

THE LENNOXLOVE TOILET SERVICE

by Godfrey Evans

Curator of European Metalwork and Sculpture, National Museums of Scotland

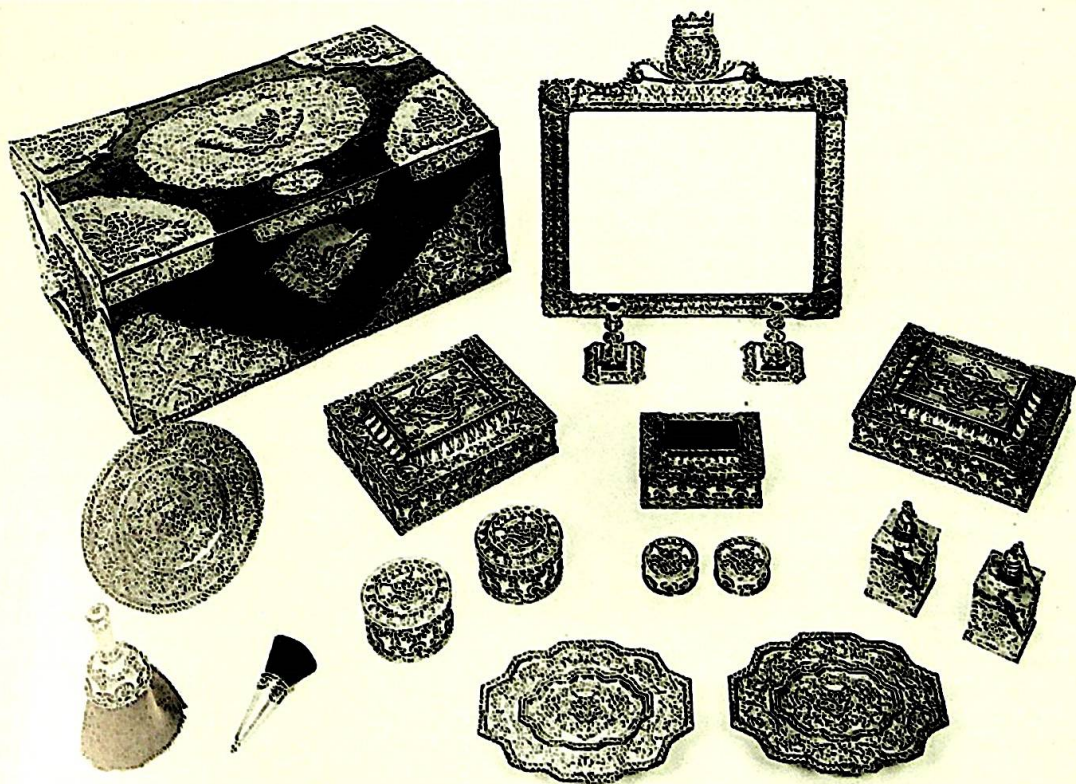
Despite its fame, the Lennoxlove toilet service has received surprisingly little serious study since its discovery some ninety years ago. This article is an attempt to correct mistakes, which continue to be repeated, and to discuss current research.

It is as well to begin at the beginning, with the discovery of the service at Lennoxlove, a medieval tower house with 17th Century additions, near Haddington, to the east of Edinburgh. The discovery (which may be too grand and dramatic a word) seems to have taken place shortly after the death, in 1900, of the 12th and last Lord Blantyre. Apparently the new owner of Lennoxlove, Mr W. A. Baird (the younger son of Lord Blantyre's second daughter) came upon the chest and its contents in a disused room in 'a tower' – presumably a disused room in the medieval tower. News of the 'find' soon spread and, in 1902, the service was included in the exhibition *Old Silver-Work* at St James's Court, London.¹ Between 1927 and 1953 it was on loan to the then Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh, before being purchased at Sotheby's in February 1954 for what now seems the

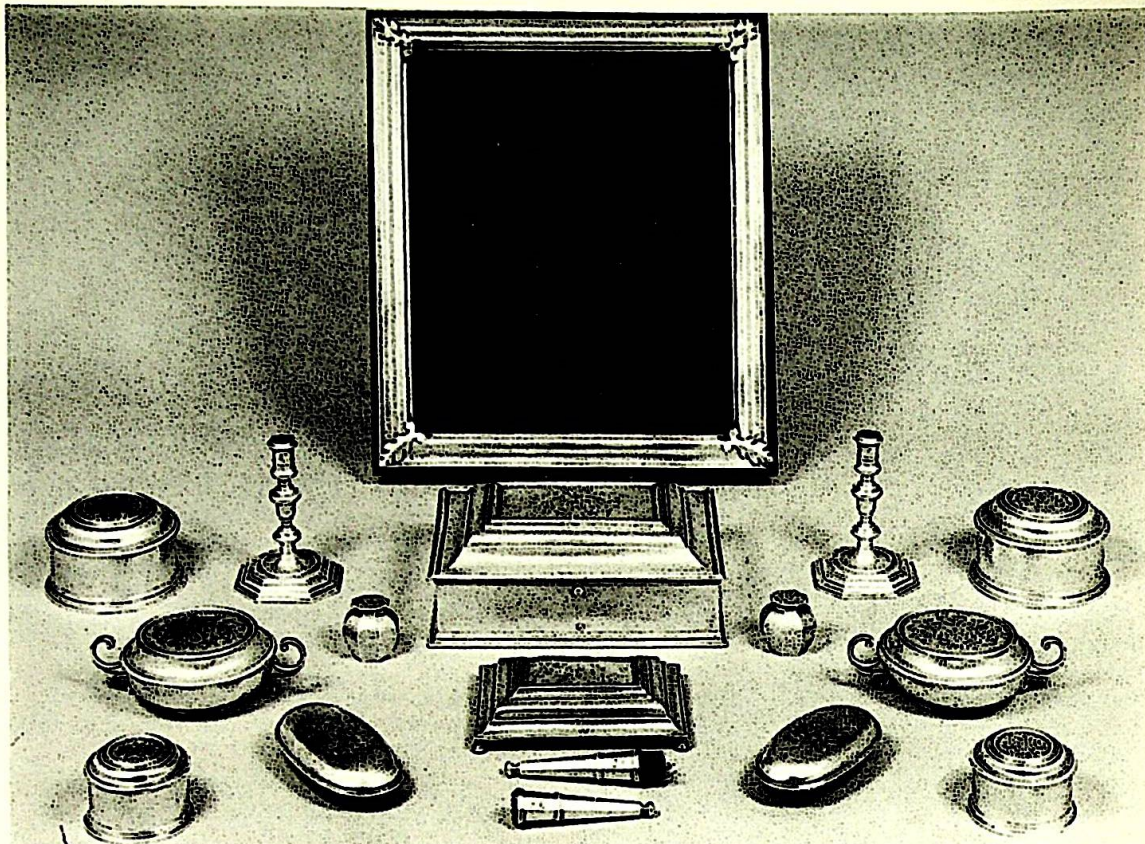
bargain price of £17,000.² Today, the Lennoxlove service is one of the principal treasures of the National Museums of Scotland: the earliest group of French silver in the collection, followed by the snuff boxes in the James Cathcart White Bequest and the two Napoleonic services – the *nécessaire de voyage* of Napoleon's favourite sister, the Princess Pauline Borghese, and the second half of the Emperor's own tea service of 1810, which is exhibited at this Fair.

Mr Baird and his contemporaries soon deduced that the Lennoxlove toilet service (plate 1) must have belonged to Frances Teresa Stuart (1647-1702), Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, and this has been confirmed by subsequent investigation. Four points suggest the Duchess as the owner:

1. the find location itself
2. the dates of the tax and wardens' marks on the items of silver-gilt
3. the ducal coronets on the majority of articles of silver-gilt and on the chest



1. The Lennoxlove Toilet Service, made in Paris between 1661 and 1677 and owned by Frances Teresa Stuart (1647-1702), Duchess of Richmond and Lennox. National Museums of Scotland. Purchased with the aid of the National Art - Collections Fund.



2. Toilet Service by Colin MacKenzie, Edinburgh, 1703-4, associated with the marriage of Marion Stuart, eldest daughter of Alexander, 5th Lord Blantyre, to James Stirling of Keir in 1704. Private collection.

4. the cypher beneath the coronets, which seems to include the letter S, presumably for Stuart.

This is certainly not the place to embark upon a biography of Frances Teresa Stuart.³ Suffice to say that she was a great beauty of the court of Charles II. She excited the lecherous attentions of the monarch and the silent raptures of Samuel Pepys, who confided in his diary that he thought her 'the beautifullest creature that ever I did see in my life'. Some may recall that Frances was the model for Britannia on Jan Roettier's Peace of Breda medal, which celebrated the ending of the Second Anglo-Dutch War in 1667, and on the official coinage,⁴ and have seen the arresting funeral effigy of the Duchess which has recently been conserved and placed on display in the new museum of Westminster Abbey.⁵

To understand how the Duchess's toilet service came to be at Lennoxlove, we need to focus our attention on two facts. First, that Frances was a Blantyre: her father, the Honourable Walter Stuart, M.D., was the third son of the 1st Lord Blantyre. Secondly, that Frances was childless. She therefore decided to improve the fortunes of the Blantyre family and her generosity was all the greater because she felt no obligation to her late husband's relations. In her will, she bequeathed the bulk of her estate, in trust, for the benefit of her 'near and dear kinsman Walter Stuart', the Master of Blantyre,

who became 6th Lord Blantyre after the death of his father, Alexander, 5th Lord Blantyre, in June 1704.⁶ After the other bequests in her will had been distributed and her funeral expenses paid, Frances left 'All the rest, residue and remainder of my estate both real and personal, plate, jewels, goods and chattels' in trust to four executors. She gave them the power to 'sell and dispose of the same' in order to 'pay off and discharge all such debts and sums of money as are charged or chargeable upon the estate . . . of Alexander Lord Blantyre which is settled upon and will come to my near and dear kinsman Walter Stuart Esq., his eldest son and heir apparent which I design and intend for the benefit of my said dear kinsman the said Walter Stuart and the heirs male of his body and to preserve that estate for him and them in the family'. Frances also directed the executors that, 'with all convenient speed', they were to purchase 'lands or revenues of Inheritance in the kingdom of Scotland, which estate when purchased shall be called, and I appoint the same to be named and called Lenox Love and to be settled upon my said dear and near kinsman the said Walter Stuart and the several sons and heirs male of his body successively.' Anything left over was to 'go and remain unto my said dear kinsman Walter Stuart and the heirs male of his body forever'.

The executors duly did as they were instructed. They purchased the former Maitland stronghold of

Lethington from Viscount Teviot in 1703 and ensured that it was promptly renamed Lennoxlove.⁷ What seems to have happened is that the toilet service was brought up north, from London to Scotland, along with other items which the executors did not need to sell to raise funds, and piously preserved by the Blantynes at Lennoxlove for almost two centuries.

It is worth noting – both by way of confirmation of the bequest and the early arrival of the service and as an important example of cross-cultural transmission and stimulus – that the Lennoxlove service seems to have been partly responsible for inspiring the commissioning and, to some extent, the form of the only complete Scottish toilet service now in existence: the service – also of seventeen pieces – by the Edinburgh silversmith Colin MacKenzie (plate 2). This was assayed in Edinburgh between September 1703 and September 1704 and is clearly associated with the marriage of Walter Stuart's sister, Marion (the eldest daughter of Alexander, 5th Lord Blantyre) and James Stirling of Keir in 1704.⁸

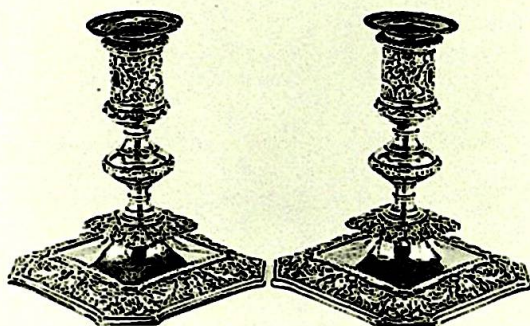
Any discussion of the Lennoxlove toilet service has to begin by stressing the fact that we are dealing with an extremely rare, major group of 17th Century French silver. We are therefore privileged and, at the same time, at a disadvantage, for we are unable to compare the service with a wide range of other French silver of the same period. Consequently, it is difficult to establish the exact relationship of the design of the service to the silver being produced in the French royal workshops of the Louvre and the Gobelins, and in other Parisian workshops, and to gauge the relative quality of the pieces.

Almost all the silver made for Louis XIV and his court has been destroyed. Much of this wonderful silver, including magnificent silver furniture and display pieces, was melted down during the 'Sun King's' own reign, in obedience to edicts of 1689 and 1709, which required owners to surrender their plate to the mint so that it could be turned into bullion and coin to pay for the enormously expensive War of the League of Augsburg and War of Spanish Succession. The corollary of this, and of later changes in taste and financial necessity, is that only three marked, Louis XIV toilet services have come down to the present day.⁹ All three owe their survival to the fact that they were exported from France before the edict of 1689 and therefore escaped the melting pots.

As one would expect, all three services were made in the French capital, the principal centre for the production of French luxury goods since at least the 13th Century. The greatest is, without doubt, the splendid twenty-two piece service by Pierre Prévost, of 1670-71, at Chatsworth, which was owned by the Princess Mary, later Queen Mary II, the wife of William of Orange – William III.¹⁰ Then we have the Lennoxlove service and the service of Princess Hedvig Sofia of Sweden, which has been at Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen, since 1867 and comprises eighteen articles made by a number of goldsmiths between 1658-59(?) and 1675-76.¹¹

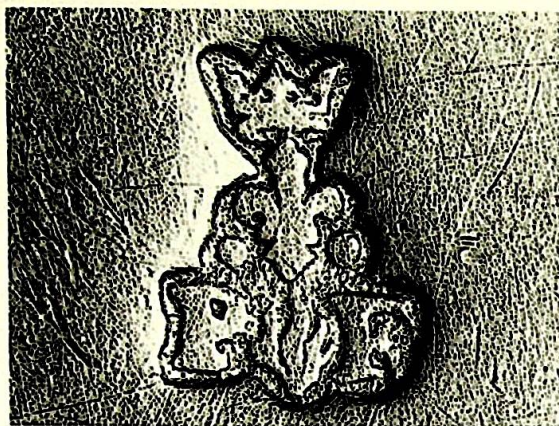
Comparing these three services, one quickly realises that the Lennoxlove service is of particular interest on at least two main counts. In the first place – and most obviously – it is the only complete example of a Louis XIV toilet service now in existence. In addition to the seventeen articles of silver-gilt, it still retains its contemporary chest, veneered in walnut and decorated with impressive gilt copper-alloy mounts, and its full complement of sixteen leather-covered protective cases. (The numerical discrepancy stems from the fact that the pair of candlesticks are stored in a single case: one is slotted in from one end, the other from the opposite end.) Both the other services have lost their chest and also their protective cases. The second point tends to get overlooked. It is, quite simply, that the Lennoxlove service includes some of the earliest major pieces of silver from the reign of the 'Sun King'.

A remarkable amount can be learnt from careful study of the silver-gilt in the Lennoxlove service. Even cursory inspection reveals that the seventeen pieces can immediately be divided into two groups.

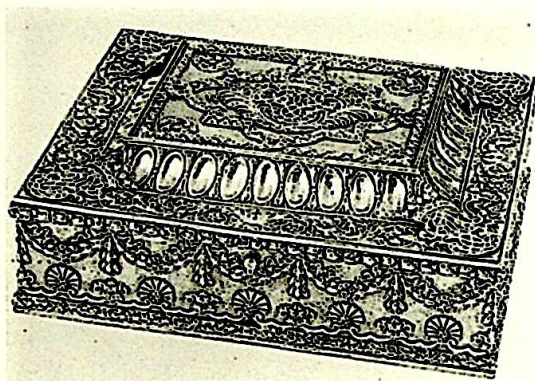


3. Pair of candlesticks by Pierre Masse, Paris, 1661-63, from the Lennoxlove toilet service.

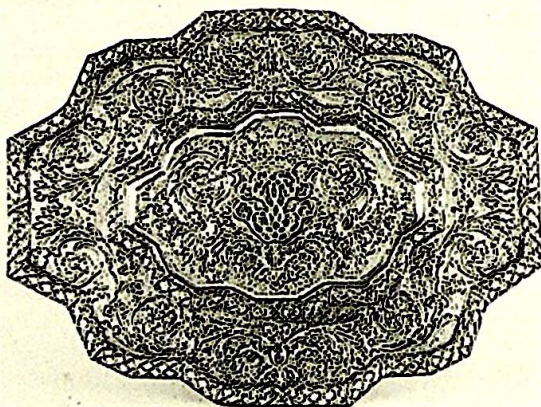
The candlesticks (plate 3) are clearly not to the same design as the rest of the articles and are also gilded a different-coloured gold. Both bear the wardens' date-letter R for 1661-63 and the maker's mark of Pierre Masse, who became a master goldsmith in 1639 and was a warden of the Paris guild of goldsmiths between 1660 and 1663 and again between 1673 and 1674.¹² For the moment at least, they seem to be Masse's earliest surviving pieces. Another pair of candlesticks, of 1664-65, was in the Mentmore Collection and is now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection at Lugano.¹³ A third pair, of 1675, is secreted away in the Firestone Collection,¹⁴ while four matching sticks of 1680 were sold by Christie's, in London, in June 1971.¹⁵ All the signs suggest that Masse was a specialist candlestick maker. Not only were candlesticks generally made by specialist craftsmen, but here we have sticks of very high quality and apparently no other type of item by this goldsmith. Looking at the quality of these candlesticks, one is led to think that Masse must have been one of the leading candlestick makers during the most



4. The Parisian goldsmith's mark on 14 of the remaining 15 items in the Lennoxlove toilet service.



5. One of the two large rectangular caskets, Paris, 1666-67, in the Lennoxlove toilet service.



6. One of the two shaped salvers, Paris, 1666-67, in the Lennoxlove toilet service.

important and creative period of Louis XIV's reign, from about 1661 (when Louis began his 'personal rule') to 1678-79 (the signing of the peace of Nijmegen).

Turning to the other fifteen pieces, all but one are struck with the mark of a Parisian goldsmith using the initials PF separated by a flame (plate 4). The exception is the small brush, which is *en-suite* and is almost certainly from the same workshop. Regrettably, not all the pieces are stamped with a wardens' date-letter mark. However, all fifteen (indeed all seventeen) items are impressed with the tax farmer's duty mark of a crowned A surrounded by three fleur-de-lis, which seems to have been in use between 12 October 1672 and 5 August 1677. This should mean that all fifteen pieces were in existence (albeit not necessarily completely finished) by the latter date.

This mark is frequently referred to as the mark of Vincent Fortier, who became the relevant tax farmer in 1672. However, he was succeeded by Jean-Baptiste Lucot on 1 October 1674.¹⁶ It therefore seems that both Fortier and then Lucot used this mark until Lucot introduced a new mark, consisting of three fleur-de-lis with A in the middle, on 5 August 1677.

The first thing to note about the fifteen pieces is that they include an important sub-group of five of the most impressive articles – the two large rectangular caskets (plate 5), the circular salver and the two shaped salvers (plate 6) – all struck with the date-letter X for 1666-67.

Irritatingly, some of the date-letters on the remaining ten items are either poorly struck or have been flattened and are open to more than one interpretation. This creates confusion as to whether three of the pieces pre or post-date the sub-group. One of the two large circular boxes is punched with either an R for 1661-63 or a B for 1670-71. It is tempting to say that it is an R, but I am far from convinced. Both the other pieces – the jewel casket with the pincushion mounted in the lid and one of the two small circular boxes – are impressed with either the T for 1664-65 or the I for 1677-78. Both are squat initials, rather than the elongated I found on the second of the large circular boxes, which suggests that they could be Ts.

If for the sake of argument one accepts the earlier readings, then it is possible that at least eight of the articles could have been in existence by early June 1667: the sub-group of five caskets and salvers (all definitely 1666-67), one large circular box (?1661-63) and the jewel casket and one small circular box (both ? 1664-65).

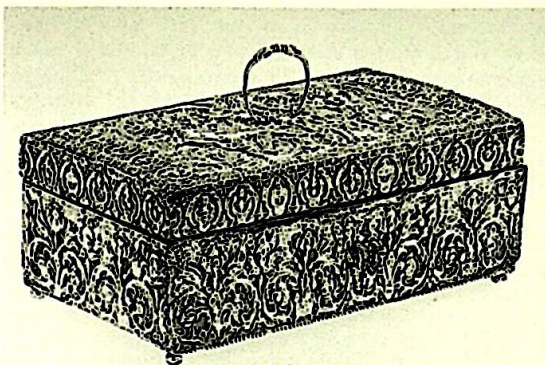
The large circular box could, of course, bear the B for 1670-71, but, setting this aside, there would otherwise be a gap in the sequence of about a decade from 1666-67 to 1676-77. The next item is the mirror, which is struck with the H for 1676-77. Only one other piece has a clear date-letter: the second of the large circular boxes, which bears the I for 1677-78 and has already been referred to. From the presence of the duty mark, we can infer that the box would have been in existence (if not necessarily finished) by 5 August 1677.

Five pieces bear no visible date-letter: the two brushes, the pair of scent bottles and the second of the small circular boxes. Fortunately, we can glean some interesting information from the scent bottles. Unlike the other items, they have coronets and cyphers which are integral parts of the sides, rather than separate pieces of metal which have been attached with screws and solder. This means that both flasks were specially made for inclusion in the Lennoxlove service: that the goldsmith had received a commission and was responding to it before 5 August 1677, and that the future owner's identity was known before this date.

That said, it seems that both flasks were still in Paris after 5 August 1677. We can deduce this from the small crown marks on the top right-hand side of all eight side panels of the flasks. These are clearly connected with the crown discharge mark – the mark confirming payment of duty – which was introduced by Lucot in August 1677.¹⁷ To date, careful examination has resulted in the discovery of crown marks on a further three items, or rather parts of items: the lids of both the large circular boxes and the base of one of the small circular boxes. Thus, at least five items, or parts of items, were in Paris in August 1677, and possibly for some time thereafter.

In passing, it should be mentioned that at least some – and, in all probability, all – of these crown marks are counterfeit. In some instances, one can clearly see the top of a fleur-de-lis beneath the crown. The simplest explanation is that these marks were made using the upper part of a Parisian goldsmith's punch, presumably PF's punch. One naturally jumps to the conclusion that PF was trying to avoid payment of tax. However, this would seem to be a mistake. The pre-August 1677 duty mark of a crowned A surrounded by three fleur-de-lis, found on all the pieces, served both to record the assessment *and* the payment of the tax. Under Lucot, it was superseded in August 1677 by two marks: a charge mark, consisting of an A and three fleur-de-lis, which recorded the assessment of tax and was generally struck on an item while it was still in a rough state, and a discharge mark, consisting of a crown, which confirmed payment of tax on the finished piece. The most satisfactory explanation of the rather unconvincing imitation crown marks on the Lennoxlove articles is that PF thought it desirable to have discharge marks on wares on which he had already paid tax and simply engaged in a little improvisation with his punch.

At this juncture, it is well to 'take stock'. We seem to be dealing with a workshop in continuous production between at least 1666-67 and 1677, with the possibility that it was in operation earlier in the 1660s. That is was a single workshop seems evident from the uniform design and fabrication of the pieces and the presence of PF's mark on fourteen of the articles. There is, of course, always the possibility that PF's marks could have been added to earlier pieces, but I can find no evidence of this. Quite the contrary. All the earlier pieces are extremely well marked with PF's mark. The best examples are undoubtedly the two large rectangular



7. Writing box bearing the Parisian goldsmith's mark PF separated by a flame. Courtesy of Axel Vervoordt, Antwerp.



8. Maker's mark on the writing box. Courtesy of Axel Vervoordt, Antwerp.

caskets of 1666-67 which both bear six PF marks: one on the lid, one on each of the sides and another on the upper surface of the base. Moreover, the maker's marks generally appear in close proximity to the wardens' date-letter marks. There is no question of insensitive, random marking: everything seems very thorough, consistent and above board.

Bearing this in mind, we can consider the identity of the goldsmith who used the initials PF separated by a flame. Surprisingly, he is not recorded by Henri Nocq in his great five-volume work on Parisian silver marks, published between 1926 and 1931. As Parisian goldsmiths frequently used a punning or canting device – a rebus – to indicate their surname (the last of the initials on the punch), E. Alfred Jones suggested that this particular goldsmith was one Pierre Flamand

or Flament.¹⁸ In support of this, one can note that there was a Pierre Flament who registered a mark consisting of the initials PF separated by a flame in 1734.¹⁹ Furthermore, there was also an Antoine Flamand, who became a master goldsmith in 1667 and used a punch with the initials AF separated by a flame.²⁰ Conceivably, he could have been a relation.

It is a good 'working theory'. However, there appear to be a number of other possibilities, including a P. Filassier and a goldsmith with a Christian name beginning with a P and a surname beginning De, Du, La, Le or Dela F. As far as P. Filassier is concerned, the Pierre and Philippe Filassiers recorded by Nocq appear to be too old. The third Pierre Filassier became a master goldsmith as early as 1618 and seems to fade out after 1651,²¹ while Philippe Filassier, mentioned in 1636, was dead by 1671.²² There seem to be no relevant De, Du or La F's in Nocq. Paul Lefèvre needs to be borne in mind: he was a warden in 1640 and again in 1649, a consul in 1655, a grand warden in 1659, and a judge in 1672.²³ Similarly, one should not forget Philippe Lefebvre, who was a warden in 1651 and again in 1661, a grand warden in 1662 and a consul in 1664.²⁴ An even more convincing alternative candidate might be Pierre Delafosse, who became a master goldsmith in 1640, a warden in 1664 and again in 1675, a grand warden in 1676, and was dead by November 1695.²⁵

This all seems fine in isolation, but the whole matter is complicated, and is thrown wide open, by the existence of a writing box (plate 7) bearing the same maker's mark – PF separated by a flame (plate 8) – which is inscribed, in ink, on the innerside of the lid with the names of the first owners: 'LUCAS BREULS. 1603' and 'Johannes Breuls 1608'.²⁶ This certainly seems to be a good deal earlier than the Lennoxlove service, yet the maker's mark looks identical.

Three possibilities present themselves:

1. Both the Lennoxlove service and the writing box are by the same maker, with the writing box the earlier of the two and the inscriptions added later than 1603 and 1608.
2. The service and the writing box were made by two different goldsmiths, although possibly belonging to the same family.
3. The PF mark was added to the writing box during the course of a later sale. It must be said that this does not seem to be a very promising thesis: the evidence suggests that the box has been in the possession of the Breuls de Tiecken family from the very beginning.

If there is no immediate answer to the problem, one thing is clear: from now on we are going to have to solve the maker's mark on *both* the Lennoxlove toilet service and the writing box.

We come now to perhaps the most fascinating question: 'how did Frances Teresa Stuart obtain the Lennoxlove

toilet service?' According to a tradition at Lennoxlove – a tradition of uncertain age and authority – Frances received the service as a gift from Charles II. As far as I can see, this seems to be based on nothing more than a superficial knowledge of Charles II's well-known infatuation with Frances. This ended with her elopement and marriage to Charles Stuart (1640-72), 6th Duke of Lennox and 3rd Duke of Richmond, in March 1667 and hardly explains a service containing items made in 1666-67 and 1676-77.

The simplest solution would be that Frances herself purchased the service. Here there are two possible scenarios: either Frances purchased all seventeen items in 1677 or she already owned some of the pieces (viz. the sub-group of five articles of 1666-67), perhaps acquired in connection with her marriage, and augmented them a decade later, in 1677. An important point to note is that Frances certainly had sufficient money to acquire a service in 1677. Her finances must have been reasonably healthy prior to 1677, for the King had made generous provision for her after her husband's death in December 1672, during his embassy to the Danish court. Charles II ordered that Frances should receive the ambassadorial silver with which the Duke had been equipped from the Royal Jewel House (which amounted to 8,732 ounces of silver).²⁷ In addition, he allowed her the Dukedom of Lennox and Earldom of Darnley in life-rent, continued the aulnage rights granted to her late husband, and bestowed on her a pension of £1,000 a year to be paid out of the London Excise.²⁸ According to C. H. Hartmann (whose biography of Frances, *La Belle Stuart*, was published in 1924), Frances' finances were dramatically improved in 1677. In this year she received £3,800 from her brother- and sister-in-law, Lord and Lady O'Brien, for selling her life-interest in her husband's property, Cobham Hall (near Rochester in Kent).²⁹ In the same year – 1677 – she also obtained an additional annuity of £1,000 out of the Hereditary Excise of Middlesex, Kent, Surrey and Essex by selling her rights in the French duchy of Aubigny to Charles II. The duchy formed part of her husband's estate and was transferred, by arrangement with Louis XIV, to the new Duke of Richmond and Lennox, Charles II's illegitimate son by the Duchess of Portsmouth.³⁰

Frances would therefore have had more than sufficient money to have purchased a Parisian toilet service and other little extravagances in 1677. Thinking along these lines, it is possible that she could have been stimulated to order a service by the arrival of the Duchesse de Mazarin in 1676, the Duke of Monmouth's visit to Paris the following year, or by news or sight of the great toilet service now at Chatsworth, which is associated with the marriage of the Princess Mary and William of Orange in 1677.

Recently, a completely different possibility has been suggested. While researching Queen Henrietta Maria in connection with the development of the Queen's House at Greenwich, Miss Erica Davis (now the Curator of the Freud Museum) tracked down the papers

relating to the Queen's death and the disposal of her property in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London.³¹ They record that the Duchess of Richmond received the Queen's toilet plate.

It is an interesting discovery and merits publication, whether or not it has anything to do with Frances Teresa Stuart and the Lennoxlove service. Briefly, Queen Henrietta Maria died at her château at Colombes, near Paris, on 10 September 1669. The Duke of Orleans, Louis XIV's brother, claimed the Queen's possessions in the name of his wife, Madame Henrietta, the daughter of the late Queen and sister of Charles II, and there was a tussle before Henrietta relinquished her claim in favour of her brother. Charles II duly appointed a commission to draw up an inventory of his mother's possessions and to supervise the winding up of her affairs.³² It consisted of the British ambassador to the French court, Ralph Montagu, three members of the Dowager Queen's household – Henry Jermyn, 1st Earl of St Albans (her Lord Chamberlain), Henry Arundel, 3rd Baron Arundel of Wardour (her Master of Horse) and Walter Montagu, Abbot of Pontoise (her Lord Almoner) – and the 'king's man' and chief driving force, Leoline Jenkins, 'Doctor of Laws and Judge of Our High Court of Admiralty', who received a knighthood as a reward. Between 31 October and 5 November 1669, assisted by Sir Thomas Bond, Comptroller to the late Queen, the Commissioners compiled 'An inventory of all the Goods Plate, And Household Stuffe belonging to the Late Queen the Kings Mother' at Colombes.³³

Only two pages of the inventory need concern us here.³⁴ The first lists the bedchamber plate in trunk number one:

'Two Warmeing pans, and a close stoole pan of silver.
A Silver Chamberpot
A Silver Chafendish
Two Silver Basins, one of them guilt, but almost white.
A Silver pottinger guilt with a Cover in a red Case.
A Chocolate Pott in a Case,
A Tea pott,
A Snuffer Pan, and a paire of Snuffers of Silver guilt.
Twelve Candlesticks of Silver guilt,
Foure silver Candlesticks.
A Gold Cup with its e^ouer in a red Leather Case.
A Porcellan cup Lined with gold.
A Soucoup of Silver guilt belonging to the little Trunke att Chailliot,
An Estuys with a knife, forke and spoone guilt,'

The second, on the reverse of the same sheet, lists the items 'In the Queens Toilett':

'Two great Salvoes of Silver guilt.
One Little one.
Two quarrees of silver guilt
A Silver guilt powder box.
Two Little silver guilt bottles, and one plaine one.

Another powder box of silver guilt,
Two little guilt boxes with the French Armes upon them.

A Little guilt Cup.

A Little enameled box.

A Pinbox or Pincushion

A Great Brush, & a Little one wth silver guilt handles,

An Estuys with forke, knife & spoone of gold,

Two blew Cush[ions]

The blew Toilet embrodered

An Indian box for the Toilet,

A Lookeing Glasse garnisht wth Silver guilt,

A Lookeing glasse with a blacke frame

A Chrystall Pocket = Glasse.'

In the left-hand margins of both lists are Charles II's instructions that both groups of items are to be given to the Duchess of Richmond: 'My Lady dutchess of Richmond' and 'My lady dutchesse of Richmond' respectively. That the duchess received the items is proved by copies of both lists, inscribed with receipts dated 10 December 1669 in Leoline Jenkins' handwriting.³⁵ Underneath the first list Jenkins has written 'Receiv'd then from his Maties Co^mmissioners all the particulars above-mention'd, excepting the Soucoup of Silver-gilt belonging to the little Trunk at Chaliott. I say the particulars above = mention'd'. Beneath the second list he has recorded: 'Receiv'd then from his Maties Co^mmissioners all the Particulars above-mention'd, excepting a Chrystall pockett Glasse, whereof I expect an Accompt as belonging to the sayd Toilette, I say receiv'd the sayd particulars excepting the last written'. Both receipts are signed, in atrocious handwriting, 'Ma Richmond & Lenox'.

One should not, however, leap to conclusions. True, Frances Teresa Stuart had been brought up at the exiled court of Queen Henrietta Maria. However, there were two Duchesses of Richmond and Lennox in 1669. The other was Mary Villiers (1622-85), the eldest daughter of Charles I's favourite, the 1st Duke of Buckingham.³⁶ She had been married while still a child to Charles, Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and had been left a widow at the age of twelve. In 1637 Charles I married her to his kinsman, James Stuart (1612-55), 4th Duke of Lennox, whom he created 1st Duke of Richmond in 1641. Mary Villiers subsequently married Colonel Thomas Howard, Lieutenant of the Yeomen of the Guard and younger brother of Charles, 1st Earl of Carlisle. It was Mary Villiers, the dowager Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, who was chief lady in attendance to the dowager queen in her last years, and it is much more likely that she, rather than Frances Teresa Stuart, received the toilet service, which could be regarded as the traditional perquisite of a lady in waiting after her mistress's death. The 'Ma' of the signatures 'Ma Richmond & Lennox' on the receipts for the Queen's silver could therefore stand for Mary, rather than an abbreviation of Madame. From the little that is known about Frances Teresa Stuart in 1669, it

seems that she was living at court and attempting to get Charles II to give her husband a pension.

Further checking is obviously necessary, but I can see no reason for believing that the Lennoxlove toilet service belonged to Queen Henrietta Maria. Clearly, only items made before 1669 could possibly have been owned by the Queen, which rules out the mirror, both scent bottles and the later of the two large circular boxes. The inventory of the Queen's plate is so basic that few conclusions can be drawn, and, unfortunately, the items were not weighed, so we are denied that simple method of cross-checking. Nevertheless, there are two obvious discrepancies between three of the impressive articles in the Lennoxlove sub-group of 1666-67 and the comparable pieces in the list of Queen Henrietta's toilet plate. The two medium-sized shaped salvers in the Lennoxlove service would have to be identified as the 'Two great Salvoes of Silver gilt', while the large circular salver would have to be equated with 'One Little one', which is nonsensical.

Thus, it seems that we are dealing with two completely separate services. In some ways this is disappointing. Looked at from another angle, it is a remarkable testimony to the quality of the Lennoxlove toilet service that we should have to seriously discuss whether or not it includes part of the *toilette d'apparat* of Charles II's mother, Queen Henrietta Maria.

Footnotes

- ¹ J. Starkie Gardner, *Old Silver-Work chiefly English from the XVth to the XVIIIth Centuries* (London, 1903), pp. 74-75 and 166 and Plates LXXIX-LXXX.
- ² Sotheby's *Catalogue of the Lennoxlove Toilet Service also Three Charles II Salvers on Feet and a Ewer*, the property of R. W. Baird Esq., London, 25 February 1954. This catalogue needs to be treated with caution. The information in the foreword is littered with errors and there are problems over the marks on the service (lot 1). Not all the marks are noted, while others, which are open to debate, are boldly stated to be a definite date.
- ³ For information about Frances see C. H. Hartmann, *La Belle Stuart. Memoirs of Court and Society in the Times of Frances Teresa Stuart, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox* (London, 1924) and the diaries of Samuel Pepys.
- ⁴ See Edwin Hall, 'An Exemplar in Gold of Jan Roettier's Peace of Breda Medal', *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, 49, 2, 1970, pp. 36-42.
- ⁵ See L. E. Tanner and J. L. Nevinson, 'On Some Later Funeral Effigies in Westminster Abbey', *Archaeologia*, LXXXV, 1935, pp. 176-179 and Plate LVII.
- ⁶ Frances Teresa Stuart's will is preserved in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London.
- ⁷ For the earlier history of the house see W. A. Baird, 'Lethington (Lennoxlove) and its Owners', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Club*, 2, 1929-30, pp. 9-27.
- ⁸ Christie's catalogue of *Important English Silver*, London, 24 March 1982, lot 79.
- ⁹ There is also an unmarked service of fifteen pieces very similar to the Lennoxlove service in Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio (formerly in the Chatsworth and Stonor collections). The design and general appearance is certainly French, but the absence of marks is puzzling and suggests

fabrication in England, rather than in France. For illustrations and a discussion - favouring production in France - see Arthur Grimwade, 'Mr Francis Stonor's Collection of Silver-gilt - II. The Toilet Service from Chatsworth', *Connoisseur*, CXLVIII, 1961, pp. 36-41. I was able to examine this service in November 1988 and hope to publish an article on it at a later date. Two basic points are worth noting here. First, that the Toledo service underlines the popularity of the design of the Lennoxlove service. Secondly, that the two services appear to have been made in different workshops. This is indicated by the presence and absence of marks, differences in design and finish and by the use of different moulds.

- ¹⁰ For illustrations of this service see Carl Hernmarck, *The Art of the European Silversmith 1430-1830* (London, 1977), II, p. 263. Hernmarck also illustrates the Copenhagen and Toledo services, and three items from the Lennoxlove service, pp. 262 and 264.
- ¹¹ For illustrations and discussions of this service see Gudmund Boesen, 'Le Service de Toilette Français de Hedvig Sofia' in *Opuscula in Honorem C. Hernmarck* (National Museum, Stockholm, 1966), pp. 22-38, and Mogens Bencard's entries on the service in the exhibition catalogue *Kung Sol i Sverige* (National Museum, Stockholm, 1986), pp. 63-66.
- ¹² Henri Nocq, *Le Poinçon de Paris*, Vol. 3 (Paris, 1928), p. 211. Masse's mark is illustrated in Vol. 5 (Paris, 1931), p. 26.
- ¹³ Hannelore Müller, *European Silver in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection* (London, 1986), pp. 84-85.
- ¹⁴ Frank Davis, *French Silver 1450-1825* (London, 1970), Figure 135. These candlesticks appear to be synonymous with the pair of 1675 from the H. S. Morgan collection which were sold at Christie's, London, on 15 May 1963, as lot 107.
- ¹⁵ Christie's catalogue of *Highly Important English and French Silver*, London, 23 June 1971, lot 65.
- ¹⁶ Nocq, Vol. 4 (Paris, 1931), p. 222. See also Louis Carré, *A Guide to Old French Plate* (London, 1931), p. 29.
- ¹⁷ For this and the following discussion see *ibid.*
- ¹⁸ E. Alfred Jones, 'Silver given by Charles II to the Duchess of Richmond', *Connoisseur*, XCI, 1933, p. 147.
- ¹⁹ Nocq, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1927), p. 175.
- ²⁰ *ibid.* See also Vol. 5, p. 18.
- ²¹ Nocq, Vol. 2, p. 170.
- ²² *ibid.*
- ²³ Nocq, Vol. 3, p. 74.
- ²⁴ *ibid.*
- ²⁵ Nocq, Vol. 2, p. 37. See also Vol. 5, p. 14.
- ²⁶ I am grateful to Axel Vervoordt of Antwerp for supplying me with photographs of the writing box.
- ²⁷ Hartmann, 207-208. The quantity of ambassadorial silver issued by the Royal Jewel House to the Duke of Richmond is recorded in P.R.O. LC5/107, f.154. When Mr R. W. Baird sold the Lennoxlove toilet service in 1954 (see note 1), he also disposed of three salvers and a ewer, hallmarked London 1671. Their date suggests that these four pieces formed part of the ambassadorial service.
- ²⁸ Hartmann, p. 211.
- ²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 219.
- ³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 221.
- ³¹ See State Papers, France, S.P. 78/127 and 128. I am grateful to Miss Davis for directing me to these volumes and for subsequent help.
- ³² See S.P. 78/127, f. 145.
- ³³ See S.P. 78/128, ff. 190-202.
- ³⁴ S.P. 78/128, f. 194, recto and verso.
- ³⁵ S.P. 78/128, f. 92, recto and verso.
- ³⁶ For this and what follows see *The Complete Peerage*, Vol. X (London, 1945), p. 833; Hartmann, pp. 49-50; and Carola Oman, *Henrietta Maria* (London, 1936), pp. 306 and 328.