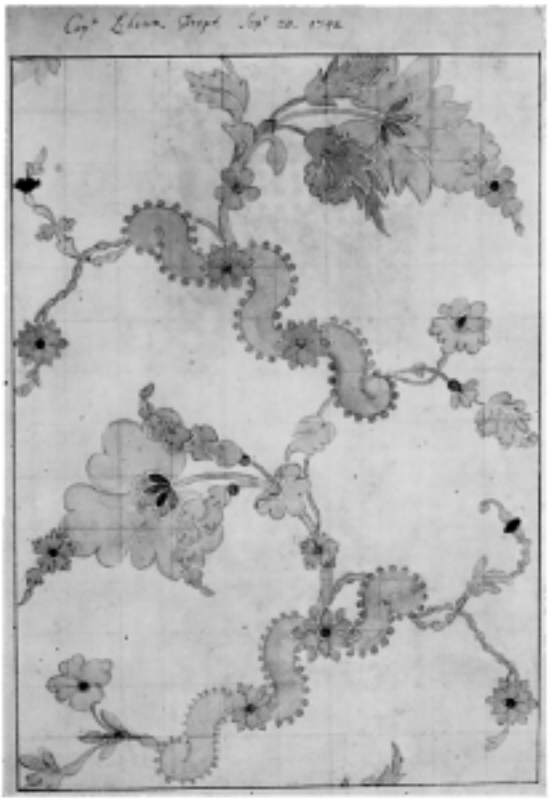
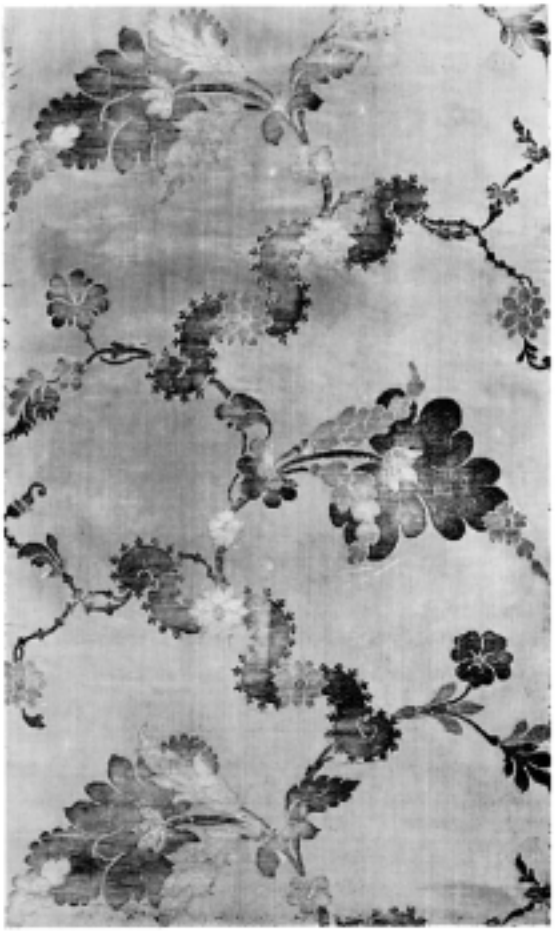


1. Silk design by Anna Maria Garthwaite, dated 1742.
Yellow water colour.
5981.20.



1(a). Silk panel brocaded with silver thread on a blue ground.
English (Spitalfields); woven by Captain Peter Lekeux from the design by Anna Maria Garthwaite.
T.81-1938.

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, all the designs and silks illustrated are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and their negatives are Crown Copyright.

Nine English Silks

By NATALIE ROTHSTEIN

SPITALFIELDS and the English silk industry have for two hundred years been associated as Chelsea and English porcelain. While certainly identified English porcelain in a distinctive style exists in many public and private collections, the best products of Spitalfields have always depended upon traditional attributions. Silks were not marked by their weavers and there are no other accepted technical criteria to distinguish the products of one country from another. The greatest weight of documentary evidence—apart from Hogarth's Industrious Apprentice who was a silk weaver—has referred to the 19th century, when the silk weavers eked out a tuberculous existence in appalling social conditions. There is much Parliamentary evidence, to say nothing of personal reminiscences, to show that from the early 19th century Spitalfields was completely eclipsed by Lyon. Conditions at the end of the 18th century were not very much better, so that it was easy to forget that there had ever been a period of prosperity when silks of high fashion had been woven.

One of the few sources for documenting silks made in Spitalfields at the height of its reputation is the collection of 900 dated silk designs, one set in private ownership and the other two presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum in the middle of the 19th century. The designs are chiefly the work of three people: James Leman,[1] Christopher Baudouin,[2] and Anna Maria Garthwaite. The designs are pleasant watercolour drawings, but as a guide to the production of their period (1706–1756) they suffered from two disadvantages. It was not known until recently whether or not the designers were important or even typical of their day, although there was a general similarity between the designs and many silks thought to be of the period. Secondly, it was not known whether the weavers who bought the designs and made the silks were of any importance in the industry. The names of many of these customers are known since the designers wrote them on the drawings. It has, however, now proved possible to identify both the de-

1. An outline of his career is given by P. Thornton and N. Rothstein in "The Importance of the Huguenots in the London Silk Industry," in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, Vol. XX, No. 1, pp. 69-73.

2. Article above, pp. 66–69.

signers and a large number of the weavers and mercers. One missing link remained. Could it be certain that any silks had been woven from these immaculate drawings? So far no silks woven from the designs of Leman or Baudouin have come to light—although there is plenty of evidence of their importance in the industry.[3] Even if the designs had been used, only a very few pieces could have been woven from them, perhaps four pieces each of fifty yards. This was a matter of grievance at the time.[4]

Nine silks woven from designs by Garthwaite have been discovered and it is with these silks that this article is concerned. Three silks have been identified in the existing collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum and two appeared within a few weeks of one another from totally different sources. One was found in Spain, the other formed part of a dress belonging to a private owner near Reading; the Metropolitan Museum, New York, has acquired a second piece of the former. One silk is in Mrs. Langley Moore's Collection of Costume, now in the Assembly Rooms in Bath. Three silks have been traced in American collections, one in Albany, New York, and two in Boston, all three with impeccable pedigrees leading back to an American Colonial family.

The silks can be dated precisely by the designs to the years 1742 (Nos. 1 and 2, two silks), 1747 (Nos. 3, 4, 5, three silks), 1748 (No. 6), 1751 (No. 8), 1752 (No. 9) and 1752/3 (No. 7).[5] New patterns were woven for every season and in every year. Indeed, there was considerable jéalousy lest any weaver's "new pattern" should be plagiarised by another weaver.[6] "Fresh patterns" were advertised as far away as the American Colonies as each boat docked from London.[7] There is some evidence to suggest that the

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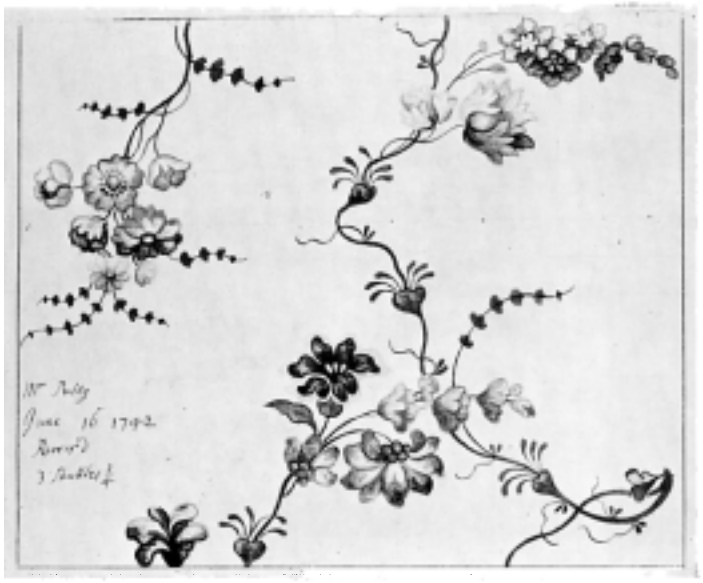
3. Article above, pp. 62 and 65, 68–9.

4. G. Smith, *The Laboratory or School of Arts*, 1756 edition. Chapter on Silk Designing, p. 37 ". . . when a pattern is fixed upon by the mercer, the weaver after great expense in mounting the loom is perhaps ordered to put it down before he has delivered one or two pieces. . . ." John Peregal, "a weaver of silks from the slightest to the roughest," complained to a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1765 "of this Confinement to Four pieces of a Pattern . . . because it makes the silks dearer. . . ." Mr. Ashburner, a mercer, argued, on the same occasion, that the mercers had to limit the number, "the Ladies not liking to buy patterns which were to be found in all Houses." (*House of Commons Journals*, Vol. 30, pp. 209 and 210.)

5. Although No. 7 is dated June 6th, 1752, there is no entry for this design in the index which Anna Maria Garthwaite compiled for the year 1752. The design does, however, correspond to an entry in the index for 1753.

6. There was a letter to the *Gazette and New Daily Advertiser* on February 27th, 1765, from "Veritas" who objected to a proposal for the stamping of silks on these grounds.

7. For example, there was an advertisement in the *Boston News Letter* in 1734, "for present money . . . great pennyworths of European silks and stuffs as rich Morello tabbies, Florence satins, a blue ground brocade, English damasks . . . all of the very newest fashion," quoted in G. F. Dow, *The Arts and Crafts in New England 1704–75*, 1925, pp. 154–172. Similar advertisements are quoted in R. S. Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts in New York*, 1927, p. 265 et seq.



2. Silk design by Anna Maria Garthwaite, dated 1742.
Polychrome water colour.
5981.10b.

2(a). Dress, the silk woven by Mr. Pulley from the design by Anna Maria Garthwaite.
The dress belonged to a member of the Livingstone family, merchants in Albany at this period.
Courtesy, Albany Institute of Arts.
1944.60 1–3.

3. Silk design by Anna Maria Garthwaite, a brocaded tobine, dated 1747.
Polychrome water colour.
5985.2.

3(a). Detail of a dress, the silk woven by Mr. Vautier from the design by Anna Maria Garthwaite.
T.706-1913.

represent the fashions of successive seasons and the ten years they cover have a special significance. In Postlethwayt's patriotic account of the silk industry he claims that by the early 1740s not only the English customer but even the foreigner was buying English silks in quantity, preferring their designs and their quality though not, unfortunately, their prices.[8] His account may be exaggerated, but it is important because it is supported by other evidence. During a period of depression in 1765 a number of witnesses gave evidence to a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the state of the silk industry.[9] Among them a weaver named John Sabatier recalled "that from 1748–1750 the silk trade was better than since that period." Even a Lyon designer had to admit that "des artistes médiocres se sont formée chez eux [the English] et, dupuis 1748 on commence à voir dans les foires d'Allemagne quelques unes de leurs étoffes assez gôutées mais bien inférieures aux nôtres."[10] The customs figures for the export of English woven silks bear this out. Some £7,000 worth of woven silks left London for Germany in 1742 and in 1752 the figure was £28,466. Since woven silks which were exported received a bounty, the figures are likely to be tolerably accurate. Exports to the American Colonies increased from £21,210 to £45,883. An anonymous writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* asserted proudly in 1749 "that the English excel in genius and have a natural taste superior to that of the foreigner . . . very evident from the great improvements which they have made in the polite arts unassisted by the important auxiliaries which are furnished abroad by public academies . . . our mercers now send their silks to Vienna and many other foreign courts where the excellence of English brocades is distinguished and applauded and this excellence arises from the judicious disposition of light and shade, the elegant designing and correct drawing of the model or pattern which is the work of an English and even a female hand . . ." We should like to think that this is one of several contemporary references to Anna Maria Garthwaite.[11] "The French," continued the article ". . . with all the assistance of their drawing academy have never yet been able to exhibit true proportion

8. Malachy Postlethwayt, *A Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, 1751, Vol. I. Article on Engraving ends with a dissertation on the qualities of English silk design. I am indebted to Mrs. Charles Montgomery of Winterthur for telling me of this important source.

9. *House of Commons Journals*, Vol. 30, pp. 208–19.

10. F. Breghot du Lut, editor, *Le Livre de Raison de Jacques Charles Dutillieu*, Lyon, 1886, p. 47. Dutillieu was writing in 1769.

11. P. Thornton, "An 18th century Silk Designer's Manual," in *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, Vol. 42, 1958, pp. 7–33, discusses the most important other sources concerning Garthwaite's possible reputation.

or just colouring on silks or linen in any single flower, much less to arrange a number of flowers and other ornaments so that each shall have an apparent relation to the other and from an union and harmony of part produce an whole . . ."[12]

Thus, quite accidentally, a small group of documented silks have survived from a period that was considered especially bright by those who had lived through it. Moreover, discounting the somewhat jingoistic tone of the articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and in Postlethwayt's *Dictionary*, the particular praise bestowed does fit in general terms the style of the silks of the period and particularly the style of the silks traditionally supposed to be English.

Silks in the previous decade, from about 1733, were strongly influenced by the attempts of certain French designers to give a three-dimensional effect to their designs.[13] In order to exploit such effects the scale of the designs of the late 1730s grew very large, but while the motifs employed were floral they bore only a faint resemblance to genuine naturalistic forms. An excessive use of dark shading, although dramatic, can hardly have been flattering to the ladies who wore the silks. In an article published in 1756 on the designing of woven silks the author stated that the designer should not "give the size of a cabbage to a rose, nor that of a pompkin to an olive; yet this was the prevailing French fashion among our English ladies."[14] Inevitably there was a reaction which can be traced in Garthwaite's work from about 1742.[15] There was a sudden diminution in the scale of her designs and, while the new methods of shading were not abandoned by her, their effect is subordinated to a general decorative scheme. Exotic, imaginary flowers began to give way to the flowers of the fields and hedgerows.

It is indeed interesting to see in these designs a slightly belated but quite distinctive movement towards the rococo. It is not only their grace but also the pronounced asymmetry of the compositions which suggest this. It is a curious coincidence that in June 1744 Garthwaite introduces into her designs (No. 11) the double S which Hogarth used in his self portrait in the following year and so exalted in his *Analysis of Beauty*. If this serpentine form may be accepted as one of the distinguishing quirks of English rococo, it was fully exploited by the silk designers. Garthwaite uses it in different

12. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XIX, p. 319.

13. P. Thornton, "Jean Revel, Dessinateur de la Grande Fabrique," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, July-August, 1960, pp. 71–86. The author discusses Revel's contribution to the development of silk design.

14. Smith's *Laboratory*, p. 39.

15. The designs for the year 1741 are now missing. In 1742 Garthwaite began to draw her patterns to half scale. Even so, the motifs which she used contrast with those in the preceding series, "Brocades from 1735–40."

ways in a number of designs throughout 1744–5. It was a useful motif for silk designers on purely technical grounds.[16] There were several important designers active in England in this period who probably influenced one another's work. All that can be claimed for Garthwaite is a swift appreciation of a current trend and the skill to exploit its possibilities very successfully.

The "white ground brocade" was established by 1744 and continued in fashion for the best part of twenty years.[17] The liveliness of the designs and the freshness of the colouring, the restraint in the proportion of decorative elements to ~~the~~ plain grounds give these designs a style which is quite distinctive. If the Garthwaite designs are a reliable guide, then it can be argued that in the 1740s for the first time the English industry produced a style of silk which was not a good anglicised version of a current French fashion, but something quite independent in itself. The Garthwaite designs show a subtle yearly development. The loosely scattered flowers of 1742, often grouped casually in twos and threes, gradually came together by 1745 to form sprays of mixed flowers imaginatively intertwined. The patterns in these designs were to be formed for the most part by brocaded wefts and as "Smith," the author of the article quoted above, said in 1756, "the designs for these must be open and airy."[18] In the later forties, although the flowers remained individually naturalistic, they were joined in a much more formal manner. The grounds were frequently enriched with a self-coloured pattern, usually shown by Garthwaite with a grey wash, and this either set off the pattern formed by the brocaded wefts or supplemented it. Such secondary patterns grew increasingly elaborate in the early fifties, although the brocaded flowers continued to be true to their natural form. Mrs. Delany described the clothes of a lady of fashion in 1754 as "white and silver, mosaic ground, flowered with silver intermixed with a little blue."[19]

The nine silks mark convenient points in the development of silk design in the 1740s. To make the group completely representative, it would be pleasant to discover a silk woven from the designs of 1744–5, for in these two years she seems to have drawn some of her most charming patterns. There is, however, one interesting design of 1745 in which Garthwaite

16. In such a pattern the tension of the warp threads would be evenly distributed across the textile which would make it easy to weave without puckering the fabric.

17. In 1737 John Phillips of Boston advertised "fine brocaded silks with white grounds beautifully flowered with lively colours" (G. F. Dow, op. cit.). Peter Cheveney, a pattern drawer, told the Select Committee of 1765 that "Brocades upon a white ground were in greater perfection here than at Lyons" (*House of Commons Journals*, Vol. 30, p. 212).

18. Smith's *Laboratory*, p. 41.

19. Lady Llanover, editor, *Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, 1861, Volume III, p. 300.

made use of a completely rocaille motif (No. 10) which may be closely compared with a silk in the Cooper Union Museum (No. 10a). These two are so alike that they suggest that either Garthwaite or some unknown designer copied one another's work.

The three brocaded silks of 1747–8 (Nos. 3, 4, 6) make use of quite naturalistic motifs which are approximately life-size in the finished silk. The method of shading introduced by Revel has been retained by Garthwaite, but used far less obtrusively. Design No. 4, woven on a coffee-coloured silk ground is typical of a number of silks of the period. The entire length of the dress is necessary for one repeat of the design, which permits the lustrous quality of the silk ground to be seen. Three of the silks have a brocaded design set against a self-coloured pattern in the ground. In the silk of 1748 (No. 6a) this pattern is independent of the main design since Garthwaite did not envisage it. In the other two it is an integral part (Nos. 3 and 7). There is a development in the use of this background effect. In one silk the coloured pattern is set upon its patterned stripe as on a different plane (No. 3), but in the silk woven in 1752 (No. 7a) the self-coloured and brocaded motifs are part of one coherent scheme. The cartouches formed by the scrolls contain the flowers and the largest of these becomes the final flourish to the scroll in the centre of the pattern. This intermingling of the two planes appears in several of Garthwaite's designs from 1749 onwards and becomes increasingly elaborate in silks of the early 1750s.

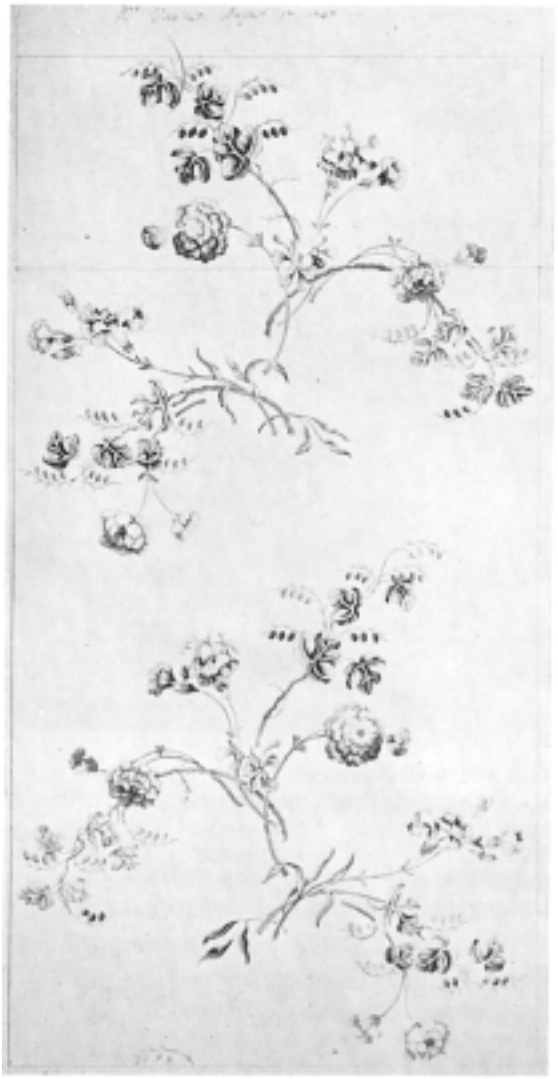
The silks provide, in addition, a yardstick for estimating the technical competence both of Garthwaite as a designer and the weavers as her interpreters. The latter point is a relevant one for there were, as will be seen, quite contradictory opinions at the time about the skill of the English silk industry, especially about its ability to weave "flowered" silks.[20]

All the silks are half ell wide, one of the most common widths for dress materials in the period.[21] They substantiate complaints made in the press in 1765 that manufacturers were not making their goods the full width.[22] They

20. The term "flowered" is a convenient one which was used in the 18th century to describe all silks made with a free design on the drawloom, by contrast with the small geometrical patterns which could be made on shafts.

21. The earliest surviving trades union agreement in the industry, "A List of Prices in those Branches of the Silk Manufactory called the Plain, Foot-figured and Flowered Branches," compiled in 1769, quoted the rates of pay for weaving the different kinds of silk per yard. The majority were half ell wide materials, and some ¾ wide and a few yard wide. (Five Branches were listed in all.)

22. "Mercator" writing to the *Gazette and New Daily Advertiser* on February 5th, 1765, "on the breadth of their goods (i.e. of the silk manufacturers') which are in general only 19½–21 inches yet they sell them for half ell, that is 22½ inches. The lustrings too, (except those that are in imitation of the Italian) are only from 23½–24 inches, which they call three-quarters, that is 27 inches."



4. Silk design by Anna Maria Garthwaite, a brocaded lustring, dated 1747.
Polychrome water colour.
5985.9.

4(a). Detail of a dress, the silk woven by Mr. Vautier from the design by Anna Maria Garthwaite.
T.720-1913.

5. Silk design by Anna Maria Garthwaite, a damask, dated 1747.
Purple water colour.
5985.21.

5(a). Detail of a dress, the silk woven by Mr. Vautier from the design by Anna Maria Garthwaite. The dress has been made up on the wrong side and hence the pattern is reversed.
Courtesy, the Spa Director, Assembly Rooms, Bath.

vary from 19⅜ ins. to 21¾ ins. and none reaches the full 23 ins. which would be strictly half an ell. Despite the narrowness of the width, the designs extend in length quite considerably. It is, indeed, a tribute to the quality of Garthwaite as a designer that she managed in most cases to devise a subtle repeat for her designs. The least successful is possibly No. 3, in which the repeat in the final silk is only 16½ ins. long. The designs of the other silks extend from 28 ins. to over 42 ins. in the case of the damasks. Such long repeats permit the designer to allow generous space between each cluster of flowers or foliage. At the same time she has avoided an excessively elongated effect by breaking the designs generally into two halves, which at first sight appear to be identical, but which do in fact vary sufficiently to avoid any monotony. The design of No. 2 is characteristic of the transitional stage in Garthwaite's designs between the unnatural floral forms of the 1730s and the completely naturalistic designs adopted by 1744. This design is particularly difficult to appreciate without the silk (No. 2a). It is hard to visualise the effect of the spray descending on the left. The heart-shaped forms with their little tendrils are rather curious—a little too distinctive. The silk, however, vindicates her skill. The importance of the plain ground to offset the casual sprays becomes apparent. The quality of the silk is good, although Mr. Pulley has woven the silk a little coarsely so that the curved stem moves a little unevenly.

Garthwaite drew these designs to half scale. The weaver had to envisage the effect when the designs were enlarged and draft them on to squared paper of the correct proportion. From this draft the pattern could be transferred to or "read into" the loom. The weavers who bought the designs took away a fair copy of the original which Garthwaite retained.[23] Thus it was possible for them "to mangle and spoil the best design, tho' ever so well executed by the pattern drawer."[24] To judge from this admittedly small group Garthwaite had little to complain of, since the slight irregularity in the curves of some of the stems would not have been visible at any distance.

There is an additional documentary interest in the fact that seven of the silks represent particular varieties of silk. "Tobines" (No. 3), "Lutestrings" (lutstrings or lustrings) (Nos. 4 and 6), "Tabbies" (No. 7) whether "watered or unwatered," and "Damasks" (Nos. 5, 8, 9), frequently occur on the trade cards of the period put out by the mercers.

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23. The procedure is explained in Paulet, *Le Fabricant des Etoffes de Soie*, (1779), Vol. VII, Part 2, p. 898.

24. Smith, p. 40.

"Tobines" were silks in which the essential part of the design was made by the warp, and not the weft. They were "commonly striped with flowers in the warp, and sometimes between the tobine stripes with brocaded sprigs. Some have likewise a running trail with the colour of the ground as other lutestrings."[25] Garthwaite's "brocaded tobine" would thus appear to be a very typical design with its combination of brocaded motifs and a self-coloured "running trail" in the ground, painted grey in the design. Tobines presented technical difficulties and do not seem to have become really fashionable until the middle of the century.

The "Lustring" was a light crisp plain silk with a special quality, a high lustre on the silk imparted by the process of lustrating the warp before weaving. It was woven in England from the late 17th century by the Royal Lustring Company, when it was primarily a black material. By the time the Company had given up the making of lustrings, in 1713,[26] it had become and remained one of the standard dress materials for the next half century or more. Fanny Hill wore one when introduced to her first bawdy house: "Imagine how my little coquette heart fluttered with joy at the sight of a white lutestring flowered with silver, scoured indeed but passed on me for spick and span new . . . ,"[27] and there are references in the letters of Mrs. Delany to a variety of lustrings worn at Court on different occasions.[28] In 1766 a mercer distinguished between foreign and English lustrings, describing the former as "crisper and not so glossy as the English . . ."[29] The gloss is still very noticeable in the silks designed by Garthwaite. According to Smith's article, lutestring brocades "are either upon a plain or figured ground; the design must be open and airy, composed of various sorts of flowers, carelessly disposed and garnished; care must be taken to prevent . . . the expense of workmanship and yet to make as great a show for the money as possible."[30] Both the Garthwaite lustrings (Nos. 4a, 6a) conform to these requirements with mixed sprays arranged casually to show the glossy background well. The lustrings had a long innings, becoming progressively cheaper, but without changing in character very greatly. In Crosby's *Tradesmen's Directory* of 1810 lustrings were described as a "species of light shining silk first manufactured in France and several years past

25. Smith, p. 41.
26. W. R. Scott, *Joint Stock Companies*, Vol. III, Section III, pp. 72–89, "The Royal Lustring Company."
27. Mayflower-Dell Books, 1964 edition, p. 26.
28. *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 96 (1724) and Vol. II, p. 487 (1748) for examples.
29. *H. of Commons Journals*, op. cit., p. 726.
30. Smith, p. 41.

6. Silk design by Anna Maria Garthwaite, a brocaded lustring, dated 1748.
Polychrome water colour.
5986.8.

6(a). Silk panel from a dress, woven by Thomas Brant from the design by Anna Maria Garthwaite.
T.177-1961.

7. Silk design by Anna Maria Garthwaite, a double comber brocaded tabby pattern, dated 1752.
Polychrome water colour.
5989.26.

7(a). Silk panel woven by John Sabatier from the design by Anna Maria Garthwaite.
T.10-1962.

[sic] introduced into this country. Lustrings, for which there is now very little demand, are manufactured chiefly in the neighbourhood of Spitalfields and are either plain or delicately figured."

Tabbies were a slightly heavier plain silk which could take the calendering process effectively if the silk were to be watered. All the silks are, however, fairly light in weight and thus it was not necessary for the weaver to use a heavy selvage in making them. On several the selvage can hardly be distinguished from the rest of the material.[31] "Damasks" were, then as now, self-coloured materials in which the pattern is made by a contrast of the warp and weft, usually woven in satin, by the play of light reflecting from the shining smooth surface given by the long floats of the warp and the matt surface of the weft. Damask patterns, Smith considered, should always be large and bold, and detailed decoration was only permissible in the centre of a motif. The scale of the three designs (Nos. 5, 8, 9) by Garthwaite is certainly massive. Their repeats are over 40 ins. long, while the designs of polychrome silks of the period are normally half that size. These designs are, however, divided subtly into two halves to avoid unnecessary elongation. The silk woven in 1747 (No. 5a) is a rich green of superb quality, the design woven in 1751 (No. 8a) is buff, perhaps corresponding to some order for "best cloth colr. English silk damask"[32] and the second American silk (No. 9a) pale blue.

All the silks, and perhaps most of all the brocaded silk of 1742 (No. 1),

31. Striped green and white selvages have sometimes been thought to be characteristic of English silks. The type and weight of the selvage was naturally determined by the type and weight of the silk being woven, since the purpose of a selvage is to make a neat edge which will not buckle when the silk is taken off the loom. The selvages of the nine silks are:

1. 7 mms. wide, 5 stripes alternately pink and white, 6 threads in each, tabby.
2. 5/16 in. wide, 3 cream, 2 green stripes, tabby.
3. 5 mms. wide, 3 stripes alternately pink and white, 8–10 threads in each, tabby.
4. 3 mms. wide, self-coloured tabby with one outer cord, hardly distinguishable from the rest of the fabric.
5. 6 mms. wide, 3 stripes alternately red and yellow satin, one outer stripe twill.
6. as No. 3.
7. 4 mms. wide, self-coloured tabby, one outer cord.
8. 5 mms. wide, 3 stripes alternately green and white satin, 4 threads tabby, two outer cords.
9. 5 mms. wide, 3 stripes alternately pink and white satin, one outer cord. Mr. Vautier did not bother to have the colours of the selvages of the three silks made in one year for him consistent nor did Julins have the same colours for his two damasks.

32. Peter Baynton of Philadelphia told Alexander Nisbet of London in June, 1725, that "the goods most in demand are light and cloth culled silks . . ." (Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania MS-AM 907) There are many subsequent orders for "cloth colrd. damask" by American importers, which do not necessarily specify that it should be English silk. Daniel Wister of Philadelphia ordered from Mildred and Roberts, London, in 1766, "1 ps. superfine best middle cloth colr. English silk damask" (Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum A/C Book 1762–68, MS. No. 56×17.8 Joseph Downs MS and Microfilm collection).

illustrate the mastery achieved in the 18th century in exploiting the texture of different kinds of woven silk. It is this skill, as much as any other, which distinguishes the silks of this period from those of other centuries. The ground of the lustring reflects light with the shining effect described in Crosby's *Directory*. The tobine shows a subtle contrast between light reflecting from the vertical warp pattern in the ground and the horizontal brocaded wefts. The moiré ground of the tabby demonstrates the richness imparted by a quivering reflection of light from the waves on the slightly crushed ribbing.

The silver silk of 1742 (No. 1a) is taken from one of Garthwaite's most successful designs in that year. Smith wrote in 1756 that the patterns for gold and silver brocades "ought to be composed of ornamental stalks, leafs and flowers, bold, solid and free and according to the richness thereof to spread in more or less branches."[33] He distinguished between such ornamental motifs and "the smaller sort of natural flowers" carried out in brocaded silks in "grand designs for gold and silver stuffs with colours." This design is indeed "bold, solid and free," the design is disposed gracefully on an uncluttered ground and while the effect is rich it is not overloaded. The three types of silver thread, filé, frisé and clinquant or brilliant,[34] reflect light with such sharp differences that in a black and white photograph they appear to be different colours. Garthwaite has conformed to the principles set out by one of the most exacting French writers on silk designing in the period. Joubert de L'Hiberderie told the would-be designer of silks with patterns of gold and silver, "le frisé d'abord, cette poudre d'or . . . vous devez user sobrement pour eviter la surdité dans l'étoffe." The lighter rosettes and fronds are woven in frisé. Looking at the silk from a purely technical point of view, the design ensures that the weaver wastes the minimum of the precious silver thread on the back of the textile. English manufacturers were severely criticised by Rouquet for their prodigality in this respect.[35] He said that it was an unpardonable error "de commerce et d'interet, il en-

33. Smith, p. 40.

34. The terms are used by Joubert de L'Hiberderie in *Le Dessinateur pour les Etoffes d'or, d'argent de soie*, Chapter CXIII, "Fond d'or & Cirsaka," p. 51.

filé: metal strip wound on a silk core.

frisé: metal strip wound on a silk core twisted at an uneven tension around another silk thread. The resulting thread is knobbled and, since the metal strips follow the twist of the silk, it sparkles much more than a filé thread, hence the term used by James Leman, "frost" silver or gold. There is a reference in John Gay, *The Fan*, 1713: "Should you the rich brocaded suit unfold Where rising flowers grow stiff with frosted gold," to which Miss Edith Standen has very kindly drawn my attention. Clinquant is a mixture of two kinds of metal thread. In silk No. 1 a metal strip is wound around a frisé thread to give a very rich effect.

35. Rouquet, *L'Etat des Arts en Angleterre*, 1755, p. 114.

richit mal à propos de matière une étoffe déja trop chère par façon. Il prodigue la soie dans des ouvrages qui ne sont déja que trop lourde." When Smith discussed the point he admitted,[36] "here the pattern drawer is under some restraint on the one hand to save the waste of silver on the wrong side of the silk, and on the other to keep the number of shuttles or the workmanship as low as he can. . . ." The silk woven from Garthwaite's design proves that an agreeable compromise has been reached.

It may be argued that the nine silks are a representative selection of the trends in style at each date. It can be asserted each has some special quality which would be enhanced when the silk is made up and worn. It can be said that each design exploits fully the possibilities of the particular kind of silk. In the eyes of contemporaries these virtues were by no means so apparent. There was indeed considerable criticism of English silks. Much refers to silks woven in the early part of the century and, although it can be discussed on the basis of the Leman designs, it is irrelevant here. Very large quantities of French silk were smuggled into the country and were very much in demand. Joshua Gee wrote that the French set the fashion and the English followed blindly.[37] In April 1738 the *Gentleman's Magazine* printed a series of articles deprecating those "admirers of Foreign Gew-gaws who boast all their clothes are made at Paris, all their velvets or silks in Italy or France who will not wear a lace for a hat or a knee garter if manufactured at home."[38] The imitation of French fashions would ruin the trade of the country.[39] "If three or four ladies at the head of fashion would but value themselves on being clothed intirely with the manufactures of their own country . . . this would be a real imitation of the French who like nothing but their own." According to this writer, "half the families in England take a trip, as they call it, every summer to Paris to buy French goods." By 1746 the preference for French goods had become downright treason; the *Gentleman's Magazine* put the question, "whether all persons who wear French waistcoats or any other French commodities do not in effect send money to the Pretender . . ."[40] It was even lamented that shopkeepers had to pretend that their good were French to sell them at all. This lament was based upon an anecdote told by

36. P. 40. The list of Prices, see note 22 above, quoted additional payments to be made for additional shuttles. For example "¾ Lutestring Brocades, two comber brocaded on one side only to advance for every brocade shuttle extra . . . 1d."

37. Joshua Gee, *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered*, 1731, Chapter XXII, "French Fashions pernicious to England," pp. 30–36.

38. *Gentleman's Magazine* III, p. 170.

39. *Gentleman's Magazine* VIII, p. 586.

40. *Gentleman's Magazine* XVI, p. 34.

Defoe,[41] but was repeated for many years. A few silks of reasonably good quality and one or two eulogies may not seem much to counter the prevailing opinion. Since fashions change, it could be argued that the qualities which seem admirable today may have seemed over-rated or contemptible to their contemporaries. A critic wrote to the *Gazette and New Daily Advertiser* early in 1765, when the silk industry was suffering from a severe depression, "I avow myself an admirer of the French and while I can buy their manufactures cheaper I will never lay out my money with our people who display no more elegance and taste than the Mahometans in their carpets."[42]

The customs figures could be misleading, since surviving invoices suggest that more plain than flowered silks were exported, at least to the American Colonies. The silk from a merchant family in Albany can be quoted either as proof of the profits to be made in the fur trade—or as evidence that the understandably less discriminating public in the Colonies was ready to buy an English silk when the lady in London looked for a French one. Again, it could be argued that Garthwaite was one of many designers as mediocre as their critics alleged. In 1749 John Gwyn wrote in "An Essay on Design"[43] ". . . nothwithstanding the Perfection to which the Silk Manufacture is brought in London, particularly in Spittlefields, our greatest artists, for want of skill to delineate . . . are, in the article of brocaded silks in particular, reduced to the necessity either of calling in the Assistance of the better instructed, though not more ingenious French who reside among them or of servilely imitating their less elaborate performance." It was this statement which provoked Mr. Postlethwayt's defence of the English designers in his *Dictionary*. Rouquet, surveying the artist in England,[44] held that "Quelques dessinateurs de Lyon établis depuis peu d'années dans la fameuse manufacture de Londres, fournissent à cette manufacture ce qu'elle a de meilleur."

Very little is known about Garthwaite.[45] She came from York, was unmarried and lived in Spitalfields until her death in 1763. She had well-to-do relations in other parts of the country, and she herself lived with her widowed sister, Mary Danny, and a ward. How she gained her initial training is un-

41. Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman*, Vol. II, Part 2, Chapter V, 1732, p. 154. Several later versions of the story are given in B. Sprague Allen, *Tides in English Taste*, Cambridge, Mass., 1937, p. 253.

42. The letter was quoted in the *Gazette and New Daily Advertiser* on March 2nd, 1765.

43. John Gwyn, *An Essay on Design*, 1749, pp. 71–2 footnote.

44. Rouquet, op. cit. p. 111.

45. The few facts are summarized in the article in the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* already quoted (on p. 73). A few details have come to light since that article appeared, but these chiefly concern her relatives.

8. Silk design by Anna Maria Garthwaite, a damask, dated 1751.
Purple water colour.
5988.28.

8(a). Detail of a dress, the silk woven by Simon Julins from the design by Anna Maria Garthwaite. The dress is thought to have belonged to a New Hampshire girl, Miss Ruth Eliot, who married in 1747. *Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*
47.1021.

9. Silk design by Anna Maria Garthwaite, a damask, dated 1752.
Purple water colour.
5989.18.

9(a). Detail of a dress, the silk woven by Simon Julins from the design by Anna Maria Garthwaite. The dress belonged to a member of the Winslow family, prominent in Boston in the 18th century. *Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.* 59.648.

known, or how and why her designs were preserved. According to Postlethwayt's article, first published in 1751 before she retired, "About the year 1732 three designers attempted to introduce the principles of painting into the loom and succeeded. Mr. John Vansommer . . . Mrs. Anna Maria Garthwaite and Mr. Peter Mazell . . ." Until that point, he said, a third of all the silks worn in England were French, "but the English designing was so highly advanced . . . that in less than ten years the preference was not only given in England to the English designing, to that of France . . . ," but that English silks were even exported to Europe. It can certainly be proved that Garthwaite very quickly adopted Revel's principles,[46] since there are a number of French patterns in her collection which embody these painterly principles. No doubt the other two designers were equally alive to such innovations. Nevertheless, she was sufficiently celebrated for her name to remain until the 19th century as a by-word in the industry.[47]

Some of the most significant evidence in support of Garthwaite's reputation as a designer comes from the careers of her customers. Their names are given on the designs: Capn. Lekeux (No. 1), Mr. Pulley (No. 2), Mr. Vautier (Nos. 3, 4 and 5), Mr. Brant (No. 6), Mr. Sabitier (No. 7), and Mr. Julins (Nos. 8 and 9) and, indirectly, Mr. Palmer (No. 5). Three of these were among her most important customers. Lekeux bought 13 designs between 1740 and 1742, and it is perhaps relevant that five of these are for silks to be made with silk and metal thread, or to be made entirely with metal thread. If it was equally fashionable to wear silks containing metal thread and those brocaded in silk only, it would seem that he concentrated on these, the most expensive silks on the market, or that he chose to buy this kind of silk from Garthwaite. Vautier bought some 87 designs between 1741–1751, for almost every variety of silk, and Sabatier 90 designs between 1742–1752, again for every kind of silk. The last two weavers bought more of her designs than any of the other hundred weavers and mercers whom she mentions in the inscriptions on her designs. Their standing in the industry is thus important to Garthwaite's as a designer.

Mr. Julins bought seventeen of her designs between 1742–1755, most of them in the years 1751–5. Brant bought six designs in the two years from December 1747 to December 1749 and Mr. Pulley bought only the one design (No. 2) illustrated here. Philip Palmer, a mercer, commissioned twenty-six of Garthwaite's designs to be woven by a number of different

46. See p. 7 note 13 above.

47. Patent Office Design Registers, 2.8.1842. Patent for a carpet design. This was drawn on paper with the trademark "Anna Maria Garthwaite No. 8 & 9 [the count of the paper] printed by Good and Son, 63, Bishopsgate without, J. Clark sculp."

weavers between 1742–9. He was at various times in partnership with a certain Miles Halsey, also mentioned on the designs, and another mercer, Robert Fleetwood at the Blackamoor's Head at Ludgate Hill. The firm can be traced for at least thirty-three years. Judging from the Garthwaite designs it is evident that they supplied very high quality dress materials, but it is also clear from other bills that they sold furnishing silks as well. Fleetwood, the junior partner, gave evidence on behalf of his firm to the Select Committee of the House of Commons both in 1765 and 1766, from which it can be assumed that they were a respected and reliable firm. Four of the weavers can be identified without much doubt and the identity of the other two at least suggested.

All except Palmer were members of the Weavers' Company of London, the legally established Livery Company responsible for the industry, with the right to apprentice, make free and elect onto its Livery all members of the trade. Four of the men were Liverymen and a fifth an Assistant on the Court of the Company. Few important weavers practised outside the Company at this period and those who tried to do so were so conspicuously absent that they were unable to escape eventual recruitment. The weaver of flowered silks had to be a man of some capital; the drawloom itself was more expensive to build and to set up than the loom for plain silks. The journeymen weavers had to be paid more,[48] they worked more slowly than the weavers of plain silks, and the final result was much more expensive. The total risk was immeasurably greater for the master weaver of flowered silks, unless he worked entirely to a mercer's commissions. Few of Garthwaite's customers appear to have done so, since she also mentions the name of the mercer on the design when it has been "bespoke" by him. The fifth silk in the group was commissioned in this way by Mr. Palmer. It is significant that Vautier sometimes worked independently and sometimes to a commission, as in this case. Having taken the risk of buying the raw material, the weaver of flowered silks had to find a customer in a market which depended almost entirely on fashion. It is, therefore, among the rich weavers that Garthwaite's customers should be found.

Mr. Pulley is the most obscure weaver in this group. There was a weaver

48. In the list of Prices (see note 22) for three quarters plain and foot mantuas of a certain quality the weaver was to receive 9d. per yard. An extra 3d. had to be paid for satin stripes of a certain width or for tobines, etc. For "three-quarter flush mantuas on mountures" (i.e. made on a drawloom) of the same quality as the plain material, the price was 1/6d. per yard for 50 lines of pattern, and a 1d. extra for each additional five lines. The longer the pattern, the greater the price for weaving it. Average wages may have been about 6/- to 10/- per week, but those of the journeymen making flowered silks might be 15/- to 20/-, or even more in exceptional cases.

named John Pulley (1692–1764) living in Paternoster Row in Spitalfields in the middle of the century, but there were also others of that name in the district.

Simon Julins is interesting. He was a Liveryman of the Weavers' Company who offered some twenty-two men to serve the Crown against the Young Pretender in 1745. His house was respectable, but not in one of the richest streets in Spitalfields. He advertised, however, in *Mortimer's Directory* of 1763 as a weaver of damasks—and was the only weaver to claim these silks as his speciality. The majority of the seventeen designs which he bought from Garthwaite were for damasks of which the two designs (Nos. 8 and 9) are characteristic. Other weavers, like Vautier, also bought damask designs from her, but it can be presumed that a man who specialised in their production would be especially critical of the designs which he bought. These two designs and the silks woven from them should thus be a good indication of the standard attained by the English in this field.

"Mr. Brant" is almost certainly a weaver by the name of Thomas Brant who lived in Hand Alley, off Bishopsgate Street. He, too, was a Liveryman of the Weavers' Company and typical of a large number of master weavers in the second rank of the industry. The Brant family are the only ones of the name either in the Court Books of the Weavers' Company or the Rate Books of the district. Thomas was apprenticed to his father in 1726, but, like many others, he put off as long as he could taking up the freedom of the Company and thereby becoming liable for quarterage. Although apprenticed for seven years in the normal way, he became free of the Company in 1741 and adopted the livery in 1743. His father was a silk weaver from whom he inherited the business.[49] His father's will was witnessed by the silk designer, John Vansommer. This may perhaps be only a coincidence, since the silk weaving community lived in quite a small area and Vansommer witnessed the wills of several of his colleagues, or agreed to serve as their executor. On the other hand, it may be an indication that the elder Brant had also been a weaver of flowered and not plain silks. Thomas had one brother, James Brant, a throwster of some importance. In 1750 the latter insured his business for £1,000 and by 1765 his stock was valued at £5,000.[50] Thomas Brant offered seventeen men to serve the Crown against the Young Pretender in October 1745.[51]

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49. PCC. Browne fol. 315, proved December 1740. "all my plate and household goods I give to my son Thomas, and £250 besides the £500 he has in trade given him before and likewise all my utensils belonging to my trade."

50. Sun Insurance Company Policy Register. Vol. 160, p. 540, No. 221602, July 1765.

51. A list of Manufacturers of Spitalfields who offered to raise troups of workmen to fight the Young Pretender was published in the *London Gazette* of October 5th–8th, 1745.

"Mr. Vauteir" cannot be certainly identified. There was only one Vautier family in the industry, but it was a large one with many branches. Garthwaite probably dealt only with one member of it, since in cases where she sold designs to different members of the same family she differentiated between them.[52] The designs themselves yield some information. The variety of silks for which they were intended—tobines, flowered tabbies, damasks, tissues, brocaded satins, brocaded lustrings, etc.—suggest, for purely technical reasons, that Mr. Vautier had a number of different looms working for him. Occasionally the designs are "bespoke" to one or other of two mercers, Mr. Palmer or Mr. Carr. The latter was one of the richest mercers of his day and a purveyor of silks to the Crown. More often Vautier's name occurs alone in the inscription, suggesting that he took all the capital risks himself. Among the prominent Vautiers, Daniel senior and junior seem to be the most likely men. "Daniel le Vautier" offered one of the larger contributions to serve the Crown in 1745—47 men. Too little is, however, known of the professional standing of the other members of the family who were also in the industry. Perhaps the most remarkable fact about the Vautiers is the number who were connected with the silk industry. Few, if any, appear to have entered other professions at this time. This specialisation by families was quite typical of the Huguenot community.

"Capn Peter Lekeux,"—his rank refers to the Trained Bands of the City of London—weaver of silk No. 1 in 1742, and an Assistant of the Weavers' Company, belonged to one of the most important families in the London silk industry. The connection lasted nearly a hundred years and appears to have been exclusively with the flowered silk branch of the silk industry.[53] The family came from Canterbury and Colonel Peter Lekeux, Captain Peter's uncle, was a man of considerable wealth and importance, who was often called upon by the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations in enquiries affecting the textile trades. Captain Peter Lekeux was born in 1684, apprenticed in 1703 and became free of the Weavers' Company of London in 1712. In the same year he married—characteristically—the sister of another silk weaver, John Bloodworth. The latter was a customer of the designer James Leman and, therefore, also a weaver of flowered silks. In November 1712, Lekeux adopted the Livery of the Weavers' Company and he served on a number of the Company's Committees set up to deal with matters af-

52. In the index to the designs for 1745 Garthwaite listed two designs for "Mr. Ogier P. Street" and one for "Mr. Ogier No. 4"—on the design she described him as "in the Square." Peter Abraham Ogier lived in Princes Street. The other was almost certainly his nephew Peter. After the death of Peter Abraham in 1747 she no longer made any distinction in the inscriptions.

53. *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, op. cit., pp. 78–83.

10. Silk design by Anna Maria Garthwaite, dated 1745.
Polychrome water colour.
5983.2.

10(a). Detail of a silk panel, taffeta brocaded in coloured silks and metal strip.
Courtesy, Cooper Union Museum for the Arts of Decoration, New York.
1945-28-1 a & b.

11. Silk design by Anna Maria Garthwaite, dated 1744.
Polychrome water colour.
5982.16.

fecting the industry in general. Lekeux, his uncle, and James Leman all served together, for instance, on a Committee which was to report in 1720 to the Secretary for Trades and Plantations on the state of the industry (during the depression attributed to competition from printed calicoes). They must, therefore, have been considered to be men of knowledge and experience. Lekeux served as Upper Warden of the Company in 1728, and in 1734 was elected to the Court of Assistants, the governing body. He and James Leman were the only two Huguenots among nine officers of the Company who signed its new Charter in 1737. He helped to prepare a petition against a bill which sought to prevent the wearing of gold and silver lace and materials in 1743 (an abortive piece of sumptuary legislation) and he loyally served in several capacities in the purely domestic affairs of the Company.

Lekeux's reputation extended outside the Court of Assistants, apparently, for in 1732 he was one of the two weavers questioned by a Select Committee of the House of Commons investigating the case for the renewal of Sir Thomas Lombe's patent for the making of organzine silk. In his evidence he told the Committee that he had corresponded with Sir Thomas Lombe when the latter was perfecting his mill in Derby. He referred quite specifically to the necessity of having the correct quality of silk for the warp of "gold and silver brocades," which perhaps also suggests that he was particularly concerned with the weaving of such silks. He died in 1743, leaving £7,400, apart from the residue of his estate and his silver. As the will appears to have been drawn up within a few days of his death it is, unfortunately, rather brief. His son—also Peter Lekeux and also a customer of Garthwaite's—inherited £1,100, "in consideration of the care and management" of his father's business. He, too, had a distinguished career, culminating in a long and bitter campaign fought by the Weavers' Company in and out of Parliament against the importers of French silks. The connection of the Lekeuxs with the silk industry could be pursued at even greater length—but the main point has perhaps been established: that Garthwaite was selling designs for the most expensive type of silk to one of the leading silk weaving families in London. "Mr. Sabitier," weaver of silk No. 7a, is almost certainly John Sabatier. Apart from young apprentices, there were no other Sabatiers in the industry nor any then living in Spitalfields—nor, for that matter, any other Sabatiers insuring their premises as silk weavers.[54] The problem of identification should perhaps be underlined. Contemporary

54. The policy registers of the Hand in Hand Insurance Company are indexed. Those of the Sun are not, but a check of one year in every five has not led to the discovery of further Sabatiers.

evidence makes it clear that the weavers of flowered silks, both masters and men, were richer and more highly paid than many of their contemporaries. Specialisation, moreover, was a feature of the English industry.[55] The certain identification of the two Lekeuxs, several members of the Ogier family and an important Englishman, John Baker,[56] suggests that the identification of "Mr. Sabitier" with one of the most respected weavers of his day is not simply wishful thinking.

Sabatier's father (of the same name) was living in Spitalfields from the early years of the 18th century, and was still a "Foreign Weaver" when he took the younger Sabatier as an apprentice in 1716. The father's will was proved in July 1745, and thus it was the son who offered 34 men to fight the Young Pretender in the autumn of that year. Sabatier junior lived in Princes Street and later in Red Lyon Street in Spitalfields, both streets distinguished by the numer of prosperous weavers of Huguenot extraction who lived there. Between 1750–57 he was in partnership with another Huguenot, David Delavau, and he was listed in *Mortimer's Directory* in 1763 as a weaver of "flowered silk." He adopted the Livery of the Weavers' Company in 1740, probably not entirely of his own volition, since the Company made a recruiting drive in that year, directed particularly at the Huguenots, in order to relieve its rather shaky financial circumstances. On no less than three occasions Sabatier gave evidence to Select Committees of the House of Commons, in 1750, 1765 and 1766. To each Committee he gave a number of details about his career.

In 1750, for instance, he told the Committee in the course of his evidence "that for two or three years last past he had exported wrought silks from Chester to Ireland to the amount of £2–£3,000."[57] This was apparently rather exceptional, for it was said in 1765 that the weavers only sold wholesale and did not enter the export trade directly.[58] Unfortunately, although

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55. According to the *General Description of All Trades*, 1747, p. 219, The Weavers were "as numerous as the names of the things they weave . . ." After a brief catalogue, the account continues, "according to which they have their particular denominations all of which together make one of the most extensive branches of trade." Paulet in the preface to his *Fabricant des Etoffes de soie* (Neuchâtel edition, 1779, p. 21) also commented on this feature of the English industry. "Londres seule contient environ huit mille métiers, et voici quelle est la raison de ce grand nombre, comme les ouvriers qui s'y donnent à un genre d'étoffe n'en fabriquent jamais d'autres, les métiers une fois consacrés a telle ou telle étoffe ne sont jamais montés pour une autre."

56. Captain John Baker owned extensive house property and had important brewing interests in Spitalfields. His career as a weaver of flowered silks can be traced from early in the century until the third quarter. When he died in 1783 the *Gentleman's Magazine* gave him a long and flattering obituary.

57. *H. of C. Journals*, Vol. 26, p. 996.

58. *H. of C. Journals*, Vol. 30, p. 208, evidence of James Johnson, weaver.

his name is given among the list of witnesses heard by the Committee in 1765, his evidence is not quoted in the report. In the following year, however, he was quoted at some length:

"He had begun to trade for himself in the year 1750, and then employed about 50 looms; that he afterwards took a partner [i.e. David Delavau] and increased his looms to one hundred; that the partnership expired in 1757 . . . that in the year 1763 . . . he employed 70–80 looms." He described the recession in the industry and referred back to the golden years of 1748–50.[59] He remembered "going to the mercers as long ago as the year 1721." He also made it clear in his evidence that in the sixties he was working in the bespoke trade, although since 1763 "he had received no orders but for Winter Goods." In 1721 he was still an apprentice, and his evidence suggests that his father was already a substantial master weaver, taking independent orders from the mercers and grooming the young Sabatier to take over for him.

There are some inconsistencies in the evidence. He said that he had only begun to trade for himself in the year 1750, but his father had died in 1745. He had already been exporting silks for three years in 1750 according to his earlier account. "Mr. Sabiteir" bought designs from Garthwaite from 1742–1756. It seems very likely that in 1742 he bought designs on behalf of his father, but the next group of designs which he bought date from 1747, again three years before he said that he had begun to trade for himself. During the years when John Sabatier said that the industry was at its most flourishing, "Mr. Sabiteir" bought designs for the following silks: 1748: 8 tobines, a flowered lustring and a damask; 1749: 10 tobines, 2 "tobine damasks" and two damasks; the designs for 1750 are missing; 1751: 7 tobines, 2 tobine damasks, a flowered two-coloured tabby, a damask, a spotted tabby, a waistcoat (flowered tabby)[60] and a tissue flowered satin. The names of the silks are known, since Garthwaite listed them under each weaver's name in the indexes to her yearly volumes of designs. The incidence of the dates show that he had a number of looms working for him at the same time. In 1748, for instance, he bought tobine patterns on May 14th, 20th and 23rd. He also had a number of different kinds of looms working for him. A damask, a tobine and a tissue all require a different set-up of the loom and it would have been uneconomic to change from one to the other, although not technically

59. See page 4–5 above.

60. Waistcoat "shapes" were sold by the mercers ready for the customers to have made up. Garthwaite designed several. The designs had to follow the curve of the front and to include a matching piece for the pocket flap. The plain silk around the "shape" was cut away by the tailor.

impossible. If "Mr. Sabiteir" and John Sabatier are indeed the same man, then he was presumably making tobines in quantity for the Irish market. Warp-patterned silks were becoming generally popular, but he bought more tobines from Garthwaite than her other customers did in these years (although they could, of course, have gone to other designers for these goods). On the other hand, it seems possible that this is a case of a weaver, who not only specialised in the weaving of flowered silks, but made a particular kind of silk for a particular market.

Another point arises if the Parliamentary witness and Garthwaite's customer are the same man. With one exception, none of her designs for him bears the name of a mercer. In the sixties, however, he was working for most of "the great mercers in town" (although never for one in particular), which seems to indicate that he changed his practice, despite the fact that he was a man of some capital. Since four men to a loom was reckoned to be the average number,[61] at the time when this silk was woven he employed a maximum of 400 men, and 280 or less when the trade had begun to run into difficulties. This may be compared with the numbers employed by other weavers. Lewis Chauvet, for instance, who advertised as a handkerchief weaver, and who offered 65 men to serve the Crown in 1745, employed 450 men in 1750. He told a Select Committee that he had had to sack a third of his men—150 in all—owing to a sudden shortage of raw silk.[62] Chauvet had a long career and was much hated by the journeymen weavers,[63] and he makes a useful standard for comparison.

Garthwaite's customers were not, therefore, insignificant men. The silks which they chose to make and the designs which they chose to buy were probably those they considered to be the best on the market. Julins, after all, specialised in his later career exclusively in damasks. Lekeux and Sabatier were certainly able to afford the best designs they could find, and so probably could Mr. Vautier (if "Daniel le Vautier" was her customer). Alone among her customers, Brant's position in the industry is too obscure for it to be argued on the basis of his silk from her design (No. 6a), successful though it is, that Garthwaite's designs represent the typical English good-quality silk of the time; the leading weavers could have been making something altogether different, calling upon French designers as Gwyn suggested. But this is most certainly not the case; the majority of Garthwaite's

61. *H. of C. Journals*, Vol. 30, p. 208, evidence of Thomas Price, journeyman silk weaver.
62. *H. of C. Journals*, Vol. 25, pp. 996–7.
63. He was alleged to be a leader of the group of masters who were trying to cut wages and his house in Spitalfields was twice broken into and the second time badly damaged by angry weavers.

customers have been shown to have been leading weavers, though, of course, they must also have bought designs by other artists, some of whom may well have been of foreign extraction.

Having bought Garthwaite's designs, they accepted them with hardly any alteration. A comparison of the silk with the design (Nos. 1, 1a) shows that Captain Lekeux was completely satisfied with Garthwaite's ideas. While Vautier did not alter the tobine in any way, it must be admitted that he wove it rather coarsely. The binding of the silks in the leaves and the curve of the stalks are not too well managed—a criticism which can also be made of Pulley's silk (No. 2a). The second brocaded silk made by Vautier is much more successful (No. 4a). By carrying out the design on a much greater scale he could allow a much finer delineation of detail. The damask is of superb quality, the pattern sharply drawn in a rich and heavy silk. Brant (No. 6a) added a fleurs-de-lys sub-pattern, which neither adds nor detracts from the original, and rearranged the colouring: the branch painted by Garthwaite in light brown was woven by Brant in green silk. Sabatier (No. 7a) also slightly rearranged some details of the colouring. In all cases, however, even when the colours are disposed in some slightly different way, they are the colours chosen by Garthwaite and the dyes are exceedingly close to the pigments in the watercolour drawings. Garthwaite did not specify the ground colours of the designs, thus Lekeux's silk (No. 1a) has a blue ground and the second of Vautier's (No. 5a) a coffee-coloured ground. The damasks are presumably the fashionable colours of their day. Only four of the silks have a creamy white ground (Nos. 2, 3, 6 and 7).

This group of silks is typical of the general stylistic development of the decade 1742–52; they are good examples of their kind technically and they were woven by men of some consequence. Since these men accepted the designs practically unaltered, it seems that the designs can be accepted as a reliable standard against which to measure the silks of these years, whether English or French. Nine silks from nine hundred designs are a rather small number on which to base any discussion, but they seem a fairly representative group. These were the products which the best English weavers marketed in the face of stiff and well-organised (if clandestine) competition from Lyon. How long they were able to do so successfully is another story, for as Postlethwayt admitted, "could we bring these our silken manufactures as cheap to the market as the French, we should be in a fair way of supplying a great part of Europe."