energetic and effective in promoting traditional Irish products; Lady Aberdeen's efforts culminated triumphantly in the success of the 'Irish Village' at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893.⁴³

Some of these industries became perhaps too successful for their own good. Bog oak is a case in point. It was identified as an 'Irish' product, but the range of quality had given much of it a bad name and made it almost a laughing stock. A *Times* editorial of 1864 on the advantages of establishing a School of Art at Dublin claimed that Dublin 'has no special industry, unless it be in bog oak and arbutus wood, and there are people who declare that all this is done in Germany. We don't believe it, because we think better of Germany.' And when Gladstone was presented with the Freedom of the City of Dublin in 1877, the certificate contained in a carved bog-oak casket, he felt able to joke in public at the end of his acceptance speech: 'The Lord Mayor is about to entertain us at a banquet, and I intend to tell him at the banquet what I think of this box (Laughter).' The pages of *The Times* contain many other instances of good-humoured jesting at the expense of bog oak, and at the Irish themselves: a report on the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876 from a 'Thomas Connolly' claimed that 'As usual in every competition, Ireland held her own. The poplins and laces, damask, and linens, jewelry, and unique carvings in bog oak, could not be surpassed, and Mr Mahony, from Blarney, said he found a four-leaved shamrock which enabled him to beat the tweeds of Canada and Scotland.'⁴⁴

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Carved bog-oak bracelet with decoration based on the Book of Kells, by Joseph Johnson, Dublin. Irish, about 1860–70. L. 19.5 cm. Belfast, Ulster Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The Book of Kells, produced in the late 8th or early 9th century AD, was one of the greatest medieval Irish illuminated manuscripts. Originally housed in the Abbey of Kells, it passed to Trinity College in the mid-17th century. It comprises four volumes for the four Gospels, and contains both full-page illustrations and text pages with historiated initials. It is these initial letters that have here been reproduced in gold and inlaid into bog oak, itself carved with interlace.



THE RECREATION OF TRADITION IN SCOTLAND

The Scottish revival in jewellery was intimately attached to that of dress. Archaeological discoveries and national politics played a much smaller role than in Ireland, but they fed into the revival of interest in Highland dress and the creation of a national costume with clan tartans and the appropriate accoutrements, such as the traditional plaid brooches. These, and other types of popular jewellery, were then combined with local hardstones, the famous ‘Scotch pebbles’, to create something recognizably Scottish.

The fashion for Highland dress has a long history; it was worn from at least the seventeenth century by chieftains and clansmen and women as a symbol of identity. When Prince Charles Edward Stuart adopted Highland dress as a uniform for his army in 1745, tartan became associated with Jacobitism. Following the Jacobite Rebellion the wearing of tartan fabric and kilts was banned, but the the concept of Highland costume was preserved as a cultural rather than political symbol, above all by the Highland regiments of the British army, who were exempt from the ban and continued to wear it.¹ After the ban was repealed in the 1780s, societies were set up to promote the wearing of Scottish dress, prompting antiquarian research. The weapons, a functional part of a Highlander’s outfit, were transformed into fashion accessories and what had been a practical uniform became a national dress claimed by the whole of Scotland.² It was supported from the start by the royal family. On becoming President of the Highland Society of London in 1806, the Duke of Sussex ordered a Highland costume and accoutrements.³ But the most conspicuous event was George IV’s momentous visit to Edinburgh in 1822, the first by a reigning monarch since 1650. Sir Walter Scott, whose first novel, *Waverley*, of 1814 was set in the Jacobite rebellion, advised on the arrangements and turned it into a memorable spectacle.⁴ The King appeared in full Highland dress including weapons set with large gemstones as well as ‘a large gold brooch with variegated Scottish gems’, a dirk inlaid with gold and a powder-horn suspended from a massive gold chain.⁵

For a later age, a critical role was played by Queen Victoria and her presence at Balmoral. In 1839 the Eglinton Tournament in Ayrshire, mounted by Lord Eglinton to supplement what he saw as very meagre coronation celebrations, had created further interest in Scottish costume.⁶ From 1848, with the purchase of Balmoral, Queen Victoria promoted the idea by wearing ‘Highland things’ when the royal family were in Scotland (see p. 42); the young princes wore Highland dress in and out of doors and each had their own set of small-scale accoutrements specially made to fit them (Fig. 454).⁷ The Queen was also instrumental in spreading the fashion to France in an unusual reversal of the normal order of things: on her state visit to Paris in 1855, her two children wore Royal Stuart tartan and this caused an outbreak of tartan dress in Paris, worn with bracelets and brooches enamelled to imitate the tartan fabrics.⁸ The Queen’s discovery of Scotland coincided with a series of publications in which scant facts were used to create a colourful and elaborate history, ascribing specific clan identity to the different tartans.⁹ These, together with the Queen’s promotion of Royal Stuart, one of many invented tartans, may have been partly responsible for the perception that Highland costume lacked authenticity. *The Costume of the Clans*, published in Edinburgh in 1845 by the Sobieski brothers – a legend in their own right as the putative long-lost grandsons of Bonnie Prince Charlie – was largely dismissed, but James Logan’s *The Clans of the*

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The Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred in Highland dress, by W.C. Ross (1794–1860). Watercolour, 1847. Royal Collection

The young princes, aged six and three, wear waist-belts with dirks and fur or horsehair sporrans, and tartan plaids secured by large brooches on the shoulder. Prince Alfred’s sporrans has an animal-head lid. The Prince of Wales also sports a sword-belt with metal mounts and a cap with feathers and badge. The Royal Stuart and Dress Stuart Saxony wool tartan kilts were made by Meyer & Mortimer, 105 George Street, Edinburgh. The black silk velvet doublets are trimmed with silver braid and silver-plated buttons.



Scottish Highlands, published in London in 1845–57 with colour plates by the actor-artist Robert Ronald McLan, was widely acclaimed, despite containing a good deal of myth and fiction.¹⁰ As a source for jewellery it may well have been influential for both men and women are depicted wearing brooches to fasten the plaid, originally an untailed length of cloth. Ring-brooches, in the form of flat open rings often with engraved decoration, were historically worn on the breast by women, not men, who traditionally fastened their plaids with pins.¹¹ The wearing of plaid brooches by men thus had no historic foundation. McLan depicts them wearing both flat ring-brooches and massive discs with central stones like the brooch of Lorne discussed below.

The fashion for Highland dress and the perceived bogus origins of clan tartans were eventually to become the butt of satire: the *Times* reviewer of Lawrence Lockhart's *Fair to See*, published in 1871, describes the formidable Mrs M'Killop swathed in tartans variously striped in the patterns of the numerous clans with which she claimed alliance, with a 'huge cairngorm brooch' to fasten the shawl under her chin.¹² American tourists in Scotland were eager buyers of tartan plaids: in the 1880s Madame Waddington, the American wife of the French ambassador to London, overheard a shopman assuring an American whose name bore no resemblance to any Scottish clan that the usual choice under these circumstances was 'Royal Stuart'.¹³

Members of the royal family continued to promote the wearing of Scottish dress, none more so than the Marquess of Lorne, later 9th Duke of Argyll, who used it to emphasize his position as a Scottish nobleman. In a lithograph made at the time of his marriage to Princess Louise in 1871 he is dashing portrayed with a fine lace jabot and a large round brooch securing his check plaid at the shoulder (Fig. 455). If the lithograph is accurate, the Marquess was wearing a copy in gold or silver-gilt of a celebrated late medieval brooch that had been rediscovered in 1824 in the possession of the Macdougals of Lorne (see Fig. 42). The brooch of Lorne, as it was known, was made of silver, and held a large amuletic rock-crystal in a central raised setting surrounded by eight vertical posts or turrets each set with pearls. It developed a romantic history linking it with Robert the Bruce, although it is much later in date. Its association with the Marquess of Lorne, a Campbell, came about because the Campbells of Argyll subsequently acquired the Lorne title.¹⁴ The Marquess of Lorne's brooch is similar in form to another late medieval example, the even larger Lochbuie brooch, which entered the British Museum in 1855 and has ten posts.¹⁵ It was these massive early sixteenth-century brooches that inspired the large three-dimensional men's brooches of the nineteenth century. Some of the medieval examples, such as the Glenlyon brooch, bore magical inscriptions, and were more ring-shaped; the extraordinary form of the Lorne and Lochbuie turreted brooches, however, made them instantly recognizable. They were to inspire countless copies, sometimes in reduced sizes for women, but most often as part of men's Highland costume (Fig. 456).¹⁶

That the plaid brooch became a popular accessory for men is perhaps the defining feature of the Scottish revival and distinguishes it from the Celtic revival in Ireland, where the copies of Irish ring-brooches were worn by women, not men. In the 1850s, Roger Fenton, one of the early pioneers of photography, took a picture of his father, John, wearing a striped plaid fastened with a ring-brooch (Fig. 457). This was most likely one of the many generic Scottish ring-brooches with pinheads in the form of thistles, produced not only in Scotland but also by Birmingham firms such as James Fenton and George Unite. They derive from the huge Viking-period silver ring-brooches with similar thistle-head pins and decorated



455 Above
John Campbell, Marquess of Lorne (later 9th Duke of Argyll, 1845–1914). Colour lithograph published by Maclise, Macdonald & Macgregor, London 1871. British Museum

The large brooch that secures the Marquess's plaid is either a copy of his family's celebrated heirloom, the 16th-century Lorne brooch, or may be intended to represent the heirloom itself (see Fig. 42). It is similar to the Lochbuie brooch (Fig. 456).

Shortly before his marriage to Princess Louise in 1871, the Queen had urged him to feel proud of his 'dear country' and not to 'let marrying my daughter make you less thoroughly Scotch than you ought to be', sending him a Scotch pebble brooch made from a piece of granite that she had found in Scotland. This may have been to reciprocate the gift made to Louise by his father, the Duke of Argyll, in 1870, of a cross made of a piece of Iona stone which, like the Queen's granite, the Duke had picked up himself (see pp. 66–7).

459 Opposite
Design for a copy of a silver-gilt brooch from Rogart registered by R. Naughten of Inverness on 5 May 1873. Watercolour. London, National Archives

On the original, only the areas of interlace are gilded and the stones are all missing. Naughten has gilded the whole surface and added red stones.

456 Below
Silver copy of the Lochbuie brooch. Probably Scottish, after 1868. Diam. 9.3 cm, H. 4.5 cm. Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum, John and Josephine Bowes collection

The brooch is part of a complete set of accoutrements for Highland dress. The Lochbuie brooch has ten posts or turrets; this copy has only eight but the decoration is otherwise accurately copied.



spheres at each end of the ring, found in Ireland and Scotland (see p. 449).¹⁷ In the small-scale versions, the spheres were often replaced by cabochon citrines (yellow quartz) instead of Scottish cairngorms, which are brown quartz (Fig. 458).

Plaid brooches were by no means an exclusively male accessory; reduced in size and stripped down to a simple ring-brooch, they found a ready market for women too, as part of sporting and winter costume (see p. 141). More elaborate examples could become potent symbols, as in the wedding gift of a plaid brooch to Princess Alexandra in 1863 from the Highland company of the Edinburgh Rifle Volunteers. Designed by the Scottish artist James Drummond, known for his historical subjects, it combined Celtic interlace with a Gaelic inscription, large cairngorms and Scotch pearls. Made by the Edinburgh firm of Messrs Crich-ton in less than a week at a cost of £750, the gift was 'in every sense a national one'.¹⁸ Although illustrated in the commemorative wedding-present volume on the same plate as the Scandinavian 'Old Norse' ornaments (Fig. 432), it was not based on any archaeological discovery.

There had been a number of major archaeological finds of brooches in Scotland, among them the Hunterston brooch, an elaborate eighth-century Early Christian Celtic brooch discovered in Ayrshire around 1830. Similar to the 'Tara' brooch, it was copied by Irish as well as Scottish jewellers and became famous through reproductions.¹⁹ The Hunterston brooch was a single find. In 1868 a large hoard of Pictish metalwork was found by a workman at Rogart in Sutherland during railway construction. It included a number of silver-gilt and bronze brooches, three of which were illustrated in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* in 1871.²⁰ The hoard was subsequently dispersed but the illustration enabled copies to be produced, such as those registered by R. Naughten of Inverness in 1873 (Fig. 459).²¹ Like the Irish copies, the Scottish ring-brooches were reproduced with standard brooch fittings, making easy alternatives for the popular plaid brooch.



The tradition of royal wedding gifts of Scottish jewellery continued throughout Victoria's reign. Princess Louise was given jewellery with Scotch pebbles and pearls in 1871 (see p. 67). One enterprising jeweller took advantage of the royal marriage to create the 'Lorne jewellery', a complete set supposedly based on the brooch of Lorne and publicized in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (Fig. 460). In the centre was the 'brooch of Lorne, a splendidly chased gold brooch set with cairngorms and other precious gems'. There was an 'Argyll brooch and earrings set with rare Scottish pebbles', the 'Louise earrings' matching the brooch of Lorne, and the 'Louise bracelet, designed expressly for the Princess Louise'.²² Two months later the magazine reported a 'furore for the Lorne jewellery. . . . The brooch of Lorne is modelled from the original brooch of poetic fame. The skean d'hu and dirks are also very beautiful and make lovely shawl brooches and hair ornaments'.²³ They were available at Messrs Crouch of Regent Street, a Scottish firm whose lapidary work had been a great success at the Paris Exhibition in 1867. The design of this Lorne brooch in fact bore little relation to the medieval brooch of Lorne. Scottish jewellery was also among the wedding presents to Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, in 1874: 'a cross of Celtic design and reproduction, finely wrought in gold, chased, engraved and enameled, and containing in the body and arms a specimen sapphire, ruby, pearl, cat's eye and star sapphire'.²⁴ This was most probably a Scottish-made piece from one of the principal firms in the main centres: Edinburgh, Glasgow, Inverness and Aberdeen.²⁵

Like the Claddagh rings in Ireland, one Scottish tradition that had survived uninterrupted was the wearing of heart-shaped love tokens known as 'luckenbooth' brooches. Although they are mentioned in documents dating from the early sixteenth century, no surviving Scottish examples can be safely dated earlier than 1700, while the very name, derived from the small shops or lockable booths in Edinburgh's High Street where they were reputedly

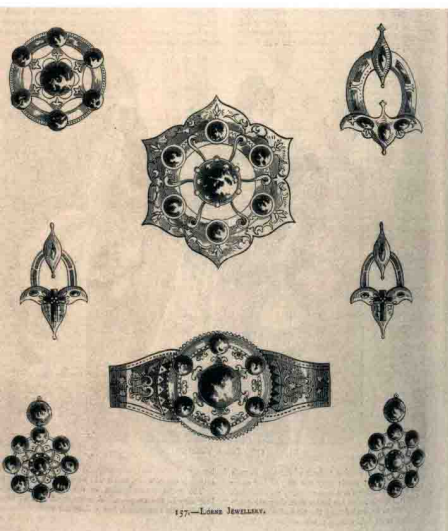
457 Above left John Fenton (1791–1863), father of the photographer. Photograph by Roger Fenton (1819–69), about 1850–60. Private collection

Fenton's shawl is secured by a ring-brooch with a thistle-head pin like that shown on the right. John Fenton was a prosperous cotton merchant, banker and MP.

458 Above Silver ring-brooch by George Unite, Birmingham. English, hallmarked 1870–71. Diam. 6.2 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The terminals and the thistle-head pin are set with citrines.





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The 'Lorne Jewellery'. *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, April 1871, p. 228

Designed to coincide with Princess Louise's marriage to the Marquess of Lorne in 1871, these jewels have little to do with the actual brooch of Lorne, except in the use of a central stone surrounded by smaller stones. They were sold by Messrs Crouch of Regent Street, a Scottish firm known for its lapidary work. Crouch described the large brooch as the 'brooch of Lorne'. Below are the 'Louise' bracelet and matching earrings, while the 'Argyll' brooch and earrings are shown top right and centre. There were also brooches and hair ornaments in the form of dirks (daggers) and skean dhus (small knives tucked into the sock).

sold, cannot be traced before the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁶ Eighteenth-century examples, fastened in the medieval way with no pin catch, relying on the pull of the fabric alone, often bore amatory inscriptions, such as the small gold brooch bottom centre in Fig. 461; in the nineteenth century they were given conventional brooch fastenings. Some contained a double 'M' motif surmounted by a crown (top left in Fig. 461), spuriously associated with Mary Queen of Scots. They appealed not only to the taste for 'historic' jewellery but also to the Victorian cult of fairy lore and myths, for they were traditionally believed to provide protection against witches and were frequently worn by children. Belief in the magical powers of jewels and gems persisted in the remoter parts of Scotland well into the nineteenth century, and was revived with the publication of collections of fairy tales, folk tales and legends.²⁷

Perhaps the most commercially successful jewellery from Scotland was that made with native hardstones, known as 'Scotch pebbles'. It was worn from the early years of the nineteenth century. Elizabeth Gaskell, in her novel *Cranford* (1851), set in the Cheshire town of Knutsford in the 1830s, has this description of Miss Pole, decked out for an evening party wearing no less than seven brooches: 'Two were fixed negligently in her cap (one was a butterfly made of Scotch pebbles, which a vivid imagination might believe to be the real insect).²⁸ Variegated agates could be used to achieve naturalistic effects such as the markings on a butterfly wing (Fig. 465). References in diaries and letters indicate that such jewels were popular gifts for girls. On 25 August 1844 Mrs Stanley wrote to her husband, the Whig politician Edward (later Lord Stanley of Alderley), who was in Scotland as she was about to give birth to her daughter Rosalind: 'You will have to buy me a plaid gown, & a couple of *small* Scotch brooches will be acceptable little trifles for the girls.' A week later she reminded him: 'I think 6½ yds. wide width of tartan will do, as for the *pattern*, what you like will please me, but I like the blue dark in some, I think called Albert plaid.' Evidently the brooches were forgotten, for a year later, on 19 September 1845, she wrote to Edward, who was again in Scotland: 'I hope you will not forget the brooches. I want one for Maude & a little one for Katie & three plaids as before settled.'²⁹ Later in the century, Lady Layard bought Scottish brooches for the children of her friends, just as she and her mother Lady Charlotte Schreiber bought peasant jewels for the young girls in the family (see p. 322).³⁰

Such jewels were quick to find their way into fiction, appearing in Charlotte M. Yonge's most popular novel, *The Daisy Chain* of 1856. Flora, the most worldly member of the May family (the family is the 'Daisy Chain' of the title), who has been visiting grand friends in Scotland, brings back a souvenir for her sister Ethel: 'I had been looking for Cairngorm specimens in a shop, saying I wanted a brooch that you *would* wear, when Norman Ogilvie came riding after the carriage, looking quite hot and eager! He had been to some other place, and hunted this one up. Is it not a beauty?' The brooch is described as 'one of the round Bruce brooches, of dark pebble, with a silver fern-leaf lying across it, the dots of small Cairngorm stones'.³¹ It was 'the Glenbracken badge', the name of Flora's grand hosts in Scotland.

Contemporary references to 'Scotch pebbles' suggest that it was a generic term for any hardstone. The *Times* 'lost items' column is a useful guide to its usage: 'a brooch of white Scotch pebble', perhaps chalcedony, stolen in 1838 in a highway robbery from one Isaac Benjamin, a Polish Jew and itinerant vendor of jewellery; a 'pair of bracelets, one ear-ring, one cross, all of Scotch pebble', lost in 1841 between the Edgware Road and Oxford Street; and a 'brooch of Scotch pebble or cairngorm' stolen in 1849. Contemporary advertisements from

The Scotsman confirm the usage and the popularity of the work from the 1830s onwards.³² Pieces today described as 'Scotch pebble' jewellery can encompass a huge range of stones. Those which are incontrovertibly Scottish are the pink and grey mottled granites, quarried near Perth, and the brown quartz crystals from the Cairngorm mountains. When Harriet Beecher Stowe visited Scotland in 1853 (see p. 499) she saw granite polishing machinery in operation. Rettie of Aberdeen were the principal specialists in granite jewellery; in 1851 they exhibited bracelets of cylindrical granite links, described by the *Art-Journal*, not without reason, as 'curious specimens of persevering ingenuity successfully exerted in a material the most unpromising'. Rettie later developed much more attractive pieces in which the undecorated silver settings allow the polished granite panels to dominate; by 1862 the *Art-Journal* made a point of 'placing these "common" yet graceful objects by the side of a grand work of Art in silver' (Fig. 462).³³ This comment has to be understood in the context of the battle then being waged against cheap jewellery from Birmingham (see p. 270). The *Times* report on jewellery at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 makes this clear: by setting 'Scotch pebbles and crystals . . . with considerable taste . . . in silver when they could not afford good gold', the Scotch lapidaries avoided such criticism. Their work was cheap, but it was also 'pretty, and there was no appearance of sham in it'. At the same time it was recognized that it had a specific market: 'Some of the work shown by Messrs. Crouch and Son is of more than ordinary merit. Still, Scotch lapidary's work, following as it does certain types of ornament peculiar to the country, is a kind of industry which appeals less to the universal taste than to those who can share in the national sympathies.'³⁴ One aspect of Scotch pebble jewellery that may have limited its appeal was its weight; the heavy stones generally needed a solid silver backing, and such pieces could only be worn on a tough shawl or outer garment, such as a costume for outdoor activities.



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Silver and gold heart-shaped 'luckenbooth' brooches, 18th–19th centuries. H. of lower right brooch 7.5 cm. Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland

These examples are all surmounted by stylized crowns. Many have the initials of the givers and receivers on the back. Those with engraved decoration (*top left, centre and bottom right*) are all Victorian and have conventional spring pins. *Central column: top*, reverse engraved VERTUE, with open crown containing stylized bird's heads, a type common from the late 18th century, perhaps introduced from Norway; *centre*, maker's mark DCR for D.C. Rait, Glasgow 1870 (?); *bottom*, tiny gold brooch, 18th century, the reverse inscribed 'Before my [eye] no star to the' [thee], an inscription found on posy rings of the same date. Instead of the word 'eye' is an engraved image of an eye. *Top left*: with 'M' monogram, maker's mark possibly for Michael Crichton, Edinburgh; *bottom left*: maker's mark CJ for Charles Jamieson, Inverness. *Top right*: maker's mark AS probably for Alexander Stewart, Inverness; *bottom right*: maker's mark DF for Daniel Ferguson, Inverness, about 1860.



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Scotch pebble brooches set with indigenous pink and grey granites. Scottish, about 1850–80. H. of stick-pin

8.1 cm. Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Hull Grundy Gift
The star is by Rettie of Aberdeen.
Scottish ferns were much collected.

463
'Onyx and Pebble jewellery'. From a trade catalogue of Silber & Fleming, about 1884. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

This wholesale fancy goods warehouse off Cheapside in the City was founded in 1854 by A.M. Silber (1833–87) of Schleswig-Holstein (*Times* obituary, 26 May 1887). The different floors were illustrated by the *Illustrated London News* in 1884. The pebble jewels are set with red jasper and green bloodstone. The onyx jewellery was probably imported from Germany.



464
Scottish and Irish jewellery displayed at Philadelphia in 1876. *L'Esposizione Universale di Filadelfia Illustrata*, 1876, p. 461

At the top left is a copy of a large Scottish brooch of the Lorne or Lochbuie type, with six posts, described as a ring-stand. It is dwarfed by a carved bog-oak 'Tara' brooch which bears little resemblance to the original, a Celtic cross and shamrock necklace, and a Scottish dirk, skeep dhu, snuff mull, sporan and pàrtaimhàn's foot.

Much Scotch pebble jewellery was set with river pearls from freshwater mussels, and stones such as fine agates, jaspers and bloodstones (Fig. 463). Some of these stones are distinctive enough to be associated with a particular location: the striated blue-grey agates from Montrose on the east coast of Scotland, or the dramatic red and yellow mottled jaspagates from Burn Anne near Kilmarnock in Ayrshire.³⁵ But in many cases their origins are not always obvious. When demand outran the capabilities of the Scottish lapidaries, the stones were sent to Idar-Oberstein, the centre of the agate jewellery trade in Germany, for colour-enhancing, cutting and polishing (Fig. 465); stones mined in Idar itself may also have found their way into Scotch pebble jewels.³⁶ Another source was Brazil, especially for cairngorms. In 1874 the *Jeweller and Metalworker* wrote that ‘German lapidaries by improved machinery cut and polish the stones which, instead of being collected in this country, are nearly all imported from Brazil. Even the cairngorm or smoky quartz, so long looked upon as an essentially Scotch stone, is now rarely found at home’. The deception had already been noted in 1866 by the *Times* reviewer of Harry Emanuel’s *Diamonds and Precious Stones*; with reference to cairngorm quartz, he wrote, ‘we fear many of our canny northern friends have had the productions of other countries passed upon them for the native stones’.³⁷ Yellow amethysts from Brazil were the most frequent substitute for cairngorms.³⁸ By the 1870s, jewellery employing native Scottish hardstones had become so popular that it had to be supplemented by trade jewellery from Birmingham, where James Fenton was among the most prolific.³⁹

When Scottish and Irish jewellery was displayed at exhibitions abroad it was not always understood. One Italian report of the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876 illustrated a jumble of Scottish regalia cheek by jowl with a bog-oak Celtic cross and a ‘Tara’ brooch. At the top left is a version of the brooch of Lorne, described as a *porta anelli* or stand for rings. Either this was a clever marketing ploy for a non-Scottish audience or the vertical posts had struck the reporter as so bizarre that they must have had an alternative use (Fig. 464).⁴⁰ A curious footnote to the long popularity of Scottish jewellery is recorded by the eminent American gemmologist George Frederick Kunz: ‘One of the new departures in the United States in the uses of common stones has been the introduction of so-called Scotch jewelry; the native gemstones were used to such an extent that this jewelry . . . found a ready sale, displacing many of the cheaper varieties of gold and silver pins.’⁴¹ Kunz lists agates, jaspers, rhodonite, pyrite, labradorite, moonstone – all abundant in America.

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Brooches with inlaid hardstone work. Mounted in Scotland, probably with Scottish stones, some of which were cut and worked in Germany. W. of lozenge brooch at right 7.3 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift (butterfly) and private collections

The ring-brooch is set with brightly mottled red and yellow stones that may well be jaspagates from Burn Anne. The geometric inlay of the lozenge brooch may be intended to suggest a tartan plaid; the stones are inlaid in a mosaic technique, instead of being placed in individual settings like the ring-brooch and the butterfly, or the pieces in Figs 462–3. This complex intarsia work is identical to pieces in the sample collection of the firm of Ruppenthal in Idar-Oberstein, which supplied the inlay work ready for mounting.





VICTORIAN CAMEOS



9 VICTORIAN CAMEOS

Be sure you take care of MY cameo brooch. I find you have got it; now I only lent it to you and I value it extremely, and would not have it lost on any account. (Novelist Elizabeth Gaskell, writing in 1851 to her daughter Marianne)¹

Victorian cameos are in a class of their own. Unlike cameos of earlier periods, placed in cabinets to be admired by a select few, they were made to be worn, as portable sculpture, visible to all. The image itself was what mattered; the setting was subsidiary, acting like a picture frame, with a brooch-fitting at the back or a pendant loop at the top. In this they are not so very different from the painted miniatures set as jewellery (as, for example, Queen Victoria's miniature of her husband, set in a bracelet, which she wore all her life) that had acted as portable picture galleries since the sixteenth century. Because the image was paramount, Victorian cameos, like miniatures, are often very large, a feature that sets them apart from cameos of earlier generations.

Cameos have long been treated as part of the taste for engraved gems, a term dating from the early eighteenth century when the history of such gems from antiquity onwards began to be studied seriously. Gem-engraving encompasses both cameos – worked in relief in the contrasting layers of hardstone or shell – and intaglios, in which the image is cut into the surface, usually in a translucent stone. Intaglios, much appreciated by eighteenth-century Grand Tour connoisseurs, were less appropriate for setting as jewellery and the Victorians overwhelmingly preferred cameos. Intaglios continued to be worn in the Victorian age as small fob-seals hung from a watch-chain or chatelaine, or mounted in larger desk seals, but with the introduction of the postage stamp in 1840 the practice of placing wax seals on personal letters declined.² Translucent stones, both cameos and intaglios, were used in historicist jewels by Castellani (see Fig. 391), Froment-Meurice and other French jewellers.

The materials used for hardstone cameos were usually varieties of agate (onyx, sardonyx, jasper-agate), a stone that occurs with layers of different colour, enabling a skilled cameo-cutter to work down through the layers to achieve an image in more than one colour. Being solid stone, it is heavy. Shell had the advantage for jewellery of being light in weight. Most widely used was the large tropical helmet shell, and the two varieties with the best colour contrast combined with the necessary depth were the *Cassus rufus*, which has a white and a pink-toned layer, and the *Cassus madagascariensis*, which is white with a brown-toned layer of varying intensity. The depth of the white layer at the promontories allowed for very high relief. It was possible to carve over the whole surface of the shell and such virtuoso demonstrations were much-prized souvenirs.³ The method and equipment for hardstone and for shell differed: hardstone cameos were cut on a lathe with steel drills or wheels, a lengthy process, and a complex image could take months to complete. Shell cameos were cut by hand using a burin or engraving tool, which was much quicker; a shell cameo could be cut in a matter of days. This made them considerably cheaper and explains why so many of the cameos

Previous pages: left, cameo, Minerva Aspasio (see Fig. 469); right, Mrs John Thomas (see Fig. 467)



brought back from foreign travels were in shell; they could be cut while the purchaser was present. Despite the difference in techniques, the carvers of hardstone and shell cameos were often the same people. The Saulini family of Rome for instance did both; so did Neri. Girometti cut cameos only in hardstone, 'a very superior style of art to that on shell' according to Murray's *Handbooks*, while Giovanni Dies is listed only as working in shell. In 1867 Neri charged 20 to 25 *scudi* for a shell cameo and 150 to 200 *scudi* for one in hardstone.⁴ In the 1850s Saulini, Dies and Neri were all in the via della Croce; by 1867 they had moved to adjacent streets, but they remained, along with almost all the gem-engravers, in the jewellers' quarter around the Piazza di Spagna.

The range of price was important in enabling a relatively wide social spread for cameos: wearing them implied not wealth but knowledge and learning. They were redolent of a distinguished history from the Greek and Roman world and the Renaissance. Many cameo subjects were derived from classical sculpture; others were from contemporary sculpture perhaps seen in Rome, or from famous paintings; the images were evocative even if the source was only half remembered. The Victorian cameo was a respected medium for official portraiture, as it had been in antiquity and the Renaissance, for images of the Great Men of history and as a personal portrait fulfilling the same role as a miniature or photograph. Indeed, cameo portraits

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Three shell cameo brooches (enlarged). French, English and Italian, 1860–70. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Left: Head of Christ, *commesso* cameo (mixed materials) in helmet shell, horn, coral, abalone shell, signed Lemant, in a stamped gold setting. French, about 1860. H. 6.5 cm. *Right:* The Angel of the Annunciation in a gold brooch-setting by Watherston & Brogden. Italian, the setting English, dated 1863–4 from the information on the lid-satin of the surviving original display case. *Below:* *Aurora* after Guido Reni, in a gold brooch-setting. Italian, about 1870. W. 7.2 cm. Shell was quicker and cheaper to cut and also weighed less, enabling very large cameos like these and the comb mount (Fig. 479) to be practical. The angel is a much-repeated shell cameo subject in English jewellery.

were often made from photographs rather than from life. Religious imagery, a running theme in Victorian jewellery, played a role in reaching a wider audience. Cameo subject-matter included idealized heads of Christ, the Angel of the Annunciation and the 'Pax' symbol (see Fig. 452). A cameo in the *commesso* technique shows the head of Christ with the Crown of Thorns emphasized by the darkness of the carved tortoiseshell (Fig. 466). The technique of *commesso* uses different materials (such as hardstone, coral, mother-of-pearl) inlaid or mounted to form a picture. The term means 'joined together'; it seems to have been a French speciality.

The fine shell cameo of the angel is probably Italian; the English setting by Watherston & Brogden can be dated very precisely through the information given on the jewel-case lid-lining about exhibition medals won by the partnership. The brooch was made after the firm won a prize medal at the 1862 London International Exhibition and before the dissolution of the partnership between Watherston and John Brogden in 1864. The *Aurora* after Guido Reni was a much-repeated subject. Reni's fresco painting, in the grounds of the Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, was among the premier sights of Rome.

Although Rome was the main centre of cameo-cutting in the Victorian period, there were other centres in Italy, in particular Torre del Greco in the south for shell cameos. In France during the Second Empire under Napoléon III cameo-engraving was actively promoted and there were outstanding gem-engravers such as Adolphe David, Paul Lebas and Georges Bissinger in Paris. In England gem-engraving had gone into a sharp decline, despite the arrival in 1815 of the master cameo-carver Benedetto Pistrucci, the Roman-trained gem-engraver who made a career in London under the patronage of George IV and later worked for the Royal Mint. The art was revived by the Society of Arts in the 1860s but only a handful of cameo-cutters worked to the end of the century.

Histories of nineteenth-century jewellery all discuss cameos at some level, while recent specialist literature on engraved gems has begun to evaluate the artistic quality of Victorian cameos – previously dismissed as representing a decline – as well as their social and cultural significance.⁵ The idea of cameos as portable sculpture-in-miniature is much reinforced by a study of their sources, which shows that a large number derive from sculptures. They were used to circulate popular images from the antique and from contemporary life. This account gathers information from a range of sources in order to examine different attitudes to cameos, their role in jewellery, and why they were so highly regarded: the ways in which cameo usage in the nineteenth century differed from the eighteenth century; their personal and political status; the focus on contemporary engravers and the reason for this; and the main centres of cameo-cutting with the materials and their exploitation in the new context of cameos as jewellery.

The second theme covers subjects found in cameos, from the continuing eighteenth-century traditions of classical sculpture and commissioned portraits to the new use of contemporary sculpture and of painting, both historic and modern. Thorvaldsen's much-admired bas-reliefs have long been recognized as models for cameo subjects, but the use of large-scale sculptures, both European and American, in later decades is not so familiar. Many sculptors had studios in Rome which were as much part of the tourist itinerary as the ancient sites for which Rome was famous. Visitors saw the full-size sculptures of which they were buying miniature wearable versions. Close relationships developed between sculptors and the cameo-cutters and jewellers working in Rome: for example, the English sculptor John Gibson had links with the cameo-cutter Tommaso Saulini, a leading gem-engraver who was

succeeded by his adopted son Luigi. The Saulinis also made contact with visiting artists: on 2 April 1842 one of them, Tommaso or Luigi, visited the studio of the American landscape painter Thomas Cole to ask if they might make drawings from one of his paintings to use as a cameo subject.⁶ More commonly cameos reproduce famous paintings such as Reni's *Aurora* (see Fig. 466), Leonardo's *Last Supper* in Milan, or Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia* in Florence (see p. 498); these were copied in every possible medium, in enamel, mosaic, porcelain, as well as shell cameos.⁷

Lastly, the discussion turns to the 'Indian summer' of cameo popularity and the policies adopted in England to foster the art of cameo-cutting in the later nineteenth century.

The cult of the cameo

Cameos occupied a special place in Victorian culture, crossing the boundaries of art and personal ornament. The cameo-set brooch is a classic Victorian jewellery type, owned across many levels of society. Although the craft is traditionally identified with Italy, response to a fashion that endured over a very long period ensured that cameo-cutting was practised all over Europe. One of the many attractions of cameos for the Victorians was their value as souvenirs of travel, but they had wider connotations – not least of connoisseurship, taste and classical learning – in the jewellery culture of the age. Their connection with sculpture was important; sculpture held a key position in Victorian art, admired for itself and as a decorative element in architecture. The Sculpture Gallery housing the royal collection of 140 pieces by modern artists was crucial to the artistic effect of Osborne House. Although outnumbered vastly by paintings, sculptures were highly visible at exhibitions. Sculpture was the only category of fine art admitted to the Great Exhibition in London in 1851 (on the grounds that it represented a branch of industry) and the re-erected Crystal Palace at Sydenham had a large collection within and throughout the grounds. Modern marble sculptures formed an impressive parade down the length of the main hall at the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857. The language of sculpture was still classically based, with a repertoire of familiar images widely disseminated in a great variety of media, but mainly through the plaster casts displayed with 'art through the ages', from the Crystal Palace to art schools and regional museums across the country. Many famous images used in the basic vocabulary for Victorian cameos, like the 'Apollo Belvedere' (Fig. 471), the head of Clytie (Figs 476, 509) and Hiram Powers's *Greek Slave* (Fig. 483), were repeated as domestic-scale reproductions in plaster or 'Parian statuary porcelain' (imitating marble). This widespread distribution ensured their familiarity to a very diverse public. The relaxation of the 'Rule of Taste', which singled out a select group of sculptures representing the height of artistic creation by the eighteenth-century cognoscenti and dilettanti who undertook the Grand Tour, gave cameos a new direction in their choice of sources.

Empress Josephine, first wife of Napoléon I of France, is credited with initiating the nineteenth-century fashion for cameo jewellery. At Napoléon's coronation in 1804, an occasion of unparalleled splendour, the so-called Crown of Charlemagne, made by the jeweller Nitot, was set with antique gems from the royal treasury, and the Empress had bracelet clasps set with cameos from the same source.⁸ In 1805 both the Empress and her sister-in-law Princess Pauline Borghese were portrayed wearing full suites of diamond jewellery set with large cameos. Immediately they were everywhere. The *Journal des Dames* noted that 'a lady of fashion wears

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Two onyx cameos set as jewels. Italy, Rome, 1860s. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Above: 'Roma' (Athena type) in a gold and gem-set pendant, probably Roman, about 1860. H. of cameo 3.9 cm. *Below:* Cameo head of Dante in an enamelled gold setting by Castellani, about 1865. Diam. 4.2 cm. The inscription in Lombardic script is from Dante's *Inferno*, spoken by Dante to Virgil, TU SEI LO MIO MAESTRO E L MIO AUTORE ('You are my master and my author'). It may have been made to celebrate the 600th anniversary of Dante's birth in 1865. The unsigned, strongly contrasting black and white cameos are characteristic of Roman work of the 1860s and 1870s. The Dante cameo derives from a cast of Nathaniel Marchant's intaglio portrait.



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Mrs John Thomas, by Richard Noble (1828–after 1900). Oil on canvas, 1858. Canberra, National Gallery of Australia (see also p. 463)

Mrs Thomas wears a fashionable large shell cameo brooch showing the Three Graces in an openwork setting, with a long gold chain and a pair of carved jet bracelets. Quite dwarfed by her enormous cameo, a gold brooch set with a citrine or topaz secures the crossed velvet ribbon at her throat. Her long neck-chain terminates in a watch-key and personal seal. Her red buttons appear to be set in cut steel or marcasite.

cameos on her belt, cameos in her necklace, a cameo on each of her bracelets, a cameo in her diadem'.⁹ From Rome Napoléon sent Josephine a necklace, brooch and earrings of cameos set in pearls.¹⁰ The Emperor was frequently portrayed in cameo, a laureate profile head based on portraits of Julius Caesar.

Cameo-set jewellery languished during the Restoration in France, presumably because it was too closely identified with the vanquished Empire, but returned in force under Louis-Philippe. Having no political overtones for the English, cameo jewellery became steadily more popular, and by the 1840s was very widely worn. In the mid-century cameos were very large. This disturbed the novelist Mrs Gaskell, who is here writing about a cameo offered by Louisa Stewart-Mackenzie (later Lady Ashburton) in 1856 to Parthenope Nightingale to benefit Florence Nightingale's Crimean appeal. The trouble was that it was not large enough for the taste of rich Mancunians: 'I have been trying to sell Miss Stuart Mackenzie's Cameo to some of our rich Manchesterians but, thank you, it is not "large" enough for them, & cutting & execution is nothing to size.'¹¹ Portrait evidence suggests that the fashion for large cameo brooches persisted through the whole Victorian era (Fig. 467). For her portrait the obviously well-to-do Australian Mrs Thomas wears a large cameo of the Three Graces and carved jet bracelets.

The taste for cameo jewellery changed the character of gem-collecting from the educated connoisseurship of the Grand Tourist in the eighteenth century, when cameos and intaglios were rarely worn other than in rings and fob-seals, to the acquisition of showy engraved gems specifically for setting in fashionable jewels. The study of Victorian cameos is bound up with the goldsmiths' work of their settings, which became increasingly elaborate as they were incorporated into revivalist and archaeological-style designs. Fashion favoured high relief and the striking contrast provided by heat-treated chalcedony, known as onyx, with its distinctive black and pure white layers, which best complemented High Victorian taste in the settings.¹² A cameo head of 'Roma' in an enamelled gold and gem-set mount with echoes of the Renaissance rather than classical Rome is based on an antique gem of the Goddess

Rome in the collection of the Grand Duke of Tuscany in Florence. It has the sculptural modelling and strong contrast typical of Italian work of about 1860 (Fig. 468).

Castellani made a unique contribution to cameo jewellery, paying considered attention to subject and setting. A cameo of Dante, inspired by Nathaniel Marchant's intaglio of the same subject, derives from a bust by Ghirlandaio in the Farnesina and the Dante figure in Raphael's *Disputa* in the Vatican *stanze*. The subject and the medievalizing setting, with its quotation from Dante addressed to Virgil, may have been suggested by Castellani's friend and patron, the Duke of Sermoneta, an eminent Dante scholar. A date in the mid-1860s would fit with the 600th anniversary of Dante's death, which fell in 1865.

Outside the scholarly jewels by Castellani, settings rarely matched the cameo. Two signed by Girometti, set with no regard to compatibility, with either subject or classical character, use famous ancient gems as their source. For a striking image of Minerva he chose chemically enhanced coloured chalcedony in four layers (Fig. 469). The so-called 'Minerva of Aspasios', a disputed but much-copied gem in Vienna representing the head of Minerva or Athena signed by the Greek engraver Aspasios, was believed to derive from the gigantic figure of 'Athena Parthenos' by Phidias, which stood in front of the Parthenon in Athens. The antique gem in Vienna was thought to match the colouring of the original, providing a reference point for reconstructing the appearance of the Parthenon sculptures. The enamelled gold Neo-Rococo setting is a type fashionable around 1840–50. Girometti's head of Hercules in an enamelled and gem-set brooch is based on a beryl intaglio of the Roman Imperial period signed in Greek characters by the gem-engraver Gnaios (but omitting the club behind the head), once in the famous Strozzi Collection. The early nineteenth-century cameo was set, according to an inscription on the reverse, in 1864, two years before the antique gem entered the British Museum in 1866. The inscription celebrates an anniversary; dated settings for cameos are exceedingly rare (see also Fig. 412).

The French gem-engraver Paul Lebas worked for the Second Empire firms of Dafrigue and Caillot & Peck, medal-winners respectively at the 1851 Great Exhibition and the 1862 London International Exhibition. He spanned several branches of Victorian cameo practice, with an innovative technique (*commesso*), a classical subject (the 'Apollo Belvedere') and royal portraiture

469 A & B

Two cameos set as brooches, by Giuseppe (1779–1851) or Pietro (1811–59) Girometti. Italian, with English settings, 1840–64. British Museum, Deirdre Inches Carr Bequest (*left*) and Hull Grundy Gift

The sardonyx cameo head of Hercules (*left*) is signed Girometti, in an enamelled gold brooch set with diamonds and pearls, inscribed on the reverse 'PD & HL 26TH JANY 1864 18TH anniversary', four years after Pietro Girometti's death. Pietro Girometti contributed cameos to the 1855 Paris International Exhibition. The chalcedony cameo (*right*), the 'Minerva of Aspasios', is signed Girometti, in an English engraved and enamelled gold brooch-setting, about 1840. H. of cameo 4.4 cm. The detail (*below right*) shows the plumed helmet, earrings and fringe necklace; the device of putting jewellery within jewellery was popular with the Victorians.





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Commeso cameo brooch, Queen Victoria in Garter robes, by Paul Victor Lebas (fl. 1851–76). French, Paris, signed and dated 1851. Helmet shell (*Cassis rufa*) inlaid with enamelled gold, silver, diamonds and emeralds. H. 6.1 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
 The cameo, in a setting of gold with table-cut and cabochon emeralds and rose diamonds, enamelled with the roses of Lancaster and York, was probably exhibited by F. Dafrique of Paris in London in 1851 (he is listed as exhibitor of ‘polychromatic cameos, with metal and enamel ornaments’).

(Queen Victoria). He was responsible for the large *commesso* cameo of Queen Victoria in Garter robes, taken from the portrait by Thomas Sully (Fig. 470) and shown by Dafrique in 1851. The cameo image in reverse was taken from a lithograph by Henri Grevedon, also in reverse, published in Paris (see Fig. 10).¹³ Dafrique’s prize medal was awarded for ‘polychromatic cameos’. The ‘Apollo’ in its Caillot & Peck setting is based on the full-length statue in the Vatican known as the ‘Apollo Belvedere’, a popular Roman souvenir much repeated in cameo (Fig. 471). The onyx portrait of Queen Victoria copies Wyon’s head from the ‘Gothic’ crown piece first issued in the English coinage in 1841; it was possibly cut for the Queen’s State Visit to Paris in 1855 when portraits of her were in demand.¹⁴

France was unusual in maintaining, alongside cameo jewellery made to be worn, a tradition of virtuoso gem-engraving, which was encouraged by Napoléon III and later presidents of the Republic as a national art. Hence the copying of national treasures in the Cabinet de Médailles in Paris by, for example, Georges Bissinger, who exhibited a series of cameos, many copied from Renaissance gems, in successive International Exhibitions, Paris in 1867, Vienna in 1873 and Paris again in 1878 (Fig. 472). His cameo head of Marie de Médicis from that source was set by Carlo Giuliano in a French Renaissance-style enamelled setting in the manner pioneered by Froment-Meurice in about 1865 (see Fig. 320).¹⁵

Large-scale cameos were exhibited at the annual Paris Salon up to the 1890s, many of which were acquired for the State.¹⁶ Adolphe David, leading French engraver and Salon exhibitor under the Second Empire, employed an onyx displaying three coloured layers against a densely black ground for his *Phaeton driving Apollo’s Chariot* of about 1876 (Fig. 473).¹⁷ Although the chariot is a quadriga, the model is a standard Hellenistic type of ‘Aurora driving her Biga’ (for Saulini’s interpretation of this type, see Fig. 476). David’s design is much more ambitious than his classical source, particularly in capturing the vivid straining of the four horses. It is an exceptional example of late Neo-classical gem-engraving in its



471 A & B
 Cameo brooches with heads of Apollo (*detail left*) and Queen Victoria, signed by Paul Victor Lebas. French, Paris, 1850s. H. of cameos 4.8 cm and 2.8 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

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Onyx cameo of Marie de Médicis, by Georges Bissinger (b. Hanau, fl. 1860–90), in an enamelled gold pendant by Carlo Giuliano (1831–95). The cameo French, Paris, the setting English, London, about 1867. H. 10.4 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, presented by C. & A. Giuliano, 1900

The pendant is set with rubies, sapphires and pearls. Its early date is confirmed by the use of Giuliano's first applied maker's label, with crossed 'CG' imitating the Castellani crossed 'CC' mark. Bissinger exhibited cameos at the 1867 International Exhibition in Paris.



subtle modelling and skilful use of colour, and was almost certainly an exhibition piece; it seems never to have been given a setting, but to have been destined for a gem-cabinet.

Scholars and collectors, like the popular author and gem-collector C.W. King, author of *Antique Gems and their Origins, Uses and Value* (1860 and three further editions), had little time for modern gem-engraving, regarding it as an art in decline. This was partly on account of the number of fakes that were foisted on unwary collectors. At a time when many Old Master paintings and ancient marbles in ancestral collections were being subjected to scholarly scrutiny and found wanting, through misattribution as much as actual faking, similar assessments were taking place in the field of gem-collecting. In a survey of the history of gem-collecting in his *Handbook of Engraved Gems* (1885) King looks at what he terms 'fraudulent ingenuity': 'It may be asserted with confidence that for every antique gem of note fully a dozen of its counterfeits are now in circulation.'¹⁸

This was enough to scare off less well-versed collectors, and even King himself proved vulnerable in this respect. In the *Handbook* of 1885 he was obliged to admit his own mistake, published in the third edition of *Antique Gems* (1872), regarding the Neo-classical gem-engraver Domenico Calabresi, whom he had described as a sixteenth-century artist patronized by Pope Gregory XIII. Calabresi's *Vulcan throwing his Net over his Wife Venus and her Lover Mars*, the remarkable seven-layer cameo cited by King, was in fact cut in about 1830 and set in the lid of a box for Prince Anatole Demidoff. In spite of King's attempts to have the cameo recognized as 'modern', the mistaken identity has persisted to this day (Figs 474, 475).¹⁹

Perversely, given King's view of contemporary gem-engraving, it was the exposure of faking and forgery by him and his fellow authors that made modern cameos, which were certifiably genuine, popular with the new Grand Tourists from the well-to-do middle class. The

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Three-layer onyx cameo, 'The Fall of Phaeton', signed by Adolphe David (1828–96). French, Paris, about 1870. W. 7.6 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Milton Weil collection, 1940

David used the three colours of this layered agate with extraordinary dexterity to vary the colours of the horses and to suggest the translucency of Phaeton's draperies. This is a *Salon*-quality piece from Emperor Napoléon's favoured cameo-cutter and frequent exhibitor.

**474 A & B**

Seven-layer agate cameo, 'Venus and Mars in Vulcan's Net', signed by Domenico Calabresi: enlarged (*top*); actual size (*above*). Italian, about 1830. W. 4.1 cm. British Museum

In 1865 the journalist A. North Peat wrote: 'One, the sight of which would make an amateur of cameos break the tenth commandment, is marvellous, consisting of a scene from Greek mythology, carved under a trellis-work, both layers of work being cut in the same stone' (Peat 1903, p. 90). The scene is encircled by the gods of Olympus.

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Illustration of 'Vulcan's Net' cameo by Calabresi. C.W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems* (1885), pl. XL

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practice of signing cameos had started in the mid-eighteenth century in an attempt to frustrate unscrupulous gem-dealers who were passing off modern gems as antique. Pistrucchi left Rome and settled in England to escape from the fraudulent activities of his dealer, Bonelli.²⁰

Subjects from the antique

Cameo subjects were drawn from a vast corpus of images inherited from the great Neo-classical era of gem-engraving. These were preserved in readily accessible collections of plaster or sulphur casts from intaglios and casts of cameos themselves, which circulated widely among collectors in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These casts and the coloured glass paste reproductions issued by James Tassie from 1791 meant that material from famous gem-cabinets would have been known to all gem-engravers in the nineteenth century. These, along with catalogues illustrated with outline engravings, represented an inventory of the engraved gems of the past, and were much plundered in the nineteenth century.²¹ The Victorian taste for high relief in cameos may derive from cast impressions of Neo-classical intaglios. In his brief memoir Pistrucchi notes that in his youth he was set to copying casts in cameo.²² A 'canon' of the most popular subjects quickly emerged, and copies in hardstone were disseminated through multiple replicas in shell. A key resource was the *Catalogue* of intaglio gems by the eighteenth-century English artist Nathaniel Marchant, published with 100 impressions (or casts) in 1792. Marchant spent sixteen years in Rome and his subjects derive from the famous works of classical sculpture there. Many Victorian cameos, notably by the Roman father and son Tommaso and Luigi Saulini, while ostensibly based on well-known antique sculptures, are clearly inspired by – or even closely copied from – Marchant's gems. Since Marchant had performed the difficult feat of translating life-size or over life-size sculptures into the small compass of engraved gems, his successors were content to copy him.

Luigi Saulini's onyx cameo of 'Clytie' of about 1860 follows Marchant's cast of the subject very closely (Fig. 476).²³ Clytie, the nymph who fell in love with the sun and was turned into a sunflower, is taken from a Roman marble portrait bust owned by the collector Charles Townley, now in the British Museum with the rest of his collection.²⁴ Marchant's source is known to have been a plaster cast kept in Rome after the sculpture was sold in the late eighteenth century. The setting in silver-gilt and enamel is probably by Robert Phillips. 'Clytie' became an iconic image in Victorian domestic culture, with the innumerable copies of the bust in 'Parian' porcelain sold in different sizes suited to every class of interior. The Parian bust was offered as an Art-Union prize in 1854. Copies in cameo are legion.

Tommaso Saulini's head of 'Roma' with the emblem of the she-wolf suckling one of Rome's twin founders on the helmet provides another link with Marchant. It is taken from the colossal head, once at the Villa Borghese, whose owner Prince Camillo Borghese was the husband of Napoléon Bonaparte's sister Pauline, and which was bought for the Louvre by Napoléon in 1807. Saulini's sardonyx version of 'Roma' was shown at the 1862 International Exhibition in London and awarded a medal.²⁵ Although it is clearly based on a Marchant cast, the cameo is listed as an original design by Saulini: shell cameo copies of it were available for purchase at the exhibition and many survive today. The archaeological-style brooch of corded wire and beading is by Phillips. A three-layer hardstone cameo of 'Aurora driving her Biga' after a standard Hellenistic type found in many old gem collections was shown at the same time; this example in shell has an archaeological-style setting typical of Phillips (Fig. 476).

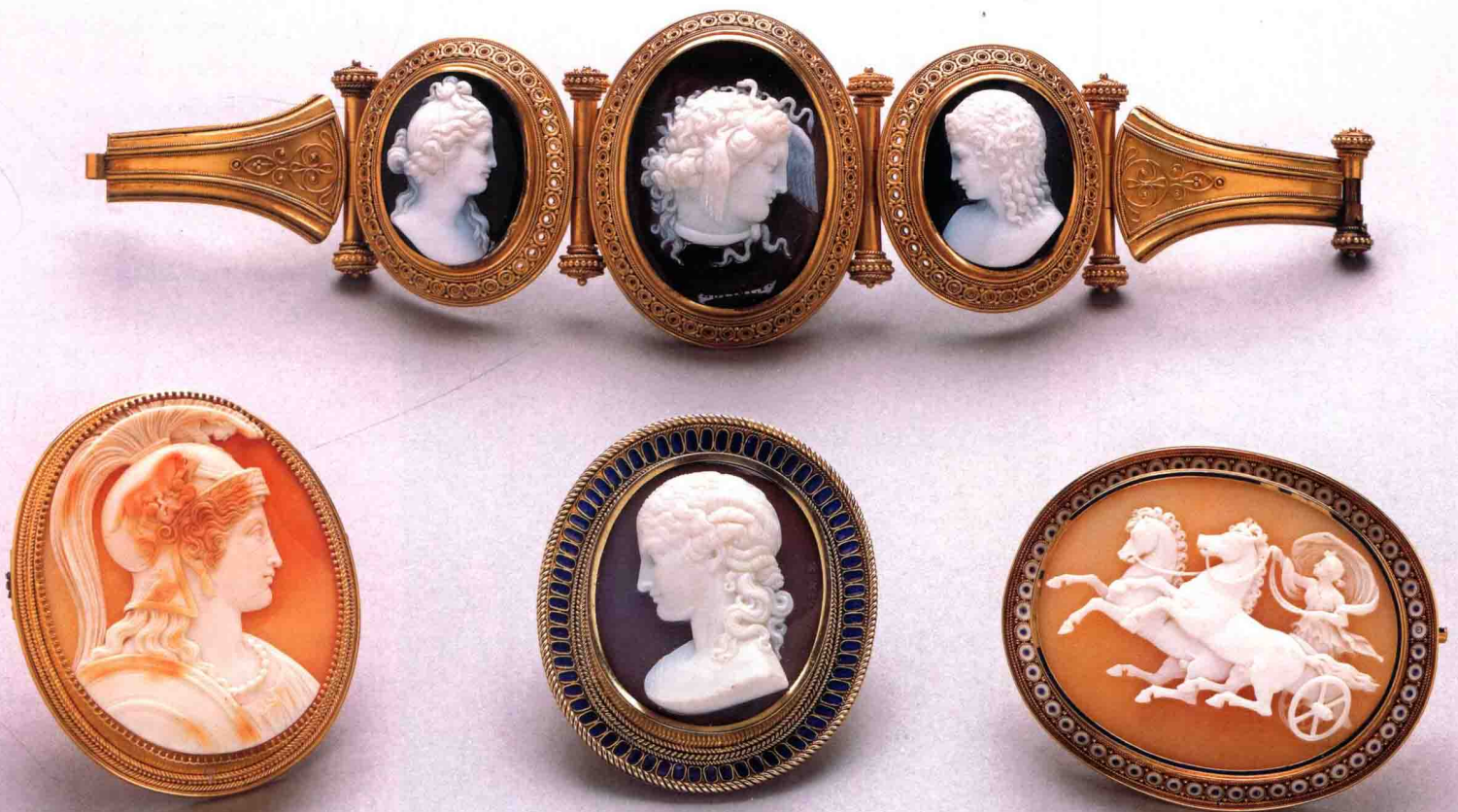
Three cameos by Tommaso Saulini conclude this section. They are cut in high relief on

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Cameo jewels, the cameos by Tommaso and Luigi Saulini or from the Saulini studio. The cameos Italian, about 1860–62. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Top, gold bracelet in the Italian archaeological style, set with three cameos, the central Medusa head signed *T. Saulini F*, the flanking cameos of Venus and Cupid probably also by Tommaso Saulini (1793–1864). H. of Medusa in the centre, 3.7 cm; L. of bracelet 18.9 cm.

Left, shell cameo of 'Roma' or Minerva, possibly from the Saulini workshop, in an archaeological-style setting, retailed by Robert Phillips, about 1862. H. of cameo 3.7 cm. *Centre*, sardonyx cameo, 'Clytie' by Luigi Saulini (1819–83), in a silver-gilt setting, the setting probably English, about 1862. H. of cameo 3.7 cm. *Right*, shell cameo, 'Dawn', signed 'Saulini', in a gold and enamel brooch-setting, about 1862. W. of cameo 4.8 cm. The Roma and Aurora subjects both featured in the Saulini display at the London 1862 International Exhibition.





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Shell cameo portrait of Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844) by Tommaso Saulini. St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum

black onyx and set in a heavy gold archaeological-revival bracelet (Fig. 476). The head of Cupid is from Marchant's 1781 intaglio in the Marlborough collection, which was taken from an ancient sculpture then in the Museo Pio Clementino. The other cameos are taken directly from antique gems. The winged Medusa head is from an intaglio which was frequently copied long before it found its way into the British Museum in 1866 via the Blacas Collection. The third head is taken from the famous Capitoline Venus.²⁶

Contemporary sculpture in Victorian cameos

Alongside inspiration from the antique, a taste developed for subjects from contemporary sculpture and painting. This new departure invigorated cameo design and the vocabulary of images. The artistic community in Rome was very cosmopolitan and cameo engravers from across Europe and America congregated there to take advantage of Grand Tour patronage and the trade in tourist souvenirs. Bertel Thorvaldsen, the eminent sculptor whose works provided many subjects for gem-engraving, was Danish (Fig. 477). His successor as the leading classical sculptor in Rome, John Gibson, pioneer of polychromy or 'painted sculpture' (actually wax colouring), was English. Many of Thorvaldsen's bas-reliefs were translated into intaglios by the German engraver Luigi Pichler, who, like Marchant, spent a part of his career in Rome. Casts of the gems by Pichler after Thorvaldsen's sculptures were issued by Paoletti in Rome in about 1830 and proved almost as fertile a source for later cameos as Marchant's impressions. Among the most popular over a very long period were Thorvaldsen's tondos showing 'Night' and 'Day', both executed in Rome in 1815 (Fig. 478).

Gibson settled in Rome in 1817, studying first with Antonio Canova and then, after Canova's death, with Thorvaldsen. Gibson had a long connection with Tommaso and Luigi Saulini, and their respective studios were mandatory destinations for the modern Grand Tour. The names of numbers of their visitors are known from Gibson's correspondence and from the Saulini studio archives; many were English, but there were also Americans, Russians, Spanish and a few French.²⁷ Tommaso trained in Thorvaldsen's studio before setting up on his own



478
Malachite cameo after Thorvaldsen's 1815 relief 'Allegory of the Night', in a gold brooch-setting. Possibly Italian, about 1840. H. of cameo 5.1 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Although the style of the cameo is Italian, following a popular Thorvaldsen model, malachite was indigenous to Russia and to the English West Country.



479 Left
Shell cameo, 'Phaeton driving the Chariot of the Sun', signed *T. Saulini F*, Tommaso Saulini or his workshop. Italian, Rome, about 1862. W. of cameo 9.4 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The unmounted cameo is contained in its original display case, suggesting that it was bought as a cabinet piece.



480 Above
Onyx cameo, 'Cupid and Psyche', by Tommaso Saulini, copying a marble relief by John Gibson (1790–1866). Italian, Rome, in an English diamond setting, about 1850. Private collection

Much copied in shell, this subject was shown by the Saulinis in London in 1862.

in about 1830 and he may have known Gibson from that time. Gibson's bas-reliefs, like Thorvaldsen's, provided the Saulinis with cameo subjects.

At the 1851 Exhibition in London Tommaso's display included twelve shell cameos; of these five were after Thorvaldsen and five were after Gibson's sculptures, one copied a Raphael fresco in the Vatican, and one an antique terracotta in the Museo Campana.²⁸ The Gibson subjects included 'The Hours Bringing the Horses to the Chariot of the Sun', one of a pair of marble reliefs delivered only the year before in 1850 to Lord Fitzwilliam at Wentworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire; the other relief depicted 'Phaeton driving the Chariot of the Sun'. Saulini probably saw the reliefs in Gibson's studio in Rome.²⁹ Tommaso made cameo versions of both reliefs in onyx and in shell: he sent an onyx version of the Phaeton relief to the 1862 Exhibition in London. But it was as shell cameos that such subjects were most widely disseminated.³⁰ A large piece like Fig. 479 was perhaps designed for a diadem centre or a comb mount; in hardstone it would have been almost too heavy to wear. Tommaso's contribution to the 1862 Exhibition entered by his son, Luigi, including shell cameos after Thorvaldsen's 'Day' and 'Night' tondos, won a Prize Medal; Tommaso died two years later. As well as the shell cameo of 'Roma' and the 'Aurora' (see Fig. 476), Tommaso showed a shell cameo after Gibson's marble relief of *Cupid pursuing Psyche*, dating from about 1840 (Fig. 480). A signed onyx version in a diamond setting includes an intriguing detail: the butterfly in Psyche's raised hand exists only in Gibson's drawing for the subject and not in the many copies of the marble relief made for different patrons.³¹

In the mid-century Gibson's American contemporaries Hiram Powers and William Rinehart provided new subjects. Here there were no gems or casts and impressions to mediate between the full-scale sculpture and the cameo. A shell cameo after Rinehart's relief of 'Spring' in an Italian setting was acquired in Rome by William T. Walters, founder of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore and a long-time friend of the sculptor (Fig. 481). Walters supported Rinehart's early career with cash, allowing him to establish himself in Rome. The identity of the cameo-engraver is not known, but might be an American. A number of American sculptors practised gem-engraving during their early years, among them Augustus Saint-Gaudens and William Morris Hunt.³²

A Saulini-style cameo of an 'ideal' head in its Castellani setting might be assumed to derive from a classical source, but in fact was taken from a hugely popular modern sculpture, the famous *Greek Slave* by Hiram Powers, to which it is in reverse.³³ The naked life-size full-length figure of the chained slave, with her discarded shawl beside her, refers to the Greek War of Independence

481
Shell cameo, 'Allegory of Spring', copying the marble relief carved in Rome by William H. Rinehart (1825–74). Italian, Rome, in an Italian gold brooch-setting, about 1874. H. 6.5 cm. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum

The cameo was commissioned in Rome by W.T. Walters, Rinehart's patron and benefactor.



482 Right

The Greek Slave, statue by Hiram Powers (1805–73). *Illustrated London News*, front cover of the *Exhibition Supplement*, 9 August 1851



483 Above

Sardonyx cameo, head of the *Greek Slave*, after the marble by Hiram Powers. Italian, Rome, in a gold archaeological-style pendant by Castellani, about 1860. H. of cameo 3.9 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

of the 1820s. The young woman has been abducted by the Turks and is to be sold in the slave market. It was modelled in Florence in 1843–4, and caused a great sensation at the 1851 Great Exhibition in London (Figs 482–3).³⁴ It received massive publicity, appearing for example on the front cover of the *Illustrated London News* Exhibition Supplement. The cameo may derive from an image in the popular series of views of the interior of the Crystal Palace published by Baxter, where the sculpture appears in reverse. Baxter's view also shows the circular canopy in red velvet with curtains that could be drawn round the completely nude figure that shocked some visitors. Untypically, the Queen was not shocked by nudity. Powers produced many versions over a period of fifteen years, both full-length and busts. The sculpture was reproduced in Parian porcelain, proving very popular, and it is surprising that only this one cameo version has yet come to light.

Cameo portraits

Murray's 1858 *Handbook to Rome* describes Saulini as 'perhaps the best in Rome for his portraits in cameo'. Portraits feature largely in Victorian cameos, from the Saulini studio in particular. Evidence suggests that they were cut not from life but from secondary sources: marble busts, medals, or photographs. There were exceptions; like his fellow artists Hunt and Saint-Gaudens, the Boston sculptor Joseph Greenough made a shell cameo portrait thought to be of his brother, Horatio. On the back, after his signature and the date 1850 he added 'No 29 From Life' (Fig. 484b). This would only have been possible in shell, which could be



484 A & B Above and left

Two shell cameo portraits: *Above*, Mrs Steward, by Joseph Edgar Boehm (1834–90), in a gold brooch-setting. English, about 1860. H. of brooch 5.4 cm. *Below*, profile head of a man, by Joseph Greenough (fl. 1848–79), signed on the reverse 'J.A. Greenough Boston Mass 1850 No. 29 From Life'. H. 5.3 cm. American, 1850. British Museum, the cameo of Mrs Steward given by Miss M.M. Herbert



485 Left

Shell cameo portrait of Ellen Walters (enlarged), by Tommaso Saulini, after a bust by W.H. Rinehart. Italian, Rome, in a gold brooch-setting by Castellani, about 1862. H. of brooch 6.7 cm. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, gift of Mrs Frederick B. Adams, 1972

William Walters visited the studio of Augusto Castellani in 1862 and commissioned this brooch commemorating his wife, who died that year. Murray's *Handbook to Rome* (1843) singled out Castellani as 'a good mounter of cameos'.

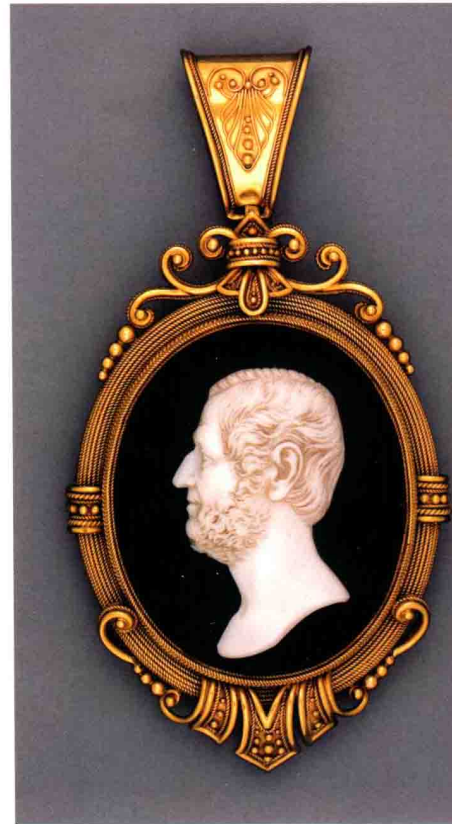
486

Onyx cameo portrait of the 7th Duke of Beaufort (1792–1853), signed L. SAULINI F., by Luigi Saulini. Italian, Rome, in a gold 'archaeological' pendant setting, about 1850–60. H. of pendant 9.9 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

worked quickly. Greenough came from a family of distinguished Boston sculptors; Horatio, the most famous, lived in Florence. Joseph also spent time in Italy and may have learnt to cut shell cameos there. The fact that Greenough inscribed his portrait 'from life' shows that this is a rare case; most cameos used a model of some kind. A portrait of Mrs Steward (Fig. 484a), wife of the Wesleyan minister George Steward, is a rare example of cameo-engraving by the Viennese sculptor Joseph Edgar Boehm, who forged a successful career in England and enjoyed royal patronage. The delicately cut details of veil and dress suggest that this portrait is also from life rather than a sculpture or photograph.

While in Rome William Walters had commissioned a marble bust of his wife Ellen from Rinehart; after her death in 1862 he had a shell cameo made from the bust and mounted by Castellani (Fig. 485). Documented portraits such as this are valuable because, in spite of the studio records, many cameos of private sitters who patronized the Saulinis remain unidentified. However, a fine male profile bust by Luigi in the British Museum has recently been recognized as a portrait of the 7th Duke of Beaufort through its likeness to a marble bust of him still at the Beaufort family seat, Badminton in Gloucestershire (Fig. 486).³⁵ The 7th Duke, a frequent traveller to Italy, died in 1853; the cameo was either cut after his death or mounted later in its heavy archaeological-style gold pendant of around 1860–70.

The Saulinis' long-term dealings with Gibson began over a portrait cameo. In 1845 Gibson made a bust of Queen Victoria which he followed up with a cameo copy by Saulini as an offering to Prince Albert.³⁶ Gibson was then responsible for Tommaso Saulini's grandest



487

Badge of the Order of Victoria and Albert with an onyx cameo double portrait of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. The cameo by Tommaso Saulini, Italian, Rome, 1860s, in a setting of diamonds and rubies, supplied by Garrard, London, 1862. H. 8.5 cm. Royal Collection

This badge of the Royal Family Order of Victoria and Albert, presented to Alexandra of Denmark before her marriage, is shown on the original bow of ivory moiré ribbon.



portrait commission, the profile heads of Victoria and Albert to be cut in cameo for the badge of the Royal Family Order (Fig. 487). Although the order was formally instituted on 10 February 1862, the first badge was supplied, as Garrard's ledger reveals, in 1856 (see p. 53). The cameo, set in a frame of diamonds and rubies surmounted by a crown, cost £235. The overlapping heads were taken from the double portrait by William Wyon on the obverse of the 1851 Great Exhibition prize medals, one of which was sent to Saulini in Rome. Gibson acted as go-between throughout the negotiations for this and the subsequent badges up to the time of his death.³⁷ When Tommaso died in 1864 Queen Victoria was concerned about the supply of cameos for the badges; Luigi managed to fulfil the outstanding orders but eventually the task passed to the London-based gem-engraver James Ronca (see below).

When the Prince of Wales made his two youthful visits to Rome, first to complete his education in 1859 and then with his sister, Vicky, Crown Princess of Germany, in 1862, Gibson escorted him to artists' studios on both occasions. The Saulini studio would certainly

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Shell cameo portraits of the Prince and Princess of Wales. British Museum, given by Mrs Olga Ronca (*left*), and Hull Grundy Gift

Left, Princess Alexandra, by James Ronca (1826–1910), signed 'Ronca' on the front, and signed and dated 1870 on the reverse. English, 1870. H. 4.7 cm.

Right, the Prince of Wales, signed Saulini for Luigi Saulini or his workshop. Italian, Rome, about 1863, in an English gold brooch-setting. H. of cameo 4.7 cm. The coincidence of size suggests that Ronca may have been asked to make his portrait of Alexandra a pair with the earlier portrait of the Prince by Saulini.



have been on the itinerary, and a portrait cameo may have been discussed at this time. However, in 1863 a marble portrait bust of the Prince was modelled by Marshall Wood. To celebrate the Prince's betrothal to Princess Alexandra of Denmark, the bust was reproduced in Parian statuary porcelain by Copeland's and offered as a Crystal Palace Art-Union Prize.³⁸ This was Tommaso Saulini's model for his shell cameo of the Prince; Saulini probably used a cast or a photograph of the bust itself, or the Parian version (Fig. 488).

As shell cameos could be engraved speedily they were a means of reproducing portraits in the quantities needed at the time of a royal marriage. According to P.L. Simmonds, writing in the *Art-Journal* in 1854, shell cameos cost around £4 (or sometimes a good deal less), whereas hardstone cameos cost from £12 to £20.³⁹ For visitors to Rome it was possible to order several copies, almost like the photographs on which so many of the portraits were based. Even when their subject was there, able to be portrayed from life, the Saulinis preferred to work from a drawing or photograph. Dearman and Emily Birchall stopped in Rome on their honeymoon journey in 1873, where Dearman records a visit to the Saulini workshop on 6 April: 'we had our photographs taken for Sa[u]lini's cameos, then to Sa[u]lini to arrange for them to be carved on one shell mentioning we should want four'.⁴⁰ The cameo, designed as a double-portrait head of husband and wife cut in low relief, was given an archaeological brooch-setting. Like the setting for the Prince's portrait, it appears to be English.⁴¹ Birchall was an archetypal Victorian tourist; a rural aesthete born into the cloth-making trade, he had retired from active involvement with the manufacturing side of the business to lead the life of a landed gentleman in Gloucestershire. He still had a role in promoting the company's wares, and the wedding trip with his young second wife Emily was in part to oversee the exhibit that the firm sent to the International Exhibition in Vienna. The diaries and letters of the Birchalls offer invaluable insights into the increasingly sophisticated lives and interests of the prosperous manufacturing classes.

The cameo trade and cameo-cutting in England

Quantities of cameos were imported into London unset to be mounted by the many goldsmiths who specialized in cameo jewellery. The shell dealers Francati & Santamaria of 65 Hatton Garden, exhibitors at almost every major World's Fair from 1862 to 1888, imported mainly shell cameos, along with mosaics and coral. Phillips, who set many of the copies of cameos exhibited by the Saulinis, John Brogden in London and Joseph Mayer, FSA, jeweller and silversmith in Liverpool, were known for cameo jewellery, mostly Italian. They were antiquarians, interested in antique gems as collectors.⁴² Phillips dealt in antique gems and jewellery.⁴³ Brogden lent cameos, including the famous 'Vulcan's Forge' published by C.W. King (see Fig. 475), to the 1872 South Kensington exhibition of antique and modern jewellery. His wife was an Italian scholar, translator of Augusto Castellani's *Gems: Notes and Extracts*, published in 1871. Mayer, a leading importer of cameos who may have encountered the Saulinis through Gibson, was an eminent antiquary and collector. He had been interested in antiquities from an early age; his antiquarian collection, built up in Britain and on his frequent travels abroad on business, formed the core of the new Liverpool Museum.⁴⁴

Many of the cameos set for West End jewellery firms like Phillips and Brogden were by the Saulinis.⁴⁵ A signed hardstone cameo by one of the Saulinis in a Neo-classical gold

489 Right

Pendant with shell cameo of Phaeton attempting to restrain the horses of the sun, signed SAULINI. Italian, Rome, in a gold setting by John Brogden (fl. 1842–85), after 1878. W. of cameo 6.5 cm. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery

Brogden's display case survives, with the record of his prize medals, dating this pendant after 1878. Tommaso Saulini died in 1864, fourteen years or more before the cameo was set, making it likely that it was cut by Luigi (d. 1883).

490 Far right

Shell cameo of Cupid and Psyche. Italian (?), in a gold pendant setting by John Brogden, about 1870. H. of cameo 5.7 cm, with pendant 8.5 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

This fine shell cameo may have been imported by specialist dealers Francati & Santamaria of Hatton Garden, exhibitors at international exhibitions from 1851.



pendant setting retains John Brogden's original retailer's case (Fig. 489). The subject is Phaeton attempting to control the horses of Apollo's Chariot of the Sun, with the dropped torch signifying the burning sun. Although the cameo bears the name Saulini without an initial, the details of Brogden's exhibition prize medals printed on the lid-satin of the case date the setting after 1878, and so it is most likely to be by Luigi rather than Tommaso, who had died in 1864.

At a more popular level, there were many unsigned shell cameos available for mounting as the customer wished. A fine shell cameo of Cupid and Psyche set in a gold pendant with ivy-leaf motifs by Brogden makes references to love (Cupid and Psyche) and fidelity (the ivy) and may have been a wedding gift (Fig. 490). The Clerkenwell jeweller Hermann Wehrfritz made two sets of shell cameo jewellery for his wife, one dated to 1867 by a pencilled inscription in the case (Fig. 491). He may have bought the cameos from Francati & Santamaria in Hatton Garden, centre of the Clerkenwell jewellers' quarter, who needed local jewellers to mount their imported cameos.⁴⁶



The Society of Arts attempted to halt the decline of interest in gem-engraving in Britain by offering prizes in their annual competition for 'Art-Workmen' from 1864. One of the few entrants was the Swiss-Italian James Ronca, who took over the provision of cameos in onyx and shell from the Saulini family for the Royal Family Order badges (see Fig. 487).⁴⁷ Ronca was born in 1826 and studied gem-engraving with Pistrucchi. His Society of Arts cameos attracted attention from the sculptor Felix Miller and it was Miller who recommended him to the Queen. Ronca exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1865 to 1871, a mixture of portraits and subjects from Shakespeare, often after sculptures by Miller. He provided cameos for Art-Union prize competitions. Research on his subject-matter has revealed his dependence on Parian porcelain models after sculptures, an interesting advance on the use of plaster casts of gems by earlier Victorian engravers.⁴⁸

A latecomer to gem-engraving was to push the boundaries of material and subject-matter to their limits. William (Wilhelm) Schmidt was born in Idar in Germany in 1845.⁴⁹ Idar, with neighbouring Oberstein, was one of the most important European centres of the mineral and gemstone trade, where stones were prepared, coloured and cut for jewellers around the world, and Wilhelm's father was connected by marriage with the lapidary industry. He was sent to Paris at the age of fifteen to learn gem-engraving and remained there until the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. In London he shared premises with the Hatton Garden firm of Schmidt & Nourick, who were 'importers of onyx and cameos, pearls and precious stones in general' and were in some way related to Wilhelm. Having changed his name to William, he began by providing cameos for setting in Renaissance-inspired jewellery to Brogden, Giuliano and Child & Child of Kensington among others (Fig. 492). His most daring innovation was to cut cameos in opal matrix, which allowed atmospheric effects and colouring beyond the capacity of chemically enhanced hardstones with strongly contrasted layers. He claimed to have invented this process in 1874, stating that his first effort was shown by Brogden in Paris in 1878.

He did not sign his work, but a large group of his cameos survives in the Geological Collection at the Natural History Museum. Schmidt was well placed to source the stones from which he obtained his remarkable effects. Schmidt & Nourick were established suppliers to the museum, and this may explain why it acquired a cameo by William in April 1876. Three cameos were bought in that month; one noted in the register as 'by the vendor' is described as 'a cameo head of a Roman Emperor, after the Antique, in white carnelian on a stratum of bloodstone, with laurel wreath in green and pink strata'. It cost £16 and demonstrates Schmidt's skill in the use of coloured layers.

The cameo group was chosen to demonstrate the feasibility of engraving on a range of unusual stones, including labradorite, hematite, malachite, chrysoprase, smoky quartz, cairngorm and interestingly coloured chalcedonies. The opals acquired from Schmidt & Nourick by the museum are recorded as Australian (from Queensland), Honduran, Hungarian (the traditional source) and Mexican (from Queretaro). The largest of Schmidt's opal cameos represents 'Dawn with two ærial figures, Australian opal', a version in reverse of Gibson's relief of 'Cupid pursuing Psyche' set against a moody landscape background cut in the matrix. The most successful of his experiments with exploiting the colours and chatoyance of opal is a small Queensland stone displaying a brilliantly hued parrot. But many have not stood the test of time as colour and chatoyancy have faded from the stones and the definition essential to the art of cameo has been lost.



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Opal cameo of a helmeted warrior, attributed to Wilhelm Schmidt (1845–1938). English, in a diamond-set enamelled setting, marked C&AG, for C. & A. Giuliano, about 1895. H. of cameo 2 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The brooch retains its original display case made by Henry Guichard (fl. 1874–1919) for Carlo and Arthur Giuliano (sons and successors to Carlo Giuliano), 115 Piccadilly, 1896–1912. The brooch was made before 1892 when the firm moved to Knightsbridge. From 1875 Guichard cased the Giuliano family's most choice pieces up to the closure of the firm in 1915, during which time he worked exclusively for them (and his business may have been wholly or partly owned by the Giuliano firm). Guichard's cases bear a blind-stamp 'G'; Guichard was incorporated as a limited company in 1919.

491 A & B *Opposite*

Cameo-set brooch and brooch-bracelet. English, by Hermann Wehrfritz of Clerkenwell, about 1867. H. of brooch with pendant drops 10 cm. Museum of London, gift of Miss A. Wellfield

Far left, brooch with a shell cameo of Apollo and Diana as 'Night and Day' in a gold setting with wirework scrolls. Apollo and Diana are associated respectively with the sun and the moon and were often paired as the children of Jupiter. Diana's crescent moon is here combined with symbols of night, the poppy wreath and owl. Apollo's sunburst is combined with an eagle and clouds, the emblems of Jupiter. *Left*, the bracelet centrepiece detaches to act as a brooch.

In *Great Expectations* (1861) Dickens describes Pip's introduction to Mr Wemmick's friend, the gaudily dressed Miss Skiffins: 'I rather suspected that a classic brooch she wore, representing the profile of an undesirable female with a very straight nose and a very new moon [the personification of 'Night'], was a piece of portable property that had been given her by Wemmick' (ch. 37). It may be assumed that Wemmick and Wehrfritz shared a common social background.



SOUVENIRS OF TRAVEL AT HOME
AND ABROAD



10 SOUVENIRS OF TRAVEL AT HOME AND ABROAD

JEWELLERY was eagerly collected by tourists, and it constitutes an important aspect of Victorian travel culture, whether as substantial acquisitions in centres of fashion and jewellery production or as inexpensive souvenirs of local and traditional craftsmanship. Different types of jewellery were made in different centres in Britain as well as on the Continent, specifically for purchase by visitors.

In Paris, the acknowledged centre of the upper levels of jewellery production, very little was directly aimed at tourists; visitors were supposed to buy the grand pieces that were being made for home consumption and for export. The most that could be expected as souvenirs were trinkets for a watch-chain, or other small items. Outside Paris things were different. At Bourg-en-Bresse, a popular centre north-east of Lyons with the Alps to its east, a line in brightly coloured enamel metal ornaments developed that was primarily for sale to tourists and did not grow out of a long-standing local tradition.

In Rome, as we have seen, almost everything was made for travellers, as there was little home business. Beyond Castellani, there were innumerable outlets for archaeological-style jewellery, cameos, micromosaics, Roman 'pearls', 'ordinary Roman gold ornaments worn by the lower classes and the peasant women around the capital', and of course chaplets, rosaries, crucifixes and reliquaries. There was even a 'charitable institution for the support of distressed artists in the Piazza Borghese', where cameos, mosaics, and other works of art could be obtained 'at moderate prices'.¹ Florence and Venice too had their specialities. In Florence inlaid hard-stone jewellery exploited a tradition established since the sixteenth century. In Venice, the tradition of fine glassmaking produced not only a wide variety of beads but also a Venetian development of the *millefiori* glass technique: canes of glass were fused to make portraits, which were then set in jewellery, none more evocative than those of the heroes of the Risorgimento – Garibaldi, Cavour and Vittorio Emanuele. Venice was also known for its fine gold 'Venice chain'. Genoa was the centre for filigree work (see p. 316), which had something of a hybrid nature. Produced in many parts of Europe, filigree was more often than not made primarily for a local market. But it was evocative of the locality and was bought by tourists nonetheless.

Many other regions of Europe produced clearly identifiable types of jewellery. Switzerland, a major tourist destination, had long excelled in fine enamelling for watches and gold boxes, and this skill was directed to the production of miniature Swiss landscapes mounted as jewellery, as well as to the standard range of fashionable items. Some types of jewellery owed their origin to philanthropic enterprises such as the school for ivory carvers set up by the Duke of Erbach in the Black Forest in Germany; the minutely carved pieces became commercially successful, thanks to the rise in tourism there as much as to export trade.

The travellers whose words and experiences are described here are fascinating people in their own right, but who they were is much less significant in this context than where they were. The critic John Ruskin bought cameos in Rome and also visited the best shop for enamels in Geneva. International exhibitions attracted travellers in vast numbers. Dearman and

Previous pages, left, mosaic brooch (see Fig. 499); right, Countess von Hallwyl (see Fig. 493)



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Countess Wilhelmina von Hallwyl, portrait photograph dated 1875. Stockholm, Hallwylska Museet (see also p. 483)

Countess von Hallwyl (née Kempe, 1844–1930), wife of the Swiss-born industrialist Walther von Hallwyl, wears jewellery set with Florentine hardstone mosaics, the mosaics themselves acquired partly in Switzerland and mounted in Stockholm. Her suite of ornaments closely resembles the Florentine mosaic set acquired in Italy by a member of the American Livingston family (see Fig. 511).

Emily Birchall, touring in 1873, combined a wedding trip with a visit to the Vienna World's Fair. On the way they bought cameos and archaeological-style jewellery in Rome. These expensive purchases were important to the souvenir trade. Victorian touring only superficially resembles the aristocratic eighteenth-century Grand Tour. A new culture of shopping for local curiosities, antiquities and works of art arose and was satisfied in different ways, with more reliance on trinkets of indigenous stones and minerals, replicas and revivals, miniature versions and reproductions in a different medium of the masterpieces of the past. Eventually a vigorous export market emerged that would make local products widely available in Britain, but travellers continued to buy them abroad; doing so gave them extra associations and memories. This chapter examines three aspects of buying jewellery as souvenirs: by the British in Britain, the British abroad, and lastly, by Americans in Europe.

This is not to say that travellers from other parts of Continental Europe were not as numerous, as the brief mention in Chapter 8 of the visitors to the Castellani studio in Rome has shown. The American Mrs Adams found herself travelling with Spaniards who had bought at Castellani (see p. 500), demonstrating the importance of Rome for other inhabitants of the Mediterranean, not only for visitors from the north. However, it is dangerous to reconstruct travel itineraries on the basis of jewel souvenirs. The Swedish Countess von Hallwyl, who married in 1865, owned a set of Florentine intarsia ornaments that survive in the Hallwylska Museum in Stockholm. She wore some of them for a photograph dated 1875 (Fig. 493).² So obviously Italian in origin, their sources are actually not straightforward. The plaque for the brooch may have belonged to Walther von Hallwyl's first wife. The plaques for the bracelet and pendant were bought by Walther in Switzerland in the late 1860s; the Countess bought the plaques for the hairpins at the same time. The bracelet, brooch and pendant were gifts from her husband on Christmas Eve 1870, and the hairpins were made at her request in 1874; all were mounted by the firm of Gustaf Möllenberg, Stockholm.³ It is hardly possible to get more international in shopping for souvenirs.

Britons in Britain

Touring in the British Isles and Ireland came within reach for a vast public with the expansion of the railway network and through the agency of the ubiquitous Thomas Cook. Cook started running Scottish excursions in the summer of 1846 and in 1852 he started taking tourists to Ireland, advertising his trip 'From Derby to Dublin and back for 13s!'⁴ The local character and indigenous materials of Scottish and Irish jewellery were a crucial aspect of their tourist appeal. The 'people of Ross of Mull' gave Princess Louise, on her marriage to the Marquess of Lorne, a gold bracelet set with local Iona marble cabochons made by Sanderson of Edinburgh (see p. 67).⁵ The huge publicity around royal wedding presents was a valuable endorsement for such local trades. The reproduction of national symbols was only one aspect of the popularity of Irish bog oak; its other widespread use was for topographical souvenirs of the castles and ruins of Ireland. As well as the fashionable and much-abused bog oak, indigenous Irish materials included 'diamonds' from the Dublin area (actually iron pyrites), occurring as a fused mass of crystals, a brittle material which was cut into simple shapes set in silver (Fig. 494). Green Connemara marble from Co. Galway had, like bog oak, been used for interior furnishing but was turned into jewellery from at least 1840. Eventually, however, the local handcraft processes, which had attracted philanthropy as well as tourist interest, were superseded by cheaper industrial production and local trades went into steep decline. Like Scotch pebble jewellery, souvenirs were not all made in Ireland: several Birmingham firms supplied the silver mounts. Queen Victoria supported the Irish trade, lending items commissioned from Goggin of Dublin to the Dublin International Exhibition in

494 A & B

Parure of iron pyrites ('Irish diamonds') in the form of shamrocks, in the original display case for Goggin of Dublin. Irish, 1850s. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery

A typical example of the Irish souvenir jewellery made from indigenous materials that became very popular in the period following the international exhibitions in London (1851) and Dublin (1853). The pendant is a harp of Brian Boromhe.





1853 (*Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*, p.53). These tourist souvenirs were mass-produced to fulfil an apparently insatiable demand.

Interest in the distinctive hardstones of the English regions, mainly from Yorkshire, Devon and Derbyshire, was stimulated by the founding of the Museum of Economic Geology in 1835, which reopened as the Museum of Practical Geology in huge purpose-built premises fronting Jermyn Street and Piccadilly in 1851. The object was to demonstrate the 'application of geology to the useful purposes of life'.⁶ Geological discoveries and mineral collecting made many previously ignored indigenous stones fashionable, resulting in small-scale local jewellery industries. Pink or dark grey fossil coral marbles (limestone containing coral fossils) were combined with malachite in jewellery from Devonshire (Fig. 495). In the famous jet region of Whitby, several of the manufacturers of jet jewellery also dealt in ammonites (fossil cephalopods), present in large numbers in the crumbling lias from which the jet was mined; these were eagerly collected and set into jewellery. An article in the *Art-Journal* in 1868 describes the 'Ammonites, or snakestones . . . worked up with the jet in many forms, the sections showing the chambers of the shells filled with calcareous spar'.⁷ Their popularity was fuelled by the magical associations of snakestones, which were reputed to be coiled snakes petrified by St Hilda, the Saxon Abbess of Whitby.

In Derbyshire indigenous hardstones were used for a form of inlaid work to be set in brooches and pendants. The fluorspar mines, which had been rediscovered in the eighteenth century and mined for the prized 'blue-john' (a corruption of *bleu-jaune*, its distinctive colour range), yielded fossil coral and red and black marble. The cultivated and artistic 6th Duke of Devonshire, owner of the mines, set up workshops to manufacture panels in imitation of Florentine hardstone inlay, examples of which were lent to the workmen from the Duke's famous collection of marbles at Chatsworth. Crosses and brooches were made, decorated with flowers and insects in different coloured fluorspars set into the black marble. The local material was supplemented with turquoise, lapis-lazuli, malachite, shells and glass.⁸ Queen Victoria visited as a girl in 1833 and bought a number of small ornaments from the cottage

495 Group of ornaments set with local fossils and malachite. English, Devonshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire, 1850s and 1860s. Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The brooch in the form of an ivy leaf cleverly exploits the colour and marking of the malachite to suggest the natural variegation of the plant.



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Queen Victoria's souvenir jewels, gold and indigenous stones. English, all inscribed and dated on the reverse, 1841 to 1853, supplied by Garrard, London. L. of top bracelet 18 cm. Royal Collection

Top: Gold bracelet set with stones from Woburn Abbey and other places visited on a royal tour of stately homes in 1841. **Centre:** Gold brooch set with three stones from Rapley (Rapley Lake at Bagshot), given to Queen Victoria by Prince Albert on 10 February 1853. **Below:** Gold bracelet set with stones from Windsor, Claremont, Brighton and other places visited in 1842.

where they were made: 'We walked to the Marble Mills and saw how they sawed and polished the marble. There was a little cottage where they sold Derbyshire spar in different little shapes and forms, and some pieces of marble too. We then drove home after having bought a good many things.'⁹

Victoria acknowledged one of the fastest-growing scientific interests of the age when she had souvenir pebbles from her expeditions and visits polished and set in bracelets and brooches. Albert's scientific mind is apparent in the bracelets and brooch set with stones from a wide variety of locations visited by the couple (Fig. 496). The stones are chosen to harmonize in colour and marking. Meticulous in everything to do with memory and sentiment, the Queen had these engraved on the reverse with the find-spot and the donor of the jewel. Others have not left such useful records and we can only guess the origins of the many Victorian jewels set with indigenous stones and fossils.

Baroness Burdett-Coutts lent malachite and Devon hardstone ornaments from Torquay to the 1872 exhibition of Ancient and Modern Jewellery at South Kensington. In 1857 she had acquired a second home in the town and met the local teacher and eminent geologist William Pengelly when she attended a lecture on physical geography that he gave at the Torquay Museum. She took up fossil-collecting and in 1860 sponsored Pengelly's collection of Devonshire fossils, which she presented to the new University Museum in Oxford.¹⁰ The Exeter firm of Henry Ellis & Son exploited this resource commercially, with patent 'safety-chain' brooches of locally mined silver set with indigenous hardstones. According to the *Illustrated London News*, Queen Victoria bought five pieces in 1848.¹¹ These local activities were unsustainable and eventually stone-polishing and jewellery manufacture shifted to centres of mass production like Birmingham and Idar-Oberstein.

Britons abroad

For the British, travel abroad had been impossible following the Revolution and the Terror in France and throughout the Napoleonic wars.¹² After the fall of Napoléon I in 1814 they descended in their hordes on the Continent, amazing the French and Italians with their insular eccentricities and their relative wealth and liberality. The general dowdiness of the English was widely remarked and their unfashionable appearance made them easily recognizable. In Paris in 1835 Fanny Trollope, mother of the novelist Anthony Trollope, noted the neatness of Parisian dress and the exquisite laundering of the trimmings, such as ribbons and lace, as well as the sparing use of jewellery, much less than was worn by Englishwomen.¹³

For well-to-do English travellers the Continent was very cheap; they could take lodgings and spend months in one of the great cultural centres like Rome or Florence. Travel was no longer the sole preserve of the wealthy, but was enjoyed by the increasingly prosperous professional and mercantile middle classes. For the cultivated traveller, the Mediterranean – and Italy in particular – remained the chosen destination, providing untold artistic riches in churches and galleries and in the studios of the living artists who made Rome or Florence their main arena of activity, confident of finding patrons among the crowd of modern Grand Tourists.¹⁴

Italy was, of course, renowned for cameo jewellery, bought directly from studios and workshops in Rome and Naples. The *Handbooks* issued by John Murray list cameo-cutters in the principal cities along with painters, sculptors and jewellers. Contemporary letters and memoirs recount, often in precise detail, the itineraries followed by many mid-nineteenth-century visitors to Rome in search of cameo jewellery, allowing us to follow some specific purchases. In 1840 the Ruskin family, John, future eminent critic, and his mother and father, embarked on an extended European tour, making their way through France to the Riviera and on to Italy in their own travelling coach. The journey is described in Ruskin's autobiography, *Praeterita*. In Rome a cameo portrait was ordered:

Among the living Roman arts of which polite travellers were expected to carry specimens home with them, one of the prettiest used to be the cutting cameos out of pink shells. We bought according to custom, some coquillage of Gods and Graces; but the cameo cutters were also skilful in mortal portraiture, and papa and mamma, still expectant of my future greatness, resolved to have me carved in cameo.¹⁵

Mrs John Thomas (Fig. 467) is wearing a shell cameo brooch of the Three Graces. A very similar shell cameo brooch in the Victoria and Albert Museum of the Three Graces, from much the same date as the Ruskin family travels, could indeed be described as a 'Coquillage of . . . Graces' in Ruskin's quaint phraseology.¹⁶ As to his portrait, Ruskin, along with many other subjects of the Italian shell-engraver, was unconvinced by his likeness, cut by Constantin Roesler Franz in pink and white shell: 'The cameo finished, I saw at a glance to be well cut; but the image it gave of me was not to my mind.'¹⁷

Two portraits of the celebrated Victorian novelist George Eliot by Samuel Laurence show just one item of jewellery, a large oval brooch in a plain gold frame fastening the collar at her neck. They date from 1860, when she became famous with the publication of *The Mill on the Floss*. Although it is not clearly legible in either drawing, the brooch is known to have been

set with a cameo of a bacchante acquired in Rome in that same year. Marian Evans (her real name) and her all-but-husband George Lewes arrived in Rome at the beginning of April for Holy Week. On Easter Saturday they went shopping, their first destination being to look at cameos.¹⁸ The cameo for the brooch was bought on 18 April at Neri's shop in the Piazza di Spagna; Paolo and Luigi Neri were well known for their production of fine shell cameos. The Leweses took it immediately to a goldsmith, C. Tombini at 65 via del Babuino, noted in Murray's *Handbook* as 'a good working jeweller . . . who can be relied upon for setting cameos, mosaics, etc'. Tombini was one of many *etruscanti* goldsmiths clustered around the tourist hotels in the Corso in Rome, working in a style similar to the more famous Castellani firm. The Leweses also acquired two little heads in cameo, an Ariadne and a Hebe, already set, for shirt-studs. The next day, as recorded in his Journal, Lewes spent the morning at the Saulini workshop, also in the via del Babuino, where he bought more shirt-studs.¹⁹

Shirt-studs were among the most popular of cameo souvenirs. In his 1885 manual on engraved gems, C.W. King reserves his most severe disparagement for the mass-produced shirt-studs that were still being churned out by a trade then in terminal decline:

Far from producing works embodying equal genius and commanding equal remuneration with the masterpieces of painting and sculpture, nothing of this elegant art now survives even in Rome, so long its favourite seat, except in the shape of a few miserable craftsmen – they cannot be called artists – who manufacture the small onyx cameo-studs so much in request with the visitors to that city – mere trade articles turned out by the dozen at least possible expenditure of time and labour.²⁰

A vignette of negotiation for a portrait cameo from the Saulini workshop emerges in the letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning to their intimate friend in Florence, Isabella Blagden. The exchange took place during the Brownings' stay in Rome in 1859–60. Isa (as she was known) wished to order a cameo from the Saulini studio and wrote asking Robert to make enquiries as to price.²¹ On 10 May 1860 Elizabeth warned, 'I shall begin to write until Robert tells me of the cameo, which from what we hear must be a much more expensive business than you suppose. He has gone to ascertain the precise facts.'²² The same day Robert reported, 'I have only a minute, to tell you that Saulini's price for a copy of the portrait in cameo is – 25 scudi for *any* size under the original, unless for a very small one, for which he would ask 20 scudi – and there is to be nothing at a lower price, – this is exclusive of the setting of course.'²³ The sum of 25 *scudi* was approximately 5 guineas (£5 25p). From the prices quoted in Murray's guides at the time it is clear that Isa's cameo was of shell.

Isa Blagden and the Brownings resided almost permanently abroad. For others, touring was still a momentous event and a considerable legacy of travel memoirs allows us to construct itineraries of commissioning and purchasing. Murray's *Handbooks* provide an interesting view of sought-after types of souvenir.²⁴ Jewellery is positioned as a branch of 'tourist art', with archaeological goldsmiths' work, cameos, mosaics and coral coming from Italy, enamels and seed-pearl work from Switzerland and ivory, onyx and woodcarving from Germany. The *Handbooks* indicate speciality dealers in local artefacts and crafts, satisfying the taste for local and traditional ornaments or 'peasant' jewellery, as it was still called (see Chapter 6). In

St Petersburg Murray singled out malachite jewellery and Circassian belts mounted with silverwork. According to Horace Marryat, Jacobsen of Vogumager Gade in Copenhagen made and sold silver jewellery of the Amak Island peasants.²⁵ A Continental tour produced well-crafted souvenirs; only later did careless copying and repetition debase the market. Until mass production in centres like Hanau in Germany took over, genuine local jewellery and personal ornaments could still be bought in their place of origin, although even as early as 1867 the *Art-Journal* was lamenting the Birmingham influence on Italian traditional jewellery (see p. 322).

In *Little Dorrit* (1855), Charles Dickens described Mr Meagles, inveterate accumulator of souvenirs and the travel curiosities popular with the Victorian middle class, as having:

antiquities from Central Italy, made by the best modern houses in that department of industry; bits of mummy from Egypt (and perhaps Birmingham) . . . ashes out of tombs, and lava out of Vesuvius, Spanish fans . . . Tuscan hair-pins . . . Genoese velvets and filigree, Neapolitan coral, Roman cameos, Geneva jewellery . . . rosaries blest all round by the Pope himself, and an infinite variety of lumber.²⁶

The diaries of Lady Charlotte Schreiber, best known for her expertise in ceramics, give an unmatched picture of Continental travel and bric-à-brac hunting in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁷ Lady Charlotte collected fans, antique lace, buttons, mourning rings, old steel jewellery and eighteenth-century paste (or what she took to be old work), chatelaines, buckles and bracelet clasps – both antique and modern – and local artefacts. In Florence in 1869 she visited the Ponte Vecchio to patronize Marchesini (see p. 322).²⁸ At Dresden, to her chagrin, she was caught out by an Augsburg silver copy of Luther's wedding ring, for which she paid £7 10s 'to a man called Thiene in Victoria Strasse'.²⁹ This was one of the most commonly faked items, and many Luther rings entered collections of so-called 'Renaissance' jewellery.

She bought jewels set with *minas novas* crystals in Portugal, and crosses enamelled in black and white. Her son Montague Guest wanted turquoise enamel and marcasite jewellery and she was sent off to Madame Brideau in the rue Lafitte in Paris to buy some. When she started collecting no one wanted such things, but her own activities drew attention to them and by the last quarter of the nineteenth century they were expensive and scarce. If a list of all the dealers and curiosity shops she visited were to be compiled from her Journals it would run to many hundreds. In one morning's work of seven hours she and her husband visited sixteen shops. The account of her finds is important to the history of antique collecting; the actual mechanics of travelling, the lodging houses, meals at the *table d'hôte* (considered very democratic for someone of her class), the great variety of conveyances and all the other minutiae offer a fascinating window on to the Victorian tourist experience.

Dickens's friend the Rev. Chauncey Hare Townshend, cleric, poet and ring collector and benefactor of the South Kensington Museum, travelled the Continent in a ponderous private carriage, fitted with numerous compartments, filled as Dickens reported with 'every description of physic, old brandy, East India sherry, sandwiches, oranges, cordial waters, newspapers, pocket handkerchiefs, shawls, flannels, telescopes, compasses, repeaters and finger rings of great value'.³⁰ Among the rings he bequeathed to the Museum in 1869 are a number of contemporary examples acquired on his travels, including a Polish political ring and modern cameo rings.³¹

In 1844 Ruskin was in Switzerland in his much-loved Geneva. He visited Messrs Bautre & Moynier, the most highly regarded source of Geneva enamels, in the main street of the lower town. Ruskin's panegyric comes from *Praeterita*:

Virtually there was no other jeweller in Geneva, in the great times. There were some respectable, uncompetitive shops, not dazzling, in the main street; and smaller ones, with an average supply of miniature watches, that would go well for ten years; and uncostly, but honest, trinketry. But one went to Mr Bautre's with awe, and of necessity, as one did to one's bankers. There was scarcely any external sign of Bautre whatever – a small brass plate at the side of a narrow arched door, into an alley – into a secluded alley – leading into a monastic courtyard, out of which – or rather out of the alley, where it opened to the court, you ascended a winding stair wide enough for two only, and came to a green door, swinging, at the top of it; and there you paused to summon courage to enter.³²

What follows is a detailed description of a certain type of transaction, probably paralleled in many of the highly reputed shop-studios for special types of jewellery. There is something in the tone in common with descriptions of visits to Castellani in Rome (the contrast being, of course, the 'moderate' prices):

Not a large room, with a single counter at the further side. Nothing shown on the counter. Two confidential attendants behind it, and – it might possibly be Mr Bautre! – or his son – or his partner – or anyhow the ruling power – at his desk beside the back window. You told what you wanted: it was necessary to know your mind, and to be sure you *did* want it; there was no showing things for temptation at Bautre's. You wanted a bracelet, a brooch, a watch – plain or enamelled. Choice of what was wanted was quietly given. There were no big stones, nor blinding galaxies of wealth. Entirely sound workmanship in the purest gold that could be worked; fine enamel for the most part, for colour rather than jewels; and a certain Bautresque subtlety of linked and wreathed design, which the experienced eye recognized when worn in Paris or London. Absolutely just and moderate price; wear – to the end of your days. You came away with a sense of duty fulfilled, of treasure possessed, and of a new foundation to the respectability of your family.³³

On their way to Italy in 1849 John and his new wife Effie stopped in Geneva, where they again visited Bautre's. Effie's description of their purchases suggests that she chose a serpent bracelet and matching brooch with diamonds and opals in an enamelled frame.³⁴ Bautre's was not the place for Geneva souvenirs, enamels of girls in their cantonal costumes or mountainous and lakeland landscapes.

These are examples of a still elite mode of travelling. Lady Charlotte and her husband showed fortitude in enduring the rigours of mid-century touring, but they were from the upper class and had no real constraints of either time or money. The innovation for the Victorians was to open up the possibilities of travel across a far wider spectrum of class and economy. News reporting and travel writing had the effect of bringing the world closer and



497

Three Swiss enamelled plaques set in gold brooches from a collection of travel souvenirs. Switzerland, 1860s. W. of brooch at bottom 4.2 cm. Museum of London, gift of Miss Caroline Nias in memory of Lady Nias

Top, a romantic landscape; *centre*, a girl in Swiss cantonal costume; *bottom*, a view of the Château de Chillon. This documentary group (Figs 497, 498, 500) collected by Lady Nias demonstrates the popularity of Swiss enamels, German carved ivories, 'lava' jewellery, cameos and Roman and Florentine mosaics. It shows that they appealed even to sophisticated and seasoned travellers. The items, reminiscent of Mr Meagles's treasured hoard imagined in Dickens's *Little Dorrit* (see above, p. 491), suggest an itinerary taking in Geneva, North Germany, Florence, Rome and Naples.

of opening up a vista of experiences. Victorian travel was powered by the steam age, with distance annihilated by steamships and trains; the more modest forms of travel became possible for people from nearly every walk of life. Thomas Cook, inventor of mass tourism, made his first forays in 1841 into managing group travel. These took the form of temperance day trips, which he believed would be a distraction from drinking. In 1851 he organized cheap excursions to the capital to visit the Great Exhibition. He went on to expand his sphere of activity to Paris and across the Continent and then to Egypt.³⁵ Ultimately Cook was to be blamed for ruining the experience of travelling with the tramp of tourist hordes, but politics and the march of progress had changed the character of the Continent without his assistance.

Popular tourist items survive in abundance.³⁶ A representative group of travel souvenirs was presented to the London Museum (now the Museum of London) in 1926 by the daughter of the original owner, Lady Nias, wife of the explorer Captain Joseph Nias (Admiral Sir Joseph Nias, KCB). Miss Nias gave the museum a gold bracelet, brooch and necklace set with 'lava' cameos of great Italian artists and writers; gold earrings set with onyx cameos of classical heads; and several brooches, among them a Roman micromosaic with a view of the Colosseum, a Florentine hardstone flower brooch, a German ivory stag on a stained wood ground and three Swiss enamelled and painted brooches, a girl in Swiss cantonal costume, a romantic landscape and a view of the Château de Chillon (Figs 497–8, 500). Before her marriage in 1855 Lady Nias was Miss Isobel Laing, a family friend of the artist Frederic Leighton, who painted her portrait when she was in Rome in 1853. In the portrait, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, she wears a fashionable blue silk dress, a large bracelet and three matching brooches set with cabochons. The jewellery appears more substantial than the conventional travel souvenirs itemized above.

The so-called 'lava' cameos provide an interesting case of marketing for tourists. Lava is a volcanic material with a rough pitted texture. How visitors were deceived into thinking that the smoothly polished cameos carved as finely as any in hardstone or shell were lava defies explanation, for they are carved not in lava but in a soft fine limestone native to southern Italy. One can only assume that the palette of muted browns, greys and greens resembled pumice, enabling the myth to spread that it was Vesuvian lava. As one account of Naples in 1888 put it:

Often mistaken for lava is a soft fine stone, found in the province of Salerno on the eastern side of Monte Sant'Angelo. It is easily carved, and susceptible of fine treatment in the hands of a skilful artist; while the variety of its colours adapts especially for personal decoration. It is a mistake to suppose that the stone is imported from abroad, and it is entirely a misnomer to call it Vesuvian lava.³⁷

The distinctive Roman and Florentine techniques of glass micromosaic and hardstone intarsia were perennially popular travel mementoes, employing a repertoire of images from Roman landscapes, the ruins of antiquity, subjects from early mosaic decoration and frescoes (as at Pompeii, see Fig. 411) and peasant culture, as well as exquisitely rendered flowers. As early as 1817 Charlotte Eaton noted the popularity of this form of souvenir: she found 'hundreds of artists, or rather artisans, who carry on the manufactory of mosaics on a small scale. Snuff-boxes, rings, necklaces, brooches, earrings, &c. are made in immense quantities;



498
Carved ivory stag brooch from Germany, 1850–60. W. of brooch 5.8 cm. Museum of London, gift of Miss Caroline Nias in memory of Lady Nias

The stag is mounted on a stained wood background.

499
Honest Labour has a Comely Face (detail), portrait of Emily Holman Hunt, by William Holman Hunt (1827–1910). Oil on canvas, 1861/6. London, Christopher Gridley

Emily (1836–1921) wears a large gold-mounted German carved ivory brooch and a pair of plain gold earrings. It is unusual to find these German ivories set in gold, as here, and this may have been done in London. L. Geismar & Co. of Wiesbaden, prize medal-winners in London in 1851, showed 'Ivory carvings for jewellery & boxes, subjects of the chase'.





500
 Collection of travel souvenirs from Italy. The cameos and mosaics Italian, mounted in Italy or England, 1860s. L. of bracelet 19.7 cm. Museum of London, gift of Miss Caroline Nias in memory of Lady Nias

Bracelet, brooch and necklace, gold set with 'lava' cameos of great Italian artists and writers (in the brooch a classical head); (lower right) gold earrings set with onyx cameos of classical heads; (top centre) Roman glass micromosaic with a view of the Coliseum in Rome; (centre) Florentine hardstone mosaic flower brooch.

and since the English flocked in such numbers to Rome, all the streets leading to the Piazza di Spagna, are lined with the shops of these *musaicisti*.¹³⁸

One of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's most treasured possessions was the mosaic brooch that she wears in her best-known portrait, painted in Italy in 1858 (Fig. 501). The mosaic depicts a white dove on a blue ground bearing an olive branch in its beak and below it the word PAX inlaid in gold tesserae (Fig. 502). After Elizabeth's death in Italy Robert Browning kept it until 1880, when he gave it to a friend and admirer of both Brownings, Clara Bloomfield-Moore, a wealthy collector and philanthropist of Philadelphia, who bequeathed the brooch, along with her art collection, to the Philadelphia Museum in 1899. Although unmarked, it was certainly made in Rome; the mosaic, with its Christian association, was



501 *Left*
Elizabeth Barrett Browning, by Michele Gordigiani (1830–1909). Oil on canvas, painted in Florence and dated 1858. London, National Portrait Gallery

Mrs Browning (1806–61) wears her mosaic dove brooch, which secures crossed black velvet ribbons at her throat, and four rings.



502 *Above*
Elizabeth Barrett Browning's dove brooch, gold and glass micromosaic. Italian, Rome, before 1858. W. 3.8 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, bequeathed by Clara Bloomfield-Moore

The reverse is inscribed 'Elizabeth Barrett Browning, 1806–1861'. The letters PAX (peace) are inlaid in gold tesserae.

among the most popular souvenir motifs. The exact date when Elizabeth acquired the brooch is not known, but it must have been before the winter of 1853–4 when she was offered a similar mosaic dove brooch by an American friend in Rome, Emelyn, wife of the sculptor William Wetmore Story, which she refused because she already owned a brooch like it.³⁹

With the fashionable taste for archaeological or 'Etruscan' jewellery, Italian goldsmiths' work loosely based on antique examples joined mosaics, cameos and carved coral in the souvenir market, providing a lively trade for the many *etruscanti* in the shopping streets around the Corso. A small group of souvenir jewellery in Birmingham Museum, purchased in Rome in 1870 by Mr McCracken, importer, of 6 Jewry in London, consists of a gold bracelet, with raised letter inscription ROMA, amphora-shaped earrings, a Roman pendant with relief flower micromosaic and a pair of Florentine hardstone earrings. Also in the Birmingham Museum are gold earrings with Roman glass micromosaics of winged masks from frescoes at Pompeii, bought in Rome in about 1860 by Mr Archer, a surgeon in Edgbaston.⁴⁰ In Naples, as in Rome, travellers bought direct copies of ancient jewellery (see pp. 424–5). Mrs Eustace Smith, another friend and patron of Leighton, who signed the visitors' book at the Castellani studio in Rome in 1881, already owned the magnificent Etruscan gold 'Ruvo' fringe necklace copied from an original in the Naples Museum, which she had bought according to her own rather

vague recollection some time in the 1860s (see Fig. 417). She bequeathed it to the British Museum in 1906, where it found its way into the Greek and Roman department and was naturally dismissed as a fake. It is an example of one of the most popular ancient models in the Victorian archaeological repertoire.⁴¹ The other Neapolitan trades were coral, tortoiseshell, 'lava' jewellery and shell cameos.

When John and Effie Ruskin were in Venice in 1849, Effie went shopping with her friend Charlotte to find presents for her family. She wrote to her brother:

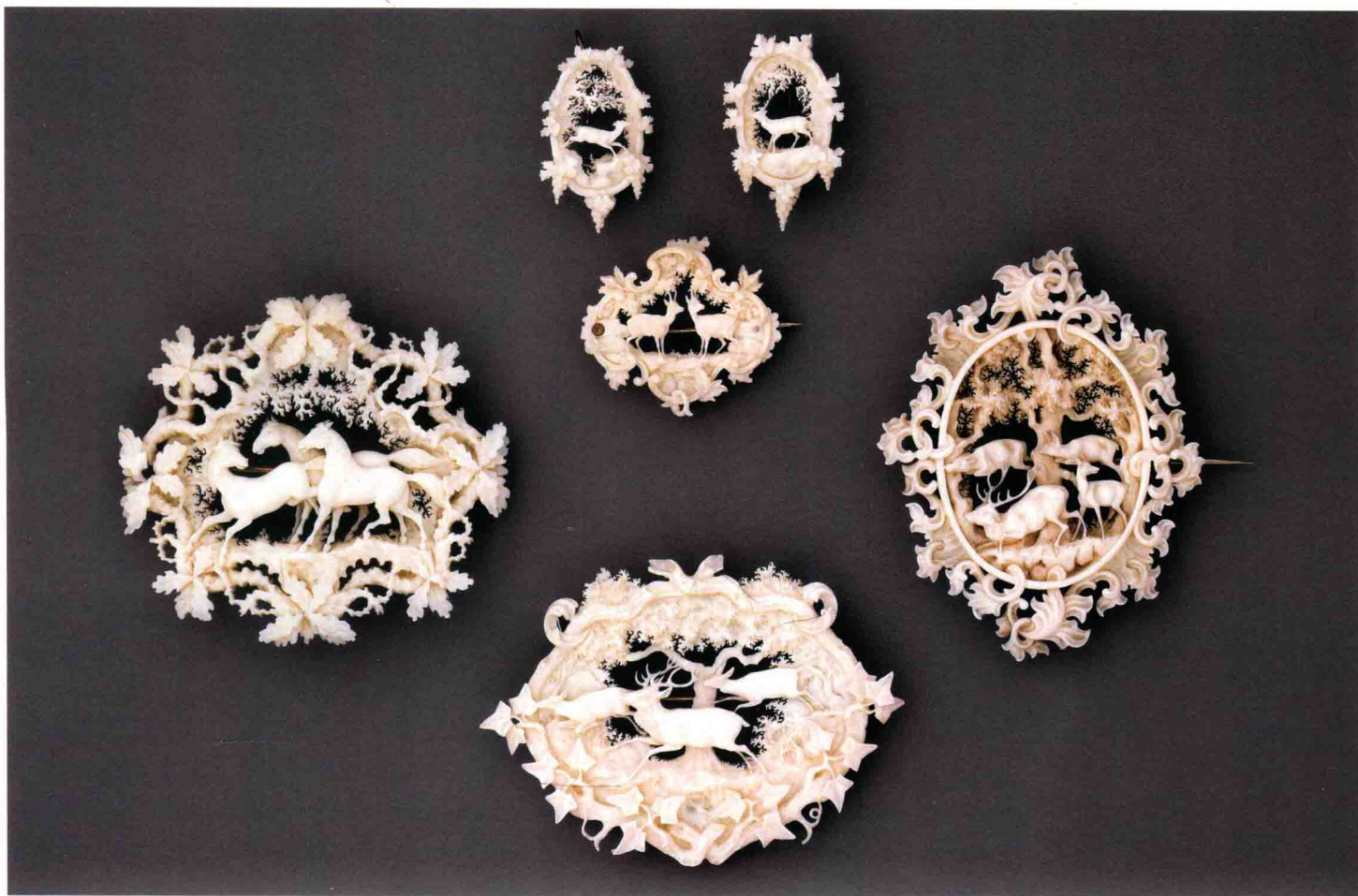
Charlotte and I had a great deal of amusement yesterday. We went out to shop alone and as in most of the shops they can neither understand German, English or French and only Italian which at present I only know a dozen words of, you may fancy the signs on all sides to get what we want . . . I was anxious to buy some of the pretty gold & coral necklaces with charms hanging at the end which I thought would suit Sophia, Alice & Eliza very nicely but I found them so dreadfully dear that I was obliged to give up the idea entirely.⁴²

503

Brooches, carved ivory hands and rose spray. German, about 1850. L. of hand holding a spray of roses and forget-me-nots 6.2 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

Ivory floral bouquets were a popular souvenir of a number of centres of carving in Dieppe in France, Chamonix in the Haute-Savoie, Zurich, Thün and Brienz in Switzerland, and Erbach-im-Odenwald in Germany, where single blooms and hands holding flowers were the speciality of Friedrich Hartmann and Philipp Willmann. Being colourless, ivory was sanctioned for mourning, and there is an overlap of subject-matter with Whitby jet floral jewels, but it was also popular in sentimental exchange and as marriage jewellery, probably the purpose of these hand and flower pieces with their roses and forget-me-nots. Quantities of ivory ornaments were imported into Britain.





These coral charms would have been the popular amuletic or votive carvings worn in peasant communities to ward off the evil eye. In the 1850s a collection consisting of hands (the pointing-finger 'higa'), arms and legs was included with the large group of carved coral loaned by Robert Phillips (who is listed in London directories under 'Coral manufacturers and merchants') to the display of Products of the Animal Kingdom at South Kensington (see p. 241). The charms were probably imported from Naples along with his stock of rough coral and carved pieces. Naples was the likely source of the 'charms' that Effie wished for in Venice.⁴³

Among the sought-after products of local industry were carved ivory ornaments from France (largely Dieppe), Germany and Switzerland. The exquisitely worked jewels from the small German town of Erbach in the mountainous Odenwald region, north of Heidelberg, are products of the school of ivory carving set up by the local count, Graf Franz von Erbach-Erbach, in the late eighteenth century to enhance the resources of the area. The jewels were shown at the 1851 Exhibition as examples of local industry and the numbers that surface far from their place of origin suggest a thriving export trade as well as local souvenir interest. Two types were produced, finely carved bow-tied flower bouquets and sporting souvenirs (Figs 503, 504). The brooches, earrings and cravat-pins depicting stags and horses among oak leaves with limbs and stems no thicker than threads, speciality of the Kehrer family, must have appealed to those with a love of the chase.⁴⁴ William Holman Hunt's portrait of his younger sister offers a rare depiction of one of these brooches in wear (see Fig. 499). Hunt was a great traveller but did not visit Germany until the 1870s.

504

Carved ivory brooches, stags and horses within wreaths of leaves and branches. German, Erbach-im-Odenwald, 1850–70. W. of brooch centre top 3.3 cm. British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift

The leafy wreaths surrounding the animal groups are carved in various historical styles – for example Rococo for the demi-parure of brooch and earrings – with the upright oval on the right imitating German Gothic stiff-leaf ornament from sources such as Martin Schongauer's ornament prints (see Fig. 330). There were many other German centres for carved ivory sporting subjects, with a considerable export business as well as the trade in souvenirs.

Americans in Europe

In this final section, shopping abroad is seen through the eyes of American rather than British travellers. American shopping abroad was on a grander scale altogether, at least in the middle years of the century, because the range of jewellery to be found in Europe was not yet available in America. American travellers were proud of their souvenirs, often preserving them down the generations with their history attached and presenting them to American museums and historical societies.⁴⁵ These well-documented groups of jewellery, an invaluable body of evidence in itself, along with memoirs and letters, provide enough information to justify such an excursus.

The end of the Napoleonic wars saw a great influx into Europe of American as well as British travellers, in spite of the length and danger of the Atlantic crossing. They were again to descend on the Continent in the uneasy period of the Civil War, when American liberals felt alienated from their country. The war (1861–5) had seriously impoverished many American families and they travelled and stayed in France or Italy because living was cheaper and social obligations all but disappeared. At the same time the emergence of a leisured class in America produced Grand Tourists almost on the eighteenth-century English model. They spent money on an epic scale to catch up culturally with nations that they were rapidly overtaking economically. They shopped for historic royal treasures like the French crown jewels (see p. 91); royal jewels were ultimate trophies for high-society wives. The experience of European culture became an indispensable social as well as educational asset.⁴⁶ They followed the traditional route across Europe, ending up in Rome, which in the mid-century supported a flourishing expatriate community of American artists, including the sculptors Thomas Crawford, William Wetmore Story and Harriet Hosmer. Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun*, written partly in Rome in 1858–9 and published in 1860, brilliantly conveys the flavour of the Roman art world as experienced by American cultural tourists at the time. Harriet Hosmer is a constant presence; one of her best-known works, *The Sleeping Faun*, inspired by the 'Marble Faun' of Antiquity, reflected the sculpture of the title.

Henry James's subject was Americans abroad. His novels describe the effect of the European experience on them and their response to it. In *The Madonna of the Future*, a short story set in Florence in the 1860s, Mrs Coventry, an American lady resident in Florence, is visited by the hero.⁴⁷ Her conversation had 'mainly an aesthetic flavour' and she was 'famously "artistic"'. Her treasures included a Giotto, an Andrea del Sarto and 'innumerable bronzes, mosaics, majolica dishes'; her most conspicuous ornament, which she wore on her bosom, was 'a huge miniature copy of the Madonna della Seggiola'.⁴⁸ James implies that this iconic souvenir would never have been acquired by a truly cultivated foreign visitor to Florence. His vignette of bad taste begs the question of propriety in reproducing the great masterpieces of the past.

Mrs Henry Adams, whose letters from extensive travels in Europe provide an unrivalled picture of the American cultural experience abroad, wrote from Rome in 1873: 'We went to Mr Story's [William Wetmore Story] studio, and oh! How he does spoil nice blocks of white marble. . . . He has a bust of Edith [his daughter], – square-cut dress with fringe, squeezed-in waist, neatly braided hair in fashion, locket round her neck with "W. S.," his initials cut in it!'⁴⁹

Owners of the jewellery were both *nouveaux riches* and members of old-established families in Boston, New York, Baltimore and other centres. The latter were often connected in



politics and business, and made up a close-knit cultural group with similar objectives and a consistency of taste in their choice of souvenirs. When Harriet Beecher Stowe was in Switzerland in 1853 she stopped, like the Ruskins, at 'the celebrated Bautte's jewelry and bijou shop'. She 'engaged a watch to be made expressly for her at 60 francs cheaper than the same quality sell for here and arranged for the setting of two cameos of herself and one of Mr Stowe'.⁵⁰ A collection of her travel souvenirs, preserved at the Stowe-Day Foundation at Hartford, Connecticut, includes a Florentine intarsia brooch, a Roman mosaic demi-parure and brooch with drop-shaped pendants, an ivory cross with a winged cherub and a pair of Scottish plaid brooches in silver set with cairngorms, bought for her sixteen-year-old twin daughters.⁵¹

For tourists from the United States Paris was the destination for fashion, Switzerland for the sublime in landscape, Italy for art. Their travel itineraries are reflected in souvenir purchases: the distinctive Geneva enamels, Roman mosaics, Florentine hardstones and Neapolitan 'lava' and coral. In common with the variety of their choices, items bought by American travellers were far above the standard 'souvenir' level. The objective behind all levels of travel shopping was that the jewel should be a reflection of a distinctive culture rather than a fashion item.

Consular appointments were a reason for residence abroad, and an opportunity for collecting the local art and other products. John Howard Payne, famous author of 'Home, Sweet Home', lived from 1813 to 1833 in Europe. He returned as US consul to Tunis in 1838 and spent two years travelling back to America in 1845–7 via Malta and Italy. In 1849 he returned to Tunis, where he died in 1852. In Rome in 1845 he bought a set of gold jewellery with 'lava' cameos for a niece, presumably Eloise Payne Luquer, whose descendant bequeathed it to the Museum of the History of New York.⁵²

In mid-century Italy the manufacture of souvenirs was still localized. Hiram Powers, who had settled in Florence, advised his wife, who was on a visit to Rome in 1847, to buy

505

Demi-parure, brooch and earrings, 'The Doves of Pliny', Florentine hardstone mosaic in gold settings. Italian, Florence, about 1850. W. of brooch 5.4 cm. British Museum, given by R. C. Kwok

This subject, popularly known as the 'Doves of Pliny', was used in souvenir jewels from many different centres in a variety of materials, for example, carved ivory as well as Roman and Florentine mosaics. The design is based on an ancient Roman mosaic found at Hadrian's Villa and now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, thought to be a copy of the Greek mosaic described by Pliny. The set is in the original display case for Giocondo Torrini, Lung'Arno Nuovo, Florence. Torrini was an admired goldsmith recommended to tourists in mid-19th-century guidebooks.

cameos and mosaics: 'I give you liberty to buy a few cameos to send home to your sisters, or perhaps it would be better to get mosaics.'⁵³ He intended to visit 'the mosaic man' in Florence, probably a maker or dealer in Florentine 'mosaics' (intarsia work of inlaid coloured hardstone plaques). Giocondo Torrini was prominent among these Florentine mosaicists, selling elegantly packaged souvenirs of popular antiquities (Fig. 505). Florentine inlay in a floral design set in a gold brooch by Giocondo Torrini of much the same date was bought by Nicholas Brown II, the American consul in Rome, in about 1846–9. It is incised in French on the reverse 'Par G. Torrini/et Cie/Nouveau Lungarno/No. 6/Florence'.⁵⁴ Murray's *Handbook* described Torrini as one of the leading Florentine artists in 'pietra dura' work.

One of the pleasures of travel in those days was the camaraderie. Travellers conversed, exchanged experiences and sometimes made friends. In Spain in 1879 Marion Adams wrote an account of a train journey to Granada:

Every carriage was full and we could only get seats with a family of four who seemed to have endless bandboxes and bags. . . . The family were a papa and mama, middle-aged and good-looking, and two quite pretty señoritas. . . . They were on their way home from a journey in Italy of several months, had bought jewelry at Castellani's which I was called on to admire.⁵⁵

Oddly, although Mrs Adams visited Rome and appreciated its artistic offerings, she does not otherwise mention Castellani in her letters, even though she was clearly familiar with his work. In fact, we learn from the correspondence of her husband that they were unable to find anything in Rome worth getting 'as we do not go deeply into Castellani's work'.⁵⁶

Among the Americans that Henry and Marion ran across on their Continental tours were August Belmont and his son Percy, a student of Henry's, and Mrs Jack Gardner (Isabella Stewart Gardner of Boston). 'Mrs Jack', as she was always known, and Mrs Belmont were not tourists in pursuit of souvenirs but buyers of fine precious jewellery and dresses from Worth. Caroline Slidell Perry Belmont, daughter of the Commodore Perry who opened up trading between Japan and the West, had pearls of such magnitude that they were said to be 'the largest known in this republic'.⁵⁷ Her portrait and the jewellery left by Belmont heirs to the Museum of the City of New York give little idea of the massive shopping spree undertaken by the Belmonts in the late 1850s.⁵⁸ Some of Isabella Gardner's finest jewellery is shown in her portrait by John Singer Sargent (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston). She is wearing her famous pearls and ruby pendants, bought from Hancock in London in 1874 (the first row of pearls) and Boucheron in Paris (the long rows of pearls at her waist and the ruby pendants) between 1884 and 1892.

Some years before Marion Adams's Spanish encounter, an early patron of the Castellani firm, the Hon. Mrs Edward Twisleton, bought a pair of ram's-head hairpins with ivory stems like those presented to Maria Pia of Portugal in 1862 (see Fig. 402). The pins copy traditional Italian (Romagna) hairpins in silver-gilt, examples of which are to be found in the Castellani collection of Italian peasant jewellery.⁵⁹ Married to the brother of Lord Saye and Sele, she was American, née Ellen Dwight, a member of the Boston upper-class intelligentsia, and one of the first to marry into the British aristocracy. She wrote to her sister from Rome (13 February 1853): 'Friday, I went, under Edward Perkins escort, to two jewellers' shops, where I was knocked into next week, by the sight of what things in that line are to be found only in Rome.



Has anyone a fortune which he is puzzled how to spend, and which he would like me to help him get rid of! I am the woman and this is the hour!⁶⁰

Given that these documented ram's-head hairpins were ordered from the Castellani firm in 1853–4, it seems safe to assume that the Castellani shop in the via del Corso was one of those mentioned by Ellen Twisleton. The pins retain their original display case and handwritten note of their ownership. Mr and Mrs Edward Perkins were Bostonian friends of Ellen Twisleton. She frequented the circles in Italy where the Castellanis were greatly admired, including the Brownings, William Wetmore Story and his wife, and Mr and Mrs Thomas Crawford. Her marble portrait relief was commissioned from Richard Greenough, yet another of the American sculptors in Rome, whose wife affected Grecian robes as she presided over her Roman salon. While they were in Rome the Twisletons went by invitation to Gibson's studio to see his 'tinted Venus', which Ellen could not really admire. A young friend in London observed Ellen, dressed for the evening, in 1855: 'She was dressed all in black – black lace in her hair, and a black lace waist and beautiful gold ornaments, and a little more colour in her cheeks. Indeed she was very beautiful.'⁶¹

Another Castellani customer was the American Mrs Lawrence, wealthy widow of Colonel Bigelow Lawrence and long resident in Italy. In 1881 she pressed on her friend Walburga, Lady Paget, 'a pair of ear-rings, which Castellani had copied from the Merovingian treasure in Paris'.⁶² These mysterious items have not been traced, but they may be Lombardic earrings with cloisonné enamel baskets like those in the 'Carolingian' parure (see Fig. 390).

A pair of Etruscan-style bracelets with an intriguing history, one set with a shell cameo signed by Luigi Saulini, the other with a Roman micromosaic of a woman in traditional costume, possibly by Luigi's mosaicist brother Pietro, found their way into the Metropolitan Museum in 1891 (Fig. 506).⁶³ The history of the bracelets is curious; they were presented by Vittorio Emanuele II of Italy to Maria Morgan, sister of the Irish artist Jane Morgan. Both of them were in Rome during the late 1860s and frequented the circle of Harriet Hosmer. Maria had an unusual career for a woman at that date, working as a journalist and, for a period of five years, taking charge of Victor Emmanuel's stables. When she returned to America she resumed her journalistic career as well as acting as a racing tipster.

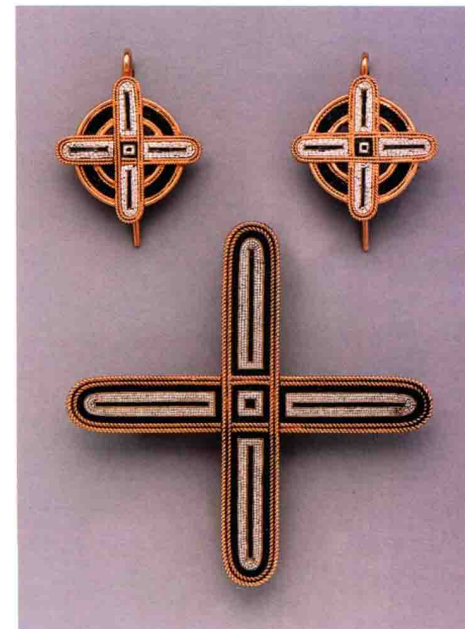
Mrs Horatio Lamb, wife of a Boston merchant and shipping magnate, with family connections to the American painter Henry Sargent (her sister married his grandson) and Abbott Lawrence, United States Minister to the Court of St James, 1849–52, was the owner of an elegant micromosaic and gold Greek cross set of brooch and earrings made by Castellani, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Fig. 507). Also in the Boston Museum is a gold fringe

506
Etruscan-style gold bracelets set with a glass micromosaic and a cameo. Italian, Rome, about 1860–70. H. of cameo 4.8 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Maria Morgan, 1891

The cameo of Cupid restraining a hunting dog (*right*) is signed by Luigi Saulini; the motif is evidently from a sculpture in the round, as indicated by the plinth, but it has not yet been identified. The micromosaic of a woman in traditional costume spinning yarn (*left*) may be taken from one of the popular prints of Italian peasantry.

507
Brooch and earrings in the form of a Greek cross, glass micromosaic in gold settings. Italian, Rome, by Castellani, about 1870. H. of brooch 4.9 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, gift in memory of Mrs Horatio A. Lamb, given by Miss Aimée Lamb and Miss Rosamond Lamb

The use of black and white mosaic in this simple and elegant design was perhaps derived from Roman mosaic pavements.



508 *Opposite*

Etruscan-style demi-parure, gold and Sicilian amber. Italian, Rome, 1879. L. of necklace 51 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Bequest of William Arnold Buffum

The necklace and earrings provide a setting for very fine cut and polished amber from the collection of the gemmologist William Arnold Buffum (1821–1901). His book, *The Tears of Helides: or, Amber as a gem*, was published in London in 1896. The bequest of his amber collection to Boston in 1901 came with the information that one parure was by Castellani, the other by Pierret, but both are unmarked.

necklace with amphora-shaped pendants of about 1860, attributed to Castellani and based on an original in the Naples Museum. The necklace belonged to Amelia Holmes Sargent, daughter of the jurist and man of letters Oliver Wendell Holmes, and his companion on his travels in Europe.⁶⁴

William Arnold Buffum, expert and collector of amber, designed two gold demi-parures to utilize his collection of Sicilian amber, particularly admired for its rich variation in colour. The parures were made in Rome, one by Castellani, the other by one of his principal rivals, Ernesto Pierret, a maker favoured by rich Americans. Buffum wrote a book about Sicilian amber, using a similar necklace for the frontispiece, which he named the 'necklace of Galatea'. The colour illustration in his book gives a vivid impression of the way Sicilian amber flashes colour in sunlight, an effect hard to capture by photography (Fig. 508).⁶⁵

The New-York Historical Society owns a number of items connected with the artistic, francophile Livingston and De Peyster families, founding supporters of the Society and prominent among New York's old families. They were related by marriage in the generation represented by the jewellery bequests. Frederic de Peyster, a wealthy New York lawyer and philanthropist, bibliophile and numismatist, became President of the New-York Historical Society. The De Peyster Bequest includes a matching set of pendant and earrings, with a large cameo of the popular 'Clytie' (Fig. 509). The gold settings, decorated with fine beadwork, are a fanciful interpretation of the archaeological style.

The Livingston family was prominent politically and socially from the end of the seventeenth century in the Hudson River valley in upstate New York. The architect Goodhue Livingston designed a number of New York's Gilded Age Neo-classical revival buildings, among them the St Regis Hotel. His parents' travels in Europe are commemorated in the casket of jewellery that he gave to the society. Among the items is a set of enamel jewellery from Geneva (Fig. 510). The set, in its original case lined with burgundy velvet, is a very high-quality example of Swiss enamelling decorated with Titian's *Lavinia with a Tray of Fruit*. It was bought from Moulinie & Legrandroy, like Bautte & Moynier, watchmakers of high repute in Geneva. The Livingston jewel-box also yielded Italian coralwork and Florentine inlay, again of very high quality (Fig. 511). The gold brooch-pendant and pair of bracelets have mosaic panels, each slightly different, of naturalistic floral designs in various colours of hardstone inset in black marble.

A glimpse of this souvenir culture at a rather different economic level comes in *Jo's Boys* (1886), the final volume in Louisa May Alcott's family saga which began with *Little Women* in 1868: the Bhaers' sailor nephew Emil has returned from months at sea bringing a selection of gifts for his cousins. These consist of a 'necklace of pretty pink coral' and a 'string of pearly shells on a silver chain', as he fancifully remarks, 'something the mermaids sent to Undine'. For Daisy, in love with an aspiring violinist, there is a 'filigree brooch in the shape of a violin'. Lastly, for his wealthy aunt Amy is an oval ivory locket 'on which was painted a golden-haired Madonna, with a rosy child folded in her blue mantle'. For Nan, the cousin training to be a doctor (still an unusual profession for a woman), he produced a 'pair of lava earrings shaped like little skulls'.⁶⁶

Lastly we offer a rare glimpse of European shopping in America, in the collection of jewels from New York and Hamburg, owned by Frau Helene Marie Antonie Amsinck of Hamburg, now in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe there. In 1866 Helene married Erdwin Amsinck, who ran a trading and banking business in New York where they lived until their return to Hamburg in 1874.⁶⁷ They were residents rather than visitors, which may explain the high



509

Pendant and earrings, gold set with chalcedony cameos of classical heads. Italian, probably Rome, about 1860–70. L. of pendant 11.4 cm. New-York Historical Society, Bequest of Catherine Augustus De Peyster

The cameo set in the pendant is the popular 'Clytie' (see Fig. 476), the nymph who turned into a sunflower, after the marble bust from the Townley Collection, in the British Museum from 1805. However, it remained a popular souvenir of travel in Italy in this version, which derives from an 18th-century cast of an intaglio by Nathaniel Marchant (1739–1816).



510

Demi-parure of brooch and earrings with painted enamels after Titian in gold settings, by Moulinie & Legrandroy, Geneva. Swiss, about 1860–70. L. of pendant 7.3 cm. New-York Historical Society, gift of Goodhue Livingston, 1951

The portrait heads are a freely interpreted version of the head and shoulders of Titian's *Lavinia with a Tray of Fruit*, about 1555, a painting that entered the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie in Berlin in 1832. The young woman is traditionally identified with Titian's daughter Lavinia (d. 1561). The Berlin painting must be the source for the enamels, since the pendant pearl at her forehead is not present in the other painted variants of this subject. This same image was used for Berlin porcelain miniatures. The name Lavinia occurs twice in the Livingston family tree at the appropriate date: Lavinia Clarkson Livingston, b. 21 December 1835, Hyde Park, New York; d. 2 May 1934. Lavinia Foster Livingston (m. Robert B. Livingston, 1798–1849), b. about 1809, White Plains, New York; d. 2 July 1876, Cincinnati, Ohio.





quality of their purchases, perhaps as wedding gifts. Among them are cameo-set jewels from Tiffany and a brooch in blue enamel set with a large diamond shown by Starr & Marcus at the 1876 Philadelphia Exposition. The purchases were made in the late 1860s and the 1870s, relatively early in the development of the American fine jewellery trade.⁶⁸ The items bought at home in Hamburg are conventionally fashionable ornaments of the day.⁶⁹

The import trade in souvenirs flourished in America as elsewhere. Tiffany was importing cameo jewellery, 'lava', coral, mosaics and fine enamelled Swiss watches. Souvenir jewellery was also imported in quantity for a very different market. A New York Gift Store, D.W. Evans & Co. of 1677 Broadway, advertised in *Harper's Bazaar* in 1861 'costly sets' of cameos, mosaics, lava, coral, garnet and turquoise, along with sewing machines and books.⁷⁰ By 1871 a survey of Christmas gifts in the *New York Times* (19 December) noted three different downtown stores offering a similar selection as well as tortoiseshell ornaments. According to *Godey's Lady's Book* (March 1878, p. 267) Genoese filigree was widely available, while Bohemian garnet jewellery provided a contrast to the Italian work. With the sharp decline in quality following the spread of mass manufacture, taste for such things more or less vanished. By the end of the century much of the work was no longer undertaken locally, but concentrated in the big manufacturing centres in Germany and even farther afield.

511

Set of brooch, earrings and pair of bracelets with panels of Florentine hardstone mosaic in gold settings. Italian, Florence, about 1860–70. L. of bracelets 20.3 cm each. New-York Historical Society, gift of Goodhue Livingston, 1951

This set is a conventional but fine example of the Florentine hardstone mosaic work popular with travellers to Italy. The survival of so many examples attests to its attraction for tourists over a long period. Countess von Hallwyl's suite of floral Florentine mosaics (shown worn by the Countess in Fig. 493) is as close in style and technique as to suggest the same workshop, with the choice of flowers in many instances being very similar.

NOTES

Abbreviations

A-J	<i>Art-Journal</i>
A-J Ill. Cat.	<i>Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue</i>
ASR	Archivio di Stato di Roma
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
EDM	<i>Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine</i>
GBA	<i>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</i>
ILN	<i>Illustrated London News</i>
J&M	<i>Jeweller and Metalworker</i>
JSA	<i>Journal of the Society of Arts</i>
LG	<i>London Gazette</i>
NYT	<i>New York Times</i>
Off. Cat.	<i>Official Catalogue</i>
Off. Ill. Cat.	<i>Official Illustrated Catalogue</i>

CHAPTER 1: QUEEN VICTORIA, A LIFE IN JEWELLERY

- 1 For details of Queen Victoria's inventory of Crown Jewels, see Twining 1960, pp. 187–96.
- 2 Many of these personal jewels remain in the Royal Collection: see Marsden (ed.) 2010.

The influence of Queen Victoria and her reign

- 3 See, for example, Munich 1996; Homans 1998; Vallone 2001; Plunkett 2003.
- 4 For a study of political implications in the intricate interrelationships of European royalty, see Feuchtwanger 2006.
- 5 The Court Circular was instituted by George III in order to counteract inaccurate reporting of his activities.
- 6 For a detailed examination of this topic, see Plunkett 2003.
- 7 'Our principles' in the *ILN*, 21 May 1842, p. 17.
- 8 'Chit-chat about art and artists' in *Art-Union*, 15 February 1839, p. 10.
- 9 For an account of the print culture around Queen Victoria's coronation and marriage, see Plunkett 2003, ch. 2.
- 10 The royal ledgers were made available to us through the agency of the then recently retired Crown Jeweller, William Summers, LVO, in 1993.
- 11 From 1843 the title of 'Crown Jeweller' was given to Messrs R.J. & S. Garrard of Pantons Street. The information from the Victorian royal ledgers comes from research undertaken courtesy of Garrard & Company in 1992–3, for a volume celebrating the Crown Jewellers' 150th anniversary; see Gere and Culme 1993. See also Bury 1991, *passim*.
- 12 Report in the *ILN*, 1845, p. 352, with an illustration. The term *bijouterie* must have been used deliberately here; it signifies jewellery of gold or silver with enamel or stones rather than *joaillerie*, predominantly of gemstones.
- 13 Lankester 1876.
- 14 Quoted in A. Roberts 1999, p. 795.

The girlhood of Princess Alexandrina Victoria

- 15 Buckle (ed.) 1926, vol. I, p. 11.
- 16 See Esher (ed.) 1912, vol. I, p. 75.
- 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 76–7.
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 75–7.
- 19 The 'féronnières' (sic) received by the Princess may now pass as necklaces; in fact, according to the Crown Jeweller's royal ledgers, much later as queen she prudently altered at least two of them. In 1856 one was lengthened

- and in March 1863 an entry shows 'Altering diamond féronnière into neckchain'.
- 20 Esher 1912, vol. II, pp. 116–18. On her birthday table she found enamel bracelets from her mother, the Duchess of Kent, and from her half-sister Feodore, incorporating the hair of family members; her aunts gave her a diamond brooch and a chrysoprase bracelet; the Duchess of Northumberland a filigree flower; the Duke of Sussex and the Duchess of Cambridge gold and turquoise bracelets. Examples of similar flower jewels with their original retailers' cases survive in the Hull Grundy Gift to the British Museum. The label in the lid of the Rundell, Bridge & Co. comb case (Fig. 3) has a royal appointment to 'Their Majesties', referring to William IV and Queen Adelaide and dating it to before 1837. With her birthday falling on 24 May, it was inevitable that Victoria would receive lily-of-the-valley jewels, the birth-flower for May.
- 21 Royal Archives VIC LB3/23 (1831–3), discussed by Vallone 2001, p. 111, with reference to the Royal Archives.
- 22 For an account of the significance of the portrait see O. Millar 1992, cat. 303. It was commissioned for her uncle Leopold, King of the Belgians, and it is still in the Belgian royal collection.
- 23 The Hayter portrait was engraved in mezzotint by J.C. Bromley and published by Colnaghi in 1834.
- 24 Field 1992, p. 33.
- 25 Vallone 2001, pp. 142–8.
- 26 Esher (ed.) 1912, vol. II, p. 126.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 179.

Queen and wife

- 28 See the *London Gazette*, 21 and 22 July 1837.
- 29 For the drawing of the bracelet and its history, see D. Millar 1995, cat. 5891.
- 30 See Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 301.
- 31 For the disposal of Queen Charlotte's jewels, see Winterbottom 2004, pp. 385–9.
- 32 See D. Millar, 1995, cat. 4245; additional information kindly passed on by Jonathan Marsden.
- 33 Whitwell Wilson (ed.) 1927, entries for 23 March and 11 May 1838.
- 34 *Ibid.*, diary entry for 25 January 1837.
- 35 For the appointment of the Ladies, see V. Watson 1952, p. 16.
- 36 Both in the Royal Collection: see O. Millar 1992, cat. 462, 305.
- 37 Barratt 2000.
- 38 'Engraving' in *Art-Union*, 16 April 1839, p. 52.
- 39 For the circumstances of the commission, see O. Millar 1992, cat. 813. There were two heart locket, one of glass into which she put Albert's hair when she first received it and which she wore 'night and day' according to her Journal entry for 12 November 1839. Her betrothal present from Louise, Queen of the Belgians, was a diamond-set heart locket into which she transferred Albert's hair, see RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ/1839: 12 November, and Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 313. Anna Reynolds kindly copied the Journal entries for us, augmenting the information given by Shirley Bury. The locket in the 'secret' portrait is half-hidden and it is difficult to be sure which one is depicted.
- 40 Esher (ed.) 1912, vol. II, p. 270.
- 41 Staniland (ed.) 1997, pp. 118–22.
- 42 *The Times*, 15 January 1840, p. 5.

- 43 *Ibid.*, 20 January 1840, p. 6.
 - 44 J. Roberts 2007, p. 2.
 - 45 Esher 1912, vol. I, p. 63.
 - 46 J. Roberts 2007, p. 20.
 - 47 For a detailed discussion of the dress and lace, see Staniland and Levey 1983.
 - 48 *The Times*, 11 February 1840, p. 4. This was not strictly true; as Lady Wilhelmina Stanhope (later Duchess of Cleveland) noted in her journal, she had on her head 'a very high wreath of orange flowers, a very few diamonds studded into her hair behind' (quoted in *Picture Post*, 29 November 1947, 'When a princess marries').
 - 49 These were Lady Adelaide Paget, Lady Wilhelmina Stanhope, Lady Frances Cowper, Lady Caroline Gordon Lennox and Lady Mary Grimston. Lord Alfred Paget, Adelaide's brother, had once been mooted as a possible consort for the Queen. The other train-bearers were Lady Eleanora Paget, daughter of the 2nd Marquess of Anglesey, at that time (as Lord Uxbridge) the Queen's Lord Chamberlain; Lady Elizabeth Howard, sister to the Duchess of Sutherland, Victoria's Mistress of the Robes; Lady Jane Bouverie and Lady Elizabeth Sackville West.
 - 50 Wyndham (ed.) 1912, pp. 297–8.
 - 51 J. Roberts 2007, p. 19.
 - 52 Marie Louise 1956, p. 152.
 - 53 A very similar design was used for the clasp to Albert's velvet-covered prayer book (marriage prayer book, Royal Collection, J. Roberts 2007, p. 18), given him by the Duchess of Kent on his wedding day. The design shows Albert's hand over the Queen's; the prayer book clasp combines wit (clasped hands as a 'clasp') with sentiment of the kind so congenial to Victoria.
 - 54 On the Prince's little finger can be seen the gold ring set with an emerald given him as an engagement present by the Queen; she wears a bracelet with a miniature portrait of the Prince by William Ross at the centre.
 - 55 For an example of the enamelled gold ring with medallion portraits of the Queen and Prince Albert in the Museum of London, see Murdoch (ed.) 1991, no. 289 and fig. 5.1, p. 39; for a presentation gold pencil case in the Victoria and Albert Museum with similar medallion portraits, see Bury 1982, p. 43, Case 7, Board D, no. 36, ill. p. 45, said to be a gift to Napoléon III in 1855 (M. 52-1971, previously accessioned according to V&A website as M.74-1967, the number given in Bury 1982).
 - 56 The brooch retains its presentation case with an applied label inscribed 'Sent to me by dear Albert from Wiesbaden Nov^r 1839': see Marsden (ed.) 2010.
 - 57 Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 303.
 - 58 Stoney and Weltzein (eds) 1994, p. 18.
 - 59 Fulford (ed.) 1961, p. 72.
 - 60 O. Millar 1992, cat. 532.
 - 61 Another *feronnière* owned by Angelica van Buren is preserved in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. See Fales 1995, pp. 168, 170.
- ### Costume balls
- 62 D. Millar, 'Quadrilles & all kinds of surprises, Queen Victoria's costume balls, I', *Country Life* CLXXVIII, no. 4599, 10 October 1985, pp. 1024–6; D. Millar, 'The prettiest effect possible, Queen Victoria's costume balls, II', *Country Life* CLXXVIII, no. 4600, 17 October 1985, pp. 1092–3.
 - 63 For strategies to position Prince Albert in the English court, see Munich 1996, pp. 29–35.

64 The significance of the genealogies is discussed in Munich 1996, pp. 23–54. Like their personification as Edward and Philippa, Albert and Victoria were sculpted as an Anglo-Saxon couple by William Theed in 1868 (Royal Collection). As Anglo-Saxons were both seen by the Victorians as the 'first Britons' and Germanic, they united the ancestry of the royal couple in the mists of time, further legitimizing Albert's position. On her shoulder the Queen is wearing a 'Saxon shield' brooch.
65 Gower (ed.) 1894, p. 397; the suit was copied from a portrait of the Pretender Charles Edward.
66 Souvenir lithographs of the *bal poudré* were published by Henry Graves & Co., London, 1845.
67 See D. Millar 1995, cat. 2323, for the costume.
68 This interest in the Stuart dynasty was shared by the Queen's youngest son, Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany. His collection of Stuart relics was donated to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by his widow.

Court jeweller, court dress

69 Comparing the information from the royal ledgers with press reporting of royal ceremony, particularly royal marriages, has uncovered the large range of suppliers involved in supplying the royal household.
70 For the history and chronology of the Garrard firm, see Culme 1987, pp. 172–5.
71 It is interesting to note that none of the principal suppliers involved is listed in the trade directories of the time as a 'working' jeweller. Where exactly the royal orders were actually executed is buried in the intricacies of the London jewellery trade, which operated in a complex but closely connected network of workshops.
72 For details of Queen Victoria's jewellery acquisitions in her early reign, see Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 299–329.
73 For a diamond and enamel set of angels' heads pendant and earrings see Welander-Berggren (ed.) 2000. For a popular version of the angel's head model, see Hinks 1991, p. 111.
74 Quoted in Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 321.
75 Erskine (ed.) 1916, p. 155.
76 The bracelet is illustrated in Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 298. The inscription is dated 1843, and so must have been put on in the New Year.
77 For Mary Hughes's Maid-of-Honour brooch, see Christie's South Kensington, 20 May 2003, lot 283. It remained in the family until its sale, still in its original square Garrard case.
78 Queen Victoria, Journal, 5 July 1848. Quoted in Hibbert 1984.
79 Whitwell Wilson (ed.) 1927, entry for 5 March 1848.
80 Mallet (ed.) 1968, p. xiv.
81 Hibbert 1964, pp. 201–2. Angelica van Buren (Fig. 18) is wearing the current (1842) version of English court dress.
82 Erskine (ed.) 1916, p. 171.
83 Esher (ed.) 1912, vol. II, p. 295.
84 For these protocols, see Paget 1923, vol. I, p. 92.
85 Advertised in *The Times*, 18 May 1846, p. 1. Before photography, waxworks were an important means of communicating the likenesses of famous people. See Berridge 2006.
86 Quoted by W. James (ed.) 1947, p. 159.
87 *Ibid.*, p. 160.

Victoria and Albert at home

88 Munn 2001, pp. 73–4.
89 O. Millar 1992, cat. 823. An engraving by Samuel Cousins was published in 1850.
90 Munn 1993, pp. 72–3.
91 V. Surtees 1975, p. 148. The parure of stag's teeth

and enamel leaves (see Bury 1991, vol. II, col. pl. 131, p. 530) is still at Blair Castle, in the Transvaal Room.
92 The popular version of *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, priced at 2s 6d. (25 pence), was immensely successful, selling 103,000 copies in the year of publication alone. For an account of the Queen at Balmoral, see D. Millar 1985. Commemorative pebble jewels begin with the very first married tours in 1841. Some of these survive in the Royal Collection, see Marsden (ed.) 2010.
93 For portraits copying the photographs by the German artist George Koberwein, see O. Millar 1992, pp. 135–6.
94 Gere and Culme 1993, p. 160. The brooch survives in the Royal Collection: see Marsden (ed.) 2010.
95 Munn 2001, pp. 86–8, pls 64–7.
96 The brooch designed by Prince Albert and made by Garrard, 1855, for Florence Nightingale, is in the National Army Museum, London.

Science and art: Albert's triumph

97 The Victorian collections are catalogued by O. Millar 1992 (the oil paintings) and D. Millar 1995 (the watercolours).
98 Hudson and Luckhurst 1954, p. 183. The society was awarded its Royal Charter in 1847 and in 1908 was allowed to call itself the Royal Society of Arts through a decree by Edward VII.
99 For Prince Albert's part in the workings of the Society of Arts see Hobhouse 1983, pp. 90ff.
100 For a detailed account of photography and its relation to the royal family, see Plunkett 2003, ch. 4, pp. 144–98.
101 Dimond and Taylor 1987, pp. 11–12, 216.
102 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
103 It also shows a rapid response to, or even anticipation of, Parisian fashion. In 1861 Félix Duval published designs for 'bijoux chemin de fer' and 'machines à vapeur' (railway and steam-engine jewels) incorporating screws, bolts and rivets. See Vever 1906–8, vol. II, pp. 267–9 (Purcell 2001, pp. 731–3).
104 Hibbert 1964, p. 207.
105 Quoted in Hibbert 1984, p. 84.
106 Quoted in Gere 1972, pp. 64–5. For the emerald belt, see J. Roberts (ed.) 2002, no. 299, pp. 336–7; for the large ruby, *ibid.*, cat. 300, pp. 357–8.
107 O. Millar 1992, cat. 827. The painting was engraved by Samuel Cousins and published in an edition of 700 in November 1852.

Exchange of visits with the French emperor

108 The Queen's very full account of both visits is published: see Mortimer 1961. This account of the Queen's jewels and dresses is taken from the above publication and, for the Paris visit, from Saunders n.d. See also Starcky and Chabanne (eds) 2008.
109 For the Timur ruby in Paris, see J. Roberts 2002, no. 300.
110 On the pencil said to have been given to the Emperor, see note 55 for the example in the V&A.
111 The sculptures were housed at Osborne and listed in the 1876 catalogue, nos 888–9: 1. 'an eagle-headed, winged deity, Nisroch or the fire-god, with offerings; holding in the right hand the fir cone, the emblem of fire, and in the left, the vessel of water, or basket'; 2 & 3 'A winged human-headed figure of a priest, kneeling beside the sacred tree'. The catalogue goes on to note that there are similar slabs in the British Museum. We are indebted to Jonathan Marsden for this information.
112 Morel 1988, p. 339.
113 Sala 1882.

The Hanoverian Settlement

114 See Bury 1988.
115 Fulford (ed.) 1961, p. 200.
116 Pakula 1996, p. 71.
117 Queen Victoria's feelings about the sentimental significance of white heather were so strong that she had a bed planted with it at Osborne to supplement the unlimited supply available at Balmoral.
118 Pakula 1996, p. 75.
119 *The Times*, 20 January 1858, p. 9.
120 For the history of the Queen's lace, see Staniland and Levey 1983, pp. 1–32.
121 Quoted in Hibbert 2000, p. 243.
122 9 March 1858; Fulford (ed.) 1961, p. 72.
123 1 April 1858; Fulford (ed.) 1961, p. 83.
124 Fulford (ed.) 1961, p. 153.
125 *Ibid.*, p. 341.
126 *Ibid.*, p. 341.

The widow of Windsor

127 The cost of a hair-worker attending at Windsor for three days was charged. Hair from Queen Charlotte, Queen Victoria and Princess Alexandra survives in the royal archives, kept against just such an eventuality. Queen Charlotte's hair was found by Queen Mary in a labelled casket. Queen Victoria's hair is at Frogmore House; Princess Alexandra's hair was kept in an envelope among the papers of George Whitford, employee of two royal jewellers, see Gere 1972, p. 247.
128 Baillie and Bolitho (eds) 1927, pp. 206–7. Lady Augusta entered the Queen's Household immediately after the Duchess's death.
129 *Ibid.*, pp. 239–48.
130 The entry is dated 5 February 1862: see Bailey 1927, vol. I, p. 125.
131 When she retired, Lady Lyttelton was presented with a gold and enamel bracelet mounted with five miniatures (her charges) which cost £30, according to the Crown Jeweller's ledger, 10 December 1850.
132 The brooch in Fig. 32 may once have been a stick-pin head, see V. Remington, *Victorian Miniatures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, London, 2010, cat. 93.
133 Quoted in V. Watson 1952, p. 146. All orders for court mourning were given in the *London Gazette*, see LG, 16 December 1861, supplement, and 31 December 1861.
134 A. Graefle, *Queen Victoria in Mourning*, 1864, Royal Collection; see O. Millar 1992, cat. 258.
135 Smailes and Thomson 1987, cat. 15, 21.
136 Marie Louise 1956, pp. 140–41.
137 Bailey (ed.) 1927, p. 196. 'Pin money' was a lady's allowance for her own personal expenditure; the term goes back to the pre-industrial age when pins were a great expense, but remained in use after they became cheap and common.
138 *Ibid.*, p. 175.
139 Fulford (ed.) 1964, p. 27.
140 For a full account of the Order of Victoria and Albert, see Patterson 1996.
141 Fulford (ed.) 1964, p. 54.
142 Battiscombe 1969, p. 36.
143 Quoted in V. Watson 1952, p. 159.
144 Battiscombe 1969, p. 44.
145 *The Times*, 3 March 1863, p. 11.

The Prince and Princess of Wales

146 Hibbert 1984, p. 173. The Queen had a unique version of the Victoria and Albert Order badge, with the Prince's head above her own (Piacenti and Boardman 2008, cat. 132).
147 A sprig of the artificial orange blossom from the wreath was kept as a souvenir by Queen Victoria, see J. Roberts 2007, p. 44.

- 148 *The Times*, 11 March 1863, p. 12.
 149 See Scarisbrick 1983–4, p. 57. The bouquet-holder was shown in the *ILN*, 28 March 1863, p. 357.
 150 *ILN*, 25 April 1863, quoted in Burton 1999, p. 76, with illustration, fig. 5.2.
 151 For a detailed description of the wedding jewellery, see Scarisbrick 1983–4.
 152 George Whitford, who was to act as liaison between Garrard's and Windsor for many years, was still working for Turner at this date.
 153 The hairstyle is clearly shown in her photographic portrait by E. Lange, c. 1862, *carte-de-visite*, NPG Ax24180. A number of these curls survive in the Victoria and Albert Museum, AP 29–1889.
 154 *The Times*, 11 July 1866, p. 5.
 155 Longford 1991, p. 133.
 156 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
 157 *The Times*, 27 February 1871, p. 9.
 158 *The Graphic*, 25 March 1871, pp. 264, 301.
 159 *ILN*, 25 March 1871, p. 281.
 160 The Queen's gift was reported as far away as Boston: see *Every Saturday*, Boston, 29 April 1871, p. 42.
 161 Baillie and Bolitho (eds) 1929, p. 217.
 162 *Ibid.*, p. 229.
 163 Waddington 1903, p. 11.
 164 The jewellery was given a full page in the *ILN*, 17 March 1888, p. 278.
 165 The watercolour design for the brooch is preserved with other designs in a scrapbook with the papers of George Whitford.
 166 For the Prince's visit and the subject of Anglo-American marriages, see MacColl and Wallace 1989.
 167 Articles appeared in the *New York Times* on 13 and 15 October.
 168 Comment from a letter to the *New York Times*, 25 October 1860; the ensuing correspondence between Tiffany and Messrs Ball, Black was very heated.
 169 See Craven 2008, p. 41.

The re-emergence of the widowed Queen

- 170 Quoted in V. Watson 1952, p. 177.
 171 Mallet (ed.) 1864, p. 2.
 172 Lady Lytton, widow of Sir Robert Lytton, Viceroy of India, who became a Lady-in-Waiting when she was fifty-nine, ignored the ban on keeping a diary, and it was later published, see Lutyens (ed.) 1961.
 173 Fulford (ed.) 1964, p. 106.
 174 Memorabilia associated with John Brown, Queen Victoria's Highland servant, occasionally appear in the salerooms and on the market. The items are conventional Victorian mourning jewels, very like those associated with Prince Albert.
 175 Reid 1987, pp. 131–2.
 176 The full list is given in Morel 1988, pp. 355–6.
 177 On 3 February 1942, quoted in Nicolson (ed.) 1967, p. 210.
 178 For the portrait by von Angeli, see O. Millar 1992, cat. 8. It was shown at the Glasgow International Exhibition in 1901 as her last portrait.
 179 Caunt n.d. (1997), p. 1.
 180 See O. Millar 1992, cat. 634. The portrait belonged to the Princess of Wales.
 181 The official 1897 portrait photograph was actually taken in 1893, at the time of the marriage of the Duke and Duchess of York (future King George V and Queen Mary): see Dimond and Taylor 1987, p. 68.
 182 Plunkett 2003, pp. 196–8. On this occasion the service of thanksgiving was held on the steps of St Paul's Cathedral.
 183 The production of these mourning jewels can be

followed in the royal ledgers: see Bury 1991, vol. II, pp. 664–7.

- 184 Marie Louise 1956, p. 116.
 185 Reid 1987, pp. 214–16.
 186 For details of Queen Victoria's inventory of crown jewels, see Twining 1960, pp. 187–96.

CHAPTER 2: THE ROLE OF JEWELLERY, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

- 1 Walpole 1845, vol. I, p. 73.
 2 For George IV's regal circlet, see Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 84, pl. 85. For Queen Adelaide's Grand Diadem as remade for Queen Victoria in 1853, see *ibid.*, p. 322, pl. 174.

Jewellery at court

- 3 For Mellerio, see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, pp. 231–52 (Purcell, 2001, pp. 320–44); vol. II, pp. 67–74 (Purcell 2001, pp. 524–8); Koch 1989/90, pp. 168–77.
 4 For an account of the Italian crown jewels, see Papi and Rhodes 1999, pp. 82–8.
 5 For the Winterhalter portrait of the Queen in robes of state, see O. Millar 1992, cat. 831.
 6 For a detailed account of the French crown jewels during the Second Empire, see Morel 1988, chs XIVff.
 7 Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 40 (Purcell 2001, p. 499). They were Lemonnier, Baugrand, Mellerio, Kramer, Ouizille-Lemoine, Viette and Fester.
 8 For Queen Victoria's detailed account of these visits, see Chapter 1 and Mortimer (ed.) 1961.
 9 See Nadelhoffer 1984, p. 12. See also Rudoe 2001, pp. 29–50.
 10 Frédéric Masson, introduction to the sale catalogue of Princesse Mathilde's jewels, quoted in Morel 1988, p. 357.
 11 See Morel 1988, pp. 357–61.
 12 Hegermann-Lindencrone 1912, pp. 32–3.
 13 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
 14 *Ibid.*, pp. 96–7.
 15 See Mortimer (ed.) 1961, p. 124.
 16 *A Portion of the magnificent Jewels, the property of a distinguished Personage [Empress Eugénie] . . . which will be sold at auction, by Messrs Christie, Manson & Woods . . . Monday June 24, 1872.* A full list of the jewels is given in Morel 1988, pp. 355–6.
 17 These and many other antics are recalled in her memoirs: Metternich 1921 and 1922.
 18 Carette n.d., p. 66.
 19 Christie's, London, 24 June 1872.
 20 An annotated copy of the sale catalogue is kept at Christie, Manson & Woods. The principal purchasers were Garrard, who bought a number of items from the emerald suite as well as the 'Russian' or sunray diadem, Phillips and a member of the Rothschild family.
 21 'A sovereign's jewels, sale of the trinkets of the Empress of the French', *London Daily News*, 25 December 1872, p. 6.
 22 See Vever 1906–8, vol. II, *passim* (Purcell 2001, pp. 464–802) for the sections dealing with the Second Empire.
 23 The character of the Parisian *demi-monde* in the nineteenth century is outlined in Rounding 2003.
 24 Henri Vever may have been influenced by the prolific journalist and historian Frédéric Loliée, whom he quotes in the popular two-volume publication *Les Femmes du Second Empire* (translated as *Women of the Second Empire: Chronicles of the Court of Napoleon III*) which appeared in 1907.
 25 For another portrait of Cora Pearl wearing the necklace, see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 309 (Purcell 2001, p. 775).
 26 *ILN*, 2 February 1867, p. 102, quoted in Rounding 2003, p. 243.

- 27 Worth 1928. Henri Vever traces the subsequent history of the pearls via the royal jeweller Kramer to Boucheron, where they were dispersed among other necklaces: see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, pp. 342–6 (Purcell 2001, pp. 818–20).
 28 De Goncourt 1956, vol. II, p. 846.
 29 *Ibid.*, pp. 347, 397.
 30 Langtry 1978, p. 204.
 31 Labouchere 1872, p. 303.
 32 Thoron (ed.) 1936, pp. 98–9.

The sale of the French crown jewels

- 33 For a detailed account of Tiffany's role in the sale of the French crown jewels, see Phillips (ed.) 2006, pp. 34–5.
 34 The watch has recently come to light and been recovered for the University art collection.
 35 Phillips (ed.) 2006, p. 51.

The long shadow of Marie-Antoinette

- 36 Rudoe 2001, pp. 45–6, figs 36–7, pp. 48–9; these date from 1895.
 37 Campan 1824; Bertin 1824.
 38 An expanded edition of Vizetelly's book was published in 1881. For the Cartier necklace, see Rudoe 1997, pp. 67–8. For a modern analysis of the necklace affair, see Pointon 2009, ch. 5.
 39 She lent a number of items to the South Kensington 1872 Loan Exhibition.
 40 The incident is described in Healey 1978, p. 207.
 41 For the tiara, see Koch (ed.) 1989/1990, no. 105.
 42 Jebb (ed.) 1995, p. 177.
 43 Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1962, cat. 90, 91.
 44 Munn 2001, pls 187–8.
 45 The necklace was included as plate 51 in Oved 1953, captioned as Marie-Antoinette's necklace. Mrs Hull Grundy faced considerable competition to secure it.

Trophies of collecting

- 46 Mitford (ed.) 1939, p. 313.
 47 Baugrand's display won him the cross of the Légion d'Honneur; he died during the siege of Paris in 1870.
 48 Dudley's most spectacular purchase was of a large gilded and silvered bronze mirror, designed by Albert Ernest Carrier-Belleuse for Ferdinand Barbedienne in the Neo-Renaissance taste. The mirror is now in the Bowes Museum in County Durham.
 49 Reported by Sala 1868, p. 221: see Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 252.
 50 *A-J Ill. Cat., Paris Universal Exhibition*, London 1867, pp. 271–2: 'There can be no doubt that the best work in the world is to be found in these two countries.' The English jewellery was praised for its solid well-made qualities while the French were acknowledged as superior 'in novelty, in design, in education and in fancy'.
 51 *A-J*, 1873, p. 152.
 52 *A-J*, 1873, pp. 342–3.
 53 Verrey 1985, p. 155.
 54 For an account of the 'Star of South Africa', see Balfour 1997, pp. 258–64.
 55 *Casket of Magnificent Jewels*, Christie's, London, 4 July 1902.
 56 H.W.F. Bolckow was born in Germany. He was a great benefactor of Middlesbrough, where he located his ironworks, and its first mayor, as well as being a patron and art collector. The information on Harriet Bolckow's jewels comes from the register volumes of the South Kensington Museum for 1890. Purchases from Phillips include French pieces such as the ring by Lepec (Fig. 63) and possibly also a diamond bracelet and cross by Boucheron (M.747 and 748–1890).

Jewels and etiquette

- 57 See Crook 1999.
 58 Simmel 1977, p. 189.
 59 Paget 1923, vol. I, p. 36.
 60 Elizabeth Gaskell, *Wives and Daughters*, London 1866, ch. 24, 'A Charity Ball'.
 61 Mrs A. Walker 1837, p. 393.
 62 Merrifield 1854, p. 85. As well as being an arbiter on dress and etiquette, she was an authority on early techniques of painting and applied art as well as costume. She translated Cennino Cennini's *Treatise on Painting* from the Italian, and she was frequently consulted on art matters of this kind.
 63 Merrifield 1854, pp. 85–6.
 64 Quoted in Weintraub 2003, p. 141.
 65 Bailey (ed.) 1927, vol. I, p. 245.
 66 *Ibid.*, p. 263.
 67 Charlton 1949, p. 198.
 68 Rudoe 1983–4, pp. 68–9; BL Add MSS 46153, f. 134, 2 Jan. 1871.
 69 *ILN*, 26 July 1851, p. 125.
 70 For further discussion of convertible diamond jewellery at the Great Exhibition, see Rudoe 2002a.
 71 The firm was founded (1851–2) with premises off Red Lion Square; they moved to Great Marlborough Street in about 1861, then to Warwick Street in 1899.
 72 The construction and mechanism for converting the Oriental tiara and the Timur settings is minutely detailed in the Crown Jeweller's ledger, see Gere and Culme 1993, p. 156.
 73 For a portrait of the Princess wearing the tiara with interlaces removed, see Field 1992, p. 93, top left.

The democratization of consumerism

- 74 Charlotte Bronte, *Villette*, London 1853, ch. 9.
 75 See Haweis 1878, p. 107; Laver 1945, p. 37.
 76 Veblen 1970, p. 119.

CHAPTER 3: JEWELLERY AND DRESS

- 1 For examples of trimming and embroidery on Parisian couture dresses, see Coleman 1990.

In and out of fashion

- 2 Carette n.d., p. 177.
 3 This was true to an extent even for the Princess of Wales and seems to be demonstrated by Lady Frederick Cavendish's references to jewellery in her diaries (see p. 103).
 4 C. Eastlake Smith (ed.) 1895, vol. II, p. 246.
 5 The amount of space devoted to fancy costume designs in magazines like *Les Modes parisiennes* in the mid-nineteenth century is an indication of their importance.
 6 For an account of the Queen's sketching activities, see Warner 1979; for the children's costumes see pp. 114–15, 119, 131–4.
 7 Information from correspondence with David Cordingly, formerly Keeper of Pictures at the National Maritime Museum; see also Hickson 1996.
 8 *Punch*, 1849, vol. 16, p. 186. Mr and Mrs Manning were condemned to death for the murder of a man whom they buried under their scullery floorboards. Eliza Manning went to the scaffold in black satin, which immediately fell out of fashion as a result.
 9 This subject is investigated in detail by Cummins and Taunton 1994.
 10 Reproduced in George du Maurier's 'Society Pictures' from *Punch*, collected in two volumes, London n.d., vol. I, p. 85.
 11 Verery 1983, pp. 34–5. It was already possible to avoid piercing; the following advertisement appeared in the *ILN*

of 11 January 1868, p. 39: 'Earrings without piercing the ears. Searle's patent earrings in fine gold, jet, malachite etc., are very elegant and perfectly secure. They are worn by ladies whose ears are not pierced. G.R. Searle (sole patentee) 23 Bedford Street, Plymouth. Drawings and prices sent post free.' The disadvantage may have been that these fittings would not bear really heavy ornaments.

Colour in dress and jewellery

- 12 Hyams 1957, p. 19.
 13 *The Times*, 11 September 1867, p. 10.

Black and white in dress and jewellery

- 14 *The Queen*, 15 January 1870, p. 39.
 15 For a detailed description of these mourning fabrics, see Taylor 1983, Appendix I, pp. 288–301. These fabrics were much disliked since they added to the many inconveniences of mourning in that the heavy black dye caused them to 'bleed' unpleasantly on to the skin when wet.
 16 See in particular Hollander 1988; Harvey 1995.
 17 Quoted in Askwith 1969, p. 105.
 18 Harvey 1995, p. 201. Jay's advertised frequently in the classified columns of *The Times*. They offered both fashion and mourning fashion, but there is no doubt of their position as the leading mourning warehouse.
 19 From the classified columns of *The Times*, 18 December 1867, p. 15.
 20 Classified advertisements from *The Times*, 26 November 1867 and *ILN*, 6 July 1889, p. 28.
 21 A watercolour design for a necklace very closely related to the Marret et Baugrand example illustrated here is given by Henri Vever to Alexis Falize, see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 329 (Purcell 2001, p. 795).
 22 Contemporary women's periodicals like the American *Godey's Lady's Book* and the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* instruct that French jet can be worn for 'slight mourning'. Whiteley's black glass jewellery was shown at the 1872 London International Exhibition, see *A-J Ill. Cat.* 1872, p. 47.
 23 For the French jet daisy head ornaments and butterfly pins, see Gere and Culme 1993, p. 163. The large group of ornaments is in the Museum of London, MoL, 36.49/21, 24, 29, 39, 45, 50, see Murdoch (ed.) 1991, pp. 46–8. The two-piece waist ornament in a pansy design, stamped PACKER on the back-plate, is evidently from Charles Packer of Regent Street, MoL, 36.49/25. The items were given by Queen Mary in 1936.
 24 The literature on Victorian mourning is extensive. For wide-ranging surveys see Morley 1971, Curl 1972, Taylor 1983 and Jalland 1996.
 25 The periods of mourning are given in Taylor 1983, Appendix II, pp. 302–4.
 26 *A-J*, 1856, p. 154.
 27 For the jet industry in Whitby, see Bury 1991, vol. II, pp. 667–80.

Artistic dress

- 28 See Gere 1972, p. 144, and Barnard 2008, p. 102.
 29 Mrs Merrifield cites the highly topical 1849 Vernon Gallery, a gift to the nation from the collector George Vernon, then on display in the National Gallery, and one of her particular recommendations is Charles Eastlake's *Greek Girl* (Häidi). Her book consists of articles published previously in the *A-J*, which explains the focus on the Vernon Gift.
 30 The posthumous auction of his effects in 1882 included many items of jewellery and ornamental metalwork described as Indian. The sale took place at Rossetti's house, 16 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea: *The Valuable Contents of the Residence of Dante G. Rossetti (Deceased)* . . .

conducted by T.G. Wharton, Martin & Co., Auctioneers, 5–7 July 1882.

- 31 For the Rossetti paintings see Gere and Munn 1989, pp. 110 and 118; Bury 1991, vol. II, pp. 471–3. The South Indian bracelet was bequeathed by May Morris to the V&A (Bury 1982, p. 135, no. 5). Similar examples were acquired by the South Kensington Museum from the Indian Museum, see Stronge *et al.* 1988/95, no. 91.
 32 A similar Norwegian marriage pendant is in the V&A (M.59-1939).
 33 Bury 1976, p. 98. See also Barnard 2008, p. 102, where the bracelet is identified as a standard South Indian type with monster-head terminals.
 34 The necklace was probably Ada Vernon's own; she is wearing it in another of Rossetti's paintings, *Regina Cordium* (1866), Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum.
 35 For the antique garnet jewellery, see MacDonald *et al.* 2003, pp. 189–91.
 36 The photograph is in Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections, and is published in MacDonald *et al.* 2003, p. 208. The necklace is close to an example owned by his wife illustrated by T.H. Hendley in the *Journal of Indian Art* for July 1909. The *Journal* describes the use of both green and coloured beads, recording that 'A short time ago, European ladies purchased necklaces of two or more strings of jade-like beads, which were cut at Bhera in the Shahpur district of the Panjab sold in large quantities by travelling pedlars or boxwallas to Europeans in North India and especially in the hill resorts, where people are easily tempted to buy anything that is curious.' See Hendley 1909, pp. 51–3 and pl. 37. How and where these necklaces were acquired is not known, but other items in the collection are well documented.
 37 Quoted in Howe 1967, p. 133.
 38 From Lady Layard's diaries, quoted in Rudoe 1983–4, pp. 59–81.
 39 *Young Ladies' Journal*, quoted in Flower 1967, p. 11.
 40 *A-J*, 1894, p. 155, quoted in A. Crawford 2005, p. 347.
 41 Ashbee 1893, pp. 247–9. Ashbee's choice of Cellini pieces to illustrate his book had by the 1890s been largely discredited or relegated to lesser, later designers.
 42 For Ashbee's jewellery see Crawford 2005, ch. 13.

Jewellery for men

- 43 Gower 1894, p. 275.
 44 For Disraeli's renunciation of jewellery, see Bradford 1982, p. 10. Later fops were known as mashers or swells, meaning showily dressed and puffed-up.
 45 Holme 1965, pp. 108–9. For a double cravat-pin, gold with turquoises, containing the hair of the Prince Regent (George IV) in the Museum of London, see Murdoch (ed.) 1991, no. 283, col. pl. 12.
 46 See, for example, the Camondo Collection of cravat-pins in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs: Gary (ed.) 1992.
 47 Anon n.d., pp. 139–40. We owe this interesting reference to Ann Eatwell of the V&A.
 48 Classified advertising column of *The Times*, 26 March 1866, p. 16.
 49 See a portrait photograph by Camille Silvy of the Prince of Wales, 20 June 1861, National Portrait Gallery, London, no. 6830.
 50 Paoli 1911.
 51 The watch-chain is discussed by Rudoe 1986, pp. 22–32.
 52 The watch-chain with its watch and pendants was bequeathed to the British Museum in 1922; it was later stolen and has never been recovered.

53 The episode is recounted in full in Londonderry 1958, pp. 287–9.

Sporting and gaming costume and jewellery

- 54 *The Times*, 28 September 1872, p. 10, describing Hancock's stand at the International Exhibition of 1872.
- 55 Hyams 1957, p. 56.
- 56 Gere *et al.* 1984, vol. II, p. 267, fig. 96 (cat. 989).
- 57 *The Graphic*, 7 January 1871, p. 3.
- 58 Evans 1966, pp. 52–3.
- 59 For the playing-card studs see EDM, 1 April 1869, p. 211 and 1 November 1869, p. 261; sleeve-links with 'the queen of spades and the knave of diamonds – worth forty at bezique – and considered a talisman by gamblers and superstitious ladies.'
- 60 For a cricket bat pencil in the Museum of London, see Murdoch 1991 (ed.), no. 375, dating probably from the 1880s, when other cricket designs are to be found in the Design Registration volumes at the National Archives, for example in 1882, a brooch with a cricket bat and wicket (National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/53, no. 383755, 19 July 1882); for the football brooch, see National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/43, no. 316558, 22 November 1877.
- 61 Girouard 1981, p. 232. In chapter 15 of this important survey Girouard analyses the chivalric background to competitive sport.
- 62 See, for example, J&M, 1 November 1885, p. 313, reporting on 'American fashions in Jewellery: The racing season each year is marked by a greater or less number of articles in jewellery representing suggestive subjects. The jockey cap, for instance, appears on scarf pins for gentlemen, and ribbon pins for ladies, enamelled with the colours of celebrated stables.'
- 63 Girouard 1981, p. 238: 'Being a sportsman, being a gentleman and being chivalrous were such overlapping concepts that it is scarcely surprising to find sport using terms and practices derived from chivalry.'
- 64 For a full account of Oby's life and work, see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, pp. 313–32 (Purcell 2001, pp. 401–20).
- 65 Hegermann-Lindenchrone 1912, pp. 32–3.
- 66 Névillé is a somewhat shadowy figure who worked as a designer for both Duponchel and Morel in the 1840s and 1850s, and as a sculptor for the cabinet-maker Fourdinois. For Névillé, see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, pp. 266–7, and p. 276 for the watch-chain (Purcell 2001, pp. 352–4, and p. 370 for the watch-chain). For the BM chain, see Gere *et al.* 1984, p. 786.
- 67 R.S. Surtees, *Mr Sponge's Sporting Tour*, 1852, p. 86. 'Mosaic' gold is imitation gold, see p. 200.
- 68 See Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 800 (fox and spur), nos 798–9 (pins with great dane and pug) and 801–2 (set of studs and tie-pin with bulldogs and bull terriers), all illustrated in colour in Johns 2008, pp. 115, 181, 176–7.
- 69 Information kindly supplied by Helmut Bessmer, reversed crystal intaglio cutter in Idar-Oberstein.
- 70 See Davenport 1978, pp. 1662–4.
- 71 For *bijoux hippiques*, see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, pp. 269–72 (Purcell 2001, pp. 742–4), with illustration of a group of equestrian cravat-pins designed by Jacques Petit (Purcell 2001, p. 735).
- 72 EDM, 1 August 1870, p. 107.
- 73 *JSA* 20, 4 October 1872, p. 877. Perhaps the writer had seen something resembling the necklace in a Streeter case with bridles, bits, saddles and stirrups meshed together like trophies (sold Sotheby's London, 17 June 1996, lot 95).
- 74 A-J, 1872, p. 43.
- 75 Montague Guest, younger son of Lady Charlotte

- Schreiber and brother of Lady Layard, gave his collection of tokens, badges and passes to the British Museum in 1907. The earlier items were the subject of a published catalogue in 1930, but the late nineteenth-century sporting badges were not included and as a result have remained little studied. They are now held in the Department of Coins and Medals (MG 1566–2040).
- 76 For archery and other diversions at Compiègne, see Christiansen 1994, pp. 32ff.
- 77 See *The Times*, 28 May 1862, p. 9; this is very different from an 1834 reference to a Grand Archery Meeting 'for the nobility and gentry'.
- 78 The Thornhill archery belt was advertised in *The Queen* in 1884, see Cummins and Taunton 1994, pp. 232–3; these authors have done a remarkable job in finding illustrations of archery belt-chataines from 1834 onwards. W.P. Frith's painting *The Fair Toxophilites* of 1872 (Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter) shows three women in elegant archery costume with substantial belt-chataines supporting the requisite accessories.
- 79 The archery bracelet given by the Queen in 1839 is in the V&A (Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 302, col. pl. 77). The silver brooch is in the Hull Grundy Gift to Norwich Castle Museum (335.1.978); it bears the initials FAS, probably those of the archery society that awarded the prize.
- 80 For a gold brooch in the form of a sculling punt, see Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 807.
- 81 J&M, 1 April 1888, p. 97. The biographer Isaac Walton (1593–1683) is best known for his discourse on fishing, *The Compleat Angler* of 1653.
- 82 For the salmon fly brooches, see Fales 1995, pp. 365 and 363, col. pl. 217; for the Tiffany crystal intaglio, see Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 558, col. pl. 292.
- 83 Croquet was tried at Compiègne, but the rules were too complicated; Lillie Moulton's description of her attempt to introduce croquet is quoted in Christiansen 1994, p. 32.
- 84 National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/35, no. 280032–34, registered by the Birmingham firm of Robert Perkins, 24 January 1874.
- 85 *Godey's Lady's Book*, September 1876, p. 294.
- 86 For the rackets dress-holder, see National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/41, no. 300712, 18 May 1876; for the Taylor crossed rackets, see vol. no. BT 43/47, no. 355090.
- 87 The Hull Grundy Gift to Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, includes a gold racket brooch with pearl ball (HG 435).
- 88 A brooch with hand and racket in jet is also in Glasgow (HG 558).
- 89 See 'Bicycle and Tricycle Show', *The Times*, 30 January 1883, p. 7.
- 90 For a penny-farthing cravat-pin, see Carter 1986, no. 186. For silver bicycle brooches dating from c. 1886–1906, see *ibid.*, nos 187–91.
- 91 *Punch*, 16 October 1875, p. 156 (Sambourne cartoon); 16 December 1875, unpaginated. Almanack for 1876 ('Rink Tennis'); 1 January 1876, p. 284 (skate figures); 5 February 1876, p. 30 ('Practising for the Westminster rink').
- 92 The roller-skate design was registered by John Wall of Birmingham, see National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/38, no. 292328.
- 93 See *Jewelers' Circular*, 1880, advertisement for hair-work jewellery by O. Schwenke of New York, unpaginated.
- 94 The Montreal trade catalogue is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Prints and Drawings Department, 50.588.3, from a collection of manufacturers' trade catalogues purchased from the income of the Whittelsey Fund.

95 Curling originated in Scotland and was brought to North America by the British in the eighteenth century. The first North American club was founded in Montreal in 1807. The use of snow-shoes also dates from the eighteenth century and the first Montreal snow-shoe club dates from 1840. The shoes were of white ash framed with raw-hide lacing. 96 *JSA* 20, 4 October 1872, p. 879.

Enter the 'New Woman'

- 97 The case-maker, Harker & Betteridge (1869–80), is identified by a blind-stamp under the hinge at the back.
- 98 *The Artist*, 1 November 1880, p. 345.

CHAPTER 4: THE LANGUAGE OF JEWELLERY

- 1 Holme 1965, p. 118. Flora Macdonald was the heroine who rowed Bonnie Prince Charlie 'over the sea to Skye'.
- 2 Quoted in Bliss 1950, pp. 179–80; see also Holme 1965, p. 118.
- 3 Bliss 1950, p. 283.

Gem-lore in Victorian jewel 'language'

- 4 Emanuel 1865.
- 5 Billing 1867 (second expanded edition 1875).
- 6 E.W. Streeter 1877; E.W. Streeter 1882.
- 7 The story of the Koh-i-noor has been told many times; it is succinctly told by Balfour 1997, pp. 154–73.
- 8 See J. Sutherland 1999, pp. xi–xx. For detailed histories of the various diamonds, see Balfour 1997, pp. 81–6 (Darya-i-noor), pp. 195–200 (Orlov), pp. 112–13 (Great Moghul). The Darya-i-noor is not the same stone as the Durra-i-noor shown in 1851 (see p. 262).
- 9 E.W. Streeter 1877, pp. 19ff. See also Emanuel 1867, pp. 33–47. Some of these names are now obsolete. Chrysolite is now called chrysoberyl, and sard has replaced sardius. Jacinth was used mainly for hessonite garnet along with other orange-red stones.
- 10 See P. Streeter 1993, p. 74.
- 11 See Munn 1984, p. 130, pls 141–2, and for Carlo Giuliano's bracelet with coloured gemstones and enamel itemizing the stones used in the building of Paradise from the *Book of Revelation*, and Carlo and Arthur Giuliano's bracelet in coloured gemstones and enamel itemizing the birthstones with their month, see Sotheby's, New York, 6 December 2006, lots 84–5.
- 12 King published a translation of Marbode's text, rendered into rhyming couplets (London 1860).
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 310.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 424.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 327.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 140.
- 17 E.W. Streeter 1877, p. 170.
- 18 V. Surtees 1975, p. 150.
- 19 The prolonged negotiations are followed in detail in the letters of Lady Canning, daughter of Lord and Lady Stuart de Rothesay and Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Victoria, see V. Surtees 1975, pp. 76–85.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 150. The 'Coiffeur's Pomade' suggests that the turquoises were set as a hair ornament.
- 21 King 1865, p. 424.
- 22 Battiscombe 1943, p. 91. Miss Yonge is wearing the brooch in a portrait photograph of about 1858.
- 23 Horner 1933, pp. 121–2.
- 24 Report in the *Washington Post*, 1 February 1889, p. 7. We are grateful to David A. Taylor for bringing this item to our attention.

Messages and devices

- 25 For the popularity of the Tassie gems, see J.M. Gray 1894. For the best recent account see J. Smith 1995.
- 26 A ring with this motto is in the Hull Grundy Gift to

Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow (HG 87; the ring bears French maker's marks). Other published mottoes are found on surviving jewels, mainly small and suited to suspending from a chain or bracelet. Sentimental inscriptions in French, reflecting the old upper-class usage of punctuating conversation with French phrases, had largely died out by the 1860s and a more democratic consumer base regarded the use of French as insincere.

27 See Gere *et al.* 1984, cats 549–58, 648–50; cat. 549 has a dated inscription for 1850.

28 Quoted in Scarisbrick 1989, p. 125.

29 See Luthi 1998, pp. 32–4.

30 EDM, February 1874, p. 90.

31 *Godey's Lady's Book*, April 1878, p. 356.

Celebrating events

32 Mrs Burke's book was largely taken from Madame de la Tour's *Le Langage des Fleurs*, Paris 1845.

33 Antrim 1887, pp. 89–90.

34 Fairfax-Lucy 1958, p. 283.

35 Fulford (ed.) 1961, p. 182.

36 Bury 1984, p. 16.

37 Bailey (ed.) 1927, vol. I, pp. 210ff.

38 Mimpriss, a long-established jeweller and goldsmith in Davies Street, survived into the twentieth century.

39 *The Locketomaniac*, a cartoon by Alfred Thomas in *London Society*, 1870; see Phillips 2008, p. 90.

The cult of hair work

40 For the use of hair in jewellery, see Bury 1985, pp. 33–46; Bury 1991, vol. II, ch. XV, pp. 680–98; Luthi 1998. An advertisement in the *ILN*, 18 January 1868, p. 62, offers: 'Hair jewellery for birthday presents. Gold-mounted hair rings from 6s.6d. Gold lockets from 5s. Hair Alberts from 5s. Hair chains 5s. Hoopers, Charles Street Oxford Street, London W.'

41 For George Dewdney, see Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 686, 692. The advertisements continued in *The Times* until at least 1878. Dewdney had begun to advertise photographs in 1856 (see *The Times*, 8 April, p. 1).

42 The Dewdney and Davorens advertisements appeared in *The Times*, 9 December 1853, p. 11.

43 *Punch*, 1845; quoted in Adburgham 1961. The fear of alien hair was very real; imports from Alsace, where it was sold at an annual hair market largely for use as false curls, reached very high levels in the 1870s. Brittany was another favoured source, see Chanlot 1986a, pp. 39–42.

44 H. Vizetelly 1893, p. 294. Vizetelly gives a detailed account of the trade in hair, mostly in connection with false hairpieces, pp. 289–95.

45 The most succinct account of this class of jewellery is by Zick 1980.

46 A facsimile with notes of the 20-page album, discovered still in the possession of Lehzen's family, was published by the antiquarian book-dealer Siegfried Hirsch in 2001: see Blankart and Hirsch 2001. As reported in *The Times* on 14 March 2005, the album was subsequently sold at auction, attracting a fierce bidding war amongst supposed descendants of the Queen, who wished to abstract hairs for DNA testing. It fetched €70,000.

47 Quoted in Vallone 2001, pp. 139–40.

48 See p. 48 and Mortimer (ed.) 1961, p. 55.

49 See Jalland 1996, p. 299.

50 See Gere 1972, p. 247.

51 For the Queen's bracelet, see Marsden (ed.) 2010.

52 See: 'Hairwork' in *The Ladies' Companion*, vol. 2, June–December, pp. 44–6, 61–4.

53 See Bury 1985, pl. 29. For hairwork in France see Chanlot 1986a and Chanlot 1986b. More recent publications include Peters (ed.) 1995, and Bell 1998.

54 For Forrer in 1851, see *ILN*, 4 October, p. 432; *Off. Ill. Cat.*, UK, Class 23, no. 99, p. 689. Examples are included in the *A-J Ill. Cat.*, London 1862, p. 173. A pair of heart pendants of braided hair in a box from Antoni Forrer is in Norwich Castle Museum, 407.576.1.978.

55 See Marchesseau (ed.) 2000, nos 127–34, pp. 90–91 and Chanlot 1986a, pp. 59–67.

56 *Drawings of Hair Jewels and Mementoes*, 1851, see Bury 1991, vol. II, pl. 369.

57 See Sotheby's London, 28 April 1999, lots 381–2. Edouart (1789–1861) came to England as a refugee and initially supported himself teaching French and making portraits from hair. He subsequently revived the art of silhouette portraits.

58 Dinapore (now Danapur) in Bihar, north-east India, had been a base for the East India Company since 1757. Officials of the British Raj and their families continued to live there after the Indian Mutiny in 1857; see Johns 2008, pp. 194–5. 59 The gravestone is described by Beavan 1896, p. 17. 60 A pair of lapel studs, one with a brooch fitting, set with reversed crystal intaglio portraits of dog's heads, a pug and a collie, in the Museum of London, may include the memorial portrait of Gypsey, ordered from Garrard by the Prince of Wales. The studs were given by Queen Mary in 1936, MoL 36.42/18, 19 (Murdoch (ed.) 1991, no. 241, not illustrated).

Botanical jewellery

61 Evans 1931.

62 See *ILN*, 26 July 1851, p. 113.

63 See Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 125 (Purcell 2001, p. 187). The bouquet was described as the property of the Duchesse de Berri, having been confused with one made by Bapst for the Duchesse d'Angoulême: Morel 1988, p. 313, pp. 341–2.

64 The story of Massin's involvement with the Viette diadem and his visit to London is related in Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 215–19 (Purcell 2001, pp. 687–92). The visit took place after Massin had completed the diadem.

65 Vever 1906–8, vol. II, pp. 227 (Purcell 2001, p. 691).

66 Morel 1991, p. 360. The violets are associated with the Bonaparte family.

67 For the Mellerio lilac spray see Waring 1863, vol. III, pl. 222; for the Rouvenat version, see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 289 (Purcell 2001, p. 753).

68 Mesnard 1867, vol. I, p. 63: 'Also worthy of note is a lilac spray, a masterpiece in imitating natural flowers; its only fault is being too rich and its cluster of blooms a little too dense. This lilac spray is among the most intricate specimens of the work of this firm; it is said that the artist who made it had a spray of lilac next to him constantly while he was working on it. Each flower has been individually created, with such accuracy that even buds and half-open flowers are faithfully reproduced.'

69 Analysis of the British Museum coloured gold pieces was carried out by Susan La Niece in 1990–91.

70 See Seaton 1995, p. 173.

71 Mitford (ed.) 1939, p. 10.

72 Hunt 1837.

73 V. Surtees 1986, p. 216.

Jewel 'language' in Victorian fiction

74 Among poets, John Keats, Alfred Tennyson, Robert Browning and Emily Dickinson use jewel symbolism compulsively: see Rebecca Patterson, 'Emily Dickinson's jewel imagery' in *American Literature* 42, no. 4, January 1971, pp. 495–520. Patterson's study includes a graph showing the occurrence of jewel images in the Bible, Shakespeare and a number of later poets.

75 Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil* (1845), book II, ch. 9.

76 Tetzeli von Rosador 1984.

77 Charles Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, London 1857, ch. 23.

78 *Ibid.*, ch. 21. Storr & Mortimer (1822–38) later became Hunt & Roskell (see Culme 1987, vol. I, p. 245).

79 Charles Dickens, *Great Expectations*, London 1860–61, ch. 21.

80 *Ibid.*, ch. 8 and ch. 44.

81 See Tetzeli von Rosador 1984.

82 George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, London 1871, ch. 1.

83 There are other 'jewel' episodes in *Middlemarch*, notably the purchase and bestowal by Dorothea on her sister of a set of cameos bought in Rome (a reflection of George Eliot's own experience of shopping in Italy, see pp. 489–90) and the scene where Mrs Bulstrode renounces her jewellery after the disgrace of her banker husband.

84 The place of jewellery in the plot of *Daniel Deronda* is analysed in detail by Tetzeli von Rosador 1984, pp. 311–17.

85 Charlotte M. Yonge, *Heartsease* (1854), collected edition, London 1902, p. 151.

86 *Ibid.*, p. 56.

87 *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 150. It is possible that Miss Yonge had seen flower wreaths from Madeira exhibited at the South Kensington Museum in the display of 'Products of the Animal Kingdom', see p. 230.

88 Fulford (ed.) 1964, p. 71.

Jewel symbolism in Victorian painting

89 K. Sutherland 1860, p. 13. We have David A. Taylor to thank for finding this item.

90 De Barrera 1860, p. 316.

91 Mrs A. Walker 1837, p. 394.

92 Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield*, 1849–50, ch. 4.

93 In recognition of his efforts he was presented with a ceremonial silver trowel, made by Robert Phillips of Cockspur Street, from whom Fairbairn was later to buy jewellery. The trowel was engraved for the *ILN*, 4 April 1857, p. 314. For further discussion see Powe 1998, p. 100 and fig. 2, p. 99.

94 Fairbairn had played key roles in financing, planning and building (through the Fairbairn engineering company) the 1862 exhibition. The painting was rediscovered by Shirley Bury, who recognized the brooch and earrings as part of the Phillips 1862 parure. The bracelet is illustrated in the *Official Illustrated Catalogue* of the 1862 International Exhibition, described as of 'rare pink coral . . . in rich massive gold, relieved by grey enamel; part of a parure made for Mrs Thomas Fairbairn'; see Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 456.

CHAPTER 5: THE CULT OF NOVELTY

1 A 'Parian bracelet' was advertised in *The Ladies' Companion* in 1850. A stud with enamelled gold front page from the *Daily News* for 27 March 1879 is in the Hull Grundy Gift to Birmingham (M523'81). The *Daily News* was a radical London newspaper founded by Charles Dickens in 1846. It was purchased by the Quaker George Cadbury in 1901, and subsequently merged with the *Daily Chronicle* in 1930 to form the *News Chronicle*. The stud no doubt indicated the wearer's liberal opinions. Scarf-pins with newspapers and stamps were popular in Paris already in 1862: see Darcel 1862, p. 438. The stamp and banknote brooches in Fig. 144 are in the Hull Grundy Gift to Glasgow (HG665 and 760). Further banknote brooches are in the Hull Grundy Gifts to Cheltenham (a £5 brooch: see Carter 1986, cat. 216, registered in 1876 by Parkhouse & Wyatt, Southampton) and Doncaster (a £20 note cravat-pin registered in 1879). According to Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 724, they were cheap items imported from Austria and Germany, and were impounded by the Bank of England under the Forgery Act between 1878 and 1887.

2 The craze and the china plate jewellery were satirized by *Punch*, 12 December 1879, in the *Punch Almanack* for 1880 (unpaginated) with a cartoon called 'Chinamania made useful at last'. The subtitle 'hand-painted china is all the rage

as a trimming for ladies' dresses' accompanies a fashionable belle, her dress almost covered with outsize plates.

3 *J&M*, 15 November 1885, p. 318, 'Old china jewellery'; the article goes on to suggest that these new brooches would replace the enamelled coin. An oval willow-pattern plate brooch in the British Museum bears a Design Registration mark for 1878 (Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 764). For enamelled coin jewellery, see Symons 1968. It was made by the Birmingham firm of Edwin Steele from 1886.

4 For Queen Victoria's spider and fly bracelet, see Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 384, col. pl. 84.

5 A number are listed in his ledger at Garrard's; for example, in 1868 the Prince of Wales ordered 'A gold locket with pearl and diamond spider and enamel web', and in 1869 'A crystal spider and fly locket', perhaps with the two insects trapped in transparent rock crystal.

6 The spider and fly brooch (Norwich Castle Museum 425.1.978) bears a design registration mark for 16 November 1880, parcel 2, and maker's mark H & N for Hollis & Newman (the firm's name kindly checked in the National Archives by Laura Knowles-Cutler).

7 The Prince of Wales's ledger includes a telescope pencil case (1862, presumably the new propelling pencils for watch-chains), a coloured photograph in a gold bracelet (1864), a horse and jockey pin and a pheasant pin (1865, the latter probably a reversed crystal intaglio), a croquet mallet pencil case (1868), a cricket bat pencil (1870), and so on. In 1865, he ordered a 'long chain platina and gold' for £27, an expensive item; in March 1870 the ledger lists an 'aluminium bracelet with motto in gold, and remaking ditto in larger size' for £25.

8 The Lord's Prayer had been used to demonstrate skills in writing in miniature since the seventeenth century; for an example of a miniature Lord's Prayer, signed and dated 1674, set into a ring owned by Sir Hans Sloane in the British Museum, see Dalton 1912, no. 2045. For nineteenth-century Stanhope jewels, see Fales 1995, col. pl. 221, p. 367 (ivory Stanhope watch fobs) and p. 373. A French example set into a ring can be found in the Fox Talbot Museum.

9 From *Les Modes parisiennes*, 1864–5, pl. no. 1090, by (?) Lacouture.

10 J. Roberts 2005, nos 47 and 52.

11 *The Times* classified, 19 June 1872, p. 3.

12 Even in Birmingham, it was broken up into hundreds of small workshops buying in parts from specialist manufacturers. For the workings of the Birmingham trade, see Rudoe 1989b, with further bibliography. Clare Phillips has noted the introduction of prefabricated collets for setting gemstones, shown by a Paris firm at the 1862 Exhibition in London, which represented a saving of metal and time of between 60% and 80% (Phillips 2008, p. 94).

13 Even there, however, the back was cut by hand from sheet gold (see Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 356–7, and Phillips 2008, p. 95 for the brooch and p. 90 for the locket). See also *J&M*, 15 March 1875, pp. 397–9, for an article on the works of Messrs T. & J. Bragg.

14 *Ladies Gazette of Fashion*, August 1879, p. 222.

15 *A-J*, 1870, p. 317.

16 The company was probably an agent rather than a manufacturer (see New York Public Library Digital Gallery, record ID 714981). Other mail order companies sold to agents rather than direct to customers. The Versand-Geschäft (mail order company) Mey & Edlich of Leipzig advertised a free catalogue of their gilt jewellery in a general interest magazine, *Über Land und Meer*, published in Stuttgart from 1859 (see *ibid.*, record ID 714990, the advertisement dated 1886).

17 *EDM*, 1 February 1869, p. 96.

18 We are grateful to Jane Perry for drawing this distinction in terminology to our attention.

WHAT THE PAPERS SAY: JEWELLERY AND TOPICAL EVENTS

1 *EDM*, 1 April 1869, p. 211.

2 For a full report of the Prince of Wales's visit to Egypt see *The Times*, 11 March and 5 April 1869.

3 Quoted on the following website: www.atlantic-cable.com under 'memorabilia'. For Tiffany's transatlantic cable souvenirs see Phillips (ed.) 2006, no. 2, pp. 124–5.

4 Quoted from Emma Dent's journals in Bray 2000, p. 57.

5 The expedition had been in the news for several months; its aim was to free the captives from Britain and elsewhere in Europe being held by King Theodore. The king eventually freed the prisoners but refused to surrender himself and as a result the fortress was stormed, the king committed suicide and his treasures were looted.

6 See *The Times*, 25 June 1868, p. 9. For further discussion of the Abyssinian Expedition with full bibliography, see Jacques Mercier, 'The gold crown of Magdala', *Apollo*, December 2006, pp. 46–53, with illustration of the gold crown from the *ILN*.

7 The South Kensington Museum first acquired material from Magdala in 1869 (for example the silver and gilt rings of the Emperor Theodore's wife, 407–1869). The gold crown and goblet from the treasury at Magdala were deposited in the SKM in 1872 by H.M. Treasury after discussion in parliament about their possible restitution (Mercier, *op. cit.*, p. 47).

8 *The Times*, 10 November 1873, p. 10.

9 National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs vol. no. BT 43/35, nos 278659–278661.

10 See *The Times*, 18 April 1874, p. 12, 'Golden spoil from Ashantee'. In his attempt to explain the gold ornaments, the reporter refers to Indian, Egyptian, Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon influences. The Garrard display was widely described in the press, and the *ILN* issued a special number on the Ashanti war on 26 March 1874. The display was also reported by the *J&M*, 1 April 1874, p. 105: 'The rings are of massive gold nearly all embossed with signs of the zodiac . . . Some of the necklets are very beautiful, and show a higher skill and taste in workmanship than one would have expected from Ashantee. . . . It is asserted, and possibly with some truth, that a great deal of Ashantee jewellery was sent out from Birmingham, although some of the trophies from Coomassie bear the undoubted stamp of genius.'

11 For further discussion of these and other Ashanti objects, see Gere and Culme 1993, pp. 36–7. Messrs E. & E. Emanuel of Portsmouth bought 'the massive gold necklace formerly belonging to the chief wife of King Koffee' (*J&M*, 15 April 1874, p. 116).

12 National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/43, no. 315766, 31 October, a locket registered by Walter M. Parker of Alton, Hants, and 315792, another similar, registered by R.A. Perkins of Birmingham; no. 316185, 10 November, a charm registered by A.J. Smith, Birmingham; no. 316538, 23 November, a chain appendage registered by Joseph H. Taylor, Birmingham.

13 A surviving example, a cravat-pin in the Museum of London, was given by the son of its original owner, the London antiquarian Henry Walter Fincham. It is inscribed 'CHIP OF CLEOPATRA'S OBELISK 1878', see Murdoch (ed.) 1991, cat. 372, p. 146.

14 For the obituary of Isaac (1812–86), reprinted from the *Jewish Chronicle*, see *The Times*, 24 November 1886, p. 6; for the opening by the Prince of Wales see *The Times*, 21 January 1886, p. 7; for Queen Victoria's visit to Liverpool to open the industrial exhibition see *The Times*, 12 May 1886, p. 9. There were other instances of jewels made to commemorate engineering achievements: a 'Severn Tunnel brooch', with an arch of diamonds on a dull gold ground, was displayed

in Gladstone's library at his home in North Wales at Hawarden (*NYT*, 11 June 1898, p. 5). It was presumably given to his wife at the opening of the four-mile railway tunnel in 1886.

JEWELLERY AND SCIENTIFIC OR TECHNICAL INVENTIONS

New materials: gold and silver substitutes

1 For full discussion of the various gold substitutes with further bibliography, see Rudoe 1989b, pp. 49–72.

2 See R.S. Surtees, *Jorrocks's Jaunts and Jollities*, 1838, ch. 12, 'Mr Jorrocks's dinner-party' (quoted in Tetzeli 1984, p. 283). Imitations in copper alloys could be extremely effective: the Joan Evans gift to the Museum of London contains a gilt-metal buckle of c. 1830–40 with three-colour gilding imitating coloured gold.

3 *J&M*, 1 March 1885.

4 *J&M*, 1 July 1874, p. 171; 15 February 1874, p. 63.

Rowe's Oroide seems to have been in direct competition to the 'American Oroide Gold Jewellery' advertised from 1872 as available through W. Holt, sole agent in England. For W. Holt's Oroide Gold Jewellery, see *The Times*, 25 September 1873, p. 15, where he appears in the classified pages directly above Rowe. In the face of increasing competition, Rowe's firm collapsed in 1884 with liabilities of £1295. 5s 6d (*J&M*, 1 July 1884, p. 170). The London addresses of Rowe and other imitation jewellery makers are likely to have been offices only; the production of imitation jewellery was centred in Birmingham, but many Birmingham firms traded from London premises, precisely to avoid the 'Brummagem' tag (see Rudoe 1989b, p. 71, note 27).

5 There was some official support for experiments in cheap jewellery from the South Kensington Museum; a necklace and earrings by Alexandre Gueyot of Paris was bought in 1861 as an example of imitation lapis and electrotyping, the firm's speciality. The metal is silver-gilt and so the interest here was the use of electrotyping to replace cast and chased metalwork (see Bury 1982, p. 124: case 20, Board E, no. 10, and Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 455, col. pl. 108).

6 *Ladies' Gazette of Fashion*, August 1879, p. 222; see introduction to this chapter, note 14.

7 For the story of its discovery, with detailed technical analysis and information on the workings of the Birmingham trade, see Rudoe 1989b. The collection is now in the British Museum and in Birmingham, where the Museum and Art Gallery has examples of the jewels themselves and the dies for stamping the machine-made parts, while the archive department of Birmingham Public Library holds the firm's ledgers. For the Birmingham trade, see also Mason 1998.

8 For 'Platinageld' see *J&M*, 1 December 1893, p. 452.

9 A news item in *The Times* noted that the new metal was only one-fourth the weight of silver, so that although it was more expensive, an article which in silver would cost 50f would cost only 16f (*The Times*, 29 November 1856, p. 8).

10 See Saunders n.d., p. 114. According to *The Times* of 10 December 1856, p. 10, Napoléon III spent a whole day at a foundry in Rouen to witness the smelting of silver lead ore with the aluminium that he had brought from Greenland, an extensive source of the metal.

11 Royal Archive PPTO/PP/QV/MAIN/1857–9/19 October 1857 (reference kindly supplied by Jonathan Marsden).

12 For the Duke of Buccleuch's bracelet see Gere and Culme 1993, p. 177, and Wartski 2001, no. 26. It is almost identical in design to one of two examples in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, with similar cherubs (Purcell 2001, p. 613); for the other, a Rococo-style design dated c. 1858, with oval setting for a miniature, see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 286 (Purcell 2001, p. 752). A fourth example is illustrated in Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 348, col. pl. 86, with two cherubs and an openwork monogram in the central oval (it was bequeathed by Raizel Halpin and Dora Jane Janson in 2003 to the

Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York). For Bourdoncle, see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 6 (Purcell 2001, p. 375).

He is often known simply as Honoré, the name he adopted owing to his stammer, which prevented him from pronouncing his surname.

13 The bracelet in Fig. 157 bears a maker's mark DV flanking a star, which has not so far been identified but may relate to Charles Henri Villemon whose mark appears on a number of aluminium jewels. Other examples are in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York (see Gere 1972, p. 213), in the V&A (M.24–1983) in Manchester City Art Gallery (Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 353, pl. 192) and in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. See also Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 349, col. pl. 87 for a privately owned brooch, and Becker 1998, p. 76.

14 *The American Traveller's Guide to Paris* is quoted in Christiansen 1994, p. 7.

15 See *The Times*, 24 January 1874, p. 13.

16 For the prices, see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 286 (Purcell 2001, p. 752). In England, usage seems to have been confined to hollow-ware, rather than jewellery, with examples shown at the 1862 Exhibition. Shirley Bury, however, has noted specimens of aluminium jewellery shown by German firms at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 (Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 351–3). Further aluminium works, by French manufacturers, appeared at the Paris Exhibition of 1878, ranging from thimbles to dinner services (see Rudoe 1989b, note 12, p. 71).

17 Advertisement in the *Jeweller and Fancy Trades Advertiser* for June 1868.

18 EDM, 1 February 1869, p. 96. The 'exchanging' of jewels is a reference to the magazine's monthly column entitled 'The Englishwoman's Exchange', in which readers sent in their wish lists set against what they could offer. *The Queen* had a similar column, and there was the new *Exchange and Mart* newspaper introduced in May 1868.

19 EDM, 1 October 1869, p. 217.

20 EDM, 1 January 1870, p. 43 and 1 May 1870, p. 302. For full discussion of Pyke's 'Abyssinian gold', see Rudoe 1989b, pp. 49–72.

21 Streeter's 10-guinea suites comprised a locket and bracelet as well as brooch and earrings.

New materials: other imitations

22 '... he contrived a variety of curious machines for consolidating peat moss, finely ground and pulverised, under immense pressure, and moulding it into beautiful medals, armlets and necklaces, which took the most brilliant polish, and had the appearance of the finest jet' (Samuel Smiles, *Lives of Boulton and Watt*, London 1865, pp. 431–2).

23 For example, a papier mâché brooch in the Museum of London: Murdoch (ed.) 1991, no. 514, p. 178 (27.43.92).

24 For Goodyear, see *Off. Cat.*, 1851, United States of America, nos 295 and 378, and for Hancock, United Kingdom, Class 28, no. 83 (according to index); this is listed as W.H. Burke, showing various rubber goods, suggesting that Hancock exhibited on Burke's stand.

25 Murdoch (ed.) 1991, no. 49, p. 79, 56.60/2–3.

26 For the Britannia Rubber Company's advertisements see *The Times*, 9 May 1866 and 3 June 1867. Kamptulicon was a compound of rubber and cork used for flooring.

27 The case has a silver inner back inscribed 'Bte SGD Paris', indicating that it too was made in France. For Oudin at the Paris 1867 Exhibition, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1867, p. 310.

28 For a plastic hair comb imitating blonde tortoiseshell, c. 1870–75, see Bury 1991, vol. I, pl. 201, p. 370.

In 1872 *The Queen* advertised imitation coral ornaments for the hair; these were probably some kind of plastic (14 December 1872, p. 487).

29 For further discussion of Parkesine, see Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 380–81.

Electricity

30 Vever 1906–8, vol. II, pp. 308–10 (Purcell 2001, pp. 779–80). Vever's account, although in quotation marks, is not credited; it is taken directly from the French jury reports: see *Exposition Universelle* 1868, vol. 4, Classe 36, p. 427.

31 H. Vizetelly 1893, vol. 2, p. 125.

32 Blanc 1876, pp. 272–3.

33 *The Times*, 11 April 1867, p. 9.

34 See *La Nature*, 13 September 1879, pp. 229–30, with illustration of the hidden battery as well. The same illustration of the three pins was repeated in *L'illustrazione Italiana*, October 1879, p. 224. The V&A's cravat-pin in Fig. 162 (M.121–1984) is one of the few to have survived. It is signed PICARD for Auguste-Germain Cadet-Picard, BREVETE SGDG and DEPOSE, indicating that the construction was patented and the design registered. For a similar skull pin see Sotheby's London, 16 December 2003, lot 106. See also Phillips, London, 27 March 1990, lot 14 for a cravat-pin in the form of a skull with emerald monocle smoking a cigar.

35 The hummingbird seems to be copying Mellerio's hummingbird hairpin, shown at the Paris Exhibition of 1867; for a photograph of Mellerio's stand at the 1867 Exhibition with the hummingbird jewel in the centre, see Fig. 48.

36 Trouvé's other electrical inventions included a gyroscope (made for Louis Foucault in 1865), a polyscope for medical use (1869), a motor for pleasure boats and balloons (1881), tricycle (1881), safety lamp (1884) and a bit to control unruly horses. For a biography of Trouvé see Barral 1891, with a second edition 1899; see also *Scientific American*, Supplement, no. 362, 9 December 1882; *Manufacturer and Builder*, vol. 26, issue 3, March 1884, p. 51 (www.cdl.library.cornell.edu); G. Ribeill, 'De l'objet technique à l'utopie sociale. Les resorts de l'imaginaire technologique des ingénieurs au XIXe siècle', *Réseaux* 2001/5, no. 109, pp. 114–44 (www.cairn.info).

37 Barral 1891, pp. 153–64. Barral gives full descriptions of the working mechanisms with section drawings to show the various parts. Both comprised three parts: a rectangular plinth on which was placed the decorative figure; the electric motor, and the mechanism to make the figure move. His first version of the hummingbird worked for an hour only; he then developed a mechanism that enabled five movements every second for four hours at a stretch, by means of a battery hidden in the hair. The ability to set off the movement by turning over the battery was inherent in its construction: the cell was hermetically sealed in ebonite in the upper half of an outer casing, the lower half of which was filled with the discharging liquid; when turned over the element was plunged into the liquid, causing the chemical reaction that created the electric current.

38 Cadet-Picard exhibited battery-operated jewels under his own name in 1867, see Maskelyne 1868, p. 607.

39 Barral 1891, p. 154.

40 For Trouvé's illuminated jewels, see *La Nature*, December 1883, Année 12, 1884, pp. 15–16 and January 1884, pp. 127–8; *J&M*, January 1884, p. 1; *The Times*, 8 February 1884, p. 3.

41 For Trouvé's owl's head brooch, see Barral 1891, p. 170; for Oscar Massin's, see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 480 (Purcell 2001, p. 972).

42 See Barral 1891, and Trouvé's publicity leaflet *L'électricité au Théâtre. Bijoux electro-mobile par G. Trouvé*, Paris 1884 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Prints & Drawings, 56.516.6, purchased with income from the Whittelsey Fund). The leaflet may have been produced for the National Exhibition of Industrial Arts held in the Louvre in 1884, or for Trouvé's display at the 'soir du

cinquenaire de l'École centrale', at the Hôtel Continental. David Kiehl kindly drew this leaflet to our attention.

43 Trouvé had his rivals: electric light-bulb jewels were also produced by Aboilard, in the form of lantern and flowerhead cravat-pins, and hair jewels with birds, see *La Nature*, August 1884, pp. 132–3.

44 The accumulator weighed about half a kilo, and its use was limited to larger cities where it could be charged: see Sjuve 2008. This article reproduces the illustration from *La Nature*, January 1884, pp. 127–8, of the diadem with star attached by a wire to a belt with two accumulators, similar to that worn by the 'Mondaine' in Barral's illustration.

45 The composer Florimond Hervé (1825–92); *Chilpéric* dates from 1868.

46 For the theatrical references and excerpts from reviews in the London press, see Barral 1891, pp. 164–86. The 'lustre vivant' is illustrated on p. 172.

47 Fales 1995, p. 374, by Alfred Haid of New Jersey.

48 For a full eyewitness account of this event and the photograph, see Barral 1891, pp. 196–204. The photograph is also published in Morel 1988, p. 375.

49 The main suppliers were Piggott's (for example, *The Times*, 16 January 1852, p. 12) and Pulvermacher (for example, 11 January 1858, p. 14, or 25 October 1870, p. 12).

50 For the Baker designs see National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/42, nos 315534–8, 22 October 1877, and BT 43/43, nos 315572–3, 24 October 1877.

51 See Fales 1995, p. 374. Further magnetic jewellery was patented in 1893 by Messrs Timings of Birmingham; the hidden magnets contained 'a sufficient store of electricity to cause an action upon the system almost as soon as it is put on the finger or wrist' (see *J&M*, 15 February 1893, p. 63).

Clockwork and other moving jewels

52 For moving jewels, see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 310 (Purcell 2001, p. 780).

53 For the mechanical fly see *La Nature*, November 1884, p. 384.

54 For clockwork jewels, see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 310 (Purcell 2001, p. 780). They were made by Otterbourg. See also Fales 1995, p. 374, for comparable clockwork jewels patented in America in 1887 and 1893.

55 See South Kensington, *Loan Exhibition* 1872, p. 58, no. 599, described as 'Modern Italian work, made by Giugliani in London'.

56 Dufferin and Ava 1889, vol. I, pp. 47–8.

THE IMPACT OF THE STAGE

1 For the circus jewels by Rault, see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, pp. 459–63 (Purcell 2001, pp. 943–7).

2 Challamel 1882, p. 244.

3 For illustration of chains worn below the chin, see Gere 1972, pl. 9, p. 33 and p. 38, taken from *The Queen*, 1867. See also Flower 1967, p. 33.

4 *Godey's Lady's Book*, January 1867, p. 108.

5 A lace bobbin inscribed 'Not for Joseph' was advertised on e-bay in September 2007 (information kindly supplied by Matthew Lloyd, a descendant of Arthur Lloyd, who has confirmed that no other similar gold stick-pins have so far come to light).

6 For discussion of the song and biography of Arthur Lloyd, see Matthew Lloyd's website, www.arthurlloyd.co.uk.

7 *The Queen*, 28 May 1870, p. 346.

8 Registered designs for 1878 include a stick-pin with a line of music, perhaps also taken from a popular song of the day, see National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/43, no. 319371, 13 March 1878, registered by Henry East, Birmingham.

9 It ran for a record 672 performances until January 1887.

10 It ran for 250 performances from August 1885 to April 1886, one of the longest runs in New York theatre.

11 See *Bloomingdale's Illustrated 1886 Catalogue*, Dover reprint, New York 1988, pp. 136–7.

12 *Godey's Lady's Book*, March 1880, p. 284.

13 According to Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 532 (Purcell 2001, p. 1034), medallion jewellery was launched in 1886 by Émile Olive (1853–1902). For the Faust bracelet, see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 559, ill. p. 563 (Purcell 2001, pp. 1055 and 1058).

14 For Cartier and the Faust bracelet, see Rudoe 2001, p. 41.

15 The Heiden Wagner souvenirs are discussed and illustrated in G. Dry, 'Tradition und Temperament. Theodor Heiden (1853–1928), ein Meister der Münchner Goldschmiedekunst', in *Renaissance der Renaissance: Ein bürgerlicher Kunststil im 19. Jahrhundert. Nachtrag* (Schriften des Weserrenaissance-Museums Schloss Brake, vol. 8), Munich and Berlin 1995, pp. 33–75; see pp. 45–7, fig. 13, and pp. 67–8, cat. 73. The illustration of the entire group comes from a 1904 pamphlet produced by the firm of Theodor Heiden entitled 'Richard-Wagner-Festspiel-Erinnerungen'. Why Heiden should have chosen to create the souvenirs in 1893 is unclear; the new Bayreuth theatre had opened in 1876 with the first complete *Ring* cycle, and the Festivals had been well under way since 1883.

16 The girdle is in the V&A, M.20&:1 to 8–1943.

SURPRISE, DECEPTION AND NOT SO HIDDEN MESSAGES

1 E. Vizetelly 1912, p. 319. The racehorses refer to the opening of the new racecourse at Longchamp in 1857 (see p. 145).

2 Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 96, with illus. p. 87 (Purcell 2001, pp. 551–2). Such incongruous designs were probably current by the 1850s, since similar themes as pendant charms were exhibited by Backes & Strauss at the 1851 Exhibition (see p. 257).

3 For the brooding hen and coal-hod earrings see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 87 (Purcell 2001, p. 610).

4 For the 'aquarium' earrings, see Challamel 1882, p. 244. For the goldfish bowl earrings in Fig. 171, see Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 818.

5 EDM, May 1871, p. 303. A pair of three-legged cauldron earrings in oxidized silver and gold survives in the Museum of London: Murdoch (ed.) 1991, cat. 374, p. 146, D351. They were given by Queen Mary, who valued Victorian novelties of this kind.

6 Vever opens his third volume, on the Troisième République with this illustration (Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 337; Purcell 2001, p. 805). Such pieces are commemorative rather than novelty jewels, in the same category as jewels recording France's defeat in 1871 and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine to the Germans, see Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 559, pl. 293. Rings commemorating the Franco-Prussian war were made by Emile Froment-Meurice, and examples are in the British Museum (Dalton 1912, no. 1430) and the V&A (Bury 1982, p. 217, Case 34, Board E, no. 41, M.35-1962).

7 See W. Smith 1876, p. 489, described as part of the American display.

8 *Godey's Lady's Book*, September 1879, p. 284.

9 The covers for diamond earrings are fully discussed in Fales 1995, pp. 312–13, pl. 213 and col. pls 170–71; the black enamel earrings in col. pl. 170 are those in the Metropolitan Museum from the collection of Martha Gandy Fales, 2001.234a–d (see *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, Fall 2001, p. 54).

10 The fly stick-pin is French, in its original Lyons retailer's box of Beaumont & Cie (British Museum

1993.1203.1). Its original owner, Jules Balay, acquired it c. 1860–70 (information from donor, Charlotte Gere).

A set of three glass flies, two large and one small, for sleeves and neck, with Design Registration marks for 1869, are in the Hull Grundy Gift to Norwich Castle Museum (370.1.978; 233.33.979; 84.367.977). The same gift contains a set of six fly studs in silver of c. 1878 (503.5.1.978).

11 For a set of men's waistcoat studs with spiders in the Museum of London, see Murdoch (ed.) 1991, cat. 243, p. 116. For the crystal bee brooch, see Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 822. The idea of a bee inside a dome may reflect contemporary interest in bee-keeping. Prince Albert had introduced transparent beehives at Windsor in 1844.

12 A gem-set bee brooch in a red velvet hive-shaped case was seen on the stand of 'A la Vieille Russie' at Grosvenor House Antiques Fair in 2007. For a set of bee earrings and studs contained in a hive-shaped case by Harvey & Gore, see Flower 1967, fig. 58, p. 156.

13 A design for a similar piece was registered by Elijah Atkins of Birmingham in 1879 with a bee on a hacksaw, the message being 'Don't be saw/sore' (National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/46, no. 344567, 24 December 1879).

14 For the mouse set, see *Godey's Lady's Book*, October 1880, p. 398; the entire set is illustrated on different pages in November 1880.

15 *The Queen* in turn almost certainly took their illustrations from Thornhill & Co.'s latest trade catalogue, according to which the mouse jewels were registered by Thornhill's. A copy of this catalogue is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art Print Room.

16 For the Thornhill advertisements, see *The Queen*, 31 July 1880, p. 111 and 4 December 1880, Supplement, p. 3. The British Museum bracelet is 2005.0602.1, given by Robert C. Kwok. Similar rings with movable mice, some of them enamelled white, are to be found in the Koch collection (Chadour 1994, vol. II, no. 1468) and in the British Museum (Dalton 1912, nos 1737–8 and AF 2547), previously catalogued as sixteenth century.

17 National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/38, 290517, April 1875. For the firm of Emanuel Emanuel (not the same as Harry Emanuel), see Culme 1987, vol. I, pp. 144–5. A variant on this theme has a mouse on a spoon with a piece of cheese, see Albersmeier 2005, p. 57, for a stick-pin with this subject.

18 *The Artist*, 1 July 1881, p. 214.

19 *Jewelers' Circular*, September 1880, p. 162; *Godey's Lady's Book*, October 1880, p. 398.

20 *J&M*, 1 December 1892, p. 400.

21 *Le Moniteur de la mode: journal du grand monde*, 1895 (as quoted on the New York Public Library website, see www.nypl.org/digitalgallery, 22 August 2008).

22 *Woman's World*, September 1889, p. 580.

NATURE IMITATING NATURE: JEWELLERY AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS

1 The V&A holds about 2,000 objects, divided between Textiles and Dress, which has the most at over 1,100, the Museum of Childhood (formerly the Bethnal Green Museum) which has just over 700, and other departments (we are grateful to Catherine Howell for confirming this).

2 Simmonds 1877, pp. xiii–xiv, and *The Times* review of this handbook, 15 May 1877, p. 4. The project is fully discussed in Burton 1999, pp. 44–5, p. 51, fig. 3.8 and p. 53, fig. 3.10. We are greatly indebted to Catherine Howell for showing us the Animal Products collection and associated literature at Bethnal Green and to Lucy Johnston for showing us the items in the textile section at South Kensington.

3 For the history of the Animal Products collection, see

Burton 1999, p. 107. For the opening of the Bethnal Green Museum (now the Museum of Childhood), see *The Times*, 22 June 1872, p. 5; this review focuses on the loan collection of painting and decorative arts from Sir Richard Wallace, with only a brief mention of the animal products.

4 Additions to the Animal Products collection were made until at least 1908.

5 Simmonds 1880. Simmonds also started *The Technologist: a Monthly Record of Science Applied to Art and Manufactures* in 1861 and in 1870 started the *Journal of Applied Science* (see DNB). He wrote authoritatively on the fishing and commerce of coral for the *Technologist* (no. 1, vol. II, August 1861, pp. 20–25) and the *Art-Journal* (1873, pp. 229–31).

6 See Phillips 2008, pp. 92–3. Although acquired by the V&A in 1875 as 'Blue Creepers', this is probably the Red-legged Honeycreeper; the male is violet-blue with black back and wings, and the crown of its head is turquoise. These earrings are among the many animal specimens supplied by P.L. Simmonds.

7 Quoted in Fairfax-Lucy (ed.) 1983, p. 26, in a diary entry for 1821, describing the ceremony of the Preston Guild held at twenty-one year intervals in Preston, Derbyshire. The quote is also given with some minor differences in Fairfax-Lucy 1958, p. 262. Mary Elizabeth Lucy (1803–89) married George Lucy of Charlecote Hall in 1823.

8 For an account of Waterton's career see Blackburn 1989. See also Waterton 1825. His third visit alone produced a collection of 230 birds (see DNB). His journals and notebooks are in the Wakefield Museum with a display dedicated to him.

9 Gould worked briefly as gardener to Sir Thomas Ingleby at Ripley Castle in Yorkshire: see Lambourne 1987. As there were no live hummingbirds in England in the 1850s, the study was initially entirely dependent on stuffed specimens. Gould's illustrators and lithographers experimented with a variety of techniques to capture the iridescent, jewel-like colours of the birds, painting them with transparent oil and varnish over gold leaf. For a more detailed account of the collecting of hummingbirds and the historical use of their feathers, see Levi 2000.

10 *Off. Cat.*, 1851, Class 30 (Fine Art Court), no. 247: 'a new mode of representing the luminous and metallic colouring of the Trochilidae or humming-birds.'

11 Patent number 1779, 5 July 1865. The hummingbird patent was not renewed after its initial three-year guarantee had expired, suggesting either that his new method was not a best-seller or that there was so little competition that it was not worth his while paying the renewal fee: see *LG*, 17 July 1868, p. 4011, lists of 'Patents that have become void'.

12 For the importing of hummingbird skins see Simmonds 1880, p. 51. For Emanuel's shop see *The Queen*, 26 September 1865, p. 145 (quoted in Culme 1987, p. 147). Two pairs of earrings are in the V&A, one pair acquired in 1875 for the Animal Products collection (AP259-75, illustrated in Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 372, col. pl. 90). These have a simple gold backplate and are unmarked. The second pair (M.11:1.2-2003), is by Emanuel and has identical gold frames, with the same monogram and patent number as the British Museum necklace. For analysis of these earrings, see www.vam.ac.uk/res_cons/conservation/journal/number_57/ornith

13 The patent number is stamped onto the back of each pendant, along with Harry Emanuel's monogram.

14 For Harry Emanuel, see Culme 1987, pp. 145–8.

15 *Godey's Lady's Book*, December 1874, p. 574. In 1880 the same magazine described a bonnet formed of the breasts and tails of fifty hummingbirds and a cape of the same which required many months to collect, noting, a few pages later that in Paris 'the rage for them has been increased by the fact of their present scarcity, and the discovery that artificial colibris are made on false bodies and prove an illusion and

a snare.' (March 1880), pp. 279 and 286).

16 See *The Ladies' Treasury*, 1 November 1867, p. 522.

17 Reports in the fashion press suggest that the Empress had been wearing hummingbirds since about 1863, but gem-set rather than real: see Corson 1965, p. 479, quoting *Godey's Lady's Book* for 1863, 'For coiffures, the humming bird alone disputes with the butterfly the favour of fashion. These ornaments were introduced by the Empress of the French and bring fabulous prices, many of them being made of precious stones or enamel worked with gold. They are worn by young ladies as well as matrons. The humming birds, being the natural bird of the rarest plumage, are frequently set with diamond eyes.'

18 See J. Roberts (ed.) 2005, p. 121, no. 53. A similar fan dating from the 1880s in the V&A survives with its original case and was supplied by Milles M. and E. Natté of Brazil: see Johnston 2005, pp. 108–9 (T.15-1950). Feather flowers are combined with real dried beetles.

19 Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 361, 372, quoting Official Report of 1872 exhibition, which refers to A. Boucard. For Boucard, see Charles A. Kofoid, 'A little known ornithological journal and its editor, Adolphe Boucard, 1839–1904', in *The Condor*, vol. 25, no. 3 (May–June 1923), pp. 85–9.

20 See EDM, February 1874, p. 90 for the feather work by nuns at Rimmel, and Lankester 1876, p. 326. Laurie Brewer kindly drew our attention to Lankester's book. Lankester was Director of the British Museum (Natural History) in the 1890s.

21 V&A, AP58:1-1877, acquired from Mr A. Thomson, Zoological Gardens. It is not clear from the Animal Products accessions register whether the piece was made in Brazil or whether the feathers were imported and the piece made in Britain. The 1851 acquisitions for the Animal Products collection included two bouquets of feather flowers from Madeira (AP452.102), perhaps also nuns' work. In 1876, the South Kensington Museum acquired a set of pendant and earrings in the form of scallop shells with red and green hummingbird feathers as part of their Animal Products collection; the accession register records them as possibly American (AP28A and 28B-1876).

22 Two brooches with birds executed in hummingbird feathers on a mother-of-pearl ground were given to the British Museum in 2006 (2006.1205.1 and 2, given by Helga Moss). They were brought back from Venezuela by the donor's father c. 1908.

23 Letter from Eleanor Vere C. Boyle, *The Times*, 25 December 1885, p. 5. See also *The Times*, 2 February 1875, p. 7, for an earlier letter requesting a petition on the subject to the Empress of Brazil.

24 For a full account of feathers in costume in the nineteenth century, see Clegg 1999, pp. 19–27. See also Doughty 1975. The artist G.F. Watts was a strong supporter of the SPB: he refused to paint Lillie Langtry until she had divested her bonnet of its feather trim (Doughty, p. 49).

25 For the Brazil section at the Vienna Exhibition, see A-J, 1873, pp. 345–6.

26 The sprays were acquired in 1894 (AP1:1 and 2-1894) but may be earlier in date. A beetle-wing fez with a tiny hummingbird perched on top was described in *The Queen* in 1869 (the report was repeated in the *Ladies Treasury*, 1 July 1869, p. 12).

27 A-J, 1876, p. 366.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 5 quoting A-J, 1873, p. 345, and Ingram 1876, p. 501. One assumes that the jewellery was mounted in European taste: there was also a tradition amongst native peoples of South America of wearing ear pendants made of long strings of beetle-wing cases tipped with feathers and human hair, see Mack (ed.) 1988, p. 177, fig. 150, from Ecuador.

29 At the Paris 1867 Exhibition, Louis Aucoc exhibited

'a curious but very effective set of jewellery, *insectes naturelles montés* – actual insects – flies, beetles etc – mounted in gold' (A-J Ill. Cat., 1867, p. 270).

30 EDM, 1 February 1869, p. 98.

31 See JSA 20, 4 October 1872, p. 878.

32 The beetle-wing hairpins are E.1977.88 [1] & [2], given by Miss Pritchard of Langside, Glasgow.

33 In Simmonds's 1880 guide to the Animal Products collection, p. 71.

34 At a state ball in Vienna in 1869 the Empress of Austria appeared 'in a dress composed of the green and golden wings of South American *scarabaei*, sown with gold thread on a tissue of white silk. A splendid suite of emeralds and diamonds completed this gorgeous costume, which marvellously set off her extraordinary beauty. The wings of the *scarabaei* resemble those of the Indian beetle so frequently employed by Indian embroiderers for the decoration of their gold tissues, but they are of a lighter green, and less bronzed' (*The Ladies Treasury*, 1 March 1869, p. 47). These are much more likely to have been the jewel beetle-wing cases.

35 The shiny iridescent green and gold beetles in the parure made for Lord Granville's second wife in 1884 or 1885 may be weevils, see Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 482. Here the setting is decidedly in the Egyptian taste with gold lotus flowers.

36 E. Linklater, *A Child under Sail*, London 1938, p. 124. Elizabeth Linklater was the mother of the author Eric Linklater and spent much of her childhood travelling on her father's clipper ships to Calcutta, New Zealand and South America. She was about 18 in 1886. The passage is quoted in Tolini 2002, p. 5 (www.19thc-artworldwide.org).

37 Curiously, scarab beetles are not mentioned by Simmonds. He appears to have relied on existing sources for some parts of his text which are treated more summarily than others. Sometimes he has copied almost word for word the text from Edward Belcher, *Narrative of the voyage of H.M.S. Samarang during the years 1843–46, with notes on the natural history of the islands by Arthur Adams*, London 1848, p. 254.

38 See, for example, *The Queen*, 15 January 1870, p. 46, 22 January, p. 60, and 27 July 1872, p. 80: 'I have seven Brazilian beetles set in silver-gilt as a shawl brooch; it is round and measures an inch and five-eighths across, cost £1 setting; it is in every respect equal to new.'

39 See National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/43, no. 315789, set of Cleopatras ornaments with scarab beetles in green and gold, 31 October 1877, by Louis Goldberg & Co, Love Lane, London.

40 See *The Times*, 9 February 1874, 24 May 1877 and, for the leader article, 3 July 1877, p. 9. For a detailed account of the Colorado beetle scare, see Clark 2009, ch. 7, pp. 132–53. This is a fascinating account of nineteenth-century entomology and its social and scientific significance.

41 See, for example, *ILN*, 7 July 1877, pp. 18–19, with illustration of the Colorado beetle, life-size and magnified.

42 For the Colorado beetle models, see *The Times*, 23 July 1877 (news), 31 July (Alexandra Palace advertisement with reference to live beetles) and 11 August 1877 (Crystal Palace advertisement); for the pantomime see 27 December 1877 (advertisements).

43 Laurie Brewer kindly drew this cartoon to our attention.

44 National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/42, nos 312626–9, 4 August 1877, registered for E. J. Hill, Victoria St, London; 313644, 1 September 1877 by Charles Rogers, Aldermanbury, London; 313969, 8 September 1877 a beetle on a disc as a cravat-pin, by William Hair Haseler, Birmingham; 314060, 8 September 1877, the cap ornament with eggs and larvae, by Charles Burnham of Birmingham.

45 See Clark 2009, p. 11.

46 *Punch*, 13 March 1875, p. 115.

47 *Ladies' Gazette of Fashion*, August 1879, pp. 215 and 234.

48 Langtry 1925, pp. 137–8 (quoted in Tolini 2002, p. 6).

49 The wings were placed on card and mounted in silver with a glass front, see *J&M*, 1 August 1884, p. 77.

50 Fish-scales had another quite different use as a coating for glass beads imitating pearls, but that was something separate from the Animal Products collection of specimens and their ornamental uses. Several recipes for mixing the ground iridescent scales with lacquer appear in the trade journals of the period. Bourguignon of Paris, for example, employed women and young girls to line the false pearls with fish-scales and wax: 'The scales of the roach and dace are chiefly employed for this purpose, and form a considerable source of profit to the fishermen of the Seine, in the environs of Corbeil, who bring them to Paris in large quantities during the season. They must be stripped from the fish while living, or the glistening hue which we admire so much in the real pearl cannot be imitated.' For Bourguignon's imitation pearls and diamonds, see *J&M*, 15 June 1884, pp. 156–7. Another method of imitation pearls is recorded in Murray's *Handbook to Rome*, 1869, p. xxviii: 'Roman pearls' were apparently made of solid alabaster not hollow glass, the surface applied with 'the pearly substance from the inside of the small fish (*l'argentina*)'.

51 The 1862 group of shell ornaments was acquired from S. & H. Harris, 27 Mansell Street, London; this is in Aldgate, suggesting that they were importers.

52 *ILN*, 4 October 1851, p. 430, 'The shells, shell-work, and pearls of the Exhibition'. The Bahamas shell-work is not listed in the 1851 *Official Catalogue*, which does, however, include further shell-work from the Channel Islands (Colonial Possessions, Jersey and Guernsey, p. 163, nos 30 and 31). They were decorative objects rather than items for wear.

53 The making of entire shell pictures was an industry of its own and the resemblance between the flowers in such pictures and those in botanical jewellery is so close as to suggest that the makers of these elaborate confections supplied the jewellery trade with ready-made shell flowers. For a remarkable pair of early Victorian shell flower pictures of c. 1840, incorporating feathers and butterflies as well, see Mallets London, January 2007 catalogue, pp. 22–3 and cover illustrations.

54 The fish-scale specimens are AP153 (Callipera), AP154 (Bony Fish) and AP155-1860 (Tarpon), given by Chief Justice Temple.

55 Lankester 1876, p. 308.

56 The fish-scale group at Bethnal Green Museum comprises this wreath (AP36c-1881) and two flower sprays (AP36a and b-1881). A second wreath purchased in 1874 from 'A. Tolano, 16 The Grove, Hackney' is housed in Textiles and Dress.

57 This was noted in contemporary accounts of the ornamental work in unusual materials at the Dublin Exhibition of 1853, which included 'garlands made from fish scales': see *The Times*, 3 September 1853, p. 9, 'Queen Victoria's visit to the Dublin Exhibition'. These may have been available from a Dublin supplier recorded in the *Art-Journal* for 1856, p. 306: 'Mr Mahood a dealer in Irish curiosities, bracelets of bog-oak, brooches of Irish gems and pebbles, ornaments made of fish-scales.' At a different level of society, the making of floral wreaths of fresh or dried flowers was an appropriate pastime for the leisured classes. Queen Victoria asked Lady Canning to make her a wreath of heather which she wore on the Prince of Wales's birthday in November 1844. It survives in private hands (Munn 2001, p. 45, p. 64).

58 For a cravat-pin and a pair of tortoiseshell earrings with pink shell cameos purchased from Simmonds in 1874 see Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 220, col. pl. 46. The American gemmologist George Kunz noted that the shell of the white and reddish tinted 'rose-pearl mussels' could be cut so thin

that a photograph pasted on the inside could be seen through the shell, conveying the appearance of being produced on the shell itself.' (Kunz 1968, p. 229).

59 The shell necklets are AP13-1888 (black and white spirals, possibly zebra green nerite); AP14-1888 (pointed white shells) and AP10:3-1888 (winkles).

60 The shell group comprises a belt and a pair of bracelets from a suite given by Miss Drynan, Glasgow (1960, 5.a.01 and 2); a similar belt and a snood described as having been brought back from Russia in the mid nineteenth century by a sea-captain, grandfather of the donor, Mrs E. Howard of Wingate, County Durham (E.1978.8.2a and b), and a pair of bracelets similar to those acquired in 1960 (E.1937.48.o.1 and 2), given by Professor W.W. Stevenson. Another example of the association of shells with youth is F. W. Burton's *The Child Miranda* of 1864 (sold Christie's London, 11 November 1999, lot 21) in which the young girl wears a bracelet of whole shells strung together and holds a large nautilus shell in her hand. Here, however, the shells are associated with her shipwreck on an island as much as with her youth.

61 *The Queen*, 6 August 1870, p. 100: 'Novelties. The utilisation of sea shells'.

62 For example, a pink lip shell cut with cameo of female head with roses in hair (AP31-1888) and a whole murex shell with a female head on the underside (AP29-1888).

63 The carved shell brooches include a feather (AP21:9-1888), vine leaf (AP21:1-1888) and fish (AP21:3-1888 and AP21:6-1888).

64 For the Brogden shell necklace, see Sotheby's London, 18 March 1993, lot 81, and Sotheby's London, 28 November 2000, lot 120. Although cased by Brogden, it bears the maker's mark of an Australian firm, Lavell Bros & Roberts; this firm had a London outlet in Clerkenwell, the jewellers' district, and may have been wholesalers selling to the London trade. For the Tiffany brooch, see Phillips (ed.) 2006, no. 50.

65 Simmonds wrote copiously on coral in his own publication, *The Technologist* (no. 1, vol. II, August 1861, pp. 20–25), in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* in the 1880s and 1890s and in the *Art-Journal* (1873, pp. 229–31). Much information from Simmonds' articles is incorporated into Shirley Bury's detailed account (Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 238–44). The information given here is intended as far as possible to add to this.

66 Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 240. Simmonds notes that rows of large worm-eaten beads were much esteemed in India, and sold in large numbers in Madras, from the belief that the cavities were the dwellings of gods. (Simmonds 1877, p. 229). The history of coral fishing and jewellery has been discussed elsewhere at length: see Tescone 1973; Murano and Saggese 1989; Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 238–44.

67 Phillips' coral jewellery is not mentioned in the *Official Catalogue* of the 1851 Exhibition or in the *Official Illustrated Catalogue*. Thus the V&A group provides vital information about what was shown in 1851.

68 Animal Products Accessions Register, vol. 1, AP.845. A word of explanation is needed here: accession numbers with the letters AP followed by a number but no acquisition year indicate items retained from the 1851 exhibition. The amuletic pendants in the form of parts of the body were traditionally worn for protection; larger versions were left as votive offerings at shrines in the hope that the afflicted area would be healed.

69 For example, on 31 July 1860 Phillips took '1 carved elastic bracelet, 1 pair earrings plain top and drop', and on 7 August '1 bracelet, elephant's head'. Phillips may have removed them in preparation for the International Exhibition planned initially in 1861 as a sequel to the Great Exhibition, although it did not in fact take place until 1862.

70 See *Godley's Lady's Book*, January 1862, p. 104.

71 For example, the parure made for Mrs Fairbairn (*Off. Cat.*, pls 235 and 236), pp. 186–7 and Fig. 140 in this book.

72 Sala 1868, pp.207–11.

73 How much this was a question of taste and how much it was due to ease of extraction is hard to say. There may have been a point at which the supplies of the dark red coral were only to be found at such a deep level that the divers were unable or not prepared to fetch it, and so other colours had to be made desirable. By the end of the century Japanese coral was being imported in increasing quantities due to over-fishing in the Mediterranean (Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 239).

74 *EDM*, August 1871, p. 107. Rock coral forms a single lump as opposed to the branch structure of most coral used in jewellery.

75 For instance, an amulet in the British Museum from the Franks Bequest of 1897 (OA.1384).

76 Prince Albert's fondness for deer teeth jewellery is fully discussed in Bury 1991, vol. II, pp. 507, 518, and col. pl. 131 on p. 530 (a complete set in the possession of the Duke of Atholl at Blair Castle). It has been suggested that the acorn may have been chosen as a symbol of England, but it is more likely that the Prince Consort was simply continuing the German taste. For stags' teeth jewellery in Germany, see Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 805, with reference to similar pieces shown at the Stuttgart exhibition of 1896 (*Kunstgewerbeblatt* 1896, opp. p. 121).

77 This is an exceptional piece in which the teeth are carefully graduated in size, decreasing towards the back.

78 Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, has two ptarmigan or grouse foot brooches, one with white feathers shown here and one with brown feathers, E.1952.130a. See also National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/30, no. 25+005 for 13 July 1871: William Fraser of Inverness, a grouse or ptarmigan claw brooch in an ancient runic setting.

79 Lady Layard's Diaries, BL, Add. MSS 46158, 15 January 1881: 'we were most amused at our difficulty in finding them and went abt asking for "dents".' Sheila Paine notes that boars' tusks were among the powerful battery of amulets hung on horse-trappings in Naples in the late nineteenth century (Paine 2004, p. 38).

80 See *Bloomingtondale's Illustrated 1886 Catalogue*, Dover reprint, New York 1988, p. 133. The alligator teeth were combined with sea beans, seeds produced by the mucuna, a climbing woody vine native to the Caribbean.

81 Parks 1850, p. 12.

82 For Indian tiger claw amulets, see Untracht 1997, pp. 58 and 91–5. This account also includes a discussion of tiger claw jewellery in the west on which we have drawn heavily.

83 See Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 825. See also Carter 1986, no. 244, a gilt-metal necklace (stolen in 1995). Other jewels combined the claws with guns (e.g. Norwich Hull Grundy Gift, 1978.1.533).

84 The items in the Christie's sale are listed in *The Times*, 28 January 1863, p. 10.

85 Stronge *et al.* 1988 (reprinted 1995) no. 76, p. 84.

86 A-J, 1873, p. 346. For a complete set of necklace, brooch, bracelet and earrings acquired in Bombay by Georgina Lowell Putnam of Boston in about 1875, see Fales 1995, p. 259, pl. 180. A related family member, Elizabeth Gardner Putnam, owned a brooch with the claws of a tiger killed at Singapore in the 1860s, see Fales 1995, p. 260, col. pl. 155. There are also a number of instances of claws mounted in Chinese filigree: Fales pl. 155 includes a pendant with dragon-head mount and tail in Chinese filigree; for a necklace in the V&A of tiger claws alternating with elaborate Chinese filigree rosettes, see Bury 1991, vol. II, pl. 267, p. 512.

87 See *NYT*, 12 September-1875, p. 4, and for reports of the Prince of Wales's gifts see *NYT*, 4 July 1876, p. 4 and 9 July 1876, p. 4.

88 See *NYT*, 16 December 1877, p. 7; the reference to the cutting in the Tiffany Archive kindly supplied by Megan Breaks. Tiffany also made tiger claw brooches with Indian-style enamel mounts (see Fales 1995, p. 354).

89 *The Queen*, 27 November 1880, p. 494 (the lion's paw and panther claw bonnet ornaments), and 4 December 1880, Supplement, p. 1 (the vinaigrette). The vinaigrette is formed of two claws with an engraved metal setting. It may derive from examples brought back from India, such as the amulet or perfume container given to the V&A by G.L. Emerson (I.S.50-1956).

90 Gere and Culme 1993, p. 37. The claws were described in 1874 as tigers' not lions' but this is likely to be an error.

91 See Arthur (ed.) 1923, pp. 43 and 59. When Cetchwayo visited Britain after his release from two years' imprisonment, Queen Victoria commissioned a portrait of him from Carl Rudolph Sohn; dated 1882, it shows him wearing a necklace of lions' teeth. Sohn had difficulty in finding the set of lions' teeth which had to feature prominently, but luckily a collector was found who had a lion's skull (O. Millar 1992, cat. no. 647, p. 235, quoting information from a letter in the Royal Archives from the Master of the Household, Henry Sahll).

CHAPTER 6: BRITAIN AND THE WORLD THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS

1 Sala 1868, pp. 199–200.

2 There are a number of useful surveys of nineteenth- and twentieth-century exhibitions: Allwood 1977; Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs 1989; Greenhalgh 1988.

3 There were exhibitions somewhere in the world practically every year from 1851 onwards, sometimes more than one.

The different kinds of exhibition

4 The glass building proved inefficient in several ways: it was too hot, and admitted so much light that exhibits faded during the course of the exhibition.

5 *The Times*, 12 July 1870, p. 12, reporting the Queen's visit to the exhibition and noting, 'its duration will entirely depend upon the pecuniary support of visitors'. In common with all other British exhibitions, it was got together by a committee of eminent men.

6 *The Times*, 29 May 1886, p. 6.

7 A number of these are discussed in detail in Alcouffe *et al.* 1991. For a summary of their history, see 'The exposition of the productions of national industry in France', *Journal of Design and Manufactures* I, July 1849, pp. 145–64. A selection of exhibits from the 1849 exhibition was shown in London in 1850, see 'A warning on the French exposition in London', *ibid.* II, January 1850, pp. 159–68.

8 A-J, 1870, pp. 236–7.

The Great Exhibition

9 Among the many accounts of the Great Exhibition, one of the most wide-ranging is Auerbach 1999.

10 Fine arts included sculpture, models, large-scale mosaics and enamels, such as the painted enamels by Henry Bone. Painting was excluded as it was not a product of industry; this was changed in Paris in 1855 when the French annexed the Salon. Queen Victoria used Bone's small-scale enamels for setting in jewellery.

11 In the UK section, the exhibitors are listed by class but then in an arbitrary order, while the foreign exhibitors are listed in a single sequence which is broadly by classes, though they are not indicated. The French listing, however, has no fewer than five alphabetical sequences, probably because that was how the information was supplied. A note in *The Expositor* for 12 April 1851 records that the French exhibitors

- had not yet sent in their drawings or descriptions. 'They look upon it as a sort of private speculation, in which they do not wish to be buried. They suspect that the notes and comments will not do them justice.' France had steadfastly refused to open its national industrial exhibitions to foreign competition. In addition, the *Official Catalogue* wanted exclusive rights to the illustrations, which pleased the French even less. The article concludes that 'the ponderous list will therefore, it seems, be complete only in its failure'.
- 12 For a biography of J.W. Benson, see Culme 1987, pp. 41–2.
- 13 See *Illustrated Exhibitor*, p. 95. For examples of the vine brooches in gold see Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. nos 689–92.
- 14 For the Tasmanian shell necklaces, see *Off. Cat.*, Colonial Possessions, van Dieman's Land, no. 194, p. 182. Some immigrant jewellers may have exhibited in 1851, but they were not listed in the *Official Catalogue*. For a list of Australian jewellers at international exhibitions from 1854 onwards, see Schofield and Fahy 1990, pp. 278–9.
- 15 *Off. Cat.*, United States of America, no. 469, p. 319.
- 16 *Off. Cat.*, p. 209 (while the contributions from China are numbered, those from UK collectors or importers are not).
- 17 *ILN*, 4 October 1851, p. 430.
- 18 *Off. Cat.*, pp. 164–5; *ILN*, 3 May 1851, pp. 374–5. For example see two gold rings with the same seven medallions (British Museum AF 2595 and Chadour 1994, vol. II, p. 475, no. 1530). Neither ring has the lion and crown of England and so may have been made before the British protectorate. Jewellery with the symbols of the Ionian islands was made in various locations: the V&A purchased a brooch from the 1872 International Exhibition (1454–1873) with the symbols in a filigree frame and Maltese assay marks. See also J. Perry 2009, pp. 5–6, for a brooch with Corfu silver marks.
- 19 The Ionian Islands had been under British protection since the Treaty of Paris in 1815, but from around 1830, after Greek independence, they began to press for union with Greece. Insurgencies in 1849–50 had been suppressed with a heavy-handedness that led to lengthy discussions in Parliament as to whether an enquiry into the handling of the affair should take place (see *The Times*, 10 August 1850, p. 4). This may explain the decision of the then Commissioner, Sir Henry Ward, who had dealt with the rebellion, not to participate in 1851. There was subsequently much dispute about the future of the islands until they were ceded to Greece in 1862 on the recommendation of Gladstone. The 1851 display of what could be got together at short notice thus came at a time of fiercely divided opinions and bitter feelings. See letter to *The Times* of 8 September 1851, p. 7, from the 'Ionian' who had been responsible for the 1851 display.
- 20 For a detailed discussion of the jewellery in 1851 see Rudoe 2002a, pp. 69–82. For safety-chain brooches exhibited by Henry Ellis of Exeter, see *Off. Ill. Cat.*, p. 674, no. 12; for other fittings, brooch protectors etc., see *ibid.*, nos 10, 11, 65, 69, 74.
- 21 *Off. Ill. Cat.*, p. 1073, the flower of brilliants and rubies with leaves of emerald and green enamel, the vase of gold and enamel. The flower could be detached in the middle of the stem. An almost identical piece was shown by the London firm of Robert Phillips (*Off. Ill. Cat.*, Class 23, United Kingdom, p. 684, no. 87).
- 22 See *ILN*, 6 September 1851, p. 291, where Lemonnier's stand is described as part IV of a series of articles entitled 'A lady's glance at the Great Exhibition'; see also *The Illustrated Exhibitor*, 1851, pp. 228–9, with further illustrations on p. 263. Lemonnier is exhibitor no. 304 in the French section (see *Off. Ill. Cat.*, p. 1191, where the emerald and diamond *parure* is illustrated in pls 125 and 207).
- 23 For the Musée d'Orsay bracelet by Rudolphi with matching brooch and earrings, see Koch 1989/90, p. 93, no. 9; the set retains its original case.
- 24 Ralph Nicholson Wornum (1812–77), painter and contributor to the *Art-Journal* and other magazines, and Keeper of the National Gallery from 1854. The article appears at the back of the *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue* (Dover reprint, New York 1970, unpaginated).
- 25 *ILN*, 6 September 1851, p. 291, 'A lady's glance at the Great Exhibition, no. IV'. Perhaps this reviewer had noticed also the oxidized silver jewellery shown by Schreger of Darmstadt (*Off. Cat.*, Zollverein section, p. 27, Grand Duchy of Hesse, no. 51 and Price List, pp. 146–7, with detailed description of the items).
- 26 *The Times*, 30 June 1951, p. 5, and 14 October 1851, p. 5.
- 27 The purchases were paid for in April 1852, see Royal Archives, PAPC/MAIN/ACC/LED, Great Exhibition purchases, fol. 275 (reference kindly supplied by Kathryn Jones). They are not itemized, but when Dussieux listed the Froment-Meurice objects in the Royal Collection in 1876, he noted a hunting knife from the 1851 Exhibition, along with other pieces including a seal in the form of a crusader, and a chased platinum brooch with St George in a Gothic frame (Dussieux 1876, p. 291).
- 28 Probably for this reason, Gass barely features in later exhibition reports under jewellery. For Gass, see Culme 1987, vol. I, pp. 175–6.
- 29 See *Off. Cat.*, p. 312 (hardstone mosaic work from Tuscany) and p. 290, nos 15 and 20–24 (exhibitors from Rome).
- 30 *Illustrated Exhibitor*, 1851, p. 527. See *Off. Cat.*, p. 296, Sardinia, no. 58, works in silver filigree by J. Loleo.
- 31 These dates are derived from advertisements in the *London Times*.
- 32 For Paravagua & Casella, see *Off. Cat.*, British Section, Class 23, no. 84, p. 122. See also *Off. Ill. Cat.*, United Kingdom, p. 683. Austria had ruled Lombardy-Venetia since 1815; the Venetian republic under Daniele Manin lasted from March 1848 to August 1849, when Venice again lost her independence to Austria. Venice was finally incorporated in the Kingdom of Italy in 1866.
- 33 For the amber, see *Off. Cat.*, Zollverein Section, Prussia, p. 2, no. 41, C.L. Tessler, and p. 5, no. 205, G.E. Jantzen; and *Exhibition Official Catalogue Advertiser: Priced List of Zollverein Productions*, p. 32 (Tessler) and p. 50 (Jantzen) for list of exhibits. The Zollverein sent amber ornaments again in 1863, see A-J, 1862, pp. 191–2. For the carved ivory see *Off. Cat.*, Zollverein Section, p. 27: Grand Duchy of Hesse, nos 74 and 75, J.H. Friedrich and C.W. Heyl; see also *Exhibition Official Catalogue Advertiser: Priced List of Zollverein Productions*, pp. 148–9, for a full list of their exhibits.
- 34 *Off. Ill. Cat.*, p. 1066, Prussia, no. 655 (gilt work). The *Illustrated Exhibitor* (p. 414) noted that the iron was obtained from England, 'it being better suited for casting than any other'.
- 35 The *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue* (p. 37) gave engravings of two of Devaranne's bracelets, one very close to the South Kensington Museum example.
- 36 For the history of J.F. Backes & Co., now Backes & Strauss, see Rudoe 1989a.
- 37 *Off. Ill. Cat.*, Prussia, Baden, Electoral Hesse, no. 411, with illustrations on pp. 153 and 173.
- 38 Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 96 (Purcell 2001, pp. 551–2).
- 39 *Reports by the Juries, London 1852*, Class XXIII, p. 516. See also *ILN*, 9 August 1851, p. 197. For further discussion of these chatelaines, see Rudoe 2002a, pp. 75–6.
- 40 The Hope gems were listed not in the Precious Metals section but under 'Miscellaneous Objects, Main Avenue', see Rudoe 2002a, pp. 70–71. They also included 'the largest known pearl, weighing over 3oz' and 'the largest known cat's eye, taken from the King of Kandy when conquered'. The cat's eye entered the South Kensington Museum with the Townshend collection in 1969, see Bury 1982, p. 165, Case 31, board B, no. 34 (1332–1869 or 1333–1869, chrysoberyl variety: alexandrite cat's eye, both Hope collection). The description of it being 'taken from the King of Kandy when conquered' refers to the fall of Kandy in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) to the British in 1815.
- 41 For the display of the Koh-i-Noor see *ILN*, 31 May 1851, p. 491, and a watercolour painted for the Crown Jewellers showing the struts and the original Indian setting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey collection 1966, 66.562.24 (Gere 1998/99, p. 19). Although lent by the Queen, it was listed inconspicuously at the end of the British Precious Metals section.
- 42 Tennant 1853, p. 334.
- 43 In early July the display was altered: daylight was excluded and the gem surrounded by a hoarding of crimson cloth with a row of gas jets above it and metal reflectors on the table around it. For further discussion of the display and full references, see Rudoe 2002a, pp. 68–70. For the re-display of the Koh-i-Noor see also *The Times*, 13 June 1851, p. 5.
- 44 Bliss 1950, p. 221.
- 45 See J. Roberts 2002, cats 299–230. For the 'Timur ruby' necklace, see also Stronge 1996.
- 46 The Durria-i-Noor was lent by the East India Company; it is not the same stone as the Darya-i-noor, which was recorded in Tehran by the early nineteenth century and had not left the Treasury at any time in the nineteenth century (Balfour 1997, pp. 81–6). The Lahore jewels are described in detail in *The Times*, 14 May 1862, p. 5.
- 47 For a discussion of the Koh-i-Noor as a symbol of Britain's dominion over India, see Mersmann 2001. The stone lost 40% of its weight in the recutting. Although multiple faceting was the prevailing taste, the critic Charles Locke Eastlake preferred it before it had been 'pared down to mathematical symmetry' (Eastlake 1969, p. 268).

Dublin 1853

- 48 'The Queen's visit to Ireland', *The Times*, 3 September 1853, p. 9.
- 49 *Ibid.*
- 50 See 'The Dublin Exhibition', *The Times*, 18 May 1853, p. 5.

Paris 1855

- 51 *The Times*, 25 August 1855, p. 7, describing the royal visit to the exhibition.
- 52 See Vever 1906–8, vol. II, pp. 163–4 (Purcell 2001, pp. 630 and 633–4). Fontenay later made an emerald and diamond diadem for Empress Eugénie in 1858 (see p. 86).
- 53 *Official Catalogue of the British Section, 1855, Industrial Division, Class XVII, Jewellery and bronzes*, no. 1161; see also A-J, 1855, pp. xv–xvi.

London 1862

- 54 Burges 1862, p. 9.
- 55 *The Times*, 14 May 1862, p. 5.
- 56 *The Times*, 1 October 1862, p. 9. For a full description of Garrard's display, see Garrard 1862, pp. 13–20. The glass copies of the Koh-i-Noor made in 1851 were shown again to indicate what it had looked like before cutting. For the inscribed Lahore spinels in the Royal Collection, see Stronge 1996, pp. 5–12.
- 57 *The Times*, 27 June 1862, p. 10.
- 58 *The Times*, 25 August 1862, p. 11. London & Ryder were a firm of retail jewellers who specialized in 'court diamonds'

and 'Old Family Jewels rearranged in the modern style' (Culme 1987, vol. I, p. 300); they had not exhibited in 1851. An example of a miniature portrait in diamonds survives in the Vatican Museum: a ring with Pope Pius IX (pope 1846–78), see Antwerp 1997, pp. 40–41.

59 For the car's eye in 1851, see note 40 above.

60 See Hunt & Roskell 1862, p. 36 (copy in National Art Library). For the Arcot diamonds, see J. Roberts (ed.) 2004, p. 385.

61 The micromosaic medallions in the necklace shown by Attenborough would have been imported from Italy. It is possible that the whole necklace was made there.

62 Garrard & Co. list, op. cit. (note 56), no. 27.

63 For description of the Marret & Baugrand diadem see Darcel 1862, p. 444.

64 *International Exhibition 1862* (Reports by the Juries, Class XXXIII, Works in Precious Metals and their Imitations, and Jewellery), no. 3205.

65 For the Giuliano tiara, see Sotheby's New York, 6 December 2000, lot 127.

66 *Cassell's Illustrated Exhibitor*, 6 December 1862, pp. 230–31. See also Bury 1991, vol. II, pp. 457, pl. 237, for a page from the *Off. Ill. Cat.*, 1862, with the tiara and a different assortment of jewels, including a bouquet-holder also in the Etruscan style. For the artists who designed silver for Howell & James in the 1860s, see Culme 1987, vol. I, pp. 241–2; possibly they also designed jewellery but this is not stated. The firm had displayed laces, silks and clocks in 1851; their new rooms in Regent Street were opened in 1860.

67 *The Times*, 25 August 1862, p. 11.

68 See *A-J Ill. Cat.* 1862, p. 68 (an amphorae necklace and a necklace with painted Worcester porcelain classical heads by Thomas Bott).

69 Burges 1863, pp. 403–11, written in appreciation of Alessandro Castellani's leaflet 'Antique jewellery and its revival' which accompanied the Castellani stand in 1862. The leaflet was a version of the paper read by Alessandro to the Archaeological Institute on 5 July 1861 (*Journal of the Archaeological Institute* 18, pp. 365–9).

70 See Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 994.

71 Alessandro's letter to Layard of 24 December 1861 is quoted in full in Rudoe 1991b, p. 108.

72 Waring 1863, vol. III, p. 212. Waring does not describe the individual items; for detailed accounts, see Rudoe 1991b. See also *International Exhibition 1862* (Jury Reports, Class XXXIII), no. 2011: 'Each object exhibited by Castellani is a study for the archaeologist, the artist and the workman.'

73 Darcel 1862, pp. 440–42, p. 437. The reference to the opening of the Campana display on 1 May 1862 is from *Gentleman's Magazine*, n.s. 13, July 1862, p. 20.

74 See *The Times*, 27 June 1862, p. 10, 'The French Court at the International Exhibition', and *International Exhibition 1862* (Jury Reports, Class XXXIII), no. 3241: A.F. Savard, who exhibited 'doublé d'or' or rolled gold jewellery. There was also a great deal of imitation jewellery from Pforzheim: see Darcel 1862, pp. 442–3. For the influence of stage jewels on high fashion, see Steele 1988 (reprinted 1998), ch. 8, pp. 154ff.

75 See Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 454, col. pl. 107C and pp. 459–60. For more on T. & J. Bragg, see Mason 1998.

76 The exclusion of Birmingham in 1867 is discussed in the *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1872, p. 14.

77 The matter is picked up repeatedly in the trade and the national press: see, for example, *The Times*, 11 September 1867, p. 10. The lack of guarantee to the public in the absence of strict hallmarking laws led Brogden to quote the current prices for gold by weight in his advertisements, as well as a sample invoice, to reassure buyers of the value of

their purchase. France saw the matter differently: for Fossin and Baugrand, the strict adherence to a minimum standard of 18-carat gave the advantage to major German jewellery centres like Pforzheim, whose 14-carat jewels were exported all over the world. In their report for the jury, they called for a wider range of standards to be authorized for export only: see Fossin and Baugrand 1868, p. 437.

78 *The Times*, 12 May 1862, p. 9. Horsehair jewellery was made by those who worked for the Misses Doherty of Castle Street, Sligo, and by the poor in Youghal and Midleton in Cork; it was sold in souvenir and charity shops, see Dunlevy 2001, pp. 23 and 53, with further references.

Paris 1867

79 Fossin and Baugrand 1868, p. 430: 'L'Italie seule nous a présentés des produits tout à fait hors ligne; ses restitutions de l'art grec, toscan, romain, byzantin, sont remarquables. On ne lutte pas avec de pareils modèles; on s'incline en signe de vénération devant ces chefs-d'oeuvre du temps passé, si admirablement rendus.'

80 Fossin and Baugrand 1868, pp. 430–31 and 435.

81 *A-J*, 1873, p. 295.

82 They reveal for instance the difference in art education between Britain and France with regard to training in drawing. The artisans who wrote them were deeply envious of the ability of French jewellers to draw: see Society of Arts 1867, pp. 45–6 and 54–5.

83 For illustrations of the French crown jewels in 1867, see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, pp. 330–31 (Purcell 2001, pp. 796–7). Vever does not state explicitly that these photographs were taken at the exhibition, but they appear in the text during the discussion of the exhibition and are evidently arranged in a display case that could be viewed from several sides.

84 Sala 1868, p. 190.

85 This is dealt with at length by Neville Story Maskelyne in his report for the British government: Maskelyne 1868, pp. 593–5.

86 Jewellery by Ehni was no different from that made for the home market: see illustrations in *The Workshop*, 1868–9, pp. 175 and 207, and *The Art Workman*, 1879–80, part 16, pl. 34, all described as for Havannah and Mexico.

87 See Maskelyne 1868, pp. 616–17. The gold jewellery conformed to the French legal standard of 18-carat minimum.

88 Fig. 224 shows the best illustration of Baugrand's case, from Mesnard 1867, vol. II, p. 183; see also the photograph in Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 301 (Purcell 2001, p. 767).

89 For Fontenay's report to the jury, see Bascou 1990, pp. 30–44, with reference to *Fontenay, Exposition Universelle de 1867: Classe 36, Pièces de Joaillerie exécutées et gravées à l'eau-forte, à messieurs les Jurés*, Paris 1867. A copy of this report in the Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs was kindly made available by Evelynne Possémé. It is annotated and signed 'Offert à la bibliothèque de l'Union Centrale par l'auteur, Fontenay.'

90 See Vever 1906–8, vol. II, pp. 153 and 177 (Purcell 2001, pp. 623 and 649), and Bascou 1990.

91 See *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1867, p. 253.

92 See *Catalogue of Bihelots, Miniatures and other Valuables, the property of H.M. Queen Mary*, privately printed, 1920, no. 253. The mirror was described in detail by the *A-J*, 1867, p. 176. See also Gary 2004, pp. 378–85. Fontenay claimed that the technique was introduced by Lefoumier, calling it 'window enamelling' (*émail à fenestrage*). According to Vever, others had mastered the technique at much the same time; it was eventually patented by Riffault,

who made objects in *émail à fenestrage* for Boucheron from 1864.

93 Nor was Falize mentioned in the reports by Maskelyne and by Fossin and Baugrand. For Falize's cloisonné jewels and the evidence that they were shown in 1867, see Purcell 1999, p. 56. The Christofle and Barbédienne exhibits were large-scale pieces, not jewellery.

94 Lepec was also singled out by the *Art-Journal* on more than one occasion: see, for example, 1867, p. 238, 'What the British artisan in metals may learn in the Universal Exhibition'.

95 For the Lepec ring, see Bury 1982, p. 228, Case 34, board K, no. 4, ill. p. 234.

96 For the figural pendant by Harry Emanuel, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1867, p. 10; a version of this pendant in the V&A is signed by Giuliano (Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 455, col. pl. 108C). Giuliano did not yet have his own premises and was supplying other firms.

97 See Powe 1998, pp. 97–101.

98 *The Times*, 16 September, p. 10.

99 *Ibid.*

100 Sala 1868, p. 211.

101 *Ibid.*, p. 292, and *The Times*, 11 September 1867, p. 10.

102 Fossin and Baugrand 1868, vol. 4, p. 434.

103 Sala 1868, p. 221. See also *A-J*, 1867, p. 175. The diadem is based on an ancient example from Cumae, near Naples, in the Campana collection. A number of versions are known, for example, Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 231, fig. 9–3 (sold Sotheby's New York, 6 December 2006, p. 198), thought to be Dudley's. It may have been the one shown by Castellani in 1862 which Alessandro subsequently left in London, hoping to sell it to the South Kensington Museum; he corresponded about it with Layard between 1862 and 1865, but the sale never happened (Rudoe 1991b, pp. 111–13). However, other examples are known, such as the one exhibited by Mrs Burt at the Loan Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Jewellery held at the SKM in 1872 (cat. 582). Further examples are noted in Rudoe 1991b and in Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 231.

104 For criticism of Castellani's prices, see F. Ducuing, 'L'Italie à l'Exposition universelle', in *l'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, vol. I, Paris 1867, p. 267. For the V&A diadem purchased in 1884, see Rudoe 1991b, p. 113.

105 See W.G. Deeley, 'Jewellery, with diamonds and precious stones', in Society of Arts 1867, p. 45.

106 *The Times* describes a 'coronet of ferns wrought in enamel and brilliants' (16 September 1867, p. 10).

The Working Men's International Exhibition, London 1870

107 *The Times*, 12 July 1870, p. 12. There had been an earlier version on a smaller scale – the North London Working Classes Industrial Exhibition of 1864; from this exhibition, the V&A subsequently acquired three specimens of gem-setting under a glass dome in the form of scarf-pins, by John Whenman of Clerkenwell, which had been awarded first prize certificate (785–1902, Given by Mr J.H. Whenman).

108 See *A-J*, 1870, p. 317 for Stevens, Jeffreys' imitation jewellery and Irish bog oak, and p. 267 for Irish bog oak, including brooches in the form of owls.

109 *A-J*, 1870, p. 316.

110 The Christesen jewellery is fully listed in the *Official Catalogue of the Workmen's International Exhibition*, London 1870, p. 49, Foreign Department, Class 6, Ornamental Metal Work, nos 1–14. For the *Art-Journal* articles, see *A-J*, 1870, pp. 267–8; the second notice is on p. 316.

111 *A-J*, 1870, p. 316.

112 In November 1869 Alessandro wrote to Layard from Naples that he had received a letter from Mr Probin, the secretary of the organizing committee for the exhibition, asking him to arrange to send the most important things from Naples:

'I am going to find out if a committee is to be set up here; if not, I shall form one immediately myself.' See also note 116. 113 *A-J*, 1870, p. 316.

114 The *Official Catalogue* lists under Alessandro Castellani of Naples, two pairs of gold and pearl Etruscan-style earrings: see *Off. Cat.*, 1870, p. 55, Foreign Department, Italy, Class 6, Ornamental Metal Work, no. 185.

115 *Off. Cat.*, 1870, p. 53, Foreign Department, Italy, Class 4, Decorative Art, no. 104.

116 There is a lengthy correspondence about the arrangements for both exhibitions between Alessandro and Layard, suggesting that because the opening of the Workmen's Exhibition was delayed, the Naples contribution may not have been shown at all, and may have been sent straight back to Naples to be there for September. There is no mention of anything from Naples in the *Art-Journal*, although the catalogue lists gold and pearl jewellery from some seven names, as well as coral jewellery from Giacinto Melillo. For Alessandro's letters to Layard, see British Library Layard Papers, Add. MSS 38997: 14 November 1869, 29 March 1870, 24 May 1870 and 29 June 1870. In the event, the Naples Exhibition did not open till March 1871 and had a notable display from Castellani as well as Robert Phillips. For the Castellani display at the Naples International Maritime Exhibition, see *The Times*, 20 April 1871, p. 10.

London 1871–4

117 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1871, pp. 25 (Christesen), 55 (Hunt & Roskell), 61 (Brogden), 84 (Hancock's). For a copy of a Russian cross by Brogden, see Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 1003. 118 'Italy at the International Exhibition', *The Times*, 26 July 1871, p. 4.

119 *JSA* 20, 4 October 1872, 'Jewellery at the International Exhibition, 1872', pp. 877–81. Regrettably the author's name is not given and it is not recorded in the Society of Arts archives, which were kindly checked by Sophie Cawthorne.

120 See letter to *The Times* of 7 November 1872, p. 11. 121 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1872, p. 52; see also *JSA*, op. cit. (note 119), p. 878 and *The Times*, 23 September 1872, p. 10, which says the Dudley jewels were shown by Garrard's. 122 *JSA*, op. cit. (note 119), p. 878.

123 For Howell & James, see *The Times*, 23 September 1872, p. 10, *JSA*, op. cit., p. 879 and *A-J Ill. Cat.*, p. 5. Versions of the central square pendant in the *Art-Journal* illustration have been on the market in recent years. An entry in the South Kensington Museum accession register for 1872 indicates that the locket shown top left in Fig. 227 was designed by L.F. Day. Described as a locket for a bridesmaid, it was purchased from Howell & James for £8: 'Oval centre enamelled with orange blossoms and a heart, guilloché border surmounted by a coronet.' The locket no longer survives in the V&A.

124 See *JSA* 37, 22 March 1889, pp. 407–8, in the discussion of Giuliano's paper 'The art of the jeweller'. The mention of Howell & James in *Patience* occurs in Act 2, in Bunthorne and Grosvenor's duet listing well-known 'aesthetic' haunts.

125 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, p. 18 for illustration of Bragg jewels and pp. 34–42 for a detailed description of the Birmingham display; *JSA*, op. cit. (note 119), p. 877.

126 *The Times*, 30 April 1872, p. 5, and 23 September, p. 10.

127 *The Times*, 23 September 1872, p. 10, and 30 April, p. 5; *JSA*, op. cit. (note 119), p. 880.

128 See *The Times*, 23 September 1872, p. 10 for Borgen's Danish filigree and description of the rest of the collection, and 3 July 1872, p. 13 for additional contributions from Albania/Northern Greece.—The most detailed description is in *JSA* 20, 4 October 1872, pp. 877–81.

129 See *JSA* op. cit. (note 119), pp. 880–81, and *The Times*, 17 May 1872, p. 5.

Vienna 1873

130 *The Times* leader, 16 August 1872, p. 4. The article urged support on the grounds that it was a major opportunity for trade with Eastern Europe and Turkey, not to mention the 'mineral treasures as yet unexplored in Transylvania', and also as an opportunity 'for Turkey to become acquainted with Western civilisation in arts and sciences'.

131 *Officieller General-Catalogue*, Vienna 1873, England, Gruppe VII. Metall-Industrie, nos 240 (Hancock's), 242 (Thomas), 243 (Aitchison), 245 (Goggin) and 246 (Whiteley).

132 See *L'Esposizione Universale*, 1873, p. 184.

133 See *The Queen*, 7 February 1874, p. 117, 'Russian and other jewellery' at the Vienna Exhibition. For Krumbügel's enamelled gold Russian-style jewels, see also C. von Lützow 1875, pp. 408–9. Lützow was Director of the Vienna Kunstakademie.

134 *Off. Cat.*, p. 210, Italy, Gruppe VII. Metall-Industrie, nos 27 and 33.

135 The Castellani's perfection of granulation is discussed in Rudoe 1991b.

136 Lützow 1875, p. 130; *A-J*, 1873, p. 342.

137 *A-J*, 1873, p. 346.

138 Verey 1985, pp. 130–31.

Philadelphia 1876

139 Tiffany had shown seed-pearl ornaments in 1853.

Other firms who displayed jewellery were Ball, Black & Co.: see Falino and Markowitz 2009, pp. 76–7. In 1867, Tiffany had shown hollow-ware only.

140 See Dietz 2006, p. 50.

141 *A-J*, 1876, p. 342.

142 See Ingram 1876, pp. 314 (ill.) and 315. The jewel is fully described with contemporary illustrations by Dietz 2006, pp. 49–50. For the design drawing and subsequent history of the jewel, see Loring 2006, p. 104. Charles II, Duke of Brunswick, amassed a celebrated collection of jewels which was sold in Geneva after his death.

143 *NYT*, 15 June 1876, p. 4, 'The World's Exhibition; the display of artistic jewelry'.

144 W. Smith 1876, pp. 456–7. *The New York Times* describes the cameos in detail, noting a head of Minerva by the Neapolitan engraver Filippo Rega; a carcanet (collar) of the thirteen Caesars with a centrepiece of Mars and Venus, the heads copied apparently not from heads of Roman rulers but from 'a curious series of medieval German types emblematic of the Caesars'; a cameo head of Narcissus cut by Pistrucci; other unattributed subjects such as St Peter in prison and the pilgrimage of the Three Kings, as well as portrait heads of Longfellow and Bryant. The *Art-Journal* noted that 'The cameos and intaglios displayed by this firm have been rarely surpassed if equalled at any international display' (1876, pp. 342–3).

145 W. Smith 1876, pp. 103–4 and 36. Providence was a huge silver and jewellery manufacturing centre: see Fales 1995, pp. 292–4.

146 Ingram 1876, pp. 470–74. For a contemporary photograph of flower and leaf jewellery shown by the Moscow firm of W. Adler in the Centennial Exhibition Digital Collection, see <http://libwww.library.phila.gov/CenCol/index.htm>, image ref: CEDC No. c021739 (29 December 2008). We owe the details of this website to Annamaria Sandecki. W. Smith 1876, p. 489, illustrates the same pieces as from the United States Court; sometimes the work of a number of American and French firms was illustrated together, for

example in *Harper's Weekly* of 2 December 1876, p. 968 (see Falino and Markowitz 2009, p. 83, pl. 47), which may have aided the confusion.

147 *A-J*, 1876, p. 367. The reviewer also bemoans the absence of Emile Philippe, but erroneously, since he appears in Smith's account.

148 For the agate jewellery, see Ingram 1876, pp. 433–4. See also an exchange of letters in the *New York Times* between a Philadelphia correspondent, 'H. C.', and Georg Ehni, representative of the German manufacturing jewellers and silversmiths (18 May 1876, p. 6, and 23 May, p. 2).

149 *NYT*, 8 May 1876, p. 4, 'A Centennial catalogue'.

The same problems of tarnishing had been previously noted by *The Queen* with regard to French peasant jewellery (see p. 324).

150 Ingram 1876, pp. 534, 501, 563.

151 W. Smith 1876, p. 123. This suggests that Philippe perhaps exhibited with the Egyptian section, which may explain why he does not figure in the reports of the French display.

152 *L'Esposizione Universale*, 1876, p. 570.

153 W. Smith 1876, pp. 297–302. Smith, an Englishman, was director of art education for the state of Massachusetts. The extract from Castellani's account was presumably taken from the reprint of the 1862 text done for the Philadelphia Exhibition.

154 *L'Esposizione Universale*, p. 139. Alessandro also gave three lectures during his American visit, to the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art in Philadelphia, and to the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Buffalo (Munn 1984, p. 35).

155 *NYT*, 15 June 1876. The article is initialled 'HC'.

156 See letter to *The Times*, 'from a practical man', 2 September 1876, p. 6.

157 *A-J*, 1876, p. 313.

Paris 1878

158 See *The Times*, 2 May 1878, p. 9, on the opening ceremony and the attempts by the Bonapartists to make the exhibition fail.

159 Allwood 1977, pp. 62–4.

160 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, p. 166; *Kunst und Gewerbe*, 1879, p. 12.

161 For Layard's role in the revival of glassmaking in Venice and the 1878 Exhibition see Rudoe 2003, pp. 210–19, and Rudoe 2002b.

162 For examples of the jewellery given to the Prince of Wales in India, see Stronge *et al.* 1988/1995, nos 42, 77 and 121.

163 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1867, p. 275.

164 Sala 1878, pp. 143–5, and *Kunst und Gewerbe* 1879, p. 12, a long report written by Dr J. Stockbauer of Munich. Curiously, the *Art-Journal* did not mention Brogden at all, perhaps because they had given him plenty of space in 1871. 165 See Ménard 1881, p. 52 (Bapst) and *A-J*, 1878, p. 132 (Rouvenat).

166 For the Boucheron thistle, see Havard 1878, p. 356 and Bergerat 1878, pp. 84–5. Only the leaf is known to survive (see Wartski 2001, cat. 160, ill. p. 25). For the Fouquet diadem, see Havard 1878, p. 322 (ill. p. 365), Falize 1878, p. 250 (ill.) and Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 381 (Purcell 2001, p. 857). For the Téterger chatelaine, see Bergerat 1878, p. 190 (ill.), Falize 1878, pp. 253–4 (ill.) and Corbeiller 1990, pp. 85–7. See also Gere 1998/99, p. 40.

167 Falize 1878, p. 248; Massin's imitation lace jewels also included a 19 cm filigree narcissus hair or corsage pin, and an oak spray (Vever 1906–8, vol. III, pp. 476 and 475/Purcell 2001, pp. 968 and 967). See also *Kunst und Gewerbe*, 1879, p. 12 (ill. of narcissus). The word 'tulle' used by Vever may mean either the network backgrounds of bobbin lace or machine-made netting used as a base for embroidery.

168 For a contemporary photograph of Massin's 1878 display, see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 472 (Purcell 2001, p. 965): this is the only illustration that shows the diamond crescents on the choker of the owl pendant. Other illustrations show it as a brooch (see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 480/Purcell 2001, p. 972) or as a pendant and choker but without the crescents: see Havard 1878, p. 365 (the text is on pp. 322–6) and Falize 1878, p. 249. The scale of these pieces is evident from Vever's view of the whole display; in some cases the actual size can be calculated: Havard's report states that the illustrations are two-thirds actual size. Henry Havard (1838–1921) wrote widely on the decorative arts; his books on interior decoration were especially influential.

169 For Fontenay, see Falize 1878, p. 246: 'ces délicieux bijoux filigranés et des émaux très fins aux fonds rutilants [delightful jewels with filigree work and delicate enamels with their glittering grounds]'. For Froment-Meurice, see Havard 1878, p. 357 and *A-J Ill. Cat.* pp. 99 and 140. For a German review, see *Kunst und Gewerbe*, 1879, pp. 4–5, describing a gem-set and enamelled necklace by G. Sandoz, a brooch in the manner of Collaert by Falize, filigree work by A. Betouille (see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 122/Purcell 2001, p. 581), and jewels with diamond motifs on a deep blue ground by Amédée Fornet, a name not mentioned by Vever at all.

170 Falize 1878, p. 218, 'Nous sommes les premiers, oui, mais parce que, à quelques exceptions près, la production étrangère est médiocre. Si . . . l'Américain Tiffany poussait plus loin ses progrès, si l'Italie avait beaucoup de Castellani, notre supériorité serait en danger.'

171 See Society of Arts 1878, pp. 470–71, mentioning the 'great attention paid to detail, even to the cases in which they are put, which were after the Japanese fashion'. For the patronage of the Prince and Princess of Wales, see Falino and Markowitz 2009, p. 86, quoting a report in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, 27 September 1878, p. 4, claiming that 'The Prince of Wales wears a Tiffany scarf pin. The Princess wears a Tiffany Japanese brooch'.

172 Sala 1878, pp. 81–2 and Bergerat 1878, p. 122. Bergerat states that the idea of a *Musée des copies* was Charles Blanc's.

Paris 1889 and the *fin de siècle*

173 For an account of the range of material from all nations, see *Les Merveilles de l'Exposition de 1889* (no author), Paris 1889.

174 The only English jewellers were the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company of Regent Street, and the Goldsmiths' Alliance of Cornhill (see *A-J*, 1889, on goldsmiths' work at the Paris Exhibition, pp. xxv–xxxii).

175 For Massin, see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, pp. 480–82, with illustration of the central part of the ornament on p. 487. Similar motifs were described as Persian at the time. Champier 1889–91, Fasc. XV, illustrated the piece in a plate devoted to Sandoz with no mention of Massin.

176 For the jewels at the Paris 1889 Exhibition, see Champier 1889–91.

177 For Tiffany's orchids at the 1889 Exhibition see Phillips (ed.) 2006, pp. 202–9 and Falino and Markowitz 2009, pp. 90–93. The orchids recreated specific varieties accurately. According to the *New York Times* (13 March 1889, 'Novel and artistic jewelry') Tiffany had been working for two years on them.

178 *A-J*, 1889, p. xlii, with illustration. See also Falino and Markowitz 2009, p. 87. For the Cartier *écharpes* or corsage ornaments, see Rudoe 1997, pp. 68–9.

179 For Farnham's vesta case designs, see Loring 2000, pp. 72–3. In their own descriptions of the jewels shown in 1889 Tiffany themselves muddled up the different peoples

and their locations, see *ibid.*, pp. 68–70. The *Art-Journal* listed all possible sources, noting jewellery and silver 'that is distinctly American . . . direct studies from records of the Indians . . . Chilkat and Sitka of Alaska, Zuni and Navaho of Mexico, Sioux of Dakota', etc.

180 Her entrée into royal circles may possibly have been behind the loans from Queen Victoria and Queen Marguerite of Italy. The society columns reveal that she was taken up by the Prince of Wales and he procured further introductions. Queen Victoria lent tapestries and Queen Marguerite of Italy lent crown laces (*NYT*, 6 June 1893, p. 2), apparently 'an honour never before granted by a sovereign to a foreign country' (*A-J*, 1893, p. xxvi). There was also a worked leather chair seat by the Princess of Wales and stools worked by Princesses Victoria and Maud of Wales, but Alexandra's work had to be withdrawn because it was gradually being taken away in pieces by curio hunters (*A-J*, p. xxvi).

181 *The Times* (London), 5 October 1893, p. 3.

182 For Tiffany's display at the Chicago 1893 exhibition see Blades and Loring 2006. For the bonnet brooches, see *ibid.*, pp. 60–63. The 1893 Exposition is also discussed in detail by Dietz 2006, pp. 57–61 and the brief account given here owes much to these authors.

183 Vever 1894, pp. 61–2. The photograph of the 1893 display is illustrated in Loring 2000, p. 17.

184 Blades and Loring 2006 has a supplement on contemporary accounts with a reprint of the account from *Godey's Lady's Book* of August 1893 in which many of these pieces are illustrated. It is followed by an English translation of Vever's account with all the original images.

185 *A-J*, 1893, p. xxvi.

LINKS WITH THE EAST India

1 The Indian Museum moved to Fife House on the Embankment in 1861 and then in 1869 to the new India Office building in Whitehall designed by the Company's surveyor, Matthew Digby Wyatt. The contents were transferred on loan to the South Kensington Museum in 1874. For an account of the East India Company's collections and its transfer to the V&A, see Skelton 1978. For a review of the new amalgamated Indian Section display at the SKM, see the *Times* review, 15 May 1880, p. 12. See also Desmond 1982.

2 O. Jones 1856, pp. 77–9. Owen Jones's text was in part intended to refute the criticism of the public money spent on the SKM's 1851 Indian acquisitions (*ibid.*, ch. 12, p. 77). See also *First Report of the Department of Practical Art: Catalogue of Museum of Manufactures. Division II. Metal Work: Enamels on Metal and Jewellery*, etc., London 1853, pp. 250–55.

3 For Princess Alexandra's Indian suite, see Field 1992, p. 54; the colour plate from the souvenir volume is reproduced in Menkes 1985, p. 46. Alexandra wore her Indian jewels to the Devonshire House fancy dress ball in 1897 to which she went dressed as Marguerite de Valois; the enormous Indian multi-strand pearl necklace was worn down the front of her corsage (for a contemporary photograph see Menkes 1985, p. 42).

4 This point is discussed in Stronge 1995b. *The Times* for 8 July 1871, p. 10, noted that 'shams are not unknown in the East'. The expectation evidently was that the jewellery would be all real in view of the vaunted riches of India, but the comment can only be understood in the context of the discussion at this time about imitation jewellery from Birmingham (see p. 270) and the attempt to raise its status to that of imitation jewellery in France and, now, India.

5 See *The Times*, 17 May 1872, p. 5, 'India at South Kensington'. In this article, the display becomes a vehicle

to illustrate contemporary arguments on the origins of ornamental forms, which had themselves grown out of the Victorian veneration for the idea of progress: in brief, the appearance of similar decoration in distant countries and periods – for example in Etruscan or Greek art, held to be the highest forms against which others were measured – pointed to the existence of an earlier common civilization. For further discussion of Victorian attitudes to Indian art, see Mitter and Clunas 1997.

6 See *JSA* 20, 4 October 1872, pp. 880–81, 'Jewellery at the International Exhibition, 1872'. Some even more ephemeral jewels made of spun lacquer threads (see Barnard 2008, fig. 2.18, p. 46), lacquer with mirrors (Barnard, fig. 2.17), or foil-covered lacquer (Barnard, fig. 4–7, p. 88) have survived to this day through being preserved in the V&A. A large group of imitation jewellery was acquired when the former India Museum merged with the South Kensington Museum. There was also a great deal of glass bead jewellery, including the pieces from Oude.

7 See South Kensington, *Indian Manufactures* 1872. Nick Barnard of the V&A Indian Department kindly drew this rare publication to our attention. We owe much to his account of Indian jewellery in Victorian Britain and the making of the V&A's collection: see Barnard 2008. For praise of Mrs Rivett-Carnac's 'historical and ethnological' classification, see *Art-Journal Catalogue of the International Exhibition, 1872*, p. 60. The collection and its rationale is described by John Henry Rivett-Carnac (1839–1923) in his memoirs: see Rivett-Carnac 1910, pp. 248–50.

8 J.L. Kipling was Sir Edward Poynter's wife's brother-in-law (see note 37). Her sisters visited India frequently and brought back jewellery and other ornaments.

9 For purchases by the V&A at the International Exhibitions, see Barnard 2008, pp. 88–98.

10 As Barnard has noted, the lenders to the 1872 Loan Exhibition were not those who had lived in India. As a result, there were a number of export wares: Digby Wyatt lent a collection of Indian filigree, while R. Soden Smith, Keeper of the National Art Library, lent *kufthari* work.

11 Barnard 2008, p. 104. It is significant that these are both fringe necklaces. Alessandro Castellani held that Indian jewellery owed much to ancient Greek types through the conquests of Alexander the Great; Alessandro himself collected Indian jewellery and his pieces deliberately echoed classical forms (see Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 258).
12 See, for example, *The Times*, 6 December 1875, p. 5; 27 December 1875, p. 7; 24 January 1876, p. 9; 26 January 1876, p. 8. The gifts were so lavish that the Government of India had been forced to place restrictions on the value that the Indian rulers were allowed to give, in order to enable the Prince to make comparable return gifts without too great a drain on the Treasury (*The Times*, 28 December 1875, p. 7). See also Hudson, 1995, pp. 349–66, where many of the Indian reports by William Russell are reprinted. Russell accompanied the Prince to India.

13 *The Times*, 22 June 1876, and *Catalogue of the collection of Indian Arms and objects of art presented by the princes and nobles of India to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, on occasion of his visit to India in 1875–1876, now in the Indian Room at Marlborough House* [by C.P. Clarke], London 1898. See also Stronge *et al.* 1988/1995, nos 77 (tiger claw ornament) and 121 (Partabgarh glass), both gifts to the Prince of Wales, in the Royal Collection. The glass brooch uses red glass instead of the customary green and depicts busts of the Prince and Princess of Wales, with a dated inscription. It was given by the Raja of Rutlam in 1876.

14 *The Times*, 22 May 1886, p. 5. After the 1878 exhibition, the royal gifts had been installed in Marlborough House, the Prince of Wales's residence: see Beavan 1896.

15 The Waterhouse Celtic brooch with quatrefoil terminals

was shown at the Dublin Exhibition of 1853 and illustrated in the *A-J Ill. Cat.*, p. 39. The *kuftkari* pieces were transferred to the South Kensington Museum from the India Museum in 1879. See Barnard 2008, p. 80, on the origins of *kuftkari* work following the annexation of the Punjab in 1849.

16 See Birdwood 1880, p. 26. In fact the *babul* method is not strictly granulation: for a full account of *babul* work, see V. Farmer, 'Work of thorns', *Jewellery Studies* 7, 1996, pp. 13–36. The pendant in Fig. 243 was probably in the India Museum display at the Paris Exhibition of 1855 and transferred to the South Kensington Museum in 1881; the earrings were given by Mrs Constance Morgan in 1924 (IM.26&A-1924).

17 For example, a necklace and brooch in the Fitzwilliam Museum (M18-1983, given by Mrs Anne Hull Grundy) has elements in the form of a Western cross. For a necklace of c. 1850 in the V&A, from the India Museum, see Stronge *et al.* 1988/1995, no. 119. For a discussion of the technique, see Untracht 1997, p. 300.

18 See South Kensington, *Indian Manufactures* 1872, no. 2439.

19 For the Burmese hairpins, see South Kensington, *Indian Manufactures* 1872, no. 2440. For a Burmese reddened gold filigree necklace, purchased by the South Kensington Museum from the Great Exhibition of 1851 (123–1852), see Barnard 2008, p. 91, fig. 4.9. It was reddened with tamarind juice to prove that it was real gold and would not change colour.

20 See, for example, a coloured gold and platinum brooch in the Japanese taste in the original Cooke & Kelvey case: Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 793.

21 These advertisements are quoted in Wilkinson 1987, pp. 97 and 118–19. Many of the firms discussed in this book were also jewellers, and it gives an extraordinary picture of the range available in colonial India.

22 For Cuttack jewellery in Indian as opposed to Western forms, see Birdwood 1880, pl. 48; he notes that the fine work was done by boys.

23 Swami work was the name adopted by the Indo-European manufacturers, 'Swami' meaning god, goddess. See Untracht in Stronge 1995a, pp. 81–6. Trichinopoly is now Tiruchirappalli in Tamil Nadu. The softness of almost pure gold required for the embossing would have been unusual in Britain at that time, and gave the pieces a much yellower tint; 18 carat, the normal high-quality standard in Britain, was used only for pieces that required greater strength, such as bracelets. Another speciality of the area was the knitted wire 'Trichinopoly' chains; the sale of the surplus collection of the Indian court at the end of the 1862 Exhibition had included 'a very elegant gold bobbin chain from Trichinopoly' which sold for £20 15s. The sale took place at Christie's over seven days and the closing day's sale of 27 January 1863 was described in *The Times*, 28 January 1863, p. 10. Trichinopoly work is a type of French knitting, plaited around a frame of pins.

24 The Orr & Sons trade catalogue is in the National Art Library, press mark G.31.0. The press comments of 1875–6 included at the back suggest a date in the late 1870s. Orr & Sons were jewellers and silversmiths in Madras, 1849–95, and one of the biggest operations of their kind, numbering some 600 artisans by the late nineteenth century. The catalogue also includes 'caste' bracelets, depicting not deities but the various trades, that is, the lower castes in Hindu society, 'to meet the religious prejudices of those who object to the native "Swamies" as a method of personal ornamentation'. Perhaps it was these adaptations that Birdwood disparaged as 'corrupted to suit European taste' (Birdwood 1880, pp. 29–30). This may explain why it was not included in the 1872 International

Exhibition, where the selection had been made by serious collectors who thought it too commercial.

25 For Baugrand's peacock, see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 304 (Purcell 2001, p. 770); Warski 2001, p. 23, no. 148. The design for it, annotated with Lord Dudley's name, is among a group of designs acquired from Baugrand by N.S. Maskelyne when he was writing the Jury Report for the 1867 Exhibition (Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 466, and p. 779, note 44).

26 For an example, see Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 659, col. pl. 185.

27 The Mughal thumb ring, 02528 (IS) entered the India Museum in 1868 and was subsequently transferred to the South Kensington Museum. For Guthrie, see Barnard 2008, pp. 87 and 104.

28 See Haweis 1878, pp. 104–5.

29 Advertisement at the back of Birdwood 1880.

30 Liberty & Co. catalogue, 1881, p. 67. Liberty's also stocked Syrian silver necklaces, Egyptian filigree, Turkish bead necklaces, jade beads and so on.

31 The portrait was acquired by the V&A in 2004. The rosary closely resembles Indian rosaries of the kind represented in the Tayler collection of rosaries bought by the South Kensington Museum in 1874: see Barnard 2008, p. 27, figs 1.22 and 2.7. For Tayler, see *ibid.*, pp. 29 and 97. 32 For Flemish silver book clasps of this type, see L. de Ren, A.-M. Claessens-Peré and W. Nys, *The Silver Collection*, Sterckshof Studies 9, Provinciaal Museum Sterckshof, Antwerp 1997, no. 360, dated 1868, and no. 433, possibly eighteenth century. For a Dutch example, see J.R. de Lorm, *Amsterdams Goud en zilver*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 1999, no. 269, of 1790. Perry 2010 (forthcoming) notes that antique Dutch 'silver bag frames, old silver book clasps, etc.' sold by Thornhill's were described in *The Queen*, 13 February 1875 and 3 November 1877; old book clasps made up into various accessories were noted on 16 May 1885.

33 The waist-clasp is also in the V&A (E.1062–2003), see Liberty catalogues for 1886, p. 37, and 1888, p. 6. These clasps continued to be popular into the early 1900s; they appear in trade catalogues issued by the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company in 1901 (Hinks 1991, pp. 72–3), by Mappin & Webb in 1900 (Hinks 1991, pp. 110–11), and by Saunders & Shepherd Ltd in 1903–4 (Hinks 1991, p. 181).

34 T.H. Hendley, *Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition*, 3 vols, London 1883. There had by then been several national exhibitions in India: the first was in Madras in 1857, followed by Punjab in 1864, the North-West Provinces exhibition at Agra in 1867, and a second Punjab exhibition in 1881.

35 For further discussion of the influence of Indian jewellery, see Stronge 1990, pp. 143–55. The *Journal of Indian Art* later devoted a whole volume to Hendley's researches: Hendley 1909 (reprinted Delhi 1984). See also W. Ganguly, *Indian Jewellery*, New Delhi 2009 (a reprint of the Hendley volume with additional images of modern work). 36 For Giuliano necklaces with multiple pearl strands, see Munn 1984, p. 128, pl. 145; Gere and Munn 1989, p. 87, col. pl. 36. For an Indian fringe necklace with pearl tassels, see Stronge *et al.* 1988/1995, no. 67, IS 03202, acquired by the India Museum in 1855, and for a Giuliano version of the type, see Munn 1984, p. 144.

37 This source has been noted by Untracht but does not seem to have found its way into the literature on Giuliano: see Untracht 1997, p. 395, with illustration of the Gujarati necklaces on p. 191, fig. 365. The Poynter watercolour is discussed in Gere and Munn 1989, pp. 82–3. There is no complete necklace of this type in the V&A but the South Kensington Museum acquired a single plaque from such a necklace in 1883, from Karachi, Sind (shown in Fig. 253).

Giuliano and Poynter could have seen it or may have known complete necklaces. The necklaces are worn by the Muslim Mutwa who live in Sind as well as Kutch.

38 See *Jewelers' Weekly* 8, no. 7, 1998, pp. 41–3. See also Loring 2000, p. 91, for the design drawing for the pendant; it had six cat's eyes interspersed with diamonds and rubies. 39 For the ring, see Loring 2000, p. 82; for the brooch see Loring 2000, p. 79 and Phillips (ed.) 2006, no. 55. For the handpiece, see Loring 2000, p. 83 and Untracht 1997, p. 397.

40 For the Tiffany Burmese jewel, see Loring 2000, p. 78. See also Vever 1894, p. 64, fig. 10, and p. 68 (reproduced in English in Blades and Loring 2006, pp. 113–21).

41 Information from Tiffany's catalogue of jewellery at the Chicago Exhibition of 1893, kindly supplied by Annamari Sandecki. Edward C. Moore (1827–91) was chief designer and head of Tiffany's silver workshops from 1851 till his death. His collection was bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, while his extensive library remained with Tiffany.

The Islamic world

42 O. Jones 1856, reprinted 1982, p. 77.

43 See Rudoe in Whiteway (ed.) 2004, p. 86, with reference to Dresser's own work, *Principles of Decorative Design* (1873).

44 Evans 1970, reprinted New York 1989, p. 178.

45 Vever 1906–8, vols I, p. 392, and II, p. 184 (Purcell 2001, p. 208, col. pl. 35; p. 427; and p. 652, Crouzet bracelet).

46 For Petiteau Moresque jewellery, see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 231 (Purcell 2001, p. 321); Waring 1862, vol. I, pl. 44. At the Paris Exhibition of 1855, Rudolphi had exhibited a 'Moorish' chatelaine, not perhaps the most successful of shapes with its three discs uncomfortably attached by chains, but each disc bears a different pattern-book design in coloured enamel (see *A-J*, 1855, p. 2).

47 The Falize chatelaine is illustrated by Fontenay as c. 1852, but it may be later.

48 Vever notes that Gueyton made Algerian brooches, suggesting that there was perhaps a hybrid North African style which adapted the forms of North African penannular brooches (Vever 1906–8, vol. II, pp. 22–3/Purcell 2001, pp. 485 and 483). The Crouzet 'Moroccan' bracelet is illustrated on p. 186 (Purcell 2001, p. 656); the fragmentary inscription visible in Vever's illustration is probably copied from the Arabic. The inscriptions were kindly read by Venetia Porter.

49 An unmarked corsage ornament in the V&A with pearl-bordered onyx roundels inset with mock Arabic letters in diamonds has been attributed to Crouzet for this reason.

50 For the Streeter sale report, see *The Times*, 11 December 1884, p. 6. See also Culme 1987, vol. I, p. 437, for the announcement and additional reporting in the *ILN*. For the Giuliano inscribed jewels, see Warski 1984, no. 87, and no. 86, a series of rubbings of similar jewels from a record book kept by Kempson & Mauger Ltd who undertook some of Giuliano's later enamel work. See also Sotheby's New York, *Castellani and Giuliano*, 6 December 2006, lot 63 for the same brooch with illustration from the Kempson & Mauger record book.

51 For the Wiëse comb, see Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 1052A. For Falize's use of Islamic ornament, see Purcell 1999, p. 41 left, an enamelled gold chatelaine, and p. 74, pl. 102, a necklace also illustrated in Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 493 (Purcell 2001, p. 985).

China and Japan

52 See *ILN*, 6 August 1842, for an illustration of the display. It remained open in St George's Place, Hyde Park Corner, after Dunn's death and was toured around Britain to raise funds; a portion of it was then displayed by P.T. Barnum in

- Knightsbridge, until it was sold in December 1851: see J. Haddad, 'The Romantic collector in China: Nathan Dunn's ten thousand Chinese things', *Journal of American and Comparative Cultures* 21, no. 1, Spring 1998, pp. 7–26; and *The Times*, 14 July 1842, 11 November 1843, p. 5, and 11 December 1844, p. 7, on its redisplay, and 25 November 1851, p. 8, on the sale at Christie's on 10 December 1851. The Chinese junk had sailed into London in 1848 (*The Times*, 19 May 1848, p. 5).
- 53 For examples of Chinese carved ivory jewellery for the Western market contained in their original Canton retailers' cases, see Fales 1995, p. 261, col. pl. 156. For Chinese filigree jewellery, also in Canton cases, see *ibid.*, p. 255, col. pl. 154. See also Bury 1991, vol. II, pl. 267, p. 512.
- 54 Vever 1906–8, vol. II, pp. 312–13 (Purcell 2001, pp. 782–4). They were designed by Laisne. The English translation describes the figures as 'gods and goddesses'; the original French reads 'personnages du Celeste-Empire', i.e. from China. Vever gives no further information about Laisne. The firm of Fontana was founded in 1840 by Thomas Fontana (1813–61), who was succeeded by his nephew Joseph, and his son Charles from 1871 (Vever 1906–8, vol. III, pp. 564–7/Purcell 2001, pp. 1063–4).
- 55 Gere *et al.* 1984, cats 1068–9.
- 56 Streeter certainly went to the Paris Exhibition of 1878, advertising among his Christmas presents and New Year's gifts 'novelties in jewellery, recently purchased at the Paris Exhibition' (*The Times*, advertisements, 30 December 1878, p. 1).
- 57 The Metropolitan Museum volume is 67.576. Some drawings have French inscriptions and one is signed 'Penck'; they have been catalogued as French or Belgian (we owe this information to Catherine Jenkins).
- 58 According to *The Times*, 15 May 1862, p. 11, Alcock was 'assisted by our consular agents at the treaty ports', referring to the 1858 Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce.
- 59 The display was at the gallery of the Society of Painters in Watercolours in Pall Mall East, see *The Times*, 26 January 1854, p. 10; the unsold items were sold on 12 April (*The Times* classified, 6 April 1854, p. 16) and included 'red, gold and green lacquer work'.
- 60 Some Japanese objects had entered the South Kensington Museum, then the Museum of Ornamental Art, in the 1850s: see Halén 2004.
- 61 'The collection from Japan . . . represents almost every department of Japanese art and industry, from their rare lacker [sic] ware, straw basket, and bamboo work down to the massive quadrangular coins of the realm . . . The wonderful egg-shell porcelain – the astonishment and envy of all European manufacturers – will be amply represented, as we might expect, but we were not prepared to find among their goods a Japanese *Encyclopaedia*, with illuminated works on natural history and chymistry [sic], a quadrant and sundial, a compass, a pedometer, a thermometer and a telescope. There will also be a fine collection of arms and armour, scent bottles, exquisite ivory carvings, Japanese metal work, with paper, silk, crape and cotton tapestry, a thick cable of human hair, lava from Fusigama, coal from Fezin, and minerals from all parts of that strangest of kingdoms' (*The Times*, 29 March 1862, p. 7).
- 62 See, for example, Jackson 1992, pp. 245–56, with extensive bibliography.
- 63 This criticism was avoided at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, where Japan exhibited on its own account.
- 64 *The Times*, 27 June 1862, p. 5. The 'little metal buckles' may have been sword mounts.
- 65 NYT, 3 July 1875, 'Asia at the Centenary', an article discussing the participation of China and Japan at the Philadelphia Exhibition.
- 66 They had very quickly understood what to do, setting up a bureaucracy of senior government figures with direct involvement in the arts, either as members of the Japanese Commission for the Philadelphia Exhibition or as ministers responsible for choosing and purchasing the Japanese ceramics for the South Kensington Museum in 1875–6. This is discussed in Gere 2005. See also Faulkner and Jackson 1995.
- 67 *The Times*, 15 May 1878, p. 5; the article mentions the exhibitors by name, most of them probably retailers rather than manufacturers.
- 68 Sources differ on whether La Porte Chinoise opened in the late 1850s or in 1862 (G. Weisburg, 'Félix Bracquemond and Japanese influence in ceramic decoration', *Art Bulletin* 51, no. 3 (September 1969), pp. 277–80, and Gere and Whiteway 1993, p. 127; both have it as late 1850s). For the Japanese company see Jackson 1992.
- 69 In 1873 Dresser set up the Alexandra Palace Company to import Japanese art, bringing over the entire Japanese colony from the Vienna Exhibition; the Alexandra Palace in Muswell Hill was North London's equivalent of the Crystal Palace in Sydenham. For Alexandra Palace, see Gere and Whiteway 2004, p. 38.
- 70 Tiffany sold those items from Dresser's Japanese collection that were surplus to requirements in June 1877, see NYT, 12 June 1877, p. 5. Dresser subsequently formed Dresser & Holme, a wholesale warehouse in the Farringdon Road, to import Oriental goods, with his son acting as Japan agent in Kobe.
- 71 A-J, July 1878, p. 158, quoted in Gere and Whiteway 2004, p. 41.
- 72 See *The Times*, 'A Japanese room', 12 June 1878, p. 6.
- 73 It was a working entity with houses and shops occupied by Japanese craftsmen and their families, over 100 people in all, providing an opportunity to study Japanese culture first-hand. It lasted, despite rebuilding after a fire, until 1887. See J. Greenacomb (ed.), *Survey of London*, vol. 45, 'Knightsbridge Green area: Scotch Corner and High Road', English Heritage 2000, pp. 79–88. This is available on-line at www.british-history.ac.uk and gives full references to articles from *The Times*.
- 74 For a concise history of Japanese cloisonné enamel and cloisonné manufacture in the nineteenth century, see the V&A website (www.vam.ac.uk/collections/asia).
- 75 In this he was much praised by his fellow jeweller Fontenay, who wrote with dismay of Falize's imitators adding gemstones to gaudy enamels, thereby selling far more than Falize did of his tasteful concoctions (Fontenay 1887, pp. 468–9).
- 76 There are conflicting accounts about when Falize first produced his cloisonné enamels; the evidence is not absolutely conclusive, but Katherine Purcell has argued that they were shown in 1867 (see Purcell 1999, pp. 54–61 and pp. 180–81).
- 77 Burty 1868, p. 57. Martz is a shadowy figure who needs more research. According to Shirley Bury (1991, vol. I, p. 360, and p. 437, note 41) he was successor to Auguste Lion, manufacturer of chains and meshwork, and had a London agent, Le Roy et Fils of the Palais Royal and Regent Street, through whom the cloisonné work was available (Purcell 1999, pp. 56–7). Le Roy & Fils were well-known watchmakers and may have commissioned pieces from Falize themselves: for a cloisonné enamel watch chatelaine signed Le Roy & Fils, see H.C. Ackermann, *Die Uhrensammlung Nattan-Rupp im Historischen Museum Basel*, Basel 1984, no. 214.
- 78 See Purcell 1999, where Falize's Japanese-style cloisonné enamels are discussed in the life of Alexis Falize (pp. 54–61), in the section on craftsmen and collaborators (pp. 180–81) and in the section on sources of inspiration (pp. 198–212), with illustrations of Lucien Falize's water-colour designs for the Ashmolean bracelet (p. 210, fig. 281).
- 79 For the demonstration set, see Purcell 1999, pp. 58–60. The V&A accession number is 1772 to C-1869.
- 80 When Falize's cloisonné jewels were sold by Tiffany they apparently substituted the lid satins for one printed with their own name: see, for example, a Japanese-style Falize locket in the Cleveland Museum of Art with a Tiffany lid satin to the case (Purcell 1999, p. 61, fig. 81, and Phillips (ed.) 2006, p. 29, fig. 13).
- 81 Society of Arts 1878, pp. 470–71.
- 82 For discussion of the forms and methods of Japanese metalwork, see Harris 1994, pp. 20–25.
- 83 *The Queen*, 4 December 1880, Supplement, p. 1. This was followed by an advertisement on page 2, illustrating brooches, earrings, pendant and necklace.
- 84 See Zapata 1995.
- 85 The original darkened surfaces have almost always been burnished away by later generations, but contemporary documentation is explicit on this point. A small tankard in the British Museum retains its original oxidized surface: see Rudoe 1991a, no. 351 and Rudoe 1993.
- 86 For the display of Japanese art at the Metropolitan Museum, see NYT, 28 June 1873, p. 3.
- 87 See Gere *et al.* 1984, nos 1064–5. Similar pieces are illustrated in Phillips (ed.) 2006, nos 18–20.
- 88 The French had used platinum in subtle ways: F.-D. Froment-Meurice had used it as early as the 1850s in the form of a platinum and silver alloy to minimize tarnishing in diamond jewellery (see Burty 1883, pp. 86–7), while Cartier among others had used it from the 1860s for applied work on a contrasting red gold. For the Cartier jewels with platinum, see Rudoe 2001, pp. 32 and 36. For general uses of platinum in the nineteenth century, see Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 271 and 350.
- 89 Platinum was first isolated as a metal for ornamental uses in the late eighteenth century and appears in coloured gold jewellery from around the 1830s as a substitute for white gold or silver. This was discovered as a result of analysis carried out on the British Museum's coloured gold jewellery in 1991, when it was realized that the metals thought to be silver or white gold (which also contains silver) were not tarnishing at all.

THE ROLE OF 'PEASANT' AND REGIONAL JEWELLERY FROM CONTINENTAL EUROPE

- 1 We are hugely indebted to Jane Perry for sharing her vast knowledge of peasant jewellery and for encouraging us to include this section. We have drawn much on her work, see J. Perry 2010 (forthcoming). Space does not permit a detailed country-by-country discussion and others are better qualified to do this.
- 2 Hinks 1975, p. 98.
- 3 Other centres included Vercelli near Turin and Cortina d'Ampezzo in the far north-east near the Austrian border: see Thellung 1996, Fröhlich 1980 and Gandolfo and Lenti 2003.
- 4 *The Times*, 7 January 1843, p. 8. Although Samuel Jones describes himself as a goldsmith and jeweller in the advertisement, he is not included in Culme 1987, presumably because he did not enter a mark and must therefore have been a retailer only.
- 5 *The Times*, 1 May 1843, p. 10. At the Great Exhibition, Genoese filigree was shown under the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia: see *Off. Cat.*, 1851, Sardinia, p. 296, nos 58 and 59. J. Loleo and J. Bennati. Jane Perry has noted that Genoese filigree of this date bears Sardinian marks despite being made in Genoa.
- 6 He did not exhibit in 1851. For Forte in 1862, see

Off. Cat., 1862, Italy, p. xxxvii, Class 33, Precious Metals, no. 1993; see also *International Exhibition 1862* (Jury Reports, Class XXXIII), p. 7, no. 1993.

7 *Off. Cat.*, 1851, Malta, p. 165, nos 24, E. Cretein, and 25, S. Falson; *The Times*, 1 May 1851.

8 *International Exhibition 1862* (Jury Reports, Class XXXIII), pp. 157 and 159.

9 Given to the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery in 1935–6 by Miss Nora Buchanan.

10 Letter from Dr James Douglas of Quebec, 'A customs' grievance', *The Times*, 29 April 1853, p. 6.

11 For the gifts to General Ellice, see *The Times*, 15 June 1852, p. 5. Ellice was much liked for his achievements and respect for the local community. For the gift to Prince Alfred, a 'magnificent bouquet of artificial flowers in filigree, worked by the nuns of Santa Caterina', see *The Times*, 5 January 1859, p. 9.

12 *The Times*, 29 May 1886, p. 6.

13 *The Times*, 12 May 1862, p. 9.

14 For early twentieth-century illustrations of Dutch headbands in wear, with the caps and the added pendants, see Beard 1915, pp. 91–8.

15 *The Times*, 12 May 1862, p. 9.

16 *Ibid.* The article goes on to explain that in the poorer districts the costume was borrowed. Crowns, for instance, were kept by the local church.

17 For Alessandro Castellani's memoir on the art of the goldsmith in ancient times, see Alessandro Castellani 1861 and 1862.

18 *A-J Ill. Cat.* 1867, p. 325.

19 'The collections of Signor Castellani, of Rome and Naples', *A-J*, 1867, pp. 175–6.

20 Sala 1868, p. 222.

21 Falke 1872.

22 For the printed list see *Catalogue de la collection de bijoux des paysans d'Italie: exposée par Alessandro Castellani en 1867 à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris, Paris 1867* (it is not clear whether this was written by Alessandro or Augusto Castellani); the copy in the V&A is lacking the title page and has a handwritten title on the front page: *Catalogue of the Castellani Collection of Art Objects in the Paris Exhibition 1867*.

23 Arundel 1868. The photographic plates do not follow the same numbering sequence as the printed catalogue but their titles keep the same regional divisions and so it is possible to match text and image. The areas described by Castellani as having traditions continuing since antiquity are Naples: pp. 2–3, Panel I (Arundel volume, pl. 10), Sicily and Sardinia: pp. 3–4, Panel II (Arundel volume, pl. 11), Etruria: pp. 7–8, Panel V (Arundel volume, pl. 3).

24 This point is made by Jack Ogden: see Ogden 2004, pp. 181–200. The large earrings with triple drops from S. Angelo in Vado are described in the printed list under the section on Etruria, Panel V, pp. 7–8, nos 17 and 28 (Arundel 1868, pl. 3).

25 The *navicelle* are in the section on 'Naples et Grande Grèce', Panel I, p. 2, no. 1, and highlighted in the 'Observations' below: 'les boucles d'oreilles, costume de l'isle de l'Ischia, sont peut-être, et comme style et comme fabrication, ce que la tradition nous a conservé de plus beau. On les dirait sorties d'une tombe Grécque.'

26 *The Times*, 11 September 1867, p. 10.

27 *A-J*, 1870, p. 374.

28 Henry Cole's Diaries, 25–28 April 1867, 30 May, 5–6 June, 12 June (references kindly supplied by Jane Perry).

29 On the grounds that the Paris Exhibition offered the possibility of helping industrial progress in every direction and not merely to 'provide a supply for South Kensington' but also to help 'all our large towns so eager for improvement': see *The Times*, 6 August 1867, p. 12:

'Purchases at the Paris Exhibition'.

30 See *The Times*, 27 July 1867, p. 11: 'Public purchases from the Paris Exhibition'; 6 August 1867, p. 12: 'Purchases at the Paris Exhibition', and 10 August 1867, p. 6: 'Purchases at the Paris Exhibition'. The Select Committee's decision to entrust the choosing of objects in great degree to Layard himself, as opposed to the authorities of the South Kensington Museum, was noted in the *Art-Journal*, 1867, p. 214: 'English national purchases at the Paris Exhibition'.

31 *Gentleman's Magazine*, n.s. 4, August 1867, pp. 193–201: 'Archaeological collections in the Paris Exhibition, chapter II'. No author is given.

32 *A-J*, 1867, p. 176.

33 'Popular jewellery of various countries', *A-J*, 1870, p. 374.

34 See Cole 1879, pp. 119–21 (we owe this reference to Jane Perry).

35 Guest (ed.) 1911, pp. 10, 12 and 20. Marchesini also sold fashionable jewellery in the current styles, see Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 1033, for a demi-parure in the Renaissance taste.

36 For Lady Charlotte Schreiber's St Esprit jewel, see Guest (ed.) 1911: 1875, p. 372. For Lady Layard's purchases in France, see Rudoe 1983–4, p. 68.

37 Jane Perry has noted that some collectors were content merely to display their peasant jewellery: 'In some drawing rooms now you frequently find one of the small tables appropriated entirely to a collection of old silver work, such as Indian bracelets . . . Norwegian clasps, old English buckles . . . Norwegian belts . . .' (*The Queen*, 11 April 1885, quoted in Perry 2010, forthcoming).

38 *The Queen*, 24 August 1872, p. 156. The Breton necklace from the 1872 Exhibition is V&A 1237–1873.

39 Many of the references from *The Queen* quoted here were generously supplied by Jane Perry. See *The Queen*, 31 August 1872, pp. 171 and 218; 21 September 1872, p. 237; 16 November 1872, p. 399; 25 January 1873, p. 78 for Mr Catt; 8 March 1873, p. 198 and 26 April 1873, p. 325.

40 Beetle wings were wanted in exchange for a Breton necklet: see *The Queen*, 8 November 1873, p. 373 and 9 May 1874, p. 396.

41 *Godey's Lady's Book*, December 1874, p. 574.

42 *The Queen*, 25 December 1869, p. 389. For examples of Norwegian silver buttons, see J. Perry 2007, pp. 44–5, 101–2, 110, 123, 139.

43 For a traditional *salje*, see Hinks 1975, pl. 69.

44 See Arundel 1868, pl. 12, the central item in the group of three disc brooches top left.

45 *The Queen*, May 1870, quoted in Cummins and Taunton 1994, pp. 88–9. For an actual example with maker's mark of Thomas Johnson and H.W. Dee, hallmarked London 1867 and retailed by Thornhill, see *ibid.*, p. 98, col. pl. 55. Another view of this belt is on p. 131, col. pl. 104, and it is described in the text on pp. 128–9.

46 For examples of traditional men's belts from Norway, see Jorunn Fossberg, *Drakt Sjølv*, Oslo 1991, pp. 91, 114, 179.

47 *EDM*, December 1873, p. 341; there is a long passage on Thornhill's chateaines, pp. 311–14. The knives in sheaths may perhaps have been intended to refer to the wedding belts with knives common to many parts of northern Europe.

48 The list is described with illustration in *The Queen* for 29 November 1873 (quoted, with illustration, in Cummins and Taunton 1994, pp. 131–2 and pl. 79).

49 *The Queen*, 20 August 1870, p. 133, and 10 September 1870, p. 102.

50 *The Queen*, 9 May, p. 396. This seems hard to believe, since the cheapest belts were a lot more than the necklets, but Thornhill's were being undercut by Henry Rodrigues, a popular gift store at 42 Piccadilly, whose advertisement in

The Times of 27 February 1875 listed 'Norwegian belts, silver and plated mounts, 21s to £5' among a wealth of wedding and birthday presents. Rodrigues kept the same advert till 1877, then the firm stopped advertising in *The Times* altogether. The price wars between the two firms suggest that Rodrigues had brought out their copies at the end of 1874. Thornhill's Christmas advertisement in *The Queen* in December 1874 carefully gave the starting prices only: 'Silver Mounts from 4 Guineas, Plated Mounts from 2 Guineas' (see Cummins and Taunton 1994, p. 94, illustrated on p. 197, pl. 117).

51 Lady Layard's Diaries, BL, Add. MSS 46159. The Norwegian belt was still being advertised in 1886.

52 The registered design for Thornhill's Albanian belt has not so far been found in the National Archives. Presumably they had had to register the design to stop Rodrigues selling copies again. Thornhill's advertised it alongside the Norwegian belt in *The Queen* from 12 December 1874 (in unpaginated section) and in *The Times* from June 1875.

53 This is clear from a notice in *The Times* for 3 July 1872 (p. 13) announcing the addition to the 1872 Exhibition of 'some characteristic peasant ornaments' from South Albania; they were all from Paramithia, Metzovo and Konitsa, now all in present-day Ioannina, northern Greece. According to Jane Perry, these clasps may have been made by expatriate Epirot goldsmiths who had moved to the British-ruled Ionian Islands in the 1820s to escape the Greek War of Independence (Perry 2009 and Perry 2010, forthcoming). For a breast-chain from Epirus in the V&A with a similar medallion to those on the clasp of the Albanian belt, see 1438–1873. For an identical clasp in the British Museum, see Eu2001,01.10. Perry has also noted that copies of these clasps were made in Birmingham and has seen one by Thomas Tongue of 1877.

54 Thornhill's advertisement in *The Queen*, 29 November 1873, quoted in Cummins and Taunton 1994, p. 129.

55 Boulgaris left his native Epirus for Corfu in 1877 and settled in Rome in 1881. He later Italianized his name and set up his own company, Bulgari, in 1884, moving to the via Condotti in 1894 (see Mascetti and Triossi 1996, pp. 9–11). For a photograph of Greek and Albanian jewellery in the via Condotti shop around 1900, as well as Albanian clasps made by Sotirio Boulgaris and his father Georgis, see Mascetti and Triossi 1996, p. 13, fig. 7, p. 46, pl. 57 and p. 48, pl. 58.

56 See Perry 2010, forthcoming.

57 The purchase was made in London and may have been occasioned by the famine in Cyprus that year.

58 See *The Times*, 4 August 1886, p. 3, for a long article on Cyprus at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, which makes it clear that the island was much visited.

59 Evans 1943, pp. 163, 180 and 187 (intaglios bought in Herzegovina, Mostar and Ragusa), and p. 170 (Wallachian belts), bought at the market in Mühlenbach, near Hermannstadt (now Sibiu), Transylvania (Mühlenbach may be an old name).

60 *Ibid.*, p. 166.

61 Artists such as Eastlake flattered their sitters by depicting them in fancy costume; in 1835 he painted Mrs Bellenden Ker, wife of an eminent educationalist and friend of Henry Cole, dressed in the costume of an Italian *contadina* (*Tate Britain*, no. 1395).

62 'A number of peasants were permitted to enter the ball-room in order that their Majesties might become acquainted with the costumes of the country . . . Then followed national dances – slow melancholy affairs, and lasting some hours . . . the women in their rich attire, and not wanting in gracefulness and stateliness, the rustic and primitive music, all combined, together with the glare of lights and sumptuous decorations, to make it a very brilliant scene' (Carette n.d., p. 23). Madame Carette was reader to the Empress.

63 See *The Queen*, January–June 1869, p. 113 (reference kindly supplied by Jane Perry). See also *The Queen*, 28 December 1872, p. 543, describing Russian peasant dress as the latest fashion for fancy-dress balls.

64 Murray's *Handbook*, 1867, p. xxv.

65 This phenomenon had as much to do with the development of nationalism as with the ethnological desire to record traditions that were already vanishing. It has been fully treated by Lou Taylor, who discusses these displays as a symbols of independent national identity (Sweden, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Romania), or as a reflection of imperial power (Austro-Hungary and Russia): see Taylor 2004, ch. 6, pp. 203–10. See also Taylor 2000, pp. 30–43.

66 The wearing of peasant costume by society women is discussed in Perry 2010, forthcoming.

67 Lady Layard established a centre for the production of traditional Turkish embroidery in Constantinople following the Russo-Turkish war, while Queen Marie of Romania (Queen Victoria's granddaughter) sponsored the revival of embroidery in Romania. Both the Turkish domestic cloths and the Romanian blouses and other clothing were sold by Liberty's and are illustrated in the Liberty catalogues for 1881 and 1898 (we owe this information to Anna Buruma, archivist at Liberty & Co.).

68 See, for example, two articles by the jewellery dealer J.W. Singer of Frome on 'Peasant jewellery – French' and 'Peasant jewellery – Flemish and Spanish' in the *A-J*, 1884, pp. 45–8 and 367–72. Mrs Singer of Frome, Somerset, was supplying French peasant jewellery in 1872 (*The Queen*, 21 September 1972, p. 237).

69 Vallance 1893, pp. 357–60.

70 It was acquired at the 1872 Exhibition for 15s (V&A 1285–1873) and its origin was correctly identified by Jane Perry.

CHAPTER 7: NATIONALISM AND HISTORICAL STYLES IN JEWELLERY

1 Berlin iron jewellery continued in popularity into the second half of the nineteenth century. See Marquardt 1983, pp. 145–9, and Kat. 476–577; Arenhövel 1982; Schmidt 1981; Marquardt 1984; Bartel (ed.) 2004.

2 The sculptures of the Musée des Monuments Français, opened in 1795, transferred to the Louvre in 1824: see Paris, Hôtel de Sully 1979, nos 160–88, pp. 75–84. Two collections containing medieval enamels and other decorative arts, the Durand and Revoil collections, were acquired in 1825 and 1828 respectively.

3 For both chain and portrait, see Joannis 2004, fig. 7 (the portrait) and cat. 187 (the chain).

4 See Paris, Caisse Nationale 1965. He continued to work in the Gothic style for Napoléon III, restoring for him the Château de Pierrefonds and designing a luxury railway carriage in the fourteenth-century Gothic style. The Musée de Cluny contained the collections of Alexandre du Sommerard, and was housed in his home, the fifteenth-century Hôtel de Cluny.

5 Veve 1906–8, vol. I, pp. 150–53 (Purcell 2001, pp. 224–8).

6 For the Bridge album, see Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 189–92, pls 91A, B and C. For a rare example of early Gothic-style jewellery, see Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 203, pl. 100, a set of brooch and earrings with pointed or ogee shapes derived from architecture. There is further evidence for such jewels in portraits made at the very beginning of the nineteenth century: Mary Nisbet, Countess of Elgin, was painted by Gérard in 1803 wearing a pendant in the form of a large, lozenge-shaped stone surrounded by Gothic foliage, very close to the Bridge album sketches, see Marshall and Dalgleish (eds) 1991, no. 55, p. 68, in the National Gallery of Scotland.

7 For the costume balls in German-speaking lands, see Marquardt 1983, p. 86.

8 The ball was held in Paris on 2 March 1829: see Mansel 2001, p. 147. The Quadrille was a pre-arranged and rehearsed formal dance set-piece staged at intervals during grand costume balls. Guests were assigned their historical characters and had to dress appropriately. At the Devonshire House Ball in 1897 the Processions and Courts took the place of Quadrilles. Lady de Grey, rival Cleopatra to Mrs Arthur Paget (see Fig. 358), was in the Oriental Procession.

9 The suite of jewellery is now in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Bordeaux.

10 An important source for artists was Bonnard 1829–30 (English edition, 1844; second French edition, 1860–61).

11 As early as 1824 the English artist Henry Howard made a fancy portrait of his daughter in Florentine dress, *The Florentine Girl*, her costume being modelled on Leonardo's portrait (Tate Britain, N00349). Howard's picture was shown at the Royal Academy in 1827 and enjoyed a great success.

12 V. Surtees (ed.) 1990, p. 241.

13 Gower (ed.) 1894, p. 204.

14 See Veve 1906–8, vol. I, pp. 107, 141 (the 'Gothic' dress), 173, 189, 271, 277 (Purcell 2001, pp. 165, 216 (the 'Gothic' dress), 251, 273, 365, 371). For the same fashion plate, see *Allgemeine Modenzeitung*, 1830, pl. 12 (reproduced in Marquardt 1983, p. 96, fig. 74).

15 See Shaw 1842, pls 18–19 and Arundel Society 1869. The Arundel Society (1849–97) specialized in large-scale reproductions of paintings of the old masters for home decoration. The Holbein jewellery designs were a somewhat unusual departure from their normal subject matter.

16 See Veve 1906–8, vol. III, p. 501 (Purcell 2001, p. 993), top left for a pendant by Falize at the 1889 Paris Exhibition recreating a Holbein design. Holbein's drawing is in pen and ink on a black wash ground; Falize's watercolour design for this jewel survives and indicates that it was enamelled in red and black with central sapphires surrounded by diamonds and pearls (Purcell 1999, p. 239, fig. 339). Falize could well have seen the original designs on his visit to London in 1859, but his mention of them in his report on the goldsmiths' work at the 1889 exhibition leaves no doubt that they were in his mind at that time. The passage from Falize's *Rapport sur L'Orfèverie* (Falize 1891, p. 128) is quoted in Purcell 1999, p. 238. At the Buffalo Exhibition of 1901, Tiffany exhibited a pendant designed by Paulding Farnham and copied exactly from a Holbein design – adding powder blue and pink enamels to Holbein's pen and ink drawing (see Loring 1999, p. 159).

17 *A-J*, 1876, p. 367. The German Commissioner was widely condemned in Germany for his frank comments.

HISTORICAL REVIVAL JEWELLERY IN ENGLAND

1 Digby Wyatt 1851–3, p. xxii.

2 The 'Cellini style' persisted throughout the nineteenth century. English translations of the autobiography appeared from the 1770s to John Addington Symonds's classic version of 1888, and finally C.R. Ashbee's in 1898.

3 The establishment of a department for British antiquities is traced in Caygill and Cherry (eds) 1997, pp. 58ff.

4 The influence of costume histories is discussed in Strong 1978, pp. 49–60; see also Taylor 2004.

5 Planché's illustrated *Souvenir of the Bal Costumé* was published in 1843.

6 For details of the exhibition of the Queen's costume, see Staniland (ed.) 1997, p. 134, and D. Millar op. cit. (chapter 1, note 62), I, pp. 1025–6.

7 Cole paid £30 for Maclise's design, but had some difficulty finding a manufacturer. He eventually persuaded Gass to produce it (Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 327–8).

8 *Off. Cat.*, Class 23, no. 83,–683: 'A Silver gauntlet niello bracelet, designed by D. Maclise, descriptive of "The Promised Gift", "The Gift Ordered", and "The Presentation".'

9 Ernest Leviny (1818–1905); for Leviny's designs, see Schofield and Fahy 1990, pp. 38–9 and 214; see also Culme 1987, vol. I, p. 292. Leviny's role as a designer in the complex workings of the London trade, where one designer might supply a number of firms, has yet to be assessed.

10 For other gem-set antiquarian pieces, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1851, p. 127, the ruby and gold 'Holbein bracelet' and a carbuncle brooch displayed by C. Rowlands & Son, also of Regent Street. For a description of these pieces see *ILN*, 6 September 1851, p. 291, and Culme 1987, vol. I, p. 396. These firms thought they were doing something Holbeinesque, and it may be that these pieces have not been recognized because the materials are not what we are expecting and the black and white engravings of the period are so deceptive.

11 Bury 1994, pp. 165–71.

12 Quoted in Gere 1972, p. 53.

13 Bury 1969, pp. 85–96. The suite included a smaller cross and chain made for Pugin's second wife, Louisa. Items from the suite were shown at the V&A in 1952, see Floud (ed.) 1952, and were subsequently acquired for the V&A.

14 Ferry 1861, p. 224.

15 For the portrait see Atterbury and Wainwright (eds) 1994, p. 9, fig. 15. The portrait, owned by the RIBA, is on loan to the Palace of Westminster.

16 *ILN*, 1851; quoted by A. Wedgwood, 'The Mediaeval Court', in Atterbury and Wainwright (eds) 1994, p. 244.

17 Quoted in Hill 2007, p. 164. Pugin was referring to his provocative publication *Contrasts* of 1836. Hill examines the effect of Pugin's Catholicism on his career in detail.

18 See Gere and Munn 1989, pp. 90–91.

19 The bracelet, which was sold by a descendant of the original owner, was acquired by the Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Bedford, from Christie's (London, 7 November 2002, lot 6). For related metalwork see, for example, a cup and cover in the British Museum (1981.0603.1), in Rudoe 1991a, cat. 29.

20 For the marriage jewel and related bridesmaids' brooches, see Gere 1972, pp. 50–51; see also Crook (ed.) 1981, nos C.68 (the jewel) and C.69 (designs for it). The Roman Catholic connection may extend to the pectoral cross (Fig. 295; Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 1001). Although it has been suggested that it was for Burges's own use, Shirley Bury put forward a theory that it was designed for the 1st Marquess of Ripon, because its supposed date (mid-1870s), coincided with the period when Burges was building the church of St Mary, Studley Royal on the Ripon estate in Yorkshire (Bury 1979, p. 194). Another possible Catholic connection is the Anglican convert Thomas William Allies, who in 1879 published a two-volume apologia for his religious life, *Per Crucem ad Lucem: The Result of a Life*. The coincidence of date and book title with the words on the cross is hard to ignore.

21 Letter forms extended to Renaissance revival jewellery in France by Lucien Falize and to exotic designs with Arabic inscriptions used decoratively by other French designers. The fashion for jewelled and gold personal monogram designs reflects this cult of letter forms in jewellery design.

22 It is now in the National Portrait Gallery; having been described as Lady Jane Dudley for several years, it is now back with the traditional identity of Queen Catherine Parr. The comparison of jewel and portrait is made in Gere and Munn 1989, pp. 96–7.

23 Among the few who followed Pugin's lead were Howell & James, who exhibited mediaeval-style pieces in London in 1862. See *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1862 (p. 32), two bracelets with quatrefoil motifs and what appears to be enamelling similar to Pugin's jewels, but no examples have so far come to light.

- 24 Wyatt 1852, p. xxii. 'Cinque-cento' was the term generally applied to the Renaissance before the adoption of the new term after 1840.
- 25 For a detailed survey of collecting for the proposed museum, see Wainwright 2002, pp. 3–78.
- 26 All three items were lent by the Bond Street picture dealer and collector Henry Farrer (*Catalogue of Works of Antient and Mediaeval Art exhibited at the Society of Arts*, London 1850, nos 383, 376 and 389). The enamelled gold girdle prayer book (383) entered the British Museum as a gift from A.W. Franks (1894.0729.1); this masterpiece of Tudor goldsmith's work is no longer associated with Queen Elizabeth I. The 'Cellini' pendant (376) was altered at a later date and entered the Louvre in 1974 as a gift from Baroness Bethsabée de Rothschild (Hackenbroch 1979, pl. X, figs 181a and b).
- 27 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1851, p. 127.
- 28 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1862, p. 194.
- 29 From a report on the Paris exhibition in *The Times*, 23 August 1867, p. 8.
- 30 For Harry Emanuel's Neo-Renaissance pendants at the 1867 Paris Exhibition, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1867; for Giuliano and the Renaissance, see Munn 1984, with illustrations of the Emanuel 1867 pendants and surviving Giuliano versions, pls 61–2. See also Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 455, col. pl. 108, for a classical-style vase-shaped pendant with cupids from the 1867 group which bears Giuliano's applied trade label.
- 31 Mrs J.P. Davis lent two similar pieces, with fountains and cupids, to the South Kensington *Loan Exhibition* 1872, nos 599, 600; described as 'modern Italian work, made by Giugliani in London', it was possibly the first time that his identity as maker had been revealed. No. 600 is related to the pendant at the bottom left of the *A-J* illustration.
- 32 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1851, p. 127, and *ILN*, 6 September 1851, p. 291.
- 33 In her portrait by Winterhalter dated 1841 (Royal Collection, RCIN 404520), Queen Louise of the Belgians wears an upright oval pendant of this type. For Christmas 1844, Prince Albert gave Queen Victoria 'An Elizabethan locket with an oval carbuncle set round with a border of elaborate enamel studded with 6 chrysoberyls & a lozenge pendant to it composed of 4 chrysoberyls' (information kindly supplied by Kathryn Jones from Royal Collection inventories).
- 34 For an account of the Devonshire parure, see Scarisbrick 1979, cat. 176.
- 35 For a full account of the tour, see Scarisbrick 1986, pp. 239–54.
- 36 His mission to St Petersburg had earned him the Order of the Garter, but it cost him upwards of £50,000.
- 37 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1872, p. 60. The parure had also been shown at the 1862 International Exhibition in London (Waring 1863, pl. 203).
- 38 C.F. Hancock, 'Illustrated and Descriptive Catalogue ...', London 1857. The genesis of the parure and its designer remain unclear: Sir Joseph Paxton, manager of the Duke's estates, who was in charge of the arrangements for Moscow, is said to have selected Hancock as maker and acted as intermediary. Charles Hancock claimed to have suggested the engraved gems, while the sculptor Hugh Armstead, who was employed by Hancock's, claimed he was the designer (Scarisbrick 1986, p. 239).
- 39 *Morning Chronicle*, 30 April 1857, p. 3.
- 40 *ILN*, 9 May 1857, p. 441.
- 41 Hancock, op. cit. (note 38). We are indebted to Hannah Obee, curator of decorative art at Chatsworth, for kindly supplying a photocopy of the leaflet.
- 42 See, for example, Hackenbroch 1979, pp. 84–5, figs 206 (Paris) and 209 (Vienna); for colour images of this type of Renaissance setting, see Leithe-Jasper and Distelberger 1982, p. 57, and Distelberger 2002, no. 20, pp. 65–8.
- 43 Quoted in Scarisbrick 1986, pp. 240 and 245. The letter, dated 27 July 1857, is in the archives at Chatsworth.
- 44 The phrases are used in the *A-J* to describe the 'Holbein'-style jewels exhibited by Hancock's (*A-J Ill. Cat.*, p. 3), Howell & James (p. 32) and London & Ryder (p. 92).
- 45 The London & Ryder pendant was engraved for the *A-J Ill. Cat.* (p. 92), with attention to the enamelled four-petal motif on the border.
- 46 Howell & James would not have made the jewellery themselves. It would have been ordered in from a manufacturing jeweller like Brogden or Giuliano.
- 47 This was a huge compilation of 16,000 works of art, in a specially constructed iron and glass building, seen by some 1.3 million visitors. Medieval and Renaissance treasures filled showcases lining the main hall, while the 'British Portrait Gallery' in the Central Hall contained the 'Holbeins'.
- 48 For the portrait see Manchester 1857, no. 77 in the section on British Portraits. It was lent by Lady de Voeux and the catalogue entry notes that the jewel was also in the exhibition. For the Gresley Jewel, see Somers Cocks (ed.) 1980, cat. 46.
- 49 For the place of portraiture and the National Portrait Gallery in Victorian culture, see Pointon 1993; L. Perry 2006.
- 50 *A-J*, 1872, p. 127.
- 51 See Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 1006; for an alternative version with long onyx drops instead of pearls, see no. 1007.
- 52 Marriage gifts for the Duke of Edinburgh: *J&M*, 15 February 1874.
- 53 For the public perception of Victoria as Elizabeth I, see Watson 1997, pp. 79–104.
- 54 W.H. Russell 1864, pl. 24. It was shown in the 1872 International Exhibition in London, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1872, p. 21.
- 55 From a report in *The Times*, giving a list of Princess Helena's wedding presents, 11 July 1866, p. 5.
- 56 The wedding gifts are illustrated in the *ILN* (25 March 1871, pp. 280–81).
- 57 'A pendant in the Holbein style, composed of a specimen black pearl centre, and drop pearl as pendant; around the centre are five brilliants and four large rubies, the whole being delicately pierced and enamelled in colours, and the four spaces between the rubies occupied by pierced double ciphers of the letter "A" and his Royal Highness's monogram' (*J&M*, 15 February 1874).
- 58 Gere 1990, pp. 52–3, illustrating examples from the trade in recent decades. Further examples included a pendant in the Royal Collection, containing a hexagonal Mughal emerald mounted in a circular 'Holbeinesque' setting with lozenge-shaped drop set with four diamonds (Piacenti and Boardman 2008, no. 295); the emerald, unset, was owned by the Duke of York and then John Bridge who died in 1834, but the pendant is unsigned and entered the Royal Collection only in 1916. A related setting is to be found on a pendant in the V&A set with a cameo of Queen Elizabeth (M33–1985).
- 59 Brogden's design books are now in the V&A (E.2.1345–1986). Among his designs is one like a pendant in its original retailer's case from Garrard's, at Burghley House in Lincolnshire, see Gere and Culme 1993, p. 45.
- 60 See Munn 1984, p. 53.
- 61 The design is reproduced in Lenti 1998, fig. 14.
- 62 See South Kensington, *Loan Exhibition* 1872, nos 738, 739, 741 and 744.
- 63 *J&M*, 15 September 1874, pp. 234–5.
- 64 No example has come to light with his applied trade label or in a Phillips case.
- 65 *A-J*, 1872, p. 127.
- 66 Thoron (ed.) 1936, p. 314. Marion Adams (née Hooper) moved in American aesthetic circles in the 1870s and 1880s. Born in Boston in 1843, she married the art critic and writer Henry Adams in 1872 and wrote the letters to her family during prolonged travels in Europe and on her return to America.
- 67 Haweis 1878, p. 108.
- 68 Sala 1882, p. 358. Brogden was awarded the Grand Cross of the Légion d'Honneur at the exhibition.
- 69 See Covert (ed.) 1994, pp. 96–7. Creighton was photographed wearing the cross, see Covert op. cit., p. 107, lower left.
- 70 See Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 564, col. pl. 144.
- 71 See for instance a Venus brooch-pendant, designed by Bertuzzi, 1890s, Sotheby's New York, 6 December 2006, lot 148.

HISTORICISM IN FRANCE

The style romantique

- 1 Vever 1906–8, vol. I, pp. 173–4 (Purcell 2001, p. 249).
- 2 Many of Froment-Meurice's collaborators are listed by Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 182 (Purcell 2001, p. 260) and Bury 1883, pp. 65–6 and 76–7. We know more about his associates than might be expected because of a widely publicized accusation made after his death that he failed to acknowledge his collaborators. The letter they wrote denying this claim is quoted by both authors.
- 3 For example, Néville, described by Vever as a designer-engraver, worked first for Morel and came with him to London 1848–52, then for Duponchel, and subsequently for the cabinet-maker Fourdinois, for whom he created three-dimensional figural ornament (Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 266/Purcell 2001, p. 352).
- 4 Wagner also exhibited in 1839, but so little survives of his jewellery (he died young in 1844) that it is hard to assess his role. The few pieces from the 1839 exhibition illustrated by Vever are indeed sculptural and probably in oxidized silver: see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, pp. 163 and 165/Purcell 2001, p. 240 (a seal and ring) and p. 242 (two brooches). The two brooches, in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, are now given to Wagner's successor, Rudolphi (Purcell 2001, p. 40).
- 5 For Petit's *Recueil*, see Paris, Hôtel de Sully 1979, cat. 358, p. 152, ill. p. 155. These designs probably also influenced the architectural jewels of Morel & Duponchel: see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 281 (Purcell 2001, p. 375).
- 6 Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 179 (Purcell 2001, p. 25). The same page illustrates what appears to be Froment-Meurice's earliest piece in this style, a *broche romantique* of 1835 with two harp-playing angels flanking a Gothic canopied niche containing a large rectangular stone.
- 7 This interpretation has been suggested by Anne Dion-Tenenbaum in Alcouffe *et al.* 1991, cat. 266, p. 459. The paintings of Paolo and Francesca by Coupin de la Couperie (1812) and J.A.D. Ingres (1819) were well-known at the time. A related chatelaine survives in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, which is closer than any other surviving examples to the one shown in London in 1851 (see Mundt 1981, p. 351, fig. 347). The Duc de Luynes (1802–67), collector and author of the French report on precious metals in 1851, described it thus: 'a silver chatelaine in the Gothic taste, with figures worked in the round representing a crusader under a vaulted portico taking leave of his lady. Seen against a blue enamelled plaque, the group was supported by a hunter and huntress, and similarly enamelled medallions decorated the chain from which it hung' (quoted in Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 175/Purcell 2001, p. 253). The chains have profile heads recalling Ghiberti's Baptistery doors in Florence, set in quatrefoils taken from Gothic architecture. There are two variants of this subject, in the Hull Grundy gifts to the British Museum and

to Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow. Both occur as the central element of a necklace, and are now thought to be later concoctions, see Rudoe 1989/90, pp. 88–9, cat. 6 (rewritten with expanded explanation for the 1990 English edition).

8 For the harmony brooch see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 158 (Purcell 2001, p. 234) and Burty (1883, pp. 33–4). There are several variants, see Koch (ed.) 1989/90, nos 2 and 3, and Rudoe in Koch 1989/90.

9 Wornum 1851, pp. VII–XI (reprinted New York 1970). For a full account of the use of oxidized silver in the nineteenth century, see Rudoe 1993.

10 In fact by 1862 there was already some criticism in Germany as well as in England among those who felt that to darken the surface of silver was to make it look like a common metal. Even its promoters realized it was always going to be a specialist taste, and that the public at large preferred flashy surfaces that sparkled in reflected light (Rudoe 1993, pp. 164–5).

11 For the St Louis bracelet, see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 154 (Purcell 2001, p. 230).

12 The statue's title was *Jeanne d'Arc en prière*. For further discussion of the iconography of Joan of Arc in the nineteenth century, see Heimann 2006.

13 One of these was placed in front of St Vincent de Paul, Hittorf's monumental Neo-Gothic church completed in 1844.

14 Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 178 (Purcell 2001, p. 258).

15 See Alcouffe *et al.* 1991, cat. 300, and Bascou 2003, pp. 46–57 and cat. 24.

16 Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 172 (Purcell 2001, p. 248), and Burty 1883, pp. 63–4.

17 Balzac's and Sue's correspondence is reproduced in Burty 1883, pp. 18–26. Balzac's cane pommel of 1845–6 is now in the Maison de Balzac in Paris: see Marchesseau (ed.) 2003, cat. 48, ill. p. 179.

18 A-J, 1855, pp. xv–xvi.

19 Wiëse's exhibits included a bracelet formed of an inhabited vine scroll in which two cherubs flank a central frame of intertwined branches, straight out of late Gothic painting (see *The Exhibition of Art-Industry in Paris in 1855*, London n.d., p. 21). Described as of oxidized silver with enamel and jewels, the bracelet may have resembled in overall effect the bracelet in the Pforzheim Schmuckmuseum, which has two oxidized silver figures on a similar gold scroll with green enamelled leaves, coloured stones and pearls: see Koch (ed.) 1989/90, cat. 10.

20 For Wiëse at the 1862 exhibition, see A-J Ill. Cat., 1862, p. 21.

21 See Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 213 (Purcell 2001, p. 680); an example of this bracelet in silver is in the Musée d'Orsay, Paris, see Bascou *et al.* 1988, p. 221, inv. OAO 658, with maker's mark of Louis Wiëse.

22 A-J Ill. Cat., 1867, p. 24, including a brooch with angel and cherubs in a mandorla, also illustrated and dated 1867 by Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 208 (Purcell 2001, p. 676).

The revival of Renaissance enamel

23 Racinet 1869. The importance of this influential volume for the enamelling revival is noted by M. Bascou in Limoges 1994, introduction, pp. 11–19.

24 A-J, 1871, p. 30, reporting an exhibition of jewellery and enamel from Paris held by the London jeweller Robert Phillips, clearly taking advantage of the disruption to the Paris trade after the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune.

25 On enamellers at Salons, see Falize 1893, X, pp. 426–7.

26 In addition to this pendant (V&A 2657–1856, see Somers Cocks 1980, cat. H6), the South Kensington Museum also bought two cravat-pins, depicting St George

and the Dragon, and an Amazon on horseback (V&A 2659/2660–1856, see Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 340, col. pl. 82).

27 Froment-Meurice may have shown such work in 1851. In his historic survey, *Metalwork and its Artistic Design* (1852), intended as a grammar of metalwork for English manufacturers, Matthew Digby Wyatt included the jewels of Froment-Meurice as a substitute for the lack of surviving examples from the Middle Ages or the Renaissance (pl. 39). Among them is a pendant with two female figures in white flanking an enormous emerald. The use of white suggests opaque enamel rather than a silver surface but the colour lithograph may not be accurate and an oxidized silver surface would be hard to indicate. Digby Wyatt's earlier *Industrial Arts of the Nineteenth Century* (1851) includes a Froment-Meurice bracelet of a type known to have been executed in oxidized silver, and the figures are in shaded tones of white and grey (pl. 93). Frustratingly, Froment-Meurice does not appear in the *Official Catalogue* of the 1851 Exhibition, although he certainly did participate, as a goldsmith if not as a jeweller.

28 For the Arethusa brooch, see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 121 (Purcell 2001, p. 587), and for the Toilet of Venus see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 125 (Purcell 2001, p. 591). The Arethusa pendant survives in private hands and has been recently illustrated in colour; see Marchesseau (ed.) 2003, cat. 118, ill. p. 58. The central cameo appears to be in carnelian, the two flanking figures are enamelled in opaque white, the surrounding foliage and mask in a mixture of opaque and translucent enamels.

29 Burty credits the lithograph to Pralon (Antoine Pralon, d. 1897), noting that it was a recreation of the lost original lithograph, done after the piece had left Paris. The pendant appears to be set with a cameo by Pichler, the signature clearly visible. The Pichler gem, however, was an intaglio, so the cameo may have been a copy after Pichler. The same cameo shows clearly in the line-drawing reproduced by Fontenay (1887, p. 245), which was probably taken from Burty. In Vever's image (vol. II, p. 125), however, the central oval stone is completely different: it has a faceted border, as if an intaglio had been mounted back to front, and the subject, though difficult to read, is not the same. Either there were two versions of this jewel or the central stone was changed. A version with Vulcan's forge was lent by Emile Froment-Meurice to the South Kensington *Loan Exhibition* in 1872 (no. 652). In 1877 he sold it to King Alfonso XII of Spain for the future Queen Mercedes; at her death in 1878, it passed to Alfonso XII, and on his death in 1885 to his second wife, Maria-Christina of Austria (1858–1929): see Martin 2003, pp. 75–6.

30 Vever 1906–8, vol. II, pp. 124–6 (Purcell 2001, pp. 584–5). The chaser Louis Audouard (1814–80) and his brother Philibert frequently collaborated with Froment-Meurice, see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 310 (Purcell 2001, p. 398, note 174 and index).

31 Wax was also used to model the settings for gem-set pieces: see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 385 (Purcell 2001, p. 850), for an account by Alphonse Fouquet of the modelling of a gem-set ornament. A wax and plaster model by Fouquet for a *broche-chimère* survives in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs: see Gary (ed.) 1983, p. 59.

32 For Lefournier and *ronde bosse*, see Alcouffe 2001, p. 27. The jeweller Eugène Fontenay described Lefournier as 'Le seul homme d'alors qui sut manier l'émail car il connaît toutes les techniques de son art et de plus restaure admirablement les émaux anciens', quoted in E. Possémé, 'L'émail et la bijouterie dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle', in Limoges 1994, pp. 21–7. For Lefournier, see also Hiesinger *et al.* 1978, p. 166, a brief account under the Richard family.

33 Froment-Meurice had already made vessels inspired by

those in the French royal collection, for example, his harvest cup (*Coupe des Vendanges*) of 1844: see Marchesseau (ed.) 2003, cat. 13 (in the Louvre), and cats 14–15 (two other versions). But they had translucent enamelling rather than the bold opaque colours of *ronde bosse*.

34 For a full account of Morel's life see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, pp. 252–76 (Purcell 2001, pp. 338–70). The 1848 revolution followed hard upon a lawsuit with his former partner Duponchel. For a more recent account see I. Lucas, 'Jean-Valentin Morel (1794–1860), un bijoutier Parisien à l'époque romantique', *Histoire de l'Art* 48, June 2001, pp. 77–86.

35 See A-J Ill. Cat., 1851, p. 113, bottom centre, for a vessel with dragon handle copied directly from a sardonyx cup in the French royal collection (Alcouffe 2001, cat. 185, pp. 382–3). The dragon on this early seventeenth-century cup has the most marvellous shaded and spotted *ronde bosse* enamelling; the *Art-Journal* engraving suggests that Morel had captured this effect.

36 Quoted in Wainwright 2002, p. 34, notes 19 and 36. The cup was stolen from the V&A during the Second World War, never having been photographed. But it was illustrated in the A-J Ill. Cat., 1851, p. 113, top left. For an illustration in colour of an almost identical copy, see exh. cat., *The Glory of the Goldsmith: magnificent gold and silver from the Al-Tajir Collection*, London 1989, no. 221.

37 Hiesinger *et al.* 1978, no. III–33, and Alcouffe 2001, cat. 186. Alcouffe records the full history of this piece: after its theft in 1830, it was taken to London where it was eventually acquired by Henry Philip Hope, merchant banker and owner of the famous Hope diamond. H.P. Hope gave it to his sister-in-law, wife of Thomas Hope, and she bequeathed it in 1851 to her son, A.J. Beresford Hope. It was lent by Viscountess Beresford to the Society of Arts Exhibition of Ancient and Mediaeval Art in 1850 (cat. 375), where Digby Wyatt described it as the 'acme of perfection reached' and where Morel and H.T. Hope would certainly have seen it. When Dr Waagen published his monumental survey of art collections in Britain in 1857, he described it as by Cellini (see Waagen 1857, p. 191). It appeared again at the 1872 Loan Exhibition (*The Times*, 22 July 1872, p. 6).

38 For the Hope cup, see Hiesinger *et al.* 1978, no. III–33. The cup was on loan to the V&A from 1978 to 1987.

39 For a full account of the history of the collection and its display, see Alcouffe 2001, pp. 11–27. Morel and Froment-Meurice were not alone in studying the collection prior to its redisplay in 1861. From 1857 the painter Blaise Degoffe made a series of still-life compositions with vessels from the royal collection and he continued to paint them for the rest of his life (see Alcouffe 2001, p. 26). One of these paintings, now in the Musée d'Orsay, dates from 1862 and was shown at the Paris Salon in 1863.

40 Some pieces remained in other palaces such as St Cloud or Trianon until 1870. They were returned to the Louvre only after the fall of the Second Empire (Alcouffe 2001, p. 25).

41 See Barbet de Jouy 1865, and Barbet de Jouy 1867.

42 Duron's patrons included great collectors such as Alfred Morrison and the Duc de Luynes. For a recent appraisal of Duron, see Gabet 2007, pp. 393–9.

43 Lepec is principally known for his large-scale enamels, both painted wall plaques on an opaque white ground and vessels with all-over enamelling, built up in layers of translucent enamel on a gold ground, see A-J, 1871, p. 30, and A. Darcel, 'L'émaillerie moderne' in GBA 1868, pp. 75–84.

44 The ewer in Fig. 321 was sold at Christie's Geneva, 19–21 May 1997, lot 285, and acquired by the British Museum in 1998. It is a very close copy of a vessel in the Louvre (Alcouffe 2001, cat. 194) and was shown at the 1867 Exhibition (see A-J Ill. Cat., p. 227). For Duron, see also Vever 1906–8, vol. II, pp. 277–8 (Purcell 2001, pp. 742 and 748) and Fontenay 1887, pp. 300–2. After Duron's death in 1872,

his son continued to produce the same kind of work, exhibiting copies of objects from the Louvre at the Paris exhibition of 1878.

45 See Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 278 (Purcell 2001, p. 742).

46 See Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 927.

47 For the Boucheron pendant shown in Fig. 324, see Wartski 2001, no. 157, p. 29.

48 The enamel on metal workshop at Sèvres is further discussed in Limoges 1994, pp. 11–19 and 21–7. See also Doat 1891–2, pp. 39–46 and 76–80.

49 Painted grisaille enamel plaques for the series of historical female figures were executed by the director of the Sèvres enamel on metal atelier, Jacob Meyer-Heine, in a private capacity, along with J.-L. Grisé and the Frères Sollier.

50 Falize 1893, p. 426.

51 He was given temporary leave from Sèvres in 1862 to teach enamelling to Popelin: see Falize 1893, pp. 433–4. Falize's account takes the form of a series of articles: *GBA* VIII, 1893, pp. 418–35; IX, 1893, pp. 502–18; X, 1893, pp. 60–76, 426–37, and 478–89; XI, 1893, pp. 130–48. Meyer became a teacher at the Ecole Municipale Bernard Palissy and wrote a technical treatise in 1895: *L'Art de l'émail de Limoges ancien et moderne: Traité pratique et scientifique*.

52 For Meyer and Baugrand, see Falize 1893, p. 482. For Meyer, see Hiesinger *et al.* 1978, p. 119; Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 80 and pp. 300–302 (note 3), and vol. III, p. 496 (Purcell 2001, pp. 773 and 1000), and Purcell 1999, pp. 106, 174, 280.

53 The commissions for the Prince de Béarn-Viana (1840–93) are fully discussed in Purcell 1999, pp. 98–108. The portraits on the Béarn pieces are specific and full of meaning for their owners: the 1875 bracelet, for example, has an enamel portrait of Gaston Phoebus, the Prince's illustrious ancestor Gaston III de Foix-Béarn, famed for his *Livre de chasse* of 1387–9. The parure, made in 1887, found its way to the Spanish royal family, and was formerly owned by King Alfonso XIII (1886–1941) before its acquisition by the Museum für angewandte Kunst in Cologne in 1978: see Chadour and Joppien 1985, vol. I, cat. 331.

54 Falize 1893, p. 133, noting that Meyer's figures were often modelled after an ancient cameo or an intaglio by Pichler. One further piece with enamels by Meyer, a parure of necklace and earrings, made by an unknown goldsmith, contains a series of historical portraits with no obvious theme; one can only assume that it is a confection made up of unused portrait medallions. By family tradition it belonged to the actress Kate Terry, who left the stage in 1867 after her engagement to Arthur Lewis, proprietor of Lewis & Allenby, silk mercers by royal appointment to Queen Victoria and founder of the Arts Club; this might explain the hotchpotch of historic subjects (see Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 712, and Sotheby's, 30 June 1999, lot 49).

55 For the pendant, see Phillips (ed.) 2006, no. 29. For Tiffany in Paris, see Purcell in Phillips (ed.) 2006, pp. 27–45.

56 At the Paris Salon in 1865, he exhibited a framed portrait of Napoléon III made for the Duc de Fréigny, a staunch Bonapartist. Napoléon III, in the centre, is shown as the inheritor of four dynasts – Charlemagne, Clovis, Hugues Capet and Napoléon I – whose portraits grace the four corners, with further enamel plaques bearing inscriptions commemorating his military victories and literary works: see Hiesinger *et al.* 1978, cat. III–31, and *ibid.*, pp. 162–3, for biography of Popelin. Popelin's friendship with Princesse Mathilde may have prompted the ransacking of his house during the Commune when the contents of his atelier were destroyed; a commission from Lucien Falize in 1876 persuaded him to take up enamel painting once more: see Falize 1893, pp. 60–76. This was

a commission from the Prince de Béarn: see Purcell 1999, pp. 98–108.

57 See Falize 1893, p. 434. In the same year the poet José Maria de Hérédia sent him an ode, reproduced in Bury's review of Popelin's *L'Email des Peintres* (P. Bury, *L'Email des Peintres* par L. M. Claudius Popelin', *GBA* 42, 1868, pp. 588–97). *L'Email des Peintres* had been prefaced in the Renaissance manner with an ode to its author penned by fellow poet Théophile Gautier. Time effaces art, he writes, but enamel never loses its colour.

58 Cunynghame 1906, pp. 168–71. Cunynghame concluded that Popelin's enamels were 'ridiculous, and show that he could not have made what he professes to describe . . . I speak feelingly on this point, for I cannot say how many crucibles full of impossible enamels I made after the recipes of Popelin.' This comment is often overlooked in the literature on the French Limoges enamel revival.

59 For Grandhomme, see Falize 1893, pp. 130–33; see also Purcell 1999, pp. 176–7. Having escaped to Epernay during the Commune, Grandhomme stumbled upon Popelin's treatise in the local library.

60 Another piece by Fouquet, a chatelaine with a winged sphinx modelled entirely in gold, may have been inspired by the stucco sphinxes in the former Queen's chamber at Fontainebleau (Gary (ed.) 1983, p. 51 and Koch 1989/90, no. 48).

61 All these pieces are illustrated in Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 379 (Bianca Capello chatelaine), p. 382 (Elizabeth of Austria brooch), and p. 389 (bracelet Diane). See also Purcell 2001, pp. 855, 858 and 862. Illustrations of the Bianca Capello chatelaine published at the time of the 1878 exhibition (Falize 1878, p. 251 and Sala 1882, p. 112) have a different portrait head to that shown in Vever, one that is much closer to the Marcello bust. Vever's illustration is of the chatelaine now in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, given by Georges Fouquet in 1908 and traditionally said to be that shown in 1878 (see Gary (ed.) 1983, pp. 48–53 and Koch 1989/90, no. 47). One possibility is that the portrait head was changed at some point between 1878 and 1908, but the more likely explanation is that there were two versions. The Marcello bust is in the Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, Switzerland, where Marcello was born.

62 Fannièrre Frères created a demi-parure with central portrait surrounded by strapwork and winged angels or mermaids. Curiously, Vever illustrates Fannièrre's mermaid earrings twice, though in neither case does he date them: once with a matching necklace and pendant next to Fouquet's jewels for the 1878 Exhibition, and previously, as part of an 'Amphitrite' demi-parure, among jewels of the 1860s. See Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 376 and vol. II, p. 199 (Purcell 2001, pp. 853 and 668).

63 Boucheron's chatelaine was chased by Giraudon and Louis Rault. Rault (1847–1903) spent seven years in Boucheron's workshop as a chaser before working independently for a number of different firms. Vever comments on the staggering difference between Rault's starting salary of 2.50 francs a day and the amount he earned as an established craftsman – up to 30 francs a day or more, apparently an unprecedented sum at the time, see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, pp. 461–66 (Purcell 2001, pp. 948–51 and 962–4). For the chatelaine see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 401 (Purcell 2001, p. 877).

64 Retaining the services of outstanding artists could be an expensive business: Vever records that Boucheron not only paid Debut handsomely but also gave him a share of the profits. Boucheron even requested the Légion d'Honneur for his star collaborator in 1878 (it was awarded to the more senior Honoré Bourdoncle), but Debut nonetheless left his employer of over twenty years in 1879.

For Debut, see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, pp. 436–40 (Purcell 2001, pp. 916–22).

65 Gabriel-Hippolyte Alexandre Destailleur (1822–93) was noted for his designs and restoration work for great châteaux in France and was one of the best-known foreign architects to have worked in nineteenth-century England, where he designed Waddesdon Manor in Buckinghamshire for Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild.

66 Letter from William Smith to the Trustees of the British Museum, 9 October 1844, quoted in A. Griffiths, 'William Smith (1806–76) and the rise of interest in early engraving', in *Landmarks in Print Collecting*, exh. cat., British Museum, London 1996, p. 96 (and p. 296 for the complete letter). The French publication was *Ornements des anciens maîtres des XV, XVI, XVII et XVIII siècles, recueillis par Ovide Reynard et gravés sous sa direction par les meilleurs artistes, dédié à M.A. Vivenel, architecte*, Paris 1844–6.

67 For the pendant, see Chadour and Joppien 1985, no. 14, with the mark of Louis Wiëse used after 1890. Many of Jules Wiëse's models continued to be produced by his son Louis, and their work is not always distinguishable. Jules Wiëse probably knew the prints from the collection of the Print Room in his native city, Berlin. But there were other possible sources: the designs of Jacob Petit also included fleshy foliage ornament of this kind, as did contemporary publications on medieval architecture, such as C.A. Heideloff's, *Collection of Architectural Ornaments of the Middle Ages in the Byzantine and Gothic styles*, London 1844, pl. IV. 2–8 (first published in Nuremberg in 1838–40).

68 For Falize's 'Delaune' pendant, see Ménard 1881, p. 51, ill. p. 52: 'un bijou en or ciselé, décoré de deux délicieuses figurines d'émail. Ce bijou, fait d'après une gravure attribuée à Etienne de Laune, est un véritable petit chef d'oeuvre. Il est impossible de rien rêver de plus gracieux et de plus élégant.' Vever, too, included it in his book, though Purcell has noted that the print on which it is based is in fact by Pierre Woeiriort, see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 500 (Purcell 2001, p. 992, the jewel on the left of the group, and Purcell 1999, p. 238, pl. 337 for the sixteenth-century design by Woeiriort).

69 For the bracelet, see Ménard 1881, p. 50, and Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 504 (Purcell 2001, p. 956 in colour); see also Purcell 1999, p. 66. For a Solis frieze of female heads in strapwork frames, see British Museum 1890.0415.96 (illustrated on the Museum website). The figures among foliage are very close to the Solis engraving of a pendant illustrated in *Der Formenschatz* in 1877 (see Biffar 1996, p. 35, no. 46).

70 See *Der Formenschatz*, 1881, pl. 78, a black and white illustration of a group of four jewels from Dresden. The *Formenschatz* publication of the Dresden jewel is noted by Marquardt (1998, p. 244, Kat. 250A). For Falize's copy, see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 500 (Purcell 2001, p. 992).

71 For Falize's St George jewel, see Purcell 1999, p. 66, pl. 85, and for the Dürer pen drawing in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, p. 231, pl. 322. The enamelling of the St George pendant is given to Garnier by Purcell, p. 177. For Vever on Falize's revival of the Renaissance *enseigne* at the 1878 Exhibition, see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 498 (Purcell 2001, p. 1000). For Alfred Garnier, see Purcell 1999, pp. 177–9. Garnier trained as a gem-engraver under Georges Bissinger; like Grandhomme, he left Paris in the Commune for Limoges, where he too found the Popelin treatise. He met Grandhomme in 1877 and through his contacts executed a range of enamel work for Falize and others including Tiffany, forming a successful partnership with Grandhomme from 1888 to 1898.

72 For the faking of Renaissance jewels, see Hackenbroch 1986; Distelberger 1993, pp. 282–7; Kugel *et al.* 2000 (interview with R. Distelberger, unpaginated).

73 Similar prints by Mignot were published in *Der Formenschatz* in 1882, pls 82 and 173.

74 This popular design was made in gold and silver in many different sizes, as a pendant, and as a hat-pin, see Koch 1989/90, cat. 28.

75 For the Menu brooches, see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 447 (Purcell 2001, p. 931).

76 For the Lalique 'Mignot' pendant, see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 704 (Purcell 2001, p. 1212) and for the Salon 1897 pieces, see Vever 1906–8, vol. III, pp. 706–7 (Purcell 2001, pp. 1214–15).

GERMANY AND THE PASSION FOR 'ALT-DEUTSCH'

1 J. Lessing 1889, p. 10 ('der politischen Unabhängigkeit sollte die Unabhängigkeit in Künstlerische Dingen folgen', quoted by Marquardt 1998, p. 28). Lessing, a former lecturer at the Berlin School of Architecture, became director of the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum in 1873.

2 For Lessing's comments on the German exhibits at Vienna, see Heskett 1986, pp. 14–15.

3 Quoted in Biffar 1996, p. 17, from J.V. Schmädel, 'Zweck und Ziel der allgemeinen deutschen Kunst- und Kunst-Gewerbe-Ausstellung in München', *Zeitschrift des Kunstgewerbevereins in München*, 1876, nos 3 and 4, p. 2: 'Gegenüber dem Haupteingang führt ein Portal mit Renaissance-ornamenten . . . in jene Abteilung, welche die kostbarsten Schätze Deutschlands aus vergangenen Jahrhunderten aufweisen und welche uns ein Bild geben wird von der grossartigen künstlerischen Begabung des deutschen Volkes, dessen Werke früher die Welt beherrschten wie heutzutage jene Frankreichs. Sie wird uns den Beweis liefern, dass es nur der richtigen Hebel bedarf, um auch heute wieder neuen Aufschwung in allmählicher Entwicklung hervorzurufen, der schon einmal unsere nationale Kunst zu so hoher Entfaltung brachte.'

4 Quoted in translation in Heskett 1986, p. 15.

5 For a thorough account of the 'alt-deutsch' revival, the thinking behind it and the influence of the Munich 1876 exhibition, see P. Krutisch, 'Weltausstellungen und Neorenaissance. Foren für die Wiederentdeckung der Renaissance im Kunstgewerbe des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Krutisch and Hufschmidt (eds) 1992b, pp. 35–50. This is a volume of essays published to accompany the catalogue of an exhibition of the same title at Schloss Brake, Lemgo, 1992 (Krutisch and Hufschmidt (eds) 1992a).

6 Semper was in Vienna at this time, having fled Germany after his part in the 1848 revolution. He subsequently spent a number of years in London, where he designed several sections of the 1851 Exhibition.

7 For Semper, see Heskett 1986, p. 16. See also J. Ziesener, 'Gottfried Semper und die Neorenaissance im Kunstgewerbe', in Krutisch and Hufschmidt (eds) 1992b, pp. 51–60.

8 Krutisch in Krutisch and Hufschmidt (eds) 1992b, p. 44.

9 See Falk (ed.) 1984, no. 69. This catalogue illustrates several other examples of historicist jewellery.

10 Marquardt 1998, p. 25, figs 11a–d. One of these is a hair locket with a strapwork border. The designs are held by the Zeichenakademie, Hanau.

11 For example, Hirth 1980 or Schwenke (ed.) 1881 (reprinted Hanover 1981). Jacob Falke's earlier *Die Kunst im Hause* (1871) was theoretical rather than practical.

12 Quoted in the original German from *Der Bazar*, 1888, p. 172 in Biffar 1996, p. 13: 'Unsere Damen von wählerischem Geschmack können nun zu ihren Gewändern, deren Stoffmuster, Schnitt und Garnierung jener Zeit entlehnt sind, auch Halsbänder und Armspangen anlagen, wie jene Patricierfräulein und würdigen Matronen sie trugen, welche die Hand ihrer Töchter von Fürsten und Herrschern begehrt sahen.'

13 Heskett 1986, p. 17.

14 For a design by Semper for a brooch inspired by a Renaissance hat badge, see Marquardt 1998, p. 288, Kat. 441, from *Kunst und Gewerbe*, 1881, p. 8.

15 See, for example, *Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Ausbildung der Gewerbe* (the name was changed in 1878 to *Zeitschrift des Kunst-Gewerbe-Vereins, München*), 1871, no. 10, pl. 1; 1872, no. 8, pl.1 (this page also includes sporting jewellery with fox, rabbit and boar heads); 1875, no. 7, pl. 2; 1878, nos 11 and 12, p. 36.

16 Like Seder, Broschier is also better known for his late works in the Art Nouveau style; the earlier careers of these two artists have been little studied.

17 Ortwein's designs appear in *Gewerbehalle*, 1885, pl. 2.

18 Hirth later achieved international renown as the founder in 1896 of the magazine *Jugend*, which gave its name to *Jugendstil* in Germany.

19 Luthmer was director of the combined Frankfurter Kunstgewerbeschule and Kunstgewerbemuseum (school and museum of applied art), founded in 1878. A native of Cologne, he had come to Frankfurt in 1879 from Berlin, where he had taught at the Kunstakademie and the Deutsches Gewerbemuseum. For Luthmer's role in promoting the art of the German Renaissance, see Hackenbroch 1986, pp. 266–7. For the Beschor bracelet, see Falk 1984, no. 92.

20 Hackenbroch 1986 further notes that Luthmer advised the Rothschilds in their collecting of Renaissance works and on occasion accepted recently made objects as sixteenth-century. She attributes this to his generation's exaggerated admiration for monuments of the past and the prevailing mistrust in the creative powers of contemporary artists. In the context of the teaching of *alt-deutsch* as the good, acceptable style, this is an interesting notion.

21 See Arundel Society 1869.

22 Noted in Marquardt 1998, p. 242, Kat. 247a: Holbein's pendant with initials RE, from *Formenschatz*, no. 166, and p. 243, Kat. 246a: the pendant with female term flanked by scrolls from *Wiener Kunstgewerbeblätter*, 1874.

23 The advertisement appears on the back cover. For a Renaissance-revival pendant by Heymann, with winged female figures, see Marquardt 1998, p. 253, Kat. 279.

24 For an example of a pendant by Bauer based on a Holbein design, see Biffar 1996, pp. 36–7, figs 51–2.

25 For Kleeberg's version of the pendant with blue interlace, see Neuwirth 1977, p. 19, pl. XI, fig. 17, Museum Inv. No. Bi 280, and for Kleeberg's RE monogram pendant, see Marquardt 1998, p. 242, Kat. 247b, Inv. No. Bi 191. The Museum für angewandte Kunst has some seven jewels after Holbein's designs: Bi 190–92 and Bi 280–84. These include copies of the pendant with Latin inscription (British Museum, SL.5308.89), Bi 282, and of the design with female figure clasping two large stones (SL.5308.96) Bi 192. The Kleeberg group also includes a copy of a Renaissance cameo jewel in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Bi 190.

26 A number of designs survive in the Köchert archives, but it is not always clear whether they are designs for jewels to be made by Köchert or simply copy drawings after the Holbein designs. See Köchert 1990, p. 220, top centre, for a design based on Holbein's design for a pendant with inscription (British Museum, SL.5308.89), which has the same outline shape but is otherwise different, and p. 224 for two designs which copy almost exactly two of Holbein's designs (SL.5308.16 and SL.5308.35).

27 For copies of the Dresden mermaid, see Biffar 1996, p. 29, figs 23–4, and for copies of the Dresden letter 'A' jewel, see Marquardt 1998, p. 244, Kat. 250a (the illustration of the Dresden jewel from *Formenschatz*, 1881, no. 78), and Kat. 250b, a copy by an unidentified German jeweller, c. 1880, from a private collection. For the Dresden

jewels, see Menzhausen 1970, pl. 67, Inv. Nos VIII, 301 (the 'A' jewel) and VIII, 292 (the mermaid).

28 See Neuwirth 1977, pp. 49–51, citing the *Illustrierter Katalog der Pariser Welt-Ausstellung von 1878*, Leipzig 1880.

For further jewels by both Markowitsch & Scheid and, subsequently, G.A. Scheid, see Gere *et al.* 1984, nos 1034–5.

29 Vienna had an existing tradition of historicist jewellery: at the Paris Exhibition of 1855 the V&A purchased from the firm of Schlichtegroll a parure in silver-gilt described at the time as a 'trousseau in the seventeenth-century style' (Somers Cocks (ed.) 1980, cat. H3).

30 The opera is a double tale of rivalry in love and rivalry among contenders for a contest of the Guild of Mastersingers, in which the winner will be betrothed to the goldsmith's daughter, the goldsmiths being among the most highly regarded and wealthy of the trades. The *dénouement* explains the purpose of the Mastersingers in preserving the art of song.

31 For a full history of the Hanau school, see Schadt 1994.

32 The Hanau copies of Renaissance rings are fully discussed in Chadour 1994, vol. II, p. 519, no. 1673. The jewellery workshop was established in 1889 and directed by Louis Beschor until 1922. In its early years it produced principally Renaissance-style jewels (Schadt 1994, p. 12).

33 For Schaper's portrait pendant, see Marquardt 1998, p. 249, Kat. 266, in the Schmuckmuseum, Pforzheim, and Welander-Berggren 2000, p. 149, no. 208. The portrait depicts a man with wide-brimmed feathered hat; he is wearing an order of the Golden Fleece, which suggests that he is intended to be a recognizable Renaissance figure. However, although this jewel appears in numerous recent publications, none of them has identified the sitter.

34 For examples of this type of setting from the Habsburg royal collection in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, see Distelberger 2002, cats 26, 82, 83, 88.

35 For examples of Renaissance *Gnadenpfennigs*, see Somers Cocks (ed.) 1980, nos 79–81.

36 Quoted in Marquardt 1998, p. 28, from *Festschrift (1767–1917) 150 Jahre Goldschmiede-chronik des Hauses H.J. Wilm*, Berlin 1917, p. 35.

37 See O. Millar 1992, no. 1069.

38 The badge was found during building works in the burial vault of the church in Rositz, south of Leipzig, and is fully discussed and illustrated in Marquardt 1998, pp. 109 and 219, Kat. 172a–c.

39 Wilhelm I gave Vicky's design to Wilm to be made up and Wilm records with great pride how he obtained the royal couple's confidence and was able to complete and execute designs created by the Crown Prince and Princess themselves (Wilm 1917, op. cit. note 36, quoted in Marquardt 1985, pp. 75–6, with illustrations of both design and necklace itself, figs 14–15). The necklace survives in the Swedish Royal Collection in Stockholm. See also Marquardt 1998, p. 109 and Kat. 172. 40 Less well known is the miniature by Bastanier of 1887, in which she wears a cameo brooch at her neck and a heavy gold chain with large circular pendant in the manner of a German Ehrenkette or mayoral chain. The miniature is in private hands in Switzerland, and is illustrated in Marquardt 1985, p. 75, fig. 13.

41 For Neo-Rococo oxidized and gilded silver brooches by Karl Rothmüller of Munich, see for example Marquardt 1998, p. 280, Kat. 394. For 'Louis XVI' pendants, see Marquardt 1998, p. 236, Kat. 218–19.

42 See Falke 1878, pp. 337ff and 345ff: 'Die Folge ist einfach der Ausschluss vom Weltmarkt, die commercielle Beschränkung auf das Vaterland, eine patriotische Befriedigung, aber ein schlechtes Geschäft!' For Schaper's comments, see H. Schaper, 'Die Goldschmiedekunst', *Kunstgewerbeblatt für das Gold-, Silber- und Feinmetallgewerbe*, 1895, p. 9f: 'man hätte die Rechnung ohne den Wirt, d. h. ohne die schönen Trägerinnen dieser Schmucksachen gemacht. Die Damen erkannten

nämlich sehr bald, dass die in kräftigen Renaissanceformen gearbeiteten Broschen, Ketten und Gehänge mehr zu dem buntenfarbigen malerischen Kostüm der Holbeinzeit, als zu den ziemlich eintönigen, modernen Kleidertrachten passten. Und so sah sich der Juwelier abermals zur Stillosigkeit gezwungen.'

CHAPTER 8: ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

- 1 For a recent trenchant account of the political and racial use made of the gold of Mycenae, see Cathy Gere, *The Mask of Agamemnon*, London 2007.
- 2 One example, a gold cravat-pin, was made for E.L. Moss, an Irish naval surgeon who visited Schliemann's excavations in 1878, sketched the gold pin and had a copy of it made in Malta on his way home. The 12 cm pin is about twice the size of the original, and was presented to the National Museum of Dublin in 1957 by Moss's son (Dunlevy 2001, p. 17). For Moss's visit to Troy, see D.A. Traill and P.C. Appleton, 'Letters from Troy. A surgeon's correspondence offers new insights into the character of Heinrich Schliemann', *Archaeology*, January/February 2002. This article mentions the copy of the gold pin but does not link it with the pin in Dublin.
- 3 The word means 'resurrection' and gained acceptance as the name of a newspaper founded by Cavour in 1847.
- 4 Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 152: 'Ce fut Fortunato Pio Castellani qui ressuscita ce bijou étrusque en or léger, à filigranes, lequel, après avoir fait la fortune de son auteur et de ses descendants, constitua depuis une sorte de monopole, et devint presque un produit national pour l'Italie, supplantant le bijou français, jusqu' alors presque seul en faveur...' (Purcell 2001, p. 622).
- 5 For the Cuthbert Cross, see Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 988.
- 6 Members of the Oxford Movement or Tractarians (named after their publications, *Tracts for the Times*, 1833–41) argued for a Catholic revival within the Church of England.
- 7 An almost identical design was shown by Howell & James at the 1862 Exhibition (see Fig. 220, p. 267).
- 8 The group, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and Queen Victoria as Anglo-Saxons, a plaster cast after a marble by William Theed the Younger, 1868, is displayed in the National Portrait Gallery, on loan from the Royal Collection (NPG L179).
- 9 See Hase 1977, p. 10.
- 10 For a detailed account of the 'dragon style' in Norway, see Halén 1992. From 1905, with an elected monarch, King Haakon, married to Princess Maud, daughter of the Prince and Princess of Wales, Norway at last had its own identity.
- 11 Mellin of Helsinki showed jewellery copying ancient models in the Museum of Northern Antiquities in Copenhagen at the Workmen's International Exhibition of 1870 (A–J, 1870, p. 237). For Mellin, see Lehto and Vainio (eds) 1991. The Finnish nationalist movement led to independence from Russia in 1917.
- 12 The ring-brooches were displayed in the Royal Institution from 1851 and subsequently in the National Museum of Antiquities, which opened in 1859.
- 13 See Dunlevy 1989, pp. 175–6.

THE EGYPTIAN REVIVAL

- 1 The Rosetta stone had been exhibited in the British Museum since 1802. For the development of early Egyptology, see D.M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, Berkeley 2002.
- 2 The cross and chain was sold at Phillips, London, 16 September 1986, lot 107. There was an accompanying bracelet but the brooch was missing. Although contained in a London retailer's case, it may in fact be French, since other examples of this type are recorded by Vever: see note 3 below.

- 3 See Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 233 (Purcell 2001, p. 324 and col. pl. 26, p. 204). The necklace fragment is also illustrated and the figures fully described and identified in Humbert *et al.* 1994, no. 163, p. 242.
- 4 This is discussed in Jenkins 1992, pp. 56–65.
- 5 Interest was not limited to the ancient world; for example, Edward William Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* had appeared in 1836 (he was also the first English translator of the *Thousand and One Nights*: see p. 304).
- 6 This took place at 144 Piccadilly: see *The Times*, 12 June 1850, p. 8.
- 7 See Curl 1994/2005, and Humbert 1989.
- 8 One of the earliest important finds was the superb gold and coloured stone jewellery from the burial chambers beneath the pyramids at Meroe in Sudan, discovered in 1834 and now in Berlin and Munich. It was not widely circulated at the time, and jewels inspired by it seem to date from the second half of the century.
- 9 *The Times*, 17 June 1862, p. 11. For the 1862 publication, see (Samuel Birch), *Fac-similes of the Egyptian Relics Discovered at Thebes in the tomb of Queen Aah-Hotep exhibited at the International Exhibition of 1862. From Drawings by E. Kiddle*, London 1863. For the history of the discovery of Egyptian jewellery, see Andrews 1990, pp. 11–36.
- 10 Scott was the son of the Earl of Buccleuch. It appears that he also got Phillips to make Egyptian-style jewellery: according to the catalogue of the 1872 *Loan Exhibition* (South Kensington, *Loan Exhibition* 1872) nos 59–60, he was responsible for the design of an Egyptian-style tiara and necklace with ancient scarabei lent by his wife. The marble bust was illustrated in the *Art-Journal* for 1863, p. 144.
- 11 *A-J*, 1870, p. 30. This article refers to a brooch rather than a pendant but Phillips used the same design for both types of jewel. The Egyptian jewels owned by the Prince of Wales no longer survive, and there is no obvious ancient source for Phillips's design; probably it was his own.
- 12 Andrews 1990, p. 15.
- 13 French dominance in Egypt is discussed in Reid, *op. cit.* (note 1 above).
- 14 Ferlini published an illustrated catalogue of the Meroe treasure on his return: see G. Ferlini, *Cenno sugli scavi operati nella Nubia e catalogo degli oggetti ritrovati*, Bologna 1837. This was immediately translated into French: *Relation historique des Fouilles opérées dans la Nubie. Traduction française par B. B.*, Rome 1838. The bracelet in question is illustrated in Andrews 1990, p. 13, fig. 6.
- 15 For the Baugrand Egyptian head brooch, see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 276 (Purcell 2001, p. 740) and Wartski 2001, no. 147; the brooch can just be seen at the lower left of the illustration of Baugrand's stand in Fig. 224, in front of an Egyptian lotus diadem. For the design for the diadem, among a group of Baugrand designs acquired by the V&A at the time, see Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 466, pl. 244. For the Mellerio Egyptian head pendant, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1867, p. 318.
- 16 See Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 315 for the diadem and necklace by Lemonnier; p. 326 for the gem-set pendant with cobras by Mellerio, and p. 322 for the brooch and earrings attributed to Fontenay but much more in the manner of Emile Philippe (Purcell 2001, pp. 781, 792, 788). These pieces are dated 1869 by Vever; he does not explicitly say they were in the Union Centrale exhibition, but that must be the implication. Vever also illustrates a group of bracelets by Alexis Falize, two with gem-set Egyptian heads (p. 327); the illustration is undated but Falize certainly participated in 1869. For watercolour designs for jewels in the Egyptian taste by Lucien Falize, see Purcell 1999, pp. 213–15, but no examples of these have come to light.

- 17 See *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1867, p. 155 (text) and p. 159 (illustrations). See also Rimmel 1868, p. 275.
- 18 See *The Times*, 17 June 1862, p. 11.
- 19 The same is true for the Egyptian-style jewels shown by the Birmingham firm of T. & J. Bragg, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1867, p. 18. An example of the pendant shown in 1867 was sold at Phillips, London, 27 March 1990, lot 10; it was plain gold with no enamel and marked T. & J. B. (the catalogue entry identified this erroneously as Brogden).
- 20 *The Times*, 8 December 1868, p. 10; the advertisement lists practically everything in Streeter's stock and takes up almost a whole column. For Streeter, see Culme 1987, pp. 437–8, and P. Streeter 1993.
- 21 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1872, p. 54. The brooch at the bottom of the page is identical to the brooch with vultures illustrated by Vever as by Fontenay (see note 16 above); as the style is typical of Philippe, it is likely that the caption in Vever is wrong.
- 22 Quoted in Culme 1987, pp. 437–8.
- 23 Streeter's own contribution to the 1872 Exhibition was given a whole page in the *A-J Ill. Cat.* (p. 42), but was mysteriously withdrawn 'through an unfortunate misunderstanding with the authorities, into the merits of which it would be out of place to enter here' (p. 46). The following text notes that Streeter had shown both exceptional pieces and current productions, some of which were evidently thought rather ordinary. One is left to speculate that there may possibly have been a row about Streeter mixing hand work and machine work in the same display.
- 24 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1867, pp. 222, 241 and 312.
- 25 See *Kunst und Gewerbe*, 16 October 1869, p. 333. See also Vever 1906–8, vol. II, p. 211.
- 26 Philippe's work was generally in the nature of pastiches but sometimes his sources are recognizable; a copy of the bracelet from the tomb of Queen Aahhotep (see Andrews 1990, p. 160, fig. 141) was shown to the authors by John Jesse in 1985.
- 27 Boucheron made lotus-flower fringe necklaces until the 1880s, echoing Egyptian strings with gold fly amulets: see Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 982. Gem-set pieces continued in production into the early decades of the twentieth century, until the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun changed the look of Egyptian-style jewels altogether (see Rudoe 1997).
- 28 The *parure* and its precise sources of inspiration are fully discussed by Christiane Ziegler in Humbert *et al.* 1994, no. 260, pp. 329–31.
- 29 For the *Harper's* illustration of the costume, see Nicholls, Foote and Allison 2006, p. 31; see also *ibid.*, p. 33, an advertisement in *Demorest's Monthly Magazine* for July 1866 of a brooch and earrings with Egyptian heads, and p. 22, an advertisement from *Demorest's* for September 1868 for a suite by Ball, Black & Co., New York. See also *Godey's Lady's Book*, March 1871, p. 302, noting that 'Egyptian designs are in especial favor... Egyptian heads, the Sphinx, swinging columns', etc.
- 30 For the Castellani Egyptian-style *parure*, see Rudoe 2004b, pp. 168–9, fig. 6–31.
- 31 Gere 1975, p. 55, fig. 47.
- 32 For Mariette's involvement with *Aida*, see Humbert 1989, pp. 280–81 and 290.
- 33 See London Museum 1968, nos 281–3. They form part of a much larger group of Patti's jewellery given by Baron Cederstrom in 1920 (Patti died in 1919). The pieces worn in *Aida* are A23255/1, 2, 3, 9–10, 15–16, 24, 31, 34–5, 43, 49, 54, 57–8, 60. A further set of 1870s jewellery for *Aida* made for the Paris Opéra still survives in the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and although it was schematically designed to be viewed from a distance, there was an attempt to make the forms and motifs reasonably authentic: see Humbert *et al.* 1994, nos 228–33, pp. 296–8.

34 The necklace made by Hancock's was sold at Bonhams, London, 12 June 2003, lot 178.
 35 See Pepper 1998, pp. 22 (Countess de Grey) and 25 (Minnie Stevens). Mrs Paget also wears a piece from the great girdle in the French Crown Jewels, lent her by fellow American Mrs Bradley Martin, who had acquired it after the 1887 sale (see Morel 1988, p. 350 top right). It can be seen just below her waist, supported on a thin chain: a large ornament with dangling elements.

THE ASSYRIAN REVIVAL

1 The aftermath of the discovery of the Assyrian sculptures has been widely discussed, in particular by Henrietta McCall, whose account remains the most thorough to date and has been much drawn on here: see McCall 1998, pp. 183–213. Equally useful is Fontan (ed.) 1994. Further relevant background is to be found in Bohrer 1989, pp. 7–33, and J.M. Russell, 1997.
 2 See *The Times*, 30 January 1845, p. 6, an article on 'Discoveries at Nineveh' reprinted from the *Malta Times*, and one of a series of articles written by Layard (see McCall 1998, p. 195).
 3 Khorsabad was a one-period site, built by Sargon II and then virtually unoccupied after his death. Nimrud, however, was the Assyrian capital for some 150 years, before the move to Khorsabad, and Nineveh was the capital for almost a century afterwards. At Nimrud alone, Layard discovered the palaces of Ashurnasirpal II, Tiglath-Pileser III and Esarhaddon.
 4 For a thorough account of the discovery of the Assyrian sculptures, see Reade 1983 (2nd edn 1998). See also Collins 2008.
 5 Reade 1983, p. 11. The French convoy thus never reached the French ship, which in fact took back the Ashurbanipal sculptures for the British who did not have a ship of their own; the agreement was that, in return, the French would take those sculptures that were surplus to British requirements, since the collection was so huge.
 6 For a more detailed account of the Louvre displays, see Fontan (ed.) 1994, pp. 226–39.
 7 For the display of the Assyrian sculptures, see Collins 2008 and Jenkins 1992, pp. 153–67.
 8 See *The Times*, 10 September 1851, p. 1, classified advertisements.
 9 McCall 1998, pp. 202–3. Verdi's *Nabucco* (Nebuchadnezzar) of 1842 had seen its first London performance in 1846; the topic reflected current interest in the Bible, but at that date the setting was completely fanciful.
 10 Layard 1854.
 11 For a general account of the Assyrian style in Britain, see Rudoe in Fontan (ed.) 1994, pp. 260–73.
 12 Layard 1849, vol. II, p. 298.
 13 For the Garrard and Hunt & Roskell jewels, see *Off. Cat.*, 1851, Class 23, pp. 688–9, and *ILN*, 26 July 1851, p. 113. For the Watherston & Brogden bracelet, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1851, p. 80.
 14 See, for example, Reade 1983, p. 22, figs 23 and 24, and p. 20, fig. 19. The rosettes symbolized the divine source of the power attributed to kings and spirits.
 15 Among them were 'A turquoise and brilliant Nineveh brooch: £116.10s; a round Nineveh carbuncle and brilliant brooch: £17.10s; a turquoise and enamel Nineveh necklette: £22.10s' (Gere and Culme 1993, p. 19).
 16 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, Paris 1867, pp. 155–6.
 17 The full title of Layard's work reads: *Nineveh and its Remains: with an account of a visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or devil-worshippers; and an enquiry into the manners and arts of the ancient Assyrians*.
 18 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, London 1871, p. 84.

19 We owe this remarkable discovery to David Callaghan.
 20 For the Bright & Sons pieces, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1872, p. 57. For the silver-gilt demi-parure in Fig. 363, see McCall and Tubb 2003, p. 11, no. 15.
 21 The Backes & Strauss designs are fully discussed in Rudoe 1989a, pp. 42–8. Backes & Strauss was a Hatton Garden firm of German origin, who exhibited as J.F. Backes & Co., at the Great Exhibition (see Fig. 212) and later specialized in diamonds; almost nothing survives of their nineteenth-century output, though the firm is still active today.
 22 J&M, 15 December 1874, p. 306. The *A-J* advertisement was in the 1874 volume, p. 298. For G.A. Godwin, see also Culme 1987, vol. I, p. 182.
 23 For the BM brooch, see J. Rudoe in Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 950.
 24 Smith published his interpretations as *The Chaldean Account of Genesis, containing a description of the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Deluge etc. . . from the cuneiform inscriptions*, London 1876.
 25 See McCall 1998, p. 207.
 26 See, for example, Edwin Long's *The Babylonian Marriage Market* of 1875, in which a number of the girls to be sold wear upper arm bracelets with a central rosette inspired by those in the sculptured reliefs (Leighton House Museum 2004, p. 22).
 27 Lady Layard's cylinder seal suite is discussed in detail in Rudoe 1983–4, pp. 59–81. She bequeathed the suite to the British Museum in 1912.
 28 Lady Layard's Diaries, BL, Add. MSS 46153.
 29 The painting was known only from an archive photograph in the British Museum until December 1980, when it appeared in the window of the Lucerne Gallery in West London, where it was identified by Charlotte Gere and immediately acquired by the British Museum (WA 1980, 1214.1).
 30 Vever 1906–8, vol. III, p. 655 (Purcell 2001, p. 1155).
 31 The drawings are pasted into one of four albums of designs, bequeathed by Alfredo Castellani, son of Augusto, to the Museo Artistico Industriale in Rome and now kept in Rome's Istituto Statale d'Arte (Lascito Alfredo Castellani, design album no. 1, pp. 6r, 7r, 8r, 9r). Some of these designs have been published by Maurizio Donati, to whom we owe the information about the Assyrian sketches: see Donati 2004.
 32 The winged deity emblem is at the top of a relief of the triumphal return of the king from battle; a line-drawing of this relief was included in Layard 1849 (vol. I, pl. 21).
 33 Layard 1849, vol. II, p. 448.
 34 See *Collezione Cronologica*, Augusto Castellani's manuscript list of 1875–81, in the Archivio di Stato, Rome (Fondo Castellani fascicolo 18/3/b), p. 10, Periodo Tirreno, no. 50: 'Riproduzione di una fibula rinvenuta a Ninive ed ora al Museo Britannico. Rappresenta Jehova con l'arco tutto sbalzato di cesello; è rinchiuso in un cerchio formato di molte cordelle.'

THE CASTELLANI AND THE ITALIAN RISORGIMENTO

1 Gray 1840, pp. 256–7. Elizabeth Caroline Johnstone married the Rev. John Hamilton Gray (1800–67) in 1829. A member of the Scotch bar, he was a vicar in Derbyshire for much of his career: see (Gray) 1868.
 2 Jewels thought to look Etruscan were becoming increasingly fashionable by the late 1830s and early 1840s. A diadem given to the ballerina Fanny Cerrito in Rome in 1843 took the form of an Etruscan funerary laurel wreath (Gere 1972, pp. 111–12).
 3 Dennis 1848, pp. lxxxv–lxxxvi; Simpson 2004, p. 205, notes that the unsupervised digging makes the provenance

of Vulci suspect for all early finds said to come from the site.
 4 Gray 1840, pp. 60–61 and 64.
 5 Dennis 1848, 'That revolving cabinet of jewellery, whose treasures of exquisite workmanship excite the enthusiastic admiration of all fair travellers, is occupied almost wholly with the produce of this tomb.'
 6 Fortunato's lecture was to the Accademia dei Lincei, a highly regarded group of scholars in Rome.
 7 See the report of Alessandro Castellani's lecture to the Archaeological Institute, in *Archaeological Journal*, 1861, p. 367.
 8 The staircase mosaics survive, but today the building is in private ownership. The reference to sculptures comes from Murray's *Handbook for Rome*, 1867, pp. xxv–xxvi, describing the studio in the via Poli before it moved to Piazza Trevi, but much was presumably the same: 'On the stair leading to his showrooms are placed several specimens of antique sculpture discovered on this spot and on the site of one of his villas'. The photographs of the studio are in the Archivio privato Giuseppe Moretti and Fig. 378 was kindly made available by Anna Maria Moretti.
 9 Verey (ed.) 1985, p. 45. Dearman Birchall's signature appears in the Castellani visitors' book in early 1873.
 10 The valuations made by Augusto in 1914 are in lire, annotated on a summary list of his sample collection of modern reproductions: *Collezione di riproduzioni di Oreficerie Italiana componenti la Storia dell'Oreficeria e sistemata in otto Scaffali*. This is an abbreviated version of his full list of 1875–81 (see note 11 below). Both are in the Fondo Castellani in the Archivio di Stato Rome (ASR), fasc. 18/3/a (the 1814 list) and fasc. 18/3/b (the 1875–81 list). The lira was equivalent to about 8 pence (sterling) when it became the national currency in 1861. The two bracelets are listed as 3,000 lire (£240), i.e. £120 each. According to measuringworth.com, £120 in 1873 represents the equivalent of £7,623 today. Another possibility to which Emily may refer is the bracelet with cherubs in flowers, executed entirely in gold (Gere 1972, p. 124, pl. 52b). Emily's description of 'gold and mosaic imitations of Etruscan jewellery' is confused, since mosaics are not found in Castellani's Etruscan reproductions.
 11 For the manuscript list of 1875–81 written by Augusto see *Collezione Cronologica delle Oreficerie eseguite in Italia nei varie Periodi di sua Storia Riprodotte e disposte in Otto Scaffale* (ASR, Fondo Castellani, fasc. 18/3/b). The first section is described as *Periodo Primigeno* [sic]; Augusto's son Alfredo later wrote it with the correct spelling, *Primigenio*. There was certainly a display in the studio prior to this date, but it is impossible to know how closely it resembled this form. Both ancient and modern jewels were bequeathed, when the firm finally closed in 1927, to the Museo di Villa Giulia where the current display recreates as far as possible the two distinct sequences, see Moretti Sgubini (ed.) 2000.
 12 References in the archive to jewels set with engraved gems or scarabs *all'uso etrusco* or *all'uso antico* have been seen as evidence that Etruscan-style work was being made by the mid-1830s (Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, pp. 43–6). But such terms may indicate merely a continuation of the Neo-classical-style jewels with intaglios or cameos, or the use of matt gold to resemble the gold of antiquity instead of the fashionable polished surfaces. Soros and Walker (2004) cite a letter written by Fortunato to a gem dealer in St Petersburg in 1836 as evidence that the firm was already working in a revivalist style; in it Fortunato offers to send 'the drawings of works from Italy, and in particular of the ancient Etruscan gold objects which have recently been discovered in tombs and which I have copied' (anch'io posso rimettervi i disegni dei nostri lavori, e particolarmente degli ori antichi Etruschi che recentemente sono stati ritrovati nei sepolchri, quali io ho copiato). This has been taken to mean that Fortunato has copied the Etruscan jewels, but what he is actually saying is that he has copied the drawings (*disegno* in Italian means

drawing and design) of the Etruscan jewels from the tombs. In the days before photography the circulation of copy drawings was standard practice, and as the latest exciting discovery it was natural that Fortunato would be offering drawings of the Etruscan jewels rather than sending his own latest designs to a gem dealer who might then pass them on to rival jewellers.

- 13 For the 1848 purchase, see ASR, Fondo Castellani, regg. 42, debit and credit book.
- 14 Quoted from Augusto's memoirs, *Ricordi ed Appunti*, in the Castellani archive (ASR, Fondo Castellani 196/4, p. 83): 'un laboroso lavoro e diretti dal maestro nostro Michelangelo Caetani formulammo il programma del nostro indirizzo e decidemmo di lasciar totalmente le manufatture estere spingendosi efficacemente nelle copie dei lavori degli orafi italiani dell'epoche classiche. Decidemmo la guerra alla moda e vincemmo.'
- 15 See Murray's *Handbook*, 1843, p. 251, and *Handbook for Central Italy and Rome*, 1850, p. 293. The first edition to mention the reproductions of ancient works was that of 1853.
- 16 Augusto's *Ricordi*, op. cit., p. 98. While Alessandro may have played a role in designing jewels, it is generally accepted that he cannot have been a practising goldsmith, having lost his left arm in a hunting accident in 1837.
- 17 The meeting was at Fortunato's lecture on the matt yellow colour of Etruscan jewellery. See Caetani 1904, pp. 16 and 32–3. Caetani's attention was drawn to the art of jewellery very early on by the family drawing master, who happened to be the son of a jeweller. From the mid-1820s onwards he was sculpting, drawing and lathe-turning, making almost all his own furniture, designing monograms for friends and textiles for his sisters.
- 18 Letter from Caetani to Augusto, 24 April 1879 (ASR, Fondo Castellani, Lettere, fasc. 13/1).
- 19 Letter from Caetani to Alessandro, 1 March 1861, quoted in Gere 1972, p. 123. The joke is a pun on *pietra*, stone, and *S. Pietro*, St Peter's.
- 20 Letter from Elizabeth Browning to Miss E.F. Haworth: see Kenyon (ed.) 1897, vol. II, p. 355 (quoted in Gere 1972, pp. 127–8).
- 21 For more on the political situation in Rome and Italy, see Davis 2004.
- 22 For Layard's speech on Italy in Parliament, see *The Times*, 5 March 1861, p. 6.
- 23 *The Times*, 13 January 1865, p. 9, 'The Papal States'.
- 24 Alessandro's letters to his father in the Castellani archive in Rome describe his entertaining meetings with Rossini and the design of the seal (ASR, 18/2/b and 18/2/c), and his audience with Napoléon III (ASR 18/2/c). That Caetani knew Princesse Mathilde is clear from a letter he wrote to Alessandro in March 1861 in which he mentions her (Gere 1972, pp. 120–21).
- 25 The letter from Alessandro of 11 December is quoted in Francisci-Osti 1981. See also Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 986, the bracelet with cameo heads of Roman emperors. The soirée in Paris is described in Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 57.
- 26 Sir Anthony Panizzi (1797–1879), for example, then Principal Librarian of the British Museum, helped the brothers to begin dealing in antiquities. Panizzi had fled Italy in 1822 following his political activities, and helped arrange Garibaldi's triumphant visit to England in 1864. Augusto describes him as 'Director General of the Museum' but misspells his name as Panezza (*Ricordi*, p. 111). Alessandro corresponded with him over acquisitions (letter from Alessandro Castellani, 26 July 1865, in British Museum Central Archive).
- 27 On the same visit to London, Alessandro Castellani took a selection of jewels to the Fine Arts Club; both events were arranged by Layard.

28 Alessandro's greeting to Layard in a letter of 2 September 1861 (BL, Add. MSS 38987, ff. 161–2).

The Castellani history of civilization in Italy

- 29 See Fontenay 1887, pp. 147 and 149 (necklaces) and p. 255 (described as a bracelet, though possibly part of a collar). For illustrations of the original eighth-century BC jewels in the Villa Giulia, see Moretti Sgubini (ed.) 2000, nos 126–8; for a bracelet by Castellani copying the ancient 'bracelet' see Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 69, fig. 2-67, Checklist no. 194. The *Periodo Primigenio* also contained amber necklaces and fibulae, copied by Castellani. For the ancient prototypes, see Moretti Sgubini (ed.) 2000, no. 117 (necklace) and nos 119–20 (fibulae). See also Fontenay 1887, p. 322 for a similar fibula. For copies of the fibulae made by Castellani, see Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 69, fig. 2-69, Checklist no. 195, and Checklist no. 196, p. 380.
- 30 Augusto Castellani describes his study of the Campana collection in 'A discourse on ancient jewelry', *A-J*, 1869, p. 129.
- 31 For the Campana collection originals, see Gaultier and Metzger (eds) 2005: cat. II.8, ill. p. 48, fig. 4.15 (fibula from Chiusi); cat. V.7 (the 'bracelets'); cat. IV.33 (the hexafoil earring); and cat. III.11, ill. p. 79, fig. 6.9 (the Bolsena earrings).
- 32 Fontenay 1887, pp. 111–12: 'The first quality of a jewel is elegance of form', he wrote, 'but I find none in this assemblage of chains and amphorae falling in an ungainly vertical mass' (cet assemblage de chaînes et d'amphores tombant en une lourde masse perpendiculaire). For a copy by Melillo without the discs at the top, see Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 316, fig. 12-1, Checklist no. 91. A similar earring, but not so long, from the finds of Greek jewellery at Kertch, South Russia, was also copied by Castellani and appears in the *Periodo Tirreno* section. It can just be made out in a contemporary view of the whole vitrine, on the left-hand side at the top, together with another Kertch piece, a necklace with knots and tassels (Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 307, fig. 11-8).
- 33 For the ancient Helios ornament, see Gaultier and Metzger (eds) 2005, cat. IV.30; and for the Castellani copy, see Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 953.
- 34 It was acquired by the British Museum with the Castellani Collection of 1872, see Marshall 1911, no. 1952. The BM necklace was 'completed' before its arrival in the Museum; the later additions have since been removed. Both necklaces are revealingly compared by Simpson 2004, pp. 219–20.
- 35 The novelist George Sand owned a pair very similar to the second pair down in Fig. 385; she wore them for the celebrated photograph by Nadar of 1866. She had visited Rome in 1855 and may perhaps have acquired them then, or from the Castellani branch in Paris in 1861–2. Alternatively they may have been copies made in Paris.
- 36 Recent research by Maurizio Donati has uncovered the design for these earrings in the albums bequeathed by Alfredo to the Museo Artistico Industriale: see Donati 2004, p. 143.
- 37 Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 182, fig. 7-2, the original (which has some later additions) and fig. 7-3, the parure made by Castellani in the Villa Giulia, Checklist nos 99–100.
- 38 The radiate brooch is from the collection acquired by the British Museum in 1872, see C. Vermeule, *Romans and Barbarians*, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1976, no. 153, made of silver covered with gold sheet, and set with green glass and garnets (1872.0604.762). The Castellani copy is identical but for the substitution of enamel for the green glass and garnet inlay on the original.

39 For the Castellani clasp, see Munn 1984, pl. 95. For the Ostrogothic buckle, see Moretti Sgubini (ed.) 2000, no. 165, pp. 197–8.

40 For the original and the Castellani copies, see Munn 1984, pls 137–8 and Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, pp. 247–8 and figs 9-42 and 9-43.

41 *Archaeological Journal* 2, 1846, pp. 205–8. The jewel was for a long time associated with William of Wykeham. It is now known to have been presented to New College by three members of the Hylle family: see J. Cherry in J. Alexander and P. Binski (eds), *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400*, exh. cat., Royal Academy, London 1987, no. 640.

42 The lily vase, too, has been misunderstood, the decorative cabochon emeralds flanking the three flower stems assumed to be buds. The backs of the copies give the game away: the original is plain, but the copies have a densely applied pattern of wirework, including a four-petal leaf motif derived from Etruscan *a baule* earrings: see Marshall 1911, pl. XVI, no. 1292, from the Castellani collection, 1872. Other disparities in the Castellani version are the lobed edges to the leaves at the top, which copy the engraving exactly and bear no relation to the original. Nor is it clear from the engraving that some of the stones are missing altogether on the original.

43 The Castellani collection purchased by the Museum in 1872 included a group of Lombardic earrings: 1872.0604.595, 597, 1130–1131. For illustrations of the type, see British Museum website, and K.R. Brown, 'Langobardic earrings. A collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art re-assessed', *Connoisseur*, March 1980, pp. 272–5.

44 This parure was purchased by the late Raizel Halpin of Ares Rare Jewels, New York, from Christie's, Geneva, 19 November 1980, lot 329. According to the late Mrs Halpin, it was consigned to Christie's by the Bulgari family, who are thought to have acquired it from the sale of the estate of Alfredo Castellani in Rome in 1930 (see *Catalogo degli oggetti in Oro, Gemme, Cammei appartenuti al Defunto Comm. A. Castellani*, P & P. Santamaria, Rome, lots 165–8); they certainly owned it by the 1950s, since the necklace from it is illustrated in Bulgari 1958, opp. p. 254. The parure was stolen from Ares in 1981 (Munn 1984, fig. 24). A similar gem-set parure in the Carolingian style was purchased by Umberto I for 50,000 lira in 1891 (see Augusto's *Ricordi*, 30 June 1891, ASR, Fondo Castellani 196).

45 Several excerpts from these letters are reproduced in Gere 1972, pp. 120–26, including Caetani's sketch of this bracelet. Further letters from Caetani to Fortunato as well as Alessandro and Augusto are held in the Castellani archive in the Archivio di Stato in Rome.

46 The closest example is a bracelet in the Villa Giulia collection; for a version of this in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, see Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 56, fig. 2-46.

47 For a detailed account of Castellani micromosaics, see Rudoe 2004b.

48 Augusto Castellani, 'L'arte nell'industria', in *Monografia archeologica e statistica di Roma e della Campagna Romana*, published by the Italian Government for the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1878, pp. 18–19.

49 For Alessandro on Olsoufieff, see Alessandro Castellani 1862, p. 25.

50 For example, the peacock high up in the background of the twelfth-century apse mosaic in San Clemente (Rudoe 2004b, p. 159, fig. 6-11), the hand of God from the top of the seventh-century apse mosaic in Sant'Agnese (ibid. p. 159, fig. 6-12), or the Papal 'Pascal' monogram from Santa Prassede (ibid., p. 160, figs 6-13 and 6-14).

51 For Castellani micromosaics of the Virgin from Santa Maria Maggiore, see Munn 1984, pl. 93; for the head of Christ from

Santa Maria Maggiore, see Rudoe 2004b, pp. 157–8, fig. 6-8; for the Evangelists from San Clemente, see *ibid.*, p. 158, fig. 6-9.

52 The Lombardic brooch was owned by Alessandro until 1865, when he sold it to the British Museum (1865,0712.1), see Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 985.

53 Rudoe 2004b, p. 164, fig. 6-23, bottom, and Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 40, fig. 2-10 for the Caetani design. For micromosaics inspired by *cosmati* work, see *ibid.*, p. 164, fig. 6-23, centre.

54 Rudoe 2004b, p. 163.

55 Giovanni Battista de Rossi's monumental work on the Christian inscriptions of Rome, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, was published with the support of Pius IX in two volumes in 1857–61. Later the Rev. James Spencer Northcote, DD, published *Epitaphs of the Catacombs* (London 1878). De Rossi went on to produce a similar corpus of the church mosaics of Rome, which was substantially published by 1872 and completed after his death, in 1899 (Rossi 1872/99).

56 Rudoe 2004b, pp. 161–3 and fig. 6-19. They also produced in coloured mosaic the patterns carved into Hagia Sofia's wood beams: see Joppien 1986 (part I), pp. 56–69.

57 Recusants were those who refused to follow the Church of England; the term is applied particularly to Catholics.

58 See Charlton (ed.) 1949, p. 283. The crypt at San Clemente was discovered in 1861, but the mosaic to which Mrs Charlton refers is the twelfth-century mosaic in the apse and triumphal arch of the upper church. The head of Christ blessing is at the very top and below it is the monogram in a roundel on a blue ground. The mosaic border on the Castellani pendant in Fig. 398 is derived from inlaid *cosmati* work.

59 Many similar settings bordered with round stones are to be found in Castellani's *Periodo Rinascenza*, indicating that they thought the idea Renaissance, most likely derived from jewels in late *quattrocento* or *cinquecento* paintings. Another possibility is that such settings were inspired by Carolingian mounts for antique gems (see Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 954).

60 For the most thorough account to date of Castellani's cameo jewels, see Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 2004, pp. 103–27.

61 For Augusto's descriptions of jewels from paintings, see his *Collezione Cronologica* of 1875–81, *Periodo Rinascenza*, nos 11, 26 and 28 (the Maddalena Doni brooch). There is one jewel in the Villa Giulia Castellani collection, formed of three lobed elements, which may perhaps be what Augusto was describing.

62 For a detailed account of these inscriptions, see Branchetti 2004, with a list by category of the most commonly found inscriptions culled from the Castellani archive registers.

63 Murray's *Handbook* of 1873 gave a bibliography of some forty titles, most of which were multi-volume works in German, Italian and French: see Pemble 1988, pp. 68–9. This book is a fascinating account of the motives and attitudes of those who travelled, and we have drawn much from it.

64 For the brooch with 'UBI AMOR', see Moretti Sgubini (ed.) 2000, no. 210, p. 231. Although designed c. 1852–3, like many Castellani models it remained in production for decades. This example was given to Queen Elena in January 1909 by the ladies of the Royal Palace, on the occasion of her birthday; it is inscribed on the reverse: 'ALL LORO AMATA REGINA VIII GENNAIO MCMIX, LE SUE DAME DI BALZZO DI ROMA.'

65 For the only known example of a brooch with the snake inscription, in the Villa Giulia, see Soros and Walker

(eds) 2004, p. 332, fig. 13-1; see also Rudoe in Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 953. For a brooch with the 'Cunctator' inscription see Rudoe 2004b, p. 167 and Sotheby's London, 10 December 1990, lot 96.

66 The text written by the poet Lucan for the Emperor Nero – *Roma caput mundi regit orbis frena rotundi* (Rome capital of the world holds the reins of the globe) – was adopted on Roman coins. It was subsequently used on coins of the Hohenstaufen emperors and on Golden Bulls or charters of the Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages.

67 For examples of jewels with these inscriptions, see Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 156, fig. 6-6, p. 166, fig. 6-27 and p. 334, fig. 13-4. For further discussion of 'Non relinquam', which could be interpreted in different ways, see Branchetti 2004, p. 336 and note 13. In a letter of 1890 to a client who had purchased a bracelet inscribed 'NON RELINQUAM, NON RELINQUES', Augusto translates this as 'Do not leave me, I will not leave you' and explains that it refers both to the bracelet and to the person. Among the designs in pencil and watercolour for five bracelets, probably by Augusto Castellani, in the Cooper Hewitt Museum of Design in New York, is one made up of round links with raised letters spelling NON RELINQUES (1938-88-6352, 6353), see Osmun 1955, fig. 5, no. 395.

68 Letter of Henry Wreford from Capri to Augusto Castellani, 27 September 1870 (ASR, Fondo Castellani, Lettere, fasc. 13/1): 'Fin' adesso ho portato attaccato alla mia catena l'anello che mi avete gentilissimamente regalato, coll'Epigrafe "Italia" in caratteri Etruschi. Adesso posso trasferirlo alle mie dita.'

Visitors to the Castellani studio

69 In the middle decades of the century the British in Italy tended to move as a herd, concentrating in the same city at the same time. It was not until the 1880s that cheap and rapid transport brought greater variation into habits of travel: see Pemble 1988, p. 39.

70 Letter from Fortunato Castellani to Jean Mellerio, 24 February 1848 (ASR, Fondo Castellani, Copia Lettere, regg. 23, pp. 301–2).

71 See Neville-Sington 2004, p. 155.

72 Letter from Story to Lowell, 8 July 1852: see G. Reese Hudson (ed.) 1965, p. 259.

73 For the Story dove brooch, see ASR, Fondo Castellani, Copia Lettere, regg. 52, 12 May 1860; for later purchases, see regg. 93, 30 June 1863, stock inventory: 'collana anforine' annotated 'Story'.

74 See Fields 1896, p. 171. The Egyptian slave head carved in black onyx may have resembled the pendent with agate negro's head in the Museo di Villa Giulia (see Munn 1984, pl. 136).

75 For the lamp pendant, see Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 336, pl. 187. The 1862 visit was in November of that year. On the 1859 visit he bought a brooch with 'ROMA' in applied gold letters which he gave to the Queen and which survives in the Royal Collection; it is unmarked and may not be by Castellani.

76 Although beyond the period covered here, it is interesting to note some of the visitors of the early 1900s: the Jensen silversmith Johann Rohde (1901) and the Danish court jeweller Carl Michelsen, son of the firm's founder, Anton (1905), the American gemmologist George Frederick Kunz (1902), Arthur Lasenby Liberty (1903) and Charles L. Tiffany and Louis C. Tiffany in 1906 and 1907 respectively.

77 ASR, Fondo Castellani, regg. 51, Giornale (debit and credit books).

78 Cole had been to Rome earlier, in 1858, and may well have been to the Castellani studio then. He purchased in Rome two small scarab pendants for the South Kensington

Museum; they are unmarked but may possibly be by Castellani (Bury 1982, p. 125, Case 20, board G, no. 2, 5595 and 5596–1859; Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 251, fig. 9-49).

79 The Castellani archive is immensely complex. The stock books survive, but are not annotated with names of purchasers. There are no client accounts arranged under the name of each client. The daybooks or ledgers (*giornali*) include domestic as well as business expenses. Often surnames only are given without a title unless the client is a member of the nobility. Few clients paid promptly; payments received can appear in the credit column of a different ledger from that in which the sale is recorded. This makes it difficult to correlate the signatures in the visitors' books with subsequent orders.

80 Letter from Augusto of 7 June 1888 to a Mr Price, who may have been an agent for Dudley (ASR, Copia Lettere, regg. 25, ff. 394–5).

81 ASR, Fondo Castellani, regg. 52. The most expensive pieces were the intaglio bracelet at 100 *scudi* and the mosaic at 50.

82 Nicholson was knighted in 1852. He returned to England in 1862 and married in 1865.

83 Hawthorne 1876, vol. 1, pp. 231–2.

84 The Etruscan caskets were described in *The Times*, 24 January 1876, p. 4, in an article on 'The Castellani antiquities'.

85 *Punch*, 16 July 1859, p. 30. The letter is quoted in full in Munn 1984, pp. 19–21.

86 The text as illustrated continues with a dig at young women who had their ears pierced abroad in order to wear their purchases: 'although it is some months since she underwent the operation of being bored, her poor little ears suffer martyrdom with the weight of her favourite earrings – exquisite flying figures of Victory, which are supposed to be constantly whispering joyful tidings of new conquests. For my part, I am determined to have my ears bored forthwith, that they might be alright by the time we reach Rome.'

87 For the Maria Pia casket, see Godinho (ed.) 1992, cats 55–75, and Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 238, fig. 9-16. For the photograph of c. 1867, also in the Ajuda Palace, see Godinho (ed.) 1992, cat. 76.

88 For further descriptions of its contents, see *The Times*, 23 April 1863, p. 12, report from Rome of 8 April 1863, and Rudoe 1991b, pp. 110–11. Princess Alexandra's jewel casket contained one of the bracelets formed of a series of square plaques discussed on pp. 418–19.

89 The casket shown in 1862 is described in Rudoe 1991b, pp. 108–9.

90 Frederic Harrison, 'Rome revisited', *Fortnightly Review* 53, 1893, pp. 702–21 (quoted in Pemble 1988, p. 66). For Harrison's letters from Rome, see F. Harrison 1911, vol. 1, pp. 373–404. See also A. Harrison 1926.

91 ASR, Fondo Castellani, regg. 24, letter to Frederic Harrison, 22 August 1865 (the copyist's mistakes are corrected and explanations added where necessary). The deal was eventually concluded with the help of Harrison's brother, who was in Rome and finalized the selection of objects. Augusto wrote to Harrison on 27 October 1865: 'Having your brother choised [sic] a necklace of a present for the lady for whom you desire the objects, as he say to me, I send to you a bracelet, broache and hearing [sic] choised by your brother, as a complement of an Italo-Greek guemiture.'

92 Augusto's later letters demonstrate his unwavering concern that his clients understood what they were buying. For his correspondence of the 1890s and early 1900s over pieces with inscriptions, see Branchetti 2004.

93 For Augusto Castellani's letter to Tiffany & Co., see ASR, Fondo Castellani, regg. 25, Copia Lettere, p. 77; the letter is undated but must be 1878 because Augusto reminds Tiffany

that the pieces shown in New York and now in Paris are not his work or design (they were taken by Alessandro from the Naples workshop); for the letter to J.W. Benson, 29 October 1887, see regg. 25, *Copia Lettere*, p. 306: 'per sistema non invio oggetti di mia lavorazione come saggio, e neppur mando disegni perchè difficilmente eseguisco lavori per ordinazione. Considerando l'opera mia quale un oggetto di arte desidero esser libero nel concepirne, cosa che non può farsi eseguendo gli altrui desideri.' (I am not in the habit of sending objects I have made as samples, nor do I send designs, because I find it difficult, etc.)

94 For the parure and casket, see *The Queen*, 26 September 1872, p. 227, where the accompanying text describes it as 'Ravennese' after the mosaics at Ravenna, while the brooch was supposedly after an escutcheon in the Byzantine *pala d'oro* in the treasury of San Marco in Venice. For the mosaic casket, see Rudoe 2004b, p. 173. Margherita of Savoy was godmother of Princess Margarete (always known as Mossy). *The Queen* notes that baptismal presents were usually made to the child, and Umberto is said to have told Vicky to wear it until her daughter was old enough; the parure was eventually handed over to Margarete for her wedding in January 1893 to Prince Friedrich Karl of Hesse.

95 For more on the patronage of Umberto, see Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, pp. 71–2. Umberto was a hard-line conservative and his demise was the direct result of his support for the brutal repression of demonstrators in Milan in 1898, known as the Bava-Beccaris massacre, in which the eponymous general was subsequently honoured by Umberto for his part in the killing, to the fury of many Italians.

96 The gift to Princess Augusta Victoria (1858–1921) is described in *The Times*: 'a casket, in silver, of Roman form, containing a *finimento* [parure] of pearls, composed of a diadem, earrings, a necklace, and other ornaments of the same kind. On the lid of the casket is an exquisitely wrought mosaic representing "Victory", the whole being the work of Commendatore Castellani of Rome, so well known to every lover of the fine arts' (*The Times*, 6 November 1888, p. 4, report from Italy). According to the firm's accounts for 15 October 1888, the casket cost 5,000 lire, the parure with Sardinian pearls 10,000 lire (ASR, Fondo Castellani regg. 57). For a photograph of Princess Augusta wearing the pearl necklace, see Munn 1984, pl. 66.

Archaeology and adaptation

97 Fontenay 1887, pp. 275–6 (the 'bracelets') and p. 111 (the earring). The earring is shown upside down; the book was published posthumously and the illustrations may have been assembled after his death.

98 For full discussion of the Campana 'bracelets' with illustrations of Etruscan earrings for comparison, see Rudoe in Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 959.

99 It was this bracelet, with the alternating dense and simple plaques, that the Castellani took to the Paris Exposition of 1878, perhaps because they knew it resembled more closely the Campana 'originals'. For contemporary photographs of the Castellani 1878 displays in which this bracelet is visible, see Donati 2005, p. 107, fig. 8.7.

100 The Castellani scarab necklace purchased in 1925 is in the V&A: see Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, no. 168. The necklace was purchased with a bracelet, also set with scarabs, and the bill for the bracelet is illustrated in Munn 1984, fig. 18; three-quarters of the cost was for the scarabs, sold as ancient. Another version of the necklace is in the Villa Giulia: see Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, no. 82, and Moretti Sgubini (ed.) 2000, no. 189. The

'ancient' prototypes in the Louvre and the British Museum are discussed in Simpson 2004, pp. 214–16, with full bibliography. For the final years of the Castellani studio, see Walker in Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, pp. 74–6.

101 Fontenay 1887, pp. 162–3. See also Ridder 1924, p. 43, pl. XI, Bj 513.

102 For the Castellani version of the completed necklace, see Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, fig. 9-32, p. 244. In another instance the Castellani copied a Roman necklace of S-shaped gold beads in its restored state, which was totally nineteenth-century in concept. The Roman necklace is illustrated in the state in which it entered the British Museum in Marshall 1911, no. 2714. It has now been dismantled. An example of the Castellani version is in the V&A (Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 253, fig. 9-51), as part of a wedding parure made for Emily Bootle-Wilbraham, wife of James, Lord Lindsay, later 26th Earl of Crawford, in 1869 (M.62-64a-1921, given by the original owner, then the Dowager Countess of Crawford).

103 Munn 1984, p. 154, felt that the Castellani must have realized the bracelets were assembled but thought them 'a considerable improvement on a handful of single or broken earrings'.

The perception of other 'archaeological' jewellers in Italy

104 Letter of Alessandro from Naples to Augusto, 4 December 1863 (ASR, Fondo Castellani, Lettere, fasc. 13/3) saying that scarabs 'divengono molto rari, e, avendone il corraggio, si potrebbero vendere in Roma stessa agli orefice con non piccola guadagno. Ultimamente fu qui il Pierret e Civillotti, e cercavano scarabei pagandoli favolosi prezzi'.

105 For other 'archaeological' jewellers in Italy, see Munn 1984 and Scarisbrick 2004.

106 Murray's *Handbook*, 1853, p. 9.

107 Part of the Palazzo Pierret was converted into luxury holiday apartments in 2006: see www.italy-weekly-rentals.com or <http://relaispierret.hotelinroma.com>. For Pierret's addresses in Rome, see Rudoe in Gere *et al.* 1984, vol. I, cat. 957, p. 148. His address prior to Piazza di Spagna was 36 via dell'Umiltà.

108 Murray's *Handbook*, 1867, pp. xxv–xxvi.

109 See, for example, *The Workshop*, 1870, pp. 48, 368 and 408, for a series of illustrations of 'Modern Roman jewellery, manufactured by Mr K. Ansoerge of Rome, from the designs of Salvatori, Rome'. The name of Salvatori is not recorded elsewhere.

110 For the Flint chain, the Muspratts and Neri, see Rudoe 1985.

111 For a Roman lamp pendant by Carli, see Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 969.

112 See for example, W. Smith 1876, pp. 325–7 for Bellezza's archaeological-style pieces with micromosaic at the Philadelphia Exhibition.

113 The cameo is signed DE FELICI, who is recorded in Murray at 3 Piazza di Spagna from 1888 (Murray's *Handbook*, 1888, p. 18). The tradition that it was a gift from the Italian government came from the donor. While Mazzini was in London the Taylors prepared a secret hiding place for him in their home in case his life was threatened. Taylor was later a member of the Garibaldi committee set up in 1864 to welcome the Italian hero to Britain, and entertained Garibaldi at his home in Notting Hill.

114 Murray's *Handbook*, 1875, p. 33.

115 For a biography of Melillo, see Gianelli 1916, pp. 656–9, Rudoe in Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 959, and Munn 1984.

116 See Maskelyne 1868, vol. 2, p. 609. Maskelyne singled out 'a scarabaeus necklace of admirable execution,

in which one has only to regret the somewhat wasteful application of beautiful Etruscan gems'.

117 He exhibited a parure in the Egyptian style with scarabs, and a Roman laurel leaf coronet among his archaeological jewels: see *LESposizione di Parigi*, 1890, p. 539.

118 For discussion of the marks on Castellani jewels, including an alternative monogram incorporating the letter A, see Rudoe 1991b, p. 113. Augusto records in a letter to a client, a Signor H. Stein, of 5 May 1890, enclosing a design for a bracelet, that the design is his original design and should have 'my mark with double letters' (*il mio marchio à doppia lettere*) followed by a sketch of the mark itself (ASR, Fondo Castellani, *Copia Lettere*, regg. 26, p. 153), indicating that this was his mark, for objects made in the Rome workshops.

119 Murray's *Handbook*, 1894, p. 12.

THE INFLUENCE OF CASTELLANI OUTSIDE ITALY

1 Both lectures were published: see Alessandro Castellani 1860 and 1861.

2 The Ornament Room was in the space now occupied by the present Greek and Roman Department Students' Room and is recorded there from at least 1857, though it was probably installed after the block was completed in 1845. By the late 1860s it contained material from many parts of the world. It moved to an adjacent space in 1895, when it became known as the Gold Room (information kindly supplied by Marjorie Caygill).

3 Charles Newton, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, had been to see it in Rome in 1856 and went again in 1861, but he was not prepared to offer the price asked.

4 The archaeological style was propelled into prominence in part by the design theorists' claim that the ancient world provided the most appropriate models for adaptation.

5 The catalogue of the 1862 Exhibition describes Castellani as 'of Rome and London', but there is scant evidence for the Castellani London showroom (see Munn 1984, pp. 47–8).

6 It was to Giuliano that Burne-Jones turned in the 1890s to execute the brooches designed for the artist's daughter: see Gere and Munn 1989, pp. 134–8. The *Times* report of Burne-Jones's display at the New Gallery (31 December 1892, p. 12) specifically mentioned a brooch executed by 'Signor Giuliano'.

7 See J&M, 15 June 1874, p. 166: 'An exhibition of fine art has been opened at 115 Piccadilly by C. Giuliano who for many years has been engaged in the production of art works in jewellery in the spirit and style of the antique and of the best renaissance period of Italy, and other countries, and of the early Etruscan and Greek eras.'

8 *The Times*, 27 January 1896, p. 10. To accompany their father's bequest, C. and A. Giuliano gave a gold case (26–1896) containing, beneath glass, the same number of grains as were used to ornament the necklace. The necklace was stolen in 1899.

9 Munn 1984, pp. 70 and 75. See also Dunlevy 2001, pp. 72–3.

10 National Museum of Ireland, 7.1900. The adaptations include a pendant and matching earrings (8.1900) based on a late Etruscan earring type with large gold beads, to which Giuliano has added a scarab and lion's head, but the shape is so far removed from the Etruscan model that they are almost unrecognizable. For the pendant, see Munn 1984, p. 70, p. 75 and pl. 90.

11 Castellani Visitors' Books, Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome, vol. I, 1857–64. The volumes are not paginated and few visitors gave the dates of their visits.

12 *The Times*, 1 October 1862, p. 9.

13 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1867, pp. 144–52.

14 The diamond merchant was a 'Mr Blagg', whose name appears frequently in Lady Layard's diaries; he comes to

their house to collect and deliver items for mending or to offer new items for purchase.

15 Castellani showed his copy at the Paris Exhibition of 1878, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1878, p. 166. For a copy by Melillo, see Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, p. 329, fig. 12–28.

16 *A-J*, 1870, p. 30.

17 Burges 1863, pl. 4, no. 1.

18 Oldfield's correspondence with Layard and Phillips is in the Layard Papers in the British Library and is fully discussed in Rudoe 1984, pp. 70–72. The relevant letters are Oldfield to Layard, 6 December 1871, 13 January and 22 February 1872, and Phillips to Oldfield, 12 January 1872 (BL, Add. MSS 39000, f. 22, f. 147, f. 222, and f. 149b). The necklace as executed cost £42 10s.

19 The advertisement appears both in *The Times* and in the *JSA* (e.g. 1871 and 1872).

20 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1867, p. 159.

21 South Kensington, *Loan Exhibition* 1872, no. 603.

22 For Hancock's display in 1871, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1871, p. 84.

23 For Bacher, see Rudoe in Gere *et al.* 1984, cats 973–4.

24 Veveř 1906–8, vol. II, p. 173 (Purcell 2001, p. 643), as 1860s.

25 *J&M*, 1 March 1885, p. 67. The necklace was on show at Samper and there is no mention of Fontenay, but from the description it is unmistakably by him.

26 The volume dates from 1864 to 1882.

27 Rudoe 2001, pp. 35–6, figs 7–8, with reference to Fontenay pieces in the Cartier stock books for 1876. For a Fontenay necklace in a Boucheron case, see Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 983. For Tiffany's purchases of jewellery in Paris, see Purcell in Phillips (ed.) 2006, pp. 26–45. For a Fontenay pendant in a Tiffany case, see Phillips (ed.) 2006, p. 149, no. 28. The chain is by Tiffany.

28 See example in the V&A (M.158:1.2–2007, pendant and chain, and M.200:1.2–2007, the earrings, given by the American Friends of the V&A through the generosity of Patricia V. Goldstein). The pendant has a central square plaque with florets in compartments taken directly from an Etruscan earring, but the plaited chain is finished with a Roman openwork clasp. The earrings are misunderstood, the shape altered and reduced.

29 For a detailed account of the Curium copies, see Rudoe in Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 978.

30 The acquisition of the Curium Treasure, together with the list of subscribers, was fully reported in the *New York Times* between 20 November and 4 December 1876.

31 For the failed purchase of the Castellani Collection, see NYT, 22 November 1876, p. 4, 14 December 1876, p. 7 and 19 February 1878, p. 8. The collection was displayed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art for six months from late 1876 to mid-1877, but the Trustees decided that it was too expensive; the maiolica alone cost \$150,000 (NYT, 19 February 1878). For further references, see Soros 2004, p. 267, note 199.

32 Sets of copies were reported to have been purchased by a number of European museums, including Berlin and Vienna: see Falino and Markowitz 2009, p. 86, quoting the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, 27 September 1878, p. 4, col. 1. See also Markowitz and Falino 2006.

33 Versions of the lion's-head bracelets survive in the British Museum, see note 29 above, and in the Tiffany Collection, see Phillips (ed.) 2006, no. 16. For an example of the Tiffany necklace in the V&A, see Phillips (ed.) 2006, p. 20, fig. 11 (M.141–2007, given by the American Friends of the V&A, through the generosity of Patricia V. Goldstein), copying a Curium necklace in the Metropolitan Museum (74.51.3397a and b).

34 Cesnola's letter to C. Tiffany is quoted in Purcell 1972, pp. 106–7. According to Markowitz and Falino 2006, it

was included in the brochure prepared by Tiffany & Co. for the 1878 Exhibition. For further information on the pieces sent to Tiffany and the theft of the Eteandros bracelets, see Rudoe in Gere *et al.* 1984.

35 NYT, 16 December 1877, p. 7; 16 July 1879, p. 5; 31 January 1883, p. 5.

36 For a full discussion of the Phillips lion's-head bracelet, see Rudoe in Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 979. Kollin is known to have exhibited copies of lion's-head bracelets at the Nuremberg Exhibition of 1885 (Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 979). In 1884 Elkington made electrotypes of jewellery from the Hermitage; these were shown at and subsequently acquired by the South Kensington Museum in 1884 and include a copy of the same bracelet (V&A 1884–1917, diam. 3.5 in). Robert Phillips had died in 1881, so he presumably knew an earlier source. His son Alfred, who took over the business, registered a new mark in 1884. The bracelet bears the applied trade label of Robert Phillips, so if it was inspired by the Elkington electrotypes then Alfred must have continued to use his father's label.

THE SCANDINAVIAN REVIVAL

1 See Battiscombe 1969, pp. 1–4, 64–8 and 80.

A pro-Danish ditty published in *Punch* makes it absolutely clear which side the public took, see *ibid.*, p. 64 (no reference, but it must be early 1864).

2 C.J. Thomsen, *Ledetraad til nordisk Oldkyndighed* ('A Guide to Northern Antiquities'), Copenhagen 1836. See also P. Rowley-Conwy, *From Genesis to Prehistory: The Archaeological Three Age System and its Contested Reception in Denmark, Britain and Ireland*, Oxford 2007

(reviewed by C. Stephen Briggs in *Antiquaries Journal* 88, 2008, pp. 474–8).

3 Worsaae subsequently wrote *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians and England, Scotland and Ireland* (Copenhagen 1852), which further helped to publicize his work in Britain.

4 The full title is *Afbildninger fra det Kongelige Museum for Nordiske Oldsager i Kjøbenhavn. Ordnete og forklarende af J. J. A. W. Tegne . . . af M. Petersen, etc.*

5 Gelfer-Jørgensen 1982, p. 30.

6 Dahl's square-headed brooch has simple ropework in the centre instead of the animal interlace of the original (Worsaae 1854, p. 82). For a version by F.W. Knoblich for A. Michelsen c. 1860, see Thage 1990, p. 42, pl. 28. The shape is recognizable, but the decoration has been completely classicized with simple filigree scrolls and granulation instead of the complex incised animal ornament.

7 For full discussion of this design and its prototypes, see Rudoe in Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 994. The applied trade label on the back of the brooch in Fig. 431 bears the name BORGES and the Prince of Wales's feathers, indicating that the brooch was sold by Borgen's Royal Danish Galleries in London.

8 For the most recent account of the Dagmar necklace, see Welander-Berggren (ed.) 2000, cat. 144, p. 113; see also Field 1992, pp. 42–3.

9 The diadem was after a Bronze Age bronze original (Worsaae 1854, p. 40).

10 The information about Margaret Kerr Halkett was kindly supplied by Julia Poole, who found the marriage information on the Mormon Family Search website, and from www.ancientfaces.com and www.greatfosters.com.

11 The Princess's presents are all illustrated in W.H. Russell 1864, though some groups, confusingly, are split across two plates; for the necklace with the Dagmar cross, see pl. 24; for the Hesse-Cassel gifts, see pl. 28, nos 1–4 (torc, brooch and earrings) and pl. 29, nos 3 and 4 (diadem and bangle); for the Laaland and Falster gifts, see

pl. 28, nos 8–15 (brooch, hairpins, etc.) and pl. 29, nos 1 and 2 (diadem and bracelet); for the gifts from Copenhagen dignitaries, see pl. 28, nos 5–7 (interlace brooch and earrings) and pl. 29, no. 5 (cuff bracelet).

12 For the diadem with spirals, see Worsaae 1854, p. 41; the two elliptical panels with incised decoration represent ships: see K. Flemming, *Ships on Bronzes: A Study in Bronze Age Religion and Iconography*, Nationalmuseet Copenhagen 1998, p. 166, cat. 413, NM 5304. Its provenance is unknown. The prototype for the 'cuff' bracelet is illustrated in the second edition (1859) of Worsaae's book, p. 107.

13 Cole Diaries, 27 January, 15 April, 16 April and 4 May 1863 (National Art Library, V&A). The next day 5,198 visitors came. The display was so crowded that it was extended to 5 May by the Prince of Wales. If the rate continued at 5,000 a day, the twenty days would have seen some 100,000 visitors (see *The Times*, 9 April 1863, p. 7; 18 April, p. 11, and 29 April, p. 5).

14 It is now thought more likely that it came from the grave of Valdemar's sister Richiza. The cross is in the National Museum of Denmark: see F. Lindahl, *Dagmar korset Orø- og Roskilde korset*, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen 1980. We owe a great debt to Fritze Lindahl, who provided much information about the Dagmar cross and its afterlife. The cross was also illustrated in Worsaae 1854 (Middelalderen, I, pl. 107).

15 *The Times*, 26 February 1863, p. 14.

16 (Stephens) 1863, pp. 13–14.

17 According to Stephens, *op. cit.*, the relic of the True Cross was a splinter of wood taken from the piece of wood contained in a medieval reliquary in Denmark's Museum of Antiquities.

18 This may explain why she was able to wear it on her corsage as a stomacher when she dressed as Mary Queen of Scots for the Waverley Ball in 1871 (see Fig. 186) and again for her coronation in 1901 (see Field 1992, pp. 42–3).

19 The surrounding diamonds and pearls were an addition by Didrichsen.

20 Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 501. The design was registered by James Wheeler of Poultry in the City of London on 1 June 1863, no. 162833.

21 For the cross given by Caroline Amalie, see Christie's London, 8 February 1995, lot 6, and inscribed 'Wilhelmine Colbjørnsen 1903–1908'; it was made by Didrichsen and contained in the original retailer's case of Michelsen, Copenhagen. According to the sale catalogue entry, paperwork accompanying the lot indicated that further replicas, in addition to Princess Alexandra's, were given to the Dowager Queen, Princess Dagmar and Princess Louise of Sieveren, later Queen of Denmark. For the Fabergé versions, see Odom 1996, no. 83, and Sotheby's New York, 8 December 1992, lot 481.

22 The Borgen copy of the Dagmar cross is in the British Museum, 1986.0607.1. See also EDM, 1 March 1869, pp. 141–2 for a detailed description of the jewellery at Borgen & Co.'s Danish Galleries.

23 They were being made in numerous versions by the Copenhagen firm of P. Hertz, who exhibited them at the Glasgow Exhibition of 1902: see *The Magazine of Art*, 1902, p. 106. They are still given as christening or confirmation gifts today.

24 For the medieval gold mount from Kollund, see Worsaae 1854, pl. 78 (then placed in the 'Iron Age' along with many of the Migration period and Viking pieces), and pl. 125 for the early medieval shield.

25 See Coutts and Medlam 1992, pp. 50–61. The list of purchases includes 'Une Croix de Dagmar or emaille de Mr Christesen'.

26 The V&A purchased ten pieces, 565–1868 to 574–1868, ranging from £3 1s 8d for a 'gold brooch, circular

shield-shaped with filigree. Old Scandinavian style', to 8s 10d for a silver filigree brooch. The Vienna pieces were purchased between 1873 and 1875 (Bi 128, a gold brooch and earrings in the Viking style; Bi 135, a similar brooch in silver; Bi 536, a set of filigree jewellery based on traditional designs, and Bi 537, a set of gold jewellery – necklace, bracelet, brooch and earrings – based on an Iron Age neck ring).

27 For a complete set of the spirals design made by E.F. Dahl, comprising diadem, brooch, earrings and bracelet, which belonged to Princess Dagmar, daughter of King Christian IX and Queen Louise of Denmark, see Gelfer-Jørgensen 1982, fig. 8, p. 30.

28 For the Bronze Age axe-heads, see Worsaae 1854, p. 24. For the swords, see Worsaae 1854, p. 27.

THE CELTIC REVIVAL AND IRISH NATIONAL IDENTITY

1 Remark made to the Irish artist and antiquary George Petrie (1790–1866) by a member of the Royal Irish Academy prior to the finding of the 'Tara' brooch and recalled by Petrie when he exhibited the brooch to the Royal Irish Academy in December 1850. Petrie noted that those who had seen the Academy's museum of Irish antiquities would not make such a remark now: see G. Petrie, 'On an ancient brooch found near Drogheda', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 5, Dublin (1850–51), pp. 36–40. Petrie's paper is quoted in Waterhouse 1853, pp. 7–10.

2 The Dublin Museum of Science and Industry was founded in 1877 to house the collection of the Royal Dublin Society. By the late nineteenth century this also included the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. The Museum was renamed National Museum of Ireland in the early twentieth century.

3 McCrum 1993, p. 39. The story of the finding of the 'Tara' brooch is told in Whitfield 1974.

4 See Whitfield 1974, p. 132, citing a letter from Waterhouse & Co. of 3 December 1897 to the *Daily Independent*. The date of 1863 may be a mistake for 1862, when Castellani was definitely in London for the International Exhibition. According to the *J&M* (15 February 1879, p. 30), Waterhouse had brought artists from Italy to execute the copies of the Tara brooch but it is not clear whether this was from the beginning or later on.

5 Whitfield 1974, pp. 137–8. It took a great deal of persuasion, from Petrie and others. Waterhouse themselves noted in their 1872 catalogue that they sold it on condition that it should never leave Ireland, otherwise they could have sold it for a lot more.

6 *A-J Ill. Cat.*, Dublin 1853, p. 39. For a general account of the Celtic Revival, see Sheehy 1980 and Edelstein (ed.) 1992. For jewellery, McCrum 1993, pp. 36–52, has been much drawn on here.

7 *The Times*, 3 September 1853, p. 9.

8 Petrie, for example, collected some 2,000 Irish folk melodies, as well as acquiring manuscripts and antiquities for the Academy.

9 *The Times*, 9 August 1849, p. 4.

10 See *Illustrated Exhibitor*, p. 165, and George J.S. King, 'Music and the Great Exhibition', in *Tempo*, n.s., no. 19 (Spring 1951), p. 10.

11 McCrum 1993, p. 50, and Joyce 1990.

12 *The Times*, 4 August 1849, p. 5, and 7 August, p. 4.

13 For example, Lady de Grey, wife of Earl de Grey, Lord Lieutenant 1841–4: 'Habités of Dublin Castle and the Viceregal Lodge entertainments soon heard that they could not please her Excellency better than by patronizing Irish industries, and if the ladies were still compelled to buy their dresses in London and Paris, they were induced

to patronize the Irish dressmakers for their less expensive gowns' (see O'Mahoney 1912, p. 243). Another arena of Viceregal promotion was the Irish lace-making industry, which, like revivalist jewellery, was to gain welcome exposure from international exhibitions.

14 *The Times*, 9 August 1849, p. 4.

15 For example, the Hunterston brooch, which was copied by Acheson of Dublin for the 1853 Exhibition, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1853, p. 47, and Yapp n.d. (after 1871), p. 21.

16 Waterhouse 1853, pp. 3–4.

17 Trethewey 2002, pp. 90–91. In 1860, a year after Lady Morgan's death, her biographer recorded her wearing 'A red Celtic cloak, formed exactly on the plan of Granuaile's [sic] fastened by a rich gold fibula or Irish Tara brooch, [that] imparted to her little ladyship a gorgeous and withal a picturesque appearance which antecedent associations considerably strengthened.' (Fitzpatrick 1860, p. 245). Granuaile (Grace O'Malley) was an Irish pirate and trader of the sixteenth century.

18 For discussion of early Bronze Age finds and their publication, see G. Eogan, *The Accomplished Art: Gold and Gold-working in Britain and Ireland during the Bronze Age* (c. 2300–650 BC), Oxford 1994, pp. 4–7. For Bronze Age cup-and-disc-headed pins, see also G. Eogan, 'The late Bronze Age in Ireland', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 30, Dublin 1964, pp. 268–351, and his 'Pins of the Irish late Bronze Age', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 104, Dublin 1974, pp. 74–119. For early medieval pins, see Youngs (ed.) 1989, nos 90–96. Raghnaid Ó Floinn and Ben Roberts kindly helped with these sources.

19 Sydney Owenson (Lady Morgan), *The Wild Irish Girl: A National Tale*, 1806, edited with an introduction and notes by C. Connolly and S. Copley, London 2000, Letter II, p. 28.

20 We are greatly indebted to Alex Ward for the references from the *Freeman's Journal*, and for the passage from *The Wild Irish Girl*.

21 National Museum of Ireland 1902.302: see Dunlevy 2001, pp. 50–51.

22 Evidence of the immediate appeal of the 'Queen's brooch' to an English audience is provided by an example dating from 1849 and therefore among West's earliest production. Contained in its original retailer's case, for Hancock of Bruton Street, the lid-satin is inscribed above the address 'C.F. Hancock, a successor of Storr & Mortimer, jeweller and silversmith to The Queen Adelaide and His Imperial Majesty The Emperor of Russia'. Queen Adelaide died in 1849, which was also the year in which C.F. Hancock was founded (see Gere 1990, p. 55).

23 For the photograph of Sappho in the V&A, see V&A PH.947-1913. Photographs of Cameron herself wearing Celtic jewellery include one by an unknown photographer, c. 1858, with her two sons, in which she wears a Celtic brooch, probably the 'Queen's brooch' (see NPG P148, and J. Melville, *Julia Margaret Cameron, Pioneer Photographer*, Stroud 2003, pl. 1, unpaginated).

24 For West's ring brooch copies at the 1851 Exhibition, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1851, p. 282, and for Waterhouse, p. 20.

25 For the Ballyspellan brooch, see Youngs (ed.) 1989, cat. 89. This catalogue also discusses the other Celtic brooches mentioned here.

26 Waterhouse 1853, pp. 15–17.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 14, reproducing the report from the Court Circular.

28 See Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 547.

29 Dunlevy 2001, p. 18. The five early brooches of which copies were exhibited by Waterhouse were the 'Tara', Clarendon, Knight Templar's, Arbutus and Dublin University brooches. See *Illustrated Exhibitor*, 1851, pp. 153–4 and *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1851, p. 20.

30 Bury 1991, vol. II, pp. 538–45.

31 Waterhouse 1853, pp. 14–15.

32 She recorded the gift in her journal, 'a silver shawl brooch, in smaller size than the original' (see Bury 1991, vol. II, pp. 541–3, quoting from Queen Victoria's Journal for 9 November 1849). Queen Victoria's Arbutus Berry brooch survives in the Royal Collection, stamped WEST & SON, with Dublin hallmark for 1849, and maker's mark of Edmond Johnson (RC 12457).

33 It is still in the Royal Collection, RC 4833, stamped WEST & SON, with maker's mark of Edmond Johnson and Dublin date-letter for 1849; it is set with deep crimson stones, possibly Irish amethysts, as advertised by Waterhouse in their versions. Kathryn Jones has kindly confirmed the occasions on which these brooches were given.

34 Vokes and her siblings formed a popular group of Victorian entertainers, performing in London and New York.

35 Edmond Johnson later made actual-size electrotype copies of a number of Celtic brooches which he exhibited as facsimile reproductions at the Chicago Exhibition of 1893, where, according to the firm's catalogue, the collection 'was purchased for the American Government at the close of the Exhibition'. He then made a second collection of facsimiles for the Paris Exhibition of 1900, a large portion of which was apparently purchased by the French government, see *Epitome of Reproductions of Ancient Celtic Ornaments by Edmond Johnson Ltd*, Dublin, after 1900, p. 7 (photocopy of catalogue kindly supplied by Elizabeth McCrum). In 1904, the V&A acquired Johnson electrotypes of the four brooches purchased from the 1851 Exhibition (Bury 1991, vol. II, pp. 537–45).

36 For a silver 'Ardagh clasp' of 1912 by Hopkins & Hopkins of Dublin, see Sheehy 1980, op. cit., p. 151, pl. 125, from the Ulster Museum, Belfast.

37 This cross is identical to that displayed by Brogden at the 1871 International Exhibition in London (*A-J Ill. Cat.*, p. 61). Another version is part of the Hull Grundy Gift to Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery and has a cameo of Christ in the centre (1981M599).

38 See *The Times* classified, 27 December 1850, p. 2; 24 June 1851, p. 9; 30 November 1853, p. 11; 7 December 1853, p. 14 and 6 March 1856, p. 2. The last is not an advertisement by Goggin himself, but a 'young man' seeking a situation, who gave his address care of Goggin's depot. These seem to have been short-lived enterprises set up on the back of the Great Exhibition and the Dublin Exhibition of 1853.

39 See Dunlevy 2001, pp. 20–22, and McCrum 1993, pp. 43–4. In 1844, on the opening of the Dublin–Drogheda railway, Lord Lieutenant Earl de Grey was given a presentation trowel with a carved bog-oak handle (*The Times*, 27 May 1844, p. 6). The present to the Duke of Connaught on his marriage in 1879 from the London Irish Rifles (he was the regiment's colonel) was a huge table centrepiece with carved bog-oak base (*The Times*, 3 February 1879, p. 9); other Irish presentations included a bog-oak casket and book cover (*The Times*, 11 March 1879, p. 10).

40 *A-J*, 1853, p. 29, quoted by McCrum 1993, p. 47.

41 Murdoch (ed.) 1991, p. 127, no. 291.

42 For an illustration of the casket, see *A-J*, supplement on the Dublin exhibition, 1853, p. 29. See also *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, Dublin 1853, Class XXIII, no. 1173, p. 92.

43 Lady Aberdeen's Irish village and the rival village organized by Alice Hart are discussed by Harris 1992, pp. 82–105.

44 *The Times*, 28 December 1864, p. 7; 8 November 1877, p. 7, and 12 January 1877, p. 3.

THE RECREATION OF TRADITION IN SCOTLAND

1 For a full account of Highland dress, see Cheape 2006, pp. 27, 40, 47–53. Cheape notes that a number of noble Scottish families had themselves painted in full Highland dress even during the period of proscription.

2 The development of a 'national' costume in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, drawing on well-documented much earlier traditions, is clearly set out by Cheape 2006. For an alternative view, see Trevor-Roper 2008.

3 The accoutrements were sold after his death in 1843: see *Catalogue of the Interesting Collection of Beautiful Rings, Seals and Trinkets . . . of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex*, Christie & Manson, London, 28 June 1843, lot 707. The accoutrements are now in the Scottish Tartans Museum; see Marshall and Dalgleish (eds) 1991, no. 50.

4 Scott was Chairman of the Celtic Society of Edinburgh, founded by Colonel David Stewart of Garth. This was less exclusive than some of the other Highland groups and included several Lowlanders as well as Highland chieftains.

5 For the description of the brooch, see Christopher Hibbert, *George IV, Regent and King, 1811–1830*, London 1975, p. 249 (the information comes from the Royal Archives, RA 29599-600, 20 March to 23 September 1822). The King's appearance was recorded in a painting by David Wilkie of 1829. The painting is in the Royal Collection (RC 401206) together with the sword, dirk, baldric, waist-belt and powder-horn.

6 Little effort was spent in making the jewellery authentic, however: Lady Montgomerie wore a headdress 'tastefully adorned with cameos' and the Queen of Beauty, Lady Seymour, wore 'a number of diamond chains'. For a full account of the tournament, see Anstruther 1963.

7 See D. Millar 1985, pp. 70–72.

8 There had been previous waves of interest abroad through Scott's novels (see pp. 333–4). The Comte de Chambord, the Bourbon pretender to the French throne as Henri V, loved Scotland and commissioned a series of plates by Baron d'Hardivilliers commemorating his travels through the country in 1832, published in 1835 as *Souvenir des Highlands: voyage à la suite de Henri V en 1832*. The young Comte is shown in full Highland dress with sporran, dirk and plaid secured by a large ring-brooch. The 'tartan' trinkets were made by Jacques Petit: see Vever 1906–8, vol. II, pp. 181–2 and p. 188 (Purcell 2001, pp. 646 and 658) for a tartan bracelet in enamelled gold by Petit. See also Fontenay 1887, p. 369 for a sketch of an enamelled trophy brooch with tartan cap, horn and sporran.

9 The publication of spurious costume histories from around 1840 is discussed in detail in Cheape 2006, and in Taylor 2004, pp. 30–32.

10 The Sobieski brothers, John and Charles Hay Allen, appeared in Scotland in 1822; they published their book as John Sobieski Stuart and Charles Edward Stuart. James Logan had written an earlier volume, *The Scottish Gael or Celtic manners as Preserved among the Highlanders* (London 1831), which was one of the most sound of the early histories (Cheape 2006, p. 76). For a biographical study of Ronald Mclan see Morse 2001.

11 See Marshall and Dalgleish (eds) 1991, pp. 60–61, no. 46, a portrait of the 'Hen Wife of Castle Grant', of 1726, wearing a simple flat ring-brooch, and no. 47, a group of brass and silver ring-brooches. Mclan's plates are not entirely inaccurate: for the women he consistently uses the flat open ring.

12 W.M.L. Lockhart, *Fair to See: A Novel*, Edinburgh 1871, vol. I, p. 49. See also the review of the novel in *The Times*, 23 November 1871, p. 4. The misuse of Highland dress occurs elsewhere in the book, where the young hero Bertrand Cameron, wishing to impress his Scottish hosts,

wears full-dress tartan during the day (normally it was reserved for evening wear) and manages to get his kilt on back to front.

13 Waddington 1903, p. 289. Madame Waddington's Scottish visit took place during her husband's tour of duty as French ambassador in London in the 1880s.

14 For the brooch of Lorne, see *Archaeologica Scotica: Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. IV, part III, 1857, p. 419 and pl. XXX. It remained in the Lorne family and is still in private hands. It appears among the illustrations of Princess Louise's wedding gifts in the *ILN* (see Fig. 42).

15 The Lochbuie brooch is in the British Museum, 1855.1201.220. This type of 'turreted' reliquary brooch was known early on in the revival: the Duke of Sussex owned 'A very beautiful circular jewelled Highland shoulder ornament; in the centre, on a rock of silver, is a gold eagle and enamelled snake, on a very fine cairngorm, surrounded by eight posts of silver and enamel, surmounted by a cairngorm each, with a Gaelic inscription in enamel round the base, in a case' (Christie's, 28 June 1843, lot 134).

16 The Bowes Museum brooch is part of a group of Highland accoutrements that were personal items owned by John and Josephine Bowes. Their date and origin is unknown, but one of the two dirks bears the initials JMB for Josephine Montalbo Bowes, showing that she acquired it after John bought her the title 'Countess of Montalbo' from the Republic of San Marino in 1868 (information kindly supplied by Howard Coutts).

17 Thistle-head brooches usually have a ring with round-section rather than flat, ending in spherical terminals. The Arbutus Berry brooch discussed on p. 449 is an example.

18 See 'Gifts to Princess Alexandra', *The Times*, 7 March 1863, p. 5, reproducing an article from *The Scotsman*.

19 The Hunterston brooch remained in the possession of the Hunter family until it was acquired by the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1891.

20 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, VIII, pp. 304–10, pl. XVI.

21 For the copy by Naughten, see National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, vol. no. BT 43/34, no. 272652, of 5 May 1873. The original brooch from Rogart, now in the National Museums of Scotland, was acquired in 1888 by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, whose collections had been displayed at the Royal Institution since 1851; it became the National Museum of Antiquities in 1890. See also Youngs (ed.) 1989, p. 116. Naughten sold a wide range of Scottish jewellery: see N. Crawford 2008, p. 62, for an advertisement in *The Inverness Courier* for 3 July 1862.

22 EDM, April 1871, pp. 228 (illustrations) and 243 (text).

23 EDM, June 1871, pp. 362–3.

24 The marriage presents for the Duke of Edinburgh are enumerated in the *J&M*, 15 February 1874.

25 For example, Muirhead of Glasgow, who exhibited in 1862, or the Edinburgh firms of Marshall & Sons and Mackay Cunningham, who exhibited from 1862 onwards. For Muirhead, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1862, p. 228; for Marshall & Co., see Bury 1991, vol. II, pp. 524–5; for Mackay Cunningham, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1872, p. 45.

26 See G. Dalgleish in Marshall and Dalgleish (eds) 1991, p. 41, and Dalgleish and Fotheringham 2008, pp. 114–15, no. 5.69.

27 A number of ancestral 'charmstones' and amulets set as jewellery are held in the National Museums of Scotland in Edinburgh, including a grey quartz arrow-head mounted in gold: arrow-heads were believed to be 'elf-shot' and were worn as protective amulets. J.F. Campbell, the Eton-educated laird of Islay, published his *Popular Tales of the Highlands* in 1860–62. At the same time Alexander

Carmichael travelled round the Highlands from 1855 to 1899 collecting poems and chants to demonstrate that the Gaels had a fine literary tradition. His work was not published until the early twentieth century, however.

28 Elizabeth Gaskell, *Cranford*, London 1851, ch. 8, p. 91.

29 Mitford (ed.) 1938, pp. 81, 93.

30 Lady Layard records in her diaries buying dirk brooches in London 'to give the Ayrton [?] girls' (BL, Add. MSS 46154, 16 August 1873).

31 Charlotte M. Yonge, *The Daisy Chain*, London 1856, part 2, ch. 12.

32 See *The Times*, 10 March 1838, p. 6; 5 May 1841, p. 1; 28 August 1849, p. 4. For an invaluable compilation of advertisements for Scotch pebble jewellery in *The Scotsman*, see N. Crawford 2008, pp. 60–62.

33 For Rettie, see *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1851, p. 220, and *A-J Ill. Cat.*, 1862, p. 66.

34 *The Times*, 11 September 1867, p. 10.

35 The various stones found in Scotland are fully discussed and illustrated in N. Crawford 2008. See also H.G. Macpherson, *Agates*, National Museums of Scotland and British Museum (Natural History), London 1989, and Scarisbrick 2009.

36 The firm of Ruppenthal in Idar-Oberstein was one such supplier; their archive collection, seen in 1984, contained elements for hardstone brooches, individual shaped pieces of inlay as well as intarsia plaques or open circles ready to be exported for mounting; some of these are identical to those found in settings from Scotland and England. The firm has since undergone a number of changes and the collection may no longer survive in the same form.

37 *J&M*, 15 June 1874, p. 160, and *The Times*, 5 April 1866, p. 6.

38 See Maskelyne 1867, p. 604.

39 For a ring-brooch by Fenton with grey striated agate panels and cabochon citrines, see Gere *et al.* 1984, no. 993A, registered in 1873 (National Archives, Representations of Registered Designs, 29 March 1873, vol. no. BT 43/34, no. 271625). Fenton registered further designs for Scotch-pebble brooches, for example, a design for a large ring-brooch perhaps intended as a plaid brooch (7 June 1873, BT 43/34, no. 273961); it is close to the brooch illustrated by Bury 1991, vol. II, p. 516, pl. 269, in the National Museums of Scotland. A similar unmarked brooch is part of the Hull Grundy Gift to Glasgow (E.1976.818). Other centres such as Exeter may have used local stones: see Gere 1975, p. 84. In 1851, Lister & Sons of Newcastle showed 'Highland ornaments' at the Great Exhibition.

40 Also shown is a circular Scottish brooch with a large stone and a Gothic-style openwork setting (described as a *medaglione*), not unlike the large Scottish medieval-style brooch worn by Ellen Terry for her role as Lady Macbeth in Irving's 1888 production. J. Singer Sargent's portrait of her in the role shows the brooch clearly, securing a magnificent beetle-wing robe. The brooch is now in the collection of the National Trust at Ellen Terry's last home at Smallhythe in Kent. The high engraved silver setting holds a large cairngorm. For both the portrait, in Tate Britain, and the brooch, see Gere and Munn 1989, p. 89.

41 Kunz 1968, p. 329.

CHAPTER 9: VICTORIAN CAMEOS

1 Quoted in Uglow 1993, p. 269.

2 For a recent discussion of personal seals, see Seidmann 1997.

3 Shell cameo cutting developed on an almost industrial scale (see Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 216–18).

4 Murray's *Handbook for Rome*, 5th edn, 1869, p. xxvii; Neri is listed as supplying marble cameos for 60 to 100 *scudi*, but it is not clear to what these might refer, unless

they are small-scale reliefs rather than cameos to be set in jewellery. The references to Dies appear under shell cameos in the 1840s and 1850s; after that he appears in a general list of cameo suppliers and may have diversified into stone cameos as well.

5 For helpful accounts in recent jewellery literature, see Gere 1972, pp. 103–8, and 1975, pp. 117–21; Fales 1995, pp. 227–36; Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 215–32; Gere *et al.* 1984, ch. 10. For recent reappraisals of nineteenth-century gem-engraving, with references to earlier literature, see *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 2, 1996 (publication of the papers of the symposium on Engraved Gems of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in European Collections, held in Munich in 1996); Buora (ed.) 2006; Rowan 2004; Draper 2008.

6 Cole was in Rome in the 1840s completing replicas of his cycle *The Voyage of Life*. Saulini wanted to use a detail from the figures and boat in 'Childhood' from the series. Cole agreed on condition that he could have a version of the cameo (see Schweizer, Munson-Proctor-Williams Institute, New York, website). Cole had been visited by Thorvaldsen in March, and he may have suggested to the Saulinis that they view Cole's work. The cameo and a photograph of Cole's wife wearing it have recently come to light (information kindly supplied by James D. Draper of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, who was alerted to their survival by Alexander Azevedo of the Alexander Gallery in New York).

7 Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia* was in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence; it was round and so easily adapted as a jewel.

The cult of the cameo

8 The crown is described by Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 39 (Purcell 2001, p. 80). See also Morel 1991, p. 66. Half a century after Napoléon I's coronation, another ancestral cabinet of gems was plundered to furnish a parure of great magnificence when the 6th Duke of Devonshire allowed Charles F. Hancock to select 88 antique engraved gems from his collection to make a suite of jewellery for his nephew's wife to wear at the coronation of Alexander II in St Petersburg in 1856. The impact of this commission is examined in Chapter 7; its most important legacy was not a taste for cameo-set jewellery, which was already well established, but the 'Holbeinesque' style, a peculiarly English expression of popular historicism in jewellery.

9 For Pauline Borghese in her cameo parure, see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 69 (Purcell 2001, p. 117). *Journal des Dames*, 25 Ventose, an XIII (an XIII spanned 22 September 1805 to 24 September 1806; Ventose, the sixth month, equalled 19 February–19 March: see Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 66 (Purcell 2001, p. 112).

10 Vever 1906–8, vol. I, p. 67, illustrated (Purcell 2001, p. 113).

11 Chapple and Pollard (eds) 1966, p. 359. Parthenope Nightingale was Florence's sister. The Nightingale Fund was set up in 1855 in recognition of Florence Nightingale's work with the wounded in the Crimean War, to establish an institute for training nurses.

12 This contrast was achieved by employing the ancient method of immersing the stone in a solution of boiling sugar for several days and then steeping it in concentrated sulphuric acid. This rendered the permeable layer of the stone densely black, leaving the impermeable layer pure white.

13 See Barratt 2000, fig. 57. For the *commesso* of Queen Victoria, see Somers Cocks (ed.) 1980, pp. 42 and 133.

14 For the Queen Victoria portrait and the Apollo, see Gere *et al.* 1984, cats 904 and 905. Lebas specialized in official portraiture; a profile by Lebas of the Prince

Imperial, heir to Napoléon III, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is loosely based on the bust of the Prince by Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux. See Draper 2008, p. 49. The cameo is inscribed on the reverse, 'E. Gueytant/Succs de/Michelini/1867'.

15 For Bissingring cameos in 1867 see A-J, 1868, p. 38; for Vienna 1873, see *L'Exposition Universale di Vienna Illustrata*, Milan 1973, p. 586; for Paris 1878, Babelon 1902, pp. 235–6; for the sixteenth-century Marie de Médicis cameo, see Babelon 1897, no. 789.

16 See, for example, the series held in the Cabinet de Médailles, Musée du Louvre, and in the Musée d'Orsay. The *Grand Camée*, showing *The Apotheosis of Napoléon I*, commissioned by Emperor Napoléon III in 1854, designed by the artist J.A.D. Ingres and cut by Adolphe David, is in the Musée d'Orsay. The *Apothéose* is 23 × 21 cm. It was a 'Commande de l'Etat' 1861, shown at the Salon in 1874, see Bascou *et al.* 1988, pp. 68–9, Inv. no. OAO 1140. See also Gere 1972, pp. 105–7.

17 For David's cameo, see Gere 1998/9 and Draper 2008, fig. 108, p. 50.

18 King 1885, p. 130.

19 Gere 1991, pp. 120–22. When published by King, the cameo belonged to John Brogden, who lent it that same year to the 1872 *Loan Exhibition* at South Kensington with no mention of its romantic story. The cameo itself is now in the British Museum. The word 'fece' in the upper white layer of the stone, visible in King's illustration, is all that is missing, lost when the cameo was damaged in the twentieth century.

20 Pistrucci's fragment of autobiography is published in Billing 1867: —

Subjects from the antique

21 For a compilation of the illustrated catalogues of early gem collections, see Reinach 1895.

22 Billing 1867.

23 Marchant's intaglio head of 'Clytie' is included in his *Catalogue* as 'Isis': see *A Catalogue of One Hundred Impressions from Gems by Nathaniel Marchant*, London 1792, no. XXII (Seidmann 1987, cat. 69).

24 For recent opinion on the identity of the bust, see Walker 1992.

25 Carr 1975, pp. 170–81.

26 For Marchant's Cupid, see Seidmann 1987, cat. 36; G. Seidmann, 'An eighteenth-century collector as patron: The 4th Duke of Marlborough and the London engravers', in C.M. Brown (ed.), *Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals*, Washington 1997, pp. 263–80 and Boardman 2009, cat. 622, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. For the Medusa type, see Dalton 1915, cat. 795, an amethyst thought to be ancient when it entered the Museum in 1866 but catalogued by Dalton in 1915 as eighteenth century. A Roman marble copy of the Capitoline Venus in the British Museum was presented by William IV (reigned 1830–37).

Contemporary sculpture in Victorian cameos

27 Particularly useful is the corpus of portrait drawings preserved from the activities of the Saulini studio, see Dickmann de Petra and Barberini 2006. The spread of visitors to the Saulini studio bears comparison with visitors to Castellani's studio, discussed in Chapter 8. Gibson signed the Castellani visitors' book between October 1862 and April 1864 (vol. I, p. 138, probably late 1862/early 1863; few entries are dated).

28 The Thorvaldsen subjects were the Four Seasons and Cupid and Hymen; the Raphael subject was 'Mount Roveto' and the terracotta subject was Bacchus and fauns. Tommaso's identity was concealed under a printing error in the *Official Catalogue*, which gave his name as Thomas

Savalini (see *Off. Cat.*, 1851, p. 290, Rome, no. 24).

Saulini showed again at the Dublin International Exhibition in 1853, which was visited by the Queen and Prince Albert in August.

29 See Sherwood 1991, p. 55. Hosmer remarks on the model for the Phaeton relief in a letter of 1852. The model for the *Hours* relief must also have been in the studio, since both are now in the Royal Academy among the material from his studio bequeathed by Gibson.

30 See Gere *et al.* 1984, cat. 912.

31 For Saulini's cameos shown in 1862, see *Official Catalogue of the Industrial Department, 1862 International Exhibition*, London. Quoted in Carr 1975, p. 181, and for the drawing see Carr 1975, p. 175.

32 For cameos by William Morris Hunt, see a cameo-set bracelet in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Bequest of Miss Jane Hunt, 1908, 08.211). For a pair of portraits by Saint-Gaudens in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, see Draper 2008, pls 116–17.

33 It was difficult to find a profile view of the *Greek Slave* in Britain, so a photograph of the cameo was sent to Sarah Faunce, a colleague at the Brooklyn Museum in New York where they have one of the primary versions. She concluded that 'the profile, relation to the shoulder etc., of the cameo is very close to the sculpture except of course, in reverse' and that this identification was correct.

34 Based on the Medici Venus in the Uffizi, it had already been seen at Messrs Graves in Pall Mall in 1845, and the *Art-Journal* later described it as 'a captive rude Greek woman being exposed for sale in a bazaar in Turkey' (report, A-J, 1850, p. 56). It alluded to the atrocities committed by the Turks during the Greek War of Independence and by implication to the current American debate over slavery.

Cameo portraits

35 The identification was kindly confirmed by the present Duke.

36 The letter offering the cameo, written to the Prince's equerry, is quoted in Carr 1975, p. 174.

37 Gibson's involvement with the Royal Family Order badges is traced in Carr 1975 and in Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 221–3.

38 Atterbury (ed.) 1989, fig. 601.

39 P.L. Simmonds, A-J, 1854, pp. 20–22. These prices are quoted by Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 226, in her survey of the cameo trade.

40 Verey (ed.) 1983, p. 59. Emily's letter is not very clearly expressed. The heads of husband and wife were combined in a double portrait, with Dearman's head above Emily's; the order was for four cameos, presumably to distribute round the family. One of the cameos is illustrated in Emily Birchall's account of the tour: see Verey (ed.) 1985, pl. opp. p. 44.

41 The cameos may have been set by Phillips.

The cameo trade and cameo-cutting in England

42 In 1857 Mayer lent 'a cameo bust, in hone-stone, of Albert Durer's wife, by Durer himself' to the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition.

43 The collector Harriet Bolckow, discussed in Chapter 2, bought a Neo-classical intaglio from Phillips, as well as old watches and other antique trinkets.

44 Reported A-J, 1857, p. 203.

45 The cameos set by Phillips, Fig. 476, are all from the Saulini workshop, but according to a report in *The Times* he showed 'a series of rare cameos by Pistrucci in varied and original mountings' at the 1867 Paris Exhibition (see *The Times* on jewellery in the Paris Exhibition, 26 September 1867, p. 10). At the Philadelphia Exhibition

in 1876, an American firm, Starr & Marcus, showed cameos by Filippo Rega and Pistrucci.
 46 MoL. 50.66/3: see Murdoch (ed.) 1991, nos 336–7, pp. 47, 139. These cameo-set jewels, given to the museum by Wehrfritz's daughter, are from two demi-parures made for his wife; the original display case, dated 1867, for the Night and Day set survives. The cameos may have come from the same source as those used by John Brogden (see Fig. 490); they are of similar quality and the Brogden design archive in the Victoria and Albert Museum includes a 'Night and Day' cameo in a setting of gold snakes priced at £7 15s.
 47 For Ronca's life and work, see Rudoe 2006.
 48 The Parian models have been identified in Rudoe 2006.
 49 For an account of Schmidt's life and career, see Seidmann 1988.

CHAPTER 10: SOUVENIRS OF TRAVEL AT HOME AND ABROAD

1 For the charitable institution, see Murray's *Handbook to Central Italy and Rome*, 1853, pp. 8–9; for the Roman 'pearls', made of alabaster coated with a pearly substance derived from fish, and the religious ornaments, see Murray's *Handbook*, 1867, p. xxvii; the 'ordinary Roman gold ornaments' were made over by the Pantheon and Piazza Navona.
 2 For more information about Countess von Hallwyl, née Wilhelmina Kempe, see Welander-Berggren (ed.) 2000, nos 166–70.
 3 We owe this information to Eva Helena Cassel-Phil, director of the Hallwylska Museet: the jewellery is discussed in *Hallwylska Samlingen (Stockholm, Sweden)*, XXV: *Familiens privata smycken m.m.*, 2 vols, Stockholm 1935, cat. III:D.a.5, pp. 99–103.

Britons in Britain

4 Brendon 1991, p. 64.
 5 See *ILN*, January–July 1871, p. 416.
 6 The collections included fossils, rock crystals, gemstones and fine agates, mosaics and Limoges enamels, and historical surveys of British ceramics and glass.
 7 *A-J*, 1868, p. 232. The Whitby fossils are discussed in Bury 1991, vol. II, pp. 674–5.
 8 See Gere 1972, pp. 209–10. The jewels are hard to identify and may be passing for lesser-quality Florentine work.
 9 See Duff 1970, p. 33. The Duke was a considerable benefactor of the Geology Museum, donating enormous vases and tazzas carved from Derbyshire marble; these are still in the Natural History Museum.
 10 For an account of Baroness Burdett-Coutts's acquaintance with William Pengelly, see Healey 1978, pp. 141–5. The Hull Grundy Gift to Norwich has a small group of English malachite-set jewellery, one item being inscribed with the address 7 Victoria Parade, Torquay (nos 402.1.978; 701.1978; 146.367.977; 369.1.978 with design registration mark and GR & Co.).
 11 Bury 1991, vol. I, pp. 364–5, pp. 409–10.

Britons abroad

12 The brief respite provided by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 did not last long enough for a pattern of Continental travel to be re-established.
 13 Trollope 1836, p. 271.
 14 Mediterranean destinations and their cultural implications are examined in detail in Pemble 1988.
 15 Ruskin 1949, p. 254.
 16 The V&A Three Graces cameo is Circ.91-1952.
 17 Ruskin 1949, p. 254. The cameo, cut December–January 1840–41, survives at the Brantwood

Trust, Coniston: see Gere and Munn 1989, col. pl. 60. Roesler Franz belonged to a German-Italian artistic family in Rome, whose most prominent member was Ettore Roesler Franz, watercolourist and recorder in the 1880s of the threatened antiquities of Rome.
 18 Haight 1968, paperback edn 1978, p. 324. The subsequent history of the bacchante cameo, outlined in correspondence with Gordon Haight in 1983, was as follows: it was given to Georgiana Burne-Jones, wife of the artist, and passed by inheritance to her daughter Margaret Mackail and thence to Angela Thirkell, the novelist and granddaughter of Georgiana, who gave it to Gordon Haight.
 19 George Lewes's journal is in the Yale University Library.
 20 King 1885, p. 132.
 21 Armstrong (ed.) 1923, p. 93.
 22 McAleer 1951a. The letter is from a typescript in the British Library.
 23 McAleer (ed.) 1951b, p. 63.
 24 Murray's *Handbooks* are nearly coterminous with the reign of Queen Victoria: the first volume appeared in 1836 and the brand was sold to a new owner in 1900. For an account of Murray's guides and much detailed information on tourism in general, see Parsons 2007.
 25 Marryat 1860, vol. I, p. 207.
 26 Charles Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, ch. 16. *Little Dorrit* was issued in monthly parts, 1855–7.
 27 Guest (ed.) 1911.
 28 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
 29 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
 30 For the description of Townshend's travelling carriage, see Ackroyd 1990, p. 771.
 31 For Townshend's Polish political ring in the Victoria and Albert Museum, see V&A, 1831–1869; for the cameo-set rings, see V&A 1810–1869, 1800–1869.
 32 Ruskin 1949, p. 295.
 33 Ruskin 1949, pp. 295–6.
 34 Effie described her experiences with Bautre's in a letter to her brother George: see Gere 1972, p. 230.
 35 For Thomas Cook's career, see Brendon 1991.
 36 For an account of the taste for souvenirs of travel from Italy, see Lightbown 1985.
 37 See Rolfe and Ingleby 1888, p. 246.
 38 Eaton 1826, pp. 327–8.
 39 Rudoe 1986, pp. 22–32; for the date of the gift, see Scarisbrick, D., 'Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her dove mosaic brooch', *Jewellery Studies* 3, 1989, p. 81.
 40 For an illustration of the earrings, see Gere 1972, p. 29.
 41 For the collecting activities of Mr and Mrs Eustace Smith, see Wilcox 1993.
 42 Lutyens (ed.) 1965, p. 69.
 43 A carved coral hand with coral charm pendants is illustrated in Fales 1995, col. pl. 137.
 44 Gere *et al.* 1984, cats 195–202; Marquardt 1998. An example showing deer in a landscape was acquired from the exhibitor L. Wägener (or Wägener) from the Hanseatic Department at the 1862 International Exhibition for the South Kensington Museum and assigned to the Museum in Edinburgh: see Bury 1991, vol. I, p. 249, pl. 125.

Americans in Europe

45 Many examples are included in Fales 1995.
 46 For a recent account of American art shopping in Europe, see Craven 2008.
 47 Henry James, *The Madonna of the Future*, London 1880, p. 22.
 48 Also known as the *Madonna della Sedia*, by Raphael, 1512–14, in the Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, Florence. For a large square brooch with the *Madonna della Sedia* in enamel of c. 1840–50, see Welander-Berggren (ed.) 2000,

no. 155. For a portrait of a similar brooch being worn, C. Terenzi (ed.), *Gioielli di Praga dal Rinascimento all'Art Déco*, exh. cat., Galleria Ottavo Piano, Milan, 1993, p. 34 (portrait of a lady by Václav Gowitsch, second half of the nineteenth century, Prague National Gallery) probably dating from the 1850s. The brooch is rectangular, with a scrolling gold setting.
 49 Thoron (ed.) 1936, pp. 94–5.
 50 Beecher 1896, pp. 199–200.
 51 The Stowe collection of jewellery is illustrated in Fales 1995, p. 243. The Scottish plaid brooches are like that shown here in Fig. 458.
 52 Set of jewellery, brooch, necklace, bracelet and earrings, coloured lava, gold-mounted: Museum of the History of New York, 59.19a-f. Gift of Mr Evelyn P. Luquer.
 53 Letter dated 8 October 1874, Archivio Storico Gabinetto Vieusseux, Florence, Fondo Hiram Powers.
 54 Giocondo Torrini (c. 1840–80), *pietra dura* and gold brooch, c. 1845. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. By descent in the family of Nicholas Brown II (1792–1859), American consul in Rome 1846–9. Gift of Mrs John Carter Brown II.
 55 Thoron (ed.) 1936, p. 200.
 56 Ford (ed.) 1930, p. 242.
 57 For the description of Mrs Belmont, see Black 1981, p. 173.
 58 For the Belmonts' European purchases, see Craven 2008, pp. 45–9.
 59 A pair of these ram's-head pins was bought with the Castellani Collection of Italian peasant jewellery by the South Kensington Museum, V&AM, 349–1868 (see Soros and Walker (eds) 2004, fig. 9–53, pp. 24–54 and Checklist no. 237). The pins were used to secure a ribbon rosette, which also survives. For Mrs Twisleton's pins, see *ibid.*, fig. 9–20, p. 239. Checklist no. 158.
 60 Twisleton 1928, p. 69.
 61 *Ibid.*, p. 289.
 62 Paget n.d., vol. II, p. 325. Lady Paget refers to Mrs Lawrence as Laurence, but she is the same person as Mrs Henry Adams's friend, often referred to in her letters: see Thoron (ed.) 1936.
 63 See Gere 1998/99, p. 29. For the identity of Luigi's brother, see Dickmann de Petra and Barberini 2006.
 64 Gold fringe necklace: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mrs Turner Sargent (89.182).
 65 See Fales 1995, p. 346, col. pl. 199 for the frontispiece from Buffum's book showing the multicoloured flashes of the Sicilian amber, and *ibid.*, pp. 348–9.
 66 Louisa May Alcott, *Jo's Boys*, 1886, ch. 2.
 67 See J. Gerhardt, *Die Begründer der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Stiftung*, Hamburg 2007, pp. 26–7.
 68 Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg: Tiffany & Co., brooch with a cameo in a gold setting; Tiffany & Co., bracelet cameos in gold set with pearls, both items in the original case labelled 'Tiffany & Co., 550 Broadway 552, New York'. Acquired in New York about 1867, MKG 1916.285/290; brooch, blue enamel with a large diamond, New York 1870–75, shown by Starr & Marcus at the 1876 Philadelphia exhibition, MKG 1916.295: see Jedding (ed.) 1977, cats 249–52.
 69 Brooch with a citrine, German, 1877, in the original case dated 1877, 1916.291; necklet with pearls, Brahmfeld & Gutruf, Hamburg 1879, in the original case, MKG 1916.277a-c.; see Jedding (ed.) 1977, cats 253–7.
 70 The advertisement is illustrated in Flower 1967, fig. 15. The export trade increased significantly after the Vienna Exhibition of 1873, where several Bohemian jewellers had shown garnet work: *Godey's Lady's Book*, June 1875, p. 576.

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Abbreviations

British Museum (BM) departments:

GR Greece and Rome
ME Middle East
PD Prints and Drawings
PE Prehistory and Europe

HG Hull Grundy

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47 BM, PE HG Cat. 353

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53 BM, PE HG Cat. 17
54 V&A Images, Victoria and Albert Museum, 2901-1955
55 British Library Board, 1764.b.30 (c2917-01)
56–7 Stanford Family Collection: (56) 12020; (57) 16294
58 Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, 1950-6-3
59 BM, PE HG Cat. 329
61 Getty Images/Hulton Archive, HGE; 85662557
62–3 V&A Images, Victoria and Albert Museum: (62) necklace 734-1890; earrings 734A&B-1890; (63) 746-1890

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68 National Portrait Gallery, London, x95852

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79 BM, PD 1906,1219.12
80 Private collection, photo BM
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94 Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, WA 1964-29-3
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97 Worcester Art Museum, Alexander and Caroline Murdock De Witt Fund
98, 100 National Portrait Gallery, London: (98) Ax50733; (100) x5176
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103 BM, PE HG Cat. 786
104 BM, PE: *top left* 1987,0516.33.a-b; *top right* 1987,0516.26.a-f; *below* 1987,0516.3.a-j
105 BM, PE: (A) HG Cat. 800; (B-C) HG Cat. 823-4; (D) HG Cat. 808
106–7 Norwich Castle Museum: (106) 286.33.979; (107) *top* 339.1.978; *centre* 121.367.377; *bottom* 424.1.978
109 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, P&D 50.588.3
110 Norwich Castle Museum: *top* 576.1.978; *bottom* 279.1.978
111 BM, PE: *left* HG Cat. 956; *right* HG Cat. 797A; *centre* HG Cat. 951

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- 112 National Portrait Gallery, London, x5665
113–14 BM, PE: (113) *top, left to right* HG Cat. 648; *centre* HG Cat. 647; *bottom, left to right* HG Cat. 518; HG Cat. 549; 2008, 8007.18; HG Cat. 649; (114) HG Cat. 644
115, 117 BM, PE: (115) *top, left to right* HG Cat. 213; HG Cat. 212; HG Cat 214; *below* HG Cat. 640-1; (117) HG Cat. 819
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120 BM, PE: *bracelets and ring* 2009,8045.1-3; *ivory case* 2008.8007.13; *brooches* 2008.8007.15-16
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122 V&A Images, Victoria and Albert Museum, AP14 to 20-1889
123 BM, PE 2009,8045.13-24
124 BM, PE HG Cat. 820
125 Doncaster Museum Service, Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council
127 The Twining Collection, courtesy of the Goldsmiths' Company
128–30 BM, PE: (128, 130) HG Cat. 705; (129) HG Cat. 654
131 BM, PE: *clockwise from top* HG Cat. 656, 659, 761, 664
132 BM, PE: *top left* HG Cat. 712; *top right* HG Cat. 669; *bottom left* HG Cat. 716; *bottom right* HG Cat. 713
133 V&A Images, Victoria and Albert Museum, M15 to A-1962
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167 BM, PD 1922,0710.443
170–71 BM, PE: (170) *top* HG Cat. 754; *centre* HG Cat. 755; *below* HG Cat. 760; (171) HG Cat. 818
173 Sawanoni kushi kanzashi bijutukan
174, 176 BM, PE: (174) HG Cat. 762; (176) *top* HG Cat. 822; *centre* HG Cat. 766; *below* 1993,1203.1
177 Culture and Sports Glasgow (Museums), HG 38
180 BM, PE: *brooch* HG Cat. 769; *rings* Dalton Ring, Cat. 1737-8 (AF.1797-8); *bracelet* 2005,0602.1
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195 V&A Images, Victoria and Albert Museum: *earrings, top* AP137 & A-1875; AP123 & A-1875; *feather* AP21:9-1888; *earrings, centre* AP122 & A-1875; *hairpin* AP92:3-1875; *leaf* AP114:6-1875; *necklet* AP10:3-1888
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 249 V&A Images, Victoria and Albert Museum: rosaries, top and bottom 1143-1874 and 1140-1874; necklaces 08350.IS and 08335.B.IS; bracelet 08361.IS
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