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TRADE CARDS AND ENGLISH ROCOCO

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Notes

Abbreviations

- BM British Museum Print Room
GH Goldsmiths' Hall
VAM Victoria & Albert Museum
Heal I Sir A. Heal, *London Tradesmen's Cards of the XVIII Century*, 1925
Heal II Sir A. Heal, *The Trade Cards of Engravers*, 1927, reprinted from *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, July 1927
Heal III Sir A. Heal, *The London Goldsmith 1200-1800*, 1935
Heal IV Sir A. Heal, *The London Furniture Makers*, 1953
Rococo VAM, *Rococo, Art and Design in Hogarth's England*, 1984

1. 'Bills at One Penny and Three-halfpence each, engraved with curious Borders suitable, a large Letter, and on good Paper, Viz. Bills for Lodgings Furnished, Lodgings Unfurnished. All Sorts of Fine Tea Coffee, and Chocolate Sold Here. Snuff and Tobacco Sold Here, &c.'. (George Bickham, *The Oeconomy of the Arts*, 1745). An example of Snuff and Tobacco is at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Hawkes Coll. III 178). An example of 'Right Redstreak Cyder sold here', no doubt from the same series, is at the BM (Banks 59.32; *Rococo* D29f). Bickham was advertising

As a form of ornamental engraving the trade card reached its highest expression in 18th-century England. Its period of greatest elaboration and productivity, c. 1730-70, coincided exactly with that of the rococo. Unfortunately the real importance of the trade card as a type of engraved ornament has been very largely obscured by the work of Sir Ambrose Heal and other historians of the form, who tended to concentrate on its social and historical aspects. An investigation of the trade card in terms of design and engraving practices is both illuminating and rewarding, especially in relation to the rococo in England; what follows is a first report on my investigations into this subject.

The name 'trade card' is of 19th-century origin. 18th-century trade cards are always printed on thin paper and can probably be identified with the 'shopkeepers' bills' noticed in contemporary advertisements. Some cards have survived with an account written on the engraved front; these are mostly of the type in which the design is concentrated at the top of the sheet. Cards in which the design covers the whole sheet often have accounts written on the back, sometimes with their own engraved headpiece. Such cards must have served both as advertisements and as bills in the modern sense. One or two cards survive from a number which were certainly engraved as general advertisements for the sale of tea, chocolate, snuff and tobacco and houses and lodgings. One example carries their price: one penny and two pence each in 1749.¹

Also now grouped among trade cards are other types of printed ephemera. The small card etched by the wood carver Matthias Lock for himself in 1746 may have been intended to serve as a

label to stick on his own work,² although no examples have been found *in situ*, while a card found under a floor in Exeter which is lettered in Spanish is probably a bale label for exported woollen serge. Other cards double as tobacco papers and as advertisements.³ In fact trade cards are part of a larger group of engraved ephemera including invitation tickets and book plates⁴ which shared the same designs, engraving style and often engravers.

Heal tended to view trade cards as picturesque symbols of an idealized past, in the conception and design of which the tradesman or craftsman had played a major role. A cursory examination however, of surviving rococo cards shows the same design being used by different engravers for the cards of different trades and crafts, often with very little variation. By tracing such copies and derivations it can be demonstrated that the great majority of cards are ultimately descended from a relatively small number of prototypes. In a few cases however, cards are known to have been designed by the craftsmen themselves. These include that of James Shruder which incorporates motifs peculiar to his own silver,⁵ and a small number of silversmiths' and cabinet makers' cards which can be shown to display specific pieces.⁶ Wood carvers and furniture designers, who produced engraved pattern books and whose drawing skills often gave them a second profession as drawing masters, not only designed their own cards and sometimes engraved them as well, but also produced cards for others. In addition to Matthias Lock one can mention in this connection Thomas Chippendale, Simon Hennekin and almost certainly John Linnell.⁷

While the last group of craftsmen made a vital contribution to the development of the trade card, it is clear that the great majority of trade cards were designed and engraved by professional engravers. It has been possible to deduce that a considerable number of the most important engravers of trade cards had been apprenticed as engravers on silver, a trade which for many may have remained their chief occupation. I will discuss this aspect later in this paper, but a full investigation has still to be carried

'Shopkeepers' Bills, with their proper decorations' in 1739 (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 1 Feb.). Snuff and Tobacco is copied from the card of John Shullier, by P.C. Canot after Gravelot.

2. M. Heckscher, 'Lock and Copland', *Furniture History* XI, 1975, II (2), pl. 12a, *Rococo* L17a.

3. *Rococo*, N34e, E11. For an example still showing its folds and reused as a sheet of drawing paper see 93E 28, p 34 No 73 in the VAM print room.

4. Trade card engravers who also worked on book plates include Charles Sherborn, Henry Copland, John Brooke, George Bickham and Matthew Darly.

5. *Rococo* G29, Heal III, pl. LXV.

6. E.g. the card of Thomas Heming, engraved by Robert Clee (*Rococo* G49, *Heal* III pl. XXXVIII), and the card of Pierre Langlois engraved by F. A. Aveline (*Rococo* L52, *Heal* IV p. 94).

7. Caesar Crouch's invitation by Matthew Darly after Chippendale (*Rococo* R7c); Edward Denby and William Crook, founders and smiths (*Rococo* K3c); Anthony Dyckhoff, tin plate worker, by Gabriel Smith almost certainly after Linnell (*Rococo* K3b).

out. It promises most interesting results, not only in the field of engraved ephemera but also in that of silver engraving, which although nearly always unsigned, reached new heights of invention in the rococo period.

There is a curious paradox here, because rococo cards, unlike engraved silver, contain very little burin work and are very frequently entirely etched in imitation of burin engraving using an *échope*. This fast etching technique, although known since the 17th century, may have been encouraged by Hubert Gravelot, Francis Vivares, J. B. C. Chatelain and other foreign engravers who popularised etching in England in the 1730s. It was probably one of the principal factors in the rapid increase in trade card production in the 1730s and 1740s and the key to the development in elaborate rococo designs.

17th-century trade cards were very simple in design, often being no more than a representation of the shop sign board with appropriate lettering below. It was not until the 1720s that an elaborate framework began to appear around the sign. Perhaps the best known example of this type of card, with its frame of light late baroque ornament, is Hogarth's famous card for his master Ellis Gamble. By the 1730s, however, a heavier more Italianate type of baroque scroll-work seems to have come into use,⁸ and the sign itself began to lose its dominance in favour of figurative scenes, goods for sale, larger lettering and very much more ornament.

Henry Copland, the son of a cordwainer from Dublin, can be claimed to have been the virtual inventor of the English rococo trade card. He was apprenticed in 1724 to Bishop Roberts and in 1728 to Charles Beard, both of whom were goldsmiths.⁹ Copland was almost certainly trained as a silver engraver, although as always in the earlier apprenticeship records at Goldsmiths' Hall this specialisation is not recorded. His undated card for Edward Aldridge, working goldsmith¹⁰ (who was at the stated address in 1739 and moved in 1742) shows an arched-top sign-board frame decorated with fat baroque scrolls found on a few other cards of

8. E.g. the card of Christopher Pinchbeck senior (VAM, E.7279-1903).

9. His father was also called Henry. He was apprenticed to Beard 1 Oct. 1724 for 7 years and turned over to Roberts 18 March 1728 (GH, Book 6, p. 38). Copland was not made free until 3 Feb. 1743; such a delay was common among engravers (see C. Oman, *English Engraved Silver*, 1978, p. 148). Henry Copland died intestate on 13 Feb. 1752 in the Parish of St John Zachary but his widow Elizabeth carried on the business (Probate 6, 128, 1752). I am grateful to Nina Stawski for looking up the records of Copland's death. A George Copland, son of George, Victualler of St Martin's in the Fields, was apprenticed to Charles Beard on 14 July, 1720 (GH Apprentice Book 5).

10. *Heal III*, pl. II; A. G. Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697 - 1837 Their Marks & Lives*, 1982, p. 421.

the 1730s. Another card, that of John Raynes, gold chain maker¹¹, dating from between 1736 and 1743 records the partnership of Copland and John Bishopp, who later engraved cards on his own. In this case the sign board has an oval frame, but surrounded by the same type of baroque ornament, albeit asymmetrical. A third card, by Copland alone, for William Kidney, assayer (Fig. 1),¹² dispenses with the sign board and shows a waisted lettered cartouche, again with the same type of baroque ornament.



11. *Heal* III, pl. LXII; Grimwade *op. cit.*, p. 638.

12. *Rococo*, D29b; Heckscher *op. cit.*, pl. 46B; Grimwade, *op. cit.*, p. 570. The composition is shown in reverse with an added base in the ephemera engraver Charles Sherborn's own card (*Heal* II, pl. IX) and adapted for the anonymous card of Peter Hodgson, Woollen-Draper (*Heal* I, pl. c). Curiously, a card of the 1740s or 1750s for Francis Lowe, Confectioner, by Sherborn's master, James Wigley of Poppings Alley (BM *Heal* 48.38) uses Sherborn's variation of the design with a top of later form. For Sherborn see B. North Lee, 'Sherborn of Gutter Lane', *The Book Plate Society Newsletter*, III, 34, June 1981; I am indebted to Derek Sherborn for this reference. Wigley was a Freeman of the Clothworker's Company.

FIG. 1 Henry Copland. Trade card of William Kidney (British Museum).

13. With two entirely different forms of lettering: Cabinet and Picture-frame Maker (Heckscher, *op. cit.*, pl. 46a) and Figure-Maker (VAM E.1646-1907).

14. E.g. the headpieces for Thomas Shaw's, *Travels*, 1738 (repr. *Rococo*, p. 50). The influence of French rococo prints, especially the cartouche designs of P. E. Babel (e.g. *Rococo*, A21) cannot be discounted.

15. E.g. a bill head dated 4 Dec 1741 of Samuel Weaver, 'at ye Violin & Hautboy' (Guildhall Library) and adapted for the card of the School of Mary and Ann Favell, Eltham, by Matthew Darly (*Rococo* D 29v). It is engraved on the end of a gold cane head chased by Barengey of c. 1740-1751 (*Rococo*, H4).

The earliest dated English rococo trade card is Copland's card for Benjamin Rackstrow, figure, cabinet and picture frame maker (Fig. 2), which is lettered 'H. Copland Invt. et Sculp. 1738'.¹³ It shows a heavily sculptural, asymmetrical cartouche surrounded by leaf ornament and rocaille, and is closely related to contemporary work by Hubert Gravelot.¹⁴ Not only can cartouches of this precise type be found on bill heads and engraved metalwork of the 1740s,¹⁵ but similar cartouches were used on cards and other ephemera of the 1740s and 1750s which can probably be



FIG. 2 Henry Copland. Trade card of Benjamin Rackstrow. 1738 (VAM).



FIG. 3 Henry Copland. Invitation card of the Rest of the Mystery of Goldsmiths, for 17 Nov. 1742 (British Museum).

16. *Heal* III, pl. LIII; Grimwade, *op. cit.*, p. 611.

17. John Sotro, goldsmith and toyman, c. 1751 (*Heal* III, pl. LXVI); John Wibird, working goldsmith (Guildhall Library); Charles Mathyson, picture frame maker (*Heal* IV, p. 113); Robert Echells, broker and sworn appraiser (BM, *Heal* 5.11). The card of Christian Hillan, c. 1740, is similar in character (BM, *Heal* 67.210) as is Darly's own card (*Heal* I, pl. LXX).

18. *Rococo* D29c. The group was also known as 'The Society of Working Goldsmiths' and regularly booked Goldsmiths' Hall on November 17th (GH Committee Minute Books). I am very grateful to Philippa Glanville for this information. Copland's card is stamped with the date letter in gold. The stewards named are all young, relatively minor men and include two makers of objets de vertu (Harrache and Barbot), a refiner (Planck), a smallworker (Joyce) and two large-workers. John Neville specialized in large salvers, which would have required engraver's work. Copland's freedom of the Company in February 1743 may not be unconnected with the production of this card.

said to be by Copland or derived from lost Copland originals of about 1740. The card of Mary Owen, jeweller and goldsmith, who registered her mark in 1739, may be by Copland,¹⁶ while a group of cards including one of about 1752 clearly derive from a single lost original.¹⁷

Copland's invitation card for the annual dinner and sermon of the group known as 'the rest of the Mystery of goldsmiths' (Fig. 3), the earliest example of which is that for November 1742,¹⁸ is

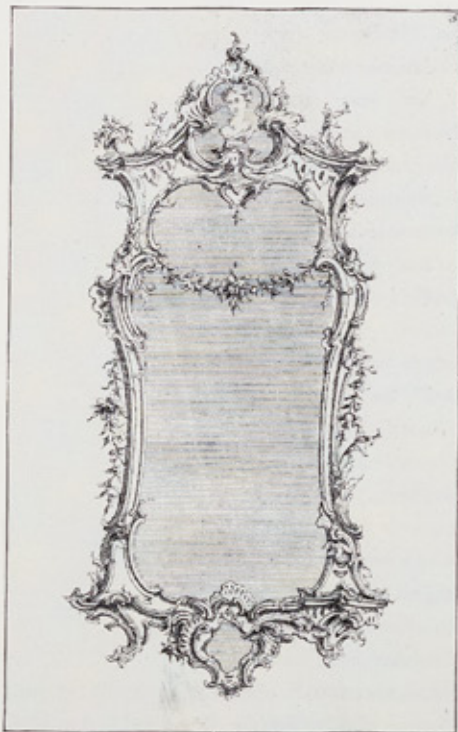
19. Stamped with a date letter 'i', perhaps for 1794. The stewards named are Samuel Eaton, John Robinson, Peter Taylor, Isaac Spurrier, John Scott, John King (Christie's South Kensington, 22 Feb. 1985, lot 33; I am grateful to David Beasley for this information).

20. *Rococo C8* (repr.). For use in Paris but known in England, as it was copied by Bickham in 1738.

21. Heckscher, *op. cit.*, I.

22. *Rococo L1* (repr.)

FIG. 4 Matthias Lock. *Six Sconces*, pl. 5, 1744 (VAM).



the first evidence of Copland's third and final style. At that date this card, which remained in use by the group until the 1790s,¹⁹ must have been without parallel in its size and elaboration. The upper part of the composition, a rocaille-edged cartouche within a frame surmounted by an oval, may have been indebted to such Gravelot compositions as his Freemasons' card of 1737,²⁰ but Copland has rejected Gravelot's soft forms for hard angular mouldings, fluttering raffle leaves and a much greater sense of elaboration. This developed rococo style, so unlike that of France, was to dominate printed and applied rococo ornament in England and is given graphic form here for the first time.

The relationship between the work of the trade card engravers and that of the designers and engravers of furniture pattern books is one of the most fascinating and puzzling aspects of English rococo design, and one to which I shall be returning from time to time in this paper. Copland's goldsmiths' card predates the earliest rococo pattern book, Matthias Lock's *Six Sconces*,²¹ by at least two years. While the composition of the card does not, as later cards do, relate to furniture forms, its decorative vocabulary is the same as that of Lock's designs for mirrors. Unfortunately the scarcity of dateable pieces makes comparison with contemporary carvers' work difficult, but it can be said that Paul Petit's picture frame of 1742²² is in a heavier, less complex and less coherent style than that of Lock or Copland's prints. The appearance of the prints of both men in *A New Book of Ornaments*²³ published in November 1752, the year of Copland's death, may well indicate a close relationship and a desire, on Lock's part (all but two of the plates seem to be his) to help Copland's widow Elizabeth.

In surveying trade cards and other printed ephemera of the 1740s and later it is possible to distinguish a style of ornament, type of composition and an engraving manner which can, I suggest, be attributed to the influence, direct or indirect, of Copland's mature work. Particularly impressive are three groups of stylistically related cards. Their general composition, a large ornamental frame containing the lettering with, at the top, a

smaller frame for the shop sign, is characteristic of most of the elaborate rococo cards dating from the 1740s onwards.

The origin of this composition presumably lies in such works as Copland's goldsmiths' card (and its Gravelot prototype), but in the case of these three groups of cards direct links can also be made with the mirror designs in Lock's *Six Sconces* of 1744. Lock's Plate 5 (Fig. 4), with its broken pediment top surmounted by a frame is the source of most of the design of a group of cards represented here by that of William Tresilian (Fig. 5).²⁴ The cartouche at the base of the card, however, is a reversed copy of one



FIG. 5 Anonymous. Trade card of William Tresilian (The Guildhall Library).



23. Heckscher, *op. cit.*, VII, published by Lock and E. Copland.

24. William Tresilian, mercer (Guildhall Library); Lawrence Johnson, working Goldsmith, with figures from Copland's goldsmiths' invitation (*Heal* III, pl. XLIV); James Tayne, haberdasher and hosier by B. Cole (VAM, E.196-1943); Peter Orton, linen draper (*Heal* I, pl. LVI); John Perry, jockey and hunting cap maker by B. Cole (BM, *Heal* 70.114).

FIG. 6 Anonymous. Trade card of James Cox. After 1749 (*Heal* III).

25. James Cox, after 1749 (*Heal* III, pl. XVIII); Samuel Courtauld, 1751-65, (*Heal* III, pl. XLVI); Joseph Lowe, jeweller, probably by B. Cole (*Heal* III, pl. XLVI); John Spilsbury, ephemera engraver (*Heal* II, pl. XIII); Richard West, wine merchant, by Francis Garden (BM); Edward Hopkins, coffin plate chaser (BM); John Giles and Shadrach Mulliner by Charles Sherborn (BM); John Catts, haberdasher, by Charles Sherborn (BM, *Heal* 70.26); Richard Fletcher, picture frame maker, by J. Lodge (*Heal* IV, p. 55).

26. William Witton, appraiser and undertaker (*Heal* IV, p. 196).

27. Lewis Masquerier (*Heal* III, pl. XLVII); John Buhl, silversmith (*Heal* III, pl. X); Joseph Flight, linen draper (BM, *Heal* 80.112); George Heming, goldsmith & jeweller, after 1763 (*Heal* III, pl. XXXVII); John Stratton, mathematical instrument maker (BM, *Heal* 105.101); J. Whitchurch, peruke maker, Bristol, by J. Milton (?) (Bristol Museum); Francis Jay, upholsterer and cabinet maker, by James Wigley (*Heal* IV, p. 163); John Fuller, bookseller and stationer (BM, *Heal* 17.54); Thomas Field, bookseller (dated 1760), by Francis Garden (BM, *Heal* 17.51); John Wilkie, bookseller and publisher, by Corbould and Jeffreys (BM), (these last three special adaptations,

at the bottom of Lock's Plate 6, which itself combines a head glass with a larger lower glass in a manner approximating to the composition of this whole group of cards. The card of James Cox (Fig. 6) here represents a group of at least nine.²⁵ Most of its lower half is derived, in reverse, from Lock's Plate 4, but the design also contains elements from Plate 1 and, as in the Tresilan group, the upper part of Plate 5. Both of these groups are combined in the card of William Witton,²⁶ which uses the upper part of the Tresilan type with the lower central cartouche of the Cox type. The third group of cards, numbering at least 12, shown here by

FIG. 7 Anonymous (Henry Copland?) Trade card of Lewis Masquerier (*Heal* III).





FIG. 8 Henry Copland. Trade card of Thomas Gardner (*Heal* III).

that of Lewis Masquerier, goldsmith and refiner (Fig. 7)²⁷ replaces the open centre with a rocaille-edged cartouche in the manner of Copland's goldsmiths' card but its top is again derived from Lock's Plate 5 and the base perhaps from Plate 1. Although none of these cards are signed by Copland, their coherence of style strongly suggests that they derive from Copland prototypes and the Masquerier card may indeed be from his hand. In addition to

starting with Thomas Field); Henry Plumpton, linen draper, by F. Hammond (BM, *Heal* 80-269); Anthony Berrisford, statuary, graver and carver at Bakewell (J. E. Hodgkin, *Rariora*, 1900, vol. I repr.). Also related: Francis Flower, haberdasher, dated 1753 (Museum of London, A15 219); Daniel Mills, japanner (*Heal* IV p. 110).

28. E.g. (a) a group including Thomas Pitts (*Heal* III, pl. LIX); Ryall & Withy (BM, *Heal* 17.13); Cecil Pitt (*Heal* IV, p. 139); John Jacob (VAM, E.1641-1907); Newbery, dated 1771, 'Lister del. J. Hulett Sculpt.' (VAM, E.126-1943); Joseph Rose & Son (BM, *Heal*); Thomas Atkinson, by William Tringham (*Heal* IV, p. 1); Mathew Gaucheron, by John Fougerson (*Heal* I, pl. XIV); Nathan Drake (*Heal* I, pl. XIX); (b) a group including William Ubly by Charles Sherborn (Guildhall Library); Henry Price, William Hunter, William Story, all by William Tringham (VAM, E.3024-1923, *Heal* IV, p. 87, Guildhall Library). (c) a group including Benjamin Carthwright (*Heal* I, pl. XI); Holmes & Laurie, by J. Lodge (Guildhall Library).

29. E.g. F. Rayner, mercer, after *Six Sconces* (BM, *Heal* 70.122); William & Mary Deards, Toymen, datable after 1765 (*Heal* III, pl. XIX) after Lock's title page of 1746, re-used in 1768 (Heckscher, *op. cit.*, III), as

is John Bishopp's card for William Puckridge, carver (*Heal* IV, p. 140). Bishopp's card for John Seagood, stationer and bookseller (Guildhall Library), later altered for his own use (BM, *Heal* 59.20), has an element from *Six Sconces*.

30. Thomas Gardener, active 1740-1752 (*Heal* III, pl. XXXI); James Robinson, clock and watch maker, William Plumley, watch maker, goldsmith & jeweller (ex. Leverhulme collection); William Smith, jeweller & working goldsmith, twice (BM, *Heal* 67.371,372); Henry Patten, razor maker, by Edward Warner (Guildhall Library); Edward Tymperon, razor maker, dated 1759 (composition reversed) (BM, *Heal*); Christopher Stedman, mathematical instrument maker, by William Cole (BM, *Heal* 105.84); Robert Parr, jeweller & goldsmith, by John Kirk (with the same jewellery as the Wilmot Group, see note 34 below, (*Heal* III, pl. LVI); Richard Fawson, woollen draper, by John Kirk, (composition reversed) (*Heal* I, pl. CI); Robert Vincent, scale maker, before 1761 (composition reversed) (BM, *Heal* 103.27).

31. Published in 1745 under that name (see *Rococo*, L17b, the date misread) and as *A Book of Shields* in 1768 (Heckscher, *op. cit.*, IV).

these three groups there are the groups of the same compositional type which contain no elements taken directly from Lock,²⁸ although individual cards with Lock derivations are known.²⁹

All the designs discussed so far have been symmetrical. A smaller number of asymmetrical designs in the Copland style have also survived, including his own card for Thomas Gardner, goldsmith and watchmaker (Fig. 8), which was probably the prototype for a group of at least twelve cards (including Fig. 9)



FIG. 9 Edward Warner. Trade card of Henry Patten (*Heal* I).

of the same design.³⁰ The upper cartouche is probably inspired by the plates (in particular Plate 4) of Lock's *A Book of Ornaments*, a suite of cartouche designs published in 1745.³¹ In its verve and swaggering asymmetry the Gardner card approaches Copland's first pattern book and his best-known achievement, the *New Book of Ornaments* of 1746.³² It is however, interesting to note that a number of other cards by Copland of symmetrical design are very much more modest.³³ Rather less successful than the Gardner type are a number of cards by other engravers in which an often unsatisfactory asymmetry is achieved by the naive device of making one cartouche from two divided down the centre.³⁴ A typical example is the very elaborate card of Thompson, watchmaker, by Copland's ex-partner John Bishopp (Fig. 10).

Henry Copland died in 1752 but cards in the style and manner of engraving I have associated with his name continued to be produced until the 1770s. In the 1750s however, stylistic developments connected with furniture and furniture pattern books once again began to influence trade card design. The Lock and Copland pattern books of 1752³⁵ show that carving had changed since the publication of Lock's *Six Tables* in 1746. A new type of light and easy naturalism had appeared, as well as fantastic and whimsical Chinese and other figurative elements. These were associated with a new type of mirror in which the formerly solid heavy framing was divided into a number of parts, especially thin, straight columns placed in opposition to the curved outer frame. This new light structure allowed the mirror to be transformed into a sort of flattened *morceau de fantaisie* inhabited by imaginary figures and animals.

Prints of mirrors of this type, shown in ever increasing complexity in the various editions of Chippendale's *Director* from 1753 onwards and Thomas Johnson's untitled set from 1756 onwards, rapidly influenced trade card design. The process may have been hastened by the involvement of furniture designers and pattern book engravers in the production of engraved ephemera. Matthew Darly, who lived in Chippendale's house and engraved the plates

32. Heckscher, *op. cit.*, XI. The card of John Speer (re-used by George Speer) by J. Evans, is inspired by Heckscher *op. cit.*, pl. 51.

33. E.g. Tom Harbin's tobacco card (*Rococo*, E11) and P. Hurst, linen draper in Knutsford (*Rococo*, D29i). More elaborate is the card for the Society of Bucks (*Rococo* D29h) and that of Richard Boulton, jeweller (*Heal* III, pl. VII), which is perhaps derived from Lock's card for Henry Jouret (Heckscher, *op. cit.*, pl. 13).

FIG. 10 John Bishopp. Trade card of Thompson (British Museum).



34. Among the successful attempts are Elizabeth Godfrey (*Heal* III, pl. XXXII), ultimately indebted to Brunetti (*Rococo*, G31). Related is a group of cartouches in Copland's Italianate baroque style including that of Robert Clee, engraver (*Heal* II, pl. XI), Paul Chotard (by Morrison) (BM *Heal*), Tristram Chambers (*Heal* IV, p. 22), and William Deards (Westminster Public Library B6,5) and (reversed) Thomas Chesson (1753-55), (VAM E.214-1943). Another group of asymmetrical cards of identical design including those of John Wilmot, Henry Morris (*Heal* III, pl. LI), Charles Storey, George Robertson, Richard Severn, all jewellers and Daniel Golden, linen draper (by Brooke), may be inspired by Copland's ornament book of 1746.

35. *A New Book of Ornaments with Twelve Leaves* (Lock & Copland) and *A New Book of Ornaments* (Lock).

36. At Granby, Notts. A. Bartram, *Tombstone Lettering in the British Isles*, 1978, pl. 66.

37. Thomas Hollinshed, turner, dated 1755, by Brooke (BM, *Heal*).

38. See *Rococo*, D29y.



FIG. 11 Matthew Darly after Thomas Chippendale. Invitation card to Caesar Crouch's. c. 1754 (The Chippendale Society).

of the *Director*, also engraved a card after Chippendale's design (Fig. 11). This composition with its double-columned sides and intertwining Chinese trees, was often used by Darly and others and spread to other forms of design, including an engraved slate tombstone dated 1765.³⁶ These airy forms were often rendered in a new flickering engraving style composed of many tapering strokes. Although this manner had appeared by 1755³⁷ it is perhaps not coincidental that it was employed throughout Thomas Johnson's pattern book of 1756 onwards, which had been very largely engraved by the trade card engraver Butler Clowes, an ex-apprentice of Henry Copland. The invitation card of the Society of College Youths, by Thomas Kitchin (Fig. 12), not only demonstrates this engraving style but also contains elements derived from Johnson's book.³⁸

Most of the trade cards engraved between the 1740s and 1770s

are executed in one of the styles mentioned above including nearly all those by professional engravers connected with the silver trade. The exceptions can be divided into two main groups, the first consisting of the work of independent engravers, several of whom were also drawing masters or craftsmen in other trades, and the second being cards produced by foreigners or engravers under direct foreign influence.

Cards in the first group often display a conspicuous rejection of the crisp ornamental formulae of the Copland school by adopting an obvious etching technique combined with a strongly individualistic handling of rococo ornament. The trade cards of Matthias Lock himself fall into this category, as do those of other craftsmen. The engravers Francis Vivares and Jacob Bonneau both engraved plates for the set of ornaments by the drawing master William de la Cour in 1741 and 1747. Vivares' cards, such as his own, reflect his main occupation as an accomplished landscape engraver and importer of foreign prints.³⁹ He also engraved a set of ornamental plates in 1752 together with Anthony Walker and John June (who engraved for Lock) which was published by Henry Yates, later engraver of punches to Goldsmiths' Hall.⁴⁰

Jacob Bonneau, like Vivares, was a Huguenot and apparently began designing trade cards in the 1730s in an accomplished late baroque style.⁴¹ Bonneau's earliest dated trade card was engraved early in 1742 and is in a heavily scrolled version of Gravelot's style.⁴² At some time in the 1740s Bonneau transformed his stiff engraving style into an etching manner of lightness and subtlety, as is demonstrated in the cards of Peter Bonneau⁴³ and Oliver Combs (Fig. 13). In style and handling these cards are reminiscent of Gravelot's lighter later work and it is perhaps no surprise to find Bonneau in the St Martin's Lane circle, as demonstrated by the dazzling array of painters, engravers and others who supported his application as drawing master at Christ's Hospital in 1754.⁴⁴ The cards of William Austin, another drawing master and engraver, reflect in their etched lightness the engraver's interest

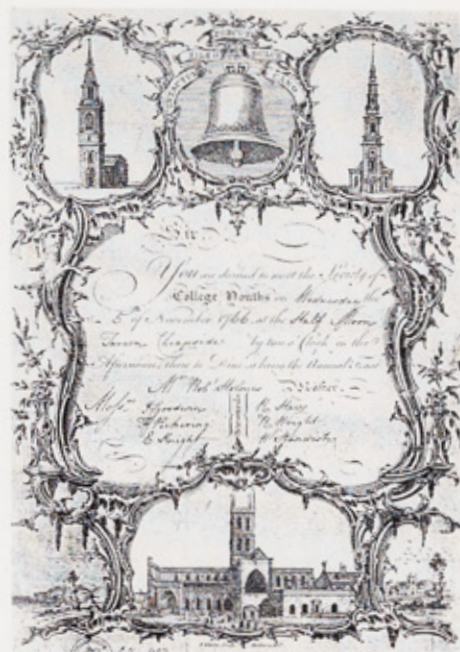


FIG. 12 Thomas Kitchin. Invitation card of the Society of College Youths (British Museum).

39. E.g. William Wapshare, Old Sarum, after De la Joue.

40. Heckscher, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Yates's own card, in the Copland manner (*Heal* II, pl. XIV) was copied for Robert Short (*Heal* IV, p. 167) and in a recipe for brawn in an ornamental frame (BM Banks D.3-606).

41. Drawing for the card of Peter Bonneau, razor maker, in a volume in the Houghton Library (MS typ 487) chiefly containing drawings by Gravelot.

42. *Rococo*, D29e, lettered 'J. Bonneau Fecit 1742.3'. In the same style is his card for Daniel Bernardeau (*Heal* IV).

43. Peter Bonneau, razor maker (*Rococo* D297). It is washed in gold in the same manner as a proof plate from De la Cour's pattern book in the Houghton volume (note 41).

44. W. Hogarth, F. Hayman, A. Pond, S. Scot, G. Lambert, C. A. Casali, B. Wilson, W. Keable, G. Knapton, J. Astley, G. Hamilton, J. Reynolds, S. Wale, R. Dalton, F. Cotes, R. Pine, H. Morland, Sir T. Robinson, G. M. Moser, R. Yeo, T. Major, G. Grignion, L. Suthran, G. Scotin, and signed by Joseph Highmore (*Public Advertiser*, 23 May 1754). Bonneau also put up pupils for the competitions at the Society of Arts in 1755.

45. E.g. *Rococo*, D295, t.

46. E.g. Norris & Co., Irish linen importers (adapted from the card of Webbe and Batten, linen drapers, by G. Child after Gravelot) and David Crashlay, figure maker (*Rococo*, D29 o, N34 c). See also note 1.



FIG. 13 Jacob Bonneau. Trade card of Oliver Combs (British Museum).

in picturesque Italianate landscape.⁴⁵ Austin also etched plates for Lock's carvers' pattern books and parts of those of Thomas Johnson from 1755.

The trade cards of George Bickham junior, such as his general advertisements mentioned earlier (Fig. 14), betray in their monumental composition the strong and in one case, direct, influence of Gravelot as well as that of other sources.⁴⁶ In addition to

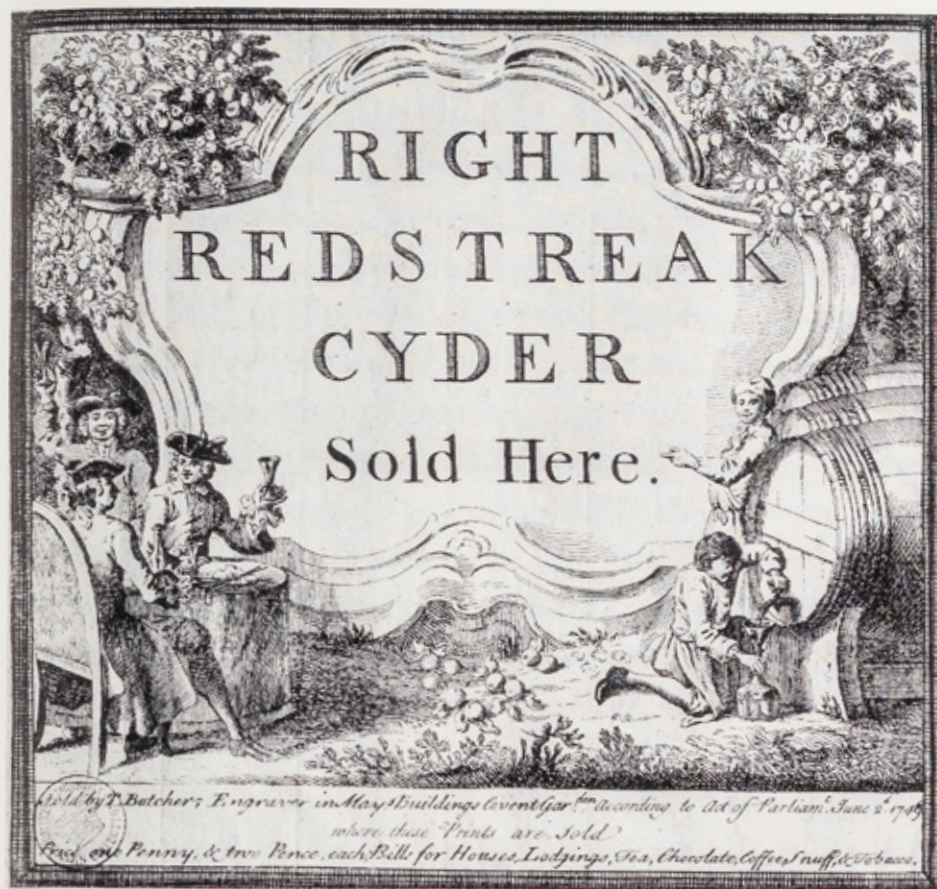


FIG. 15 Thomas Scarlett. Trade card of B. Philpott (British Museum).

FIG. 14 George Bickham perhaps after Hubert Gravelot. Advertisement for cider. Before 1747 (British Museum).

Bickham's signed cards it is possible to assemble a number of very fine anonymous cards in the same style, often with figurative scenes⁴⁷ but it should be noted that the card designed and engraved for himself by the Scottish architect and garden designer Robert Robinson is also in this style.⁴⁸ Finally one should mention a small number of cards which seem to stand alone both in terms of design and technique and are probably the work of amateurs. Among these are the extraordinary cards for B. Philpott by Thomas Scarlett (Fig. 15), who may have been an optician and the curious card of Thomas Townshend, chemist, by an otherwise almost entirely unknown engraver named G. Child.⁴⁹

English rococo trade cards which betray foreign influences are rare. A small number contain direct borrowings, such as Robert Clee's famous card for Richard Siddall, Chemist, which is a reversed and adapted copy after a print of 1738 after Jacques De

47. E.g. Peter and John Houltum, painters (BM, Heal 90.56), George Becher, copper plate printer (BM), Samuel Blumer, harpsichord and spinet maker (D. Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, 1932, p. 24) and Masefield's wallpaper (Heal I, p. 33).

48. BM 76*.6.

49. *Rococo* L.79a and Guildhall Library. And see note 46.

50. *Heal* III, pl. LXXX;
Rococo C14.

51. E.g. his very large card
(dated 1765) for Maydwell
and Windle's cut-glass
warehouse (*Rococo*, Q7).

52. F. Grose, *The Olio*,
1792, p. 167.

53. *Heal* IV.

54. Dominicus Negri by J.
Fougeron (1757 or later)
(*Heal* I, pl. XX) and Pierre
Langlois, etched by Aveline
(*Rococo*, L52).

55. *Rococo*, R6, R7c; *Heal*
III, pl. XLV.

56. See *Heal* II.

57. Curiously, they are
often derivative in design
(see many mentioned in
notes above) and not indica-
tive of their usual style.

58. *Heal* II, pl. II. See
Rococo, F3 for the source of
the design.

Lajoue.⁵⁰ Clee, whose normal style was in the Copland manner,⁵¹ was a friend (together with Vivares) of the French etcher and landscape draughtsman J. B. C. Chatelain,⁵² who may perhaps have introduced the Lajoue plates to him. Trade cards by foreign engravers are even rarer than the group just discussed but of very great interest. The card of Joseph Duffour is so much in the manner of P. E. Babel's book decorations that a French engraver can be surmised.⁵³ Pierre Edmé Babel and François Antoine Aveline, both pioneer engravers of rococo ornament in the 1730s and 1740s, also designed trade cards, presumably while they were in England, which made only a few concessions to local taste.⁵⁴ Perhaps most curious of all are the cards of Simon Lesage and Wickes and Netherton with their flower ornament in the style of Jean Pillement's suites of flowers which were not published until 1760. As they date from the 1750s they may therefore be the earliest examples of this distinctive form of ornament and be attributed to Pillement.⁵⁵

Contrary to popular opinion, the names of many trade card engravers are known from their signed cards, *Heal* listing 128 from the late 17th to the early 19th centuries, 55 of whom were active in the period 1730-1770.⁵⁶ The cards of the engravers themselves⁵⁷ describe the range of work they were prepared to carry out, such as that of Thomas Oughtibridge of about 1730 which advertises engraving of arms, crests and cyphers on gold and silver plate, as well as 'Copper plates of all Sorts, Stamps Cutt in Brass, or wood, for such as can't write. Inscriptions in Brass, Stone or Marble for Monuments. Shopkeepers bills, bills of parcels, or Lading, allso Gentlemens seats neatly Drawn in Perspective and Engraven if Required Etc.'⁵⁸ A link with silver engraving can, as I have mentioned, be made for a large number of trade card engravers, including many of the most notable in the rococo period.

Henry Copland, himself apprenticed to goldsmiths, only had three apprentices, Butler Clowes (in 1749), his son Henry (in 1750) and William Fryer (in 1751) who continued as an apprentice to

Copland's widow Elizabeth. Elizabeth, who is described in 1778 as an engraver had 10 apprentices up to 1778,⁵⁹ but none of these as far as is known engraved ephemera. Clowes (who was not made free until 1755, a year before he began engraving for Thomas Johnson) had first been apprenticed in 1744 to Charles Gardner, the engraver of the great set of rococo plate ordered by Goldsmiths' Hall in 1740 and who engraved at least one card himself.⁶⁰ In apprenticing to himself in 1769 his own son, John Augustus, Clowes is described as an engraver.

Copland's early partner, John Bishopp, had been apprenticed in 1721 to John Freeman, a goldsmith probably practising as an engraver. He may have been related to James Bishop (sic) who had been apprenticed in 1734 to Henry Yates, the ornament publisher and engraver of seals, punches and copper plates.⁶¹ James Bishop had as apprentice in 1745 Samuel Clee, who may have been related to the card engraver Robert Clee. Although no record of Robert Clee's apprenticeship survives at Goldsmiths' Hall, the apprenticeship of Jeremiah Evans, probably the trade card engraver J. Evans, to him in 1741 does appear there. Evans, who had engraved for Lock and copied after Copland,⁶² had at first been bound to John Feilding, who is described as an engraver in the apprenticeship record of James Wood in 1767.

Some of the largest and most elaborate examples of engraved ephemera of the 1750s and 1760s bear the names of Morrison and Clark (separately or together) and of Tringham. Copland's master Charles Beard also took as an apprentice in 1726 one James Morrison (later turned over to William Hinton Rogers of the Painter Stainers' Company) who may be the trade card engraver, although Bewley Wynne Morrison, engraver of Moorfields, is a more likely candidate.⁶³ A William Clark was also apprenticed to Charles Beard in 1732, although there are two other William Clarks in the records apprenticed to different goldsmiths in 1737 and 1747, neither of whom registered marks at Goldsmiths' Hall. With Tringham we are on safer ground.

There was a whole family of silver engravers of the same name

59. These and the following references are all taken from the apprentices' books at Goldsmiths' Hall. I am greatly indebted to Susan Hare and David Beasley for their assistance in this research.

60. *Rococo*, F3.

61. See note 40 above. Yates was appointed engraver of the punches at Goldsmiths' Hall in 1754. The other applicants were John Kirk, Charles Gardner and Thomas Pingo (Goldsmiths's Hall, Court Book, 1754, 21 Feb. onwards).

62. Card of Thomas Harper (Heckscher, *op. cit.*, pl. 12) and see note 32.

63. Also in the records are James, apprenticed to his father James, a silversmith (1776) and Robert, son of Robert, apprenticed to John Russell, engraver (1783). I am indebted to Stuart Turner for the reference to Bewley Wynne Morrison of 15, Brokers Row, Moorfields (Guildhall Library, Sun Insurance 11936, vol 206, p. 197, dated 8.6.1771).

64. GH, Apprentices' Book 5, p. 48. Son of William, cardmaker, Apprenticed in turn to George Garthorne, Thomasine Cheney and Edward Leake; free 3 Oct. 1723.

65. Son of John, deceased; free 3 Oct. 1738 (GH, Apprentices' Book 6, 41).

66. *Rococo*, G 37. The signed card bears a bill dated 1749. Only the figurative work is by Garden, the rest being by another engraver.

67. See also E. Barr, *George Wickes*, 1980, p. 32.

68. Free 6 Nov. 1745 (GH, Apprentices' Book 6, 240).

one of whom apparently turned, in the 1750s and 1760s, to the engraving of trade cards. The William Tringham apprenticed in 1713,⁶⁴ was presumably the master of that name who apprenticed in 1724 Francis Garden, who later engraved trade cards,⁶⁵ including that of his goldsmith brother Philip (also known as Phillips).⁶⁶ Francis Garden had seven apprentices between 1752 and 1767 (he died in 1768) one of whom (in 1754) was George Bride, presumably the trade card engraver of that name.⁶⁷ A William Tringham, probably the one apprenticed to his father William in 1737,⁶⁸ had four apprentices between 1752 and 1766 including William Sherwin, who was probably the trade card engraver. William Sherwin, engraver, appears in the records as the master of one Jame Cole in 1772. The third William Tringham was apprenticed in 1765. Other trade card engravers who certainly or probably had a silver engraving background include George Corbould, John Kirk and John Giblett. It is of course the case that other engravers who produced engraved ephemera in conventional styles, such as Charles Sherborn and Barak Longmate, apparently had a background in the general engraving trade.

A survey of the cards of Morrison, Clark and Tringham demonstrates the approaches of many engravers in the 1750s and especially the 1760s. Clark's cards are chiefly engraved in the manner of Copland but their late date is proclaimed by his use of a type in which the central shield is surrounded by a number of subsidiary frames containing figurative scenes⁶⁹ (Fig. 16). At least one of Clark's cards is engraved in the new flickering style.⁷⁰ The many-framed type of composition was also much used by Morrison, who seems almost invariably to have engraved in the flickering manner.⁷¹

Morrison's card for Thomas Moore, Hosier (Fig. 17)⁷² demonstrates very well the tendency towards the end of the rococo period for the ornament to fragment and spread itself over the card. In this case Morrison has borrowed the composition of the top of the card of John Delafons (itself indebted to Lock and Copland's set of 1752)⁷³ but has dispensed entirely with the rest

FIG. 16 William Clark. Trade card of Biggerstaff and Walsh (British Museum).





69. E.g. Biggerstaff and Walsh's floor cloth warehouse lettered 'J. Walsh invt. W. Clark Fecit St Anne's Lane' (BM, Banks 30.1).

70. Samuel Forsaith, trunk maker (*Heal* IV, p. 42).

71. E.g. William Darby, upholsterer (*Heal* IV, p. 42) and many others.

72. Lettered 'B. Webb Scrip.'. Webb also assisted with Morrison's card for Charles Sommers.

73. *Heal* III, pl. XX, partly after Lock (Heckscher, *op. cit.*, pl. 23).

74. *Heal* IV, p. 110.

75. George Kemp, upholsterer (*Heal* IV, p. 90), Benjamin Whittow, copper and brass plate maker (*Heal* I, pl. XXI), A. Horne, glass grinder (*Heal* IV, p. 83), Mosely, cabinet maker (*Heal* IV, p. 122).

FIG. 17 Bewley Wynne (?) Morrison. Trade card of Thomas Moore (*Heal* I).

of the cartouche, the lettering being surrounded by a broken framework of scrolls and garlands. This tendency to open up and strip away ornament is also shown in the card of Daniel Mills, Japanner,⁷⁴ which is a barely recognisable variant of the Copland Masquerier type discussed earlier. Morrison's card for George Kemp (Fig. 18) seems to have been the prototype for a number of others⁷⁵ and demonstrates the same tendency. It has a central

mirror-shaped element, apparently indebted to Lock, but on either side two very large sconce-like branches which break open the composition.

William Tringham does not appear to have engraved a great deal in the flickering style. He seems chiefly to have worked in an elaborate version of Copland's style (of which he engraved two standard types) and used a good deal of flower garland and leaf ornament. One of his cards⁷⁶ is directly indebted to the same plate from Lock and Copland's pattern book of 1752 as in the Delafons card but again, as in Morrison's case, in a barely recognizable form. Tringham's card for Martha Wheatland and Sister engraved

76. Thomas Miller, cheesemonger (BM, 34.13*).

FIG. 18 Bewley Wynne (?) Morrison.
Trade card of George Kemp (British
Museum).



in 1761 (Fig. 19) sums up very well the type of late rococo trade card which was shortly to lead to the lighter and more modest efforts characteristic of the neo-classical period. Although basically of the old twin cartouche composition the scrolled ornament has been very greatly lightened and has become dominated by light floral and leaf ornament giving it an unstructured and even decorative effect. The sides of the lower cartouche have been replaced by two thin columns intertwined with leaves, which not only destroy the coherence of the cartouche but also give the whole composition a neo-classical rectilinearity.

The importance of trade cards and other printed ephemera as ambassadors of the rococo style can not, I suggest, be overestimated. The scrap book of the carver Gideon Saint includes a number of cards with their lettering removed in the section on 'signs and other outworks'. Although they are in Saint's case greatly outnumbered by cuttings from pattern books, the relative expense of the latter must have made engraved ephemera by far the most commonly seen evidence of rococo graphic design. Certainly the compositions and ornament I have discussed are to be found in a very wide range of objects, ranging from tombstones and tablets to all sorts of flat rococo ornament on porcelain, wallpaper, maps, metal tickets and many other examples of applied art. The card of Anthony Berrisford, statuary, graver and carver of Bakewell (Fig. 20) is in this respect a useful model and one which hints at the directions that future research might take. Although it is crudely engraved and provincial in feeling, the main part of the card is in fact derived from the Copland/Masquerier type. The mask at the top however, is baroque, of the type present on Copland's William Kidney card, and the urns are also baroque, recalling monumental work. Obviously, bearing in mind the general similarity of rococo tombstones to trade card compositions, Berrisford's executed work would bear examination. It is in this type of context that the true significance of the rococo trade card lies and in which it should be further investigated.



FIG. 19 William Tringham. Trade card of Martha Wheatland and Sister (Heal I).

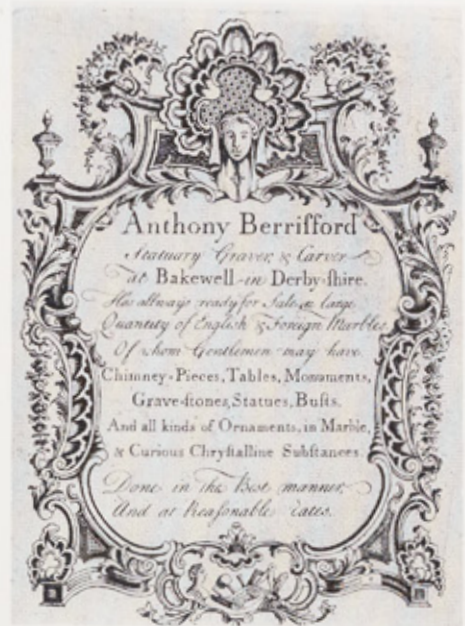


FIG. 20 Anonymous. Trade card of Anthony Berrisford. Formerly in the Hodgkin Collection.